The Perth Kirk Session Books 1577-1590

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS


**Chronicle** Chronicle of Perth, NLS ms Adv. 35.4.4


**CRB** *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland 1295–1614*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1866, 1870)

**CSPS** *Calendar of State Papers, Scottish*

**DOST** *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, 12 vols (Chicago, 1937–), and www.dsl.ac.uk

**Fasti** *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, ed. H. Scott, 10 vols (Edinburgh, 1915–28)

**First Book** *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. J.K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1972)


**Milne** *The Rental Books of King James VI Hospital, Perth*, ed. R. Milne (Perth, 1891)

**NRS** National Records of Scotland, General Register House, Edinburgh

**NRS-NRH** National Records of Scotland, New Register House, Edinburgh

**NRS-WRH** National Records of Scotland, West Register House, Edinburgh

**NLS** National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

**PKCA** Perth and Kinross County Archives, Bell Library, Perth

**PMAG** Perth Museum and Art Gallery

**PSAS** *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*


**RSCHS** *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*
<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>SAKS</td>
<td>Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews, Comprising the Proceedings of the Kirk Session ... 1559–1600, ed. David Hay Fleming, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1889–90)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHR</td>
<td>Scottish Historical Review</td>
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<td>SHS</td>
<td>Scottish History Society</td>
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<td>STS</td>
<td>Scottish Text Society</td>
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<td>TFAJ</td>
<td>Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal</td>
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The story of the Scottish Reformation is one oft-told from the top, as the outcome of actions by monarchs and regents, bishops and preachers, parliament and the militant Lords of the Congregation.\(^1\) That traditional account is by no means false or unimportant, but it is a truncated version. The Reformers sought to change the hearts and minds of the Scottish people, to free them from what they regarded as popish superstitions and teach them a new understanding of how they were saved — by grace alone, through faith, as they believed the Scriptures taught. They were certain that what would emerge from a population thus enlightened would be a godly community, as free of immoral behaviour as of the old images, ceremonies, and festivities now condemned as idolatrous. The godly nation would be a praying and fasting people, devoted to sermons and strict sabbath observance, to Bible-reading and psalm-singing. They would be marked by concord, their behaviour and conversation defined by rigorous disciplinary guidelines to reflect their gratitude for divine election. Their families would be well-regulated, their children literate and biblically informed, their poor nurtured.

The Reformation thus understood was a parochial endeavour, one whose outcome can only be understood by close examination of what went on in parish and pew. The political shifts of the 1550s and the ensuing civil wars would be necessary for the converted clergy to pursue their aim, but the arena where religious Reformation would happen (or not) was local and lay. Ordinary people and their lived experience of religion must therefore be the focus of students who would fully understand the Scottish Reformation.

The immediate outcome at that popular level was, of course, uneven. The Reformers’ agenda was impossibly ambitious: they must have known that fornicators, drunkards, and quarrellers would be, like the poor, always with us. But the strength of their efforts in the parishes, and their effects on Scottish culture, are undeniable. This is not because of any extraordinary power on the part of the early modern state to enforce its will, or even because protestant preachers of the first generation were either very numerous or (with a few exceptions) particularly charismatic. The authority of the Scottish crown was notoriously weak and decentralised in the sixteenth century by comparison to that of its neighbour to the south, and a preaching clergy was initially thin on the ground: a 1574 account lists only 289 ministers in 988 parishes. The relative success of the Scottish Reformation was rather because key lay people in the parishes seized upon the new religion, negotiated its terms for their own purposes, and cooperated actively in implementing its objectives in their communities.

Lay collaboration was in turn a function of the Calvinist Reformation’s particular ecclesiastical polity. The Reformers introduced to Scotland in 1560 the system that had so impressed them as exiles in Geneva, government of the church by a network of local courts comprised of lay elders along with ministers. The consistory of Geneva and the Huguenots, called


the ‘kirk session’ in Scotland, was composed of the minister or ministers of a town, together with a group (generally a dozen or so in Scotland) of lay elders chosen from among the most ‘honest and famous men’ of the vicinity. These were, in a Scottish burgh, the wealthiest and most politically powerful merchants, craftsmen, and sometimes professionals like notaries, lawyers, or schoolmasters. In urban parishes, ‘landwart’ elders would eventually be added to represent the suburbs and rural areas surrounding the town that were not already subsumed by other parishes. These men were lairds, or landed gentlemen, rather than lords, so that the sessions represented a broad swath of Scottish society’s commonalty. Sessions were first established in towns, naturally enough, given their urban continental models; by the second generation after the Reformation, their structures and procedures had spread to rural areas.

Scottish kirk sessions had numerous functions, both disciplinary and administrative. Of central importance for historians of parochial religion, they kept written records of their proceedings — for which historians of religion in the pew must be eternally grateful. Surviving session minute books provide an extraordinary resource for those who seek to understand


This happened in Perth in 1592: NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 66v. The Geneva consistory, in striking contrast to Scottish sessions, was dominated by the town’s many pastors, who vastly outnumbered the lay elders: Registers of the Consistory of Geneva in the Time of Calvin, ed. T.M. Lambert and I.M. Watt, tr. M.W. McDonald (Grand Rapids, 2000), passim.

Session books were examined periodically by the next higher representative assembly of the region, the presbytery, and presbytery books were in turn reviewed by provincial synods, to ensure that the elders and ministers at all levels were doing their jobs (e.g., NRS ms CH2/271/1, the Moray synod systematically examining presbytery books and noting whether those presbyteries had reviewed their sessions’ books).
how lay people received the Reformers’ message and adapted it for their own communal purposes. In the minute books we hear the voices of ordinary folk, ranging from well-off merchants and craftsmen to servants and beggars. Women as well as men gave testimony to the session. Indeed, nearly everyone in the community would at some point in their lives appear before the session, if only to ask that their marriage banns be pronounced. The minutes report all sorts of ecclesiastical business. They illumine worship and celebration of the sacraments; catechism and doctrinal examination; church and hospital fabric; provision for schools, preachers, and readers. And given the breadth of disciplinary cases the elders heard, their records tell us no less about early modern Scottish society and culture than about religion. We hear from their minutes about childhood and old age, lax parents and abusive spouses, assault and rape, the ravages of plague and the terror of earthquake, the adventures of mariners, the work of folk healers and the desperation of their patients, neighbourhood quarrels and gossip, attitudes towards Gaelic Highlanders, the delights of sports and dancing to pipes – in short, the myriad pleasures and pains of early modern life. A well-kept session book is an historian’s treasure-trove.

The Manuscript

The session minutes of Perth are particularly well-kept. They are among the earliest, fullest, and most continuous of the first century after the Reformation. The first extant volume, presented here along with half of the second volume, begins in May of 1577 and continues through June of 1586. It includes references to earlier, missing volumes, fragments of which can be found in the parish registers for the 1560s: these entries are transcribed in Appendix III to this edition. The first forty-five folios of the

6 Only the St Andrews, Aberdeen, Monifieth, and Canongate session books begin earlier (1559, 1562, and 1564). St Andrews’ remarkable first volume, edited for the Scottish History Society in 1889–90, extends to 1600, with a gap from August 1585 to June 1586, between the death from plague of one minister and the arrival of his replacement (SAKS ii, lxvi). Aberdeen’s register has only fragmentary survivals in its first volume from 1562–63, 1568, 1573, and 1574–77, with its second volume beginning in 1602 (NRS ms CH2/448/1 and 2). Monifieth has records from 1562 to 1620, though with significant gaps: NRS-NRH, ms OPR 310/1. There is a volume of minutes from the Canongate parish for 1564–67 only, published from NRS ms CH2/122/181 as The Buik of the Kirk of the Canagait, ed. A.B. Calderwood (Edinburgh, 1961); the next volume (ms CH2/122/1) begins in 1613. Edinburgh has no surviving early volume, only records for 1574–5 (NRS ms CH2/450/1). Other sixteenth-century books that would repay the effort of an edition are those of Elgin, with good records from 1584 on (NRS ms CH2/145/1), and St Cuthbert’s Edinburgh, with volumes starting in 1586 (NRS ms CH2/718/1).

surviving second volume are also presented here, bringing us through 1590 and allowing some of the more salient stories begun in the first volume to reach their conclusions. The surviving minute books for this parish run through nine volumes altogether with detailed entries and few substantial gaps to 1637. The gaps are at 1613–14 and 1624–30, and the volumes beginning in January of 1615 and January of 1631 indicate continuation from volumes no longer extant, so these are survival gaps, not lapses by the session clerks. In June of 1637, a new clerk replaced the notary John Davidson, who had continued the sixteenth-century tradition of very full entries for a wide variety of business; unfortunately, the new scribe dramatically changed the nature and usefulness of the remainder of the volume, making it a sporadic and sparse listing of almost exclusively sexual cases, marriage contracts, accounts and penitents received. His records continue through March of 1642, but he neglected to record the offences of most of the penitents listed, or the details of the sexual cases and the prescribed repentances, perhaps moving them to another book along with the plethora of other kinds of business that had occupied the court (including communion arrangements, examinations, investigations of charming, hospital and school administration, and reconciliation of quarrels). Other than a brief notation about hospital business for January 1648 on the final folio of this ninth volume, session records during the upheaval from 1642 to 1665 do not survive.

Perth’s session books, written in secretary hand and in Scots, are deposited in the National Archives of Scotland and have been scanned for electronic access. Several folios at the beginning and end of the first volume have naturally suffered the most damage over the centuries, with edges and corners often torn away or crumbled and the ink especially at page edges badly rubbed and sometimes moisture-damaged. Ultraviolet light has helped to decipher some of the most faded script (quite impossible to glean from the scanned version), but it has still been necessary to record a few small bits as ‘illegible’ in this edition.

The minutes are recorded by four hands that can be identified. A 7 October 1577 entry indicates that the parish reader, Jhon Swenton, had served as session clerk for at least a year. In October of 1578 Walter Cully was appointed scribe. James Smyth followed as reader and clerk in December of 1579; his initials appear thereafter in the margins on 21 March 1580, and there is an 18 March 1583 reference to an act ‘maid in Mr James Smythis time’. Finally, William Cok, who became the parish reader in February of
1582, had served as clerk from at least the previous December. All four scribes took careful and quite detailed notes and developed a system of marginalia to help them keep track of how well parishioners adhered to the session’s orders, particularly in regard to marriage and the performing of repentance. Their marginal notations appear in this edition in parentheses after the corresponding entry in the text. They should not be undervalued: for the elders they served as important bureaucratic tools and practical enforcement mechanisms in disciplinary cases.

The availability of other contemporary Perth manuscripts encouraged the decision to edit Perth’s session minutes. These help to identify named individuals, verify and further describe key events, confirm dating, and sometimes indicate the outcome of a case not fully recorded in the session minutes. Marriage registers survive from 1560 to 1582, baptismal records from 1561 to February of 1582, and burial registers from 1561 to 1581, though with significant gaps. The ‘Chronicle of Perth’, partly written before 1600 by the town clerk, among others, and now in the National Library of Scotland, includes accounts of storms, earthquakes, plague outbreaks, political events, and crimes and scandals that allow us to expand on brief allusions in the session minutes. It is this document that gives us, for instance, the appalling tally of 1584–85 plague deaths at 1427. Minutes of the town council and the bailies courts in the Perth and Kinross Council Archives help to define the context in which the session operated — hand in glove with the magistracy — and to identify the overlapping personnel of the burgh and ecclesiastical courts. In the same archive is an assortment of decree books, registers of acts and obligations, caution rolls, and accounts (including those related to ministerial stipends and hospital properties) which aid in identifying people
and again in setting the context in which the elders operated. Of inestimable value have been the surviving records of the mercantile guildry (from 1452 to 1601) and five crafts guilds. The ‘Guildrie Book’ is still in the hands of the Perth Guildry Incorporation, but has been edited and published. The National Library of Scotland holds the hammermen’s book, and the Perth and Kinross County Archives keep the glovers’ and baxters’ books. The records of the tailors and wrights are in the Perth Museum and Art Gallery. These allow identifications, but they also suggest that secular models for record-keeping and disciplinary activity may well have inspired some of the session’s conventions. Notarial protocol books, in particular those of Henry Elder and his son, have filled in some gaps. The published ‘Rental Books of King James VI Hospital’, together with manuscript hospital documents in the National Archives, illumine the session’s oversight of poor relief. Records of the Justiciary Court and the Court of Session in the West Register House of the National Archives have allowed tracking of some particularly serious cases, as have the divorce decrees in the Commissary Court. Finally, many Perth wills survive from the 1570s and 1580s in the Commissary Courts of Edinburgh and St Andrews. These have been very helpful in identifying propertied individuals mentioned in the session book, particularly the elders, who are listed in Appendix I.

15 PKCA mss B5912/2 (mostly council and bailie elections); B59/12/6 (1570-72), /7 (1572-74), /8 (1575-77), /9 (1580-1587) (bailies court records, most involving civil disputes); B59/13/1 (register of acts and decreets, 1577-81, with the next volume beginning 1598); B59/8/2-4 (registers of deeds, acts and obligations, 1572-90); B59/26/1/11 (1582 cautioners roll for a justice ayre, with an appended horners list); B59/28/7-8, /10 (ecclesiastical records).


17 NLS ms 19239; PKCA mss 67/1/1 (glovers’ book; in addition, very numerous bundled documents are grouped under 67/1/3); and 92/1/1 (the ‘baikers buik’, along with two bundled baxters’ papers from our period under the ms 92 heading). Fleshers’ documents also survive from the early seventeenth century: PKCA mss 122/7, 122/10.

18 PMAG ms 4 and ms Wrights.


20 NRS mss B59/1/2 (1568-72), B59/1/3 (1576-92).

21 Milne; NRS mss GD 79 (several boxes of documents transmitted to the National Archives in 1957).

22 Particularly useful have been NRS mss JC1/20; JC2/1; JC6/2 and 3; JC26/2, 4; JC27/23; CS7/81 and 82. The voluminous court books of the Perth Sheriff’s Court (NRS mss SC49/9 and 10, 1582-97) and the sheriff’s register of decrees (SC49/4/1-3, 1575-94) proved less useful, though I have surveyed them for burgh cases. These and the relevant Commissary Court records (ms CC8/4) are in the NRS General Register House. For divorce after the Reformation, see BUK i, 19.

23 NRS mss CC8/8 and CC20/4, respectively. The wills are scanned and available online.
An unusual collection of rather later manuscripts has also proven useful in the editorial process. An eighteenth-century minister of Perth and avid antiquarian, James Scott, wrote out excerpts from the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Perth religious records of all sorts, including session volumes. His notebooks are now in the Advocates Collection of the National Library. The first volume copied from the session books has occasionally come in handy when deciphering the more puzzling parts of the manuscript; however, Scott's transcription is by no means reliable. Even if it were complete, rather than just his favourite portions, he mis-dated entries, updated and sometimes mangled spellings, and made rather too many wild guesses to be altogether trustworthy. His notebooks are, however, abundantly annotated, and despite his obvious religious biases, these notes have been of some help; they will accordingly appear in the notes in this volume where appropriate.

A final reason for selecting Perth's session book to edit is the importance of the town itself to the history of early modern Scotland. Perth was one of the 'four great burghs' of the sixteenth century (with Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee). It occupied a central place in the early history of the Reformation, in the political history of James VI's early reign, and eventually in the story of the civil wars of the 1640s and the Cromwellian invasion.

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24 NLS mss Adv. 31.1.1 and 1a (excerpts from session minutes); Adv. 31.1.4, 31.1.5, 31.1.6 (his annotations of birth, death and marriage registers from the sixteenth century); Adv. 13.1.5 ('The Superstitions of Perth').

25 E.g., he read 'excommunicated' for 'examined' on p. 79 of the ms, for an entry he dated 29 rather than 25 July 1580. Mis-dating is frequent: another example is decimo quinto 1581 read as 25 May. Lists of names are also rather carelessly recorded: he omitted one of the witnesses in an 11 July 1580 case, omitted one of the St Oberts players on p. 140 of the ms, and added a name to that entry that does not appear in the original at all.

The Burgh and its People

Perth in the sixteenth century was a town of between five and six thousand people. Positioned at the highest point of the River Tay then navigable by seagoing vessels, its flourishing economy was based on trade across the North Sea as well as with its hinterland, and on a wide range of crafts produced for this market. The Tay, a tidal river, is fordable a few miles above Perth so that the town was strategically placed on a north–south trade route with the interior, but it was deep enough at Perth for high tide to carry ships to the sea. Walled on three sides (though the wall was by the sixteenth century in disrepair), the town’s fourth side was defined by the river, with a new harbour and wharves constructed in 1539 at its southeastern corner. (See Map.) This replaced a more northerly one (at the east end of the Highgait) whose utility had been undermined by silting and by crowding of the wharves due to urban expansion and the increasing volume of shipping. Just north and south of the town are two ‘inches’ – meadows where sixteenth-century boys were often caught by the elders playing golf during service time.

The street (gait) layout in the old town has changed little since the Middle Ages. The Highgait (sometimes called North Street, now the High Street) runs east–west parallel to the Southgait, joined at the east end by the Watergait and the west by the Meal Vennel. The result is a natural procession route, allowing complete perambulation of the town within the walls from the market cross in the Highgait or the kirk just south of it or the tolbooth at the east end of the Highgait – symbolic centres of economic, religious, and political life in the burgh. The importance of such processions even after the Reformation will be apparent in the kirk session minutes. Elders would...
be elected to the session from each of the 'quarters' of the town, defined as the north and south sides of the Highgait, the Watergait or east end of the town, and the Southgait. In the town's walls were four 'ports' or gates, which were locked at night, during plague seasons, and (after the Reformation) during the Sunday sermons — with the porter's occasional lapses sternly reprimanded by the session.

Outside the walls and positioned roughly at the four corners of the pre-Reformation town were the most important religious houses — Greyfriars (Franciscans, at the southeast corner), Carthusians (at the southwest corner), Whitefriars (Carmelites, further afield northwest of the town at Tullilum), and Blackfriars (Dominicans, north of the walls toward the eastern end of the town). The ruins of a castle destroyed by a flood in 1209 lay within the site of the Dominican house in the northeast, so that 'Castlegavel' names the vicinity and the street leading to it. There was in addition a plethora of medieval chapels in and near the burgh, oft-mentioned in the session minutes, either because their buildings survived and continued in use or because their vast properties had become the financial basis for post-Reformation poor relief. Several of the chapels had attached hospitals, at least two of which would survive the Reformation and continue in use for a time, as the kirk session minutes show. St Ann's, St Paul's, St Catherine's, St Leonard's, and St Mary Magdalen's all had hospitals devoted to the poor and infirm. The first two, located near the kirk and just beyond the Turret Bridge port, respectively, continued to serve as hospitals into the 1580s. St Mary at the

fos 39r, 41v–42r, 47v, 50v, 56v, 59v, 60r, 77r–77v — among many other examples; PMAG ms 4, fos 4v–5r, 7v; PKCA ms 67, p. 8.


31 Occasionally mentioned in the session minutes are the Southport at the west end of South Street and the Turret Bridge port at the west end of the Highgait. The Castlegavel or North Port was located nearer the east end of the Highgait, north of the Kirkgait. The other port was near the Spey Tower, located atop the wall at the southeast corner of the town. Reports of archaeological investigations of these vicinities are in Simpson, Stevenson and Bowler, Perth; and Bowler, Perth.

32 The foundations of the Carmelite friary's east end, including part of the chancel of the church, have been excavated: Discovery and Excavation in Scotland (annual surveys published by the Scottish Group, Council for British Archaeology, 1982), 35. This was the first foundation (1262) of Carmelites in Scotland; see M. Verschuur, 'Perth Charterhouse in the sixteenth century', Innes Review, 39 (1988), 1–11.

33 Below, 11 July 1580 (five old women admitted to St Ann's hospital), 6 Mar. 1588 (provision for St Ann's); see also 22 Feb. 1579. St Paul's, founded in 1434, was damaged in 1559 but was apparently still habitable in our period (22 Feb. 1579), and on 7 Dec. 1579 the elders ordered a proposal put to the council to set aside either St Paul's or Greyfriars for use as a hospital; on 21 October 1583 St Paul's was finally chosen as the preferred site, though there is independent evidence of poor people inhabiting the hospital earlier: RPC iii, 288 (4 June
Bridge also survived and was transformed in 1596 into a ‘hospital house for the entertainment of the poor’, though only after an expensive restoration ordered by the kirk session. Other chapels, including Loretto, St Lawrence, and Holy Rood, fared less well at the Reformation. Readers of the session minutes will notice that the titles ‘prior’ and ‘curate’ continued in use in the 1570s and 1580s for the lay holders of former monastic properties as well as former Catholic clerics who had been pensioned off at the Reformation. Such men as ‘the Prior of Quhytefriars’ and ‘Sir Alexander Cok, curate’ (listed on a 1584 poor roll) no longer held ecclesiastical office, but they did collect stipends for their lifetimes as a matter of protestant charity to men with careers in the old religion.

A fifteenth-century suburb at the west end of the town was defined by a street of houses and shops called ‘New Row’, and there were also populous suburbs to the north of the walls, where mills were powered by a lade constructed in the twelfth century to bring water from the River Almond at Huntingtower Haugh. Fullers (waulkers) and tanners, dependent on a good

1580) records a donation from James Moncrief, patron of the chaplaincy of St Paul, to ‘the poor within the hospital of St. Paul ... for their sustentation in time coming as was donated thereto of old’, along with a similar grant by James Donning, patron of the chaplaincy of St Ann.

NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 162v (22 Nov. 1596). St Ann’s hospital inmates were then to be moved to the new building on the site of St Mary’s chapel (also called ‘Our Lady’s Chapel at the Shore’), which was certainly in use by 1598, when an inmate was ordered removed for misbehaviour (CH2/521/3, 24 Apr. 1598, p. 23). Something of St Mary’s, and the Loretto chapel, had certainly survived the Reformation, since they were ordered vacated on 22 Feb. 1579. Likewise, the buildings of St Catherine’s were apparently not destroyed at the Reformation, since the session noted on 2 Dec. 1594 (CH2/521/2, fo. 112r) a baptism celebrated there. St Catherine’s had only been endowed in 1523; perhaps the townspeople were reluctant to take down structures so newly erected. St Lawrence chapel in the Castlegavel was reported in ill repair as early as 1422, and in 1543 the town council seized it and cleared the ruins. The twelfth-century Augustinian priory, chapel and hospital of St Leonard was southwest of the town outwith the walls; its hospital and nunnery had been annexed to the Carthusians’ house in 1434. Plague victims were buried in its graveyard in 1608. The hospital associated with St Mary Magdalen had also been conveyed to the Carthusians. Simpson and Stevenson, Historic Perth, 11, 35–40; I. Cowan and D. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland (London, 1976); Milne, passim.

8 Aug. 1587 (the ‘prior of Whitefriars’s wife’ awarded his annuals to pay the cost of his final illness); 14 Dec. 1584 (Cok); or 14 May 1582 (the ‘prior of Charterhouse’ lodging with an accused fornicator). Cok appears in the first hospital rental book, indicating that he was still receiving the rents of the Lady altar in the Chapel of Loretto (Milne, 21); his will, NRS ms CC20/4/3/470–471 (24 Oct. 1597) indicates that he had been blind since 1580 and had ‘no goods nor gear’ at the time of his death except for a few household items and clothing, though he was still owed £36 10s from annual rents due to him, most of the debt belonging to Patrick Justice, the elder and deacon of the cordiners. He rented his house from Henry Adamson. On pensioning the clerics of the old church, see BUK i, 5.
water supply, joined the millers here. A canal along the southern boundary of the town served as a tailrace from the town mills.36

The bridge across the Tay at the end of the Highgait was essential to the town’s economy, connecting it to the Dundee Road and other important trade routes. An arched stone construction, it required frequent repair because of repeated damage by storms and floods. The town council in 1586 noted that the bridge had recently fallen twice (in 1573 and 1583), and that the most recent timber repair was again ‘ready to fall without present help’. At the burgh’s behest, parliament in 1578 granted a tax of 10,000 merks for repairs, but the Privy Council in 1585 noted the bridge ‘twice fallen and much decayed’.37 By the 1590s, a new bridge was being constructed, but it, too, had fallen by 1601. The next bridge was completed in 1617 but was ‘utterly overthrown’ by the great flood of 1621.38 The session would read the condition of the bridge as a sort of barometer of divine approval or punishment: a flood that damaged the bridge was a warning that God frowned on the behaviour of the citizenry, or on the community’s tolerance of sin, and one that destroyed it altogether was a clear and dire judgement. Divine anger was also read in the occasional earthquakes that rocked the town. Geologically, Perth is sited within Scotland’s Midland Valley, not far south of the Highland Boundary Fault, and it would in July of 1597 be severely damaged by an earthquake.39 The townspeople’s vulnerability to natural disasters is an important part of the background against which the new protestant church court conducted its business. A fundamentally providentialist view of the universe dictated that during times of presumed judgement, the proper

37 APS iii, 108, c. 24; RPC iv,104; PKCA ms B59/24/1/1, fo. 1v (20 Oct.1577).
38 PKCA ms B59/16/1, p. 89; the Chronicle notes that two bows of the bridge fell ‘by inundation of water’ in December of 1573, five in the flood of January 1583 (fo. 3v). D. Calderwood, Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1625) iii, 697 reports that on 15 Jan. 1583 ‘a great inundation of the Water of Tay at St Johnstoun carried away a great part of the bridge. It overflowed the Inches and a part of the town yards.’ Henry Adamson’s early seventeenth-century verse history of Perth, The Muses Threnodie (Edinburgh, 1638), tells of ‘the yeer threescore thirteene/ The first down-fall this Bridge did ere sustaine,/ By ruine of three arches in the yeer fourescore and two,/ Reedified likewise, ...’ (30); he reports that the rebuilt bridge of 1617 was of ‘eleven great arches/ Joining the south and north, and commoun march is/ Unto them both, a bridge of squared stone,/ So great and fair....’ The session on 29 Jan. 1583 recorded with horror the ‘fearful execrations used by [Jean Thornton] the night the bridge fell’ and her ‘evil speaking on the stool of public repentance on the day of the fast observed in this town’ as part of its effort to avert further divine judgement. After the great flood of 1621, the burgh petitioned parliament for help rebuilding, in 1641 requesting the impossible sum of £100,000. See APS iv, 451–52, c. 43 (recounting the partial rebuilding of the bridge, financed by a grant of 5,000 merks annually for seven years from 1609); v, 488–89, cc. 248 and 249, 578–79, cc. 197 and 198, 688b, 693b.
response of the kirk should be seasons of fasting and humiliation for sin, together with even sterner moral discipline by its courts, lest God's wrath impose more drastic punishment.\textsuperscript{40} The minutes of the session thus need to be read with both meteorology and the material structures of the town clearly in mind.

The two most important buildings in the sixteenth-century town were the tolbooth, where the council and bailies court met and criminals were gaol, and the Kirk of St John the Baptist, whose revery was the site of session meetings. The early modern tolbooth, site of the tron for weighing commercial goods, was also the occasional gathering place of Scottish parliaments, right through the seventeenth century, and public announcements were made from its window. It was not a particularly secure gaol, as reports to the bailies of successful escapes attest, and by the early seventeenth century it was in such disrepair that the 1606 Parliament had to move to a building off the High Street. The tolbooth was razed in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{41}

The kirk occupied an open space between High and South streets, surrounded by its graveyard, with the Kirkgait joining it to the Highgait.\textsuperscript{42} St John’s is a fine fifteenth-century hall church, re-constructed at great cost on the site of the earlier medieval church between 1440 and 1511, its steeple filled with expensive Flemish bells newly cast in the early sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{43} On the eve of the Reformation, it boasted at least forty side altars

\textsuperscript{40} CP, 343–52.
\textsuperscript{41} PKCA ms B59/12/9, fos 74 (9 Feb. 1583 proclamations), 75 (the escape of a debtor). The Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust has placed a high priority on investigating the plan and structural history of the tolbooth: Bowler, Perth, 33, 62. For early seventeenth-century concerns about its disrepair, PKCA ms B59/16/2, fos 11v, 16v (ordering the repair of an 'ironhouse' to be used as a gaol), 22.

\textsuperscript{42} In 1580 the session decided that the burial ground was overfull and opened a new one on the lands of the former Greyfriars monastery (20 and 27 Dec. 1580). The session was still occupied in 1582, however, with removing squatters on the land (8 Jan., 5 Feb.) C.F. Falconer, ‘Excavations at St John’s Kirk Burial Ground, Perth’, unpublished SUAT archive report (1991).

\textsuperscript{43} The choir was rebuilt first with part of the teinds (tithes) of Dunfermline Abbey, to which the church had been granted in 1128. It was substantially completed when the choir was finished in 1448; in the same year an altar to St John the Evangelist was founded to the north of the high altar. The burgh funded rebuilding of the transepts and nave, with the aid of royal contributions in 1489 and 1496. The central tower and spire came last; they were certainly completed by 1511. A bell cast at Mechelen and dedicated to John the Baptist was installed in the tower in 1511, a ‘common bell’ in 1520, and five other Flemish bells added in 1526. These joined the Ave Maria bell, cast in 1340, an early sixteenth-century ‘Agnus Dei’ bell (perhaps the ‘little skellet bell’ referred to in the session minutes), and a bourdon bell of 1506. The latter had an external hammer fitted for a clock. R. Fawcett, The Architectural History of Scotland: Scottish Architecture from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation, 1371–1560 (Edinburgh, 1992), 74, 189–190; Fawcett, Scottish Medieval Churches (Edinburgh, 1985), 55; R.W.M. Clouston, ‘The bells of Perthshire: St John’s Kirk, Perth’, PSAS, 124 (1994), 525–37.
devoted to an array of saints. These were lavishly decorated and lit by their lay patrons, both individuals and guilds. Indeed, the sums of money spent by late medieval burgesses on the parish church, together with impressive additional expenditures designated to endow masses for the souls of the dead in the plethora of chapels both in the burgh and just outwith its walls, suggest that Catholic devotion and the doctrine of purgatory in the generations immediately before the Reformation were by no means unpopular.

Ecclesiastical structures and the tolbooth would have been among relatively few stone buildings in the sixteenth-century town, though there was considerable new stone construction in the early seventeenth century. Kirk, tolbooth, the grand townhouses of local lords and lairds, and the wealthier burgess's dwellings were exceptions to the rule of building mostly in timber and wattle. There were in the sixteenth century no guild halls: most guildsmen held their meeting outdoors, either in the South Inch, a meadow outside the walls and along the river, or in one of the burial grounds.

44 The number might be raised as high as seventy, if one counts multiple endowments of altars to the same saint. Saints with altars in the kirk included Adamnan, Ann, Augustine, Barbara, Blaise, Bride, Catherine, Christopher, Clement, Crispin, Dionysius, Eloyis (or Eligius, patron of the Hammermen), Erasmus, Fillan, Gabriel, Gregory, James, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Joseph, Laurence, Margaret, Margaret the Queen, Martin, Mary Magdalen, Mary the Virgin, Michael the Archangel, Minnon (patron of the tailors), Monan, Mungo (Kentigern), Nicolas, Ninian, Paul, Peter, Roch, Sebastian, Serf, Steven, Thomas the Apostle, Thomas of Canterbury, Tridwell, and All Hallows. There were also altars to the Trinity, the Holy Blood, Our Lady of Consolation, the Presentation of Our Lady, the Confraternity, and the Name of Jesus. In addition, the chapel of Loretto or 'Allereit' (named for the Italian village to which the house of Joseph and Mary was miraculously transported according to a medieval legend) included altars to saints Catharine and Nicolas, and to the Virgin. Cohn Hunt, Perth Hammermen's Book 1518 to 1568 (Perth, 1889), pp. xl–lxiii; Milne, 10–50, 447; W.H. Findlay, Heritage of Perth (Perth, 2nd edn, 1996), 2.

45 Oliver Cromwell reportedly destroyed 140 stone structures to build his citadel in 1651, though he spared the kirk and the tolbooth. Gowrie House, also spared and given to the king in 1660 in exchange for the burgh's possession of the citadel, would have been among the most elegant stone townhouses, but there were others in its vicinity in the east end of the town: Simpson and Stevenson, Historic Perth, 21, report excavation of a sixteenth-century stone house nearby with a gravelled yard and stone-lined drains. M. Roy, 'The excavation of the south-western bastion of Cromwell's citadel on the South Inch, Perth', TFAJ, 8 (2002), 145–68 reports the 140 figure, noting that nearly every tombstone (perhaps three hundred) and the walls from the burial grounds, the school, and James VI Hospital were also destroyed by Cromwell's need for stone (145). See also H. Murray, 'Medieval wooden and wattle buildings excavated in Perth and Aberdeen' in A. Turner-Simpson and S. Stevenson (eds), Town Houses and Structures in Medieval Scotland (Glasgow, 1980), 39–49; Holdsworth, Excavations, 18–88, reporting extensive timber building, with some flagged floors, stone foundations, and tile roofs for burgess dwellings; Bowler, Perth, 37, 43; Stavert, Short History 39. Forestairs and common walls were generally of stone (e.g., PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 189v). For Cromwell's citadel, see F.D. Dow, Cromwellian Scotland (Edinburgh, 1979), 11, 64, 142, 275; C.H. Firth (ed.), Scotland and the Protectorate (Edinburgh, 1899), pp. xxxix–li, 298–300, 302–6.

46 E.g., NLS ms 19239, fos 44r–47v (Hammermen's meetings, only once moved into the
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Ordinary dwellings were constructed on the long, narrow tofts extending out from the main streets. Originally intended for a narrow-fronted dwelling on the street and space behind for gardens, small livestock, and outbuildings, by the later sixteenth century these were heavily built for habitation on the 'backlands' as well as the frontage.\textsuperscript{47} The density of early modern Perth's population — with nearly twice the population packed into the small area within the walls as lives there now in that space — ought to be borne firmly in mind when reading the session minutes' reports of neighbours spying on each other, catching each other out in sins, and observing public quarrels and ritual repentance on the streets where offences had occurred.\textsuperscript{48} An early modern town was not a setting where privacy was either desirable (at least by the well-behaved) or possible.

The town's population was more culturally diverse than one might expect. Numerous Gaelic names appear among the majority Scots and occasional English ones, not just among the burgesses and tradesmen, but also in lists of office-holders in guilds, council, and session. Perth served as a gateway to the Highlands. Its merchants did business with Gaelic traders and timber-sellers, its leather-workers dealt regularly with Highland cattle-drovers, and its cutlers made Highland-style swords; there was also a lively market for Highlandmen's tartan cloth.\textsuperscript{49} Perth burgesses served as bankers for itinerant Gaels, at least offering safekeeping for their coin.\textsuperscript{50}


\textsuperscript{48} Relative population density is deduced from the 2009 population estimates for Perth's ward 12, allowing for re-defined boundaries within the sixteenth-century walls: www.pkc.gov.uk

\textsuperscript{49} NLS ms 19239, fo. 53v, and perhaps also the 'Upland wark' described in 1594, fo. 60v; PKCA ms B59/12/9, fos 82v (trade with a 'Highland man'), 124v (trade in tartan cloth).

\textsuperscript{50} NRS ms CH2/521/3, p. 120 (James Maxton skipping church in favour of 'telling of silver at home with certain Highlandmen ... who delivered to him a certain sum of money to be kept by him till their returning back'. Others stayed away from church to drink with Highlandmen (e.g., NRS ms CH2/521/5, fos 16r, 28v). In 1616, James Stewart 'alias Jackiston, Highland man, [was] appointed remover of strong beggars out of town'; he later became the town executioner, though he was removed from this position the following year for 'his vicious life' and 'the cruelty and oppression used by him against poor weak persons' (CH2/521/6, fos 45v, 103v). The elders sought a hangman, not a torturer. It is noteworthy that they, rather than the council, appointed the hangman; they reported their action to the council.
Perth burgesses served as cautions for 'Highlandmen' in business dealings. It should not be surprising that some Gaelic families were long-settled in the town. As the kirk session minutes demonstrate, intermarriage (and less legitimate relationships) between people with Scots and Gaelic surnames was frequent, both within and beyond the walls. The session records thus provide a window on contemporary notions of insider and outsider, of who did and did not properly belong to the parish. This would prove to be defined not by the Gaelic/Scots distinction — not a significant divide in this parish, but rather by quite different factors. 'Entertaining strangers' — offering bed and board to travellers without proper documentation — was a rigorously punishable offence here as in most early modern communities. But Perth's magistrates and session imposed the strictures of the law when those 'entertained' were excommunicates or others under ecclesiastical discipline, unauthorised beggars, or 'Egyptians' (gypsies). Highlandmen or 'Irish' — the usual names for Gaelic-speakers — were not per se problematic. They were too essential to the town's economy.

Perth's prosperity depended on both its manufacture and its mercantile endeavours. Its merchants engaged in both domestic and overseas trade, the latter mainly with Flanders, Denmark, and England. Exports included tar and pitch, skins and leather goods, wool and cloth, butter, and salmon. Wine and fine cloth were imported in large quantities. For domestic exchange there were four annual fairs, at Midsummer, St John's in Harvest, Andersmas, and Palm Sunday, in addition to regular weekday markets. There were nine incorporated trades, or craft guilds, in the burgh — the hammermen (smiths working in gold, silver, iron, brass and pewter, together with saddlers, armourers and gunsmiths), baxters (bakers), tailors, skinners and gloves, cordiers (shoemakers), fleshers (butchers), wrights (including makers of carts and wheels, cooper, masons, and joiners), wobsters (weavers), and waulkers (fullers, including bonnetmakers and hatmakers). Their rela-
tive importance can be gauged by the assize of nets or fishings in the Tay, with one each held by the hammermen, skinners, glovers and baxters and the lesser trades sharing two. It will be unsurprising that of the thirty-four craftsmen among the elders of 1576–90, twenty-five were from the hammermen, skinners, or baxters. The other important guild in the town, the mercantile guildry, held six nets, reflecting its greater wealth and status. It is important to remember, however, that many craftsmen were also members of the merchants' guild. In fact, nearly all of Perth's elders were members of the mercantile guildry, but only thirty-four have 'merchant' attached to their names in records that indicate occupation.

The freemen of each craft guild selected their deacon and other officers, including a boxmaster who was in charge of the money collected in dues, fines, and rents on properties held by the corporation. (Deacons of crafts should not be confused with deacons in the Reformed church, who were elected to attend to monetary collections, poor relief and other material aspects of the kirk's business.) Each craft deacon also served as his guild's representative on the town council. Guild masters elected their own councils and other officers. The hammermen, for instance, chose annually 'eight masters' as a council along with two compositors or treasurers, an 'officer', and 'visitors' or inspectors of the markets. Guild officials patrolled the markets as well as craftsmen's shops or 'booths' (generally located at the front doors of their houses), enforced standards of production, and joined the council in fixing prices. Opening and closing hours were strictly regulated and enforced by the guild masters and magistrates, and since long before the Reformation, guilds prohibited sabbath trade. They also traditionally disciplined their own members, their fials or 'servants' ('journeymen' in English parlance), and their apprentices. Occasional settlement of quarrels within a craft by the kirk session rather than the deacon of craft may be taken to indicate the session's relative power and effectiveness as an arbiter in this period; on the other hand, it may simply reflect the number of craftsmen on the session inclined to use guild procedures in the new ecclesiastical court. It is worth bearing in mind when examining kirk session minutes

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Stavert, Short History 30; for craftsmen among the elders, see Appendix I.

The Guildry Book often indicates new members' crafts beside their names in the admission lists. These include, among others, smiths, wrights, baxters, saddlers, skinners, carpenters, listers (dyers), waulkers (fullers), websters (weavers), tailors, soutars (cordiners, or cobblers), and maltmen (all from 1580s entries, pp. 308-65). Merchant status of an additional four elders can be deduced from other information: see Appendix I.

NLS ms 19239, passim. The wrights elected a council of twelve men (PMAG Wrights, fo. 3v); the glovers twelve to fourteen 'auditors' together with two positors and four treasurers (PKCA ms 67/1/1, passim). Deacons were sometimes called 'oversmen'.

Hunt, Hammermen's Book, pp. xx, xxxi.

E.g., CH2/521/7, 224, 304; CP, 258 records examples from other parishes. For Perth examples of guild discipline of their own members, see PMAG ms 4 (Tailors' Guild minutes), fos
that the elders were virtually without exception members of either the mercantile guildry or crafts guilds (often both); they accordingly came to the church court already experienced in self-government, the ‘nitty-gritty’ of administration, the provision of aid to guild dependents (widows and orphans of deceased brethren, for instance) and the execution of discipline on their own members. They were well-equipped to do the work of the new protestant kirk.65

Perth is justly known as a ‘crafts town’ relative to towns like Aberdeen and Edinburgh, where merchants completely dominated politics. This had been the case in Perth at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but with the crafts guilds paying half of the town’s royal taxes, the craftsmen had managed steadily to increase their political clout. From 1534 they supplied at least two members of the council, and from 1544 they provided one bailie. They were determined to keep improving their political lot, however. A disputed election in 1556 ignited a craftsmen’s riot, and in 1560 crafts deacons began attending council meetings without invitation. Only in 1572, after decades of jockeying for political power, did the crafts finally get equal council representation with the merchants — at least in theory; in fact, there were more often four than six crafts councillors in the 1570s. But crafts deacons now attended council meetings by invitation, and from 1572 the town treasurer every other year was a craftsman. A modus vivendi had clearly been worked out to reduce the tension between the two groups that had been such a constant feature of the previous half-century.66 It doubtless helped that by mid-century the membership of the mercantile guildry was drawn heavily from craftsmen.67 In this town the crafts were clearly a force that could not be ignored. As we shall see, a balance between the two groups became visible in the composition of the kirk sessions — a natural outworking of burgh politics.

Like most early modern European towns, Perth was governed by a self-perpetuating oligarchy; only the loud political voice of its craftsmen set it apart from the political norm in Scotland. A council of twelve leading burgesses chose its own successors every Michaelmas.68 The old and new

67 For example, in 1577, of 38 men admitted to the guildry, 16 were craftsmen (three baxters, a miller, three maltmen, a bower, a saddler, a fleshier, a skinner, two tanners, a tailor, a smith, and a wright). Eleven were admitted as merchants or merchants’ sons, one was an advocate, one a clerk, two were local lairds, two were Lord Ruthven’s servants, and five had no occupation listed. GB, 290–96.
68 Only in the troubled years following Gowrie’s execution were the Michaelmas slates replaced in second, December elections, in 1585 and 1587: PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 35r, 38r.
council, sitting together with the deacons of the incorporated crafts, then elected four bailies and a provost. The latter was a powerful local lord, in our period William, fourth Lord Ruthven, heritable sheriff of Perth, who would in 1581 become the first Earl of Gowrie. Ruthven served until his execution for treason in 1584; he was succeeded by John Earl of Montrose, then John Duke of Atholl in 1585 and 1586, the merchant (and elder) James Hepburn in the fall 1587 election, and by the end of that year the second Earl of Gowrie.69 On extremely rare occasions, the provost sat with the kirk session.70 More usually he had nothing directly to do with the session’s business, though the presence in or near town of a powerful aristocratic patron of Calvinist and presbyterian protestantism may have helped to spur the rapid establishment of session government in the burgh. The bailies, on the other hand, were essential to the session’s day-to-day operations. It was they who saw to it that prescribed corporal punishment was carried out. Quite apart from overlapping personnel, the session and the council worked in tandem.

The Reformation in Perth

Protestant ideas came early to the burgh of Perth – understandably, given its important place in the trade networks of the North Sea. Perth’s mercantile community received new continental ideas right along with merchandise for trade. The town’s craftsmen would have gathered news from abroad as they offered their goods for sale. Indeed, it was the crafts community that seems to have been initially most receptive to the Reformers’ principles. Among Scotland’s earliest protestant martyrs were five Perth craftspeople executed by hanging or drowning on Cardinal Beaton’s order in 1544. Two were maltmen, one was a flesher and another a skinner, and the fifth, Helen Stark, was the wife of the skinner and daughter of a skinner burgess. The charges against them included interrupting a friar in the pulpit to dispute his misunderstanding of the Scriptures, eating a goose on All Hallow’s eve (a fast day), and in Stark’s case, declining to call upon the Virgin during childbirth. What is telling about the event of their execution is the report that ‘there was great intercession made by the town to the governour for their lives’ and that they ‘were carried [to the gallows] by a great band of armed men, for they feared rebellion in the town’. Clearly the authorities perceived a dangerous level of popular support for protestantism already in the 1540s.71

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70 The only example in the first session volume is 30 Mar. 1584.
Native anticlericalism had fuelled Reformation fires: Sir David Lyndsay's vigorous critique of monastic corruption, *Ane Satyre of the Thre Estatis*, targeting among others Perth's own Carthusian house, had been performed in Perth's Bow Butts before James V in 1540. It played to a receptive audience: in 1537 two Perth men had been prosecuted for hanging an image of St Francis with a ram's horns and a cow's rump attached to it, presumably reflecting resentment of the Greyfriars for the sort of corruption criticised by Lyndsay. In the year before the martyrs were executed, a mob attacked the Blackfriars' house and paraded their cooking pot through the streets - surely an outcry against mendicant wealth and self-indulgence. At around the same time two burgesses were heavily fined for reading the vernacular Bible and disputing traditional versions of its meaning, and a converted priest (and the town clerk) Sir Henry Elder was banished. Beaton may have thought that his reprisal against the protestant townspeople would stem this tide, but events proved him very wrong: in 1545 the burgh council elected an outspoken protestant, the Master of Ruthven, to serve as provost, rejecting Beaton's own candidate.

the event, and with his own axe to grind, but the account is not beyond credibility, given the council's election of a protestant provost in 1545 (PKCA ms B59/12/2, fo. 4) and given how events played out in the 1550s. Henry Adamson in *The Muses Threnodie* expanded on popular support for the martyrs, recounting how Cardinal Beaton watched the execution from the Spey Tower window, 'Which treacherous fact did so enrage the town,/ No credit more to black, white, nor gray gown/ After these dayes was given' (53).

Lyndsay's *Satyre* was edited for the Scottish Text Society; see Lyndsay, *Works*, ed. Douglas Hamer, 4 vols (STS, 1931–36) iv, 91, ll. 767–68, and iv, 387, ll. 4390–94, for criticism of the friars of Tullilum. John Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1842) i, 3–4; ii, 311-12, reported that Lyndsay, 'being printed, came to the people's hands' and inspired them to criticise the friars' preaching, 'opening up the abuses among the clergy at that time'. The performance in 1540 he said 'made the people sensible of the darkness wherein they lay, of the wickedness of their kirkmen, and did let them see how God's kirk should have been otherwise guided'. Janet Foggie's fine account of the Perth Blackfriars' resort to law to collect debts owed them by burgesses adds to the evidence for popular resentment of the friars' wealth and grasping ways: *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450–1560* (Leiden, 2003). On Dominican incomes in the 1550s, NRS ms GD 79/6/3A. Foggie reports the total income as £272 9s 9d for 1557–59. The average income of a servant in this decade was about 4s per week without bed and board (Hunt, *Hammermen's Book*, pp. xxvii).

Knox, *History* i, 55; Calderwood, *Historie*, i, 175; NRS ms GD79/1/58 (on the cooking pot incident); Milne, 232–4. John Elder paid either £200 or £250 for his pardon, Laurence Pullar £40 in 1543 (Hunt, *Hammermen's Book*, p. xxii). The baxter John Cameron was also declared a heretic in 1539, though the nature of his beliefs is unclear; and the flesher Walter Piper, guilty of disputing on the vernacular Scriptures, fled the town in the wake of the executions in 1544. Henry Elder was not the first Perth cleric to convert to protestantism: lest we grant too much credit to the craftspeople for early adoption of Reformed ideas, it is important to note that in 1535 the Dominican prior John McAlpine, two other Dominicans, and a Carthusian all fled the country after converting: M. Verschuur, 'Perth and the Reformation', 332–33.

PKCA ms B59/12/2, fo. 4r.
Anticlericalism continued to flourish in the 1550s, along with increasingly vocal criticism of popish 'superstitions'. Oliver Tullidelph reported that reforming ideas had permeated the grammar school, where early in 1559 a group of craftsmen's sons, tutored by their fathers in Lyndsay's criticisms, reportedly hissed and threw their stools at a friar who was trying to teach them about miracles performed by saints and their relics, and in the process criticising protestant preachers. The schoolmaster, Andro Simson, reportedly declined to punish the boys after they had persuaded him also to read Lyndsay; instead, he told the town council that if the friars 'would leave off their inveighing against the new preachers, the bairns would be quiet enough'.

In March of that year the vigorously anti-monastic 'Beggars Summons' was posted on friary doors in the burgh, demanding reform or eviction of the regular clergy on 'Flitting Friday', 12 May, the traditional day for tenants to remove at the end of their leaseholds.

Thus when John Knox arrived in Perth to preach on the eleventh of May, tensions were already high. His fiery sermon in St John's Kirk struck a radical chord with his congregation, and when a priest tried to say mass at its conclusion, a riot erupted that shocked even the preacher. The crowd destroyed the altars and images in the kirk, and proceeded into the town to attack the chapels and beyond its walls to launch a devastating two-day assault on the Charterhouse. Wanton destruction of images in other religious houses followed, together with some demolition of the buildings themselves, though Henry Adamson's early seventeenth-century claim that they all 'cast to ground were in one day' was clearly inflated. Many of their buildings were of stone and lead-roofed, and were best left either for re-use as hospitals (as in the chapels of St Ann and St Paul) or for gradual robbing for home repairs and new construction. Archaeological finds of cut and decorated stones in excavated early modern houses are doubtless the result.

75 Book of Perth, ed. J.P. Lawson (Edinburgh, 1847), 101 (reportedly an eyewitness account of the events surrounding Perth's Reformation, handed down in Tullidelph's family); in this account, the dean of guild told the friar henceforth to 'confine himself to facts'. See also Row, Historic i, 3; T.H. Marshall, History of Perth (Perth, 1849), 55.


77 There are numerous contemporary accounts of the sermon's results, the most important being Knox's own, one in the History (i, 161–63), the other in a letter of 23 June to Mrs Locke – The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1846–64) vi, 21–27. See also J. Leslie, The History of Scotland, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh, 1830), 269–72; CSPS i, 212, 213, 215–16, 222–23 (the English ambassador Croft's reports); Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, The Historie and Chronicles of Scotland, ed. A.E.G. Mackay, 3 vols (STS, 1899–1911) iii, 144–47; A Historie of the Estate of Scotland from the Year 1559 to the year 1566, ed. D. Laing (Wodrow Society, 1844), 57. The fact that the Carthusian house was the first to be destroyed may reflect the irksome fact that its brothhood was free of Perth burgh customs (Stavert, Short History, 26).
Still, Adamson's observation of 'our blak friers church and place, white friers, and gray/ Prophan'd' when 'our Knox did sound,/ Pull down their idols, throw them to the ground' gives an impression borne out by contemporaries. There was indeed, as he claimed, 'no credit more to black, white, nor gray gown'. At least fifty monks, friars, chaplains and their servants fled to the regent in Stirling after the attack; others remained to be pensioned off after the official Reformation, or to convert to protestantism and serve the new church.

Some contemporary accounts note the presence of craftsmen in the mob, and it is clear that the town magistrates as well as local protestant lords (including Patrick, third Lord Ruthven and William's father) were in the congregation and made no apparent effort to curb the crowd's zeal. That the burgh was protestant before the nation was seems beyond dispute. Certainly the Lords of the Congregation had no difficulty expelling the regent's troops from the town in June, pronouncing true religion established there.

Perth's elders thus claimed with some reason in the session minutes of 20 November 1587 that theirs was the congregation 'where the truth first began in this kingdom to be published'. Having arguably begun the urban Reformation, Perth's leaders proceeded to cement the burgh's reputation by seeking out a charismatic protestant preacher and pursuing zealously the strict moral discipline prescribed by their Genevan model, finally exceeding even that 'most perfect school of Christ' in the rigour of their enforcement. But what they achieved should not be seen exclusively in terms of social control, a phrase that suggests imposition of a programme on a resistant

78 Adamson, The Muses Threnodie, 53, 55. He continued (56), contradicting his own claim about a single day, 'The Charterhouse like a Citadale did hold/ Some two dayes more, untill these newes were told/ We should be raz'd and sackt, and brought to ground'; Knox, Works, 1, 322–23 (condemning the 'rascal multitude' for the sacking); Book of Perth, 82; D. McRoberts, 'Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', in D. McRoberts (ed.), Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513–1625 (Glasgow, 1962), 419; J. Kirk, 'Iconoclasm and reform', RSCHS, 24 (1992), 366–83; Holdsworth, Excavations, 152. 1559 also saw anticlericalist and iconoclastic riots in Dundee, Stirling, Scone, Linlithgow and Edinburgh. In 1567 the last chaplain of St Catharine's, Jhon Tyrie, conveyed to Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir the buildings of that chapel, and in 1594 there was a baptism there, so clearly it survived the riot: Simpson and Stevenson, Historic Perth, 37.

79 Milne, pp. xxxv, 231–32; BUK i, 5; PKCA mss B59/12/4, fos 16r, 20r, 94v, and B59/28, n.f.

80 Leslie, History, 272. Verschuur, Politics, 92–106, offers a detailed account of the riot and a good discussion of the various sources for it.

81 The Regent's troops entered Perth on 30 May, and the protestant lords then left Perth secretly to re-join the Congregation, then returned and after a short siege liberated the town on 25 June. For the actions of the regent and the Congregation in Perth, see J.E.A. Dawson, The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland (Cambridge, 2002), 89–94; and Dawson (ed.), Campbell Letters 1559–1583 (SHS, 1997), 62–63 (Argyll and Lord James Stewart to Glenorchy, 26 August 1559); Verschuur, Politics, 102–3.
populace. The session repressed sinful behaviour regarded by 'the elders as also by the voice of the common people to be slanderous to the kirk of this Reformed burgh.' This was no idle boast. In fact, the success of their endeavours to curb the ungodly in their midst was predicated on broad community approval and active cooperation.

The Session's Personnel

1. Ministers

Perth's first protestant minister, John Row, had been as zealous a Catholic as he would be a protestant. Educated in the grammar school of Stirling, then St Leonard's College in the University of St Andrews where he matriculated in 1544, he studied canon law as part of his MA degree and then served as an advocate in the consistory court of St Andrews. In 1550 he became an agent for the Scottish clergy at Rome, earned a civil law degree at Padua, and entered the service of Pope Paul IV. In about 1558, the pope sent him back to Scotland as a nuncio to assess alarming reports of protestant success there. He was also charged to look into an alleged miracle at St Alaret's Chapel in Musselburgh. It was in the course of this investigation that he became convinced the protestants had got it right, that the Musselburgh miracle was only one of many outlandish inventions by the Roman clergy designed to enthrall the people to superstition. He joined the Reformed cause and became one of the six ministers appointed by the Lords of the Congregation to write a new confession. He was also one of the authors of the First Book of Discipline and a contributor to the Second Book. Initially installed as a preacher in Edinburgh, on 17 July 1560 he was translated with the consent of that congregation to the charge of St John's kirk in Perth, where we can be sure he introduced the provisions of the First Book. Row was allotted the handsome annual salary of £200 and a chalder of oats, though he seems to have had problems collecting from the local lairds, who were responsible for payment of a large portion of his stipend and teinds: some of his 1574 payment was still in arrears in 1577. He had similar problems with the miserly town council, responsible for his house rent. He boarded in his home several gentlemen's sons, students at the town grammar school, whom he instructed in Hebrew and Greek, and required to speak only French in his home (one of his sons reported that Row's children were introduced to Hebrew at age four or five). A zealous and frequent preacher, he also continued to serve the protestant cause at the national level: he was moderator of the General Assembly in 1567 and 1576–78, and superin-

82 NRS ms CH2/521/2, f. 13v, emphasis mine. Knox's famous praise of Geneva is in Works iv, 240.
83 About a hundred bushels.
tendent of Galloway. He published, in addition to his contributions to the *Books of Discipline*, a treatise no longer extant called *Signes of the Sacraments*. He held, together with Perth, the vicarages of Twynhohn and Terregles in Galloway.  

Row married Margaret Beaton, daughter of John Beaton of Balfour, and proceeded to found a protestant clerical dynasty. Between 1562 and Row's death on 16 October 1580, the couple had twelve children, eight of whom survived to adulthood. Among them were five ministers: James of Kilspindie, William of Forgandenny, John of Carnock, Archibald of Stobo, and Colin of St Quivox. One of the two daughters, Catharine, married an Edinburgh merchant; the other, Mary, married Robert Rynd, minister of Longforgan. Perth's parishioners proved ungenerous to his widow and children, too, as they had to petition the kirk session and the burgh council for overdue payment of their allotted pensions.

The burgh's second protestant minister, Patrick Galloway, was translated from Foulis Easter to succeed Row. Called in November 1580, he finally arrived in Perth the following April and was admitted to the parish ministry at some point after the twenty-fourth. His first few years in his new parish were eventful. His fiancée, Matty Guthrie of Perth, whom he would marry in 1583, was the victim of a vicious and probably quite groundless slander by an embittered object of the elders' moral discipline.

84 J. Row, *Historie i*, 203-12; *Fasti iv*, 229; *Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices 1561-1572*, ed. G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1949), 40; PKCA ms B59/25/4/1 (payment of the arrears of Row's 1573-74 stipend), 1 Aug. 1575; John Row (the preacher's son, minister of Carnock, just twelve years old at his death). Row's will, NRS ms CC 8/8/400-402, reports £46 in goods and money at his death, but £260 4s was owed to him, including £10 housemail by the town council. He had debts of £70 7s 4d, the largest portion owed to his three servants for their own back pay, leaving his heirs of 'free gear' £235 12s 8d. He made his will on 22 September 1580, suggesting a final illness of several weeks at least. Witnesses to the will were Alexander Young, minister of Tibbermuir; the erstwhile elder and later provost, James Hepburn; and James Smyth, reader of Perth. His executors were his eldest children, James and Catherin; his nephew John Row (who was also tutor or guardian of his younger children), John earl of Montrose; William lord Ruthven; John Beton of Balhousie; Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir; and the notary, schoolmaster, elder of Perth and later minister of Kinnoull, William Rynd (see Appendix I).

85 PMAG ms 86/12 (receipts of pension payments from the hospital master by Row's children, 1587-95), and ms 345; Row, *Historie i*, 212; *Fasti iv*, 229; below, 26 Mar. 1582, 11 Feb. 1583 (ordering Oliver Peblis to report to the presbytery the 'evil entertaining of Mr Jhon Row's bairns').

86 *Fasti iv*, 229. For Galloway's and Guthrie's banns, see 21 Apr. 1583. Cautions were John Peblis for him, Oliver Peblis for her, suggesting close association with the Peblis family at a time when Oliver, an elder on the session, was distressed by the notorious adultery committed by his wife, Jean Thornton, with another elder, Henry Adamson. Guthrie's slanderer was Thornton, whose case is described more fully below, 'Sexuality'. See Appendix I for additional information about Peblis and Adamson. Guthrie also lost a debt case in the bailie's court (PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 69v, 29 Jan. 1583), so the slander by Thornton (a merchant's
incident, Galloway also ran into serious political trouble, at about the same time. This stemmed from his close association with the radical presbyterian ministers led by Andrew Melville, and with Lord Ruthven (by 1581 the Earl of Gowrie). A staunch presbyterian and inveterate political foe of the Regent Arran and his episcopalian cohort, Gowrie decided in 1582 to kidnap the sixteen-year-old king, then in Perthshire on a hunting trip, for safe (presbyterian) keeping in Ruthven Castle, with brief sojourns in Gowrie's Perth townhouse, and in Stirling. Joined by the earls of Mar, Glencairn, and Lindsay, the 'Ruthven Raid' succeeded in keeping the king in custody for the better part of a year. James then escaped to Fife and pronounced the Raid an act of treason. Unfortunately for the town, Gowrie was provost of Perth at the time, so the magistrates were understandably quaking in their boots until, after some mild harassment, the young king exonerated the citizenry, thanking them for their (rather illusory) support against their provost. Although he banished the other lords, James exercised remarkable mercy towards Ruthven, who lived to plot again in 1584. This time, with Mar, Angus, and Glamis, he planned a march on Stirling, but was found out and arrested at Dundee. He was taken into custody by Arran's troops, tried in Edinburgh, and duly executed. The unfortunate Mr Galloway was suspected of participation in the Stirling conspiracy, probably on the slim grounds that he had signed a complaint against episcopacy presented to the king at Perth just before the Raid. He fled to England in May 1584, joining James Melville in London, then serving with him in Newcastle. He returned to Perth in November 1585, and by June of 1589 his reputation had been sufficiently rehabilitated that James appointed him a royal chaplain. In 1607 he was translated to St Giles, Edinburgh.

wife) may have had more than one motive. Guthrie was the widow of Alexander Omay, whose inventory she affirmed before the bailies 23 May 1583 (ms B59/12/9, fo. 92v).

Ruthven is now called Huntingtower Castle. Calderwood, Historie iii, 640 cites a declaration attributed to the young king that he had chosen the burgh to be his residence in September of 1582.

Calderwood, Historie iii, 637–40, 644–46, 648–65; iv, 16–17, 21; and for the aftermath, iii, 715–16, 719–20, 722–23, 730–31, 751–52. The General Assembly, in a notably short-sighted move, approved the presbyterians' 'raid' as a 'good and acceptable service to God' (iii, 678). Guthrie and his father had also been among the assassins of David Riccio, and had helped to force Mary Stewart's abdication. PKCA ms B59/26/1/11 (cautioners' roll for justice ayre, showing that each member of the town council had to secure caution in relation to the Raid); Marshall, History of Perth, 73–76.

The story is recounted in many places, including R. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials in Scotland 1488–1624, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1833) ii, 111–13, 116–19; Calderwood Historie iv, 21–36. For archival sources, see NRS ms JC27/23/1 (Justiciary Court of Stirling), including Gowrie's statement that 'it was for religion ye were troubled', NRS ms JC27/23/2; and NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1.

Calderwood, Historie iv, 110–22. Galloway's last appearance with the session was 11 May 1584; he re-appears in the minutes 8 Nov. 1585.
John Howieson of Cambuslang served as minister in Galloway’s place from 23 November 1584 to at least mid-August of 1585. Howieson had his own problems in his home parish, perhaps motivating his move to Perth. In June of 1580 he had brought suit against his parishioners for their failure to pay the teinds and rents of the parsonage. His complaint charged that the people would not ‘answer nor obey him of the same without they be compelled’. The Lords of Council found for the plaintiff and ordered the parishioners to pay up or be warded in Edinburgh Castle. Things in Cambuslang cannot have been very comfortable for the minister, so that a sojourn in Perth must have seemed a welcome respite – were it not for the fact that Perth was then in the midst of a devastating outbreak of the black death. Then again, things were never very comfortable for Howieson, so outspoken was his opposition to episcopacy. He had been brutally attacked by the provost and bailies of Glasgow in the pulpit of the High Kirk for refusing to allow Robert Montgomery of Stirling to preach, Montgomery being in his view ‘an infamous [episcopalian] man, a monster’. Radical presbyterianism got him imprisoned at various points in his life in Perth’s Spey Tower, Falkland Palace, and Edinburgh Castle, and caused parliament in 1587 to revoke his presentation to Cambuslang. Perth’s parishioners may well have given a sigh of relief when Galloway returned in 1585 and sent Howieson home.

Perth had only a single minister until 1595, when William Cowper arrived to assist Galloway’s successor, John Malcolm (installed in 1591). With more than four thousand parishioners even after the devastating plague of 1584–85, the only way Galloway could hope to fulfil his duties was with the active assistance of the twelve lay elders. The session proved equal to the task.

2. The session
Perth’s elders were, like members of the town council, a self-replicating group, despite the order of the First Book of Discipline that elders and minister be elected by the people. The session’s elections were, like the council’s, held during Michaelmas season and were quite closed: the minutes state

91 NRS ms CS 7/81 (Court of Session 1580), fo. 204.
92 Fasti iii, 234–36, 253; iv, 229; Calderwood, Historie iv, 146–48.
93 Malcolm, at whose house the 1606 Protestation against episcopacy would be signed by forty-two ministers, including himself and Cowper, arrived in 1591 and remained in the parish until his death in 1634; Cowper would depart in 1612 to become, ironically, Bishop of Galloway. Fasti iv, 230, 233; Chronicle, fo. 5; M. Todd, ‘Bishops in the Kirk: William Cowper of Galloway and the puritan episcopacy of Scotland’, Scottish Journal of Theology, 57 (2004), 300–312.
clearly, 'the assembly has chosen' the new elders. The elders then directed the minister to announce the names of those elected the following Sunday from the pulpit so that the new men might 'lawfully receive their offices and be warned to the faithful execution of the same'. That said, this public announcement then provided an opportunity for the congregation to object 'if any of them had [something] to oppose against the same', and it is clear from events in other parishes that lay people did occasionally exercise their veto power, particularly after 1581 when they could appeal to presbyteries. Given that John Row was one of the authors of the *First Book of Discipline*, it is likely that the congregational vetting of new elders would have had some meaning in Perth; nevertheless, the session minutes regularly record that 'nothing was objected or opposed', and the new elders duly took their oath of office and were installed. Either congregational veto power was as much a fiction as the people's election, or sessions managed generally to choose well-regarded successors.

Despite the oligarchic bent of the system, however, the Perth session was not the tiny, closed elite that we associate with early modern urban government. Indeed, a remarkable number of men, from an impressively broad swathe of urban society, served on the parochial court. In the fourteen-year period of the text transcribed here, eighty-one different men served as elders. In some years there was an almost complete turnover of the session at the fall election. Of the total, about equal numbers were merchants and craftsmen (thirty-eight and thirty-four, respectively), an additional five were notaries (one also a schoolmaster), one was a local landed gentleman, and three are of unknown occupation. The turnover, the number of men serving, and the equality of craftsmen and merchants, may be unique in Scottish urban sessions; however, further research in other parish records will obviously be required to determine this. By the end of the century,
the session’s size would grow to about seventeen, with the number varying a bit from one election to the next. After 1592 there were generally two ‘landwart’ elders to represent rural areas around the town, one designated north or west, the other south; and as the town’s suburbs expanded, elders were added for them as well.\textsuperscript{100}

Twelve deacons were elected at the same time as the twelve elders, from the same four sections of the town; however, the deacons did not sit in session meetings and are not central to understanding the operation of parochial discipline or administration except in their particular area of responsibility, the collection and distribution of alms. Beyond this, and their defined ceremonial roles in communion celebrations, they get scant mention in the session minutes. A significant number can be identified as craftsmen, but (unlike the elders) the majority cannot be identified with any certainty at all from surviving records, suggesting that their social status was notably lower than that of the elders, corresponding to the lesser importance of their office in the kirk. A few went on to serve later as elders, but this was an exception to the rule; for the most part, deacons remained in their ecclesiastical status just as in their social estate.\textsuperscript{101}

3. Other officers

At its annual selection of successor elders and deacons, the session also named two masters of hospital.\textsuperscript{102} Only rarely did these men also serve as elders or deacons. Initially they were salaried; however, in the 1585 plague year when not a penny could be spared, the office became permanently non-stipendiary.\textsuperscript{103} Hospital masters were responsible for collecting annual rents due to the hospital and for administering the institution; they worked closely with the deacons who collected alms in the kirk, with the elders who

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100 NRS ms CH2/521/2, fos 66v (elders added for Muirtown and Friartown), 85v (the additional two elders now described for ‘west landwart’ and ‘south landwart’), 107v, 133v (for ‘south landwart’ and ‘northlandwart’), 160r (back to south and west landwart). By 1598, the session was comprised of seventeen town elders and two landwart elders. The town population had by then expanded significantly into two suburbs, one outwith the Castlegavel port, and the other above the Turret Brig port: CH2/521/3, pp. 48–49.

101 These were Thomas Gibson, William Inglis, Robert Lethome, Alexander Pullor, Andro Arnot, Robert Cok, Walter Gray, and James Merser.

102 See Appendix II.

103 18 Oct. 1585.
distributed those alms as ‘outdoor relief’ to the poor outwith the hospital, and with the bailies and council.\textsuperscript{104}

Election tallies generally report also the choice of a kirk ‘officer’, who provided such services as summoning people to appear before the session, opening the church for weddings, whipping dogs out of the kirk during service time, securing materials to build and repair burial ground walls, and preventing children from breaking windows.\textsuperscript{105} From 1577 this was Alexander Jhonston, whose stipend of 40s is specified 6 October 1578.\textsuperscript{106} He would be succeeded by James Sym, then Jhon Ronaldson, both of whom also served as deacons (Sym for many years, 1577–80, and 1585–89), William Ross in 1582, and Jhon Jak (admonished for negligence in 1585, but retained in service). When the deacon Sym also served as kirk officer, he had among his duties the annual reporting of his accounts for poor relief and the keeping of a book (now lost) in which to keep records of relief. Sym’s stipend rose to 33s 4d for Whitsun term, presumably because he also served in the song school and had to ‘sit with the choristers and to his duty’ in church. Ronaldson received only 13s 4d as his base stipend, but kirk officers collected additional fees for extra duties: Ronaldson got for each Sunday marriage ‘a day’s meat’ (whether in the form of groceries or a dinner invitation is not clear), and Jhon Jak got sixpence for each marriage contract.\textsuperscript{107} Jak was still serving as kirk officer in 1590, despite his stipend being by then years overdue.\textsuperscript{108}

Other officers were appointed for indeterminate periods rather than elected annually. A bell ringer doubled as sexton; in this period Nicol Ranaldson (referred to in the session books as ‘Nicol Bellman’) filled the post until he was incapacitated by age. The importance of the bellman, who rang the waking and curfew bells for the town as well as the bells calling the congregation to attend services, is clear from the minutes of 18 February 1583. In addition to bell-ringing, he was charged to ‘keep the kirk from bairns, dogs and tumults’ and to ensure that it was properly lighted

\textsuperscript{104} For more on the hospital masters, see below, ‘Poor Relief and Education’.


\textsuperscript{106} When he fell ill on 21 July 1578, Richard Ruthven substituted for him and was paid 5s for his trouble.

\textsuperscript{107} A merchant’s son named James Sym was admitted to the guildry in 1570: GB, 265. He may have been related to John Sym, a former Carthusian, whom Verschuur confuses with the post-Reformation deacon and officer (Politics, 143, n. 57). For his duties as deacon and officer, see 5 Dec. 1580, 13 and 14 Mar. 1581. Ronaldson served again in 1583: 1 Apr. 1583; for the officer’s additional fees, see 18 Nov. 1583, 8 Mar. 1585. Ross was still officer in 1586 (see 7 Mar.).

\textsuperscript{108} 9 Nov. 1590.
for services. The bellman was also responsible for 'daily tempering of the clock' in the kirk. From 1585 the session appointed another man to shave the heads of fornicators as part of their punishment: James Petandy did this job in the 1580s for 12d per head and an annual stipend of 40s.

More important were the readers and the clerks of session — often but not always the same person. The reader in the 1570s was Jhon Swenton, who in addition to reading the Scriptures for an hour before each Sunday service acted also as cantor to line the psalms, as session clerk (until 1578), and as master of the song school (although he was temporarily dismissed in 1582 for poor service). For reading and secretarial services the stipend was ten merks; Swenton also periodically received a set of new clothes. In February of 1582 he was succeeded as reader by William Cok, who would be elected deacon two years later. He had already been replaced as clerk by Walter Cully (1578—79), then James Smyth (1580—81), and in 1581 William Cok again. The reader from at least 1589 was William Balnavis, whose stipend was apparently paid only very irregularly, as can be witnessed by the session’s order to the hospital masters to pay him when his 'evil payment' had led to his 'necessitie'. On the other hand, his stipend was a substantial forty merks in 1589, and forty pounds in 1590. By that year the keeper of the parish register, and presumably of the session book as well, was Jhon Cok.

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109 See 12 Nov. 1582 (ringing for burials), 18 Feb. 1583 (the elders threatening to sack him for not doing his job), and 16 Dec. 1583 (carrying out the threat, and warding him as well): the session recognised his advanced age, but noted that he had failed to have his son do the duty either. NLS ms Adv 31.1.5, p. 204 suggests with no particular evidential basis that Nicol was related to the 1544 martyr James Ranaldson. On bells as time-markers, M. Todd, 'What's in a name? Language, image and urban identity in early modern Perth' in W. Janse and B. Pitkin (eds), Dutch Review of Church History 85: The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe (Leiden, 2005), 379–96. On dog-whipping, Craig, 'Psalms'.


111 26 July 1585.

112 2 July 1582. A given psalm could be sung to a number of tunes of the same metre, so the cantor or precentor sang the first line to give the congregation the pitch and tune. In some Reformed traditions, the cantor sang each line of the psalm, followed by the congregation, though there is no clear evidence that this was the practice in sixteenth-century Scotland. The entry for 27 Mar. 1581 suggests a problem with how Swenton was lining the psalms: he was instructed to do it 'as he was wont', suggesting that he had been innovating. Again on 24 July 1583 the session reprimanded him for failing to 'keep only the tenor' of the psalm; that is, they followed Genevan practice in forbidding him to harmonise psalms in church, though there were Scots harmonised versions available: see J.R. Baxter, 'Thomas Wode, Christopher Goodman and the curious death of Scottish music', Scotsland, 4 (1997), 1–20. 12 Jan. 1579 is the first entry mentioning Swenton by name as song-school master, defining his duties as lining the psalms and teaching music to the young, and insuring his income from the annuals of the old confraternity altar; cf. 9 Nov. 1579. He is probably the fornicator of May 1577, and certainly is the fornicator of 11 Apr. 1586. His misbehaviour may explain why he lost the positions of reader and clerk for a time.

113 7 Oct. 1577, 13 Oct. 1578; new clothes were ordered 13 May 1588.
The session clerk took minutes at the elders' meetings, wrote out depositions and testimonials (for example, of repentance completed, or of the manners and morals of parishioners moving to other congregations), corresponded with other sessions and the presbytery, and kept the minute books. He was also responsible for the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials ordered at the Reformation. He received a ten-merk stipend and additional fees for particular tasks - twelve pence for each testimonial, for instance. Regular payment of the stipend could be as problematic for him as for the minister, however: Swenton served for at least a year without pay, and the guildry book records a payment to James Smyth on 6 September 1582 for his 1581 stipend, nearly a year late. Cok's stipend was so far in arrears at Lammas 1583 that in the following year he took legal action against the hospital master, who was at that time responsible to the session for his remuneration. The outcome seems not to have satisfied him, for in 1586 the session in turn had to pursue him legally - even deposing him from office and ordering him imprisoned - for refusing to turn in the minute book and baptismal register. These documents may well have been serving as hostages for back pay.

Procedures

The elders met in general about weekly to address disciplinary and administrative problems. In the 1570s there were quite frequent additional, ad hoc meetings, so that in October of 1578, for instance, there were eight meetings. In the calendar year 1579, a representative year for the period of this transcription, there were fifty-nine meetings. By 1597 there would be two discipline days weekly (Monday and Thursday), with a third meeting added on Tuesdays in 1598 for hospital business. From 1601 elders were required to attend Friday morning prayers before visiting families in their quarters, although this order had to be repeated in 1605, when the Tuesday meeting was devoted to poor relief, and hospital business moved to Thursday. The

115 25 Dec. 1581 - 8 Jan. 1582, 3 Jan. 1583, 17 Aug. 1584. The guildry payment to Smyth was 'by agreement of bailies [and] council in consultation for his stipend': GB, 315; cf. 309-10, 324.
116 14 Mar. and 11 Apr. 1586. On the latter date he was deposed as reader and reported to the presbytery. James Sym, the earlier session clerk, had been ordered on 26 Feb. 1582 to get a new book for births and deaths and deliver it to Mr Cok. This volume is unfortunately no longer extant, as the burial registers stop abruptly in 1581, the baptismal list in 1582 (NRS-NRH ms OPR. 387/1); perhaps Cok never did turn this book over to the session.
117 1578 records only one meeting (5 Jan.) before 31 March, but this may be a problem with record survival, since there were 46 meetings from then through the end of December. Perhaps the first part of the year was noted in a separate book.
session would add a regular Friday meeting in 1621, and in fact disciplinary matters were handled on most of the meeting dates. The elders were also expected to attend presbytery meetings on Wednesdays. In short, eldership was an onerous burden on men with businesses to run. Fines levied by nearly every session in Scotland for absence from meetings and lapses in punctuality suggest that some elders bore it grudgingly. Only rarely, however, did anyone try to decline the office, which clearly carried considerable power and status along with obligation.

The most frequent issue handled by the session and recorded in the minutes was the approval of marriage banns. The procedure from June of 1578 was for a couple to seek the session’s approval at least forty days before their proposed marriage to have their banns publicly declared on three successive Sundays. The elders clearly presumed that couples would be sorely tempted to jump the gun in the interim, so to ensure their circumspect behaviour and the timely solemnisation of the marriage, they required each partner to secure a ‘caution’ (or ‘kation’) – a surety or responsible party who would have to pay a hefty fee in case the couple engaged in antenuptial fornication or failed to follow through on their contract by the stated date. Cautioners were generally men of substance, though there are four examples in this volume of women serving in this capacity. They were often kin or masters – people with an acknowledged obligation to watch

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118 NRS mss CH2/521/3, pp. 2, 25, 177; CH2/521/4, p. 170; CH2/521/7, p. 276. Elgin’s session also met three or four times weekly from at least 1600: CH2/471/1, fo. 7.

119 The first recorded punctuality act in Perth, in 1578, required absentees ‘without a reasonable excuse’ to pay a shilling, and latecomers to pay 6d. The minister had to pay a double penalty for tardiness (true of guild deacons as well). Allowance was made for being out of town on business, but in 1582 the session (the nine members present, anyway) launched a serious punctuality campaign by voting unanimously to raise the fine to two shillings for absentees, 12d for being ‘behind the hour’. This decision was reversed in 1584, but penalties for absenteeism and lateness continued at the earlier rate: 13 Oct. 1578, 14 Nov. 1580, 27 Mar. 1581, 13 Aug. 1582, 13 Jan. 1584. Nor were the acts empty threats: the session did enforce them, to the considerable benefit of its coffers (20 Aug., 3 Sept., 12 Nov. 1582, 12 July 1585, among other examples in the volumes here transcribed).

120 CP, 10, 371.

121 Even the minister had to secure caution to have his banns proclaimed: 21 Apr. 1583. The General Assembly had ordered that every ‘promise of marriage per verba de futuro’ required a ‘caution for abstinence until the marriage be solemnized’, and that the ‘parties to be married should come before the assembly [session] and give in their names, that their banns may be proclaimed, and no further ceremonies used’: BUK i, 195–96 (1571), 343 (1575). For the law of caution and relief, see D.M. Walker, A Legal History of Scotland vol. III: the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1995), 716–17; A. Clark and S. Eden, ‘Caution’ in The Laws of Scotland: Stair Memorial Encyclopaedia, 25 vols (Edinburgh, 1987–94) iii, 417–522; W.M. Gloag and R.C. Henderson, Introduction to the Law of Scotland (7th edn, Edinburgh, 1968), ch. 19; Encyclopedia of the Laws of Scotland, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1927) iii, 118–20.

122 See 20 Sept. 1577 (Katheren Brown), 7 July 1578 (Patrick Bishop’s wife), 15 Sept. 1578 (Lady Ballarbie), and 25 Sept. 1579 (Isobel Piper).
out for their charges — but sometimes there is no apparent relationship between the young person and the cautioner. Given the risk of heavy fine for inadequate supervision, one wonders why people would be willing to perform the service, especially for known fornicators; status value seems the likeliest explanation. Readers of session minutes may initially regard the great number of marriage cautions listed as rather a waste of space, but these names provide a window on social networks in the burgh. And there are other, larger implications of caution listings. Cautions were (and remain) a staple of Scots law; here we have an example of the elders adopting an already familiar mechanism to enforce the new protestant discipline. The incidental benefit to the kirk’s poor box when a couple breached their contract or a woman was found to be pregnant too soon after a wedding was also considerable: the session did in fact enforce collections of the ‘punds’ or penalties from cautioners, and the poor benefited.

The session adopted and adapted contemporary bureaucratic as well as legal conventions to facilitate efficient administration of discipline, both preventive (as in the case of marriage banns) and punitive. One of these was simply the keeping of minutes — written records of acts and obligations by which people could be held to their promises. In the Perth minute book, the clerks’ development of quite specific forms of marginalia for quick reference is noteworthy. To help himself keep track of compliance with the deadlines for solemnisation of marriages, next to an entry for banns in the register the clerk jotted a number each time the banns were proclaimed, and when ‘3’ was reached made sure that there was a date recorded for the wedding, and for whatever fee might be due. A glance at the margins would draw the attention quickly to couples who might be reneging on their contracts, so that the cautioner could be summoned before the session. The system worked to track punishments as well: when six sabbaths of public repentance (see below) were required before a penitent could be absolved and received back into the congregation, we find the numbers of penitential performances jotted in the margins next to the entry in which the offender was sentenced, together with a code to explain the sentence (‘c2’ for ‘culpa 2’, a second offence for a sin that required multiple Sundays of penitence for each sin) and a code for the outcome (‘R’ for ‘received’, or perhaps a date for absolution, and an amount for a penalty paid). The numbers appear in different shades of ink: one can imagine the clerk taking the session book with him to church and keeping his accounts of penitence and banns as they happened. If a sinner failed to complete the required penalty, a glance at the margins would alert the clerk to have the officer summon the offender again. Perth’s session clerks deserve a place in the history of early modern bureaucracy, and those who would understand the pervasiveness and efficiency of Reformed discipline would do well to attend to bureaucratic convention, not just theology and preaching.
Another mechanism for administering the new discipline was systematic visitation of the quarters of the town by assigned elders to ensure the doctrinal orthodoxy and good behaviour of families. This was done in particular before communions, when each elder was assigned to visit and examine his designated families, instruct and admonish them, and take down a list of those qualified to be admitted to communion.\(^\text{123}\) The session distributed communion tickets or tokens to members of approved families, generally just before the Saturday ‘preparation’ sermon which preceded the Sunday communion; designated elders or deacons then collected these material signs of orthodoxy and upright behaviour at the kirk door on communion Sunday. The elders also visited their allotted neighbourhoods regularly, assisted by bailies, to ‘inquire of the names of the poor within their quarters’ so that the deserving local poor might be separated from outsiders and be listed to receive alms.\(^\text{124}\)

‘Searchers’ constituted another procedural mechanism that the elders found useful to catch out sinners by making surprise visits to their homes or to local taverns. Other sinners were reported by their neighbours, and even if no one had witnessed a suspicious action, the ‘bruit’ or rumour of misbehaviour was enough to initiate a case.\(^\text{125}\) Finally, improbable as it may seem to modern observers, some people apparently came voluntarily to confess their sins to the elders.\(^\text{126}\)

Most people to be charged with offences were summoned by the kirk officer at the session’s behest to ‘compear’ (appear) before the elders. If they failed to do so, they would receive two more warnings or summons and then could be fined for contumacy. Repeated contumacy could result in warding (gaoling), with the town magistrates responsible for seizing the recalcitrant. The ultimate ecclesiastical sanction was excommunication, at least in theory: this penalty was in fact rarely used. By 1581, the elders were sufficiently annoyed by failure to appear that they adopted an ‘Act of disobedient persons’ mandating immediate warding for anyone ‘being warned and not compearing’, though payment of a heavy fine would release the offender upon promise to come to the next meeting.\(^\text{127}\)

A person charged and guilty was best advised to confess the offence; lying about it at first and admitting it later often produced a greater penalty. One who insisted on innocence was constrained to prove it, though evidentiary rules differed from those of modern courts. In the very first case in

\(^{123}\) E.g., 14 June 1580; 18 Mar. 1586.
\(^{124}\) E.g., 13 Oct. 1588. In Perth, deacons were generally assigned to collect the tokens: e.g., 5 Mar. 1582.
\(^{125}\) E.g., 21 Oct. 1588.
\(^{126}\) For a discussion of this phenomenon, see CP, 170–71.
\(^{127}\) 17 Jul. 1581.
this volume, the elders told a man who denied fathering an illegitimate child that he must swear an oath to that effect. Such oaths were generally held as proof — testimony to the seriousness with which sixteenth-century people took swearing. Jhon Swenton, the man charged in this case, was given a week to consider whether he would swear, and as the elders probably expected, at his next appearance he declined to give his oath. This they construed as tantamount to an admission of guilt, and indeed he confessed his sin at the next appearance.\footnote{128} A woman’s oath bore as much weight as a man’s in these records: it was the oath of Swenton’s partner that convinced the elders to investigate his paternity in the first place. A few months later, her charge that he had ‘made a faithful promise of marriage to her before the begetting of the last bairn’ was also referred ‘simply to her oath’, and her word was accepted.\footnote{129} There were hierarchies of oaths, left over from medieval practice. Taking one’s ‘great oath’ or swearing ‘the holy evangel touched’ (with hand on the Bible, as Swenton did in response to his partner’s second oath) was most convincing.\footnote{130} An oath taken in circumstances where lying was thought impossible was likewise beyond doubt, as in the case of a woman in labour identifying her child’s father, or when the oath was taken in the physical presence (‘in the face’) of the contesting party — \textit{prima facie} evidence of truth-telling.

When the elders were unconvinced by pleas or testimony they had heard, they often summoned witnesses to depone the truth of a matter. Again it is noteworthy that the testimony of women was taken as lawful and reliable, a stance which the elders quite self-consciously debated in a 1582 case of notorious adultery: they ‘conclude[d] with one voice that famous women ought to bear witness in any matter that comes before them and their testimony received so far as the law permits’.\footnote{131} When all the evidence was in place, the session decided on an action. In most cases, decisions seems to have been consensual, so that the ‘haill elders’ could act as one; sometimes, however, a division was recorded, either with the statement that ‘the most part’ of the elders ruled, or with a list of dissenting voters: on 12 July 1585, for example, Dioneis (Dionysius) Conqueror and William Hall voted against their colleagues not to excommunicate a pair of sexual offenders —

\footnote{128} 27 May and 20 June 1577. This is the same Jhon Swenton as the master of the song school, who would confess fornication again, this time with Maige Quhyt, 11 Apr. 1586, and still keep his position.

\footnote{129} 14 Oct. 1577.

\footnote{130} Though having thus sworn, Swenton still agreed to support his child (14 Oct.) — the most convincing evidence of guilt.

perhaps because one of them was a brother of Hall’s guild, the baxters. And on 11 September 1581, only ‘the greatest part of the assembly’ ordered an elder’s wife, Jean Thornton, to be summoned to answer for adultery with another elder, Henry Adamson. One can easily guess who was among the dissenting voters.

In particularly troubling and uncertain matters, the elders provided detective services, in 1584 investigating a rape charge, for instance. The following year, when a woman suspected of fornication claimed to have spent the night in Kintolloch with a female friend, the minister asked one of the burgesses travelling through the village on his way to Loch Levin to ask the friend whether the Perth woman was really there; the burgess reporting that there was no such woman in Kintolloch, the session had its doubts resolved.\(^{132}\)

The session’s arm was long. Even in more mundane cases, communication between parishes allowed the elders to investigate suspicious circumstances: couples who claimed that their marriage banns had been proclaimed in another parish, for instance, had to produce a testimonial to that effect from the clerk or reader of that kirk. This document was then scrutinised by the session, always aware of the black market that had grown up in forged testimonials.\(^{133}\)

**Penalties**

There were several levels of punishment for sinners, depending on the seriousness and notoriety of the sin and the degree of penitence exhibited by the sinner. *The First Book of Discipline* ruled that public sins had to be punished publicly, but for lesser offences and a sorrowful offender a private admonition by the session sufficed.\(^{134}\) This was often accompanied by a fine, always designated for the use of the poor—never, as in English archidiaconal or consistory courts, for the court personnel: Scots elders served without remuneration. The amount of the ‘pund’ or fine varied according to the seriousness of the offence and whether recidivism had occurred. Antenuptial fornication, for instance, had a standard penalty of 40s from at least 1577, the fine doubling each time the offence was repeated.\(^{135}\) In very rare cases, punishment by public humiliation or imprisonment could be commuted to

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\(^{132}\) 24 Aug. 1584, 5 Jan. 1585.

\(^{133}\) See 31 July and 8 Aug. 1587. Examples of forged testimonials in other parishes include NRS mss CH2/716/1 (South Leith), fo. 9v, and CH2/141/1 (Trinity College, Edinburgh), fo. 27v; Ayrshire Archives Centre, Ayr, ms CH2/751/1, fo. 136r.

\(^{134}\) *First Book*, 167–68.

\(^{135}\) 20 June 1577. The couple could opt for a Sunday on the seat of repentance instead of paying a fine.
a monetary penalty. Quarrelling could result in a fine; however, parishioners at odds with each other could instead be privately reconciled at a closed session meeting – as long as their quarrelling had not been public.

For more notorious sins and/or less penitent sinners, public humiliation in addition to a fine was in order. This was most often assignment to a specified number of appearances (on Sundays and other preaching days) on the seat of repentance, an elevated stool or bench to which the offender processed at the beginning of the service, and on which he stood to confess his sin following the sermon. Particularly egregious offenders were ordered to wear sackcloth and appear barefoot and bareheaded; sometimes they had to process through the streets to the kirk wearing a paper hat on which their offence was written. In extreme cases of sexual offence, the sinner’s head could be shaved for maximal humiliation; it should be noted, however, that this happened in Perth only during the plague year, when the elders sought desperately to allay divine wrath by exercising the sternest possible discipline of sinners.

There were less onerous forms of public repentance. People found guilty of slandering or notoriously quarrelling with their neighbours, for instance, could stand in their own pew or place in the church after the sermon and ask the forgiveness of the person they had offended; quarrellers were then assigned to take each other by the hand in token of their reconciliation. Often the elders ordered the ritual of reconciliation to be set in the place where the quarrel had occurred so that the neighbours scandalised by their behaviour could see it repented and corrected.

On the other hand, there were also more onerous penalties, entailing corporal punishment. Here the cooperation of the magistrates was required, since ecclesiastical courts after as before the Reformation were supposed not to have power over life or limb. Only the bailies could legally carry out corporal punishment. In practice, partly because of the personnel overlap between the magistracy and the session, the clerk frequently records that the session assigned recalcitrant offenders to ward (gaol), crosshead (two hours pilloried in irons at the market cross), dunking, carting (being paraded on a dung cart through the town), banishment, and even execution, confident

136 8 Mar. 1586. An interesting later example is the scheme of several well-heeled young women guilty of sabbath breach, who declared themselves ‘ashamed to compear but are content to pay 12s each person and promise not to do the like hereafter’ (NRS ms CH2/521/7, pp. 330–36). But this was in 1622, the year after the town’s bridge had been washed away by a flood, and the burgh coffers were in dire need of cash.

137 CP, 127–82; 5 and 26 July 1585 record shaving the heads of fornicators. The penitents’ seat, a permanent and prominent piece of church furniture, seems to have been unique to the Scottish Reformed church, though there is a tantalising reference to a ‘reserved seat’ for a penitent in Graeme Murdock, Calvinism on the Frontier, 209.

that the bailies would comply. 139 Warding was either in the kirk tower (for sexual offenders), in an upper chamber of the tolbooth, or in the Spey tower. That it was a dreadful experience is clear from complaints about the condition of the gaols, infested with vermin. 140 That there were ways of making the ward a little less awful is suggested in the 20 November 1582 entry about sexual offenders going to the kirk tower's window - to talk with their friends below, perhaps, or just to get a breath of fresh air. Only about twelve feet square, the 'ward of the fornicators' in St John's kirk would have made cramped quarters, especially if divided into sections for men and women. People also stored timber in the tower, as we know from the session's periodic efforts to make them remove it; some, however, would remain in the tower for erecting the town scaffold - a feature of the tower experience that may have gone a long way to inspire penitence in the sinners imprisoned there. 141 The size of the Spey tower and tolbooth prisons is unknown, but conditions there were doubtless wretched as well, as suggested by desperate attempts to escape: in one instance, a man burned the wooden door of the tolbooth gaol to escape, only to have a neighbour raise the hue and cry. 142 These conditions are worth remembering when reading of the elders' frequent consignment of sinners to ward. A sentence to the crosshead was added to warding for the most audacious sinners, like Barbara Brown, who foolishly boasted of her acts of fornication while sitting on the stool of repentance in the church on a Sunday. 143

The most serious spiritual penalty was excommunication. What is striking from these minutes is how seldom it was threatened, let alone imposed. The elders ordered excommunication in only six cases during the fourteen-year period of this volume. 144 They threatened to excommunicate recalcitrant

139 There are few instances of non-compliant bailies: e.g., NRS ms CH2/521/6, fo. 58v., and in this volume, 29 Jan. 1582 (the bailies 'altogether slothful and negligent') and 30 Aug. 1585 (bailies threatened with excommunication for their negligence).
140 CH2/521/8/1, fo. 99v.
141 CH2/521/1, 29 Jan. 1583; Book of Perth, 59.
142 PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 74 (9 Feb. 1583). The prisoner, a debtor named Peter Camsay, let the fire die down and then 'thrusted himself forth thereout of', but 'perceiving [Jonet Lutfute, a jeweller's wife] spying him eschewing himself forth of ward, most cruelly and unnaturally struck her with his whinger on divers parts of her heel to the effusion of her blood in great abundance, and . . . cast her down the said tolbooth stair [suggesting that the ward was in an upper chamber] through the which her haill bones of her body are broken, upon which she and her husband sued Camsay for damages. The council in 1604 admitted the 'insufficiency of the ward' as a cause of 'skaith and danger': PKCA ms B59/16/1, fo. 90r. NRS ms CH2/521/3, p. 55, notes another escape (1598).
143 26 July 1585.
144 Elspeth Carvor (adultery, 31 Mar., 14 Apr., and 27 May 1578; 29 Jan. [the excommunication date] and 20 July 1579; cf. 18 June 1585, when her husband questioned if her last child were his); Margaret Ruthven (adultery, 14 Apr., 18, 21, and 28 Aug., 9 and 19 Oct. 1578; 11 [the excommunication date] and 18 May 1579, 5 Sept. 1580; cf. 8 Aug. 1587 – a
offenders in an additional twenty-two cases. Their apparent reluctance to impose the sanction was perhaps rooted in part in the pre-Reformation church’s reputation for abusing it for self-interest and material profit—a complaint versified in 1540 by the Catholic reformer Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount in his oft-cited *Ane Satyre of the Thre Estatis*, where an impoverished parishioner vigorously denounces his parson:

The devil stick him, he curst me for my teind [tithe payments]  
And halds me yit under that same proces [excommunication]  
That gart me want the Sacrament at Pasche. [that made me lose my Easter communion]

Lyndsay was probably not exaggerating very much: pre-Reformation ecclesiastical documents amply attest to Catholic abuse of the penalty. As a result, a General Provincial Council of 1552 had complained that excommunication ‘has in many places become almost of no account’. The earliest Scottish protestants adopted Lyndsay’s refrain, and their heirs must have seen the precedent as one to be avoided at all costs.

More importantly, the elders seem to have taken seriously the instructions in the *First Book of Discipline*, whose authors regarded excommunication as a last resort for only the most recalcitrant and impenitent offenders. They required the elders first to reason with sinners, persuade them of their errors,
and ‘travail’ to elicit repentance and confession. The kirk must be diligent in this so that ‘it excommunicate not those whom God absolves’. Even ‘if the offender called before the ministry be found stubborn, hard-hearted, or in whom no sign of repentance appears, then must he be not excommunicated, but ‘demitted with an exhortation to consider the dangerous estate in which he stands’ and warned to repent.148 If this private admonition failed, ‘then must the [whole] kirk be advertised’ by an announcement from the pulpit, the congregation ‘earnestly to call to God to move and touch the heart of the offender’. If the sinner still remained impenitent, ‘request should be made to the most discrete and nearest friend of the offender to travail with him to bring him to knowledge of himself and of his dangerous estate, with a commandment given to all men to call to God for the conversion of the unpenitent’. The General Assembly even requested in 1569 that John Knox provide a special ‘Prayer for the Obstinate’ for the Sunday after a final (third) public admonition. Three public admonitions were mandated before excommunication could be pronounced. It was only at this point, absent signs of repentance, that the offender could ‘by the mouth of the minister and consent of the ministry [session] and commandment of the kirk ... be pronounced excommunicate from God and from all society of the kirk’.149

In practice, the process generally took even longer than the First Book required. Lengthy ‘travailing with’ offenders indicates that the elders were in no hurry to execute the sanction. In Perth, Elspeth Carvor’s adultery conviction came nine months before her excommunication in January 1579. (Life for an excommunicate within the walls of the burgh proved intolerable for Carvor, who fled the town only to discover that life as a fugitive was even worse. She returned in July 1579, repented publicly and was restored to the congregation in an elaborate penitential ceremony.) Margaret Ruthven’s excommunication took even longer: it came thirteen months after her April 1578 adultery conviction. For the first six months, she seemed immune to the elders’ efforts to excite her penitence. Then in October, they seem to have made a breakthrough, for she then admitted her sin and claimed penitence. The elders (inveterate sticklers) were suspicious, however, since at the same time she requested baptism for her illegitimate child: the children of excommunicates were denied the sacraments, and this clearly troubled her.150 Doubting true penitence, the elders continued to ‘travail

149 First Book, p. 169; Knox, Works vi, 390, 447–70 (the 1569 ‘Ordoure of excommunicatioun and of public repentance’), 460, 462f.; BUK i, 37.
150 First Book, 170: ‘If any man should think it severe that the child should be punished for the iniquity of the father, let him understand that the sacraments appertain to the faithful and their seed, but such as stubbornly contemne all godly admonition and obstinately remain in their iniquity cannot be accounted amongst the faithful.’ cf John Calvin, Institutes of
with her, only giving it up and pronouncing excommunication in May of 1579. That did the trick: just a week later, she appeared before the session ‘declaring that she is penitent as well of her adultery as of her obstinancy, for which she has submitted herself with reverence and humility’. After a lengthy sentence of public repentance, she was restored to communion in September 1580.\textsuperscript{151} Repeated threats of excommunication and a year and three months of travailing with the adulterer John Scott convinced the elders that he was penitent for his April 1578 sin; unfortunately, Scott made a poor impression on the stool in July of 1579, so the order, ‘speik John Scott’ continues to recur in the minutes as elders made heroic efforts to bring him to contrition so that he would ‘keep better order in time coming touching his repentance’. The last recorded of these visitations was in February 1581, nearly three years after the sin.\textsuperscript{152} In most cases where excommunication was pronounced, not only was the offender demonstrably – even audaciously – impenitent, the offence was also particularly egregious; even so, ‘long travailing’ ensued.\textsuperscript{153}

The language of the excommunications read out by ministers in the kirk demonstrate both adherence to the principle of the \textit{First Book} and the rather bureaucratic bent of sessions – always careful to keep account of their actions. When the minister on 11 April 1585 pronounced Margaret Watson’s excommunication from the pulpit, he did so ‘with the grief, sorrow, and dolour of my heart’, even though Watson’s double adultery was aggravated by having produced two children, ‘which bairns received never the sacrament of baptism, and one of them she suffered to perish and starve for hunger in the lodges infected with the pest’ during the great plague outbreak of 1584–85, when victims were made to live in shacks outside the town walls.\textsuperscript{154} But it was ‘her stubborn disobedience to the voice of the Christian Religion 4.16.6. The General Assembly in 1570 did order that the children of excommunicates could ‘be received by a faithful member of the kirk [a godparent] to baptism’: BUK i, 170. Margaret Ruthven’s confession in exchange for baptism of the child is 10 Oct. 1578.

\textsuperscript{151} For Carver, 31 Mar., 14 Apr., and 27 May 1578; 29 Jan. And 20 July 1579; for Ruthven, 14 Apr., 18, 21, and 28 Aug., 9 and 19 Oct. 1578; 11 and 18 May 1579 (source of the quote), 5 Sept. 1580.

\textsuperscript{152} 14 Apr., 18, 21, and 28 Aug., 2 and 9 Oct. 1578; 27 July 1579; 14 Nov. 1580; 16 Jan. and 13 Feb. 1581. The outcome of this case is uncertain.

\textsuperscript{153} See Jean Thornton’s case, recounted below, in ‘Sexuality’.

\textsuperscript{154} Watson originally came to the elders’ attention when her mother and Watson’s partner (James Mershell) arranged to have one of her children illegally baptised by bribing a neighbouring minister (13 May 1583). The bailies court records suggest that there must have been much more to the story: the king himself intervened in her case in a letter of 25 March 1585 ordering the provost and bailies to ‘put Margaret Watson to liberty and freedom furth of our tolbooth of Perth wherein she presently remains and suffer her to pass where she please as you will answer to us’ (PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 173v). Perhaps she had a well-off friend willing to petition on her behalf, though this did not prevent
kirk, after many due admonitions' (which the minister duly enumerated and dated) that made excommunication unavoidable. The list that ensues, of elders, ministers, and the reader who admonished her at various times to repent and who formally witnessed the public admonitions 'with the rest of the whole congregation in time of preaching and divine service', together with Howieson's formal subscription of the document, reminds us of the session's legal and bureaucratic aspect. More important is the elders' clear preference to avoid cutting a member off. Even after this excommunication, efforts to elicit repentance continued, and Watson was finally persuaded to repent in April of 1586.155

Exclusion from communion had serious implications for the state of one's immortal soul, of course; more immediately, however, the social meaning of the penalty was potentially devastating. The First Book of Discipline ordered that an excommunicate must be shunned by neighbours: none could have any kind of conversation with him, be it in eating and drinking, buying and selling, yea in saluting or talking with him (except that it be at commandment or licence of the ministry for his conversion), that he by such means confounded, seeing himself abhorred of the godly and faithful, may have occasion to repent and so be saved.156

This language was echoed by parliament's order that no one was to 'receive, supply, or entertain' an excommunicate.157 Exclusion from the spiritual community of the faithful was synonymous with social and economic ostracism. An excommunicated merchant lost his trade, a craftsman his clientele, a servant her employment and therefore her lodging.

The elders discovered, however, that enforcement was not easy in a culture that valued hospitality and loyalty to kin.158 Despite heavy fines or public humiliation for anyone caught 'entertaining' an excommunicate, neighbours,
masters and clients regularly flouted excommunication orders and socialised with them, even offering them bed and board. In 1585 the session responded with an act that 'no person society or company with excommunicates like Jean Thornton, the Master [Patrick] of Oliphant, or Margaret Watson under pain of censures of the kirk, and their entertainers to be warded and admonished under pain of excommunication to put them out of their company', only to find that it would have to be renewed repeatedly.\textsuperscript{159} Kin who associated with excommunicates were exempted by a provision of the First Book of Discipline, which acknowledged the importance of family in Scottish society by providing that after the 'sentence [of excommunication] may no person (his wife and family only excepted) have any kind of conversation with him ...'.\textsuperscript{160} But no such caveat was allowed for either lesser or preceding forms of discipline. The elders actually imprisoned mothers for refusing to present their daughters, and demanded hefty fines of brothers for hiding their sisters from session prosecution.\textsuperscript{161} In 1582 Bessie Patty, after a month in gaol, finally admitted that she had been hiding her daughter from the elders' discipline 'in the stair (a sort of Harry Potter closet), albeit she said to the assembly that her daughter was in Balthyok'. Even after further admonition, she failed to turn her in and so was sent back to gaol for eight more weeks.\textsuperscript{162} In 1581 the session ordered 'sundry householders in whose houses an vicious person is deprehended' to pay fines of 13s 4d.\textsuperscript{163}

Things could be even worse for those who failed to repent, or whose offences were very serious. The worst of the lot could be banished from the community (the bailies's authority again underpinning that of the session), or put to the horn (outlawed), or even executed. The elders sometimes ordered banishment even without excommunication — by implication, a declaration that they had no hope of bringing the offender to repentance and now washed their hands of him (or more often, her, since this most frequently happened to known harlots). This was the case when they summarily expelled Christen MacGregor from the town without spiritual

\textsuperscript{159} 12 June 1587. See also 3 and 10 Jan. 1585. Even the elders themselves succumbed to the temptation to let neighbourliness overcome discipline: in 1595 the session would order one of their own number, the deacon Gabriel Mercer, to perform a public act of repentance in the kirk for 'entertaining the excommunicate papist, the laird of Innernytie' (NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 138v).

\textsuperscript{160} First Book, 170.

\textsuperscript{161} E.g., 21 May 1582, James Will fined 1 merk and gaol before he would present his sister. 4 and 11 June, quote at 2 July 1582. Other examples in this volume include the 1583 case of Robert Edmeston, who was willing to pay a substantial fine 'for retaining Chirsten Edmeston his daughter being an harlot'; in fact, he continued lodging her until he was gaol. And when the elders finally caught up with the notorious fornicator Marion Henderson in 1577, wondering that she was still in the burgh, they found that her father 'received her in his house and has not exhibited her': 27 May 1583; 16 Dec. 1577.

\textsuperscript{162} 5 Nov. 1581.
sanction 'in respect of the great abuse of her body'. Horning meant that no one, including kin, could feed or shelter the offender; indeed, one ‘put to the horn’ could be captured on sight and brought to the local magistrate for execution, since by statute law (as the horning proclamation for adulterers iterated) ‘all notorious and manifest committers of adultery shall be punished with all rigour unto the death, as well the man as the woman’, and their goods escheat to the crown.

The execution of sinners was a rarity, occurring during our period in Perth only once. In January of 1585, Helen Watson and David Gray, both married, were caught in David’s bedchamber with Helen in a state of partial undress by the town watchmen, who brought them to the session. The elders questioned both offenders and witnesses, discovered that their relationship had been going on for some time, and then took the unusual course of turning the couple over to the bailies for inquest. Very shortly thereafter, the unfortunate lovers were hanged on a gibbet erected before Watson’s mother’s front gate – the sole instance in this burgh of adulterers being executed, though death was prescribed by parliamentary statute for notorious adultery. But context matters: since the fall of 1584, the black death and a concomitant famine had been raging in Perth. The session made quite clear its presumption of the close relationship between plague and adultery in its ‘supplication ... unto the bailies’ for an inquest: they sought ‘justice according to God’s law and the laws of this country lest that otherwise being long winking at their wickedness, God of his justice plague both us and you with the rest of this city as miserable experience has begun to teach us’.

The record does not indicate whether Watson and Gray were penitent, or whether anybody cared. In the midst of a natural disaster understood as divine judgement for the toleration of sin, the need of the community to
identify and eliminate the source of plague overcame the commitment of the kirk to securing repentance, amendment of life, and re-integration of sinners into the community of the faithful. It is no accident that the only reports we have of shaving and ducking fornicators also occur in this plague season. Reformed discipline amidst the crisis of epidemic disease gave way to sheer terror and primitive recourse to scapegoats.

Sexuality, Gender, and the Family

Much of the session’s caseload – in Perth and elsewhere in Scotland – was comprised of sexual offences. We have seen in the close oversight of couples whose banns had been approved that the elders were intent on preventing antenuptial fornication, imposing fines on couples who couldn’t wait. They reserved their more serious penalties, ranging from public humiliation to excommunication and banishment, for other fornication, especially if it resulted in pregnancy, and for adultery, the most serious threat to the sanctity of marriage and the family.

In general, the elders eschewed the double standard, even in this age generally thought more punitive of women than of men who strayed sexually. In this they adhered to the prescriptions of both parliaments and General Assemblies that punishment for sexual offences must fall ‘as well [on] the man as the woman’. Readers of the session minutes will count approximately equal numbers of women and men named: it is a rare case indeed when a fornicatrix is charged without her male partner being identified and pursued as well, though one expects more women’s names given that men were more likely to travel and so either evade prosecution or be pursued in another parish, and women’s pregnancies were difficult to hide. The following table shows how small the disparity is:

168 5 July 1585 (Thomas Smyth warded, shaved, and ducked for fornication with three women), 26 July 1585.
170 Well-off burgesses and local lairds did not escape (e.g., 21 Mar. 1586); the well-born, however, were more often referred to the presbytery.
Persons charged with sexual offences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1577</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1584</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>1578</td>
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<td>1583</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1590</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is not to say that the elders were altogether equitable. A few more women than men had to underlie warding and corporal punishment because they were less able than waged or propertied men to buy their way out of 'ward and crosshead'. And victims of rape were very often treated as fornicators themselves, even when the records acknowledged that they were forced, and even when they exhibited the bruises inflicted upon them by their assailants. The elders were perfectly aware that David Gray had physically abused Helen Watson in order to 'get his will of her', for she told them so when they found her abed 'being full of blue and bloody strikes', yet they condemned and executed both of them for adultery. And in 1589 Jean Paul confessed fornication with a man 'who forced her against her will' as she was travelling to a neighbouring village 'doing her master’s errands'. The lives of female servants in the sixteenth century were fraught, and the presumptions of all-male judges could make appalling circumstances even worse.

Sexual offence came to the session's attention in a variety of ways. Occasionally, offenders were caught in the act by elders making the rounds of their quarters unannounced, or by bailies or watchmen, or by an offended spouse. George Makchanse and Elspet Cudbert, for instance, were during a communion service in 1585 'both apprehended in naked bed together in filthy fornication' by the watch – for which they were carted backwards through the town and put in irons. The pregnancy of a single woman was a give-away, of course, and midwives were sworn to press unmarried women in labour to reveal the fathers of their children so that they could be pursued

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171 1577's records survive only from May through December, and the 1586 records only exist for five months: there are no February entries, and all entries after June are missing from the mangled end of the bound volume. Low numbers for 1584 may reflect the impact of the plague year. There is no clear reason for the notable dearth of cases in 1588.

172 24 Aug. 1584; 29 Jan. 1589. See also the cases of Janet Ray (16 Feb. 1590) and Janet Basket (Nov. 1590). Sixteenth-century men also believed that pregnancy could not result from rape: if the victim were impregnated, she must have complied.

173 14 Oct. 1585. 8 Aug. 1587 records another instance of a wife catching her husband in the act.
as well. Masters and mistresses were required by a session act of 1584 to report pregnant or suspect servants, and in 1582 an irate wife seems to have reported her husband (after she had viciously beaten his paramour) and a neighbour who had facilitated their tryst.

Sometimes it was unrelated neighbours who reported suspicious behaviour. 'Diverse bruits' brought Effie Tully to the session's attention in 1587 as her behaviour 'greatly cried out against by the whole honest and godly neighbours as most filthy'. Far more often, though, the minutes simply report that fornicators 'compear and confess carnal deal'. Modern scholars tend to presume that these were not voluntary confessions, but that pregnancy made it impossible to hide the sin. For a few years in the 1570s and '80s, an overlap of baptismal registers and session minutes in Perth makes it possible to examine this presumption. What they show on this point is a challenge to our notion that confessions are necessarily compelled by pregnancy. In fact, the pregnancy rate for the 1570s and '80s fornication cases averages 17% (with a range of 7% to 27%; numbers of cases annually range from 21 to 45). In fewer than half of the pregnancy cases, the woman cited in the session minutes is described as 'with bairn'; the others are revealed only by the baptismal register. Sometimes this indicates 'begotten in fornication'; in other cases a comparison of the marriage and baptismal registers attests to illegitimate birth.

What are we to make of these figures? Short of positing a remarkable number of miscarriages in the burgh, there are two possible explanations, both of which tell us something about the nature of the Reformation in Perth. Some confessions may actually have been voluntary, driven by real feelings of guilt.

The other conclusion is surely that neighbours were keeping a close eye on the behaviour of young couples. The whole community functioned as a police force, so that 'common bruit' is a stock phrase in the minutes to initiate prosecution of fornication and adultery. Some of

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174 9 Sept. 1588, 28 Oct. 1588, and 16 Nov. 1590, for example.
175 1 Feb. 1584; 19 Feb. 1582.
176 21 Aug. 1587.
177 Figures from the minutes below and NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1, Perth's first register of baptisms and marriages (which lapses in 1582, re-commencing only in 1614):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Fornication cases</th>
<th>Pregnancies</th>
<th>% of cases with evidence of pregnancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1577</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1578</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1580</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

178 For examples of this from a variety of Scottish parishes, CP, 10–171.
these neighbours would have been mere busybodies, or perhaps vengeful enemies of the couples or their families; Margaret Donaldson insisted that those who charged her with harlotry in 1583 were simply envious of her relationship with the Earl of Errol. But others were doubtless convinced by the preachers' insistence that such disasters as floods, famines, and pest were divine visitations on a community that tolerated sin in its midst. They had bought into the system, been convinced by the theology, and were willing to embrace a rigorous moral code and an invasive disciplinary system to achieve the greater good.

The session's focus on sexual offence produced some of the most intriguing stories in their books and opens a window on the lives of women as well as men. Jean Thornton's is one well worth piecing together from the record, to illustrate both the high drama embedded in these minutes and the humanity of its protagonists. Not incidentally, it reminds one of the significance of gender in early modern society, even within a kirk that in principle eschewed the double sexual standard and promised even-handed discipline for all.

Thornton's tragic life has all the stuff of modern blockbusters — lust and seduction, privilege and loss, a friend's betrayal, bitter anger, reckless abandon, and ultimately murder. She seems to have been until late in 1581 a perfectly respectable woman — a model of comportment and piety, in fact, as an elder's wife. Her marriage to the successful merchant and elder Oliver Peblis (a scion of the wealthy clan and frequently elected to burgh offices, including bailie, council, dean of guild, and town treasurer) would have been based on her reputation for godly living as well as her family's position, and ought to have guaranteed her future standing in the community. In 1573, however, for reasons never explained, she began to attract the unwanted attentions of her husband's friend — and his erstwhile colleague on the kirk session — Henry Adamson. There is no indication at all in the minutes that she encouraged his roving eye, but apparently he was determined to seduce her. Adamson was also a frequent holder of high burgh office and at the time was dean of guild. His friendship with Peblis is evident from the fact that he asked Peblis to stand as godfather when his daughter was born in 1581. Yet he 'pursued' his friend's wife, despite her repeated efforts to rebuff his attentions. How frustrating it must have been for her, in this town where all eyes were upon elders' wives, in this time when reputation was everything, to resist a powerful man whose integrity would have been unquestioned by the neighbours, who himself had sat regularly in judgement on those who

179 16 Sept. 1583.
180 For Peblis's and Adamson's standing in the burgh, see Appendix I. NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1, 11 Nov. 1581, lists Patrick Galloway and Oliver Peblis as witnesses of the baptism of Adamson's new daughter.
indulged their sexual natures too freely. She would report to the session in 1582 that his unwanted advances had begun nine years before, but that she had resisted him until, in August of 1581, she relented, exhausted by her efforts, perhaps, or hopeful that the stalking would now end, or maybe just swept away by her own sexual desires and his persistence. They got away with it three times, which she described for the prurient elders: the first time on the chest by her bedside while her husband was at the watch, the second in Adamson's barn, and the third (however improbably) in her coal cellar while her husband was upstairs. But at some point after the fourth time — carelessly outdoors in Adamson's yard — their affair became public.

Exactly what happened in the year following her 'first fall' is not entirely clear. Only in August of 1582 does the adultery case finally appear in the session minutes. But in September of 1581 the elders heard report of a lesser but still remarkable offence by this elder's wife: she had reportedly engaged in a foul and public slander or flyting with another paragon of female virtue, the widow Mattie Guthrie — soon to be engaged to the town's minister. Had Guthrie discovered Thornton's sexual misbehaviour and perhaps taunted her or threatened to turn her in? Perhaps she would be the one to report the adultery to the elders, or to her betrothed. Whatever the circumstances, the timing makes it likely that Thornton's uncharacteristic railing was connected to her affair with Adamson.181

One way or another, the session became aware of the scandal and now faced the embarrassing prospect of prosecuting one of their own, and the wife of another of their colleagues. Unsurprisingly, they dragged their feet. On 13 August 1582, the cuckolded husband Oliver Peblis finally brought his own official bill of complaint against Adamson, accompanied by a caution committed to paying a remarkable 500 merks to the hospital if he failed to prove it. The elders at long last summoned both offenders, but declined to commit Adamson to gaol despite a protest from Peblis's brother Jhon that he ought either to be imprisoned or required to find caution as Oliver had. Thornton duly appeared on 20 August 1582, confessed, and promised to perform her public repentance. Adamson, however, failed to show up until the following week, when he responded to Peblis's complaint by adamantly denying the adultery, even in the face of thirteen 'witnesses' produced by

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181 For discussion of flyting, see CP, ch. 5, esp. 235–43; Patricia Bawcutt, 'The art of flyting', Scottish Literary Journal, 10 (1983), 5–24, and her Dunbar the Makar (Oxford, 1992), 220–56. Thornton was summoned 4 and 11 Sept. 1581; see also 5, 20 and 27 Nov. 1581 regarding the flyting charge. The substance of the verbal exchanges is unfortunately not recorded. It is possible, of course, that this uncharacteristic public railing was simply an effect of the psychological stress on her at the time of her illicit affair. In any case, she was convicted upon the testimony and Guthrie's complaint on 20 November 1581, the fine required despite Peblis's protest the following week that he ought not be penalised by a fine placed upon his wife.
Peblis. The witnesses' depositions report only circumstantial evidence – having noticed the couple together drinking ale and wine, seeing Adamson enter her residence when her husband was away, overhearing assignations being made, and carrying messages between them; never the less, in ordinary circumstances the confession of his partner would prove as damning to the man as to the woman. 182

These were not ordinary circumstances, however. Adamson, steadfastly insisting on his innocence, took a three-pronged defence. First, he questioned whether the depositions of two women among Peblis's witnesses could be accepted, but the elders ruled 'with one voice that famous women ought to bear witness in any matter that comes before them'. Second, he produced two of his own character witnesses; unfortunately, their depositions are not included in the record. Finally, he insisted that the elders and minister were not competent judges, given his standing as a former elder. 183 This argument carried some weight. Some months later, his case was referred to the higher court of presbytery (in February of 1583), and eventually it went to the General Assembly. 184 Thus far, the town's session strikes us as fairly even-handed, pursuing both parties in accord with the Reformed Kirk's requirement of discipline without exception of persons, and including the testimony of women. 185 But while Thornton was beginning her public repentance in November of 1582, Adamson's case was languishing, despite protests by Peblis. 186 In due course, the General Assembly would stop short of condemning him for adultery, denouncing only his indiscreet behaviour, and

182 13, 20 and 27 Aug. 1582. The thirteenth is the first mention in the session book of an accusation in this case, Peblis's bill of complaint, which was followed immediately by his charge that the minister and elders had denied him justice by dragging their feet in pursuing Adamson (they 'drifted time'). This suggests that accusations of adultery had come earlier but had been neither recorded nor pursued by a session perhaps so horrified by such sin in their own midst that they hardly knew what course to take. Interestingly, the conversations between Thornton and Adamson reported in the deposition of one witness, Robert Hally, concerned a commercial dispute between Peblis and another sometime elder and dean of guild, Dionysius Conqueror: see PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 27r–28v, 31v–40r, 64r; B59/13/1; and B59/12/9, fos 1r, 19v–20v, 80r–80v, 87v, 116v.

183 4 and 10 Sept. 1582. He had also alleged procedural error on grounds that he had never received a copy of Peblis's complaint, but the elders agreed that there was no precedent for providing a copy Adamson dug in his heels and announced that he would offer no plea without seeing the bill: 20 Aug. 1582.

184 25 Feb. 1583 (referral to presbytery); BUK iii, 621–22.

185 BUK i, 41 (1563) includes one of many pronouncements by the General Assembly about equitable discipline.

186 She was ordered to begin her repentance on 20 Nov. 1582. It is possible that the session opted to delay her public humiliation until they had dealt with Adamson; however, that had still not happened at the beginning of the new year. On 11 Feb. 1583 Peblis 'protests that he have remedy of Henry Adamson according to his bill and the determination of witness past thereupon'. The public repentance for adultery could be as long as six months of weekly appearances on the penitents' seat in the kirk.
requiring a confession before the Perth presbytery and the burgh congregation only for giving the appearance of unchaste conversation.\footnote{BUK iii, 621–22 records the General Assembly’s judgement: In the ‘process deduced before presbytery against Henry Adamson burgess of Perth and approved by the synodal assembly of the province, the whole kirk ... being well resolved and advised therewith, in one voice declares and finds the said Henry by his familiar and suspect behaviour with Jeanie Thornton, spouse of Oliver Peblis, resorting with her in private and suspect places, drinking and conversing with her, and other ways behaving himself not so chastely as becomes an honest married person, as by sundry circumstances in the said process appears to have given suspicion that he has committed adultery with her, and thereby to have given occasion of slander in his person, therefore ordain him ... to compear before the presbytery of Perth and there with humility unfeignedly to confess and acknowledge that he has given occasion of slander, asking God and the kirk forgiveness, and thereafter upon a Sunday to be appointed by the said presbytery, he shall compear in the parish kirk of Perth in time of sermon before noon, sit in the place of repentance in his common apparel [rather than sackcloth] until the sermon be ended, and immediately after the end thereof and before the prayer, stand up in the said place of repentance and confess and acknowledge the slander given by him and ask God and [the] kirk pardon therefor, with promise in time coming to avoid all slanderous behaviour and suspicion of any such crime.’} Apparently in the ministers’ view it only took one to tango: they could condemn Thornton’s adultery with Adamson but grant the possibility that he had not committed the act with her.

It is not difficult to understand how the injustice of Thornton’s situation affected her. Angry and increasingly bitter, her behaviour became more and more erratic as she faced the public mockery of her neighbours while Adamson sat smug in his pew, secure in the privilege of his office from the awful punishment that she endured for the same offence. She went on the offensive against the hypocrisy of the ‘godly’ and began ‘slandering honest men and women in this town, alleging them more guilty of adultery than she was’. In particular, she targeted with her ‘wicked and ungodly slander’ her old nemesis Mattie Guthrie, now the minister’s fiancée – a move hardly calculated to win her support from the session.\footnote{18 Mar. 1583. Her husband serving as caution for Guthrie when her marriage banns were proclaimed may have been his way of apologising for his errant wife, or Guthrie’s way of re-assuring him that she did not blame him: 21 Apr. 1583.} Finally, in January 1583, she dared to protest aloud the injustice of her penalty before the whole congregation from the repentance seat, then adamantly refused any more of her required penitential appearances. Her timing was unfortunate: her ‘evil speaking’ from the stool was on a fasting Sunday in the midst of dire winter storms that threatened the town’s welfare and were seen as signs of divine wrath. She sealed her fate when she uttered her most ‘fearful execrations’ on ‘the night the bridge fell’ in the worst of those storms. This scandalous (and in a providentialist’s view, appallingly dangerous) behaviour and ‘obstinate disobedience’ towards the kirk’s orders got her gaoled a few months later.
Finally, in October, she was excommunicated. She apparently left town at some point after this and became a fugitive from the kirk's justice, and so an enemy of the king: in 1588, she was 'put to the horn' or outlawed with other fugitive adulterers 'excommunicate for their obstinacy' and now condemned 'to suffer death' with all their 'moveable goods to be escheat and moved to His Highness'. Perhaps deciding that if she had to suffer for sexual licence anyway, she might as well enjoy it, she embarked on another notorious affair, this time with a servant of the Earl of Crawford.

Thornton's roots were in the burgh, though, and despite the threats attendant on horning, she returned to the town after discovering that she was pregnant. She was found there shortly after her child's birth, and the reader and a couple of elders were 'sent to enquire' after 'the great bruit of the same'. Showing scant sympathy for her husband, she claimed that the child was his to support; he had to appear before the session himself in January of 1589 and swear 'so might his soul be safe at the latter day' that he was not the father. Thornton was summoned to the next session meeting, where she 'confessed her former faults and crimes, ... and now of new confesses her fact of adultery with David Achterlony, servant to the earl of Crawfurdf for the time, who had carnal deal with her sundry and diverse times, and likewise confesses', grudgingly to exonerate her husband of the suspicion she had raised, 'that she had never carnal deal with Oliver Peblis since the Lords came out of England in Scotland'. The minutes do not record the session's response, but somehow Thornton remained within the town, now moving in with the wealthy and politically powerful merchant Thomas Moneypenny. The last mention of her in the session books is in October of 1589, when the session ordered two elders and all four bailies of the burgh to go to Moneypenny's house and order him to put her out or himself be excommunicated, since she 'is an excommunicate and should not be held in the company of good Christians that serve God, much less to be entertained in bed and board within any honest godly man's house, to the great slander of God, his word, kirk, and this congregation'. Ultimately, the session saw sexual offence as an affront not just to the family, but to the whole urban

189 29 Jan., 2 Sept., and 19 Oct. 1583 (the excommunication 'by reason of her obstinate disobedience').
190 NRS–WRH ms JC 26/Box 2, n.f. (22 Dec. 1588).
191 13 and 21 Jan. 1589.
192 GB 284 records his admission to the guildry in 1577, as the second son of the bailie of the same name, and so a member of a prominent burgh family; see also GB 332. He was elected to the council in October of 1583, 1584, and 1587 and served as dean of guild in 1585 and 1586 (PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 33v–35, 38–39). His association with Jean Thornton seems to have been politically costly, however: he was never subsequently elected to burgh office.
193 NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 32r (21 Oct. 1590).
INTRODUCTION

community. As for Adamson, while he may have escaped ecclesiastical discipline, the power of family loyalty would in the end levy the heaviest penalty for his affront to Oliver Peblis. In 1598, Thomas Peblis, Oliver’s kinsman, murdered Adamson on the High Street of Perth.\textsuperscript{194}

Thornton’s is just one of many stories in the session minutes that take us beneath the surface of early modern society. These accounts provide details that give us pause when, wearied with one fornication case after another, we tend to be dismissive of ordinary sinners and the sanctimonious old men who harassed them. Every fornicator or adulteress who appeared before the session has a tale to tell, if only the reader attends closely to the details. And the ‘godly’ are all too often not what they seem.

An obsession with sexual behaviour was not the only manifestation of the kirk’s interest in the family. The minister and elders intervened in cases of domestic violence, including one of husband-beating and another of a man who bit his mother-in-law ‘to the effusion of her blood’.\textsuperscript{195} They reconciled quarrelling spouses, to ‘bring them to a unity and concord’ wherever possible and ordered errant husbands to ‘adhere to’ and support their wives.\textsuperscript{196} Where their marriage counselling failed, however, they ensured that abandoned wives were not left destitute: Effie Tully, for instance, requested an adherence order from the session in hopes that her husband would return to her, but in case he stayed away, the elders also ordered that he pay a living allowance for her and a maidservant.\textsuperscript{197} They ordered James Walker to take two of his children into his own custody and to pay 40d each week and a 40s annual house rent for his wife and the other child, ‘or else adhere unto her as his wife’; child support was mandatory.\textsuperscript{198} They disciplined neglectful and abusive parents, like Violat Broun and Bessie Gibson, whose children perished through the ‘negligence and sloth’ of their mothers in 1589, and they investigated cases where intentional infanticide was suspected.\textsuperscript{199} They also recognised the problem of adult children neglecting elderly parents, ordering two elders and the reader to meet with Jhon Ruthven in 1587 and persuade him to feed and shelter his elderly mother.\textsuperscript{200} Family discipline had real beneficiaries.

\textsuperscript{194} NRS ms CH2/521/3, p. 28 (15 May 1598); Chronicle, fo. 6r. The avenger of Peblis’s honour was excommunicated by the presbytery and executed by order of the bailies of Perth.
\textsuperscript{195} 3 Aug. 1579; 20 Jan. 1584.
\textsuperscript{196} E.g., 27 Jan. 1584 (James Sym ordered to adhere to his wife); 21 Aug., or 24 Oct. 1587, 2 Nov. 1589 (source of the quote, the case of Elspeth Duncan and her abusive husband Duncan MacGregor being visited by three elders and the reader).
\textsuperscript{197} 26 Aug. 1583.
\textsuperscript{198} 1 May 1587.
\textsuperscript{199} 13 Jan. 1589 (Broun and Gibson); 16 May 1580 (investigation of abusive parents and a complicit neighbour); 4 and 11 June 1582 and 3 June 1583 (Janet Paul’s infanticide case).
\textsuperscript{200} 30 Oct. 1587.
Plague

In 1584, a new and particularly virulent bout of the plague struck the south and east of Scotland, drastically reducing the populations of towns with recurring outbreaks in many places through 1588. In Edinburgh 1,400 people died, 400 in St Andrews, and perhaps 300 in Kirkcaldy. Parliament noted in 1585 that the courts were unable to sit because of ‘the pestilent seiknes spreading amongis diverse of the greitest baronis’.201 Perth was harder-hit than any of the other towns, its population reduced by about a fourth – 1,427 souls ‘young and auld’, according to the parish registrar.202 Those infected were sent to stay in purpose-built huts or ‘lodges’ outside the walls – a sensible precaution against the spread of infection, and the deacons collected fines and alms to pay for their sustenance there.203 But isolation of the contagion came too late to prevent the appalling death rate. And given the understandable reluctance of the healthy to care for the victims in the lodges, some of the most vulnerable, like the unfortunate child of Margaret Watson, perished from neglect.204

As always, the effects of plague were aggravated by the famine that followed upon drastic reduction of the nearby rural labour force and the collapse of local trade and the burgh economy. Communities that were spared, like Stirling, therefore sent aid to beleaguered Perth. This came in the form of cash and grain from ‘the gentlemen of the country’, and from the burgesses of Stirling, butter. The latter may seem curious, but butter was an important local product and a source of essential fats and calcium, and it could be preserved in large barrels for long periods in the winter.205 By February of 1585, however, ‘the victual that was sent by the country ... was all distributed’, and starvation loomed. The session minutes illumine a town in desperate straits, but with a church court still capable of taking a census of the most desperately poor in each quarter of the town, and administering

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201 APS iii, 380, c. 15 (1585). Calderwood, Historie iv, 377 reported ‘the pest rageth to utter devastation almost of the principal towns, Edinburgh, St Andrews, St Johnstoun, etc’, estimating 20,000 deaths in Edinburgh — rather more than the population of the town at that time.

202 Chronicle, fo. 4. M. Flinn (ed.), Scottish Population History from the 17th Century to the 1930s (Cambridge, 1977), 109; T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830 (Glasgow, 1969), 100, 111, 145, 152. The population of Edinburgh at this point was about 15,000, compared to Perth’s pre-plague figure of about 6,000: S.G.E. Lythe and J. Butt, An Economic History of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1975), 6; Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation, 9. Plague is first mentioned in the minutes on 25 Oct. 1584, when a new kirk officer had to be chosen to replace the man who had died of it.

203 1 Feb. 1585.

204 1 Apr. 1585.

205 30 Nov. 1584.
a strict rationing system for the oats and bread still available. In an effort both to reduce exposure to contagion in public gatherings and to raise money for the poor 'forth in the lodges', they also took the remarkable expedient of allowing first-time fornicators to pay the high parliamentary fine for their offence in lieu of appearing on the repentance stool. This alternative was in force 'only ... during the time of the plague and this extreme need, which otherwise cannot presently be helped'. Their anxiety is clear in the language of the order: they feared that the poor 'otherwise shall be liable to die for want, or ... for hunger to stray and go abroad in the country and infect the same'. They asked the congregation to 'judge charitably of this our ordinance', forgiving its relaxation of the usual public punishment of fornicators, since they could 'find no other help at this present' for 'saving of the lives of our poor brethren and sisters'.

However rational their oversight of food distribution and fund raising, however, the elders' understanding of what was happening to them remained strictly religious. We have seen in the case of Helen Watson and David Gray that the session's harshest penalties against serious sinners were imposed during this time of crisis, with the clear explanation that the death of adulterers might avert further divine judgement. Reformed providentialism manifested itself also in the other standard response to plague or other disaster, the proclamation of a fast. Thus, when the plague struck Edinburgh and Leith in the fall of 1587, Perth's elders called for a fast with 'great humiliation and prayer to God' to 'remove the plague of the pest from the towns of Edinburgh, Leith, etc. and to preserve us therefrom'.

School, Hospital and Poor Relief

After the Reformation, responsibility for parish education and poor relief went to the kirk session. In Perth, with its abundance of Catholic foundations now dissolved, the campaign after 1560 was simply to channel the rents of the old chapels, altars, and hospitals to the parish grammar school and to the poor, as ordained by the Privy Council, parliaments, and General Assemblies.

206 23 and 30 Nov. 1584, 1 Feb. 1585. They also took the precaution of ordering new locks for the doors of the kirk tower, where scarce donated foodstuffs may have been stored.
207 17 July 1585. For the statutory penalties, APS iii, 25, c. 14 (1567), including a provision for being 'ducked in the deepest and foulest pool of the town or parish and then banished' - a provision never implemented in Perth for fornicators. First-time fornicators 'as well the man as the woman' were to be fined £40 or imprisoned on bread and small drink for eight days; second-time offenders were to pay 100 merks; and for a third offence the penalty was a remarkable £100. The act was ratified in 1581: APS iii, 210.
208 7 Nov. 1587.
209 RPC i, 201 (15 Feb. 1562), specifying in addition to the annual revenues of monastic lands that old ecclesiastical buildings should be maintained to serve these purposes; First Book,
Poor relief in Perth came in two forms, which would later be called ‘indoor’ and ‘outdoor’ relief. Some of the destitute were housed in hospitals – in the former chapel precincts of St Ann’s and St Paul’s, as we have seen, but more formally in a new institution founded with royal patronage in 1569 as King James VI Hospital. The original charter for the hospital, 9 August 1569, was made during Moray’s regency and conveyed to ‘poor members of Jesus Christ’ in Perth, including ‘maimed, weak, distressed persons, orphans, and fatherless children’ the ‘lands, tenements, houses, buildings, kirks, chapels, yards, orchards, crofts’ as well as the ‘alms, anniversaries, annuities’, and ‘ground-annuals’ or rents of the mendicant orders, chapels and altarpieces of the old church. It was confirmed after the king came of age by the second charter of 29 July 1587. Hospital inmates, each given a gown, food and lodging, were thus to be sustained by old altarage dues, feu duties, and the rental income of pre-Reformation religious houses and altars – or that portion that could be collected – in accord with the Privy Council order of 1562 that ‘all annuals and duties within free burghs and other towns of the realm, as well pertaining to chaplaincies, prebendaries, as to friars, ... should be employed to hospitalities, schools, and other godly uses’. The session minutes include frequent discussion of the charters of those foundations and the rents due from their extensive lands, which, thanks to late medieval feuing, were now for the most part in the hands of laymen intent on keeping the income for themselves. A constant refrain in the session minute books is the efforts to locate the ‘foundations’ – documents establishing the old chapels and houses, charters assigning lands and their rents to them, and records of their feuing. These documents provided the legal grounds for their efforts to collect the income – another recurring theme, and no small task. Many holders of the lands withheld their documents, refused payment of arrears, and even when finally persuaded to pay insisted on compounding their amounts of meal or grain owed into cash payments well below the real market value of the grain – a ploy often accepted by sessions convinced that

112–13, 129–35, 156–57; BUK i, 146, 216. APS iii, 37–38, cc. 9 and 16; 41, c. 51 (1567); cf. ii, 545, c. 2 (1564).

210 Both charters are in Milne, pp. li–lvii (quote from p. lii), lvii–lxvi. Milne also transcribed the act of parliament 29 July 1587 that accompanied the charter renewal (p. lxvi) and the act of 5 June 1592 granting further privileges to the hospital (pp. lxviii–lxx). An early copy of the 1587 charter in Scots is among the hospital muniments: NRS ms G79/3/39, with a 1590 confirmation note on the back. For statutory confirmation, APS iii, 500–503, c. 111; iii, 581, c. 81.

211 RPC i, 201; Milne, iii–ix.

212 The surviving muniments themselves were transferred to the National Archives in 1957, with an inventory indicating numerous documents that had gone missing. The collection is NRS ms GD 79, and includes charters, decreets, tacks, and instruments of sasine from 1323 on.
this was the only way they would ever see income from the properties.\footnote{213}{E.g., Inchmartin's old payment (defined in 1334 in a Blackfriars grant) of eight bolls of wheat and eight of barley, was finally compounded on 29 May 1592 for two hundred merks of arrears and forty merks yearly; a similar arrangement with the laird of Moncrief followed his supplication to parliament to have his twenty bolls of grain originally due to the Blackfriars commuted to a mere ten merks. This supplication was also a failure, but further negotiations did get a judicial settlement for forty merks, a better deal than Inchmartin's: NRS ms GD79/3/43; Milne, pp. xi–xiii.}

In 1587 the elders resorted to letters of horning (outlawing) against seven tenants who had refused payment of the annuals.\footnote{214}{NRS ms GD79/3/27, the letters received 2 June 1587.}

Not all feuers were ungenerous, however: when the hospital charter needed confirmation, the costs of 'the taxation paid for the confirmation thereof, passing of the great seals, act of parliament, and other charges and expenses' were covered by an interest-free loan of 'silver and golden pledges' worth £213 6s 8d by ten Perth burgesses (and hospital land holders) who then had to wait nearly four years for re-payment. The advocate for the transaction, Oliver Colt, spent £59 4s of his own funds, again only repaid at the end of 1591.\footnote{215}{NRS ms GD79/3/36 (22 Nov. 1591, with a note about Colt added 21 Dec. 1591); Milne, xlv, 7. The ten 'well-affected men and worthy of memory', many of whom later served as elders and/or hospital masters (see Appendices I and II) were the merchants Robert and Adam Anderson, Patrick Blair, Patrick Ray, Oliver Carr, James Adamson, Duncan Robertson, Patrick Fleming, and Robert Matho, and the skinner Patrick Grant.}

There were also outright donations: the burgesses James Donning and James Moncreif, patrons of the chaplaincies of St Ann and St Paul, respectively, in 1580 gave to the poor within each of those hospital buildings sufficient income from the chapel annuals to sustain them, and Donning later 'delivered the keys of the said hospital' to the hospital masters 'without prejudice of his gift of the patronage of the same, so that the poor be placed and input in the said hospital by the advice of the said James'.\footnote{216}{RPC iii, 288 (4 June 1580). James Donning was a descendant of Jhon Donning, former vicar of Perth: Milne, 26.}

Five old women were admitted to St Ann's at that point; however, Donning, who at first sight seems to have been a generous fellow, claimed that last-mentioned privilege to no avail after the session learned of his arbitrary meanness. In 1585 the elders asked the bailies to 'break open the hospital house door whereof violently James Donning withholds the key and would not give it, that the poor sick woman might be put therein'. Donning's son was even worse: in 1587 one of the poor men in the hospital issued a complaint against William Donning 'for striking and dinging of him'. The session let him off with a 'gende admonition' in view of his youth, which cannot have re-assured the inmates.\footnote{217}{13 Sept. 1585, 6 Mar. 1587.} Their lives appear wretched even apart from such abuse: orders for the purchase of straw 'to give the poor folks in
the hospital house to lie upon' and a meagre supply of peat for their winter fire are telling indicators. At least they were out of the weather and got regular meals, though, so they were better off than the poor on the streets, waiting anxiously for their places to be vacated. Given limitations of space and funding, the number of inmates in the hospital was small; actual figures are elusive, but the session clerk took care to note that a new person could be admitted to the hospital only upon the death of an inmate.

Besides gifts and more regular rents, the poor were supported by alms collected by the deacons at the church door, as the session minutes regularly record, and by occasional gifts from the royal coffers. They also benefited after 1579 from a substantial sum collected by the bailies from court settlements in cases of debt. A parliamentary statute of that year required the losing party in every burgh debt case to pay a fee of one shilling on each pound of settlement to be used for the relief of the poor, and the bailies court records from our period show the fee being imposed quite regularly and resulting in additional income for the poor of £1,906 10s 7d in 1583, for instance. Still, the bulk of the town's poor relief funds came from hospital rents – altogether £1,906 10s 7d annually.

The two hospital masters elected annually by the session were responsible for oversight of the hospital staff, maintenance of the buildings, administration of funds designated for the poor, and rendering accounts annually to the session. The original hospital charter offered a 'reasonable stipend' of £5 to each of the annually elected masters; however, in the straitened economic circumstances of the plague and dearth year, the elders voted to discontinue this token payment. The elders took care to remind the hospital masters that any fee they received would necessarily come from 'the poor's living, who may spare no fee', so instead 'their reward they shall have from God'. Only seven men served in this office during the period 1577–1596 (see Appendix II), one for just a few months, so long service was clearly the norm. Three were merchants, two were smiths, and the other was a local laird, of Tibbermuir, so the stipend was probably not a great concern for them.

218 24 Nov. 1578 (along with a load of peats and a load of meal weekly); quote from 9 Nov. 1579.


220 E.g., reference to the king's gift to the masters of the hospital 8 Jan. 1582.

221 APS iii, 147, c. 29 (1579); 447, c. 24 (the 1587 re-affirmation of the act); PKCA ms B59/12/9, passim, and fos 62v-132r for 1583.

222 My calculation from Milne, 10–138.

223 31 Dec. 1582. For the hospital masters, see Appendix II. Donaldson and Davidson were smiths, Leis a tailor, Murray of Tibbermuir a laird, and the others were merchants. The session ordered on 27 Feb. 1588 that a new book be made for the keeping of hospital accounts; for earlier examples of hospital books being presented, see, for example, 21 Mar. 1586.
INTRODUCTION

As for 'outdoor relief', many poor folk lived in the town rather than in an institution and received either regular or occasional doles from the kirk box, which included fines as well as alms collected by deacons at the kirk door. Alms were collected at the kirk doors on Sunday and Thursday preaching days: 2 June 1587. The 20 July 1590 entry, recording that when the box was opened on that day it contained only eleven shillings, suggests that collections were paltry. Some were licensed to beg, though they had to wear the town's mark (a lamb, in reference to the burgh's patron saint of St John the Baptist) in a badge sewn on their sleeves. Others received weekly doles and were not permitted to beg. 'Strange' beggars, from outwith the town, were expelled, and those who entertained them were fined, lest the town's own poor suffer by having their alms given to unworthy outsiders. The First Book of Discipline required that a register be kept of all poor persons receiving stipends, and the regular lists of hospital inmates were to be recorded in this volume; unfortunately, Perth's is not extant. But the session minutes do list people on the dole, and because their names and the amounts they received are given, we actually know a bit more about them than we do about the hospital inmates. Those on the dole included men and women, young and old, and both the chronically infirm and people only temporarily disabled by accident or illness. George Scot, for instance, 'presently lying sick' was awarded relief 'according to his necessity', with an upper limit of £4 set, and his name does not recur in future poor lists; but 'Robert Cuming the cripple', or 'Robert in the Cart', was a regular recipient. Assistance was generally given as a weekly cash dole, but we occasionally find annual gifts and gifts in kind, as 'straw and clothes' in 1580, or in 1587 'Bobbie the cart a new coat'. Pecks of grain and creels of coal replaced cash doles in the winter of 1584. There were also singular gifts apparently designed to prevent a poor person from becoming dependent on alms: James Quhyt received money to help him purchase a horse in 1578, presumably to keep him employed and so not further dependent on parish alms. Some services could be required of those who received regular alms: two were assigned to sweep the kirk on Saturday evenings. Unusual payments like the 14s 4d

224 Alms were collected at the kirk doors on Sunday and Thursday preaching days: 2 June 1587. The 20 July 1590 entry, recording that when the box was opened on that day it contained only eleven shillings, suggests that collections were paltry.
225 3 June 1586, 6 Mar. 1587, 13 Oct. 1588. The statutory requirement of parish tokens or badges for the poor is APS iii, 86–89 (1574).
226 3 Jan. 1586.
227 8 May 1587, 17 Mar. 1589.
228 First Book, 110–11.
229 25 Apr. 1580, 6 Feb. 1587; see also 15 Aug. 1583, 14 Dec. 1584, 18 Jan. and 6 Aug. 1585, and 23 Jan. 1587 for other instances of 'Robert Cuming in the Cart' receiving his aid, either in kind or as a weekly gift of 12d and/or grain. The weekly dole of 1584 was in grain; Jan. 1585's list offers both grain and cash.
230 14 and 21 Dec. 1584.
231 4 Aug. 1578.
232 20 May 1586.
to ‘the woman who healed a poor boy of the glengore’ alert the reader to yet another function of the session, the hiring of herbal healers or physicians for particularly needy cases.233

The session also made special collections, either in church or with elders going door-to-door, for unusual needs beyond the burgh. In 1578 they collected ransom money for the ‘poor prisoners in the Turks’ hands’, urging generosity particularly on the merchants, so often troubled by piracy in their overseas ventures. And in 1587 they sent £100 to help the burgh of Edinburgh in the midst of its plague.234

From 1588, the session also bore the expense (4d per week) of maintaining twenty poor children at the grammar school; these boys wore the town’s mark on their sleeves, just as licensed beggars did.235 In 1589 the session decided to use fornicators’ fines to buy books for poor scholars.236 Other students paid fees for their tuition, but as with modern schools, it was never enough, so that institutional endowments were vital. They were forthcoming, from the same benefactors who exercised their charity on the hospital: among the extant gifts in the hospital muniments, for instance, is the 1578 donation by Patrick Ray, ‘patron of the altarages of St Fillans, St Ninian, and St John the Baptist within the parish kirk of the burgh of Perth’ of all rents from the defunct altars to the bursar of the Perth Grammar School.237 The schoolmaster from 1562 to 1599 was William Rynd, also minister of Kinnoull from 1568. He was assisted by a ‘doctor’, and musical instruction was offered to the choristers in the school by the song school master, Jhon Swenton.238

233 6 Apr. 1579; 5 Aug. 1583. See also the 1567 fragment in Appendix III (from NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1) noting fifteen shillings given to the custodian of ‘a poor boy that has the stone’, presumably for a healer.
234 8 Dec. 1578, 15 May 1587.
235 28 Oct. 1588; the decree (also listing twenty boys) is NRS ms GD79/3/35. There is no indication of how the poor scholars were selected. The decree also makes a provision of 12d weekly for the boys’ ‘doctor’ (an assistant to the schoolmaster), Duncan Riddoch.
236 8 Sept. 1589.
237 NRS ms GD 79/4/43 (28 Feb. 1578); cf. GD79/3/44, the 1577 charter of Alexander Chalmer to Patrick Rae.
238 The schoolmaster at the Reformation was Andro Simpson, minister of Dunning in 1562, then Dunbar in 1564, and author of a Latin grammar published in 1587 (Fasti iv, 268, and for Rynd, iv, 218). Rynd was assisted in the 1580s by Duncan Riddoch and was succeeded in 1599 by his son, Patrick, who may well have helped in the grammar school before his father’s death. Swenton received both a stipend and periodically a new set of clothes (e.g., 13 May 1588). For more on his uneven services and occasionally scandalous behaviour, see 12 Jan. 1579, 27 Mar. and 2 July 1582 (when he was temporarily dismissed as ‘unqualified’), 11 Apr. 1586 (when he confessed fornication). The fact that he remained in his position despite his sexual misconduct suggests that the town may have had trouble finding a qualified music teacher.
Witchcraft Charges

Although the witch craze in sixteenth-century Scotland was undeniably horrific, Perth seems to have been comparatively little-affected by it, at least until the 1620s. The session minutes presented here report only two women charged in the fourteen years. One, unnamed, was banished on 20 December 1580, and in February of 1582 a ‘woman in the Meal Vennall suspect of witchcraft’ was ordered to appear before the session, though there is no record of her having done so. By April she was in the tolbooth, and apparently friendless, since the session had to order 8d allotted for her sustenance; the May records finally identify her as Maisie Mar, still in the tolbooth. The outcome of her case is unknown, though the ‘justice ayr haldin at Perth’ on 6 July 1582 and noted by the contemporary ‘Chronicle of Perth’ may well have dismissed it, since no execution is recorded. A 1589 charge by two residents of nearby Tirsappie that a goodwife there was a witch resulted in a careful investigation, including interviews of four neighbours, and resulted in the session’s judgement that ‘she was an honest poor woman’ and that the accusers (her disgruntled in-laws) should be charged with slander. This was the more usual outcome of witchcraft charges in sixteenth-century Scotland. The Perth session before the 1620s considered only these three cases and that of Jonat Robertson, executed for sorcery in 1597; the indictment of three Perth women in 1623 would bring the elders’ comparatively good record on this matter to an end.

Celebration and Material Culture

There is much more to be gleaned from kirk session minute books. They tell us about the persistence of Catholic festivities like the St Obert’s and Corpus Christi Day celebrations that recurred for so long after the Reformation – and about surviving pre-Christian veneration of springs and the summer solstice. Their periodic panics about Jesuit incursions remind us of why

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239 Chronicle, fos 3v, 4r.
240 2 Nov. 1589; CP, 244–48.
241 M. Todd, ‘Fairies, Egyptians, and elders: multiple cosmologies in post-Reformation Scotland’ in B. Heal and O.P. Grell (eds), The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People (Aldershot, 2008), 189–208, discusses the 1620s cases. For Robertson, see NRS ms CH2/521/3, p. 5 (23 Nov. 1597).
they were so intent on eradicating all things 'popish' in the ceremonial life of the Reformed kirk: the Jesuits 'and their superstitions, rites, and ceremonies' were sure guides back into the 'thraldom of idolatry' that had preceded the Reformation.\(^{243}\) The minutes also report popular fortune-telling devices, like turning the riddel (sieve) on the point of a shears.\(^{244}\) And they give us a view of traditional matrimonial festivities, with their attendant drunkenness and disorder.\(^{245}\) In short, they allow us to glimpse the godly at play.

The minutes provide details of the sacramental life of the kirk – particularly its twice-yearly communion rituals, so carefully organized around catechetical preparation, investigation of holy living, and distribution of tokens even before the actual celebration of the sacrament.\(^{246}\) Every March they named elders, deacons, and bailies to specific roles in the strictly ordered communion services: four to serve as doorkeepers at the north and south kirk doors, four to collect tokens and alms, four to be gatekeepers for the pews and choir, two to process the wine and bread from the vestry and four to fill the cups, two to convey the bread and another to serve it, one to 'keep order' (including the prevention of those without tokens from participating), and two to furnish the elements and napery and set up the table and benches.\(^{247}\) The records mention baptism more rarely, but the instruction that infants to undergo the sacrament must be kept in a 'secret place' during the sermon lest their crying disturb the auditors indicates that silence in the church was to be the new norm.\(^{248}\)


\(^{243}\) Quote from 7 Nov. 1587; cf. 20 Nov. 1587 (threatening people who received Jesuits into their homes); 4 Mar. 1588; cf. J. Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1847–51) ii, 387–79 (1587).

\(^{244}\) 1 Dec. 1589.

\(^{245}\) Among numerous efforts to control excessive marriage banquets, see 6 Jan. 1584, 24 May 1585, and 8 May 1587.

\(^{246}\) *CP*, ch. 2; cf. a like effort at an historical anthropology of Reformed communion rites in C. Grosse, 'Les Rituels de la Cène. Une Anthropologie Historique du Culte Eucharistique Réformé à Genève XVIe – XVIIe siècles' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Geneva, 2001). The Reformed order for communion was prescribed by *The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments Used in the English Congregation at Geneva* (1556), adopted in Scotland as the *Book of Common Order* and approved by the 1562 General Assembly. Knox, *Works* vi, 275–334. Of the many examples in the present volume of taking up the names of people to be examined for communion, and of careful communion arrangements, with each elder and deacon assigned a particular task, see, e.g., 5 Mar. 1582, 29 Jan. 1583, 23 Mar. 1584, or 6 Mar. 1587. A session act of 16 March 1584 mandated communion twice a year, in March and September, though in fact the dates varied.

\(^{247}\) Communion in the 1570s and 1580s in this parish seems to have been annual, though spring and autumn communions would be introduced later.

\(^{248}\) 6 Mar. 1587. Violation of the silence by Thomas Anderson, who disrupted the psalm-singing and sermon by railing at the minister, was clearly an unusual exception to the
The session books also provide information about material aspects of the church’s life — about the provision of extra lighting in the winter, for instance, and about the construction and decoration of pews and their assignment to particular guilds and important families, while the rude multitude stood or perched on three-legged stools that they tooted along to church. The ill-maintained condition of the building drove the elders in 1586 to set the minister’s sermon topic to focus on fund raising. And of course the minutes reflect the pre-eminent concern of the kirk with the rigorous sabbath observance and abundant preaching that helped so much to advance the protestant cause in the first generation after the Reformation — even extending to the new 1587 requirement that everyone attend Thursday as well as Sunday sermons. This introduction, then, simply points out some starting points from which further research on session minutes can produce a fuller picture than we have ever had of religion in the pew during this time of religious revolution.

Editorial Principles

This transcription was done initially from the original manuscript and later checked against both the manuscript and the electronic scan — currently the only version provided to readers in the National Archives without special permission. Both forms of the text have advantages. The electronic version can be enlarged to expose details otherwise difficult to see. On the other hand, text obscured in the scan by folds, tight binding, and repairs is often legible in the manuscript, and readers willing to undergo the perils of ultraviolet light can discern the text in the most faded portions of the manuscript.

As to editorial principles, I have taken seriously the complaint of Michael Hunter that editors too seldom explain why they have adopted their guidelines and shall explain mine at rather greater length than may be the rule, serious enough to get the Earl of Gowrie to sit in judgement with the session (30 Mar. 1584).

On lighting and guild pews, 6 Jan. 1584 (the wobsters’ deacon failing to keep candles lit in the guild pew: he blamed ‘the wind coming in at the south kirk door’), 8 Nov. 1585, 23 Mar. 1584 (reference to the skinners’ desk, or pew). On 1 Jan. 1582, Oliver Peblis as kirkmaster and bailie is identified as the man in charge of licensing guilds and families to ‘build seats to themselves in the kirk’. See 12 Feb. 1582 for a petition from the wrights to construct their pew between two pillars near the pulpit, with injunctions from the session that the seat be built of new timber and appear ‘decent, comely and honourable’. Peblis was to ensure that other guilds also ‘decorate the place assigned’ them and complete construction by Palm Sunday. For construction and decoration of desks and galleries in this and other parishes, and quarrels over placement of stools, CP 46, 318–26.

249 27 June 1586.
250 15 May 1587.
I have retained original spellings, of course, including wildly variant spellings of the same name within a single entry, for the sake of accuracy and for those interested in early modern orthography or in tracking down surnames. It should be noted that in this manuscript the Christian name ‘John’ is spelled ‘Jhon’ very consistently, so I have retained that spelling in both the transcription and the accompanying text: it is a Perth hallmark. There is just one exception to this rule of retaining original spelling with regard to proper names: I have eliminated the gratuitous doubling of final consonants (in names and other words) and the arbitrary terminal ‘e’ on both surnames and forenames, since these occur throughout the manuscript and would actually have added considerably to the length of the transcription. For the same reason, I have transcribed the looped ending of words ending ‘-tioun’ without the ‘u’ (so, ‘fornication’ rather than ‘fornicatioun’). Since in secretary hand ‘w’ and ‘u’, ‘j’ and ‘i’ are interchangeable, and since their use is quite inconsistent in this manuscript, I have transcribed them in accord with modern practice (so that ‘wnder’ becomes ‘under’, ‘iust’ becomes ‘just’), except in the case of proper names (so that ‘Broun’ survives alongside ‘Brown’). The thorn and yogh I have transcribed as ‘th’ and ‘y’ (so ‘balyeis’ rather than ‘baljeis’). I have retained the manuscript’s lower-case Roman numerals. Words or word fragments that have been struck through I have omitted from the text since in no case do they affect the meaning; they are simply scribal errors quickly caught.

Standard abbreviations I have silently expanded, using the usual spelling of the manuscript where it is consistent (as in ‘quhair’ for the ‘q’ followed by a superscript ‘r’, and ‘quhilk’ for ‘q’ followed by a superscript ‘lk’). When expanding the thorn followed by a superscript ‘r’, I have used modern spelling (‘their’ or ‘there’ as context indicates) on grounds that there is not a consistent contemporary spelling in the manuscript (‘there’, ‘thare’, ‘thair’, and ‘thar’ all recurring unpredictably); however, since ‘therefor’ is nearly always ‘thairfoir’ when the word is spelled out in this manuscript, I have expanded the abbreviation thus when it appears before ‘foir’. This principle applies to names as well (‘Robert’ from ‘R’ + superscript ‘o’, ‘Smyth’ for ‘Smy’ + superscript ‘t’, for instance), except for the ‘Mc-’ surnames. Here capitalisation becomes a problem: McGregor is in the manuscript quite consistently rendered ‘M’ + superscript ‘c’ before a lower-case ‘g’. Given that the name is also spelled ‘Makgregor’, I have opted throughout to read the superscript ‘c’ version as an abbreviation for ‘Mac’ and spelled the name

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'Macgregor' (or 'Mackie' in the case of 'M' + superscript 'c' before lowercase 'kie', with the name also spelled 'Makky and Mackie'). The abbreviation for Andrew I have rendered 'Andro' as more usual than 'Androw' in this manuscript (unless a 'w' appears in the abbreviation); the English version of the name never appears. Two forenames are problematic: 'Constantine' is sometimes spelled thus, and sometimes 'Constein', so I have taken the latter as an abbreviation and expanded to 'Constantine'. On the other hand, Dionysius Conqueror's forename in this manuscript (in contrast to other contemporary Perth documents) is quite consistently given as 'Dioneis', Dionys', or 'Dioneß', so I have regarded this as a nickname rather than an abbreviation and kept the various original spellings. For the abbreviation 'lib' with a tittle I have written the $L$ sign. 'et&' and 'e&' are expanded to etc. 'M' + superscript 'r' is retained as the abbreviation 'Mr'. The terminal $\beta$ I have transcribed as a contraction of variable use: -se at the end of 'houß', -ss for 'paß', -s for 'Dioneß'.

Capitalisation has in general been modernised, except that I have eschewed the modern convention of capitalising 'god' and 'christ' in view of the scribe's completely consistent use of the lower case. He also keeps the 'king's majesty' in lower case, and I have followed suit. It should be noted that in the manuscript both surnames and forenames are most often rendered in the lower case, and that when only one is capitalised, it is as often as not the forename. This is true of women's as well as men's names, and of other contemporary Perth manuscripts, such as council minutes and bailies court records. The scribe rarely capitalised days of the week or months, or the beginnings of sentences. It may be worth noting that there is often more capitalisation than usual for communion entries, as if the clerk sought to convey the importance or sanctity of the event; still, inconsistency reigned.

Marginalia were important bureaucratic devices, as noted above, so I have included them in parentheses after the relevant entry. They include the codes for marriage banns and appearances on the stool of repentance discussed above, but also an occasional 'X' simply to emphasise the importance of an act or decision (as on pp. 29 and 31, for acts about the hospital and altarages). A marginal 'nota' or drawing of a pointing finger also drew attention to acts intended to serve as precedents for future decisions, or to actions involving substantial sums of money; the drawings are mentioned in footnotes to the entry. Marginal codes sometimes include full stops, which I retain. Where a code takes more than one line, a slash mark within my parenthetical insertion indicates the line break. In rare instances where marginalia enumerate items in a list, these numbers are inserted parenthetically in the text at the beginning of the item, rather than at the end of the entry. This practice appears only in the first twelve pages of the manuscript; after 5 May 1577, the scribe dropped the practice of enumerating the day's cases.

Numbers in square brackets indicate the page or folio number of the
manuscript. The first volume of minutes is paginated, the second (from 7 November 1587) foliated. The original includes almost no punctuation; I have inserted minimal punctuation in the form of commas in lists and periods to end sentences or long phrases. Text inserted in square brackets either injects a word for readability (as 'and' in a list) or indicates the likely read of an illegible or lost portion of the text, where it is quite obvious. Ellipses serve for damaged sections that cannot be guessed with relative certainty.
Perth Kirk Session Books

1577–1590
CH2/521/1


Compeirit Jhon Swentown alledgit father to the bairn, quha being demaundit gif he hes hade carnal deal with Marjorie Quhyt with thir ix moneths bygane or thairby, quha denyit that he had ony carnal dail with hir within thir ii yeiris bygane. And thairfoir the said Marjorie referrit to hir consciens to sweir gif he had carnal deal with hir or no be the space foresaid. Thairfoir the assemblie assignes to the said Jhon Monnonday nixt to gif furt his aith thereupon, ather negative or affirmative, and to advys with his aith quhil the said day.

1 The text begins abruptly with Quhyt's second offence. Clearly there were antecedent pages to this volume of session records which have been lost. The top of the page is badly torn, so that the date is missing. To 'compeair' is to present oneself before the court.

2 In addition to an ecclesiastical penalty (public humiliation and/or a fine), a convicted sexual offender could be referred to the magistrate for gaoling and corporal punishment, since fornication and adultery were prohibited by civil as well as church law. In Scotland, the church court prescribed the length of imprisonment and degree of corporal punishment, but the bailies saw that it was carried out. The full civil penalties prescribed by the 1567 statute were severe but seldom imposed: For the first offence, 'asweil the man as the woman' a fine of £40 or (for the imppecunious) imprisonment for eight days on 'bread & small drink', then two hours at the market cross 'bareheaded, and there [to] stand fastened [as to a pillory], that they may not remove'. For the second fault the fine was 100 merks, or for the poor twice the time in gaol and then to the market place with the head shaved. For a third offence the fine rose to £100, or triple the gaol time on bread and water and 'in the end to be taken to the deepest and foulest pool or water of the town or parish, there to be thrice dunked, and thereafter banished the said town or parish forever': APS iii, 25, c. 14 (1567).

3 Sexual intercourse. Jhon Swenton was the master of the burgh songschool (see Introduction, 'Personnel'). His relationship with Quhyt would continue for years: see 11 Apr. 1586, a third fornication charge, with a bairn in need of baptism.

4 These, that is, within the last nine months.

5 On the giving of oaths of verity in probation see Walker, A Legal History of Scotland, vol. III: The Sixteenth Century, 616; D. Robertson, 'Burgh court records 1319–1834' in An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature of Scots Law (Edinburgh, 1936), 102. Used very frequently in civil cases, the 'great oath', taken on relics before the Reformation or on the gospels both before and after, was taken as decisive unless contradictory evidence was overwhelming. Note that the option of swearing their innocence was given to women as well as men, Marjorie Quhyt already having been'referred to her conscience to swear'. Swenton seems not to have been willing to swear at this appearance and was given until the Monday meeting to decide whether to do it then: obviously his refusal would have made the elders all the more suspicious of him.

6 Until.
Compeirit Agnes Boyis and confessit hir fornication with Thomas Rollok, and the second fault, and thairfoir willinglie submittis hir self to the disciplen of the kirk and the civil punisment. (1 2 3 4 5 6 R./ 2 fall)

Comperit James Mersser and confessit his fornication with Margret Meffen, and the first fait, and therefor submittes hym self to the disciplyn and civil punishcment of the kyrk. (1 2 3 R.)

xxvii Maii 1577
Quhilk day compeirit Thomas Gaw and confessis hes fornication comittit with Elin Colway and submittis him self to the disciplin of the kirk thairfoir. In sing quhairof presentlie he is content to begine the accomplishisment of the civil punisment. (1 2 3 R.)

Compeirit Jhon Swentown and refusit to gif his aith upon the contentis of the last act, and thairfoir the assembhe ordanis the kirk to proceid agains him be admonitionis under the paine of the censures of the kirk to depon his aith negative or affirmative conform to the last act conteining the fornication confest be Margerie Quhyt comittit with him to quhom sche is with bairn as sche hes confess and alleigitt presentlie.

[2] xx Junii
Quhilk day compeirit Allan Dik flesher [and confessfornication] and carnal deal with Margaret ... ar both ordanit to mak thair repentens befoir thair mar[riage and] to pay xls to the puir conform to the act maid. (Act for poyndis befoir mariage)

7 Rollok may be the baxter (baker) of that name: PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 53.
8 The numbers in the margin indicate the number of sabbaths or other preaching days when the offender performed repentance on the penitents' seat in the kirk. Boyis had to appear six times because it was her second 'fall'. The 'R' indicates the 'receiving' of the now-reconciled penitent back into the congregation. Such notations are frequent in this volume, particularly in the first half, but they are not consistent. Irregularity is more likely due to scribal lapse than to failure of the penitents to obey, but the marginalia here are transcribed as they appear. On performing public repentance, see CP, 127-82.
9 Meffen' may be a phonetic spelling of 'Methven', a common surname in Perth, as it would have sounded in this period.
10 For 'sign'.
11 The baptismal registers of Perth, which begin in 1561, lapse between June of 1576 and July of 1577; however, the registers for April 1586 do record another illegitimate child born to them, so the couple seems to have stayed together for nearly a decade without marrying: NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1, n.f.; NLS ms Adv. 31.1.5, p. 172.
12 The torn upper corner of the page make parts of this and the next two entries illegible. The marginal note refers to an earlier act of the session to set the standard penalty for this offence. It was usual for clerks beginning a new volume of session minutes to refer to earlier acts of session when the first penalties for that offence are assigned. 'Poyndis' or 'pundis'
Comperit Robert Stenis and confess his cohabitation [and car]nal deal with Issobel Huyton and thairfoir they [are or]danit to makin' thair repentens befoir thair mariage or [to]
pay xls to the pur.

Compeirit William Stevinson and confess his fornication with ... Blak and submitis him to the disciplein of the kirk. A[nd] becaus Patrik Law hes promiseit and bescum caution for [the] young man William Stevison that he sail perform the civil punish[ment] beginning on Monday cum aucht dayis except the standing in the irnis for the quhilk the said Patrick hes instant payit four pundis to the puir gifin to James Sim, thairfoir it is permissit to the said William be the assemblie to accomplis[sh] his mariage on Sunday nixt with [ ] Lamb. (1 2 3 R. / iii £ for Irnes)

Compeirit Thomas Beschop and confess his cohabitation and carnal deal with Violat Dog befoir the mariage, and therfoir hes promissit to pay xls to the puir and to accomplis hes mariage on Sunday cum xiii days.

Compeirit Jhon Swanton and confesses his fornication with Maijorie Quhyt and the second fault, and submits himself to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil punishments conform to the order. And is ordanit to compeir befoir

are monetary fines; 40s was usual for antenuptial fornication. Fines were paid not to the officers of the court (as in English ecclesiastical courts), but directly to the kirk box or the poor box.

Stevinson may be the maltman admitted to the mercantile guildry in 1576 (GB, 286, 21 Apr. 1576).


James Sim or Sym was a long-serving deacon, re-elected in 1577, 1578, annually from 1580 to 1583, and again in 1585 and 1586. It was usually possible for the propertied to buy their way out of corporal punishment.

Beschope may have appeared at this date because his wife was more visibly pregnant than she should have been three months after their marriage; however, no child is recorded born to them in the baptismal register for this year. Beschope promises to marry in two weeks.
the assemblie on Monday the vii of Julii to ressaif his injunctionis for his seconde fault of fornication. (1 2 3 4 5 6 R/2 fall)

The first of Julii 1577

Becaus certaine inhabitantis of this town alsueil agains the expres commandement of the civil magistrait in counsal as agains the ministeris prohibition in pulpit has playit corpus christeis play upon Thursday the ... of Junii last, quhilk day wes wont to be callit [cor]pus christeis day, to the great sklander of the kirk of god and dishonor to this haill town, and beca[u]se the said play is idolatrous, superstitious, and also sl[an]deroues alsweill be resson of the idell da.... ([A]ct of corpus cresties play[er]is)

[3] xix Julii 1577

(1) Quhilk day it was ordainit be assemblie that the master [of hospital] sail sell the laird of Inchmarteinis victualis for ii s by the boll....

(2) Quhilk day the assemblie thinkis meit that the persons underwryt[ten] sail produce thair evidentis of thair landes for sik dutie as is contenit in the rental gifin up to the maister [of] hospital agains this day viii dayis, viz the laird of Lawais, Cuthb[ert] Rynd, Allexander Burnat, Patrick Inglis, the

20 To be sentenced.
21 Against.
22 All celebration of holy days other than the sabbath had been forbidden by the Reformers. Here the traditional Catholic celebration of Corpus Christi Day (the Thursday after Trinity Sunday), including a play or pageant, persisted despite prohibition: see M. Todd, 'Profane pastimes and the Reformed community: The persistence of popular festivities in early modern Scotland', Journal of British Studies, 39 (2000), 123–56; BUK i, 332, 334, 339, 388; ii, 407, 410; First Book, 88–89; APS iii, 542, c. 8. For the play itself, see NTS ms 19239, fo. 2 (1518 disbursements for the play, listing the roles), and A. J. Mill, 'The Perth hammermen's play: A Scottish Garden of Eden', SHR 49 (1970), 146–53. The marginal note refers to an earlier act of session, suggesting that this was not the first violation of the protestant order.
23 The ink on this page of the manuscript is badly faded, with much illegible, indicated by elipses here. The seven entries are numbered in the left margin, here in parentheses.
24 A number following 'boll' is illegible, as is the total sum indicated at the end of the line. The laird of Inchmartin held lands from the former Blackfriars and now owed rents to the hospital to be paid in kind, 8 bolls each of barley and wheat. The session set the price for sale of the grain each year. By 1606 the total amounted to £26 13s 4d, in addition to £7 13s 4d from the laird's fishing rights on the Tay: Milne, 36, 54, 78, 162. In the first twelve pages of the manuscript, and never afterwards, the scribe numbers cases in the margins; the editor has inserted these numbers parenthetically in the text at the beginning of the item, rather than at the end of the entry as with other marginalia.
25 For the laird of Lawers' lands see Milne 62 (his own lodging on the west side of the Watergate, from which 2 merks had gone annually to St Tennent's altar), 72, 95, 148, 211.
26 There is no Cuthbert among the many Rhynds in Milne, 523 (index), or in the GB.
27 Perhaps the wright of this name admitted to the guildry in 1567 (GB, 260, 20 Oct.); no one of this name is listed in Milne's edition of the hospital rental books.
28 A saddler, bailie, and one of the elders at the time (see Appendix I).
THE PERTH KIRK SESSION BOOKS: 1577

relict of Allexander Dundie, Thomas Dae, Andro Keir, Robert Colt, Donald Jhonson, the relict of Jhon Anderson.

v Augusti 1577

(3) The assemblie desyres that the counsal will caus produ[ce] the funda-
tionis out of the charter kist to the end that thairby it may be knawin quhidder gif the rentalls gifin to [the] Master [of] Hospital be trew or not.

(4) The assemblie ordaines the Master [of] Hospital to gif Saltcoittis the crepil x s.

(5) Becaus James Pitlyndie was warnit to compeir befoir the assemblie and comperit not, and seing he is becum caution for Robert Stenis that he suld accomplis the band of mareage with hir with quhom he hes present cohab-
itation, and not accomplis the sam as yit, therefor ordanis the cautioner to be handlit according to resson.

xii Augusti 1577

(6) Quhilk day compeirit the relict of Jhon Anderson elder and producit ane evident of the land lyand betuix the land of umquhill Thomas Peblis on the west and Waltur Leitche on the eist, quhilk is of the dait of apud Perth

29 Dundie's relict (widow) was Alison Roland, whose will of 1587 reveals that Dundie was a skinner burgess (NRS ms CC8/8/18/154–5); for his hospital lands, see Milne, 18, 20, 219.
30 For Dae's hospital lands, see Milne 19, 32, 62, 66.
31 For Keir's lands, see Milne 32, 82.
32 See Milne, 28 for Colt's obit lands.
33 A merchant's son of this name was admitted to the guildry 7 Nov 1571 (GB, 268); for his hospital lands see Milne, 27, 67, 194.
34 This is a different Jhon Anderson from the elder, who died in 1579 and whose wife died in 1582 (see Appendix I). Several Jhon Andersons held hospital properties (Milne, 499), and it is not possible to determine which one this is.
35 Council possession of these documents in their own 'kist' (chest) was emblematic of ongoing dispute between session and council about control of the rental income from the lands of former altars, monasteries, friaries and prebendaries bestowed on the hospital by a royal charter of 9 Aug 1569 (during Moray's regency), confirmed by a second charter in 29 July 1587, after the king attained his majority, and by acts of the 1587 and 1592 parlia-
ments (Milne, iv–v, xi–xii, li–lxvi – texts of both charters, lxvi–lxx – parliamentary acts). The surviving foundation documents (formerly in the council's kist) are now in the NRS, mss GD79.
36 The usual abbreviation throughout the manuscript is 'M. Hospital'.
37 The session ordered such occasional doles to local poor and infirm people with increasing regularity.
38 The elders are keeping their options open: they can collect the penalty from Pitlyndie and ward Stenis, threaten future collection to get Pitlyndie to put pressure on Stenis, or negoti-
tiate with Pitlyndie to give Stenis more time to marry.
39 The late, deceased.
vigesimo mensis Marci anno millesimo quadragintesimo nonagesimo ..., in the quhilk is contenit no dewty to the hospital.

(7) Quhilk day comperit Robert Cok and exhibit ane charter of the inwart land and the under foirland occupit be James ... baxter and the bakland with the selleris thairof de data apud Perth vigesimo die mensis Maii anno ... quarto...

[4] Quhilk day comperit Thomas ... and exhibit ane charter of his land quhilk payis yeirlie x s to sanct Tenents alter of the dait at Perth millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo septimo and is content to pay the samyn, and the said charter contenis na thing to the confaternitie.

(2) Quhilk day comperit Andro Keir and exhibit ane charter of his land quhilk payis to the confaternitie viii s yeirl[ie] de data millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto.

(3) Quhilk day the assemblie ordanis the Master [of] Hospital to tak up the dewteis of the hospitalite, or than to gif in his executionis thairupon.

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40 At Perth, 20 Mar. 149-. The remainder of the date is illegible.
41 Illegible. The final entry on this page is very badly faded. Medieval burghs were divided into long plots (tofts) with narrow street frontage for a house and/or shop (booth) and space behind for garden plots, animals and outbuildings: P.G.B. McNeill and H.L. MacQueen (eds), Atlas of Scottish History to 1707 (Edinburgh, 1996), 458–59. By the sixteenth century, with population growth, housing had been constructed at the rear (backland) and middle (inwart) of many tofts as well, and upper stories had been added (so ‘under’ for ground floor), producing rent that in this case might be due to the hospital. The document of 20 March in the 1490s would indicate the rental income at the time the land was devoted to religious use, from which the post-Reformation hospital claim derived.
42 The final line of this five-line entry in badly faded ink is completely illegible, as are a few words earlier, but the entry relates to lands presumably being assessed for support of the hospital according to a charter dated 20 May 14—.
43 This five-line entry is badly faded, the paper torn just where Thomas’ surname appeared. Nine entries on the page are numbered in the left margin, here in parentheses; the first case number was torn away with the upper corner of the page. Saint Adamnan’s altar was commonly called Saint Tennent’s. There is no record of when it was founded, but this session record suggests that it was before 1437. Thomas Cramby was among those recorded in the earliest rental book as owing £4 yearly to St Tennent’s; Thomas Day and James Byn together owed 20s; and Thomas Sym owed 19s (Milne, 19). This Thomas is probably Day or Sym, given the small space possible for the surname.
44 1444.
45 The master was James Davidson, who had taken up the post in May but clearly lacked the commitment required to do the job effectively. He would resign the following week (19 Aug.), insisting that he had already tried to resign at some earlier date; see also Milne, xlv, 16, 18, 27, 37, 60, 64, 159. The mastership would be taken by Andrew Donaldson and Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir (7 Oct. 1577).
(4) The assemblie thinkis guid on Monday forrow nun to sicht the fundacionis and efternun to tak order with the comptes.

xix Augusti 1577

(5) The quhilk day James Davidson elder dischargis him self of his part of the maisterschips of the hospitalitie as also he sayit he dischargit him self afoir.

(6) Quhilk day compeirit Robert Millar and Margaret Blair and confess thair mutual cohabitation befoir thair mairiage, for the quhilk thai sail pay as thai promest xl s, and Nicol Blair cautioner for the samyn.

(7) Comperit Elin Mikalston and confesses hir fornication with Andro Grant and submittis hir self to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil puneisment.

(8) The kirk desyris Jhon Peblis to speik [to] the laird Balhousie desyring him to us[e] the exerceis of religion and to report his answer on Thursday nixt.

(9) Quhilk day comperit Jhon Gray and being demandit gif he rasit ony letters upon his pension awand to him as ane sumtymes of the brethir of the Blakfferes of this town, quha anserit that quhowbeit he rasit letters thairupon, thit in hoip of gud payment in tymis cuming as the rest gettis, he dischargis the said letters and the executionis thairon and all that may pas thairupon of the dait the 2 day of Februar in the yeir of god IM v c lxxvii yeir. (Act of Jhon Grayes pension)

(10) Thursday nixt is ordainit to witness the confession of Jhon Sw[enton].

46 In the morning (forenoon) they will examine the foundation documents.
47 One may presume that they confessed because Margaret was too far along in a pregnancy for their antenuptial fornication to go un-noticed; however, there is no birth recorded for the couple in the following nine months (NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1, n.f.). One must consider the possibility that they were assuaging guilt.
48 One of the elders.
49 This local family with extensive lands north of the burgh (including hospital lands) were suspected of Catholicism. Balhousie Castle, erected 1422, originally pertained to the Eviot family, then went to Robert Mercer in 1478, then to the Hays earls of Kinmoull (W.H. Findlay, *Heritage of Perth* (Perth, 1984, 2nd edn 1996), 70). On their properties, see Milne, 36–37, 161 (Colin Eviot of Balhousie indebted to the hospital of 200 merks), 196, 230. The outcome of this summons is not noted in the subsequent minutes.
50 Owed.
51 Grey was a former Dominican and as such received a pension from the protestant kirk since his friary was now abolished. He initiated legal action in February to secure back pay, but now terminates ('discharges') it as an act of good faith (and doubtless to save legal expenses).
xxiii Aug 1577

(1) Quhilk day compeirit Thomas Thorskail quha desyring his bairn baptisit and confess him to be ane of the numberis of corpus christeis playaris quha buir the aufenze of the samyn, for the quhilk sklander he offeris and submittis him self to the discipline of the kirk with my lords advyse and promisses in tymis cuming nevir to mell with sik thingis again onder the pain of the censures of the kirk. In respect quhairof and of his obediens of the kirk the elderis presentlie convenit viz Jhon Andersoun, Olipher Peblis, Andro Donaldson, William Anderson, Patrik Inglis, Allexander Anderson, which thinkis expedient that the said Thomas Thorskails bairn be baptis[ed] becaus he hes offerit him self obedient to the kirk according to the act maid thairupon. (practeis of the act of corpus christies play)

xxvi Aug 1577

(2) The quhilk day it is reportit be the officiar that Waltir Davidson and Elspet Chreichton dwelland in Balhoussie as personis mareit and yit is not mareit, wes warnit to compeir befoir the assemblie this day and compeirit not. Thairfoir the elders desyris and ordanis that thai be warnit on Thursday and Sonday nixt and syk lyk thaireftir to compeir befoir the assemblie under the paine of excommunication.

The first of September 1577

(3) Quhilk day compereit Robert Paul befoir nun immediatlie eftir sermund in presence of the congregation quha desyring to haif his bairn baptisit and confess him to be ane of the num[ber] of tham of corpus christeis playars amangis the skorners, for the quhilk sklandir he offeris and submittis him self to the disciplein of the kirk and promisses in tymis cuming nevir to mell with sik thingis again under the paine of the censures of the kirk. In respect quhairof the elderis presentlie convenit viz Robert Mersser, William Fleming, George Jhonson, Allexander Anderson, William Anderson, thinkes

52 Meddle.

53 The election records of Oct. 1576 do not survive, but this list of elders enables us to begin reconstructing the list. Note that these six include three merchants (John and William Anderson and Peblis) and three craftsmen (Alexander Anderson, a wright; Inglis, a saddler; and Donaldson, also a hammerman). For more biographical information on these elders, see Appendix I.

54 Following the Reformation, excommunication was pronounced at the parochial rather than the episcopal level, on the authority of the congregation, by the minister on advice of the session. It was preceded by weeks of warnings like this, private and public admonitions, and efforts to bring the offender to repentance: First Book, 168–70.

55 Among those who played the scorners of Christ in the play.

56 Paul has taken the unusual route of confessing to the entire congregation in church after the sermon, perhaps anticipating that he would have to perform public repentance in any case in order to secure baptism for his child.
expedient the said Robert Paulles [bairn] be baptisit becauis he hes offerit him self obedient to the kirk according to the act maid thairupon.\textsuperscript{57} (practeis also)

2 September \textit{anno} 1577

(4) Qhilk day the officiar recordes that Margaret Hillok wes ord[anit] to compeir befoir the assemble and compeirit not, thairfoir directs the magistrat to put her in ward ay and quhill she compeiris.\textsuperscript{58}

[6] Qhilk day compeirit David Dikson, Henry Pyper, William Gla...,\textsuperscript{59} David Mury, Jhon Ronaldson, Robert Moncreif, Thomas ...,\textsuperscript{60} Allexander Galloway and confess tham to be of corpus chris[teis] playars, for the qhilk sklander thai submit tham selfis to the disciplein of the kirk and promisses nev[er] to mell with sik thingis again under the paine of the censures of the kirk, in respect quhairof the assemblie\textsuperscript{61} thinkis expedient that the benefittes of the kirk\textsuperscript{62} be given to the forsaides persons. ([p]racteis also)

16 September 1577

(2) The assemblie ordains the masters [of] hospital to intromet with the Witsunday term last and the annuallis thairof of sainct Josephis alter and to gif the on[e] hailf of the annualles of the said term to Jhon Watson sone to the last possessor thairof, and that to releif ane part of the dettis that the last possessor wes achtand.\textsuperscript{63}

(3) The elderis present thinkes meit that Patrik Inglis remuif out of the assemble quhill he be accusit of sundrie thingis to be layit to his charge.\textsuperscript{64}

(4) Qhilk day compeirit Thomas Rollyk, William Jak son to George Jak, Thomas Cragie and confess tham to be of corpus christeis playaris, for the

\textsuperscript{57} The session has arranged a special meeting after the service to rule on Paul's case. For fuller identification of the additional elders listed here, see Appendix I.

\textsuperscript{58} The threat of warding (being gaoled) suggests that Hillok had been contumacious for some time, perhaps before this session volume begins.

\textsuperscript{59} Torn page cuts the rest of the surname, and the ends of a few more words in this entry.

\textsuperscript{60} Surname illegibly abbreviated.

\textsuperscript{61} 'Kirk' here is crossed out, with 'assembly' inserted above (and page torn). 'Kirk' tends to be a more inclusive term, referring to congregation as well as session; the 'assembly' is clearly just the session.

\textsuperscript{62} The sacraments, including baptism of their children.

\textsuperscript{63} Financial provision for those who had been vested in Catholic altars is here extended to their heirs in the first generation, which may help to explain why there was as little objection to Reformation from donors and clerics in the Catholic system as there was. The final term is a corruption of 'awand', owing.

\textsuperscript{64} Inglis will not be re-elected to the session again until 1580. There is no information in the register about the charges against him.
quhilk skander thai submit tham selfis to the disciplein of the kirk and promises nevir to mell with siklyk thingis again under the pain of the censures of the kirk, in respect quhairof the assembleie thinkis expedient that the benefeittis of the kirk be grantit to thir forsaides persons. ([p]racteis also)

20 September 1577
(5) Quhilk day compeirit Margret Bulzein and confest that sche is with bairn to Andro Jakson and submittis hir self to the disciplein of the kirk, and also Katheren Brown spous to Harie Drummond hes promisit to entir hir into the tolbuith upon Monday next and hir hand uphaldin to the sam effect.\(^5\) (1 2 3 R.)

(6) Quhilk day comperit Andro Jakson and confesses his fornication with the said Margret Bulzein, and submittis him self to the disciplein of the kirk and civil punisment. For performa[nce] Andro Bog is cautionar to entir the said Andro Jakson on Mon[day] nixt. (1 2 3 R.).\(^6\)

(7) Quilk day compeirit Margret Giffan and confest her fornication committed with [ ]\(^7\) for the quhilk fault sche submittis hir self to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil punisment. (1 2 3 R.)

7 October 1577

(1) Becaus Thomas Swentoun Redar hes servit this haill yeir bigane the assembleie, being thair scribe, and hes ressaifit no recompense for his trav-ellis bestowed [upon] tham, thairfor it is ordanit be the haill assembleie that the said Thomas sail ressaf ten merks money of the first casualiteis that sail intervein and chance unto the theresuouerie for his service bygang yeirly sa mekle induring the tyme of his service.\(^8\) (act for the scrybe)

The names of the Elderis present in this asse[mbly]
James Hepburn, William Fleming, Jhon Davidson, Allexander Anderson, Patrick Inglis, William Anderson, Robert Chapman, Allexander Gibson, Robert Anderson.\(^9\)

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\(^5\) Katheren Brown is effectively operating as a cautioner, her oath with hand upheld being taken in lieu of a financial obligation. She now becomes Margret’s keeper and will be held responsible should Margret fail to appear in the tolbooth. Female cautioners are unusual.

\(^6\) Torn edge of manuscript cuts off parts of several words.

\(^7\) The name of her partner is left blank.

\(^8\) Swenton’s back pay is to come from the fines paid by offenders. ‘Sa mekle’: so much, the same amount. The clerk mistakes Jhon’s name for thomas.

\(^9\) Adding this to the two earlier rolls of elders gives us fourteen rather than the requisite twelve elders in the 1576–77 session. Exclusion of Inglis (supposedly ousted 16 Sept. for unspecified charges) would bring the number to thirteen. Perhaps Inglis attended on this
(2) The quhilk day the assemblie hes chosin sik as sall beir offices this yeir to cum in the kirk quhois names followis, viz:

The election of the elderis, 1577

The north syd of the Higait
- William Bury
- Jhon Salmond
- Andro Jhonson

The Wattergait
- Andro Moncreif
- Allexander Maxton
- Jhon Wood

The south syd of the Higait
- Andro Malcom
- Alexander Glas
- Duncan Macgregor

The election of the deaconis 1577

The north syd of the Higait
- James Sim
- Allexander Dundie
- Andro Anderson maltman

The Wattergait
- Jhon Ronaldson
- Walter Meik
- James Mar

The south syd of the Higait
- William Anderson chaplane
- Jhon Bowyman
- Allexander Schephard

The Southgait
- Andro Blythman
- Jhon Swenton
- William Lawson

As for the newly listed elders, Chapman, Hepburn and Anderson were merchants; Davidson and Gibson notaries: See Appendix I.

The new session was evenly divided between craftsmen and merchants: Bury was a skinner; Malcom, Moncreif, and Wood were baxters; Glass and Horne were both saddlers (Moncreif and Horne were also in the guildry). Anderson, Jhonson, Macgregor, Salmon, Maxton, and Robertson were merchants. For further identification, see Appendix I. Note the nearly complete turnover of personnel on the session with this election, only Jhon Anderson remaining from the previous year's roll.

The deacons, of somewhat lower social status, are more difficult to identify. This William Anderson (not the merchant/elder) was chaplain of the Nomine Jesu and St Margaret's altars in the parish church before the Reformation (Milne, 309, 472, 475); his election as deacon indicates that he has converted to protestantism, but he may still be collecting his pension. The Jhon Swenton among the deacons is the reader of the kirk and the songschool master. Sym may be the son of the merchant Jhon Sym, a member of the guildry since 1545; James was admitted in 1570 (GB, 162, 265). Mar was a wright and a man of some substance. He held property on the west side of the Watergate, at least part of which was paying to the hospital one mark, and on the north side of the Market Cross (Milne, 18–19, 27, 83, 89, 94). Dundie may be the son of the skinner of that name whose widow possessed hospital lands (see above, 19 July 1577).
The quhilk day Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir and Andro Donaldson are chosin maisteris of the hospitalite of Perth.\textsuperscript{72}

(3) The quhilk day it is ordanit be the assemblie that the minister publis in the pulpet on Sonday nixt thir personis above writ alsweill elderis [and] deaconis as maisteris hospitalite to the end thai may lauchfullie ressaif thair offices and be warnit to the faithful execution of the samyn.

\begin{quote}
13 Octobris 1577

The quhilk day the minister publictlie in pulpeit in [the] heinder end of the sermon publeist the names of the men chosin elderis, deaconis and masters of the hospital forsaides, desyring gif any of tham\textsuperscript{73} hade to oppone\textsuperscript{74} againis the samyn that thai oppone in tym and place, and becaus no thing wes objectit nor opponit, the said elderis and deacon\[s] with the masters [of the] hospital forsaides comperit and acceptit everi[e] ane thair office and gaif thair aith of the faithful admin\[is\]tration thairof conform to the order. (acceptacion of officiars in the kyrk)\textsuperscript{75}
\end{quote}

14 Octobris 1577

(2) The quhilk day compeirit Jhon Swenton quha bein accusit be Marjorie Quhyt that he mad ane faithful promeis of mariage to hir befoir the beget-ting of the last b[airn] with hir and becaus sche hade no probation to prove the sam[yn] sche referrit it simplidter to hir aith. Quha deponit the hole Euvangellis tuichit\textsuperscript{76} be his aith sworn he never made faithful promeis of mariage to her befoir the date hierof, and yit notwithstanding, he is content [to accept]\textsuperscript{77} the eldest bairn from hir and promeist to sustein the samyn.\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{72} Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir, dean of guild in 1569, was holder of the lands of Tullilum, the most valuable of the former properties of the Carmelites, or Whitefriars, for which he paid annually £29 in feu. The conflict of interest is obvious.

\textsuperscript{73} Any member of the congregation.

\textsuperscript{74} Had some objection.

\textsuperscript{75} Editorial insertions into the text are made where the right margin is torn, in each entry on this page.

\textsuperscript{76} It is a bit unusual to find a post-Reformation church record of someone swearing by a holy object or book, even the Bible. This oath on the holy evangelgs, the four gospels, is the only example in the Perth minutes. It was a common pre-Reformation oath (recurring frequently, for example, in the first thirty folios of the hammermen's guild book, NLS ms 19239), and it was retained by the council afterwards (e.g. PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 19v, touching 'the holy evangelist' that an inventory was truly given).

\textsuperscript{77} Omitted.

\textsuperscript{78} Quhyt would have retained custody of the baby so that she could nurse the child. With the two oaths conflicting, this compromise solution would have suited the elders, who probably doubted both parties but obviously had no way of proving the case.
2 Novembris

(3) The quhilk day the assemblie ordeins Georg Meik to [be] put in the tolbuith ay and quhill\textsuperscript{79} he find caution to [obey] the injunctions of the kirk.

(4) The quhilk dai the assemblie appointis Duncan Macgr[egor] younger and James Sim to stand on evereiksyd\textsuperscript{80} of William Clark the tyme nixt preching daye quhill he enter in to the stule of the penitentes. And in lykmanner appointit Alexander Maxton and Jhon Ronaldson to byd with Jonat Quhy[t]cok quhill as sche enter in doing of the samyn. (No[t]a how adulteraris suld stand at the kyrk dor)

9 Novembris

(I[sic, for 5]) Quhilk day comperit Margret Hillock\textsuperscript{81} and confesses hir fornication with [ ] Langlandes and hes sworn the samyn. And becaus sche is nurcis to Andro Mersser['s child] he is caution to [see that] she satisifie for this last bairn conform to the order, and to present hir to the kirk eftir the fostering\textsuperscript{82} of hir bairne, under the paines of x \(L\). to the puir. [And further that] hir bairn is ordainit to be baptisit.\textsuperscript{83}

xviii Novembris

(6) Comperit Jhon Macbaith and confesses his fornication (1 2 3 R.) \[9\] with Cirstane Smith and submits himself to the discipline of the kirk and the civil [punisment thairfoir.]

(1) Quhilk day comperit [ ] [Bl]air and confesses fornication with [ ] Mac..., for the quhilk he submittis him[self] to the disciplein of the kirk and to the civil punishment.\textsuperscript{85} (1 2 3 R.)

(2) Quhilk day the letters of the hospitalite wes delyverit by Andro Donaldson, ane of the maisters of hospital, in presence of the minister and elderis. (The letters of the hospital in quhais handes)\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{79} Until.

\textsuperscript{80} On either side.

\textsuperscript{81} See 2 Sept. 1577.

\textsuperscript{82} Weaning.

\textsuperscript{83} Badly faded ink and the torn edge render illegible a few words of this entry, but bracketed insertions are credible guesses. The next mention of Hillock in the session minutes is for contumacy, 18 Aug. 1578. On 2 Nov. 1579 the session ordered her caution, Andro Mersser, to present her again or pay \(L\)10. Good childcare must have been then as now hard to get, which helps to explain why fathers of young children so often agreed to serve as cautions for misbehaving nurses in their employ, and indeed very often tried to protect them from discipline.

\textsuperscript{84} Badly faded ink and torn corners require elipses and editorial insertions on this page.

\textsuperscript{85} Both surnames are left blank; the rest of the entry is badly faded.

\textsuperscript{86} Presumably a miswriting of 'their hands'
25 November 1577

(3) Compeirit Katren Cutbert and Thomas Paterson and promises to accomplis the marriage contract bet[ween] tham, for accomplisment quhair of Jhon Wood and Thomas Byrn war caution.87

9 Decembris 1577

(4) Becaus that Thomas Paterson and Katrin Cuthbert contractit mariage and the said Katrin will not accomplis the samyn, thairfoir desyris the bailyeis to puind Thomas [sic] Wood quha wes cautionar for the said Katrine for x £ according to the act.

(5) Quhilk day it is ordanit that Elin Ramsay salbe puneist as ane fornicatrix and William Bawand to be put in the tolbuith quhill88 he pay xiii s iii d for not exhibiting of the said Elin conform to the act.89

(6) Quhilk day compeirit Thomas Mackie and confest his fornication with Alison Gudaill, and the said Thomas being demaundit gif he wes heirt ofor mareit, he ansuerit that he wes mareit and his wyfis name wes Marion Webster, but sche wes deid vii yeirs

16 Decembris 1577

(7) Quhilk day compeirit Marion Henderson and confesses hir fornication with William Blare [and] confesses also that Thomas Henderson hir father hes ressaifit hir in hir hous and hir not exhibeit hir to the kirk, and also that sche hade carnal deal with Thomas Bissat of befoir. And becaus sche says that sche offendit in the parishon of K[innoull]90 and thairfoir as sche alledgis sche suld mak hir repentens thair, ordainis the said Marren to bring hir testimonial91 fra the minist[er] thair upane this day xx dayis.

87 A carrot after 'tham' points to no insertion; perhaps the scribe meant to include the date of the contract.
88 Until.
89 That is, she failed to appear before the session when ordered; William Bawand (Bowen) was her cautioner.
90 The end of the parish name is missing because of a torn edge; the nearby parish of Kinnoull may have been the place.
91 A testimonial was a document signed by the minister of the parish indicating in this case that repentance had duly been performed in the kirk there. Testimonials were also required for travelers or people moving home to verify standing in their parish of origin, particularly if they wished to receive communion in the new parish. People often presumed that strangers without testimonials were offenders trying to evade discipline in their home parishes, or sinners who had been excommunicated and banished, and accordingly declined to receive or offer them hospitality of any sort. The minister of Kinnoull was William Rynd, son of Patrick Rynd of Perth and master of the Perth grammar school (Fasti iv, 218-19).
(8) Quhilk day the assemblie ordanis William Smyth and Lawrens Stanes to be put in the tolbuith quhill thai find caution to compeir before the assemblie.

(9) Quhilk day the elderis ordanis the act maid agains superstition [anno] domini 1574 Novembris 27 to be publist on Sunday next.92 (Quha the act aganis superstition war maid)

Ordanis all thais personis that wes playing sanctoberts play the x instant to be warnit to the assemblie agains this day viii dayis93

[10] [(1)]94 Quhilk day compeirit Thomas Smyth, Thomas Wilson, James Henderson and Andro Schang and confest tham to be p[lay]aris of corpus christeis play, for the quhilk sclander [they] offer and submittis tham selfis to the disciplein of the kir[k] and promissis in tyme cuming nevir to mell with sik thingis again under the paine of the censures of the kirk.

17 Decembris 1577

(2) Quhilk day compeirit William Henderson and confesses that sens the xxi of October last he hes hade ado95 with Jonat Wryt and th[at] in respect as he allcedgis of ane certaine discharge giffen him be Bessie Blak, to the quhilk is notary Thomas Rettray the ... at Potterraw the xxi of October last befoir thir witnes: Th[omas] Dikson in Potterraw, Jhon Henderson thair and Jhon Stewart, an[d] as concerning his contravention of the act maid of befoir he submittis him self to the disciplein of the kirk.96

20 Decembris 1577

(3) Quhilk day compeirit Jhon Fyvie and confesses that upon the ten[th] of December instant, quhilk wes callit sancttobertis evin, he p[roces]sit throche the town strikand the drum, quhilk wes ane of the c[om]mon drumis of the town97 accompaneit with certane utheris sik as Jhon Macbaith [and]
William Jak, rydand upone ane hors, gangand in marschances.\textsuperscript{98} And sayis the said Jhon Macbaith delyverit to him the drum. For the quhilk premissis he submittis him self to the disciplein of the kirk. And also promissis never to streik ane drum agane without the command of ane magistrait, under the pain as salbe layit to his charge.\textsuperscript{99} ([S]actobert)

\textbf{29 Decembris 1577}

(4) Compeirit George Henderson, James Stobbie and Jhon Stobbie and confess tham to be playars of corpus christeis play, for the quhilk sklander thai offer and submittis tham selfs to the disciplein of the kirk and promisses in tymis cuming nevir to mell with sik thingis again under the pain of the censuris of the kirk.

(5) Qhilk day the assembl[il]e desyris the minister and sum of the elderis to speik [to] my Lord Ruthven desyring his lordship that the fundatonis be stichtit\textsuperscript{100} and the copy may be hade of all sik as will serve to the forderance of the hospitalite.

\textbf{1578}

\textbf{5 Januarii 1578}

\{6\} Compeirit William Jak, and being demaundit gif he wes in sanctobertes play, he confess that notwithstanding he wes ane of corpus christeis playaris, for the quhilk he submittit himself to the disciplein of the kirk, promisand that he wald nevir do the lyk, yit he confesses that he wes in sancttobertes play rydand. (Sactobert)


\textsuperscript{98} Marching.

\textsuperscript{99} Under threat of whatever penalty the session might devise.

\textsuperscript{100} That the foundational documents of the hospital – principally its claims to rents from the feued properties of demolished altarages – be sewn together and bound into a book. This was an expensive enterprise for which Ruthven could easily pay. As provost, he ought to have felt obliged to do so.
(2) Quhilk day compeirit Margerie Watson and confesses hir adulterie with Jhon Rynd for the quhilk sche submitit hir self to the disciplein of the kirk.

The last Marci 1578

(3) Ordanis William Henderson and Jonet Wryt to be wardit becus being warnit, scho comperis not befors the assembHe. And siclyk William Jak.

(4) The assemblie desyris the baillye to put the ordinance concerning George Patillo in execution.

(5) The assemblie lamentis that Mr Patrik Quhytlaw taks not ordor with Alexander Chalmer.

(6) Comperit Elspet Carvor and promissis to begin to hir repentance on Thursiday or Sonday nixt under the paine of banisment.

(7) The maisteris of the hospital lamentes that thai get no payment of the dewties of the hospital, and thairefoir desyris the minister to admonis all dettors to the hospital to pay thair dewteis to the maistires of hospital, uthrewys the ordor of horning will proceid aganis tham.

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1 The previous page of the session book has gone missing, with the cases from Jan. to the end of Mar. 1578.

2 At this point in the record, the hand shifts occasionally, the new scribe having some conventions different from the foregoing, as in the use of 'scho' rather than 'sche' for 'she'.

3 Patillo's order may have been written in another book, or this may refer to an old case recorded in the antecedent session minute book, no longer extant. See 19 May 1578 for Patillo's failure to conclude his marriage by the agreed-upon date.

4 The bailie, Quhytlaw, was remiss in his duty of enforcing the session's will. He was a merchant and was quite regularly elected bailie – in 1576, 1577, 1580, 1582, 1585, and 1586 (PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos. 28r–28v, 32r, 33r, 35r, 38r). There is no indication in this volume what Chalmers offence was.

5 Banishment was one of the session's most extreme penalties, since anyone – even a family member – who received a banished person back into the community was himself liable to heavy fines. One banished also lacked the testimonial required to settle in a new community, and so was on her own in inhospitable territory. Carvor's initial prosecution may have been recorded in the lost volume of session minutes antecedent to this one. It would, therefore, have occurred a year before, suggesting that the session had been rather patient during the long delay of her repentance. Thursday and Sunday were preaching days, when a larger audience would witness the repentance.

6 Otherwise.

7 Arrears of feu payments had been problematic even before the Reformation, when the friars resorted to litigation to collect: J.P. Foggie, Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: the Dominican Order, 1450–1560 (Leiden, 2003). Letters of horning declared the offender an outlaw; however, there is no evidence that such letters were ever secured by the session or the hospital masters – who were, after all, themselves holders of feued properties of friaries, monasteries, and altars now part of the hospital foundation.
(8) The assemblie ordanis Jhon Scott, Elspet Carvor, Jhon Ramsay, and Margret Robertson, convictit adulteraris, to enter to thair humiliationis gifin be the kirk to thame and to be admonissit be the minister to the sam effect under the pane of excommunication. Moreover also that it be declarit be the minister to the people that Margret Ruthven, adultrix, is so neir his tym of birth that sche may not cum to hir repentens for hir adultrie quhill sche be delyverit.

(9) Quhilk day Robert Bryday confesses his fornication with Jonat Campbron, for the qhill he submittis him self to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil punishment thairof, and the first fault. (1 2 3. R)

(10) Quhilk day compeiris Jonat Campbron [and] confesses hir fornication with Robert Brydy, and the second fault thairof, for the qhill sche submittis hir self to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil punishment thairof. (1 2 3 4 5 6. R)

(11) Compeirit William Jak and confesses his fornication with Jonat Vichton, and the first fault thairof, for the qhill he submittis him to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil punishment. (R)

[12] (1) Quhilk day compeirit Jonat Vichton and confesses hir fornication with William Jak, for the qhill sche submittis hir self to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil punishment. (3R.)

21 Aprilis 1578

(2) Quhilk day compeirit Jhon Ramsay and promisses to begin his repentens for his adultrie confest on Thursday nixt.

(3) The assemblie desyris the bailyeis to put Thomas Monypenny youngar in ward becaus being warnit to compeir befoir the assemblie he comperit not.

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8 Continuous numbering of cases suggests that the previous week's meeting (Apr. 7) was cancelled, and that the agenda from 31 Mar. was continued to this meeting.
9 'to the people' is inserted above a carrot, suggesting that the elders sought to ensure a very public announcement.
10 This is clearly a different Margaret from Robertson: see 19 May, below.
11 The scribe now begins regularly to indicate first, second or third offence for adulterers—an important distinction since the number of Sundays of repentance assigned increased for each offence, as the sentence of Jonat Campbron indicates.
12 The marginal notes indicated that she performed public repentance for six Sundays, twice as many as for a first offence.
13 The session generally warded or gaoled people either in the tolbooth or in the tower of
(4) Quhilk day compeirit William Henderson and promisses to bring ane sufficient declarator fra the commission betuix the dait herof and midsommer nixt proving that Bessie Blak, quha acclaims him to be hir husband, is not his lauchfiill wyf, of the quhilk premisses, gif the said William failye as he hes promissit betuix this and the dait forsaid, he than sail submitt him self as ane adulterar convict of adulterie to the disciplein of the kirk. For the performance quhairof he sail find caution to Diones Conqueror balye\textsuperscript{14} under the paines of xl £ to the puir. Quhilk caution being fimdit, the assemblie ordanis his barn to be baptisit, quhilk Jonat Wryt hes born to him.\textsuperscript{15}

24 Aprilis 1578

(5) The balye Dioneis Conqueror records to the clerk of the assemble that he hes tane\textsuperscript{16} caution of William Henderson conform to the act forsaid, in respect quhairrof his barn is baptisit. (Jhon Peblis)\textsuperscript{17}

5 Maii 1578

(6) Quhilk day compeiris Thomas Monypenny youngar and being accusit of carnal deal with Margret Stevan denys the samyn. And thairfoir the assemblie ordanis the said Thomas this day viii dayis to depon his consciens thairupon in respect that th[e] woman hes upon hir consciens actit the samyn.\textsuperscript{18}

(7) The assemblie compleinis that Robert Brydy and William Jak hes cum out of the tolbuith and hes not fulfillit the rest of thair injunctions for thair fornication, and thairfoir desyris the balyes to tak order with tham.\textsuperscript{19}

(8) Quhilk day Marren\textsuperscript{20} Ray and Agnes Bowyis everilk ane of tham\textsuperscript{21} to

St John’s kirk. Persistent contumacy – failing to appear before the session when ordered – usually resulted in an order for imprisonment. Monypenny will be charged with fornication on 5 May.

\textsuperscript{14} Dionysius Conqueror was frequently a member of the burgh council as well as a bailie; he was also an elder in 1578: see Appendix I.

\textsuperscript{15} If Henderson can prove that he is not married to Blak, he can avoid punishment as an adulterer with Jonat Wryt and undergo the lesser punishment for fornication. Baptism would be withheld from Wryt’s child if she did not identify the father; the sacrament was obviously valued by both of the parents.

\textsuperscript{16} Taken.

\textsuperscript{17} Peblis is presumably the man who had agreed to serve as caution for Henderson.

\textsuperscript{18} Once both parties have sworn their innocence, it will be up to the session to decide whose oath is more reliable.

\textsuperscript{19} This is not the first complaint by the session that the bailies are failing to do their duty, nor will it be the last. The session was absolutely dependent on the burgh magistrates and their officers to execute their penalties.

\textsuperscript{20} ‘Marion’ is frequently spelled ‘Marren’.

\textsuperscript{21} Each and every one of them – in this case, both. The scribe is careful to specify that a single fine is not to be shared between the two.
pay vi s viii d to the puir becaus thai are convict of flyting. And also every ilk ane of tham to find caution to answer to the kirk concerning the irons and the performans thereof, quhen thai salbe requirit. And also gif ony mair flyting be fund amangis tham, that the panes be doublet.

(9) Ordanis James Sim to gif xiii s viii d to Allexander Jhonson, to Andro Anderson xx s, and to William Ronaldson xx s.

[13] Ordanis the maisters hospital to caus rais the copie of the gif[ts to the] hospitalitie fra the privay seal to be producit aganis the la[ird of] Inchmartein, and all utheris causes thai haif to do and the expen[ses] thatrof salbe allowit to tham in thair comptis.

13 Maii 1578
The quhilk day the reader is ordanit to desyre the bailyes to cu[m] the morn to the prays to confer with the elderis upon sum affaires.

The quhilk day Dioneis Conqueror balye is desyrit to speik [to] Andro Trumpet and to travel with him. Falyeing of gud succes thereof, the minister to proceid agains him.

The quhilk day Thomas Monypenny youngar is appointit to be admonissit on Thursday nixt be the minister in pulpet to gif and depone his consciens quhidder he hade carnal deal with Margaret Stevan or not, under the pane

22 ‘Flying’ is a highly formulaic form of public railing. See CP, ch. 5.
23 The ‘irons’ could refer to jougs or branks. The jougs were iron collars often chained to the kirk gate or the market cross; the branks (called in England a scold’s bridle) was an iron cage locked over the head, with a projecting point into the mouth. They were used for offences other than flying, but the branks was most often assigned for offences of the tongue, like railing or slander. Flyters generally had to stand in the branks in a public place for two hours. See CP, 142 and Plates 15 and 16.
24 Sim, or Sym, elected deacon the previous Oct., doled out alms to poor individuals upon order of the session.
25 The laird of Inchmartin was among those withholding rent payments to the hospital. Here a copy of the document requiring ecclesiastical rentals and annuals to go to the hospital is to be produced as evidence of the hospital’s legal claim. The laird would be included in a list of those to be put to the horn for failure to pay arrears of rent to the hospital in 1589 (Milne, pp. xiii, 50). This entry is at the top of a page of the manuscript whose corner has been torn off, hence the editorial interpolations. The numbering of cases on a page ends at this point in the manuscript.
26 Other.
27 Travail; he is to attempt to convince him, presumably of some doctrinal error.
28 Failing.
29 That is, the admonition should be public.
of the censure of the kirk. In the meintym Jhon Wood is appointit to travel with him and to record his answer betuix this and the nixt Thursday.

The quhilk day, in respect that James Gill hes satisfieit for the irnis according to the act maid for the satisfaction thairof, and also will offer him self to fulfil his publict repentens, thairfoir the assemblie grantis that his barnes quhilk he hes gottin with his lauchful wyf salbe baptisit, and also that his uther barnis gottin in fornication befoir his mariage salbe baptisit.

The quhilk day xii d ar appointit to be gifin to William Duns bairn and siklyk ouklie fra thyn furth xii d.

xix Maii 1578

The assemblie ordanis the admonitionis to be maid agains Thomas Monypenny youngar to gif furt his aith gif he hes hade carnal deal with Isobel Stewart or not becaus sche hes confess the samyn befoir the assemblie.

The quhilk day the assemblie ordanis the admonitionis to proceid aganis the adulteraris, viz, Jhon Scott, Elspet Carvor, etc; moreover, the assemblie thinkis gud to superceid the admonitionis aganis Margret Ruthven becaus sche is neir hir tym as thai ar informit quhill sche be delyverit.

The assemblie ordanis George Meik to be put in ward ay and quhill he fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk.

The assemblie ordanis Diones Conqueror bailye to gif x £ to the deaconis to be applyit to the uis of the puir for George Patillo becaus he hes not fulfillit the band of mariage with Cirstan Murray on Witsonday last as he promisit.

30 Elder for the Watergate.
31 Gill's is another case that must have begun the year before and been recorded in another book. Clearly he has posed a problem for the kirk for some time, since neither his legitimate nor his illegitimate children have been baptised. The withholding of the sacrament from legitimate children must have aggravated his aggrieved wife's situation considerably. There is no indication how much time he has spent in irons (probably jougs).
32 This may be the cost of a wet nurse, often paid by the session for an infant whose mother has died and whose family is too poor to pay the cost.
33 'Supercede' does not mean that Margaret will escape the penalty altogether: as soon as she is out of childbed, she will be required to make her public repentance. Since adulterers had to stand on the stool of repentance for very long periods of time, her advanced pregnancy was prohibitive, quite apart from the possibility that she might go into labour in the kirk.
34 Once marriage banns had been proclaimed, the marriage had to take place by a certain date. Because the groom in this case has delayed, he must pay the 'pund' set for failure to conclude the marriage in time.
[14] Ordanis Dioneis Conqueror to put Cirstan Maxwell in the tolbuith, becaus sche being lauchfullie warnit to this day compeirit not befoir the assemblie.

The quhilk day the assemblie ordanis Jonat Cuik heireftar to be ressaifit to the commonion because it is so lang sen sche wes with bairne and out of memorie.\(^{35}\)

The quhilk day ordanis Margret Thomson in Jhon Couplands\(^ {36}\) to be put in waird quhill sche compeir befoir the assemblie.

Quhilk day compeirit Jonat Marschell in George Hendersons\(^ {37}\) and confesses her fornication with Thomas Allexander, for the quhilk sche submittes hir self to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil puneisment. And becaus sche is ane nureis, substractis hir fro the civil punisment quhill the barne be fosterit quhilk sche is fostering presentlie.\(^ {38}\) Provyding that sche satisfie presentlie the dewtie to the puir\(^ {39}\) and mak hir repentens in the kirk, for the performance of the quhilk promises Jhon Strang to be caution under the pane of \(x \mathcal{L}\) to the puir.

Quhilk day Cirstan Purves is ordanit to be warnit agane this day viii dayis to the assemblie in Dioneis Blakwoods.

The quhilk day Agnes Cutbert is ordanit to begin hir repentens on Thursday next and ressaif hir barne baptisit becaus sche is puir and hes not to satisfie to the puir. (1 2 3 R.)\(^ {40}\)

Compeirit Jonat Bell and confess hir fornication with Jhon Wood, for the quhilk sche submittis hir to the disciplein of the kirk and the civil punishment. (1 2 3 R.)

\(^ {35}\) There are two ways to read this entry: Cuik may in the distant past have been suspended from communion for bastard-bearing, and the sentence set without limit – a hint that the session’s early days may not have been very carefully regulated. On the other hand, she may have used legitimate pregnancy as an excuse to skip church. One way or another, it seems now to have dawned on the elders that they hadn’t seen Cuik at communion for longer than anyone could remember.

\(^ {36}\) She is probably a servant in Coupland’s household. James Coupland was a substantial burgess, holding among other property lands in feu from Saint Blaise’s altar worth 30s annually: Milne, 14.

\(^ {37}\) She is Henderson’s servant.

\(^ {38}\) The civil penalty could include corporal punishment which would threaten lactation and/or warding which would separate the nurse from the child.

\(^ {39}\) That is, she must pay her fine, which would go to the poor box.

\(^ {40}\) She is excused the fine because of her poverty.
The xxvii Mai 1578

Ordanis the admonitionis to proceid agains the adulteraris without forder delay.

Quhilk day comperit Thomas Monypenny younger and confesses his fornication with Issobel Stoway and submittis him self to the disciplien of the kirk and the civil punisment, and the second fault thairof. 41

Comperit Cirstan Purves quha being convict of adultrie sche promises that sche sail entir to hir repentens in Forgon 42 quhair sche committit the offens on Sunday nixt.

Quhilk day compeirit Jonat Hodge and confesses hir fornication with Cudbert Wilson, and the first fault thairof, for the quhilk sche submittis hir self to the disciplien of the kirk and the civil punisment.

Quhilk day Allexander Maxwell promisses that Cirstan Maxwell sail compeir this day viii days. 43

[15] Quhilk day comperit Katrein Murray, Jhon Salmonds nure[is], and promissit to bring ane testimonial of hir repentens of the fulfilling of the injunctionis of the kirk of Fow[hs] for hir fornication committit thair agan 44 this day xiii days. 45

Quhilk day comperes Robert Brydy and promisses to entir to irins the nixt mercat day 46 and to fullfill the rest of his [re]pentens.

Quhilk day the assemblie ordanis Richart Ruthven to be the kirkes officiar quhill Allexander Jhonsones recover.

41 The offender in this case is one of the town's bailies. See below, 9 June and 21 July 1578.
42 Perhaps the parish of Forgandenny, not far distant, where the minister, John Row, was a nephew of John Row, minister of Perth: Fasti iv, 209.
43 Given the common surname, Alexander may be serving as caution because he is her father or brother.
44 Against, that is, she will appear at the meeting scheduled for 9 June. In fact, this is her last appearance in the record.
45 Tears in the manuscript eliminate a few letters in this and the next entry.
46 Standing in the jougs or other iron restraints at the market cross was a much more forbidding prospect on a market day, when the place would be crowded with visitors to the town as well as one's neighbours.
2 Junii anno 1578
Quhilk day ordanis the balyeis to put Patrik Hering into the tolbuith or than caus him compeir befoir the assemblie becaus he hes bein sundrie tymis afoir admonissit and compeirit not.

3 Junii 1578
Compeirit Patrik Wallace and confesses his fornication with Issobel Broun, for the quhilk he submittis him self to the disciplein of the kirk. Robert Brus millar is caution that he sall incontinent\(^{47}\) entir to the civil punisment and sche sall begin quhowsone sche convalesses under the panes of x £.

9 Junii 1578
Quhilk day Dioneis Conqueror promisses to pay the x £ concerning George Pattillo to the uis of the puir this day viii dayis.\(^{48}\)

Quhilk day Mr Patrik Quhytlaw is ordanit to ward Patrik Hering and Allexander Chalmer or than to caus them compeir befoir the assemblie this day viii dayis.

Quhilk day Jhon Anderson elder and Andro Jhonson ar apponitit to speik [to] Thomas Monypenny bailye for his ser[vice] to desyr him to fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk.

xvi Junii 1578
The quhilk day James Sym was ordanit be the assemblie to summond Patrick Hering to compeir befoir the assemblie to answer to sik thingis as suld be layit to his charge and chiefflie for his fornication, under the pain of excommunication.

Comperit Patrik Hering and confessitt his fornication with Christian Maxwell and therefoir submittis him self to the disciplin of the kirk.

[16] Quhilk day Mr Jhon Row minister of Perth in presence of the elderis of the ouklie assemblie of Perth chargit and admonischit Patrik Hering fornicator with Cristian Maxwell to compeir to his publik repentance according to the order under the pain of excommunication.

Quhilk day comperit Cristian Maxwell and confessitt hir fornication with Patrik Hering and submittis hir to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir. (R.)

\(^{47}\) Immediately.
\(^{48}\) See above, 19 May: Conqueror is taking his time with the payment.
Quhilk day comperit Jonat Will and confessitt hir fornication with Jhon Rodgie and therefoir submittis hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1. 2. 3. R.)

29 Junii 1578
The quhilk day Mr Jhon Row, minister of Perth, denuncit Elspat Carvor excommunicat in presence of the holl pepill for substractin hir from hir repentans for hir adultery. (Excommunicat.)

7 Julii 1578
Comperit Margreat Logan and confessit hir fornication with George Horne and sayis hir barne was baptist in the Kirk of Monzie be William Scott, reader, and as yit hes not maid hir repentance. And Jhon Anderson youngar is becum caution that the said Margreat sall cum to hir repentance on Thursiday nixt cumis and satisfie the puir\(^49\) and also promisis to enter to the tolboith after that the barne be spenit.\(^50\) (1.2.3.R.)

Comperit Cristian Wallange and confessit hir fornication with Donald Monteth and therefoir submittis hir self to the disciplin of the kirk, and Patrik Bischopis wif is caution this day aucht dayis to enter hir to the tolboith. (1. 2. 3. R.)

Comperit Jhon Rodgie and confessit his fornication with Jonat Will and therefoir submittis him self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1. 2. 3. R.)

Jonat Butter beand accusit quhidder scho\(^51\) had carnal deal or not with Sir Jhon Tyrie promisis to compeir this day aucht dayis to gif furt hir conscience quhidder scho be giltie or not.\(^52\)

Comperit George Horne and confessit his fornication with Margreatt Logan and submittis him self therefoir to the disciplin of the kirk. (1 2 3. R.)

\(^49\) Paid her fine to the poor box. William Scott was reader in Monzie from 1574 to 1588 (Fasti iv, 278). Readers were not permitted to baptise.

\(^50\) Delivered. The word can mean 'grasped'; this is an unusual use of it.

\(^51\) The clerk from this point tends to revert to this common alternative spelling for 'she'.

\(^52\) Sir Jhon Tyrie, a cleric before the Reformation and provost of Methven, had founded the chapel of St. Catharine and probably served as its last chaplain: NRS ms GD79/2/50, 4/16. The fornication case continues 14 July, but on 12 Jan. 1579, the couple requested that their banns be pronounced, and on 19 Feb. 1579 they were licensed to marry in Kilspindy. Butter (or Butler in the latter 1579 reference) predeceased her husband and left a will (NRS ms CC20/4/2/113–115) listing mostly clothing and household furnishings, worth £36 7s 5d after some modest debts.
[17] Comperit Archibald Wylie and Cristian Barratt and desyre th[air] bannes to be proclamit, and the said Archibald fand Patrik La[w] caution under the pain of £ to go fourdewart with the said bann[s] and siclyk the said Cristian fand Thom[as] Da.

Comperit Richart Bowar in Freirton and confessit his fornication with Beatrix Akin and submittis him therefoir to the disciplin of the kirk, and Alexander Glas is becum caution under the pain of £ to enter the said Richart to his repentance at the first Lady Day. (1 2 3 R.)

Ordanis David Mar as cautionar for Margreat Nicolson to enter hir befoir the assemblie this day aucht dayis.

Ordanis Jhon Peblis as cautionar for William Henderson to enter him befoir the assemblie this day aucht dayis.

Ordanis also James Hepburne as cautionar for Catherin Cunningam in Kirkton of Malan to enter hir befoir the assemblie this day aucht dayis.

The quhilk day the minister and elderis perceaving thais quhilk compeir befoir the assemblie to gif up thair bannes to go fordewart with mariage almaist altogether to be ignorant and to misknaw the causses quhy thai wald mary, therefoir the assemblie ordanis all sik first to compeir befoir the reader for the tym quhat every he be to the effect he may instruct tham in the trew knawledge of the causses of mariage befoir thai cum in befoir the assemblie. (The parties that cumis to mairage aucht to knaw the causes thairof)

14 Julii 1578

Quhilk day Catherin Cunningam comperit afoir the assemblie to answer to sik thingis as suld be layit to hir charge. Becaus of the ministeris absence that day, na ordor beying takin with hir. James Hepburn cautionar and Alexander Moncrief of Malan for his releif under the pain of £ to the puir promisis to enter the said Catherin to the assemblie again that day xiiii dayis.

53 From this point in the book, the clerk begins regularly recording requests for banns to be proclaimed. In the margin, '1 2 3' indicates the Sundays when the banns were announced. If followed by an 'M', the clerk has recorded that the couple was duly married.
54 Dating by old Catholic festivals like Lady Day (25 March, the feast of the annunciation) continued long after the Reformation, despite abolition of saints' days.
55 Perhaps the parish of Moulin, not far distant.
56 Whomever.
To the quhilk day also Jonat Butter beand summoned to compeir to gif furt hir aith quhidder scho had carnal deal with Sir Jhon Tyrie or not, comperit and siclyk the minister being absent promisis to enter again this day xiiiidays.

[18]

21 Julii 1578
Ordanis Catherin Cunningam to compeir this day aucht day[is] befoir the assembie.

Ordanis Thomas Monipenny youngar to cum this day aucht dayis and ask god and the congregationis forgifnes for his fornication and chieflie for his contempt and sclander offerit to the kirk in the place of repentance.58

Ordanis the bailyeis to put James Lamerkyn [and] Malcom Denis into the tolbuith ay and quhill thai compeir befoir the assembie becaus thai being lauchfullie warnit, comperit not.

Ordanis James Sim to gif fyve s to Richart Ruthven for his service to the kirk induring Alexander Jhonston seiknes.59

4 August 1578
The assembie ordanis the bailyeis to pund Catherin Yester and Malcom Denis every of them for half ane mark to the puir for their flytting.

Ordanis Jhon Tod to pay half ane merk to the puir and to stand in the irnis tua houris and ask Margreat Cunningam forgifnes for sclandering, quhilk sclander he confessit.

Ordanis Andrew Wylie and Cristian Barratt ayther to pay xl s to the puir and performe the band of matrymonie nixt to cum or they to make thair publik repentance upon Sonday nixt to cum and performe the bann upon Sonday cum aucht dayis.

The assembie ordanis the third part of the silver that beis gottin from James Hepburne to be giffin to ane pure man callit James Quhyt, and that to help to by him ane horse.60

57 Because of.
58 Misbehaviour on the seat of repentance would have been the more troubling because Moneypenny was a bailie: see 27 May and 9 June, above.
59 Jhonston was kirk officer (see 6 Oct. 1578).
60 This is an unusually generous gift. Presumably the horse will enable Quhyt to make his own living and keep him and his family out of the hospital, saving money in the long run.
The assemblie ordains the bailyeis to put Jonat Wright, Alexander Adam, Agnes Thomson, [and] Donald Monteth in to the tolbuith ay and quhill thai compeir or thai find caution to compeir befoir the assemblie, becaus thai being lauchfullie summoned compeirit not.

Ordains the bailyeis to pund Catherin Yester [and] Malcom Denis every ane of tham for half ane merk to the puir for thair flyting.

11 August 1578
Quhilk day comperit Alexander Wannay and Violat Rynd and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit and the said Alexander found Mr Robert Rynd caution under the pain of ten £ that he suld performe the said bannis and siclyk the said Violat fand Mr William Rynd caution under the lyk pain. (1. 2. 3. M.)

[19] The assemblie ordains James Hepburne to pay ten £ to the puir as caution for Catherin Cunningam that scho suld haf performit the band of matrymonie quhilk scho contractit with Jhon Tod.61

18 August 1578
The assemblie ordains Alexander Jhonston this day aucht dayis to bring half ane merk to the assemblie upon the pond62 that he tuk from Catherin Yester for hir flyting and lykwais ane such half merk from Malcom Denis for his flyting.63

The assemblie ordains Jhon Scot [and] Margreat Ruthven to be admonischt publictlie to cum to thair repentance under the pain of excommunication. And lykwais ordains William Henderson and Janet Wricht to be admonischt under the lyk pain.

Ordanis the bailyeis to put Margreat Hillok,64 Alison Gowan, [and] Elspat Mitchell in the tolbuith becaus thai being lauchfully warnit to compeir befoir the assemblie compeirit not.

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61 One can only wonder about the family dynamics of the Cunningham/Tods when on 4 August Tod was instructed to repent slandering Margaret Cunningham and a week later is to marry Catherine Cunningham.
62 'Pond', 'poynd', 'pund' are variant spellings for the money forfeit.
63 The session's order for the penalty is inadvertently recorded twice by the scribe.
64 See 9 Nov. 1577: Margaret Hillok is contumacious.
65 The pund is twice the usual since Jakson is serving as caution for both parties.
Quhilk day also comperit Alexander Adam and Agnes Jhonston and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and the said personnes forsaid fand Patrick Jakson caution that thay suld go fordwart with the said bann under the pain of xx £.65 (1. 2. 3.)

21 August 1578
The quhilk day Mr Jhon Row minister at Perth publickle in pulpeit admonischt Jhon Scott, Margreat Ruthven, William Henderson, Jonat Wricht to cum to thair repentance for thair adultery under the pain of excommunication, and that for the first [time].66

23 August 1578
Quhilk day comperit George Buy and Violat Campsie and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit and the said Georg fand Andro Jhonson caution under the pain of x £ that he suld go fordwart with the said bann and siclyk the said Violat fand Duncan Macgregor caution under the lyk pain of x £. (1. 2. 3. M.)

24 August 1578
Quhilk day comperit Jhon Coling and Cristian Buchan and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit and the said Jhon fand Gilbert Scott caution under the pain of x £ that he suld bann, and siclyk the said Cristian fand Robert Tyrie caution under the lyke pain. (M.)

[20] 28 Aug 1578
The quhilk day Mr Jhon Row minister at Perth publiklie in pulpeit admonischt Jhon Scott, Margreat Ruthven, William Henderson, [and] Jonat Wricht to cum to thair repentance for thair adultery under the pain of excommunication and that for the secund [time].

primo September
The assembly ordanis Patrik Murray, Andro Donaldson, maisteris of the hospitality to bring in thair comptis Mononday cum ane furtein dayis.

4 Septembris
Quhilk day comperit Jhon Ross and Cristian Colt and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit publikly and the said Jhon fand Andro Jhonson caution under the pain of x £ to go fordwarte with the said bannes, and siclyk Cristian fand Alexander Maxwell caution under the lyk pain. (1. 2. 3.)

66 The ‘first’ here indicates the announcement, not the fault. On 28 Aug. Row will call them to repentance for the second time.
67 Wheat and barley.
8 Septembris
Comperit Thomas Quhittit and confessit his fornication with Bessie Broun and therefoir submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1. 2. 3. R.)

The officiar Alexander Jhonston is comandit to warne David Grayis wyf to the assembly this day aucht dayis.

Comperit Alison Suan and confessit hir fornication with William Donaldson and so confesses the second fault and therefoir submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk.

The assembly ordanis the maisteris of the hospitality to sell Inchmartenis victual of this their quheat and bear\textsuperscript{67} overhead for tua merks half merk the boll or than to gif in executionis.

12 September
Comperit Bessie Cudbert and confessit her fornication with David Read, and that for the secund fault, for the quhilk scho submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. ([1. 2.] 3. 4.)\textsuperscript{68}

[21] 15 September 1578
Comperit Cristian Cok and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Dow and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1. 2.)

Comperit Margreat Arth and confesses hir fornication with Donald Morison and that for the second fault, and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir, and lady Ballarbie is caution to enter hir within fourtein dayis.

Quhilk day comperit Petir Symmorvell and Cristian Mann and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit. And the said Petir fand Jhon Gent under the pain of x £ to go fordwart with the said banns, and siclyk the said Cristian fand William Martein under the lyk pain. (1. 2. 3. Ma.)

The maisteris of hospitality is appointit upon Thurisday cum aucht dayis after the sermond to bring in thair comptes with executionis.

Ordanis the bailyeis to put Bessy Broun nures to James Murray and also James Gallis' nures into the tolbuith ay and quhill thai compeir or find caution

\textsuperscript{67} A tear at the corner cut the first two numbers, and perhaps more after the 4, since six Sundays' repentance would be usual for a second offence.

\textsuperscript{68} The feast day of St Luke is 18 Oct.
to compeir befoir the assembly becaus thai beand lauchfully summoned comperit not.

18 September 1578

Quhilk day Alexander Cok becam caution for Cristian Cok that scho suld fulfil the injunctionis of the kirk upon the quhilk caution hir barne was baptised gottin in fornication.

22 September 1578

The quhilk day Donald Jhonston producit an charter of the dait 1527 yeiris of the land lyand on the north syd of the north gait betuix the land of Mr Jhon Narne and Jhon Donning on the east and west, in the quhilk charter na dewty is contenit to the confraternity altar, and therefoir the fundation is to be considerit, and in the meantime the masters of the hospital can not be chargin with it.

[22] The assembly ordanis the bailyes to pund Henry Arnott, Elein Beitt, Gabriel Stalkar every ane of tham for vi s to the puir becaus according to thair awin confession thai war from the sermond on Sonnday was aucht dayis.

Quhilk day comperit William Kynloch and promised faithfully to pay thre £ of the six £ that is in his hand to the puir betuix this and St Lukmess.

25 September 1578

Comperit Jonat Barclay, quha confessit scho hes born ane barne in the parochion of the Rynd xvi oulkes syn or thereby and affirmis that scho hes maid hir repentance in the kirk of the Rynd, and therefoir Adam Bruson desyris hir to be his nuris, and in the meantime the said Adam promisses to exhibit hir toties quoties.

25 September 1578

The masters of hospitality, to wit, Patrik Murray and Andro Donaldson, ar ordanit be the assembly this day aucht dayis to bring in thair comptes after the sermond, that is ather payment or executionis.

70 The parish of Rhynd appears to have had only a reader, John Pitcairn, at this date (Fasti iv, 243).
71 At any time: he will be keeping a close eye on her and will make her available to the session upon request. The services of nurses were clearly at a premium in Perth.
72 Either.
73 The fines or penalties that accrue.
6 Octobris 1578

The assembly ordanis James Sim uptaker of the casualties that intervenis unto the kirk to by ane tow to the litill skellit bell, the quhil l bell salbe only rung to the affairs of the kirk as to the exercies or to the assemblyes.

The election of the elderis. 1578.

The north syd of the Hiegait
  Dioneis Conqueror
  Andro Donaldson
  Walter Elder, skynner

The south syd of the Hiegait
  Alexander Oliphant
  Patrick Grant
  David Forbes

The Wattergait
  Oliver Kar
  Richart Ross
  Andro Moncreif

The Southgait
  Alexander Anderson elder
  Robert Chapman
  David Makky

[23]

The election of the deaconis. 1578.

The northsyd of the Hiegait
  James Sim
  Jhon Robertson, maltman
  William Ratray

The Wattergait.
  Jhon Ranoldson
  William Ross, tailyor
  Jhon Hendry

The Southgait
  Andro Blyithman
  Walter Saidlair
  William Inglis

The quhil l day Patrik Murray of Tibbermuir and Andro Donaldson was chosin masters of the hospitality.

The assembly ordains the adulteraris to be warnit to compeir befoir the minister and elderis upon Fryday nixt after prayeris, and failyein of their

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74 For biographical information on the elders elected, see Appendix I.

75 A skinner worked with animal hides and was part of the Glovers Guild.

76 Adam Donning is crossed out.

77 ‘Jhon Ranoldson’ is crossed out.

78 This entry suggests that Perth may have had a functioning presbytery before presbyteries
comperance, that the minister excommunicat tham upon Souniday thairafter following immediatly.

Comperit Cristian Buchan and confesses hir adultery with ane umquhill James Gray and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk thairfoir, and is ordanit to compeir upon Wednesday nixt befoir the exerceis,\textsuperscript{79} thair to ressaif hir injunctionis.

The assembly ordanis James Sim, uptaker of the casualties of the kirk, to gif to Alexander Jhonston, officer to the kirk, for his travelles\textsuperscript{80} xl s, that is, twenty s that is in Cristian Cudbertes and Alison Swanis handes, \textit{fornicatrices}, and uther\textsuperscript{81} twenty that is in to the handis of William Kynloch of the six £ quhairof he is detful to the kirk.

The qhuilk day the elderis hes haird James Symes comptes of the intromission of the accidentes concerning the puir sence the beginning of his collectuary unto this day, and the elderis hes fund that he is only restand awand of hes intromission the sum of xiiii s, and so be thir presentes dyscharges him \textit{simpliciter} unto this day.\textsuperscript{82}

[24] 9 October 1578

Quhilk day Andro Mersser becam caution for his nures, Margreat Hillok, that scho suld performe the injunctionis of the kirk qhuilk was to be injoinit unto hir, and thairupon thairafter hir bairne to be baptisit, and that under the pain of x £.

...were legally established by the General Assembly in 1581. Buchan will again be sent to the Wednesday 'assembly of the exercise of the ministers' for adultery with another man on 18 May 1579. Since Perth had only one minister at this date, the plural, together with the technical term 'exercise', suggests that ministers from surrounding parishes came into the town on Wednesdays to 'prophesy' or preach to each other - as indeed they were instructed by the First Book, 187-91. They may have followed the model of English puritans' 'prophesyings', allowing a public auditory of the sermons, then limiting responses and discussion to clergy lest the authority of a preacher be undermined by public criticism of his sermon. Certainly the lay elders were required to attend the exercises in Perth (NRS ms CH2/521/7, p. 276). Referring disciplinary cases to such a meeting is what makes it look like a presbytery. And when a presbytery was formally established in Perth, it met on Wednesday, not the usual weekday preaching day, Thursday. The 'little skellit bell' was ordered rung to 'exercises or assemblies' (above, 6 Oct. 1578), rather than the bigger bourdon or 'preaching bell', which also suggests a distinction between 'exercises' on Wednesday and preaching on Thursday or Sunday for the whole parish.

\textsuperscript{80} Travails.

\textsuperscript{81} The other.

\textsuperscript{82} They will not hold him personally responsible for the 14s. The 'accidents' are penalties paid to the kirk.

\textsuperscript{83} Omitted.
Quhilk day also Mr Jhon Row, minister at Perth, publikly admoneschit in pulpeit Jhon Scott, Margreat Ruthven, William Henderson, [and] Janet Wright, adulterares, to compeir befoir the elderis the morne immediady following, or than thaireftir to be excommunicat upon Sunday thaireftir following.

10 October 1578:
Comperit Margreat Ruthven, adulterix, and promised to find caution that scho suld fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk for hir adultery, so that thairupon scho micht haif hir bairn baptisit. (Margaret Ruthven)

Quhilk day also comperit William Henderson, adulterer, and promised faithfully to get ane sufficient declarator againe the xx day of this instant moneth or than to suffer the injunctionis of the kirk as ane adulterer.

Quhilk day the minister and elderis hes admittit Andro Fairweill in place of Thomas Bruce umquhill ane of the puir beddellis in the kirk and hes ordanit that he haif ii s therefor as the rest, and also that he haif ane gown conform to the order, and his first duties to payment to begin upon Setterday nixt.

12 October 1578
The quhilk day the minister publickly in pulpeit after sermon publiest the names of the new chosin elderis and deaconis and masters of the hospitality forsaides, desyring gif ony man had to oppone agains tham that thai suld oppone in tyme, and becaus no thing wes objectit nor opponit, the elderis and deaconis and masters of the hospital above writtin comperit and acceptit thair offices and gif thair aithis for the faithful administration of the sam according to the ordor.

13 October 1578
The elders in thair awin consent is content that quha evir beis away in tym cuming from the assemblies without ane reasonabil excus sail pay xii d, and lykwayis quhaevir cumis in after thre houris sail pay with thair awin consent vi d. (act for absentis [a]d horo in [a]udiences ... assembly)

[25] The quhilk day also the samyn elderis constitutis Mr Walter Cully scryb to the assembly as of befoir and appointes unto him as was allowit unto the

84 Corner of page torn. The ‘assembly’ is the session meeting, which some elders failed to attend at all; others came in late, after three o’clock. Time discipline was a hallmark of Reformed culture; the elders would increasingly enforce punctuality in sermon attendance as well.

85 Edge of page torn.
scrybe passin befoir the su[m] of x merkes money to be payit of the cassualities that intervenis unto the kirk. (Redaris Act for his pension)

The assembly ordainis the masters of the hospitality to bring thair comptes upon Fryday nixt that is ather payment or executionis conforme to the rental.

Comperit Cristian Cunningam and confessit hir fornication with David Rattray presently out of this cuntry and therefor submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk, and that for the secund fault in respect scho had ane bairne befoir to ane callit Swenton. (1. 2.)

The assembly ordainis the bailyeis to put Walter Scott and Thomas Fary in fast ward ay and quhill thai compeir befoir assembly becaus thai beand lauchfully warnit comperit not.

The quhilk day Oliver Kar becam caution for Cristian Cunningam that scho suld fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk for hir doubil fornication and thereupon the kirk promised to bapties hir bairne on Thursiday thairafter.

14 October 1578
Quhilk day comperit Andro Ogilby and Agnes Abercromby and desyret thair bannes to be proclamit, and Jhon Adam becam caution for the said Andro that he suld go fordwart with the said banne under the pain of x £, and siclyk Jhon Peblis becam caution for the said Agnes. (1. Ma.)

Quhilk day David Ramsay and David Ogilby did declair and testify that thai knew assuredly that Andro Ogilbeyes mother above writtin was content that the said Andro suld contract and mary and tak the said Agnes Abercromby above writtin to wyf.

[26] 17 October 1578
Comperit Issobel Broun and confessit hir fornication with Patrik Wallace, for the quhilk scho submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk.

Comperit Bessy Broun and confessit hir fornication with Thomas Quhittit, for the quhilk scho submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk, and becaus scho is ane nures and may not enter to the tolbuith, scho hes promised to cum to the kirk the nixt Sunday to satisfy the pain and fand caution to fulfill the rest of hir repentance. (1.)

86 Under the usual penalties for contumacy, or failure to appear when summoned. Ellen Beit
Ordanis to put Walter Scott and Thomas Fary into fast ward becaus thai being lauchfully warnit to compeir befor the assembly comperit not.

Vigesimo primo October 1578
Tuiching the bill gevin in be Elein Beitt aganis Elein Law, spous to Henry Arnott, the party being summoned as the officer recordes to oppon aganis the witness, comperit not and thairfoir the witness wes ressavit sub pena contumaciae.86

Thomas Fary witness sworne and admittitt in absens of the party becaus the party being lauchfully warnit comperit not, and confessit in his conscience that he hard the contentes of the said Elein Beates bill.

Walter Scott, lykwayis witness suorn and admittit in absence of the party, quha declaris the said Elein callit the said Elein lown87 and that scho wes the ressater88 and abuser of hir gudman.89

The assembly concludes ye said Elein Beates bill to be sufficiently proven concerning the injure and ordainis the said Elein Law to be punischit according to ye act.90

Becaus William Henderson hes nocht gottin ane sufficient declarator as he promised, and thairfoir he submittes him self to the dysciplin of the kirk as ane adulterar and promised to separat him self from Jonat Wricht simpliciter.91

[27] The assembly ordains the bailyeis to put Janet Wricht into ward ay and quhill scho find caution to compeir before the assembly.

has brought a complaint of slander or flyting against Ellen Law. She must prove to the elders that Law did in fact say the words claimed, in public. In many parishes, failure to prove such a claim resulting in a fine levied on the plaintiff (CP, 235-249). In this case, Law has failed to appear in her own defence.

87 'Lown', meaning a rascal or rogue, was an insult frequently used in flyting.
88 A ressater is simply one who receives; however, when used in the context of flyting, it often means a receiver of stolen goods or of undesirable people.
89 Husband.
90 Referring to an act of session doubtless recorded in an earlier, now lost, minute book. The 'injury' always referred to in flyting cases is verbal, not physical.
91 Henderson’s case had begun 17 Dec. 1577 with his claim that his wife had divorced him. He has clearly failed to substantiate this claim, so he has now been convicted of adultery rather than fornication. See above, 31 Mar.; 24 Apr.; 18, 21, and 28 Aug.; and 9 Oct. 1578. He must separate from Wricht straight away.
Thomas Dundy is ordanit this day xv days to answer to the contentes of the bill gevin in aganis him be Violat Robertson his spous.

Cristian Levingston is ordainit to be put in ward ay and quhill scho find caution to compeir befoir [the] assembly.

Comperit Andro Rodgy and Catherin Yester and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit and the said Andro hes fund David Broun caution under the pain of x £ that he sall go fordwart with the said banne, and lykwayis Jhon Landray is becum [caution] for the said Catherin under the lyk pain of x £. (M)

7 Novembris
Comperit Andro Rodgy and Catherin Yester and declarit in thair conscience that thai had no carnal deal together.

Decimo Novembris 1578
Comperit Jonat Macmalichy and confessit hir secund fault of fornication with Thomas Makky and therfor submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. Nihil)

Quhilk day also Mr Jhon Demite beand callit befoir the assembly and accusit to have remainand prevatly in his house without all exerceis of religion and that he hes subcryvit the articlis of religion, thairfoir the assembly hes commandit the articles to be delyverit to the said Mr Jhon and he to gif his answer thereto betwix this day and this day xv dayis.

Quhilk day Thomas Dundy did gif in ane answer to the libel of complent giffin aganis him be Violat Robeson his spous, to the quhilk Violat hes gottin this day xv dayis to answer, and the party Violat desires ane copy of the answer quhilk is appointtit to be gevin hir or red. In the meantime the said Violat desyris hir bairn to be baptisett because the said Thomas ... to be ill, and this in presence of the party.

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92 Dundy was a skinner of some substance, admitted to the guildry incorporation in 1575: GB, 283.
93 'Margreat' is crossed out.
94 Omitted.
95 Omitted.
96 She seems to have performed the requisite six sabbaths of public repentance. The meaning of 'nothing' rather than 'R' for received is unclear.
97 Badly faded ink obscures four or five words before and a word following 'in his house', and a few words near the end of the next entry.
[28] The assembly ordanis Violat Robesonis barne to be baptisit at hir desyre so that scho present the samyn becaus thair is nothing proven aganis hir as yet.

Ordanis James Sim uptaker of the casualties that intervenis unto the kirk to gif fyf s to Andro Coventry ane puir agit man.

17 Novembris
Comperit Jhon Matthis and Issobel Blyth and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and Patrik Matthis becam caution for the said Jhon that he suld fulfill the said mariage under the pain of x £, and siclyk Jhon Quhytok becam caution for the woman under the lyk pain.

24 November
The assembly ordanis Bessy Broun and Marion Arth to be put in the tolbuith for not comperance, being lauchfully warnit, until thai offer tham selvis to the obedience of the kirk.

The elderis appointes the morne all and efter none to gif thair interlocutor in thair defences betuix Thomas Dundy and Violet Robeson.

The assembly ordanis James Sim to by thre schillinges worth of stray to the almes house and ane laid of peittes and ane laid of meille oulkly.98

The assembly ordanis James Sim to gif George Menzeis iii s for house leis to Henry Hering quhill he deit.99

Comperit Catherin Mull and confessit hir fornication with George Buy and submittes hir to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir and promises to enter to the tolbuith this day aucht dayis. ([1.] 2. 3.)100

Comperit Patrick Richartson and Janet Laston quha promises to compleit the band of matrimony, and for performance thairof the man finds George Henderson caution under the pain of ten pundes and siclyk the woman finds David Makky caution under the lyk pain.

98 Straw, a load of peats (fuel for winter fires), and grain are to be delivered weekly.
99 Menzies is apparently being reimbursed for his past expenses in lodging a sick person who has now died. ‘f’ is crossed out just before the iii, as if the scribe started to write four or five.
100 Edge torn.
[29] 25 November
Quhilk day the assembly advysand upon the anseris of Thomas Dundy and the defences of Violat Robertson to the samyn be thair interlocutor hes admittit and repellit as thai ar notit in the mergin, and settes to the parties ad probandum litteratorie.102

Quhilk day Patrik Malloch becam caution under the pain of ten pundes that Donald Monteth suld fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk for his fornication committit with Catherin Wallange.103

Octavo Decembris
It is thought meit be the assembly concerning the puir prisoneris into the Turkes handes conforme to the kyngis majesty's letteris that upon Thurisday nixt admonition be maid in the pulpeit to the holl inhabitantes of this town that upon Sonnday in the morning the merchaudes contribut of thair cherity to the effect foirsaid, quhilk the reader sail caus be put in execution in the induring the tym of the first psaulme, and to this effect the assembly hes appointit thir persones to gather the almous forsaid: Patrick Grant, Walter Eldar, Oliver Kar, alsweill in the morning as at ten houris. (Act for the prisonaris)104

Quhilk day Thomas Dundy being summoned to haif acceptit sik thingis to his probation as is notit in to thes margine of his libel aganis Violat Robeson his spous, upon the quhilk the minister and elderis hes gevin thair interloc-utor, comperit not. Therefoir the assembly hes appointit him ad probandum pro secunda litteratore in poynt of contumacie becaus the said Thomas being lauchfully summoned comperit not, and in presence of Duncan of Robesonis the said Violattes brother.105

101 The annotations are, alas, in the margins of the documents presented by Dundy and Robertson, no longer extant.
102 'the first of December nixt' is crossed out, as is the scribe's first effort to write 'literatore'. The interlocutor, designated further to investigate the charges of each, has returned a report only partly accepted by the elders, presumably full of contradictions. The couple must now respond to the written report.
103 See 7 July 1578.
104 The appeal is to be made at both morning services: 10:00AM was the later of the two. The collection may have been taken up by the three men named during the singing of the psalm, but the three would be responsible to collect later from any merchant not forthcoming in the kirk. A report of the amount collected was made to the session on 19 Jan., about two thirds of the total was paid in the kirk. Appeals were regularly made to the parishes for ransom money to be redeem Scots taken captive by Turkish and other Mediterranean pirates, by order of the king, council, bishops, general assemblies, or presbyteries.
105 This case is bracketed and has an 'X' in the margin to draw attention to it.
The assembly desyris earnestly the bailyeis to interpone thair authority to thair gift of thair hospitality and the gift to be producit befoir tham to this effect, that all thinges may proceid with ane ordour.\textsuperscript{106}

\textit{Decimo quinto Decembris 1578}

Becaus Thomas Dundy hes maid no diligence being summoned \textit{pro secund[o]} to prove sik thinges as wes admittit to his probation in his libel aganis Violat Robeson his spous, the assembly hes thot gud that he be summoned \textit{pro tertio ad probandum}.

Comperit Gilbert Robertson and sayis Thomas Rollok bad him put on the devilles cot.\textsuperscript{107}

Gilbert Robertson, William Mertein, Thomas Rollok, Thomas Jak, [and] Jhon Macbaith confess that thai hauf transgressit ane act maid in the assembly of minister and elderis and ratifiet be the provost and bailyeis of bailyeis [sic] in that superstitiously thai passit about the town on Saint Oberttes evin disguisit in pyping and dancing and tartorchis\textsuperscript{108} beryng, for the quhilk thai submit tham selfes to the disciplin of the kirk.

\textit{22 Decembris 1578}

Comperit Jhon Dow and Janet Flint and desyrit thair bannes to be proclaimit, and for performance of the same the said Jhon hes found Jhon Bunch caution under the pain of ten pundis, and lykwayis the said Janet Flint hes found William Mitchell caution under the lyk sowm, to wit, x £.

\textit{29 Decembris 1578}

Quhilk day\textsuperscript{109} Duncan Robeson, merchant [comperit]\textsuperscript{110} and becam caution under the pain of ten pundis to [the] puir of money for Thomas Makky that he suld fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk that was to be injoint to him for his fornication.

\textsuperscript{106} This entry is bracketed and a large 'X' is written in the margin. The session requires the aid of the town bailies to collect money owed to the hospital.

\textsuperscript{107} Robertson is charged with wearing the costume of the devil in the baxters’ play for St Obert’s Day. The devil was one of a number of worrisome characters in the hammermen’s play as well: see Mill, ‘Perth hammermen’s play’, 146–153.

\textsuperscript{108} One of several Scots spellings for ‘torches’. It is important to note that this festivity occurred after dark, which made it all the more sinister to contemporaries concerned with illicit activities in an era without street lighting.

\textsuperscript{109} ‘Patrick Justice youn[ger]’ is crossed out.

\textsuperscript{110} Omitted.
1579

_Primo Januarii 1579_

Quhilk day Patrik Iustice Yongar becam caution for Thomas Fowlis under under the pain of ten pundes that he suld fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk for his fornication. (Thomas Foules)

_Duodecimo Januarii 1579_

Quhilk day comperit Duncan Robeson for his sister Violat Robeson and desyreth farther procedinges to ceis in the caus and action betuix Thomas Dundy and the said Violat his spous under hop of aggreance, and failyeing of that, that the said Thomas be summoned to prove _pro terto_ this day viii dayis.

[31] The assembly thinks gud that thair be ane supplica[tion] maid to the counsal upon Thursday anent the foundation of the chaplainries and alter-ages, and that to be proponit be the minister and eldaris.

Comperit George Buy and confessit his fornication with Cristian Mull and submittes him self to the kirk thairfoir. (1.)

Comperit Sir Jhon Tyrie and Janet Butter and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and baieth the parties fand Dioneis Conqueror caution under the pain of twenty £ that thai suld performe this banne betuix the dait heirof and the feast Fastrensevin\(^3\) nixt to cum. (M)

Comperit Robert Moncreif and confessit his fornication with Janet Clerk and submittes him self to the kirk therefoir and promessis to enter to the tolbuith the morne.\(^4\) (1. 2. 3.)

The assemblie thinks meit that Thomas Sutar, walkar,\(^5\) ane blind man, be chosin in the place of ane of the puir gown men\(^6\) and ordainis Andro

1. Torn.
2. This entry is marked in the margin with an X, this particular clerk's way of highlighting matters of particular financial importance. The session is perpetually worried about the rents designated to support the hospital.
3. Another example of using pre-Reformation religious festivals for dating. Fastingseven was Shrove Tuesday, the Tuesday following Quinquagesima Sunday. For Tyrie and Butter's fornication case, see above, 7 and 14 July 1578; for their licence to marry in Kilspindy, 19 Feb. 1579.
4. He is too poor to pay the usual penalty and so must undergo warding.
5. A fuller of cloth.
6. Residents of the hospital wore uniforms.
Donaldson, master of the hospitality, to gif him ane gown and tua s in the oulk according to the order as the rest gettes.

Comperit Janet Wricht and submittit hir self to the disciplin of the kirk for hir adultery with William Henderson and promissit to this effect to cum to the exerceis upon Wednesday nixt. 7

It is also thoughtt meit that the assembly mak thair supplication also to the consel upon Thursiday tuiching the walkaris, that na walkar perk thair wobbis 8 as in tymes past upon the Grayfreris wallis.

(Act of Jhon Swenton) The quhilk day Jhon Swenton, master of the sangschul 9 of this town exponit to the assembly of the ministers and eldares that he had great travailles in teaching of the youthe of this town in musak and in takin up of the psalmes, and that the consell of the town had maid him sum titil of rycht to the annualles of the confraternity alter within this town. 10 Yit notwithstanding, he was content to submit him self to the assembly of the kirk herin and ressaif of benevolence that [which] 11 thai pleasit to bestow upon him induring his travail and gud service, and becaus the assembly was willing to gratify the said Jhon for his gud service, therefor thai willit him to discharge any right he had or pretendit to the said alterage and to ressaf sic ben[evolence] 12 as thai wald bestow upon him. In respect quhairof the said Jhon 13 [32] willingly be thir presentes hes renuncit and presently renuncis and over-gevis all richt [sic] titil of ryt he hes or may haif to the said alterage of the confraternity gevin to him be the consell of this town or ony uther wayis, with all letters and executorialles rysit thereupon. In respect quhairof the said assembly of the eldaris is content that the said Jhon Suenton intromet with the annualles of the said alterage induring the space of the yeir to

7 See 21 Oct. 1578 and note 179, explaining this ‘proto-presbytery’. As an adulteress, she is to appear before the Wednesday presbytery meeting. See 6 Oct. 1578, Cristian Buchan’s similar case.
8 Lay their cloth out to dry. The fullers would have used the water from the southern branch of the lade coming from the river Almond to scour their cloth.
9 The songschool continued after the Reformation along with the town grammar school. Its master was to be trained in music, and the boys were to lead the congregation in psalm-singing. Grammar school and songschool masters often served as readers in the Reformed kirk. See CP, 71–73 for more on psalm-singing and schools in post-Reformation Scotland. An X in the margin above the case name draws attention to this matter.
10 For the rentals of the confraternity altar at this date, see Milne, 32–34.
11 Omitted.
12 Torn.
13 Corner of the page is torn off, but NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 16r, has ‘the said John’, which may still have been visible when Scott copied it.
com and farther also induring thair wills, and according to his gud service, provyding always that he mak no assignars to the uplifting of the said annu-
alles, but only to tak tham up be him self. And to this effect the assembly 
ordanis the masters of the hospitality to assist him in the uptaking of the 
samyn as said is.

Decimo Nono Januarii 1579
The collection gatherit be the kirk of this town conforme to the kingis 
majesty’s letteris for support of the puir prisoneris in the Turkis handes and 
delyverit to Mr Jhon Row, minister, this day, auchtein pundes xviii s viii d. 
Also ressavit from the bailyeis of thair collection to the effect foirsaid and 
delyverit to the said Mr Jhon Row, ix £ xvi s ix d, extending in the haill 
to twenty aucht pundes xv s v d.

Becaus Thomas Dundy being summoned pro tertio ad probandum hes maid 
no diligence, Duncan Robeson sperand14 for his sister desyris and protestes 
he be no farther hard, but desyris [the]15 process to proceid.

Becaus thair is no thing proven, nather ony diligence done be Thomas 
Dundy in the action and caus monit be him aganis his spous Violat Robeson, 
the minister and eldaris hes producet thair decreit literatore16 in presence 
of the party.

[33] Comperit William Inglis and Eling Pitsscotty and desyrit thair bannes to 
be proclamit and William Inglis fjound17 his brother Patrick Inglis caution 
under the pain of x £ money that he suld go fordwart with the said banne, 
and likwayis the said Eling fund James Moncreif caution under the lyk pain 
of x £ money. (M)

Secundo Februarii 1579
Quhilk day comperit Jhon Justice and Violat Oliphant and desyrit thair 
bannes to be proclamit befoir mariage, and for the performance of the sam 
the said Jhon hes fund Oliver Kar under the pain of ten pundes and the 
said Violat hes fund Jhon Loury eldar cautionar under the lyk pain of ten 
pundes. (M)

Quhilk day comperit Thomas Fowlis and promisit to enter to his repent-

14 Asking.
15 Omitted.
16 ‘As eftir followis' here is crossed out, and 'literatore' is inserted above. Two words inserted 
above the line before 'producet' appear to be 'sett to'.
17 Torn.
ance for his fornication this day xx dayis, and his cautionar Patrick Justice youngar\textsuperscript{18} yet according to the first act to remain cautionar.

Quhilk day also comperit Thomas Ramsay and Elspat Tailyor and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit befoir mariage, and for the performance of the sam the said Thomas has fund Jhon Rynd youngar cautionar under the pain of ten pundes, and lykwayis the said Elspat hes found hir father Robert Tailyour under the lyk pain, and Robert Tailyour is becum caution to releif the said Jhon Rynd. (M)\textsuperscript{19}

Comperit George Buy and promisit at Fastensevin to fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk for his fornication.\textsuperscript{20}

Comperit Jhon Eldar and promisit to depasche him of Bessie Davidson, fornicatrix, within ane fourtein dayis under the pain contenit in the act of them that ressaves vitious persones.\textsuperscript{21}

Comperit Margreat Gall and confessit hir fornication with Preveis Maccaupery\textsuperscript{22} and submites hir self to the disciplin of the kirk thairfoir.

\textit{Sexto Februarii 1579}

Comperit James Ross, Patrick Inglis, [and]\textsuperscript{23} James Moncreif, and testifiet that Eling Pitscotty duelt nocht in the parochion of Perth, but that hir duelling was in Loukarty parochion.\textsuperscript{24}

\textit{Nono Februarii 1579}

Comperit Jhon Spens and confessit his fornication with Ane Robertson

\textsuperscript{18} 'To be pund' is crossed out.

\textsuperscript{19} That is, the bride's father has agreed to liability for the penalty, though Jhon Rynd remains caution for Thomas Ramsay. For the law of relief, \textit{Encyclopedia of the Laws of Scotland} iii, 491; Gloag and Henderson, \textit{Introduction to the Law of Scotland}, 225.

\textsuperscript{20} Given the date of Fastingseve, Shrove Tuesday, he will be reconciled in time for the Easter communion. See 24 Nov. 1578, 20 Jan. 1579.

\textsuperscript{21} Bessie Davidson is apparently unrepentant and perhaps excommunicate, so householders are forbidden to receive her into their homes.

\textsuperscript{22} The clerk opts for 'Macarbary' on 9 Feb.

\textsuperscript{23} Omitted.

\textsuperscript{24} If this is the case, the session would probably write to the minister of her home parish to determine whether she were in good standing before allowing her marriage to William Inglis. Since the marginal 'M' beside their entry at the top of this page (from the last January session meeting) indicates that they did marry, the concerns of the three men complaining here of her stranger status seem not to have been borne out. Moncrief may simply have been seeking relief from acting as her caution on grounds that she was not of the parish. Ross's relationship to the couple is not clear.
in Patrick Matthewis and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk thairfoir and promisit to enter to the tolbuith [as] desirit. ([1. 2. 3.])

Comperit Jhon Kay and Janet Moreis and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamat befoir marriage, and for performance of the said banne the said Jhon hes fund Thomas Rutherford caution under the pain of ten £, and siclyk the said Janet fand James Schaw under the lyk pain.

Comperit Preveis Macarbary and confessit his fornication with Margreat Gall and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir and promissit to enter to the tolbuith this day thre ounkes. (R)

Comperit Walter Scott and confessit his secund fault of fornication with Issobel Peiris and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk thereof[sic], and Andro Auld is becom caution under the pain of ten £ that he sail enter this day xx dayis. (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.)

Decimo sexto Februarii 1579

Quhilk day Jhon Bunch becam caution under the pain of ten pund that Jhon Dow suld fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk quhilk was to be injoint unto him for his fornication.

At Perth the sixtein day of Februar in anno lxxviii yeire in the caus and action monit be Violat Robeson, spous to Thomas Dundy burgess of the burgh of Perth aganis the said Thomas hir housband befoir the assembly of the minister and eldaris of the said burgh, making mention that the said Thomas upon Witosnnday last or thereby through evil cogitation or jolesy monit in his awin brain aganis hir did thair through separat him self from hir and left hir in ane wind house destitut of all support and in peril of desperation, doing that lay in him to haif kyall hir gif god had not assistit hir with his spriet, and had withdrawin him self, his guides and gair and the use of his body from hir and hes not entertynit hir as he aucht to do his wyf. And therefoir the said Violat desyris that the said Thomas micht be compeUit to adheir unto hir and to entertein hir in all thingis as becumis ane faithful housband to do unto his wyf, as at mair lenth is contenit in the said Violattes petition and libel exhibit and producit by said

25 She was a servant in Matthews’ household.
26 'As desired' is an uncertain reading; the ink is very faint after 'des-. The marginal notation is torn.
27 For Isobel’s part, see 23 Apr.: she skipped town to avoid prosecution.
28 For 1578, or 1579 in New Style, with the year beginning Jan. 1.
29 Jealousy.
30 A building where grain was winnowed.
Violat befor the saides minister and eldares within the said burgh of Perth. And the said Thomas comperand be him self desirit ane competent terme to answer to the said libel and petition, quhilk being grantit unto him at the tym appointit, he gif in his answer unto the said libel and petition schawin that the cause chiefly quhy he adherit not unto the said Violat Robeson his spous was becaus scho had schamefully and witikly abusit hir body by him in adultery, and chiefly that upon Yull day in anno lxxvii, scho passit beyond the burg and thair abusit hir in pyping and dansing and pollution of hir body as thereftir did sundry tymes, as at mair lent is contenit in hir defenes schawin and producit befor us, as also the said Violat at another tym appointit unto hir gif in hir replyis to the saides Thomas answer, uppon the quhilk hinc inde the minister and eldares gif thair interlocuter admitting and repelling as thai thot expedient and so admittit the said Thomas Dundy to prove his defences admittit to his probation and chiefly the allegances foirsaids and assignit to hir fifyteyn dayis of probation to that effect for probation. Quhereof the said Thomas Dundy maid no diligence, and therefor the term was circumducit by the said Violat and Duncan Robeson hir brother in hir name, protesting the said Thomas suld be no fairther hard, in respect quhereof the hall process being considerit – reasons, allegations, and defences being hinc inde reply advysit with, the minister and eldares convenit in thair assembly house concludes, pronunciis, and decernis the said Thomas Dundy to ressaif the said Violat in to his house to entertein hir in bed and burd, to adhear unto hir and to do unto hir in all things as becumis ane faithful housband unto his lauchful wyf under the pain of excommunication. In caise of inobedience in forme as affeiris.

Decimo Nona Februarii 1579

The quilk day with advys of Dioneis Conqueror, Alexander Anderson, David Forbes, Oliver Kar, eldars, the minister grantit licence to Jhon Tyrie and Janet Butler to mary in the kirk of Kilspindy in respect of syndry reas-sonabil considerationis.

20 Februarii 1579

Comperit William Cathrow and Eling Blaschell and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, for performance of the quhilk the said William hes fand his fayther Robert Cathrow caution under the pain of ten £, and siclyk the said Eling hes fand Blaese Colt under the lyk pain. (M)

31 1577.
32 Literally, 'from here and from there'; judicially, considering both sides of the dispute.
33 Allegations.
34 No further heard.
35 That is, the usual penalty to apply in case he fails to obey.
36 See above, 7 July 1578, 12 Jan. 1579. 'Butter' in the earlier references becomes 'Butler' here.
The assembly ordanis the masteres of the hospitale to warn all possessors of Saint Paulis chapel, the chapel of Allairet, or Laidyis Chapel at the brig end, Saint Anis chapel and all utheris pertening to our gift, gif ony be, to remove again Witsunday nixt, and ordanis the masteres of the hospital to insist diligently in persuit herof.

The assembly requestes the bailyeis to clensche the rome that the dor may opin and stek and that thai get ane look and kee to the door, and lykwyse ordanis the masters of the hospital to by thre lookes to the thre irnis.

Comperit Janet Robertson and confessit hir secund fault of fornication with Jhon Spens, and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir, and promiesis to enter to the tolbuith incontinent. (1 2 3 4 5 6.)

Comperit Thomas Foulis, quha suld haif enterit this day to the tolbuith and promisis to enter this day aucht dayis to the tolbuith, and that Patrick Justice youngar to remain caution according to the first act.

26 Februarii 1579
Quhilk day Mr Jhon Row, minister at Perth, admonischit Thomas Dundy publictly in pulpeit to adhear unto his wyf under the pain of excommunica- tion, and that for the first.40

Primo Marci 1579
Quhilk day Mr Jhon Row, minister at Perth, publikly in pulpeit admonischit Thomas Dundy under the pain of excommunicacion to adhear to his wyf Violat Robeson, and that for the secund.

Comperit Cristan Adame and confessis hir fornication with [ ] MacRune, servand to the layrd of Lawars, and therefor submittes hir self to the disciplyne of the kyrke.

37 The popular name for the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, which contained two additional altars, to St Nicholas and St Catharine. The merchant John Elder would be repeatedly in trouble with the session over his illegal possession of portions of the chapel lands (15 Dec. 1579, May 1582, May 1583, attempts to remove him from the lands). On 21 Oct. 1583 he finally settled for a paltry payment of ten merks up front and six merks annually in feu for the property. 16 Jan. 1587, however, he was prosecuted for withholding his annual payments. Milne, 464–66.

38 See Milne, p. viii.

39 They are to clean the room, insure that the door will open and latch, and get a lock and key for the door.

40 'First' refers to the number of times this announcement has been made. Three were required for this public discipline: see 1 and 5 Mar.
Secundo Marcii 1579
Comperit Edward Ady and Eling Donaldson and desire their banns to be proclaimed before marriage, and for performance of the said banne Henry Adamson is become caution under the pain of ten £ for the said Edward and lykwys Andro Jhonston under the lyk pain for the said for the said [sic] Eling. (1 2 3 M)

Comperit Robert Wilson and Bessy Schaun and lykwysyse desire their bannis to be proclaimed and performance of marriage. Alexander Wilson is become caution under the pain of ten £ for the said Robert and siclyk James Schaun is become caution under the lyk pain for the said Bessy. (1 2)

Ordanis the bailyes to pund William Kynloch for xx s quhillk he is awand to the kirk, and now gevin be the kirk to James Moncreifis puir man callit Quhytte to support him to by ane horse.

Quinto Marcii 1579
Qhillk day Mr Jhon Row, minister at Perth, publikly admonishit Thomas Dundy in pulpeit to adhear to his wyf Violat Robeson under the pain of excommunication, and that for the thrid tyme.

Nono Marcii 1579
Comperit Thomas Spens and Janet Stobby and desire their banns to be proclaimed, and for performance of mariage the said Thomas fand Patrick Gardner caution under the pain of ten £, and lykways the said Janet, George Stobby under the pain of the lyk sowm of ten £ money. (1 2)

Also comperit David Strachon and Margreit Huntar and desire their banns to be proclaimed and for performance of the said banne the said David fand Thomas Robertson caution under the pain of ten pundes money and siclyk the said Margreat hir father George Huntar under the pain of ten £ in case of no performance. (1 2 M)

Decimo sexto Marcii 1579
Comperit Andro Malcom and Agnes Hendry and desire their banns to be proclaimed, and for the performance of the said banne Andro Malcom

41 The clerk has abbreviated his usual formula here.
42 The poor man has been presented by Moncreif to the session as deserving. But the session already contributed to Quhyt's purchase of a horse on 4 Aug. 1578. Either this is a second installment, or the first horse has already died, in which case one wonders about the wisdom of this renewed commitment of significant funds.
eldar is becum caution for the said Andro under the pain of ten pundes, and lykwayis Jhon Lendill is becum caution for the woman under the lyk pain of ten £. (M)

Ordanis James Sim, uptakar of the casualties that intervenis unto the kirk, to cause mend the look of the towir above the port at the brig end.  

23 March 1579
Comperit Margreat Murodche and confessit that scho cam to William Ross the tailoyres at Martinmes last and remanit thair for ane season, and therefthir passit to James Rynd quhair scho remainis yit, and confessis also hir fornication with William Blair, son to the laird of Balthyok, and sayis that hir bairne was baptisit be William Scott, reader at Monze.  

Comperit Jhon Crysteson and Bessy Broun and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of marriage Duncan Robeson is becum caution for the said Jhon under the pain of x £, and lykwayis Troylus Broun for his dochter Bessy Broun under the pain of the lyk soum of ten £. (1 2 M)  

Comperit Jhon Bachlan and confessit his fornication with Janet Rollok and submittes him self to the discipline of the kirk therefoir and promissit to enter to the tolbuith on Thursiday. (1. 2. 3.)  

Comperit Janet Rollok and confessit hir fornication lykwayis with Jhon Bachlan and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk and promisses to enter to the tolbuith this day aucht dayis.  

Penultimo Marcii 1579
Comperit William Blyith and Janet Bell and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of marriage, the said William fand Oliver Kar caution under the pain of ten pundes to the puir, and lykwayis the said Janet fand Gilbert Walkar caution under the lyk sown of ten pundes. (1. M)  

43 Lock.  
44 The tower room of the gate (port) in the town wall could be used for storage or for warding of offenders.  
45 11 Nov.  
46 See above, 7 July 1578. Quite apart from the fact that the kirk did not permit readers to baptise, Margaret had her illegitimate child baptised outside of the parish where she resided at the time of the child's birth in a vain attempt to avoid prosecution for fornication. Her current master, James Rynd, probably presented her to the session; had he not, he could himself have been disciplined for failure to report a sinner in his household.  
47 There was probably only one room set aside for warding in the tollbooth, so Rollok was ordered to enter at a later date to avoid cohabitation there with Bachlan.
Sexto Aprilis 1579

Comperit Cristian Levingston and confessit hir relapsit in fornication with James Blyith and submittit hir self to the disciplin of the kirk for the third fault and promisses to enter to the tolbuith this day viii dayis.

Comperit Janet Scharp and confesses hir fornication with Charles Scott and that for the first fault and submittes hir self to the dyscipUn of the kirk therefoir and promisses to enter to the tolbuith this day viii dayis. (1. 2. 3)

Comperit James Blyith and confesses his fornication with Cristian Levingston and that for the secund fault and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir and promisses to enter to the tolbuith eftir that my lord be cumit hom and pasit away again out of this town. (R)

Ordenis James Sym, uptaker of the casualties to the puir, to gif to Issobel Wod the spous of Andro Dog the sowm of xl s money and ordenis hir to tak alsue kow butter from ony body as the sowm foresaid will extend till and the same James to [be] the cautioner therefoir.

Ordenis James Sym to cause hai11 William Cragyis son quha hes ane soir and scallit head, and quhat expens he makes upon it to be allowit to him in his nixt compt.

Ordenis James Sym to gif to the relict of umquhill Jhon Barbour the sowm of x s and that of the first cassualteis that beis gottin in.

Decimo tertio Aprilis 1579

Comperit Alexander Gardner and Issobel Ruthven and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of the said banne the said Alexander hes found Adam Harrow ca[ution] under the pain of x £ caution, and lykwayis the said Issobel hes found George Jak caution under the lyk sowm of x £.

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48 He admits a second act of fornication; Christian had confessed this to be her third. Presumably her first was not with James Blyith.

49 Blyith is probably the servant of a lord who requires his service while resident in the town.

50 Omitted. The meaning of the butter reference is not clear, nor is the need for a caution evident. Given the amount of money involved and the context – expenditures for the poor and (in the next entry) medical expenses, Wod may in this action be given the responsibility for securing butter for distribution in the burgh: cf. 30 Nov. 1584.

51 The session is paying the child's medical expenses, for his sore and scabbed head to be healed.

52 Torn.
17 Aprilis 1579
Comperit Alexander Findlayson quha being chargit with ane oth gif he hed carnal dail with Janet Anderson or not, refusit to gif his oth at that present [time]53 but tuk him to be advysit quhill Mononday nixt, and prom- isit on Mononday nixt to gif out his oth ather affirmantive or negative efter the prayeris.54 Comperit Janet Anderson and confessit hir adultery with Alexander Fyndlason, litstar55 duelland in the north syd of the hiegait, quha saysis and publickly declaris that he had to do with hir carnally betuix Saint Jhonsmes and Andersmes last56 sundry tymes and is delyverit to Jhon Newingis to be keipit.57 (R)

Vigesimo Aprilis 1579
Comperit Alexander Fyndlason and confessit his adultery with Janet Anderson and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir. (R)

Comperit Jhon Bachlan and Janet Rollok and desyre thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of the sam, the said Jhon Bachlan hes fund Georg Jak younger caution under the pain of ten pundis, and siclyk the said Janet hes fund David Bow caution under the pain of the lyk sowm. (M)

[41] 23 Aprilis 1579
Comperit Agnes Ruthven and confessit hir fornication with Andro Jakson and submettes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir, and that for the first fault. (R)

Comperit Issobel Gudmen and confessit hir fornication with Robert Moncreif and submettes hir to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir, and that for the secund fault. (R)

Comperit lykwayis Robert Moncreif and confessit his fornication with Issobel Gudmen, and that for the first fault, and submittes him self to ye disciplin of the kirk therefoir. (R)

53 Omitted.
54 Findlayson has the opportunity simply to swear to his innocence; his reluctance must have been a signal of guilt, but the session allows him time to think over the implications of oath-breaking. In the face of Janet's own confession after he left the session house, he will in fact confess at the next meeting, 20 Apr. The option of taking an oath was generally restricted to the propertied.
55 Dyer.
56 During the time between the old feast days of St John the Baptist (nativity 24 June or martyrdom 29 Aug.) and St Andrew (30 Nov.). If she turns out to be pregnant, the dates will matter, since Findlayson be held responsible for the financial support of a child conceived during that period.
57 She will be held in Newing's house until she has performed her repentance, perhaps because she is, indeed, pregnant.
Quhilk day also Walter Scott becam caution under the pain of ten pundes that Issobel Peiris suld cum to this town and fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk for hir fornication.58

27 April 1579
Quhilk day comperit Duncan Forester and Eufam Buy and desyrit thair bannes to be proclaimit, and for performance of mariag the said Duncan hes fund Andro Thomson caution under the pain of x £, and siclyk the said Eufam hes fund Andro Buy under the pain of the lyk sowm. (M)

Primo Maii 1579
Quhilk day comperit Jhon Eldar and submittit him to the minister of Perth Mr Jhon Row and eldaris of the said burgh in the decision for the cause and action betuix him and Agnes Grant her dochter and hir gudman for his untroth. And the circumstances of the caus being considerit, the said minister and eldaris ordanis Jhon to aske the said Agnes Grant forgifhes for the offence done to hir and ordanis him to pay half ane merk to the puir.59

[42] Quarto Maii 1579
For the decision of the action and cause betuix William Tyry eldar and William Tyry youngar, his son, the said William Tyry eldar hes acceptit for his part Andro Moncrief, Alexander Oliphant, [and] Alexander Anderson. And lykwayis the said William Youngar hes acceptit for his part Patrik Grant, Oliver Kar, [and] Dioneis Conqueror.60

Comperit Jhon Bachlan and confessit that he and Janet Rollok hes haddin house together sen he performit his repentance, and [when asked]61 quhidder gif he had carnal deal with hir or not sensyn, refussit to gif out his aith. And therefoir the assembly ordanis the said Jhon to separat him from the said Janet ay and quhill thay be lauchfiilly commit together in mariage. And therefir ather to make his repentance on Sonday befoir his marriage or than to pay xl s to the puir.62

58 See 9 Feb. for the beginning of this case. Walter Scott, her partner in sin, can now become her caution because he has performed his repentance and been received back into the congregation. The fact that she left town rather than submit to discipline back in February will now count against her.

59 Eldar has slandered Grant; his request for forgiveness will be sufficiently public to salvage her reputation.

60 This family dispute will be settled by binding arbitration, the decision to be rendered by the six men named, with the minister as tie-breaker if necessary. See CP, 232–35 for session arbitration in other parishes.

61 Omitted.

62 Here is an example of the well-off being able to buy their way out of the humiliation of public repentance.
Ordanis the masteres of the hospital to repair the burial wall round about be bigging up of the slappes, pinning, harling, and keepin with lyme baith ennow and outwith, and this to be done with all possibil diligence, and quhilk expensses they make upon it to be allowit in thair comptes.

Comperit Andro Paterson and Janet Quhyt and siclyk Jhon Maccomes and Janet Broun and desyr thair bannies to be proclamit, and for performance of the same banne the said Andro fand Thomas Monypenny caution under the pain of x L, and siclyk the said Janet, Mr George Quhyt the [sic] under the pain of the lyk sowm. And lykwayis the said Jhon Maccomes, Walter Elder under the pain of x L, and the said Janet Broun, James Broun hir father.

6 May 1579
Comperit Andro Blair and Janet Gib and desyre thair bannies to be proclamit, and for performance of the said banne the said Andro hes fund Jhon Blair caution under the pain of ten pundes, and siclyk the said Janet hes fund Patrik Blair caution under the lyk sowm.

Undecimo Maii 1579
Quhilk day Patrik Inglis becam caution under the pain of ten pundes that Cristian Levinston sail fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk so schone as scho salbe delyverit of hir child, becaus scho was neir hir tym.

Comperit James Pyper and confessit his fornication with Sibby Rynd and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir and promisses to enter to the tolbuith instantly.

And lykwayis comperit the said Sibby and confesses hir fornication with James Pyper, and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir.

Ordanis Violat Ruthven to be put in the tolbuith becaus scho being lauchfully summoned to compeir befoir the assembly comperit nocht.

Comperit Thomas Kelt and Margreat Crukshank and desyr thair bannies to bie proclamit, and for performance of the sam the said Thomas and Alex-

63 Building.
64 A 'slop' or 'slappe' is a gap or hole in a wall. 'Pinning' is filling up joints of masonry with small stones, splinters of shells, etc. 'Harling' is rough-casting using lime mixed with small gravel.
65 Inside.
66 'Jhon' is crossed out twice, where 'Janet' and 'James' appear.
ander Cunningam actit tham selfes … and severally under the pain of £, and siclyk Patrik Paterson for the said Margreat.

Quhilk day Mr Jhon Row publikly in pulpeit excommunicat Margreat Ruthven, adultrix with Robert Bruce of Clakmannan, and that for hir inobedience, quha being oft and syndry times admonishit to cum to hir repentance and fulfill the directionis of the kirk, wald nocht, but stubburnly rebellit. (Margreat Ruthven excommunicat)

Quhilk day also the said Mr Jhon denunceit new over again Andro Trumpat excommunicat be reason of his inobedience.

[44] Decimo sexto Maii 1579
Quhilk day comperit William Montgomery and Janet Blyith and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of the said banne of the said banne [sic] Alexander May is becum caution under the pain of ten £ for the said William, and lykways Gilbert Billy is becum caution for the said Janet under the pain of the lyk sowm of ten £. (M)

Decimo octavo Maii 1579
Comperit Jhon Coling and Cristian Buchan and confessit that thay haif had carnal deal together, and is ordain to compeir the nixt Wednesday befoir the assembly of the exercies of the ministeris.

Comperit Margreat Ruthven quha is excommunicat, declaring that scho is penitent alsweill of hir adultery as of hir obstinacy, for the quhilk scho hes submittit hir self with reverence and humility to the disciplin of the kirk, desyring to be ressavit to hir repentance. The assembly thinkes expedient scho be ressavit according to their order.

67 To 'act oneself' is to swear. A word is illegible after 'selfes' since the scribe has apparently not left sufficient room for this entry and is putting two lines in the space he ordinarily allows for one. Thomas and Alexander have sworn to share the responsibility for the caution's usual 'pain'; perhaps Alexander alone would not satisfy the criteria for a caution, and Thomas is regarded as particularly responsible?

68 Omitted.

69 Repeated an earlier denunciation.

70 'Blyith' is crossed out.

71 Cf. 6 Oct. 1578 (and note 179), Buchan's earlier adultery case, also referred to Perth's presbytery avant la lettre; and 24 Aug. 1578, when the couple asked that their banns be proclaimed. Postponement of the marriage in this case seems to have led to precisely what the session feared. There is no indication in this record, however, that the cautions Gilbert Scot and Robert Tyrie were made to pay their £10 obligations. The 12 Jan. 1579 adultery case of Janet Wricht also went to the presbytery.

72 Margaret's quick response indicates the seriousness with which contemporaries took excommunication.
Ordanis Petir Grant and Janet Grant and David Fynlason to persew thair bills gevin in befoir the kirk, and that thai be summoned thereto this day aucht dayis.\footnote{The Grants and Fynlason had brought bills of complaint against each other, which they have thus far failed to follow through.}

Comperit Thomas Walkar and confessit tht he had carnal deal wt Barbara Gardner in the parochion of Scon, and lykwayis confessit fornication with Elspat Anderson dwelland in Fyf in the parochion of Lucheris.\footnote{Walkar might have thought himself safe, but if the women had become pregnant, they would be disciphned in their own parishes and pressed for the name of their partner. The sessions of Scone and Leuchars would then have written to the Perth session about Walkar.}

\begin{flushright}
\hspace{1cm}xxv Maii 1579
\end{flushright}

The assembly ordainis the bailyeis to put Helyn Richartson upon the croce head\footnote{The market cross was also the site of a pillory and irons – jougs, manacles, or stocks – where both secular and ecclesiastical offenders were punished. Appearance there could be an invitation to the crowd to ‘cast rotten eggs [and] filth’, as in a St Andrews case, so it was a dread punishment: \textit{SAKS} ii, 793 (1594); cf. NRS ms CH2/472/1, fo. 10v, for a similar instance in the parish of Kinghorn.} for the space of ane hor and to pay half ane merk to the puir befoir scho cum down, and that for the slanding of Thomas Broun.

Thomas Malcom is convict befoir the assembly to haif callit Thomas Broun lown carl,\footnote{‘Carl’ is a derogatory term for a peasant, or a man of scant worth. The combination of ‘lown carl’ is frequently a feature of railing.} for the quhilk the assembly ordainis him to be put in the tolbuith, thair to remain tua houris, and to pay vi s viii d to the puir.

The assembly ordanis that no proclamation of bannes befoir mariage be ressavit but upon the ordinar day, to wit, Mononday. (Act of proclamation and ressaying of bannes)\footnote{The session’s other business was apparently being interrupted too often by requests for banns to be proclaimed. This is the earliest indication that we have of the session organizing its agenda by day of the week. By 1598 they would be meeting three days a week, with discipline on Monday and Thursday, hospital business on Tuesday. Hospital business was moved to Thursday and Tuesday designated for outdoor relief of the poor in 1605, and in 1621 they added a Friday meeting: NRS ms CH2/521/3, pp. 2, 25; CH2/521/4, p. 170; CH2/521/7, p. 276.}

\begin{flushright}
\hspace{1cm}Primo Junii 1579
\end{flushright}

Oliver Kar is ordanit as cautionar for Wilham Blyith to caus him compeir on Thursiday nixt befoir the minister and elderis

Ordanis Gilbert Walcar to be pundit becaus he being lauchfully summoned to compeir befoir the assembly comperit nocht.
Ordanis George Huntar to caus his dochter to compleit the banne of matr
mony with David Strachon on Sunday eftir Midsommer Day or than to
allege ane reasonabil caus quhy the samyn suld not be done.\textsuperscript{78}

It is aggreit betuix Andro Donaldson, master of the hospital on the ane
part, and Jhon Richartson on the uther part, with consent of the minister
and eldaris, that is to say, that the said Richartson sall repair and big up all
the sloppes of the burial [ground]\textsuperscript{79} that are presently down or that misteris
repairing, and sall pin the holl burial wall within and without headis to the
harling and sall upheald the sloppes that he biges be the space of thre yeiris,
for the quhilk caus the said master of the hospital sall discharge the said Jhon
Richartson of his part of the burial mail\textsuperscript{80} extending to four merkes yeirly
for the space of thre yeiris beginning at Witsonday nixt cum, and the said
master of the hospital sall find
[46] him materialles to this effect, and at the issue of the said yeiris sall leaf
the said burial wall sufficiently reparit. (Contract betwix the masteres of
hospital and taxisman of the burial)

Because Margreat Ruthven hes gevin in hir bill with the copy of the
summondes be the quhilk scho is summondit to Edinburgh, in respect
quhereof the assembly hes grantit hir ane fyftein dayis to cair hir busines.\textsuperscript{81}

Ordanis the act of the assembly to strek upon Cristian Blossom for the slan
dering and injuring of Eufam Tully, spouse to James Sym.

And lykwayis ordanis the said act to strak upon Thomas Broun for injuring
of Eling Richarttson, spouse to Thomas Malcom.

Jhon Bachlan compering yit as of befoir grantes mutual cohabitation with
Janet Rollok, and promisses to mary on Sonnday eftir Midsommer.

4 \textit{Junii} 1579

Quhilk day Jhon Basylly becam caution under the pain of $x \ L$ that Thomas
Walcar salbe [sic] compeir befoir the kirk so schone as the kirk sall charge
him.

\textsuperscript{78} See 9 Mar. 1579. Midsummer is 24 June, so the session has allowed nearly three months for
the couple to marry – a notable indulgence.

\textsuperscript{79} Omitted.

\textsuperscript{80} That is, he need not pay his usual portion of the tax to finance maintenance of the kirkyard;
instead, he is paying it in kind with his service.

\textsuperscript{81} The session recognized the need for business people to be able to travel when required, so
they suspended Sundays of repentance for the duration of necessary travel. Ruthven gets
two Sundays off to go to Edinburgh, but these will be added to the end of her sentence.
THE PERTH KIRK SESSION BOOKS: 1579

Vigesimo secundo Junii 1579

Comperit Janet Anderson quha yit as of befoir confessit his [sic] adultery with Alexander Fyndlayson and promeises to cum to the exercies on Wednesday nixt cumis thair to ressf hir injunctionis.

Comperit Eufam Yong and confessit hir fornication with Willyam Graham and that for the secund fault, and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir. (1 2 3 4 5 6. R)

Comperit Jhon Rynd and desyrat ane copy of the bill giffin in aganis him by Elizabet Chalmer, spouse to Hugo Mowatt, and he for his entres.\(^2\) The party being removit, [47] the assembly advysand fand it was nocht the use of the assembly to gif copyis of billes to parties, and therefoir his petition was denyit, and therefoir the assembly ordainis him to answer to the contentes of this bill ather negatyve or affirmatyve this day aucht days.

Ordanis Margreat Lamb and Thomas Symis wyfes nures\(^3\) to be put in the tolbuith becaus thai being lauchfually summoned to compeir befoir the assembly comperit nocht.

Qhilk day James Henderson, skynner, becam caution under the pain of x \(£\) to the puir that he suld enter Eufam Yong to the kirk for performance of hir repentance for hir fornication on Mononday nixt.

29 Junii 1579

Comperit Jhon Rynd, and for the desyr of the last terme he grantes the contentes of the last bill that he spak than concerning the awaytaking of his victual, and offeres to proouf the samyn befoir ane judge competent. And therefoir the assembly remittes the said Jhon to proouf the contentes of his bill, namly concerning the awaytaking of his stuff mentionat therein to the provest and bailyeis as judges competent therefor, and to report thair decreit thereupon this day aucht dayis.\(^4\)

Comperit Thomas Anderson and Margret Moncreif and desyris thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of the samyn betuix this and Lambis,\(^5\) the said Thomas Anderson hes fund Adam Bryson caution under the pain

\(^2\) Interest, concern.
\(^3\) The nurse of Sym's wife's child.
\(^4\) Rynd's dispute with Elizabet Chalmer (22 June) apparently concerns a charge of theft of his goods, including food.
\(^5\) Lammas is 1 Aug.
of ten pundes and lykwayes the said Margreat Moncreif, James Moncreif hir father under the lyk pain. (M.)

Also comperit Jhon Gregor and Janet Roggy to the same effect, and the said Jhon hes fund Thomas Donaldson under the pain of x £, and the said Janet, Robert Duncan under the lyk pain, and the said Jhon promises to bring ane testimonial of the minister quhair he resortit before that he is ane free man befor he be maryit.86

[48] Comperit Thomas Dundy and declarit that he had maid no diligence to prouf his wyf Violat Robeson to haif bein eaitting and drinking with James Cramby the ii of this moneth as he alledgit. And therefoir because he is succumbit87 in his probation, he aucht no farther to be hard, in respect whereof the assembly ordanis the decreit of adherence to proced agains him.

\textit{Ultimo Junii 1579}

Comperit Margreat Lamb and confessit hir fornication with James Cuk, and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir, and is ordanit to the tolbuith presently. ([1] 2 3 R)

Quhilk day lykwayis Janet Salmond, nures to Agnes Henderson, confessit hir fornication with James Narne, presently not in this realme as scho alledgis, and sayis that hir bairne was baptisit in Saint Trinyanis88 kirk besyd Dunkeld be ane Sr Jhon Salmond89 as sho allegis departit. And James Henderson is becum caution under the pain of ten pundes to present to the kirk quhen the kirk sail charge hir.

\textit{13 Julii 1579}

Comperit Robert Chapman and Elin Murray and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of the said banne Andro Donaldson is becum caution under the pain of x £ to the puir, and lykwayis James Murray is becum caution under the lyk pain for the said Elin. (Proc/ 1 2 3. M)

Quhilk day lykwayis comperit George Bowar and Violat Hamilton and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of the banne

86 The requirement of such testimonials obviously helped to prevent bigamy.
87 Defeated.
88 The identity of this parish is uncertain.
89 Patrick Salmon was reader in Kinclaven, a prebend of Dunkeld, at this date, but \textit{Fasti iv} lists no John Salmond.
Geor[ge]\textsuperscript{90} hes fund Mr William Rynd caution under the pain of x £, and siclyk the said Violat hes Jhon Jameson caution under the pain of the lyk sown.

Quhilk day Jhon Basilly becam caution under the pain of x £ to enter Thomas Walkar to the kirk quhen the kirk sail require him.\textsuperscript{91}

\textbf{Vigesimo Julii 1579}

Comperit James Cuk and confessis his fornication with Margreat Lamb and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir. (1 2. 3. R)

Comperit William Graham and confessis his fornication with Eufam Yong and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir. (1 2 3. R)

Comperit James Lamb and Cristian Symson and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of the said banne Patrick Lamb is becum caution under the pain of ten £ for the said James, and lykwayis Patrik Anderson for the said Cristian under the pain of the lyk sown. (1 2 3 mareit)

Comperit Elspat Carvor excommunicat quha hes submittit hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. And becaus scho hes been fugitive heirtofoir, now scho hes fund David James caution under the pain of xl £ to the puir that scho sail fullfill the injunctionis of the kirk that salbe layit to hir charge.\textsuperscript{92}

Comperit Robert Lynie and Violat Oliphant and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of mariage, and that betuix this and Saint Jhonsmes Donald Lynie is becum caution for the said Robert under the pain of x £, and siclyk Jhon Monipenny for the said Violat under the pain of the lyk sown.\textsuperscript{93} (M)

Ordanis James Sim to gif Andro Ried ten s of the nixt casualities that intervenis.

\textsuperscript{90} Torn.

\textsuperscript{91} Repeats the order of 4 June 1579.

\textsuperscript{92} For Carvor's adultery case, see 31 Mar. and 19 May 1578. Her excommunication was announced 29 June 1578 for her failure to perform the assigned repentance, so she has been fugitive for more than a year. There is no indication in the margin that she now performed her repentance.

\textsuperscript{93} The marginal 'M' suggests that Violat forgave him his relationship with Margaret Morison, reported at the next session meeting. Bauns were duly pronounced, and the parish register indicates that the couple married by the end of July (NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1, n.f.).
27 Julii 1579
Comperit Robert Lynie and confessit his fornication with Margreat Morison and submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk therefoir. (1 2 3 R)

And lykwayis comperit the said Margreat and confessit hir carnal deal with the said Robert and submittis hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1 2 3 R)

Vigesimo septimo Julii 1579
Ordanis Jhon Scott to keip better ordour in tym cuming tuiching his repentance than he hes done heirtofor, that is alsweill in absence as in presence of the minister without he haif licence be the assemblie to be absent, and that under the pain of excommunication.

Comperit David Smyth and Margreat Jak and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of the said bannes at Saint Jhonsmes nixt, David Mar is becum caution for the said David under the pain of x £, and lykwayis George Jak for the said Margreat. (1 2. mareit)

Thomas Macky comperand in the presence of the assembly offerit him self thair in the presence lykwayis of the bailyes willingly to gif to Margaret Mulliche iii merkes money for the sustentation of his bairne gottin with hir and promissit to gif the first merk on Setterday nixte, and Jhon Maxton caution for the same, on the quhilk promise the said Margaret Mulliche promissis to separeit hir from the [said] Thomas and not to be chargeabil to him heireftir.

Tertio Augusti 1579
Comperit Bessy Bishop and confessit hir fornication with Daniel Drummond, James Drumondes son in Arch[t]erardor, quha hes takin the bairne of his hand and puttin it in the hand of ane of his tenentes and as yit remainis onbaptiest, and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk for the secund fault. (1 2 3 R)

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94 No explanation is offered for repetition of the date.
95 Scott may have failed to appear on the penitents’ seat on Sundays when the minister was absent. There is no indication of why Scott was repenting. It may be that a separate book was kept for lesser offences (drunkenness, for instance): CP, 16-18.
96 Omitted.
97 Bessy was doubtless too poor to sustain her child, and the Drummonds were substantial property-holders with tenants who would take on a foster child for a price. Daniel’s failure to have the child baptised (which would require his repentance for fornication first) has perhaps motivated her to come to the session, despite the prospect of her own discipline. People clearly valued baptism highly.
The assembly concludes the act touching flyttaris to be put in execution upon Geillis Gardner spouse to Jhon Scott for the injuring of Cristian Cowart dochter to Robert Cowart, smith.  

[51] Ordanis Janet Broun to use farther diligence aganis Margreat Morison for the probation of hir allegit sclander.

Ordanis the act touching flyttaris to be execut upon Margreat Morison for the injuring of Violat Oliphant.

Ordanis Jhon Scott to use farther diligence again this day xiii dayis for probation of the allegit sclander aganis Jhon Toddy.

The assembly desyris the bailyeis to tak order with Cristian Mackinfry for the scheding of Jhon Andersonis hir housbandes bluid, and to tak caution of hir that scho compeir befoir the kirk.

Quhilk day Jhonn Ranoldson officer recordit that he had takin Jhon Peblis caution under the pain of ten £ that he suld enter Catherin Kynloch befoir the assembly.

4 August 1579

Quhilk day Jhon Eldar, flescher, becam caution for Margaret Mullich that scho suld not trubil nor molest Thomas Makkay touching the sustentation of his barne provyding that the said Thomas gif hir four merkes in the yeir for his part, upon the quhilk I Mr Walter Tully deliverit to the said Margaret Mullich xiii s iii d for the first quarter fie in the presence of the said Jhon Eldar and Jhon Ranoldson, officer to the kirk.

Decimo Augusti 1579

Comperit Catherin Kynloch and confessit hir fornication with Robert Stewart, son to the laird of Mynto, and confessit lykwayis that scho had of befoir tua barnis, ane to William Stewart and ane uther to James Colvill, and so submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk for the thre fault.

98 If this is the same Jhon Scott whose penitential behaviour was criticised 27 July 1579, this was a troublesome family.

99 Morison seems to be something of a troublemaker. Having rather spoiled Violat Oliphant's marriage banns, she is now railing at her, and at Janet Broun: see 27 July 1579. She may have physically assaulted Oliphant, but the 'injury' could have been verbal.

100 The clerk of session.

Ordanis Andro Brouhill to use farther diligence tuiching the probation of his allegit sclander aganis this day viii dayis.

[52] Ordanis Bessy Bishop becaus scho is relapsit in fornication to mak the ane half of hir repentance in this toun and the uther half in Auchterardor. (1 2 3 R)\(^{102}\)

The assembly ordanis that sik as are convict of flyting and will not willingly pass to the croce head according to the act passit of befoir, that thai sall pay [a] half merk money to be gevin [to the] puir for the croce head besydes that uther half mark mentionat in the act of befoir. (Cautio/ In the act of flying)\(^{103}\)

Ordanis the act tuiching sclanderous personis to straik upon Margreat Morison for the iniuing of Janet Broun.

Novissimo Augusti 1579\(^{104}\)

Ordanis Isobel Kynloch, wyf to Jhon Pett, to adheir to the said Jhon Pett hir husband or elles to compeir befor the assembly this day fyvetene dayis and schaw ane ressonable cause quhy scho suld not adheir.

Ordanis Patrik Inglis to be pundit for ten pundis as cation for Cristian Levingston to performe hir repentance or ellis to present hir this day aucht dayes and cause hir performe the injunctionis of the kirk.

Ordanis William Graham to be put in the tolbuith until he compeir.

Ordanis Kathereine Kynloch to be put in the tolbut.

Ordanis Androw Ronnhil to use forder diligence this day aucht dayes tuiching his allegit sclander given be Peter Quythillis wyf agains his spous.\(^{105}\)

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\(^{102}\) See 3 Aug. 1579. The couple appear not to have been very discreet; as a result, Bessy's three-Sunday repentance – already performed in Perth, as the marginal note indicates – must now be repeated there, and three more appearances in Auchterarder are added, since that is where the fornication occurred.

\(^{103}\) Those who can afford the fine can thus avoid corporal punishment at the town cross.

\(^{104}\) ‘Novissimo’ would indicate the most recent day of the month. It is possible that this is the scribe’s rather idiosyncratic alternative for ‘ultimo’, the last of the month, or ‘ultissimo’, given his penchant for superlatives in dating; however, the initial ‘N’ is clear and is used elsewhere by this writer. The only other time this word occurs is in Oct. of 1580, p. 94 of manuscript, where it also refers to the last of the month.

\(^{105}\) See 22 Sept. 1579, below.
Ordanis Androw Blair to marie betuix this and Michelmess under the paine of [an] uther tene pundis. (mareit)

Compeirt Dionys Sibbald and confessit his carnal copulation with Katherine Pringill. (1 2)

Comperit Androw Elson and Cristian Hering and desyris thair bannes to be proclamit, and for the performance thairof the said Androw has fund Robert Talyeour caution under the pane of ten pundis to the puir, and lykwayes the said Cristian Hering hes fund Gilbert Walcar caution under the lyk penalty, and this mariage to be accomplist betuix this and Michelmess. (1 2/ mareit)

[53] Octavo Septembris 1579

Ordanis Jhon Ranoldson, officer to the kirk, to comprys and to mak silver of the poundes that he hes takin from Patrik Justice yongar as cautionar for Thomas Fowlis, and that that [sic] he do this betuix this and this day fourtein dayis under the pain of deprivation from his office.

Ordanis the act tuiching sclanderous personis to straik upon Jhon Petir [and] Alexander Anderson for the injuring of Jhon Suenton, maister of the sangscuill.

Jhon Landray submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk for the perturbation of the kirk the tym of the ministration of the sacrament of baptisme, for the quhilk caus the assembly ordanis him to pass about the croce in lynyng claithis bairfuttit and bairheadit on Thursday and Sonnday nixt, and thaireftir that he cum to the publik place of repentance the tym of the sermon, thair publickly to confess his offence, and to the [sic] pay [a] half merk money to the puir instantly or than to pass to ward ay and quhill it be payit.

And siclyk for the sam cause ordanis the uther thre, to wit, James Cudbert, James Kar, Thomas Rutherfurd to cum to the stuil of repentance on Thursday nixt, thair to mak thair publick repentance.

106 The usual ten pounds has been paid by his caution because he has delayed his marriage (see 6 May 1579); now he must pay another ten or marry. He chose the latter, as the marginal note indicates.
107 Given the gap in dates, a page may be missing from the register.
108 Omitted.
109 Penitential garb was of linen. Serious offenders also had to perform their repentance barefoot and without head covering: CP, 143–48.
Decimo quinto Septembris 1579

The assembly ordains Thomas Walkar to ressayf ane writting from the minister Mr Jhon [Row] direct to Jhon Ure,\textsuperscript{10} minister at Luchers, of the quhillk he sall bring ane answer this day viii dayis.

Ordains Janet Paul so schone es scho is holl to compeir befoir the kirk and testify in hir conscience qua is the father of the barne quhareof scho is schordly\textsuperscript{11} delyverit.

Comperit Margreat George and confessit hir fornication with William Mersser, for the quhillk scho submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1 2 3. R.)

Comperit Andro Burry and confessit his fornication with Margret Crychtton and submittes hym self to the dissicipline of the kirk, and that for the secund falt. (1 2 3 4 5 6 R)

[54] Comperit Elspat Robertson and confessit hir fornication with William Stewart, for the quhillk scho submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. ([1 2] 3 R.)

Ordains Eling Murray and Mariory Chreichton to be put in the tolbuith because being lauchfully warnit to compeir befoir the kirk, comperit not.

Comperit Dioneis Sibbald and Catherin Pringill and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, for performance of the quhillk the said Dioneis hes fund Crystie Quhyt caution under the pain of x £ and lykwayis the said Cath-erin, Thomas Bishop, under the quhillk pain. (1 2 3. mareit)

Siclyk comperit William Bryson and Agnes Stout and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, and for performance of mariage the said William hes fand Jhon Millar caution under x £ to the puir, and siclyk Agnes Stout, Jhon Davidson under the lyk pain. (1 2 mareit)

Comperit James Walkar and confessit carnal deal with Elspat Turnor, excommunicat, for the quhillk he submittes him self to the disciplin of the kirk and oblixit\textsuperscript{12} him self under the pain of x £ money that he sall enter in the tolbuith the morne at fyf houres in the morning or thereby. (1 2 3 R)

\textsuperscript{10} John Ure, formerly a conventual brother of the Augustinian Priory at St Andrews, converted to protestantism and served as minister of Leuchars from 1563 through the 1590s (Fasti v, 221).

\textsuperscript{11} Soon to be. See 22 Sept. 1579, 28 Mar. 1580.

\textsuperscript{12} Obliged.
Ordanis six schillinges and viii d of the nixt cassuality that intervenis to be gevin to Robert Bryson, ane auld, failyeit, decrripit man.

*Vigesimo secundo Septembris 1579*

Comperit Janet Paul and confessit hir fornication with umquhill Lawrence Hay, and that for the secund fault, and submittes hir self to the disciplin of the kirk thairfoir. (R)\(^{113}\)

Comperit Maige Creichton and confessit hir fornication with Andro Burry, for the quhilk scho submites hir self to the disciplin of the kirk, and that for the first fault. (1 2 3 R)

Siclyke comperit Agnes Wilson and confessis hir fornication with Jhon Ross, bærnon of Ochtirgevin\(^{114}\) and submittes hir to the discipline of the kirk for the first faít. (1 2 3 R)

[55] Comperit Elspat Carvor and confessit hir fornication with James Walkar. And thairfoir ordanis the bailyeis to put hir in the tolbuith ay and quhill scho find caution to separat hir self from the said James under the pain of xl £ to the puir.\(^{115}\) (1 2 3 R) Comperit Eling Murray and confessit hir fornication with Patrik Matthis, for the quhilk scho submites hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1 2 3 R)

Comperit Petir Quythill and confessit that upon Wednesday the fyft of August last at xii houres in the day, he cam to Andro Brounhilles house and said, 'god speid, and god be heir', quhair he fand tua of Andro Brounhilles women, and thair in presence of tham askit the work of his fault again for godes saik, and sperit at\(^{116}\) the servantes quhair the gudwyf of the house was. And therefoir the said Andro Brounhill is ordanit again this day aucht dayis to use dihgenc to use farther probation, and lykwayis the said Petir to bring his witness to preis his libel cassim in.\(^{117}\)

*Vigesimo quinto Septembris 1579*

Quhilk day the eldares grantit licence to Catherin Kynloch, fornicatrix, to remain in Jhon Peblis hous unto the tym scho be delyverit or at Kandilsmes

113 See 15 Sept. 1579, 28 Mar. 1580.

114 The parish of Auchtergaven is on the lands of Tullybeagles (Fasti iv, 140).

115 See 31 Mar., 19 May, and 29 June 1578, and 20 July 1579, where her charges are adultery and failure to perform her repentance. This is the first mention of a man’s name in connection with her, and it is possible that this is a new liaison. In the margin, ‘123R’ – the penalty for fornication, not adultery.

116 Asked.

117 To press his libel case in.
at the farrest, in respect of the quhilk Issobel Pyper, spous to Jhon Peblis, hes layit in pledge for the said Catherin for the sowm of ten pundes to the pair ane goldin ring, quhilk go[l]din ring is gevin to Jhon Ranaldson to keip. And faiyleing that the said Catherin enter to suffer the injunctionis of the kirk at the said day of Candilsmes nixt, at the fair[th]est, that ten pundes be maid of the said ring to be gevin to the puir.118

Qhilk day also Henry Adamson bailye reportit that he had ressavit four £ money for the pledges that ar in Jhon Ranoldsonis hand of Patrik Justices and that as caution for Thomas Foulis.

[56] xxviii September 1579
Qhilk day James Bruce becam caution under the pain of x £ to the puir that Bessy Colt, forniatrix with James Duncan, suld fulfill the injunctionis of the kirk betuix this dait and Hallowmes nixt. (1 2 3 R)

The assembly present thinkes it meit ane testimonial be gevin that auld William Tyry hes submittit him self in all controversies to the minister and so mony of the eldares as is nominat to that effect. And yong William his son refussit to do the elyk.119

Comperit Archibald Lyng and confessis his fornication with Agnes Moir and submits him self to the disciplin of the kirk thairfoir. (1 2 3 R)

Qunto Octobris 1579
Comperit James Stobby and Margreat Macclaran and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said James hes fand George Stobby caution under the pain of x £, and lykwayis the said Margreat hes fund Jhon Adam caution for the sam effect under the lyk pain. (1 2 3 mar.)

Comperit Agnes Cudbert and confessit hir fornication with Alexander Reatt, for the quhilk scho submites hir self to the disciplin of the kirk. (1 2 3 R)

Ordenis the act apoyntit for sclanderous persones to be put to execution upon Petir Quhythill for the injuring of Janet Henderson, spous to Andro Brownhill.

118 Candlemass is 2 Feb. See 3, 9 and 10 Aug., Catherine Kynloch confessing fornication with three others. 21 Mar. 1580 indicates that she is the same person as the one cited here. See also 7 Mar. 1580.

119 See 4 May 1579. The younger William has refused to abide by the kirk’s arbitration of his quarrel with his father. In anticipation of future problems, William senior wants evidence that he himself has been cooperative.
Ordenis James Sym, uptakar of the casualeteis perteyning to the pure to gif Walter Macgill, puire scollar and student in Sanct Androis, x1 s of the first that be got in, to by hym the Logickes of Aristotil.120

The quhilk day the eldares hes hard James Symes comptes of his heil intromission of the accidentes perteyning to the pure sen this tyme tuol[v] month.121 And the minister and eldares fyndes hym only restand awand of his haill intromission the sowm of xvi s viii d, and therefor discharges hym [57] of his haill intromission foresayd simpliciter for evir.122

_Quido Octobris 1579_

The Names of the elderis presented in the assembly: Allexander Oliphant, Walter Eldar, Robert Chapman, Oliver Kar, Richard Ross, David Macky, David Forbeis, Patrik Grant, Allexander Anderson

The Election of the Eldares for this present yere of god 1579

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<th>The north syde of the Hie gait</th>
<th>South syde of the Hie gait</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mr John Michell</td>
<td>George Johnston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andro Stoup</td>
<td>John Lowrie</td>
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<td>John Wenton</td>
<td>John Smyt</td>
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From the croce down and Wattergait

| James Hepburn                 | John Smyt                  |
| Adam Anderson                 | Henrie Leis                |
| Oliver Mackyson               | Oliver Cragy123            |

The Election of the Deacones

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<th>Northsyde of the Hie gait</th>
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<td>Charlis Merser</td>
<td>David Jakson</td>
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<td>James Lamb</td>
<td>David Wricht</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sir William Anderson</td>
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120 The student was presumably from Perth. Some parishes provided bursaries to pay the expense of boys from their town grammar schools who went on to university training; here the parish is just funding purchase of a standard textbook. See _CP_, 61, n. 151, and for a general treatment, J. Durkan, ‘Education in the century of the reformation’ in McRoberts (ed.), _Essays on the Scottish Reformation_, 145–68.

121 For the past year.

122 That is, they approve his accounts since he did not fall far short.

123 Cragy may have been the cooper of that name, a freeman of the wrights’ guild (PMAG ms Wrights’ Book, 23 May 1552).
[58] xi Octobris 1579
Quhilk day William Flemying becom caution for [ ] Maccay that scho suld perform the rest of hir repentance under the pane of x £ to the pure within xv dayis, for the quhilk hir barn is ordenit to be baptisit. (1 2 3 R.)

It is ordenit be the assemblie that the minister publish in the pulpet on Sunday nixt the eldares, deacones and maisteres of hospital afoir wretin electit for this present yere, to the end thay may laucfully ressaif their offices and be sworn to the faythfiul execution thereof.

x Octobris 1579

Quhilk day the minister publictlie in pulpet eftir the sermone publist the names of the newchosin eldares, deacones, and maisteres of hospital foiรparaayde, desyring gif ony person had ony laucful objection to oppone aganes ony of the forsaydes persones quhy thay mycht not use thair saydes offices. And becaus no objection nor impediment wes objectit aganis thame, the sayd eldares, deacones, and maisteres of hospital foiรparaaydes comperit and acceptat their offices, and gave thair aithis for faythful administration of the samyn according to the ordour. (Publication of office men)

xii October 1579
The assemblie of the eldares new chosin, with thare awn consent ar content that quha evir beis absent in tyme cuming from the assemblies without ane ressonable excuse sail pay xii d, and lykwayis quha evir cumis in eftir thre houres sail pay vi d. (Ratification of the act of the absents)

The assemblie hes thot gude that John Scott and Allexander Fynlason be supercedit of thare repentance of sack clayth quhill the gretast partis of the mercattes be past, and ay and quhill thay be chargit.124

124 There are limits to the embarrassment that penitents must undergo; moreover, some humiliation would presumably attach to the community itself if the strangers in town for the market witnessed Perth men in sackcloth. The proper audience for a penitent’s humiliation was comprised of his own neighbours, not visitors.
[59] Ordenis Margret Ruthven to continew still in hir repentance ay and quhill the the [sic] assemblie tak ordor with hir forther injunctiones of the sack clayth.

Ordenis to put Eufam Young, James Blyth, Eufam Levingston, Petir Quhythill in ward ay and quhill thay compeir befoir the assemblie and fynd caution to perform the rest of thare repentance.

xix Octobris 1579
Qhilk day compeir Gilbert Read and Cristan Nicolson and desyrit their bannis to be proclamit, and for the performance of the band betuix this and Sanct Androis Day nixt, the sayd Gilbert hes fund John Adamson, and the sayd Cristan [and] Allexander Henderson cautionares under the painis of x L to the puir. (1 2 3/ mareit)

2 Novembris 1579
Qhilk day the assemblie ordeines Andro Mersser to present his nutrix Margret Hillok befoir the assemblie this day viii dayis or than to pay ten pundes to the pure. And to that effect ordeins the officiar, John Renoldson, to poynd therefor conform to the act preceding.

Ordeins James Walcar to be put in ward ay and quhill he compeir befoir the assemblie and produce ane wretting from the minister of [ ] conform to the act preceding.

Ordenis to put John Marschell and Helene Beit in fast ward ay and quhill thay pay xl s to the pure for thare mutual cohabitation befoir mariage. And ordenis thame to absteine in tyme cuming unto the tyme of thare lauchful mariage, under the pane of uther xl s to be applyit to the us of the pure.

Ordenis to James Sym gif William Renoldson, cordinar, xl s of that [ ] silver quhilk presently lyis in Henry Adamsones balyeis hand of Thomas Fowlis, for dispensation of the dues for his fornication comittit with [ ] Justice.

125 Nurse. See 9 Nov. 1577 and 18 Aug. 1578.
126 Impose the penalty.
127 A blank is left for the name of the parish. See 22 Sept. 1579 for Walcar’s fornication case.
128 Another. The marginal ‘xl s’ indicates that the penalty was collected.
129 Shoemaker.
130 The bailie, Adamson, has collected Fowlis’ penalty, which he will now give to Sym, who will pass it on as a dole to the poor cordiner.
Ordenis James Sym to gif Agnes and Helene Crowis, pure wedois, ilk ane of thame x s, *summa* xx s.\(^{131}\)

Ordenis the sayd James to gif Andro Archhall, lying seyk, vi s viii d.

\[60\]  ix *Novembris* 1579

Quhilk day the assemblie ordenis Allexander Fynlason to compeir on Sunday nixt in sack clayth from the first bell to the sermond unto the hindmost, and ordenis Mr John Michell and John Wenton, eldares, to stand with hym at the north kyrk dur with thare staffis in thare handes and to convoy hym to and fra the stule of repentance.\(^{132}\)

Ordenis John Swynton, master of the sang scole, to produce his gift of the mess silver and other annuales\(^{133}\) contenit thereuntil on Mononday nixt.

Comperit Edward Seddringhame and Helene Robertson and desyrit thare bannis to be proclamit, for performance whereof the sayd Edward hes fund William Smyt caution, and the sayd Helene, Allexander Wilson the merchant, under the pains of x pundes to the pure betuix this and the last of November. (procl/ 123 Ma.)

Ordenis to put Margret Fitt in ward ay and quhilk scho compeyr befoir the assemblie becaus scho was lauchfully warnit at the instance of John Kenroch this day day and not comperit, as the officiar recordit. ([sa]tisfiet the/ [k] yrk.)\(^{134}\)

Ordenis James Sym, uptakar of the casualties perteyning to the pure, to gif the pure folkes in the hospital horse stray\(^{135}\) to ly upon.

Comperit Patrik Wallace and Issobel Broun and desyrit their bannis to be proclamit, for performance whereof betuix this and Crismes nix, the sayd Patrik hes fund William Robertsone causion, and siclyke the sayd Issobel, hes fond Arthour Gibson cautionar, bayth under the pains of x pundes to

\(^{131}\) The women are poor widows. Each is to receive ten shillings, for a total of twenty.

\(^{132}\) On the ritualised performance of repentance, including this formal 'convoy', see *CP*, ch. 3. In the margin, attention is drawn to this case with a 'Nota' and a hand with all fingers pointing to the entry – the sixteenth-century equivalent of highlighting.

\(^{133}\) The income of lands now held in feu that had been donated to the choristers for the singing of masses for the souls of the donors. The kirk now holds the right to collect the annual income to use for pious purposes, which could include the school. In the margin is an abstract sketch perhaps intended to draw attention to the entry.

\(^{134}\) Part of the marginal notation is torn away.

\(^{135}\) Straw.
the pure. And because the sayd Patrik and Issobel hes had mutual cohabitation togidder before marriage and remanit togidder as mareit persones, the assemblie hes thot gude that thay sail pay xl s to the pure conform to the ordinance and us in sic thinges before thay ressave the benefeyt of the kyrk, to wit, mariage. (procl. 1 2 3 Ma. / xl s)

[61] And for sure payment heir of the sayd Patrik hes fund William Robertson, millar and maltman, cautionar and full dettor to pay the samyn betuix this and before the accomplishmente of the sayd band under the panis of poynding or warding.

Quhilk day Allexander Wilson, merchand, being examminat upon his conscience gif that he knew that Robert Michell, spous to Helene Beit, was in lyf or not, quha deponit that it was reportit to hym in Copmanhovin and Malmy four yeirs sensyne or thereby be narration of syndry Scottismen quha knew the sayd Robert, that he departit in the town of Ownis in [ ]. Quharupon the sayd Allexander mayd faythe.

And syklyke James Murray, merchand, being examinat in the sayd mater in maner foirsayd, deponis that at Lamb mes last or thereby it was reportit to him be syndry Scottesmen in the town of Roscaill, and specially be ane callit [ ] Colliston, born in Abredene, that the sayd Robert Michell departit iii yeres sensyne or thereby in the town of Ownis, and that he was at his burial. And ordenis thir depositiones to be publisschit on Sonday nixt at the proclamation of the bannis. And also ordenis the sayd John and Helene to use forthor deligence in obteining mo witnesses for probation.

22 November 1579
Quhilk day comperit Thomas Walcar and confessit he maid promeis of marriage to Elspet Andersone at the babtising of his barne gottine wyth hir. Also he deponis he had never carnel deal wyth hir eftir the making of this promeis. And becais the woman is not comperit to pursew, the assembly thinkis it meit that Thomas Walcars bannes be proclamit de novo in Perth and and Scone, and the advertisment to be send to Lucheris tharof. And gif na laucful impediment sail be fund, that the mariage be solemnisit agane

136 Alive.
137 The Danish ports of Copenhagen and Malmo, destinations of many Scottish goods. See S. Murdoch, Network North, passim.
138 Swore or signed his oath. The all-important date, left blank, is yet to be determined. If Michell is dead, Beit is guilty not of adultery, but of the lesser offence of fornication (see 2 Nov. 1579).
139 1 Aug.
140 Anew (torn).
Comperit Jhon Peper and confessit his carnal deal wyth Margaret Morison, and becaus he hopis mariage to follow, the assembly appoyntis him this day moneth to gif his resolut answer. (culpa)

Comperit Janet MakCorane and confessit hir fornication wyth Oliver Davidson for the thrid fault, and submittis hir to the discipline of the kyrk thairfoir for the performance quhairof scho is promisit to go to the tolbouth betuix this and this day aucht dayis. (comperit/ [1] 2 3/ culpa)

Comperit Richart Owne and Margaret Sadler and desyris thair bannes of mariage to be proclaimit, for performance quhairof the said Richart hes fund Steve Blak caution, and the said Margaret, Jhon Sadler lykwayes caution under the pane of tene pundes every ane of thame to the puir. (proc./l 2 3 ma./ 20 December)

Ordanis Sir William Anderson to produce his evident the nixt day of the assembly for taking order wyth the silver consignit be Henry Adamson balye in William Andersones merchandis hand.

*Septimo Decembris 1579*

Comperit Jhon Elder, quha is allegit to be possessor of ane leauche house of Loritt pertening to umquhill Sr Jhon [63] More, and becaus it is incertane quhat titill he hes to the said house, thairfoir willingly he hes promisit to produce the rychtes that he hes to that house and that this day aught dayes that thay may be considerit. And forder the assembly hes appoyntit Henry Adamson and Robert Andersone, balyies, and Andrew Stoup, ane of the eldaris, to pass with the masteres of the hospital to seicht the house the morne eftir the prayeris and to report thair judgement thairfoir this day aught dayes.

The assembly requestis Androw Stoup and Oliver Makison to travel wyth

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141 Anderson lived in Leuchars, Gardner in Scone: see 18 May 1579.
142 Otherwise.
143 'Secund' is crossed out in the text and replaced with third, suggesting that the elders may have been pressing Makcorane to confess fully.
144 A formal statement or agreement.
145 Low, single-storey.
146 Held in feu from the former chapel of Loretto.
James Moncreif to sei to quhat poynt they may bring him towart St Paulis Chapel to the poor.\textsuperscript{147}

The assembly thinkis it gud that the minister and sum of the elderis to propone to the counsail quhan thay conceive towarst the advysing of ane hospital quhar the puir may remain, ether the Gray Freiris or Sanct Paulis chapel.\textsuperscript{148}

Comperit Thomas Robertson and Margaret Jak and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Thomas hes fund William Smyth caution, and the said Margaret, Andrew Henderson lykewayes caution under the pane of tene pundis every ane of thame to the puir, and this promeis to be accomplisit within twenty dayes. (pro./l 2 3 mar/ 20 December)

_Decimo tertio Decembris_

Ordanis the officer to pund Androw Mersser for non comperance of his nuris,\textsuperscript{149} and that becaus he was caution for hir, to present hir befoir the assembly.

Comperit Alexander Makduff and Barbara Murray and desyre thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Alexander hes fund Finlay Makduff his brother (caution), and the said Barbara, Patrick Murray lykewayes caution under the pane of ten pundis everie ane of thame to the puir, and this to be performit betuix this and Candilsmes. (procl.: 1 2 3 ma./ 17 January)

Comperit Thomas Jak and Katherine Conwy and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Thomas hes fund Jhon Stobby caution, and the said Katherine, Jhon Wod caution lykewayes under the pane of ten pundes every ane of thame to the puir, and the mariage to be performit betuix this and Candilsmes. (procl.l 2 3/ mariit 3 January)

The assembly requestis Patrik Murray and Henry Adamson balye to tak ordor wyth the redemption of ane obit on Augustine Martinis land.\textsuperscript{150}

\textsuperscript{147} They are to travail with Moncreif, who is withholding the annuals due to the hospital from properties that he holds from the pre-Reformation St Paul's chapel.

\textsuperscript{148} King James VI Hospital had yet to acquire a building.

\textsuperscript{149} Margaret Hillok. See 9 Nov. 1577, 18 Aug. 1578, 2 Nov. 1579.

\textsuperscript{150} Martin is among those withholding from the hospital the income of properties they held of pre-Reformation foundations, in this case an obit endowed for the saying of annual memorial masses.
Ordanis to put Jhon Basilly in the tolbouth till he compeir at the instance of William Lawson.\footnote{See 4 June and 13 July 1579.}

Becaus Jhon Elder promisit to produce his rychtis of ane laiche house of Loret pertyning to umquhill Sir Jhon Moir this day befoir the assembly and did not compeir, the assembly ordanis to put him in the tolbouth till he compeir.

Ordanis to pund Thomas Walcar for four pundes for his misordor, until thay be farder advysit.

\textit{Vigesimo primo Decembris 1579}\footnote{The clerk initially wrote 1580, then amended to 1579.}

Comperit Walter Quhittit and confessit his fornication wyth Helyne Fargison and submittis hym to the discipline of the kyrk thairfoir. And becaus he is as yet seikly, the assembly ordanis him to entir in ward betuix this and Candilsmes. (com/ 1 2 3 Ressavit./ \textit{culpa})

Comperit Alexander Makduff ([1 2] 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 R) and confessit his fornication wyth Janet Young, for the quhilk he submittis hyme to [65] the discipline of the kirk.

Comperit Jhon Merschell and Helyne Beit and desyre thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhaireof the said Jhon and Helyne hes fund Olyver Cok caution for every ane of tham under the pain of tene pundis to the puir. (procl./1 2 3. Mariit/ 27 December/ xl s)\footnote{The 40s fine was for antenuptial cohabitation. See 2 and 9 Nov. 1579.}

\textit{Vigesimo octavo Decembris}

Comperit Helyn Fargison and confessit hir fornication wyth Walter Quhyttit and submittit hir to the discipline of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhereof scho is commandit to the tolboth. (1 2 3. Ressavit./1 \textit{culpa})

Jhon Ronaldson being requirit quhy he pundit not Androw Mersser for non comperance of his nuris, answeris that Androw Mersser promisis uther to pay the sowm or elles to present hir affoir the assembly this day aucht dayes.\footnote{See 9 Nov. 1577, 18 Aug. 1578, 2 Nov. 1579.}

Comperit Janet Langlandis and confessit hir adultry wyth David Mathir,
spous to Janet Spenk,\textsuperscript{155} and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the tolboth till Wednesdaiy that scho compeir befoir the commissioner and his oulky exercies.\textsuperscript{156}

Comperit Jhon Pyper and promisis to accomplis the banne of mariage wyth Isobel\textsuperscript{157} Morison, with quhome he committit fornication, and to satisfie the kyrk in all thingis for performance quhairof he promisis faithfully to cum befoir the assembly and gif up his bannes of mariage this day fourtene dayes.

Ordanis that the eldaris come ine the morn eftir the prayeris to pass and visit the housis of Loret.\textsuperscript{158}

1580

\textit{Quarto Januarii 1580}

Comperit Violet Hillok and confessit hir fornication wyth Dionys Blakat, for the quhilk scho submittis hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the tolboth, and that for the secund fault. (Ressavit 1 2 3 4 5 6/ 2 culpa)

Comperit Isobel Condon and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Makriky, and submittis hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quharof scho ys commandit to the tollboth. (1 2 3 ressavit)

Comperit Robert Paterson and confessit his fornication wyth Hyland Cris-tane, for the quhilk he submittis hyme to the disciplyne of the kyrk, for performance quhairof he is commandit to the tolboth. (Comperit/ [1] 2 3 satisfiet/ 1 culpa)

Comperit Jhon Billy and Margaret Balnevis and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Jhon hes fund Robert Snell caution, and the said Margaret, Andrew Jhonnston in lykwayes

\textsuperscript{155} Janet's name was filled in later, in a different ink.

\textsuperscript{156} She is to appear before Perth's proto-presbytery (see 6 Oct. 1578), moderated this time by a superintendent or commissioner of the General Assembly. On the superintendency, see L. Dunbar, \textit{Reforming the Scottish Church}, chs 3–6, 8; First Book, 49–52, 115–28.

\textsuperscript{157} The clerk initially wrote Violat, then over-wrote Isobel in a darker ink.

\textsuperscript{158} This is part of their campaign to determine the rents due to the hospital from former chapel properties held in feu.
caution every ane of thame under the pane of ten poundis to the puir, and this mariage to be performit betuix this and Fastrenseven. (Pci 1 2 3 mariit 7 Februarii/ xl s)\textsuperscript{1}

Ordanis to put George Watson in the tolbooth until he gif ane mark to the puir, and that for the resset of Margaret Full.\textsuperscript{2}

Comperit David Mathir and confessit his adultry wyth Janet Langlandis.\textsuperscript{3}

**Decimonono Januarii**

Comperit Isobel Dutun and confessit hir fornication wyth Dionisius Nory and submittes hir to the disciplyn of the kirk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the towbooth for the secund fault. ([1] 2 3 4 5 6/ [2] culpa/ Ressavit)

[67] Ordanis to give Androw Archibaldes wyf threttene schilling four d, and lykwayes to William Ramsay threttene schilling four pennies.

Comperit Thomas Ochilvy and Janet Harlow and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Thomas hes fund William Gipson caution, and the said Janet, Silvester Gibson in lyk maner caution under the pain of tene ponndis to the puir every ane of tham, and the performance of this mariage to be betuix this and the secund Sonday eftir peace. (procl[aimed] 123/ Mariit 14 February)\textsuperscript{4}

**Primo February 1580**

Comperit Janet Rynd and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Clark, quha submittes hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the toubouth, and that for the secund fault. (ressavit 1 2 3 4 5 6/ 2 culpa)

Ordanis to put Walter Quhittet, Jhon Pyper, Dionyse Nory, Dionyse Blakcat, Jhon Clark, and Janet Wass in the towbouth or dies to brek ane wand\textsuperscript{5} upon tham, and that becaus thay being warnit to compeir befoir the assembly, comperit not.

\textsuperscript{1} 40s was the usual fine for antenuptial cohabitation (see 2 and 9 Nov.); this is the first time it is recorded in the margin with no explanation in the text of the case.

\textsuperscript{2} Margaret does not appear earlier in the record but may be a person excommunicate from another parish who has travelled to Perth and received hospitality from Watson. Offering food or lodging to such a person was prohibited.

\textsuperscript{3} See 28 Dec. 1579.

\textsuperscript{4} Pasch, Easter.

\textsuperscript{5} Beat with a stick or switch.
Comperit Jhon Scot, quha is commandit to compeir on Thursday nixt in sekcloth for performance of the rest of his repentance, and so to continew until he hav finissit the samyne.

Comperit Jhonn Hall and Elspet Jhonston and desyr it thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Jhonn hes fund Andrew Jhonston caution and the said Elspet, Andrew Jhonston in lyk maner caution under the pain of ten poundis [68] every ane of thame to the puir. (procl 1 2 3 mariit)

Octavo Februarii 1580
Ordanis to gif Violet Collyne threttene schilling four penneis.

Comperit Bessy Cutbert and confessit hir fornication wyth Thomas Smyth, quha submittis hir to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to enter to the tollbouth, and that for the third fault. (Ressavit 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9/ Ressavit [sic] culpa)

Comperit Margaret Bruce and confessit her fornication wyth Richart Bruntfeild, servitor to my Lord Ruthven, for the quhilk scho submittes hir to the discipline of the kyrk, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to entir hir self in ward. (1 2 3 ressavit/ 1 culpa)

Decimo quinto Februarii 1580
Comperit Thomas Gaw and Elisabet Blair and desyr it thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Thomas hes fund Oliver Young caution, and the said Elisabet, Androw Messer caution in lyk manner, every ane of thame for ten poundes to the puir, and this mariage to be performit betuix this and Witsonday. (procl 1 2 3)

Comperit Robert Wilson and Margerie Brydy and desyr it thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Robert hes fund Alexander Wilson caution, and the said Margery, James Stanneris in lyk maner caution every one of tham under the pane of tene poundes, and this mariage to be performit betuix this and Witsonday. (procl 1 2 3)

[69] Comperit Jhon Elder and confessit his fornication wyth Janet Wass and submittit him to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairffoir for performance quhairof he is commandit to the tolbouth. (1 culpa 1 2 3 Ressavit) 7

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6 ‘Adultery’ is crossed out.
7 See 1 Feb. 1580 for Janet’s warding.
Ordanis that the fourty schillingis quhilk are in the balye Henry Adamsonis handis be givin to Jhon Bonar for Thomas Fowlis. And becaus the masteres of hospital ressavit ane decreit frome the balyei concerning thair hospital, quhilk cost hyme fourty schilling, thairfoir the masteres of hospital are commandit to gif fourty schillinges to Jhon Bonar for the balyei, and the balyei to gif his decreit to the hospital.

Ordanis to put Thomas Smyth in the tolbouth becaus he being summonit to compeir afoir the assembly comperit not.

Ultimo Februarii 1580
Comperit Thomas Watt and Margaret Penniell and desyrith thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Thomas hes fund Constantyne Malice\(^8\) caution, and the said Margaret James Mitschell in lyk maner caution every ane of tham under the pane of ten poundis to the puir, and this mariage to be performit betuix this and Witsunday. (proc 1 2 3/ Mariit 17 April)

Septimo Martii\(^9\) 1580
Ordanis Jhon Pyper and Isobel Morison to gif thair resolut answer quhidder thay will accomplis the band of mariage or entir to thair repentance.

Comperit Katherin Kynloch and promisit to gif up de novo hir barnis father, and pass to the towbouth this day aucht dayes for performance of hir repentance.\(^{10}\)

[70] Ordanis to gif Violet Murray ane auld dec ripit and seik woman ten schillingis.

Ordanis the minister of Kynnoull to be requestit to expel Elspet Carvor of his congregation till she mak satisfaction for hir adultrie committit wyth Jhon Scot.

Ordanis to put Thomas Smyth in the towbouth becaus he beand chargit to compeir befoir the assembly, comperit not.

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\(^8\) Malice will be elected an elder in 1584. The forename Constantine is common in early modern Perth. The church of nearby Kinnoull was dedicated to St Constantine the King, which suggests that there had been in the later Middle Ages a cult of the saint in the locale.

\(^9\) March had previously been written with a 'c'; here the scribe's 't' is quite clear.

\(^{10}\) See 25 Sept. 1579, when she was cited for fornication and already pregnant, and also 3, 9 and 10 Aug. 1579, and 21 Mar. 1580. '6 ressavit' in the margin is crossed out.
Ordanis to put Janet Anderson and David Mathy[es] in the towbouth.

Comperit Jhon Clark and confessit his fornication wyth Janet Rynd and submittes him to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc.  

Comperit Dionyse Nory and confessit his fornication wyth Isobel Dutun and submittes him to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (ressavit/ 2 culpa)

Comperit Janet Wass and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Elder, and submittes hir to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (Ressavit 1 2 3/ 1 culpa)

Vigesimo primo Martii

Comperit Dionyse Blakcat and confessit his fornication wyth Violet Hillok and submittis hime to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof he is commandit to the tolbouth, and that for the first secund. (And becaus the said Dionyse hes som necessar bysines ado so that he may not presently entir to the tolbouth, thairfoir the assembly gives him the Sunday after peace to entir Violet, and Androw Mersser is becum caution for the ful performance of his repentance under the pane of ten poundis to the puir. culpa 2/ J.S.)

Comperit Katherin Kynlok and confessit hir fornication de novo wyth Lues Ballantyne, and submittes hir to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the tolbouth, and that for the secund fault. (2 culpa. 6 R)

11 Torn. See 4 Jan. 1580.
12 At this point the clerk begins to adopt a shorthand form of entry, and we lose the names of cautioners.
13 See 19 Jan. 1580.
14 Here there is a carrot, but nothing inserted. After the next word is an asterisk to the long marginal insertion following. The clerk crossed out 'And becau[se]' after 'secund', continuing in the margin instead because he apparently realized he had not left sufficient room before the next case to complete this one. This suggests either that he set up the cases on the page before the session meeting began -- a common practice of early modern judicial clerks -- or that this is a fair copy from which he had inadvertently omitted part of this entry.
15 The clerk has initialled the text inserted in the margin. 'J.S.' is the clerk and reader, James Smyth, who would go on to become minister of Erroll (1582–1609): NLS ms Adv. 31/1/5, p. 186. He is titled 'Mr' in the minister John Row's will, which he witnessed, suggesting that he had some university education (NRS ms CC8/8/400–02).
16 See 8, 9, and 10 Aug. 1579, 25 Sept. 1579, and 7 Mar. 1580. She performed her repentance six times, for these last two offences.
The said Katherin being demandit of ane uther begotin wyth Robert Stewart, deponis that scho had never [71] bairne nor carnell deal with the said Robert, and forter that [she]¹⁷ had never barne bot tua, quhilkis of befoir scho confessit.¹⁸

Comperit Thomas Ducur and Margaret Lamb and desyre¹⁹ thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Thomas hes fund Andrew Matton caution and the said Margaret, Patrik Lamb in lyk manner caution, every ane of tham under the pane of ten poundes to the puir, and this mariage to be accomplysit betuix this and Witsunday. (procl[aimed] 1 2 3 Mariit 24 April/ xl s)²⁰

Comperit Alexander Rett and confessit his fornication wyth Nanes Cutbert, and submittes him to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (1 2 3 ressavit/ culpa)²¹

Ordanis Jhon Ronaldson to mak silver of Patrik Matathis poundis.²²

_Vigesimo octavo Martii 1580_

Quhilk day Oliver Makison willingly becam caution for Janet Paul that scho suld mak full satisfaction to the kyrk under the pain of ten poundis to the puir.

Ordanis to put Jhon Pyper and Margaret Morison in the toubouth becaus thay promisit to compeir this day befoir the assembly and give thair resolut answer concerning thair mariage intendit, and comperit not.

Ordanis Jhon Ronaldson to redelyver the ryng quhilk he had in keiping to Isobel Pyper, and that becaus scho hes enterit the woman in the kyrkis handis.²³

_Quarto Aprilis²⁴ 1580_

Ordanis to put Oliver Makesone in the toubouth becaus he becam caution

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¹⁷ Torn.
¹⁸ These were her children by William Stewart and James Colvill, confessed 10 Aug. 1579.
¹⁹ Torn.
²⁰ The 40s fine for cohabiting before marriage is again quietly inserted in the margin, as in the cases of Merschell and Bett 21 Dec. 1579 and Billy and Balnevis 4 Jan. 1580.
²¹ But see also 11 Apr. 1580; Rett took his time to comply, but warding seems to have done the trick.
²² Ronaldson was deacon for the Watergate. Patrick turned in money to the kirk in coin other than sterling.
²³ See 25 Sept. 1579.
²⁴ The clerk wrote ‘Martii’; a later hand correctly wrote ‘Aprilis’ above it.
for Janet Paul to satisfie the ordo of the kirk under the pane of ten poundis to the puir. 

[72] Comperit Oliver Donaldson and confessit his fornication wyth Jonnet Maccoran and submittes hym to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir. And becaus the said Oliver is in the kyngis majesty's service, sua that presently he may not satisfie the kyrk for his said offence, the assembly hes givin unto hym to performe the samyn the holl tyme betuix this and Lambes, and the said Oliver hes fund Laurence Davidson caution for the performance of the samyn betuix this and the dait foirsaid under the pane of ten poundes to the puir.

Undecimo Aprilis 1580

Ordanis to put Alexander Ret in the toubouth becaus he continewis not in repentance, till he find caution for the performance thairof. 

Comperit Margaret Donaldson and confessit hir fornication wyth Androw Chalmer, servitor to the laird of Glenurquhy and submittes hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is comandit to the toubouth. *(culpa. 1 2 3/ adultry)*

Comperit Thomas Smyth and confessit his fornication wyth Bessy Cutbert, and submittes hym to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof he is commandit to the toubouth for the secund fault. 

And becaus the said Thomas hes remanit heirtoir aucht dayes, partly for disobedience, partly otherwayes, the assembly commandis him to keip fast ward uther aucht dayes and not pass furth ony wayes wythout leif obtenit at the minister and elderis, falyeing of the quhilk the assembly hes concludit that he *de novo* begyne his repentance for the secund fault. *(2 culpa)*  

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25 See 28 Mar. 1580. Paul was clearly a risk; one wonders why Makesone took it, since he was apparently unable to afford the £10 and has now accordingly been incarcerated.

26 Crossed out after this, in a different ink but the same hand: *Nota quae postea comparint et satisfet*. The clerk seems to be as uncertain about this case as we must be: the marginal note to Rett's case 21 Mar. 1580 reports that he thrice performed his repentance for fornication with Cutbert (see 5 Oct. 1579) and was received.

27 'Ressavit' in the margin has been crossed out.

28 'Secund' is written over 'third'. The marginal '6 R' indicates that second offence is correct, although '3 culpa' remains uncorrected in the margin.

29 Another.

30 If he breaks out of gaol again, he must begin his six days of public repentance all over.
The elderis present together wyth Henry Adamson and William Fleming, balyeis, aggreit that the testimonial concerning [73] auld William Tyris submission and Young William disobedience suld be givin to the said young Williams father.31

Ordanis to pound Androw Mersser for ten poundes becaus he is caution for Dionyse Blakcat.

Ordanis that the masteres of hospital be chargit agane this day aucht dayes to compeir befoir the assembly and bring their comptis wyth thame in forme as efferis.

Ordanis to give Androw Wychttane ten schillingis, James Williamson six schilling aucht penneis, and Dykis and his wyf fyve schillinges. (pur)

Ordanis to give James Sym thretty thre schillinges four penneis for his Witsonday term in anno present.

Ordanis to give Jhon Ronaldson threttene schilling four penneis.

Ordanis to give to Robert in the cart32 stray and clothis, quhilk salbe allowit.

Ordanis to James Sym and Jhon Ronaldson to pass to the Justice clark and sei give33 he confesses Katherine Kynloches barn to be his.

Vigesimo nono Aprilis 1580

Quhilk day Jhon Monypenny, elder, becam caution for Elspet Carvor, adultrix, under the pane of ten poundes to the puir, that scho sall separat hir self alwayes frome James Walcar untill scho end hir repentance for hir adultery committit wyth Jhon Scot, and be joynit in mariage wyth him. And forder that scho sall in tymes cuming continew in hir repentance, keiping gud ordour, and not be absent wythout leif requiret and obtenit. And James Walcar hes oblist him self to releif the said Jhon of the foirsaid sowm in cace scho feal in ony poynyt of the promisse.

[74] Secundo Maii

Ordanis ane act to be maid be the minister concerning discharging of all

31 See 4 May and 28 Sept. 1579.
32 This lame carter received at least annual doles in cash or in kind: e.g., 10 Mar. 1581; 15 Aug. 1583; 14 Dec. 1584, 18 Jan. and 6 Aug. 1585, and 23 Jan. and 6 Feb. 1587.
33 For ‘gif’, if.
passing to the draggon holl superstitiously, and the samyn to be publist on Thursday nixt out of pulpit, and thaireftir to be given to the balyis and proclamat at the mercat croce.\textsuperscript{34}

Comperit Richart Gardner and Cristan Williamson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamat. For performance the said Richart hes fund George Jak caution, and the said Cristan, hir father Alexander Williamson in lyk maner. And thaire pane of ten pundes every ane of thame to the puir.

(Complied 1 2 3)

Comperit David Rynd and Janet Bog and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamat. For performance the quhilk the said David hes fund Jhonn Rynd caution, and the said Janet, hir father Jhon Bog caution in lyk maner under thaire pane of ten poundes every ane of tham to the puir. (procl 1 2 3 Marit 17 Maii 1580)

Comperit Peter Scotland and Margret Chreichton, and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamat, for performance the quhilk the said Petir hes fund Gabriel Slatar caution, and the said Margret, Robert Anderson in lyk maner under thaire pane of ten poundes every ane of tham to the puir. (procl 1 2 3 Mariit 26 Maii)

(Act of the dragon hole) Becaus the assembly of the minister and eldaris understandis that the resorting to the draggon holl alsweill be yonn men as wemen, wyth thair pyping and drommes streking befoir thame thro this toun, hes rasit no small sclander to this congregation, and that not wythout suspicion of filthines eftir to follow thairupone, for avoiding quhairof in tymes cumming, the said assembly wyth consent of the magistrates [75] of this toun hes statut and ordanit that no persons heirefter of this congregation, nether man nor woman, resort or repair hereftir to the said draggon holl as thay have done in tymes bygane, namly in ye moneth of May, nether pass through the toun wyth pyping [and]\textsuperscript{35} streking of drornmes, as heirtfoir thay have done, under thaire pane of twenty schillinges to the puir to every persone alsweill men as wemen that salbe convict heirof; and alsua to mak thair publict repentance upon ane sabboth day in presence of the pepill. And this ordinance to be publist at the mercat croce upon Satterday nixt as also in the pulpit be the minister on Thursday and Sonday nixt to cum, that none herefter pretend ignorance heirof.

\textsuperscript{34} For festivities at the ‘Dragon Hole’, a cave in Kinnoull Hill still the site of May and Midsummer celebration, see NLS ms Adv. 13.1.5, pp. 13–17, James Scott, minister of Perth in the eighteenth century speculating that the dragon was one killed by St Serf.

\textsuperscript{35} Omitted.
This act was publist the sixt of Maii at the mercat croce as also in the pulpit.

Nono Maii 1580
Comperit Cristen Lauson and confessit hir fornication wyth Androw Gavin, and submittis hir to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir for performance quhairof scho is commandit to ward, and that for the first fault. (1 2 3 ressavit/ 1 culpa)

Comperit Patrik Anderson and Genie Conqueror and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Patrik hes fund his father caution, and the said Genie hir father in lykmanner caution under the paine of ten poundis to the puir every ane of thame. And this mariage to be performit betuix this and Sanctjhonismes nixt to cum. (pro 1 2 3 marit 16 October)

[76] Comperit Jhon Pyper and promisit to accomplis mariage wyth Margaret Morison, for performance quhairof he findes William Keid caution under the pane of ten poundes to the pure, and in lyk maner he is caution that he separat hymself frome the woman till the mariage be accomplisit. (Mariit)

Ordanis the act maid of the draggon holl to strek upon David Rollok becaus he is convict of braking of the samyn, and he hes fund his decon caution for satisfaction of the said act under the pane of ten poundes to the puir. (George Macgregor)

Ordanis to put Androw Garner in the toubouth becaus he beand summonnd to compeir, comperit not.

Sedecimo Maii 1580
As concerning the obit of Thomas Anderson alias Turnor, sone to umquhyill Walter Anderson, becaus the said Thomas hes producit ane auld chartore of the tennement quhairof the said obit is requirit, of the dait 23 of mensis Decembris anno millesimo quadragentesimo decimo nono, in respect quhairof

36 The marriage date of 16 October in the margin, long after the midsummer date required, is not explained.
37 Presumably the deacon of his craft guild. No room was left in the text for his caution's name, which is inserted in the margin, with a carrot in the text. 'John' is crossed out in the margin, in favour of George.
38 Sixteenth.
39 1419.
the assembly of the minister and elderis of the kyrk thinkes expedient that no execution proceid aganis the said Thomas for the present. 40

Comperit Thomas Cramby and promisit to produce his evident this day twenty dayes.

Comperit Henry Balneffis and promisit to produce his evident this day aucht dayes.

Comperit Androw Garvy and confessit his fornication wyth Cristan Lason for the first fault, and promisit to entir into the toubouth this day aucht dayes, for performance quhairof he hes Jhon Smyth in the Southgait caution under the pane of ten poundes. (1 2 3 R)

[77] Ordanis Nanis Grant hir gudman, Jannet Langlandes, and David Mathir to compeir this day aucht dayes for considring of the abusing of the said David and Janetes barne. 41

Vigesimo tertio Maii 1580
Comperit Jhon Lammerkyne and Janet Mathow and gev up thair bannes of mariag, for performance quhairof the said Jhon hes fund Robert Mathow caution, and the said Janet, Patrik Mathow in lyk maner caution under the pain of ten poundes to the puir every ane of them, and this mariag to be performit betuix this and Midsummer. (Procl 1 2 3 mariit 17 July 1580)

Comperit Alexander Dundy and Isobel Macgregor and gev up thaire bannes of mariag, for performance quhairof the said Alexander hes fund Duncan Macgregor caution, and the said Isobel, George Macgregor in lyk manner caution under the pane of ten poundes every ane of thame to the puir, and this mariag to be accomplisit betuix this and Lambes. (Procl 1 2 3 Marit 15 September)

Comperit Henry Balneffes and promisit to produce his rental the last of Junii.

Comperit Isobel Tyry and confessit hir fornication wyth Robert Tod 42 and submittes hir to the discyplyne of the Kyrk thairfor, for performance quhereof scho is commandit to the tollbouth. (1 2 3 ressavit/1 culpa)

40 The 1419 charter attests to his right to the property given initially to fund memorial masses for the donor. The session seeks income from the property for the hospital.
41 See above, 18 Dec. 1579, for the Langlands/Mathir adultery case.
42 Tod will appear and confess at the next recorded meeting, 14 June.
Comperit Janet Langlandes and confessit that hir mother causit her to cast off the bab.\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{Trigesimo Maii 1580}

Comperit Jhon Tod and Janet Wrycht and desire thair bannes of mariage to be proclaimed, for performance

[78] quhairof the said Jhon hes fund [ ] caution, and the said Janet [ ] in lyk manner kation under the pane of ten poundes to the puir every ane of thame. And this mariage to be performit betuix this and the Sonday eftir Midsummer. (Pro 1 2 3 Mariit 12 Junii)

\textit{Decimo quarto Junii 1580}

Comperit Walter Kyd and confessit his fornication wyth Janet Birrell and submittit hyme to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (p 1 2 3/ culpa)\textsuperscript{44}

Comperit Janet Birrell and confessit hir fornication wyth Walter Kyd and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc (culpa)

Comperit Robert Tod and confessit his fornication wyth Isobel Tyry and submittit hyme to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc (1 2 3 Ressavit)

Ordanis Jhon Scot to be put in the toulbouth.

Ordanis to put William Young, smyth, in the tolbouth till Weddnesday, and thaireftir to performe the ordinance becaus he is convit of sclandering Jhon Chapman. (satisfeat xiii s iii d)\textsuperscript{45}

Ordanis to [put]\textsuperscript{46} James Stanneris in the toubouth for caution or elles to give ten poundes.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{43} See 18 Dec. 1579; 4 Jan. and 2 May 1580. The session minute does not report the outcome of this case of either abortion or infanticide; nor does the adultery seem to have been punished by the session. It is possible that the case was referred to the 'exercise' or to a secular criminal court with no notation here. Pre-1600 Perth presbytery minutes do not survive, and the case does not appear in the Justiciary Court records for this period (NRS-WRH mss JC2/1, JC6/2, JC26/1, JC1/18-19).

\textsuperscript{44} The marginal note indicates that the couple decided to marry. They requested proclamation of their banns on 15 Aug. 1580.

\textsuperscript{45} The amount recorded in the margin is the usual penalty for slander.

\textsuperscript{46} Omitted.

\textsuperscript{47} See 15 Feb. 1580: Stanneris was Margery Brydy's caution for marriage before Whitsun. The wedding seems not to have taken place. If he cannot afford the £10, he will be warded.
Ordanis to give Jannet Quhittit xx s, William Penry, baxter, fourty d, and Alexander Knycht six schilling aucht d.

Comperit Jannet Smart and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Duncan and submitit hir to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (3 culpa. R)\textsuperscript{48}

[79] Comperit Jhon Duncan and confessit his fornication wyth Janet Smart and submittit hym to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (1 2 3 R)

The assembly thinkes expedient the balyeis according to thair quarteris pass through the toun togethr wyth the elderis to tak up the names of thois that ar to be examinated.\textsuperscript{49}

Comperit Richart Bruntfeild and confessit his fornication wyth Margret Bruce and submittes hyme self to the dysciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir.

Ordanis Isobel Ferar to be put upon the crocehaid and to pay half ane mark befoir scho cum doun. (xiii s iii d)\textsuperscript{50}

\textit{Vigesimo septimo Junii 1580}

Comperit Margret Morison and confessit hir fornication wyth Adam Harrner and submitit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the toboith, and that for the secund fault. (1 2 3 4 5 6 ressavit/ 2 culpa)

Comperit Robert Wilson and declarit he was willing to accompleis the band of mariage wyth Margery Brydy, and thairfoir the assembly dischargis hyme and his caution of the penalty in caice it cum not to pass.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{48} The marginal note suggests trelapse fornication; however, since this is not indicated in the text, the clerk may have meant to record three days of repentance before reception, as for Smart’s partner in the next entry.

\textsuperscript{49} The town was divided into sections, and each elder was assigned to oversee the families within his quarter. This entailed keeping track of misbehaviour, but also insuring that everyone was properly catechised and prepared to receive communion. The pre-communion examination was required for receipt of a token of admission to the sacrament. The elders are here assigned to go door-to-door and list those subject to examination. Only young children and the very ill were exempt: \textit{CP}, 77–83.

\textsuperscript{50} Unfortunately, Ferar’s charge and the details of her case do not appear in this volume.

\textsuperscript{51} See 15 Feb. 1580, the request for banns for the marriage to be accomplished by Whitsun. As the next entry shows, this marriage was not to be.
Comperit Margery Brydy and declarit in no wayes scho wald mary Robert Wilson, and desyrit ane discharg of hym. And thairfoir scho is content to pay the penalty, to wit, ten poundes to the puir. (x £)

Ordanis William Young and Bessy Patterson to remaine sundir alwyes till forder tryel be takin in that matter of suspectit adultry.\(^{52}\)

\(\text{[80]}\)

**Quarto Julii 1580**

Comperit Jhon Macwalter and Elison Imry and desyrit thair bannis of mariagie to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Jhon hes fund William Kyntier caution under the pane of ten poundes to the pure every ane of thame, and this mariagie to be accomplist betuix this and Lambes. (1 2 3 Mariit)

\(\text{Undecimo Julii 1580}\)

Qhillk day comperit in the assembly in presence of the minister and elderis wythin the paroche kyrk of Perth James Donning, patrone of the hospital of St Anna lyand on the south syd of the kyrkyard of Perth, and delyverit the key of the said hospital to Patrik Murray of Tibbermuir and Androw Donaldson, burges of Perth, masters of the hospitality wythin the said burgh and territorit thereof to the effect that the said hospital may be usit properly in all tyme to cum conforme to the foundation thereof; and that wythout prejudice of his gift of the patronage of the samyn. And for obedience of ane decreit and ordinance of the Kynges Majesty and Secreit Counsail given and producit wyth the said James consent as the samyn of the dait at Perth the [ ] day of [ ] the yeir of god 1580 at lenthy bearis. Sua that the puir be placit and input in the said hospital by the avys of the said James. And for full execution of the said decreit and ordinance, the persones underwretin, viz Elison Chalmer the relict of umquhill Robert Ross in Freirtoun; Jonet Jhonnston, relict of umquhill David Carny, meason; Isobel Watson; Geles Wilson alias Leonarde; and Agnes Ramsay ar presentit, ressavit, and input in the said hospital wyth avys of the said James Donning, patron foresaid. Quhairupon the said James Donning and the said masteres of the hospitality askit instruments hinc inde horam circum tertiam post meridien presentibus Joane Murray filio et hered apparen dicti patricius Magistro Joanne Mitschell et Willielmo Young sic subscribit James Donning wyth my hand, Jhon Murray witness, Mr Jhon Mitschell witnes, William Young witnes. (Act of Sanctanna)\(^{53}\)

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\(^{52}\) They must remain apart (sundered) until further investigation. See 8 and 15 Aug. 1580.

\(^{53}\) Donning, or Dunning, requested judicial documentation (instruments) of his patronage of the hospital. This was done 'at about three in the afternoon; present were John Murray, son and heir apparent of the said father [his namesake], Mr John Mitschell, and William Young. Subscribed by James Donning ...'. See RPC iii, 288 on Donning's patronage of the
Quhilk day comperit Jhon Elder and profferit four pundes of feu meal yeirly to the use of the puir for that lugging\textsuperscript{54} now aperteining to the puir situat on the north syd of the south gait of the burgh of Perth betuix the chapel of Loret on the est and the tenement of George Macgregor on the west, provyding that the masteres of hospital mak hyme sufficient security thairof as offeris.

Comperit also the same day George Jhonston and offerit for the said lugging of feu meal fyve pund yeirly, or elles foure pund feue meal yeirly and tuenty pundes of entres silver to the use of the puir.

The assembly thinkes gud that ordor be tane heiranent this day aucht dayes.

Comperit Jhon Bonar and Margret Scrogges and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Jhon hes fund Oliver Car caution, and the said Margret, Jhon Cok in lik maneir caution under the pane of ten poundes every ane of them to the pure, and this mariadge to be accomplysit betuix this and Sanctjhonisiday in hervest. (proc 1 2 3 Marit 22 August)

\textit{Decimo octavo Julii 1580}

Comperit David Mar and his wyf and deponit the oth that thair was twenty twa markis takin frame hym with ane barit grott\textsuperscript{55} be the default of [ ] Louson dochter to Walter Louson of Scot and that at the request of the said Walter Louson.

\textit{Vigesimo quinto Julii 1580}

Ordanis the masters of hospital to give in thair exemmtionis and compt betuix this and this day fortene dayes.

Comperit Jhon Gilchrist and Violet Maky and desyrit thair bannes of mariadge to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Jhon hes fund Patrik Justice, elder, caution, and the said Violet, Richart Malcome in lyk maneir under the pane of ten poundes to the puir every ane of thame. (Comp 2/ procl/ 1 2 3 Marit/ 4 September)

chaplaincy of St Ann and the foundation of the hospital. Below, 27 Mar. 1581, beadles are appointed to the hospital. But disagreements with Donning surfaced in a violent confronta- tion in 1585 (13 Sept.), and on 6 Mar. 1588 Donning's son William was reported beating the inmates.

\textsuperscript{54} Lodging. Given proximity to the Loretto chapel, this seems to be a different building from St Ann's.

\textsuperscript{55} A four-penny piece.
Comperit James Duncan and Bessy Cok and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said James hes fund James Bruce caution, and the said Bessy, Jhon Elder in lyk manner caution under the pane of ten poundes every ane of thame to the pure. (procl/ 1 2 3 / Mariit 14 August/ xl s)

Andrew Trumpet being calit befoir the assembly and the artikles of religion being red unto him, refusit to subscrive the samyn according to the act of parliament. And therefor the minister and the assembly hes remittit hym to the ballies. 56

[83] The ordror for ministration of the communion
For keiping of the south kyrk door, William Fleming and Robert Anderson, balyeis
For ressaving the almos and takinis, Finlay Macduff and Androw Blythman
For the north kyrk door of the quoir, Hendry Adamson
For the south kyrk door of the queir, Jhon Davidson
To kep the wicket behind the pulpit, Adame Anderson and William Ross, officer
To convoy the bread through the tabelles, Hendry Lies, Jhon Smyth, younger
To convoy the wyne, James Sym, James Bruce, Thomas Gipson, David Jakson
To convoy the wyne from the revestry to the tablis, Charles Mersser, James Lamb, William Kathro
To prepar the braid, Robert Rynd
The rest of the elderis and decanis to wait upon service in the queir
To prepar the kyrk tabelles and nepy the thesaurer. 58
The first bell to ring at four hores in the morning, the 2 at half hor to fyve, the 3 at five.
To the secund ministration, the first bell ringes at half hor to nine, the secund at nyne, the 3 at half hor to ten.
The elderis and decannis of every quarter to be present induring thair quarter wyth the minister at the examination.

[84] Primo Augusti
Comperit Margret Randy servand to James Myller and confessit hir fornica-tion for the first fault wyth James Ray, submitting hir self to the discyplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (1 2 3/ Ressavit)

56 James VI's third parliament, 26 Jan. 1573, ratified the 1560 Confession of Faith and decreed that 'none shall be reputed loyal and faithful subjects to the king but be punishable as rebels who will not give their confession of true religion'. APS ii, 72, c. 4.

57 Tokens.

58 The treasurer is assigned to prepare the table linens, or napery.
Comperit Margret Gordon and confessit hir fornication wyth Patrik Scott for the secund fault, submitting hir to the disciplyne of the kirk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (Ressavit 6/ [2] culpa)

Comperit Elyne Glook and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Clark for the first fault, submitting hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfor, for performance quhairof etc. (1 2 3 Ressavit)

Octavo Augusti

Forsamekill as William Young and Bessy Paterson war commandit be act of the assembly to separat thame frome all suspitious company becaus thay wer suspectit of adultry, yit notwithstanding sensesyne it is cleirly provin to the assembly be Jhon Smyth, Hendry Lyes, and sundry utheris honest men that the said William and Bessy hes kepit company, bed and burd sensyne, to the gret sclander of this haill toun. The assembly ordanis thairfoir the ballies to put the saidis parties in fast ward till this day auczt dayes till the assembly tak [order].

[85] Comperit Helyne Galloway and confessit hir fornication wyth George Thomson, and submittes hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc.

Comperit Jhon Pullor and Helyn Anderson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Jhon hes fund Alexander Gipson caution, and the the[sic] said Helyn, Alexander Anderson caution in lyk maner under the pane of ten pundes to the puir everie ane of thame to the puir [sic], and this mariagie to be accomplist betuix this and Michelmes. (p. 3. Mariit/ 16 October)

Comperit Laurence Peris and Janet Symson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Laurence hes fund Thomas Anderson caution, and the said Janet the said Thomas Anderson also caution under the pain of ten pundes to the puir every ane of tham. (p. 3 Mariit/ 23 October)

George Jhonnston and Thomas Anderson are becum caution conjunctum et divisim 61 that Laurence Peris sail satisfy the will of the kyrk under the pane of ten pundes to the puir.

59 The rest of the entry is omitted.
60 'Procl. 1 2 3' in the margin is crossed out. The clerk probably misplaced his marginal note for the following case.
61 Together and individually. The elders apparently had second thoughts about Anderson bearing the whole burden for the couple.
Comperit Margret Ruthven and promisit to fulfill hir injunctionis according to the ordor in seckcloth as effiris, and for this effect Androw Stoup and Mr Jhon Mitschell ar appoyntit to convoy hir frome the kyrk dor to the stulle.

The assembly ordanis James Sym to sell anuyelie and dispone the onstampit hardhedis\(^{62}\) quhilk he ressavit at the kyrk dor to the use of the puir.

[86] Comperit Jhon Ray quod confessit his fornication wyth Margret Randy and submittit him to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof he is commandit to the tolbouth. (\textit{culpa} 3. R.)

Comperit Janet Robertson and confessit hir fornication with William Stevin and submittis hyme [sic] to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof he [sic] is commandit to the tolbouth. ([1]\textit{culpa})

\textit{Decimo quinto Augusti} 1580

Comperit Patrik Scot and confessit his fornication with Margret Gordon for the first fault, and submittit hym to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof \textit{etc.} (c 3 R xl s)

Ordanis to give the names of disobdient persones in the handes of the balyeis, and desyr execution of thame.\(^{63}\)

Comperit Walter Kyd and Janet Birrell and desyrit thair bannes of mairage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Walter hes fund Jhon Pebilles caution, and the said Janet Gilbert Billy in lyk maner under the pane of ten pundis every ane of tham to the puir. (p 1 2 3)\(^{64}\)

Comperit William Young and confessit that Violet Paterson hed bene in society wyth hyme sence the last act maid thairaganis. And that the said Violet maid his meal redy and eat wyth hyme.\(^{65}\)

[87] In respect quhairof the assembly hes ordanit hym to mak his publict repentance in the kyrk as he salbe requirit, quhilk he promisit to do, and forder hes fund James Donning and David Wryt caution under the pane of twenty pundes every ane of thame to the puir, that he sall performe

\(^{62}\) The ‘hardheid’ was a copper coin of small value issued by Mary and James VI, originally valued at three halfpence.

\(^{63}\) That is, execution of their sentences.

\(^{64}\) See 14 June 1580, when the couple confessed fornication. Proclamation of their banns is recorded in margin there as well as here.

\(^{65}\) Although Paterson’s name in the earlier references is given as ‘Bessy’, this seems to be the same case as 27 June and 8 Aug. 1580.
the same, and absteine in all tyme cuming frome all kynd of company and society of the said Violet Paterson publicly and privatly.

The assembly hes ordanit Violet Paterson to be banissit the toun simple becaus of hir opin blasphemy of the minister and elderis, stubborne inobedi-ence unto the kyrk, and sclanderous lyf and conversation in mony wayis, as is provin befoir the minister and elderis be famous witnes.66

Comperit Janet Strong and confessit hir fornication wyth James Ruthven for the first fault and submittis hir to the disciplyne of the kirk for performance etc.

Comperit Eufame Gudeall and confessit hir fornication wyth [ ] and submittis hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (1 culpa 1 2 3/ Ressavit)67

Comperit Margret Mathie and confessit hir fornication wyth William Blair for the secund fault, and submittes hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (2 culpa Co 6/ Ressavit)

Vigesimo secundo Augusti
Comperit Adam Harrner and confessit his fornication wyth Margret Morison for the first, and submittes him to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc. (c 3 R xlv s)68

[88] Becaus that personis being put in the tolboth oftyntymes cumis not immediatly heireftir to thair repentance, bot absentis thame selfsis, quhairof gret confusion followis and also gret molestation to the magistrat in bring[ing] thame to thair repentance, thairfoir the assembly wyth avyse of the balyies, statutis and ordanis for avoyding of this inconvenienc, that caution be tane of sik persones as enteris to the toubouth before thay cum furth, to cum on the nixt preching day to the stoul of repentance under the pain of forty schillinges to the puir, and to continew wythout intermission. (Magistrattis Trubillit Nota)69

Ordanis William Blare to be put in the toubouth becaus he being lauchfully warnit to compeir, comperit not.

66 But see 22 Aug. 1580.
67 Gudeall may have convinced the session that she did not know her partner in sin, since if she knew and declined to report it, she would not have been received.
68 No explanation is offered for the 45-shilling fine.
69 Under the marginal notation is a drawing of a hand, fingers pointing upward, to emphasize the importance of the act.
Ordanis Margret Stodueris to be wardit becaus scho being warnit to compeir befoir the assembly, comperit not.

Ordanis the burial wallis [repaired] wyth stane and clay and harlit wyth lyme.

Comperit Hendry Lyes and becam caution for Violet Paterson under the pane contenit in the act maid be the balyeis that scho sail satisfy the haill poynitis of the said balyeis act maid agains her for hir misordor and inobedience to the kyrk. (xl\j)\n
\textit{Vigesimo nono Augusti 1580}

Comperit James Alexander and Janet Gardner and (proc 3. Ma 23 Oct) desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said James hes fund Thomas Gray caution, and the said Janet, James Gardner hir father, under the paine of ten poundes to the puir every ane of thame, and this mariage to be accomplissit betuix this and Hallowmess.

\textit{Primo Septembris}

Comperit James Makalester and Cristan Causley and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhaireof the said James and Cristan hes fund Hendry Adamson, balye, caution under the pain of ten pundis every ane of thame to the pure, and Augustan and Jhon Robertson ar caution to releif the said Hendry for the manis part, and this mariage to be performit betuix this and Yeul.

\textit{Quinto Septembris 1580}

Comperit Alexander Donaldson and Cristan Watson and desyrit thair bannes of marage to be proclamit, for performance quereof the said Alexander hes fund Jhon Ronaldson caution, and the said Cristan, Duncan Macgregor in lyk maner under the pane of ten pundes every ane of thame to the puir, and this marage to be accomplissit betuix this and Martinmess.\n
Comperit William Morreis and Janet Macconeis and and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said William hes fund Jhon Ronaldson caution and the said Janet, Hendry Adamson according to the act, and this mariage to be finissit betuix this and Martinmess.

\textsuperscript{70} Omitted.

\textsuperscript{71} The marginal note indicates the new, much higher obligation for her caution, which allows Paterson a reprieve from banishment (27 June, 8 and 15 Aug. 1580). Henry Lyes was an eminently respectable burgher: he would become an elder in 1584. One wonders what motivated him to risk so much for so recalcitrant an offender as Patterson.

\textsuperscript{72} 11 Nov.
Comperit Jhon Suenton and Maige Quhit [and]⁷³ (p) [90] desyrit thare bannes of mariag to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Jhon hes fund Jhon Wod caution and the said Maige, Adam Anderson according to the act.

Comperit Jhon Clark and confessit his fornication wyth Elyne Glook for the secund fault, and submittes hyme to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir. (c.6/ 2 cul. R.)⁷⁴

Comperit WiUiam Stene and confessit his fornication wyth Janet Robertson for the first fault and submittes hyme to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance etc. (Ressavitt. C 3/ 1 culpa)

The assembly ordanis Margret Ruthven, adultrix excommunicat, to be ressavit upon Thursday nixt to the kyrk of God, in respect scho hes performit hir holl injunctionis from assembly to the assembly and comperit to hir repentance in sekcloth 6 dayis.⁷⁵

Comperit Janet Ray and confessit hir fornication with Matthew Callin for the first fault, and submittes hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir etc. (3 R)

_Duodecimo Septembris 1580_

Quhilk day comperit William Leith and Isobel Monipenny and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for performance quereof the said William hes fund Oliver Pebilles caution, and the said Isobel hir father Thomas under the pane of ten poundes to the puir every ane of thame, and this marage to be accomplisit betuix this and Martynmes. (procl 3 Marit)

⁷³ Corner of page is torn off.
⁷⁴ See 1 Aug. 1580.
⁷⁵ See 8 Aug. 1580.
Vigesimo Septo Septembris

Comperit Bessy Bischop and confessit hir fornication with Alexander Edy for the third fault, and submittes hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfor etc. (3 culpa)

Comperit Jhon Millar and George Mane and becam caution for David Sanderis and Janet Printes that thay suld mak thair repentance and accomplis the band of marage betuix this and the day twenty dayes under the pane of ten poundes to the puir every ane of thame.76

Tertio Octobris

Quhilk day comperit Thomas Fildy and confessit his fornication wyth Violet Dougall for the first fault, and submittit hym to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairof [sic] etc. (c 3 R)

Quhilk day comperit William Blair and confessit his fornication wyth Margret Mathy for the first fault, and submittit hym to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir etc. (c 3 R. xlv s)

Quhilk day comperit Violet Dougall and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Fildy for the secund fault, etc.

[92] Comperit Helyne Galloway and confessit hir fornication wyth [ ] for the first fault, and submittes hir to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir etc.

10 Octobris

Ordanis to gif Jhon Ronaldson forty schilling for Androw Wylland.

Ordanis to gif Thomas Colt, James Duncan, Robert Byrson twenty schilling half mark every ane of thame.

Item for ane psalme buik to Robert Gud x s.77

Comperit Agnes Bowar and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Mathison for the first fault, and submittes hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir etc, and becas the said Agnes alleges mariag, the assembly giffes her Mononday to give up hir bannes or elles to mak hir repentance for fornication.

76 They complied on 10 Oct.

77 This may be payment for a new psalter for the kirk, from which the songschoolmaster can lead the singing.
Ordanis Jhon Hunter to warne the haill elderes, decanis, masteres of hospital, and balyeis to this day aucht for election of elderis and decannis for this yeur.78

Comperit David Dunkeson and Bessy ...heney and geve up thair [bannes] of mariage, desyring thame to be proclamit, for performance quhairof, etc. (p 3/ Mariit 23 October)79

Comperit David Sanderis and Janet Printes and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said [David] hes found Jhon Miller caution, and the said Janet George Mane, etc.80

[93] Comperit Gilis Lamb and confessit hir fornication wyth Gillespy81 and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof etc.

Vigesimo quarto Octobris 1580

Comperit Gilbert Blair and Agnes Mitschell and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit etc. Caution for hyme William Blair, for hir Mr Jhon Mitschell 25 December. (Mairit)82

Comperit Robert Henderson and Margret Donaldson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, and caution for hyme, Jhon Donaldson, for hir, Walter Sadler. Andersmes. (xl s/ Mariit)83

Comperit Jhon Roggy and Cristan Blosome and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, and caution for hyme Patrik Lamb, for hir Jhon Stobby. 25 December. (Mairit ii/ December)

Comperit Jhon Broun and Margret [] and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, caution for hym Jhon Sadler, for hir Jhon Broun. 25 December.

Ordanis to put William Steine, Agnes Bowar, Thomas Chapman, and Helyne Galloway in the toubouth.

78 The presence of the bailies is unusual. The minister, John Row, died a few days after this summons, 16 October, so the election was in the event postponed until 14 November, when a minister from another parish may have been available to preside in the session. NRS ms CC8/8/400–402 (Row's will); Fasti iv, 229.
79 The first part of Bessy's surname is torn away, and 'banns' is omitted.
80 David's name is omitted. See 27 Sept., when the couple was ordered to repent fornication and have their banns proclaimed, since they claimed then an intent to marry.
81 No forename is given.
82 A new clerk now uses a different form.
83 30 Nov.
Ordanis to admonysh in the pulpit all nichtbors to tak heid to thair barnes, that thay perturb not the kyrk.\footnote{\ldots}

Comperit James Anderson and becam caution for Finlay Wilson and his party that thay sall accomplis the band of mareige so sone as scho sall hoppin to rys\footnote{\ldots} betuix this and Candlesmes under the pane of twenty poundes, upon the quhilk his bairne was babtisit.

Comperit Jhon Anderson and becam caution for Thomas Fowlis and Elspet Monypenny that thay sall satisfy the will of the kyrk in all poyn-
\footnote{\ldots} tis so sone as he cumis hame under the pane of twenty poundes, upon the quhilk Thomas Fowlis barne was babtisit.

\textit{Novissimo}\footnote{\ldots} \textit{Octobris}

Comperit Elspet Carvor and confessit scho haid company wyth James Walcar in eating, drinking, and lying wythin ane rouf wyth hym, sence the act was maid. The assembly finds be hir confession the act to be brokin, and thairfoir ordanis Jhon Monypenny to be pundit for ten pundes to the puir.

Ordanis hir to stand thre several Sondayes in the stoul of repentance, in sekcloth and to stand at kyrk dor frome secund bell to the third. (6 d Ressavit)\footnote{\ldots}

Comperit Thomas Donaldson and Janet Wallace and desyrit thair bannes of marage to be proclamit \textit{etc}. Caution for hyme David Duncan, talyeor, for hir, Patrik Justice, terner. 25 December. (Mariit 3 December)

\footnote{This order could refer either to very young children playing noisily outside while services or meetings were in progress, or to children making noise inside the kirk during service time. On 6 Mar. 1587, parents of infants awaiting baptism would be ordered to keep them in a separate room so that their crying would not disturb sermon auditors. For children's proper roles in the Sunday service, see \textit{CP}, 45–46, 72–75, and for concerns about their 'misorder, gaming, playing, and speaking' during sermons, \textit{CP}, 37–41 (quote at 41). Later Perth sessions ordered that young children be left at home altogether on Sundays and exempted their caregivers from charges of sabbath breach: NRS ms CH2/521/6, fo. 43 (1616), CH2/521/7, p. 355.}

\footnote{From childbirth.}

\footnote{The hand is quite clear; the word is not. It does seem to be the same as the word used in August 1579 (p. 52 of ms), and doubtless refers to the last day of the month, as it does there; however, the initial 'N' is the same as the one he uses for (e.g.) 'Nono Maii 1580', and the word is clearly not 'ultimo'.}

\footnote{See 7 Mar. and 29 Apr. 1580 for Carvor/Walcar/Scot. Walcar had agreed to relieve Monypenny if Carvor lapsed, but he has apparently reneged on this as well as his promise to abstain from her company. On the ritual of standing at the kirk door, see \textit{CP}, 151–55. The meaning of '6 d' is not clear: a sixpence fine would be odd in such a case.}
Comperit Jhon Mathison and Agnes Bowar and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit etc. Caution for hym and hir James Donning, terner. 25 December.

Comperit Jhon Pyper and Isobel Morison and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit etc. Caution for hyme William Kyd, for hir James Hepburin.

Ordanis James Sym to geve the ryng quhilk he hes in plege to Mr Robert Rynd, and hym to tak fourty schillinges of the nixt accidentis that may be haid.

[95] Ordanis Mr James Smyth to entir againe wyth payment of that dewty of ten merkes wyth sum accidentis quhilk the minister permittit to James Sym of befoir, for causis contenit in ane wretting directid to us frome the minister, desyryng us to place the said Mr James in payment of the foirsaid dewty in all tymes cuming, quhilk letter subscryvit wyth his hand, he presentit to us and Hendry Elder.88

\textit{Septimo Novembris}

Comperit Thomas Bonar and Elspet Diccon and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, for permance quhairof the said Thomas hes fund William Boy caution, and the said Elspet Jhon Anderson according to the ordo. 25 December. (Mariit ii December. xl s)

Comperit Finlay Wilson and Margery Lad and desyrit thair [banns] to be proclamit, for performance quhairof the said Finlay and Margery hes fund David Gray caution according to the ordo 25 December. (Mariit 20 November)90

\textit{Decimo quarto Novembris}

The election of the elderis for this present yeir91

On the north syd of the Hygh Gait
Dionyse Conqueror, Robert Anderson and Jhon Davidson
The Southsyd of the Hygh Gait
George Jhonston, Jhon Loury, Blais Colt

88 A flourish in the margin may be intended to mark this entry for attention.
89 Elspet's surname is written 'Dicc' with a line back over the whole word, like a tittle; however, 'Dik' is a surname occasionally encountered in Perth records.
90 'Banns' is omitted.
91 Of the twelve, only three (Adamson, Colt, Malice) had not previously served as elders in the 1576–80 sessions. See Appendix I.
Beneth the croce

James Hepburne, William Fleming, Hendry Adamson

The South Gait

Robert Chapman, James Malice, Patrik Ingles

Election of the decanes

The north syd of the Hygh Gait

James Sym, Aleister Macduff, Alexander Broun

The Southsyd

George Hall, William Robertson, Jhon Jakson, Androw Jak

Beneth the corce [sic]

Jhon Ronaldson, David Anderson, James Mersser

Southgait

Alexander Henderson, Androw Blythman, Robert Stevinson

Masteres of the hospital 1580

James Hepburne and Androw Donaldson

*eodem die*

The elderis convenit ratifies the act concerning thaes that ether absentis thame self or cumis in eftir the hour in assembly dayes. (Act 6 d)

Ordanis the balyeis to tak ordor that the sabbath day be kepit and observit as effeir[is].

The elderis thinkes meit that ane letter be directed to Mr Patrik Galloway to be heir on Yullesday nixt to cum.

Ordanis Mr James [Sym] to seik out the gift of the hospital awang to the ministeris use.

Ordanis Dionyse Conqueror and Androw Donaldson to speik Jhon Scot, and report his ansuer this day aucht dayes.
[97] Ordanis the balyeis of the quarter to pund Androw Mersser, and put Dionyse Blakcat in the touboth.

Ordanis the masteres of hospital to gif William Cragy oulkly iii s, for the quhilk he sail awat upon the kyrk yard, keip it cleene frome all kynd of filth, and deicht\(^{100}\) it oulkly, in the quhilk gif he be fund negligent, the samen salbe tane frome hym and giffin to ane uther. And to this effect the masters of hospital sail by hym ane school and quhilbarrow.\(^{101}\)

Ordanis James Sym to gif in his compt this day aucht dayes.

Ordanis the balyeis to caus every fundation gif thair lyght, and for this effect to send the bell throughout the toun desyring all quha hes alteris to put up thair lyttes,\(^{102}\) casing thame that all annuelles salbe dischargit to answer thame gif thay differ to do the samyn.

\textit{Vigesimo primo Novembris 1580}

Comperit Jhon Melyne and Isobel Robertson and desyrit thair bannes of marriage to be proclamit according to the ordor. Caution for hym George Boswell, for hir Duncan Robertson, before Candilsmes. (1 2 3/ Mariit)

Ordanis the master of hospital to produce his comptall wyth charge and discharge upon this day aucht dayes or sooner.

\textit{Vigesimo octavo Novembris 1580}

Comperit Androw Auld and Katherine Fargison and desyrit thair bannes of marriage to be proclamit according to the ordor. Caution for hym Jhon Clark, for hyr William Adamson etc January. (p/ 1 2 3 Mariit)

[98] \textit{Quinto Decembris 1580}

Comperit Hercules Isak and Agnes Buchan and desyrit thair bannes of marriage to be proclamit according to the ordor. Caution for hym Thomas Chapman smyth, for hir Walter Murray. Candlesmes. (1 2 3 Mariit)

Comperit James Sym and promisit to sit wyth the choirstaris and do his dewty as the rest did.\(^{103}\)

\(^{100}\) Sweep, remove rubbish from.

\(^{101}\) A shovel and a wheelbarrow.

\(^{102}\) Those who now possess the rights to former altars (for the most part, crafts and mercantile guilds) retain the obligation to provide candles to light the kirk during service time. This reminder is important in November, when the days are getting short.

\(^{103}\) He may be charged with keeping the boys in order during service time.
Comperit Thomas Rynd and confessit his fornication wyth Helyne Hendry, and submittit hym to the discipline of the kyrk, thairfoir he is commandit to the toubouth. (1 2 3/ Ressavit)

Ordanis the balyeis to pass wyth the Master of Hospital and pund for the puir the houndrid.

\textit{Duodecimo Decembris}

Comperit David Gotthray and Nanis Ferne and desyrit thair bannes of marage to be proclamit. Caution for hym James Anderson, for hir Jhon Wenton. Terme Candilsmes. (1 2 3 Mairit)

Comperit Margery Small and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Macmilns and submittit hir to the discipline of the kyrk thairfoir etc. (1 2 3 R)

Comperit Jhon Blak and Janet Malcom and desyrit thair bannes of marage to be proclamit. Caution for hym Laurence Wilson, for hir George Henderson. Witsonday. (1 2 3/ Mariit)

Ordanis to gif Janet Duncan xii d.

Comperit William Kar and Bessy Londian and desyrit thare bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hym Thomas Robertson, for hir Alexander Wilson. Terme [Candlesmes] (p/ 1 2 3 Mariit)\textsuperscript{104}

[99] \textit{Vigesimo} [December 1580]\textsuperscript{105}

Comperit James Pyper and Janet Forskill and desyrit thare bannes of mariag to be proclamit. Caution for hyme George Jak, for hir David Mar. Terme Candilsmes. (1 2 3 Mariit)

Ordanis the balyeis to put Janet Paul in the toubouth, for hir misordor till the kyrk take farder order thairunto.

Ordanis the wyche to be banisit the town.\textsuperscript{106}

Comperit George Ochilivy and confessit his fornication wyth Margret Harlow and submittit him to the discipline of the kyrk, for performance quhairof the said George is comandit to the toubouth.

\textsuperscript{104} Page torn.

\textsuperscript{105} Only the twentieth is noted, month and year absent.

\textsuperscript{106} There is, alas, nothing more in this record to indicate the identity of the accused witch.
Comperit Margret Harlow and confessit hir fornication wyth George Ochilvy and submittit hir to the disciplyn of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the toulbouth.

Ordanis to warne Androw Farge and Robert Talyeor.

Ordanis thyme that refisus to cum to the kyrk dor and gather the puirs almes to pay ten schillings to the puir of his owin and to be pundit for the same. (Kirkdor/ Kirkdor)\textsuperscript{107}

The assembly ordanis the ballis to have clothes bocht to thame.\textsuperscript{108}

Ordanis in all tymes cuming the yard in the Grayfreiris to be burial and farder that the utter yeit quhilk is pendit be transportit to the inner yett.\textsuperscript{109}

\[100\] Ordanis the master of hospital to pay the puris advocattes and it salbe allowit in his comptis.

\textit{Vigesimo septimo Decembris}

Ordanis the masters of hospital to gif Jhon Ronaldson fourty schillings for to win materialles to the burial wall, and to rander ane compt of the spending of the same.

Comperis Alexander Pett and Nanis Cutbert and gif up thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Alexander Pett, for hir Jhon Cutbert. Terme Candilsmes. Primo Februarii. (1 2 3/ Mariit)

Ordanis James Sym to produc the twenty schillinges quhill he suld have giffin Walter Anderson befoir the elderis, and the same to be keipande be the scryb till it be decydit quhiddir George Law or Thomas [ ] executores to the said Walter suld have it.

Comperit Cristan Miller and confessit hir fornication wyth Duncan Finlason, for performance quhairof the said Cristan ys commandit to the toubouth.

\textsuperscript{107} This act may be aimed at the kirk officers who are appointed to collect alms at the door and resist the duty.

\textsuperscript{108} To buy clothes for the poor.

\textsuperscript{109} St John's kirkyard was too full for burials; henceforth, the yard of the now-demolished Franciscan friary will serve as the parish burial ground. The outer gate of the old friary is to be moved to the enclosure around the burial yard within the grounds.
**1581**

*Secundus Januarii 1581*

Comperit James Brydy and Agnes Gardner and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hym George Mathow, for hir Thomas Robertson according to the ordor. Fastingsmes. (1 2 3 Mariit)\(^1\)

Comperit Walter Richartson and Violet Broun and desyrit thair banns to be proclamit. Caution for hym Thomas Schipherd, for hir Hendry Drummond, according to ordor. Terme Witsonday. (p. 1 2 3)

[101] Ordanis that no supplicacion for dispensing of actis maid and practisit be ressavit or hard of the kyrk, cheifly quhan thay tend to the hurt of the puir. (Nota)\(^2\)

*Nono [January]\(^3\) 1581*

Presentis: Robert Anderson, Dionyse Conqueror, George Jhonston, Jhon Loury, James Malice, James Hepburne, Patrik Ingles.\(^4\)

Comperit Jhon Dog and Janet Burrough and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hym Georg Jak, for hir Hendry Burrough. terme Fastronneseven. (1 2 3/ Mariit)

Comperit Thomas Dow and Janet Broun and desyrit thare bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hym Jhon Elder, for hir James Anderson, according to the ordor. Fastronnseven. (1 2 3/ Mariit)

Comperit Nanes Stobby and confessit hir fornication wyth Patrik Anderson and submittit hir to the disciplyn of the kyrk, for performance quhairof scho is comandit to the toubouth for the secund fault.

Comperit Patrik Anderson and confessit his fornication wyth Agnes Stobby and submittit hym to the disciplyn of the kyrk, for performance quhairof he is commandit to the toubouth for the 2 fault.

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\(^1\) Fastingsmas, or Fastren's Eve, is Shrove Tuesday.

\(^2\) Such efforts to avoid payment reduce the funds available for poor relief.

\(^3\) The clerk has mis-written 'Aprylis' for January. The preceding date is 2 January, the following one 16 January.

\(^4\) This is the first attendance record for a session meeting. The gap between the 2 January meeting and this one may be explained by a page missing from the minute book.
Comperit William Jak and confessit his fornication wyth Helyn Glass and submittit hym to the disciplyn of the kyrk, for performance quhairof he is commandit to the touboth for the 1 fault.

Comperit James Wallace and Cristan Broun and desyrit thair bannes of marriage to be proclamit. Caution for him Thomas Thoriskell, for [her] Hendry Pyper. Fastronneseven (1 2 3 Mariit)

[102] Comperit Jhon Clark and Janet Doe and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hym Jhon Robertson, for hir Thomas Doe according to the ordor. Pasche. (1 2 3/ Marit)

Ordanis Jhon Melynnes pund to be retternit or elles to pay ay and quhill the band be lauchfully relevit, and forder declaris that Jhon Hamilton culd gif no titil of ryt to the gudman of Campsi. (Nota)\(^5\)

The elderis hes sene Mr James Sensing upon Robert Scottes land, and fundes it lauchful and gud, and thairfoir desyris the balyes [go] to him and all the rest of obitteris upon his rental.\(^6\)

\textit{Decimo sexto Januarii 1581}


Ordanis to put James Anderson in the touboth till he find caution to compeir.

Ordanis Jhon Ronaldson to pass only twys throughout for the departit.\(^7\)

Comperit Eduart Hendry and Helyn Hynd and desyrit thair bannes of marriage to be proclamit. Caution for hym Jhon Ronaldson, for hir Thomas Hynd. Fastrownseven. (1 2 3 mariit)

Ordanis Jhon Scot to be admonisit under the paine of excommunicacion, and Dionyse Blakcat.\(^8\)

\(^5\) Below the marginal 'Nota' is a sketch of a hand, fingers pointing upward.

\(^6\) Sensing has a right to the land, but he and others now dwelling on it owe the annual payment that used to go to the obit funded by the land.

\(^7\) Ronaldson passed through the town ringing the hand bell to announce deaths. Making the rounds more than twice would smack of 'popish' tolling for the dead, calling people to pray for their souls.

\(^8\) For Blakcat, fornicator with Violet Hilllok, see 4 Jan., 1 Feb., 21 Mar., 25 Apr., and 14 Nov. 1580. For Jhon Scot, adulterer with Elspet Carvor, 1 Feb., 7 Mar., 29 Apr., 14 June, and 14 Nov. 1580.
Comperit James Makgibbon and Helyn Law and desyrit thair bannes of marriage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme, George Robertson, for hir Patrik Law. Terme Lawsonday.  

Vigesimo tertio Januarii 1581
Presentes Dionyse Conqueror, George Jhonston, James Malice, James Hepburne, Jhon Lowry

Comperit George Thomson and confessit his fornication wyth Helyn Galloway and submittit hyme self to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof he hes fund George Lamestone caution under the pain of ten pundes to the pure, so sone as it sall happin hyme to abyd in this toun.

Ordanis Helyn Galloway to pass to the toubouth for performance of hir repentance.

Primo Januarii [sic] 1581
Presentes Dionyse Conqueror, Hendry Adamson, George Jhonston, Jhon Lowry, James Hepburn, Robert Chapman, James Malice, Jhon Davidson

Ordanis that Jhon Ronaldson convoy all sik as ar to be imprisonit to the prisone house and to returne agane at tyme convenient and ressave thame out of prisone, ressave the dewty of the puir and gif it to James Sym to distribut the same es efferis, and to convoy tham to the cross haid.

Also it is ordanit that no vitious persone that pass to the croce haid or stull of repentance cover thair face or haid, wyth certificacion gif thay do that it sall [serve] for nothing unto tham so oft as they do it.

Comperit Adam Harrner and Eufam Anderson and desyrit thair bannes of mariagie to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Patrik Gray, for hir Adam Anderson. Witsonday etc. (p 1 2 3 xl s)

Comperit Thomas Rollok and Janet Hall and desyrit thair bannes of

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9 Lawsonday may be the Sunday nearest Annunciation, 25 March, the beginning of the law term.
10 The clerk may mean 30 January, which would allow for the usual weekly meetings, or 1 February, though the next meeting would only be five days afterward.
11 That is, receive the fines of the penitents.
12 The Sunday’s repentance will not count if they hide their faces.
13 Whitsun is Pentecost, the seventh Sunday after Easter.
mariage to be proclaimit. Caution for hyme William Rollok, for hir George Hall. Witsonday. (p 1 2)

Comperit Robert Greiff and Cristan Thomson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclaimit. Caution for hyme Jhon Black, for hir James Thomson. Witsonday. (p 1 2 3 Mariit)

Sexto Februarii 1581
Comperit Constantine Malice and Isobel Elder and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclaimit. Caution for hyme Adame Anderson, for hir Jhon Christison. Witsonday. (vi L)

Comperit Walter Meik and Margret John and desyrit thare bannes to be proclaimit. Caution for hyme Walter Meik, for hir Gilbert Gardner. Witsonday. (Proc. 1 2 3/ Mairit)


Decimo tertio Februarii 1581
Presentes: Robert Anderson, James Malice, Robert Chapman, Thomas Lowry, George Johnston, Patrik Ingles, Hendry Adamson, Jhon Davidson.

Ordanis Hendry Adamson and Patrik Ingles to pass to Jhon Scot to travel wyth hyme and to report thair conversation betuix this and Sunday.

Ordanis thaes quha hes the tak of the burial to be heir this day aught dayes.

Ordanis to gif Patrick Murray cordonar vi s viii d, Thomas Galle fourty, Duncan Foster xl d, Violet John xl d, and Christan Frew x s.

[Vigesimo primo Februarii 1581]
The names of elderis present: Robert Anderson, Dionyse Conqueror, Hendry Adamson, George Jhonston, James Malice, Robert Chapman, Jhon Davidson, Patrik Ingles, James Hepburn.

14 The substantial donation recorded in the margin would have been a gift to the kirk, indicative of Malice’s wealth and standing in the community.
15 The name ‘Robertson’ is rubbed out where the rest of ‘Katherine’ would have gone. No caution is named for Stene.
16 See 16 Jan. 1581, and note.
17 Rents or dues: see 21 Feb., below.
18 ‘Pennies’ is omitted.
The elder is ordanis Androw Mersser to be pundit for ten pundes as cautione for Dionyse Blakwod for performance of his repentance, quhilk he has not done. And the said Dionyse to pay four £ for the irnes, to pass to the croce haid.

Comperit Patrik Paterson, David Allan, and Jhon Richardson, in presence of the assembly, and rendereit frely in the handis of the kyrk, the tak and assidations quhilk thay had of burial yard, and becaus in thair said assidation thair is ane yeir to cum, thay have submittit tham to the assembly, quhat thing thay will modify thaire foir the said yeir to cum. Quhilk renunciation the elderis acceptid, and promisit to gratify thame for thair renunciation.¹⁹

Comperit Jhon Richartson and confessit that he was cause of the decay of the burial walles and thairfoir promise is to mak thame els sufficient as thay wor at his entry and partition wyth the masteres of hospital wyth diligence, under the paine of punding and warding. And gif ony part of the said wallis be onmendit at his issew²⁰ that they salbe reparit on his expensis.

For reparation of the quhilk walles as efferis, the kyrk hes appoyntit Robert Anderson, dene of gild, George Jhonston the same and Hendry Adamson, and the assembly referris the orderinge of the yard within and without to thair discretion.

**Vigesimo octavo Feburary 1581**

The ordor for the communion


For ressaving of the almous and tokynes, Andro Blythman and James Mersser

For the north queer dor of the kyrk, Hendry Lyes and Hendry Adamson

For the south dor of the queer, Dionyse Conqueror and James Hepburne

To keip the wiket behind the pulpit, James Malice and William Ross, officer

To convoy the braid through the tabellis, Jhon Lowry, Jhon Davidson, Patrik Ingles

To convoy the wyne through the tabellis, James Sym, Alexander Henderson, David Anderson, Robert Stevinson

To convoy the wine frome the revestrie, Jhon Jak, Alexander MakDuff, and George Hall

To prepare the braid, Robert Rynd

To gather the almous at the north kyrk dor, William Ross

¹⁹ In exchange for their loss of the income from the Greyfriars land now to be devoted to burial ground, these men will receive some compensation from the session.

²⁰ At his leaving office
To prepair the kyrk tabelues and napry, the thesaurer 
The belles to be ronng in the morning at forr hores, at half hour to fyve, 
and the 3 at fyve; 
To the secund ministration, the first at half hor to nine, ...  

Qunto Martii 1581
Comperit Thomas Talyeor and Sibilla Rynd and desyrit thair bannes of 
mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Robert Talyeor, for hir James 
Rynd. Terme Witosunday. (1 2 3 Mairit)

Comperit Robert Murray and Janet Scot and desyrit thair bannes of mariaig 
to be proclaimit. Caution for hyme and hir Jhon Basyttth. Terme Witosunday. 
(1 2 3 Mairit)

Comperit Thomas Uyne and Janet Lithum and desyrit thair bannes of 
mariage to be proclaimit. Caution for hyme Jhon Lithum, for hir Jhon Bog. 
Terme Witosunday. (1 2 3 Mairit)

Octavo Martii 1581
Ordanis Constantine Malice and Isobel Elder mak thair publict repentance 
upon Sonday nixt, and forder pay four pundes to the puir becaus that in tym 
of our publict humiliation and fasting thay passit up at ance to thair feasting 
and and solemnizing of marrage contrair [to] all guid ordor.  

Decimo tertio Martii 1581
Ordanes that no privat subscription pass bot only upone the day and place 
appoyntit. (Nota) 

Ordanes that James Sym gif in his compt this Tuysday nixt.

Ordanis that Alexander Kynwanny be callit befoir the assembly.

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21 The last line on the page is torn away, but the final two bells would be at nine o'clock and half past nine.

22 All celebration was forbidden during fasting seasons. Perth was typical of Reformed burghs in proclaiming public fasts in late February or early March (formerly Lent): CP, 93–94. Perhaps Malice hoped that his voluntary gift of £6 when he requested his banns (6 Feb. 1581) might make the session more lenient on this point; however, neither this nor his family standing helped in this situation. Malice would, nonetheless, go on to be elected an elder in 1584 and repeatedly thereafter: see Appendix I.

23 This may refer to subscription to the Negative Confession. Signing or swearing in public obviously made a stronger statement both of individual support for orthodoxy and of parochial unity.
Comperit Elspot Donaldson and confessit hir fornication wyth Silvester Chapman, and submittis hir to the dysciplyne of the kyrk.

[108] Decimo quarto Martii
Comperit Walter Meik and confessit cohabitation wyth his futur spous, for the quhilk cause it is ordanit that he and scho compere upon the seat of Repent[tance] upon Sunday nixt.

Comperit James Macgibbon and confessit cohabitation wyth his futur spous, for the quhilk he promisit to pay fourty schillings and separat hym self til he be mariit.

Ordanis to pund Mr Jhon Mitschell or Androw Dog for vi s viii d becaus he cam caution for the probation of Janet Fowles bill, quhairin scho and he succumbit.

Quhilk day all the elders being present, James Sym geve in his comptis, alsweill of his ressait as discharge, quhilk being maid he is restand awand only xi £ xi s v d, quhilk sowme the elderis this same day distributed as followis:
Item to William Ramsay gownne     xx s
To Richart Ruthvenis wf            vi s viii d
To William Powry, baxter           v s and discharges hym from ony forder seiking in tyme cuming
To the Lady Cassoquhy              ten s
To George Matheis                  iii s iii d
To Robert Benson                   v s
To the relict of Donald Webster    xx s
To James Malice dochter            xx s
To the pryor of the quhit freir    x s
To Violet Colny                    vi s viii, and discharg[es] hir simple of ony thing in tyme cuming.
To George Canonis wyf              x s
[109] To Androw Hind
x s to gif to Jhon Lowry to help to by hym ane saw

24 There is no previous record of Fowles' bill of complaint, but she has apparently resolved her quarrel with an unnamed antagonist or admitted that the complaint was frivolous, so that her caution must now pay for her having wasted the session's time. To 'succumb' here is to fail in proving a charge. The term is used in the same sense again (as 'secumb') 31 July 1581.
25 He is on temporary relief, perhaps for an illness which prevents him working for a time.
26 Friars who did not convert to protestantism and become ministers received a pension from the kirk.
27 Perhaps a sow.
To Elizabet Roggi
To Margret Morsin
To Violet Murray
To Duncan Foster
To Androw Schor
To the relict of Jhon Andersonn
To Janet Reid
To Robert in the cart
To Thomas Fowles, smyth
To the relict of Jhon Andersonn
To Janet Reid
To Robert in the cart
To Thomas Fowles, smyth

Sua of this discharge xi £ xi s v d,30 and so the compte this day is awand
us nothing the xiii of March.

Ordanes James Sym to answer Mr James of his ten markis unely.

Ordanis James Sym to mak ane gret buik to wret all thinges into concerning
the puiris almous ordinar and extraordinar upon thair expensis, quhilk salbe
allowit wit his nixt comptes.

Vigesimo Martii 1581
Comperit Patrik Mathy and Helyne Murray and desyrit thair bannes of
marrage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme and hir Thomas Jhonston. Terme
Sancjhonsmess. (p 1 2)

Vigesimo septimo Martii 1581
Presentes erant omnes insign. Fleming31

Ordinis to put Janet Bell in the touboth, becaus being summond to compeir
befoir the kyrk, comperit not.

Ordanes every elder that cumis in lait to pay vid, and the minister xii d, and
the same to be put in ane box ad pios usis.32

[110] Ordanes to charge the laird of Clakmannan and barrone of Fingaskes
dochtir agane this day fourtene dayes.

Comperit Janet Baskat and confessit hir fornication wyth Thomas Murray,
and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir. Bot becaus it is

The meaning of a 'schr' added at the end of this entry is uncertain. It may be that Murray
is related to Androw Schor, two entries down.

See 25 Apr. 1580.

In fact, £11 11s 3d.

Fleming may be the elder William Fleming, signing the report of perfect attendance.

For pious uses, generally poor relief.
supponit that the said Thomas maid promeis of mariage to the said Janet, thairfoir the elderis hes appoyntit to hir and hir father twenty [days] to bring the said Thomas mynd in this matter in wret, and to present the same to the assembly, failyeing quhairof the said Janet sail entir to hir repentance for fornication pro secundo.

Ordanis to warne Alexander Kyncragy aganes this day fortene dayes to se quhidder gif or not he is content to adheir to his wyf or not, and to purge hymse f self of the vehement sclander that [is] arysin of hymse wyth his serva-trix Katherine Lamb.

Ordanes Jhon Swenton to declair the Psalme to the pepil as he was wont.33

Comperit Dougall Greg and Isobel Thomson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hymse, Donald Thomson, for hir, Patric Fletcher. (p 1 2 3)

Ordanes the masteres of hospital to put in the bedelle in the almous house.

_Decimo Aprylis 1581_

Absentes: George Jhonston, Jhon Davids[on]

Comperit Walter Martyn and Janet Slanndris and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit.

[111] Caution for hymse Jhon Pebilles, caution for hir Oliver Pehilles, for ten pundes every ane. Terme Midsummer.

Comperit Richart Drone and Eufame Brachty and desyrit thare bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hymse Stene Blak, for hir Walter Sadler under the pane of ten pundes every ane of tham. Terme Witsonday.

Comperit Alexander Kyncragy and promisit to remove Katherine Lamb out of his company at Witsonday under the pane of x £.

Comperit Walter Gray and Gelis Donaldson and desyrit thare bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hymse Thomas Gray, for hyr Androw Donaldson. Terme Midsummer. (1 2 3)

33 As precentor, he seems to have begun singing without announcing the Psalm first so that the people would be prepared.
Ordanes Jhon Mathisones caution James Donning be pundit for not going forewart in mariage according to the contract, and ordanes the said Jhon Mathison to be in the touboth.

Ordanis all purgationis of persones to be marit to come befoir the assembly and thair be purgit.\textsuperscript{34} (Nota)

Ordanis Alexander Kyncragyes wyf to be warnit and chargit to oppone aganes hir husband.

Ordanes the minister, James Hepburne, William Fleming, William Fleming [sic], George Jhonston, and Jhon Pебilles to travel for reconsihation betuix James Drummond and Jhon Smyth wyth his collegis.

Comperit Isobel Murdoch and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Blak and submittes hir to the discyplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the towboth. 1\textsuperscript{st} culpa (v s)\textsuperscript{35}

[112] Comperit Jhon Blak, and confessit his fornication wyth Isobel Murdoch, and submittit hym to the discyplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof he is commandit to the toubot. (v s)

Ordanes the balyeis to put Robert Tod in the touboth til he tell the names of his companyeones.

Comperit James Macgibbon and actit hyme self under the pane of ten pundes to the puir that he sail fynish his mariage the secund Sonday eftir he returnis.\textsuperscript{36}

Ordanes the taxman of the burial to be warnit again Thursday eftir the preching.\textsuperscript{37}

Ordanes Silvester Chapman to satisfy the ordinance of the kyrk in this toun, in respect he hes sclanderit this congregation.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{34} Those to be married 'purged' themselves by giving their oaths that they had not committed antenuptial fornication. This was probably required only of those of whom the elders had heard suspicious reports.

\textsuperscript{35} This is her first fault. She, her partner, or perhaps a caution has paid 5s to ensure that she will perform her repentance without having to be gaolied.

\textsuperscript{36} McGibbon may be a mariner or travelling merchant; he swears to complete his marriage or forfeit the substantial fine of ten pounds.

\textsuperscript{37} See 21 Feb. 1581.

\textsuperscript{38} Chapman, charged with fornication, would eventually be sent to the presbytery in view of his contumacy and disobedience of the session's orders: See below, 12 and 19 Feb. 1582.
The holl assembly of the elders wyth advys of the magistrates ratifies the format act concerning the dragon holl.\textsuperscript{39}

Ordanes Mr James Smyth to delyver to Thomas Anderson the silver quhilk was consignit in his hand be James Sym. (Nota)

\textit{Decimo septimo Aprilis}

Absentes: Dionys Conqueror, Hendry Adamson, William Fleming, Patrik Ingles.

Ordanes the burial men and James Donning to be warnit aganes the morne.

Comperit William Watson and Marjory Sperk and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Gilbert Billy, for hir Androw Jhonston. x \pounds{}, terme Lambes. (1 2 3)

\textsuperscript{[113]} Comperit Jhon Breuhouse and Marjory Colt and desyrit thare bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Androw Macbaith cordonar, for hyme [sic] Jhon Colt, and James Hepburne to releif hyme. Terme aucht dayes eftir Midsummer. (P 1 2 3)

Ordanes Janet Baskath to be put in the toubouth for hir fornication for the secund tyme.

Ordanes that the persones to be mariit cum to the kyrk upon the nyght befoir to be tryit of the minister and sum elderis.\textsuperscript{40}

Ordanes Thomas Anderson to be pundit for fourty schillinges as caution for Thomas Vyne and Mr James Smyth to receive xx s that is in his hand till it be payit. (Nota)

Ordanes Silvester Chapman to be takin and put in close ward quharessoever he is deprehendit in this toun.

Ordanes James Mersser to be put in the touboth.

Comperit James Mersser and confessit his fornication wyth [ ] Donaldson

\textsuperscript{39} At this date the session seems to be anticipating the annual May festivities at the Dragon Hole; cf. the act of 2 May 1580.

\textsuperscript{40} This act would be expanded 6 Dec. 1591 to require that couples who could not say and explain their catechisms under questioning by the elders must delay marriage until they could do so, since 'the benefit of the kirk should not be given to infidels'.
and submittit hyme to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir. The assembly for
gud causis superseidit till Monday nixt to entir quhilk he promisit to do.\textsuperscript{41}

Ordanis the tua persones that ar in the croce haid to be detenit in close
ward this nyght and to suffer ane syes\textsuperscript{42} the morn, quhilk William Anderson
balye promisit to do.

Ordanes the balyeis to put the formar actis of sabbath to execution, in
special to desyr the balyeis to close the wude yeittes\textsuperscript{43} of the toun.

\textsuperscript{[114]} Ordanes no pastyme to be usit throughout the toun upon the sabbath,
in special in the tyme of Mai.\textsuperscript{44}

Ordanes to gif Nicol ane pair of schone provyding it be no preparatione
to hym.\textsuperscript{45}

Ordanes to gif Thomas Jakson x s, George Bow xl s to by ane pair of belles,
to Jhon Pringill x s, and to Violet Geless xx s.

\textit{Octavo Maii 1581}

All the elderis wer present bot Hendry Adamson.

The assembly concludis that all conjunctionis befoir contract befoir the kyrk
is simple fornication.

It is ordanit that quhasoever joynis carnellly together betuix the given up
of the bannes befoir the kyrk and accomplisment of the mariage sail pay
fourty schillinges to the puir and mak thair publict humiliation befoir the
pulpit upon ane Sonday befoir mariage. (Carnal copulatione betuix contract
and mariaig)

The elderis remittes James Mersser marchant till this day aucht dayes for
motives moving tham and ordanes the said James and his future spous to
compeir upon Monnday nixt to gif up thair bannes.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{41} That is, he may delay his entry to the tollbooth. Mersser was a merchant and may have
been obliged to travel. In any case, on 8 May he would be further indulged, doubtless in
light of his request for marriage banns.

\textsuperscript{42} Assize, an inquest by a group of neighbours impanelled for the purpose. See Walker, \textit{Legal
History of Scotland}, 431-32.

\textsuperscript{43} Wood gates.

\textsuperscript{44} On May day celebration, see Todd, ‘Profane pastimes’.

\textsuperscript{45} Nicol Belman rang the kirk bells and did burial duties, receiving shoes as well as a small
stipend.

\textsuperscript{46} See 17 April. His future spouse, Elspeth Donaldson (15 May), was perhaps his partner in
fornication.
Ordanes the decane of the flescheris and the principal flescheris to be warnit againes this day acht dayes.

It is ordanit that Thomas Pullor mak his repentance for sclandering Alison Anderson and pay xiii s iii d to the puir.

[115] Ordanes ane inquest of nychtbores to be tane and orderly to proceid aganes Pett and Brachty befoir thair bannes be ressavit befoir the assembly.

Ordanes Jannet Baschat to pay iii £ to the puir or elles to pund William Anderson bailye thairfoir and scho not to be ressavit to hir repentance.

Decimo quinto Maii 1581
All the elderis wes present bot Robert Chapman. (Sabbot)

Ordanes the sabboth day to be keipit frome all kynd of bying and selling, and na dispensation to be usit, and this act in special to be directed aganes baxteres, brosteris, wyne sellaris, burine beraris,\(^{47}\) flescheris, and merchandes wyth all uther craftes and occupationis. (Sabboth)

Comperit David Smyth and Isobel Wilson and gaif up thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hym David Mar, for hir Jhon Curot tayleor. (mareit)

Comperit James Mersser and Elspet Donaldson and gaif up thair bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Charles Mersser, for hir Oliver Donaldson. Midsummer. (mareit)

Ordanes James Mersser to gif iii £ to the puir.

Ordanes to Thomas Pullor [ ]

Ordanes the bell to go through the toun and that iii tymes to repair the house pertening to the puir in the haid of the south gait, to wit, upon the 3 Monndays nixt to cum

[116] and the reparing of the said house to be in the revestery.\(^{48}\)

\(^{47}\) Burden bearers.

\(^{48}\) This may mean that the money was being kept in the poor box in the revestry.
**Vigesimo secundus Mai 1581**


Ordanes Hendry Adamson and George Jhonston to speik James Donning, and to report thair conversation agan upon Thursday.

Comperit Androw Conqueror and Margery Adamson and desyrit thare bannes of mariage to be proclamit according to the ordor. Caution for hyme, Dionyse Conqueror, Jhon Peblles, William Adamson, and for hir Hendry Adamson. Michelmes. Lambes. (Mariit)

**Vigesimo nono Maii 1581**

Presentes toties

Comperit Jhon Elder and protestit befoir the haill eldris convenit that the kyrk suld nether be hurtful to his possession of the puiris housis nether to the curets liffrent.

Comperit Ryotcis Watson and Cunny Huggony and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit according to the ordor. Caution for hym Jhon Stevison, for hir William Kynloch. (Mariit)

Comperit James Hall and Janet Horne and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit according to the ordor. Caution for hyme Thomas Broun, fir hir Jhon Hepburne.

Comperit Mr Patrik Galloway, minister, and effert as of befoir vi merkes meal yeirly and tuanty merkes gersone for the puris houses in Jhon Eldres handes presently.

**Quinto Junii 1581**

All the elderis this day wer present save Hendry Adamson.

[117] Comperit Androw Burry and Cristan Cramby and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, according to ordor. Caution for hyme George Stobby, for hir Thomas Cramby. Lambes. (Mariit)

49 Perhaps the clerk meant to cross out one of the two dates.
50 All the elders and deacons are present.
51 Perhaps a version of 'Righteous'? The spelling is quite clear, but the names of both partners in this marriage are unusual.
Comperit Janet Horne and confessis that James Hall is hir umquhill husbandes half brother sone quha departit. Item scho confessis scho haid actual deal wyth the said James at Fastineving last was.\textsuperscript{52}

Comperit James Hall and confessit he had bene in company traveling to mercates vii yeris bygone wyth the said Janet and that he had carnel deal wyth the said Janet bot Candelismes last or befoir.

The assembly continewes the making of the act anent the persones of the freiris perteining to umquhill Mr Jhon Rowis barnes till the nixt Monnday.\textsuperscript{53}

The assembly ordanes the masteres of the hospital to transport the estir yeitt\textsuperscript{54} to the wester yett and his expensis to be allowit to hyme in his hixt comptis.

The assembly ordanes fourty pundes to be collectit wyth the nixt tax to the support of the burial gif the counsail thinkes expedient.\textsuperscript{55}

The assembly ordanis the minister out of the pulpit to discharge all wemenis stulles in the kyrk, and tham to use carvit stulles that lykes.\textsuperscript{56} And that betuix this and this day viii dayes, utherwayes the same to be done by utheris quhome the kyrk sail appoynt incaice of disobedience.

Memorandum to speik the counsail for visitation of the seik and for ane dewayt of thaes quha departies for uphalding of the burial dykis.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{52} He is her late husband's nephew, the son of his half-brother. The case continues 12 June, with the couple gaole\textsuperscript{d} 3 July.

\textsuperscript{53} John Row, who had twelve children altogether, left eight (James, William, John, Robert, Archibald, Colin, Catherine, and Mary) still in their minority at his death in 1580. All but the first two were under twelve years old. His understanding was that they would be sustained in part with income from former friars' properties, which the session must administer. The case is continued on 12 June. See First Book, 110–11, ordering that the kirk must care for the widows and orphans of deceased ministers. Row's will (NRS ms CC8/8/400–402) indicates that he was owed £240 4s at his death; with money and goods worth just £46 and debts of about £70, his family was clearly in dire straits.

\textsuperscript{54} The east gate is to replace the west gate of the poor house.

\textsuperscript{55} Transformation of the Greyfriars yard into the new town burial ground would have required construction or repair of walls and perhaps clearing of ground.

\textsuperscript{56} Women brought small stools to church for seating during the sermons. Many post-Reformation kirks, however, encountered quarrels over space for putting the stools in the open center of the building. Sometimes these became violent (e.g., CP, 46). No antecedent complaint indicates that this was the case in Perth; however, portable stools are now forbidden in favor of 'carved stools', perhaps meaning more permanent joined seating paid for by those able to afford it.

\textsuperscript{57} The session needs the council's support for a death tax to help pay for maintaining the walls (dykes) of the burial ground.
Duodecimo Junii 1581

Absentes: Hendry Adamson, Patrik Ingles.

[118] Continewes Jhon Rowis act concerning the ministeris barnis pensiones.

Seing that be thair awin confession James Hall and Janet Horne ar fund culpabil of incest, thairfoir the elderis desyris the balyeis to gif thame ane inquest.\(^58\)

Comperit David Carmicheel and Elspet Balneffes and desyrit thare bannes of mariag to be proclamit according to the ordor. Caution for hyme Robert Cok, caution for hir George Jak. Lambes. (Mariit)


Comperit Cristan Livingston and confessit hir fornication wyth Patrik Scott and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir. The fornication wes committit in Robert Talyeores for chalmer at Palmsonday, and thaireftir he had ado wyth hir befoir scho wes incarcerat. He gaif hir ane firlot of mell.

The elderis findis be Cristan Livingstones awin confession that scho is ane deceiver of the pepil\(^59\) and thairfoir putis hir in the bailyeis handes to suffer ane inquest.

Decimo nono Junii 1581

Presentes: George Jhonston, Hendry Adamson, Patrik Inglis, Jhon Loury, Oliver Colt.

Ordanes Robert Greif to be wardit and his futur spous for disobedience and non comperance being warnit.

Comperit Cristan Steill and confessit hir fornication wyth Androw Broun and submittit hir to the kyrk. And because the said Androw promisit hir mariage, as scho allegis, thairfoir the assembly defferris hir punisment to his returning. It is the third fault wyth him.

\(^58\) They will be warded on 3 July. See 5 June, above, for the relationship.

\(^59\) This charge usually means the person claimed second sight or magical healing ability, or was a recusant or a heretic; in this case, it underpins the suggestion of prostitution in the previous entry. The bailies' court record for the time (PKCA ms B59/12/9, contains no reference to this matter. The session book does not indicate the final outcome of the case.
[119] Comperit Alison Leslies and confessit hir fornication wyth Jhon Jhonston and submittit hir to the ky rk thairfor. Scho confessis scho was in Thomas Jhonstons house in the tyme of the gettin of the barne, and thairfor is ordanit to be warnit agane this day fourtein dayes.

Ordanis William Ross to be warnit agane this day fourtene dayes.

Ordanes Eufame Arthar to be wardit for non comperance being warnit. (payit)

Ordanes Eufame Arthar to be put in the crosshaid, and in the irnes, and to pay vi s viii d.

3 Julii 1581

Seniores prezentes: James Hepbron, George Johnston, William Femyng, William Anderson, Patrik Inglis, Robert Anderson, Blaise Colt, James Maleise, John Davidson, Dioneyse Conqueror

Ordenis Elison Lessalles to be put in ward for hir fornication committit with John Jonston, failyeing quhairof ordenis John Berry hir cautionar to be put in ward.

Comperit David Anderson and Agnes Macandro and desyrit their bannes to be proclamit according to the ordor. Cautionar for hym Oliver Peblis, and for the woman Robert Sym. xv of September. (maret)

The assemblie yit as of befoir ordenis the balyeis to put James Hall and Jonet Horn incestuospersones in ward and therefor tak ordor with thame of thair punishement as efferes. 61

Because John Crystyson and William Watson, tua of the number that put violent handes in Henry Adamson ane of the eldares, being warnit this day befoir the assemblie personalie apprehendit and not comperand, ordenis the balyeis to put theme in ward for their disobedience, there to remayn quhill the assembhe send for thame. 62

60 Some clerks occasionally use the Latin for 'elders'. The hand changes at the point in the manuscript.
61 See 5 and 12 June 1581.
62 Henry Adamson, elder and sometime dean of guild, was part of a very prominent burgh family: see Appendix I. He was also at this point carrying on what turned out to be a notorious affair with the wife of another elder (see Introduction, 'Sexuality', for a summary of the case). Whether this attack was related is not clear, but in a community whose less socially exalted fornicators and adulterers were being mercilessly hounded by Adamson
[120] Ordenis the maisteres of hospital to by xx leyd of lymestanes and mix the samyn with sand to the reparing of the burial dykes, quhilk salbe thankfully allowit to thym in their comptes.

_Sexto Julii 1581_

_Seniores_ presentes: James Hepbron, George Johnston, Patrik Inglis, William Flemyng, Robert Chepman, Robert Anderson

Quhilk day William Inglis saidlar lyes actitat and oblist hym under the pains of xl £ money to the pure for Thomas Macray furriour* to the kinges majestie that ather he sail perform his repentance for his fornication comittit with Jonet Bathcat befoir this congregation betuix and Michaelmes nixt, or thay report the testimonial of the kinges majesties minister that he hes done his repentance befoir hym.

Anent the violent putting handes and streiking of Henry Adamson ane of the eldares, eftir tryal tane thereanent and deposition of famose witnes, it is found that John Matho and John Cristyson was the tua principal commit-tares of the fait. And therefor the assemblie ordenis thame to compeir on ane Sonday in the place of repentance in lenyng cloithis and thereftir cum doun and ask the sayd Henry forgifnes and the congregation. And also ather of thame to pay xl s money to the pure befoir thay entir to the sayd place. For performance quharof ordenis the bailyeis to put thame in ward ay and quhill thay perform the samyn under the paines of excommunication.

Gilbert Billy being accusit gif he was ane of thame that straik Henry Adamson or gif he was the occasion of his hurting, deponis as he sail ansuer to god he was not ane of thame that hurt hym nor put handes in hym nor yit was he the occasion thereof, but declaris it was John Matho.

and the rest of the elders, and where privacy was a rare commodity, he was bound to have garnered considerable resentment. None of those charged with attacking him (including Jhon Matho, whose name emerges 7 July) had been prosecuted for sexual offences, but they could easily have had friends who were, or been advocates of the cuckolded elder Oliver Peblis, or simply resented Adamson’s hypocrisy. This would not be the last instance of violence for Adamson: he would ultimately be murdered in Perth by Thomas Peblis on Good Friday, 1598 (NLS ms Adv 35.4.4, fo. 6r).

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63 Loads of limestones.
64 Furrier, rather than ferrier.
65 Between today and.
66 Both.
67 Billy was caution when William Watson’s marriage banns were accepted 17 Apr. 1581. Both seem to have been falsely accused of this attack.
[121] William Watson ełykways is being accusit of the forsayd cryme deponis that evir he cum to goddes kyngdome gyf he put handes in Henry Adamson nor gif it was in his mynd at that present to do ony skayth to hym, bot of suddan purpose hapnit to be new cum in to the toun, and seing thame at combat and ane sword lyand upon the calsay he tuke up the samyn bot straik at no man therewith. And affirmis that he saw John Crystyson put handes in the sayd Henry and John Matho strek hym.

Seniores presentes:
James Hepbron
William Flemyng
Blaise Colt
Henry Adamson

John Lowry
James Maleise
Robert Anderson
Dioneyse Conqueror

Comperit Andro Arnott and Gelis Car And desyrit thare bannis to be proclamit according to the ordor, for performance quhairof betuix this and Michaelmes nixt the sayd Andro hes fund Mr John Michell, and the sayd Gelis hes fund Oliver Car cautionares under the payn of x £ to the pure. (mareit)

Ordenis to put John Bery in ward for his disobedience, he being warnit to entir Elison Lessallis this day afoir the assemble, and to remayn thair ay and quhill he fynd caution under the payn of x £ to the pure in caise he entir hir not by Monnaday nixt.

Ordenis to warn John Johnston agane Monnonday nixt.

Ordenis to put Andro Marschell in ward ay and quhill he fynd caution under the payn of x £ to the puer to enter afoir the assemble on Monnonday nix at his wyffes instance.

Ordenis the act to strek on William Ross viz to pay xiii s iiii d to the pure for the detenyng of Margret Giffan with bayrn in his hous and not schawing [her] to the kirk, and he to be put in ward quhill he pay the samyn.

[122] Foralsmekill as syndry ar chargit be the officiar of the assemble and disobeyis, to the greit hendrance of the discipline, thairfor it is concludit be the minister and heall assemble that all persones being warnit and not

68 Injury.
69 George Jhonston used the alias Macgregor.
70 See 3 July 1581.
comperand salbe put in ward, thair to remayn ay and quhill thay\textsuperscript{71} pay sic penalties as the assemblie sall thynk expedient. And in cai$ it$ be nocht ane ordinary day of the assemblie, it salbe lesum to the minister to send for thre or foure of the eldares as he thinkes expedient to prescryve the sowm of the penaltie according to the falt for delyverance of the person that is in wayrd. (Act of disobedient persones)

Ordenis the act to striek on Andro Bowy to pay xiii s iii d to the pure because he ressavit [ ], now nutrix to hym in his hous, not demitting it\textsuperscript{72} to the kirk. And therefor to be put in ward quhill he present hir on Monnonday nixt.

Ordenis Andro Awld to be warnit yit as of befoir agaynst Monnonday nixt.\textsuperscript{73}

Siclyke Gilbert Byllie to be warnit agane Monnonday.

Siclyke ordenis Andro Broun and [Cristan] Steyll to be warnit agane Monnonday nixt.\textsuperscript{74}

Ordenis to put William Pett and [ ] Bracthy in ward quhill the assemblie be ferther advysit.\textsuperscript{75}

Ordenis John Clark and his wyf to be warnit agane Monnonday nixt to oppone aganes the witnesses of John Mar.

[123] The xxiii of Julii 1581

Ordenis John Johnston to be put in ward conform to the act of disobedient persones.

Ordenis John Bery to be put in ward ay and quhill he pay x £ to the pure because he being ordenit to present Elison Lessallis as he quha wes caution

\textsuperscript{71} Crossed out here: 'fynd caution to' – an emendation that resulted in a rather sterner act.
\textsuperscript{72} That is, not revealing to the session that the unnamed nurse had just had an illegitimate child. See 24 and 31 July, where the nurse is revealed to be Jonet Anderson.
\textsuperscript{73} Awld was a maltman. See 24 and 31 July.
\textsuperscript{74} A blank space is left for Steyll's forename. See 19 June 1581 (her fornication under promise of marriage with Broun), and below, 11 Dec. 1581 (both of them warded).
\textsuperscript{75} No forename is ever given for Bratchly: see 8 May, 17 and 24 July, 31 Aug. (both she and Pett ordered warded on the last two days) 1581. 14 Aug. records banns for a John Pett and Margie Brachly, but with the marginal notation of 'marrit' and the 24 July and/or 31 Aug. warding of William and his partner, this is likely another couple, perhaps related.
for hir entrie this day afoir the assemblie, being lauchfullie warnit thereto be the officiar as he recordit.

Ordenis Andro Marschell to be put in ward conform to the act of disobedient persones being warnit this day and disobeyit as the officiar recordit.

Ordenit the bailyeis to poynd William Ross tailyeor or put hym in ward ay and quhill he pay xiii s iii d to the pure conform to the act of thame that ressavis fornicatores in thare housses and not schawis the kirk thereof, because Margret Giffan his servand confessis that scho com with bayrn to his hous at Fastringevin and remanit there quhill Witsonday last.

Ordenis the bailyeis to poynd Andro Bowy for xiii s iii d conform to the act of ressait of fornicataris in their housses, and to put hym in ward ay and quhill he present [ ], now his nutrix, quha gat ane bairn in Andro Awldes in the Melvennell. 76

Ordenis to put Andro Awld in ward conform to the act of dissobedient persones becaus he being oft tymes warnit of befoir as the officiar recordit and disobeyit.

Ordenis to put William Peit and [ ] Bratchly in ward yit as of befoir quhill the assemblie be forther advysit.

Comperit Margret Giffan And confessit her fornication with Allan Imry and submittes hir to the disciphne of the kirk.

[124] Ordenis to gif Janet Hall the spous of Thomas Rollok xx s of that fourty schillinges gottin fra [ ], siclyke ordenis to gyf xx s to James Macgibbon of that xl s gottin fra [ ]. 77

*Ultimo Julii 1581*

_Seniores presentes: Robertus Anderson, Guilieliam Flemyng, Blaisius Colt, Robertus Chepman, Johannes Davidson, Johannes Lowry, cum reliquis_ 78

The assemblie ordenis the bailyeis to poynd David Mar for vi s viii d to the pure as cautionar for John Mar quha secumbat 79 in the probation of his bill gevin in be hym aganes John Clark and his wyf.

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76 Andro Auld's house in the Meal Vennell.
77 Specific sources for these funds are left blank, but fines from fornicators and other offenders were often used directly to fund poor relief.
78 And the rest. This is the only instance of Latinised names in the register.
79 Failed.
Comperit Jonet Anderson and confessit hir fornication with Andro Awld maltman and threfor submittes hir to the discipline of the kirk. And confessit that scho was delyverit in Balquhormoth in the first oulk of Lentron, and the bayrn departit\(^80\) in hir default without baptism. And because the sayd Jonet is nutrix to Andro Bowy and [he] may not gudly spair hir to do hir repentance at this present for tynsall\(^81\) of his bayrn, he is becum actit as caution to entir hir to the kirk and discipline thereof quhensoere the assemblie charge hym thereto under the pane of \(x\) to the pure, and scho to releif hym.\(^82\)

Comperit Jonet Messey and confessit hir fornication with Hary Drummond servitor to my lord of Inschefray and submittes hir to the discipline of the kirk.

Ordenis [ ] to tak hir awn barne agane that scho layit doun in Forgonnd.\(^83\)

It is ordanit be the haill assembly that every fliter convictit in flying sail pay half mark to the pure, stand upon the cross haid, and mak thare publict repentance for satisfaction of the kyrk and party. ([Act of] flyteris)\(^84\)

[125] Ordenis James Walcar flescher to pay vi s viii d to the pure because George Louranstun hes provin the contentes of his bill aganes hym. And also ordenis the sayd James to stand tua hores on the croce heid in the irnes on ane mercat day or than to pay uther vi s viii d to the pure and to compeir befoir the minister on Sunday nixt in the place of repentance appoyntit for sic and thair ask god forgifthes and the sayd George. For performance of the quhilk orderis to put hym in ward ay and quhill he fynd caution to do the samyn. (xiii s iii d)

Violet Dog the spous of Thomas Bischop being accusit of ane constant suspition be hir nychtbores betuix hir and ane callit Edward Dazell servand to the laryr of Clachmannan, allegit bering cumpany with the sayd Edward in drynkng at x or xi hores at evin, hes oblist hir self gif evir sco beis fund ather with hym or ony uther suspect persone in ony tyme heireftir at sic tyme of nyt, to submitt hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Dog)

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\(^80\) Died.
\(^81\) Care.
\(^82\) The last phrase means that she agrees to be liable for her penalty if he will not pay.
\(^83\) The nearby parish of Forgandenny. The session was perhaps cooperating with an effort by that parish to rid itself of a poor dependent from Perth left there for nursing, in addition to compelling its own nameless parishioner to take on her maternal duties.
\(^84\) Torn.
Septimo Augusti 1581

Presentes seniores Robert Anderson, Dionyse Conqueror, James Malice, George Jhonston, Jhon Davidson, James Malice [sic], Jhon Loury, Blais Colt.

The assembly warns Andrew Mitschell *apud acta* to be present this day aught dayes to make ansuer to his wyfes complaint. Ordanes his wyf to gif in ane bill contening the thinges scho hes to lay to hir husbandes charge.

Ordenis to pund David Mar as caution for Jhon Mar for vi s viii d.

Ordanis James Walcar to satisfy the act, that is, pass to the cross haid, or pay vi s viii d and to cum to the stoul of repentance, *etc*.

[126] Ordanes to put Jhon Jhonston in the toboth for no[n com]perance,\(^85\) being chargit to compeir.

Ordenes to put Jhon Berne in ward till he pay x pundes becaus he presentit not Elisone Lesselles.

Ordenes William Ross to be pundit for xvi s viii d for keiping of ane woman wyth barne and not remiting the same to the kyrk.

Ordanes to put Andrew Auld in ward for disobedience.

Ordenes to put William Pett and Brachly in ward.

Ordenes Jhon Ronaldson to warne Jhon Mathow quharsoever he may comprehend hym to compeir the nixt day eftir prayeris or preching, *etc*.

Decimo quarto Augusti 1581


Comperit Hendry Balneffis and Margret Anderson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclaimit, for performance quhairof the said Hendry fund Oliver Pebilles caution, and the said Margret hes fund hir father caution under the pane of ten pundes everey ane of tham to the pure. Michelmes or thairby viii dayes eftir. (Mariit)

\(^85\) Torn.
Comperit Jhon Pett and Margie Brathly and desyrit thare bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Alexander Maxwell, and Androw Moncreif. (Mariit)

Ordanes to gif Jhon Boid xx s of the rediest he hes.⁸⁶

Ordanes Janet Scot to be present this day aucht dayes.

Ordanes to warne Hendry Lyes to be present this day aucht dayes befoir the assembly. (balyei)

_Vigesimo primo Augusti_ 1581


Comperit Thomas Anderson and Agnes Fleit and desyrit thair bannes of marige to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Thomas Anderson his father, for hir George Jhonston. Andersmes. ([ma]riit)⁸⁷


Comperit William Kynin and Margret Hynd and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hym Robert Chapman, for hir Robert Chapman. (Mareit)

Comperit Alexander Pyet and Helyne Duncan and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Patrik Anderson, for hir James Gill. Michelmes. (Mareit)

The elderis finding and persaving gret abuse to insew in contractis of mariage by the resorting and convening of mony pepil wyth thaes persones quha ar contractit, quhairthrow gret perturbation not only is fund in the assembly, but also in banketing thaes. Thairfoir the elderis has ordanit that the parties cum convoyit wyth six persones every ane of thame of the nerest of thare kyne⁸⁸ and no ma, and gif thay controvein the said act, the saides bannes and parties to be rejected. (Act of Mariage)

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⁸⁶ That is, of whatever penalty money the officer has handy.
⁸⁷ Torn.
⁸⁸ These six words were added later (in the margin, with a carrot in the text), further restricting the possibilities for the convoy. On the Reformed kirk's concern with matrimonial banqueting see _CP_, 211–212.
Ordanes David Carmichel to be warnit to this day aucht dayes to object aganes the witnes of Janet Gawry.

Quarto Septembris 1581

Ordanes Jeine Thorneton to be warnit de novo, because being warnit of before be the officer of the assembly comperit not bot disobeit.89

[128] Comperit Androw Melyne and Violet Macbaith and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hyme his father, caution for hir, hir father. Andersmes

Ordanes to gif Oliver Sinclair vi s viii d, ane puir burges of Renfow.90 (Synclair)

Ordanes to gif Thomas Williamson xviii d. (Williamson)

Undecimo Septembris
Presentes Dionyse Conqueror, William Fleming, Blais Colt, George Jhonston, Jhon Loury, Hendry Adamson, Robert Chapman

Comperit Jhon Cramby and Margery Maky and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit, caution for hyme his father, for hir hir father. Terme Martynmes. (Mariit)

Ordanes to warne Margret Gibson to compeir this day aucht dayes before the assembly.

Ordanes the taxismen of the burial to be warnit to remove from the occupying of the said burial in all tyme cuming according to the ordor.91

89 See below, 11 Sept. and 5, 20 and 27 Nov. 1581, for more on the charge of slander or flyting here initiated against the wife of the erstwhile elder, Oliver Peblis, at this time a bailie. Thornton would later be charged with adultery: see Introduction, 'Sexuality', for full discussion of both cases.

90 Charity to an individual of another parish is extremely unusual.

91 See above, 20 Dec. 1580, 13 and 21 Feb. 1581, 1 and 17 Apr. 1581. The men who had held and profited from Greyfriars lands were obviously most reluctant to move themselves and/or their tenants and lose the income from the land in order to turn it over to the kirk as a graveyard.
The gretest part of assembly present ordanis Gene Thornetone to be warnit this day acht dayis to heir witnes ressavit, sworne and admittit.

Comperit William Cunnynghame and Janet Baxter and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hym, Patrik Fleck, and for hir also. Terme Mertynmes. (Mariit)

Comperit Thomas Buriell and confessit his fornication wyth Agnes Thomson and submittit hym to the discypyle of the kyrk thairfore, for performance quhairof he is ordanit to pass to the ward.

Ordanes Robert Anderson, Dionyse Conqueror, George Jhonston, and Blais Colt to be heareris of the master of hospitalles comptis upone Thursday nixt.

[129] Decimo octavo Septembris 1581
Presentes: Robert Anderson, Patrik Ingles, Dionyse Conqueror, Blais Colt, George Jhonston, Robert Chapman, Jhon Davidson

Comperit Richart Ruthven and Margret Ronaldson and desyrit thare bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for him Hendry Lyes, caution for hir Jhon Adam. Terme upone Sonday cum fyveten dyes. (Mariit)

Ordanes the balyeis to remove Margret Gibson frome the house of the burial.

Ordanes the act of sclander be put in execution aganes David Carmichell in the action of slander pursewit be Janet Gowry.

Ordanes Jhon Row minister of Forgowndyny to produce the gift of the hospital of Perth to the counsal this day aucht dayes, and to ressave ane discharge thareof frome the counsail, that it may be put up in the commone place to be resavit.

92 This is an unusual formulation and suggests a split vote – not unexpected in this case, since Jean Thornton was the wife of a former elder – Oliver Peblis (married 8 Oct 1564, according to the parish register, NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1, n.f.) and would later prove to be the lover of another – Henry Adamson, present on this date and presumably dissenting from her prosecution. For the adultery case, see Introduction, ‘Sexuality’. Thornton would be convicted of flyting on 20 Nov. 1581. Depositions of the witnesses indicated here unfortunately do not appear in the session minutes.

93 Gibson was one of the tenants unwilling to move from a building now to be razed to create the graveyard.

94 Forgandenny, whose minister was the nephew of Perth’s late minister of that name and would be succeeded in 1589 by the Perth Row’s eldest son, William (Fasti iv, 209).
Ordanes James Sym to gif vi s viii d to ane puir barne callit [ ] in respect of this present necessity.

*Vigesimo quinto Septembris 1581*


Comperit Thomas Cramby and Violet Henderson and desyrit thare bannes of mariage to be proclamit according to the order. Caution for you⁹⁵ baith Hendry Elder. Terme Martymes. (Mariit)

[130] Ordanis the masteres of hospital to give in his comptes to the four above notat⁹⁶ the morne eftir the prayeris and to report thair answer to the kyrk betuix this and Thursday.

Ordanis to gif Violet Gelles xviii d

*Octavo Octobris 1581*

The haill elders and minister being present hes chosin thir persones for to be elderis for this present yeir⁹⁷

In the north syd of the North Gait Androw Donaldson, Jhon Murray, Jhon Wenton

In the south syd of the Hy Gait, Duncan Macgregor, Androw Malcom, David Forbes

In the Wattergait, and benethe the Croce Androw Moncreif, Adam Anderson, and William Anderson

In the South Gait Duncan Robertson, Jhon Smyth, David Maky

**Decanes**

In the north syd of the North Gait

James Sym, Ewn Burry,²⁸ Jhon Broun

The south syd

Androw Rynd, William Stevison, Jhon Wrycht

Beneth the croce

Jhon Ronaldson, Jhon Gib, James Mar

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⁹⁵ The pronoun, doubtless inadvertent, gives us a glimpse of the clerk sitting in the meeting facing the couple, and slipping here into a conversational style to address them in writing as in speech.

⁹⁶ 11 Sept., listing as hearers of the hospital accounts Robert Anderson, Dionysius Conqueror, George Jhonston, and Blaise Colt.

⁹⁷ All but one of the elders (Murray) had served before. See Appendix I.

⁹⁸ Burry's name is inserted in the margin; James Murray's name is crossed out of the list.
South Gait
Androw Blythman, Laury Wilson, Jhon Smyth maltman

Decimo sexto Octobris
Comperit Laurence Richartson and Cristan Caldstrem and desyrit thare bannis to be proclamit. For performance quhailrof betuix [today]\(^99\) and Anderisms he hes fund John Macray, and for hir Ewyn Rynd, ilk person under the payn of x £.

[131] Comperit Robert Lamb in the parochyn of Kynnoull and Cristan Young and desyrit their bannis to be proclamit, for performance quharrof betuix and Anderisms the man hes fund John Saydlar caution, and the woman Robert Dyn, ilk person under the payn of x £.

Vigesimo tertio Octobris 1581
Comperit Robert Duncan in Sanctmadois\(^100\) and Cristan Gardner and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hym Jhon Hunter and Nicol Scot, caution for hir Patrik Ingles. Terme Andersmes. xl s. (Mariit)

Quinto Novembris 1581

Ordanes all actis of befoir maid to be ratifiet baith concerning the glory of god and settingfordward of gud disciplyne wythin his kyrk.

Comperit Isobel Hynd and confessit hir fornication wyth James Eilson and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhailrof scho is comandit to the touboth.

The assembly ordanes sundry housholders in quhais house ane vitious persone is deprehendit eftir admonition be the officer given to hir to present the said person unto the kyrk under the pane of xiii s iii d. (Act nota)

Ordanes Oliver Pebilles to compeir this day aucht dayis to hier his appellation admittit according to the act of the General Assembly in their action of his wyffis scander.\(^101\)

\(^99\) Omitted.
\(^100\) The parish of St Madoes.
\(^101\) There is no reference to Thornton in the published records of the Assembly for 1581 (iii, 473–547). Peblis may have attempted to appeal the prosecution of his wife to a higher
Duodecimo Novembris 1581

Presents omnes exempto David Macky

Comperit Laurence Wilson and Cristan Chalmer and desyrit thair bannaes of mariaige to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Alexander Wilson, for hir hir father. Terme Fastrownseven. (Mariit)

Comperit Jhon Elder and Janet Wass and desyrit thare bannaes of mariaige to be proclamit. Caution for hyme James Drummond, for hyr Jhon Richartson, wythin ane moneth. (Mariit)

Comperit Beatrix Archibald and confessit hir fornication wyth Andrew Wrycht and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir. 2 c

Comperit Andrew Wrycht and confessit his fornication wyth Beatrix Archibald and submittit hymne to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir. 2 c

Comperit Agnes Hillok and confessit hir fornication wyth Dionyse Blakcat for their thrid fault, and submittit hir to the disciplyne thairfoir. (quarta culpa)

Bot becaus scho has not ane hor to rakin to hir birth, thairfoir Alexander Maxton is become caution under the pane of x pundes to the puir that scho sall mak hir repentance immediady aftir hir delyverance. (Nota)

Vigesimo Novembris 1581


The minister and eldris above mentionit thinkes Maty Guttryis bill proven and the act of fly-

court on grounds of his own position in the community and as her husband, and as an elder in the kirk.

102 See 7 Mar. 1580, confession of their fornication.

103 The usual marginal code for culpa has now migrated to the text.

104 This obviously contradicts the third fault indicated in the text, but the marginal note is in another hand and may have been added later. The other scribal error is in his partner's name, Agnes rather than Violet Hillok. Blakcat's name also alternates with Blakwod in the record.

105 Her child's birth is imminent.

106 'Minister' is actually written in above the line, the scribe having neglected to include him first in the list as usual.
-ting to be put in execution aganis Genie Thornton as it hes bene ofbefoir aganes utheris in all poynis.\textsuperscript{107}

Comperit William Broun and Helyne Robertson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hym George Stobby, caution for hir Donald Fleming. Terme 25 December.

Comperit Jhon Merschell and Janet Dany and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit. Caution for hym Robert Douthe, for hir Jhon Henderson. Terme 25 Decembris 1581. (Mariit)

Ordanis all possessores of alteregis to put up thair lyttis in the kyrk, and to put upone the Sunday ane tua-penny candel, and the balyeis to command this to be done by sound of bell through the toun under the pane of not ansuering of thair annuelles.\textsuperscript{108}

\textit{Vigesimo septimo Novembris 1581}

Presentes the minister, David Forbes, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Robertson, Adam Anderson, Duncan Macgregor, William Anderson, Robert Anderson, bailyei Oliver Pebilles.

Comperit Dionyse Blakcat and confessit his fornication wyth Agnes Hillok and submittit hyme to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof he is commandit to the touboth. (2 culpa)

Comperit the balyeis and promisit to put Genie Thorntonetones act in execu-
tion aganes hir, upone the quhilk Oliver Pebilles tuk ane act and protestit that gif he be hurt be tham for remeid.\textsuperscript{109}

[134] Comperit Agnes Boy and confessit hir fornication wyth Adam Reid and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk for the third fault, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the touboth.

\textit{Quarto Decembris 1581}

Ordanes baith the half merk peices to be given to the puir.

\textsuperscript{107} See 18 Mar. 1583 for another incident of Thornton slandering Guthrie.

\textsuperscript{108} The penalty for not producing candles would be the same as that prescribed for failing to pay annuals to the hospital.

\textsuperscript{109} Peblis' reputation will certainly suffer from the attention drawn to his wife's flyting; his 'act' is a formal complaint about the prosecution and a warning that he may attempt legal action against the bailies ('remedy') for the 'hurt' he may sustain by the process.
Ordanis George Laurestone to present his woman this day acht dayes.

Comperit Alexander Ronaldson and confessit he was in the fault of not performing the mariage wyth Cristain Watson befoir the day appoyntit, upone the quhilk he is put in the bailyeis handis for the said x £ and thairfoir is put in ward.

Comperit Duncan Macgregor and promisit to gif x £ in the kyrkis hand for the caus forsaid to be distributit at the kyrkis pleasor. And the said Alexander hes promisit to performe the mariage betuix this and Kandilsmes, and for this caus hes fund Jhon Donaldson caution under the pane of x £.

Ordanes the minister, Oliver Pebillis and Androw Donaldson to speik the pryor how sone he cummis to this toun.

Ordanes to gif William Ramsay  xiii s iii d.
Ordanes to gif Violet Colyne  vi s viii d
Ordanes to gif Violet Gedes  xx s
Ordanes to gif William Jakis wif  xx s

[135] Undecimo Decembris 1581

Comperit Oliver Rettray and Elspet Suttor and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Patrik Justice, caution for hir Patrik Justice also. Walter to releif hyme for hir. Terme this day twenty dayes. (Mariit)

Comperit Jhon Finlason and Margery Watson and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hime Jhon Adam, for hir Mathow Chappe. Terme this day twenty dayes. (Mariit)

Ordanes Cristan Steill to be put in the ward for hir offence of fornication pro secundo, and Androw Brown to be put in the toubboth how sone he can be apprehendit.

Ordanes James Smyth and Duncan Robertson to pass to the balyeis in tyme of judgement, and desyr ane decreit of removing aganes the hussy of the burial and taxmen.

110 His servant.
111 Housewife. This is probably Margaret Gibson, the woman who refused to move out of her house on the new burial ground (See 18 Sept. 1581).
Comperit George Lamestone and promisit to gif xiii s iii d for his woman Janet Willmont. (xiiiis iii d)

\textit{Decimo octavo Decembris 1581}


[136] Comperit James Lamert and Margret Tyry and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hym Alexander Farguson, for hir Thomas Livingston, etc. Terme [ ] (Mariit)

The assembly of the kyrk ordanis ane supplication to be maid and directid to the counsail concerning appoynting of ane kyrkmaster to be joynit to [An] drow Blythman for purging of the kyrk of all kynd of tymmer,\textsuperscript{112} as speris and sik uther portabil thinges, for appoynting and making ane place quhair the barnes of school sail sit, and for appoynting of places to sik as upone thair awn expenses wald build seittis to thame selffis and schortly to ordor the kyrk in all thingis as efferis. (Act for kyrkmasteris)

Ordanes the balyeis to purge the kyrk of all kynd of materialles that are portabil.

Ordanes Androw Brown to produce ane testimonial of his repentance for the secund fault this day aucht dayes.

Comperit Agnes Thomson and confessit hir fornication for the fourt fault wyt Thomas Burrell and submittit hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for the quhilk scho is commandit to the touboth.

\textit{Vigesimo v Decembris anno 1581}\textsuperscript{113}

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris presentlie convenit considering the idolatrus pastyme of sundrie insolent young men in playing of Stobertis play to the gret greif of the conscience of the faithful, and infamous sklander of the hail congregation throughout the hail cuntre, hes ordenit for present punishmment of the same

\textsuperscript{112} People are storing wood and wooden objects in the kirk.

\textsuperscript{113} The hand again changes here.
[137] and siclyk idolatur pastyme in tymes cumming, that Walter Gaw,\textsuperscript{114} Henrie Hall, Jhon Martyn, James Fargison, Robert Farge, Andro Carmichell, Robert Toddy, William Mortymar, Patrik Hendry\textsuperscript{115} with all the rest, and to be put in ward, therin to remaine unreleisit quhill everie ane of thame haif payit xx s to the puire. Farder to put thame selfes in the seat of repentance, thair to remaine the sabbath day in tyme of sermond. And attoure\textsuperscript{116} to find cation under the paine of x £ and dubling of the formair punishment so oft as ever thei offend therein, never to do the lyk in tyme cumming. And gif ony of the foresaidis be not responsible for the twentie shillingis, to stand in the irinnis on the cross heid twa houras on ane market day for that part. And this act to be extendit upon all siclyk idolatries players and observers of siclyk superstitious dayis in tymes to cum without exception. (Act aganis Sanctobertis mes. Sen the entres of Mr William Cok to be scribe to the assemblie this was the first act.)\textsuperscript{117}

Comperit Marjorie Chreichton and confesses hir to be with barne to Andro Lurrie gottin in fornication at Midsumer in Junii anno 1581, and this to be hir secund fait. And becaus it was alledgit that the said Andro denyit the bairin, scho is ordanit to compeir on this day aucht dayis and the said Andro lykwayis face to face to verafie the same. Cation for the womanis comperrance under the paine of x £ is Alexander Dundie, hir maister for the present.

Comperit lykwayis Janet Willimont and confessit hir fornication committit with William Scharp, wobstair, for the quhilk scho submites hir to the discipline of the kirk usit aganis fornicatouris of the first fait.

Ordainis James Sym to gif to Helen Randell vi s.

\textsuperscript{114} The surname is badly faded, but is probably Gaw or Gall.
\textsuperscript{115} Toddy, Mortimer and Hendry's names are added in the margin, with a carrot to their place in the list. For satisfaction of the kirk's penalty by six of the offenders, see 22 Jan. 1582.
\textsuperscript{116} Afterward.
\textsuperscript{117} The parenthetical portion is in the margin on p. 136.
Primo Januarii anno 1582

[137 (continued)] Presentes Jhon Murray, Andro Donaldson, David Forbes, David Makkie, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Robertson, Duncan Makgregor, Adam Anderson, William Anderson

Qhilk day comperit Mr William Admestone and Katherein Rynd and desyrit their bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Cation for him Olipher Peblis, for hir Jhon Peblis. Terme Fasterand Even. (Mariit)

[138] Comperit Andro Brown and Christan Steill and desyris thair bannes to be proclaimed, and because the said Andro was accused of dubil fornication comittit with the said women [sic] befoir the upgifing of their bannes, the said Andro hes offerit to produce a testimonial fra Mr Thomas Macgibbon, minister of Monydie1 of his repentance performit in the paroche kirk of Monydie betuix the deat of this and the day of his marriage, qhilk is Candilmes, under the paine of twentie pund usual money in this realme, and for certification of the promissis performinge Jhon Peblis offerit him self willinglie cation.

Comperit Alexander Chalmer quha being accusit of fornication committit with the woman that is in his house, denyis the same declaring he hed never to do with hir sen scho buir him the bairne. Notthele the kirk ordanis him to remoife hir to avoid all suspition, assuring him that gif he be fund with hir in tymes cumming that his fact salbe haldin as confessit fornication, and he promeist according to the act maid aganis fornicatoris. (Alexander Chalmer)

Ordanis Olipher Peblis bailye and kirkmaister to sie at the deaconis of craftis gif they will build seattis to them selffes in the kirk or ellis to assure them that he sall gif licence to uther honest men to do the same. (Kirkmaister)2

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1 The minister of Moneydie from 1567 to 1596 was Thomas Robertson alias MacGibbon. He also had the parish of Auchtergaven in charge from 1574. Fasti iv, 224.

2 This is the first reference to a kirkmaster in the volume. A man to be in charge of the physical fabric of the kirk would be the more necessary at this point, when the building of pews and galleries within the building, mostly by guilds, became fashionable. There is no record of Peblis' election to the office; one wonders whether he might have been appointed by his friends on the session to buoy up a flagging reputation during his time of trouble. A second kirkmaster, the deacon Andro Blythman, is mentioned 19 Feb. 1582, so it may be that a division of labour gave Peblis responsibility for the erection of seats.
Octavo Januarii 1582

Ordanes the balyes to charge Jhon Row to delyver the Kyngis gift to the masteres of the hospital for the use of the puir, and the said Jhon to get ane act of the balyeis upone the ressait thereof.

Ordanes the balyeis to charge the young woman of the burial befoir tham upon Fryday to be removit.³

The assembly of the kyrk wyth consent and assent of the balyeis hes grantit to Mr James Literis to resort towar Erroll upon the Sonday and keip his office in the rest of the oulk till ane moneth, and than to gif his resolut answer to the kyrk quhidder he will byd or remove, quhilk he promisis to do.

[139] Ordanes to gif James Rynd xx s
Ordanes to gif Thomas Jakson vi s viii d
Ordanes to gif Jhon Rettrayes wyf v s
Ordanes to gif Andrew Jakis wyf v s

Decimo quinto Januarii

Presentes: minister, Jhon Murray, Andrew Moncreif, Andrew Donaldson, David Maky, Duncan Macgregor, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Robertson, David Forbes, William Anderson.

Ordanis Dionye Blakwod to be put in the tollboth for disobedience, being warnit to compeir and comperit not.⁴

Comperit Robert Curry and Cristan Scharp and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Patrik Ray, caution for hir Patrik Ingles. Terme Pascha. Thomas Man promises to releif his cautioner. (Mariit)

Comperit Robert Curry and Cristan Scharpe and confessit thair carnal deal mutually for the first fault and submittit thame to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir.

³ Presumably poor Margaret Gibson, still hanging onto her lodging. See 18 Sept. and 11 Dec. 1581, 5 Feb. and 3 Sept. 1582.
⁴ Blackwod is the same person as Dionysius Blakcat, fornicator with Violet Hillok: see above, 4 Jan., 1 Feb., 21 Mar. (his confession), 25 Apr., 14 Nov. 1580 (ordered to the tollbooth); 16 Jan. (threatened with excommunication), 21 Feb. (sent to irons and crosshead), 22 Nov. (when Hillok is about to give birth) 1581. For continuation of his troubles, involving both fornication and the St Obert’s Day celebration, see below: 15, 22, and 29 Jan., 5, 12, and 19 Feb., 12 Mar. (irons and crosshead again, now for ‘double fornication’), 14 May, 25 June, and 17 Sept. 1582; and 1 Apr. (banns with Chirsten Mitchell), 27 Aug. (delaying marriage), and 4 Nov. 1583.
Quhilk day comperit Androw Broun and producit an testimonial of his repentance and of the repentance of Cristan Steill, and in so doing he hes releivit his caution.\(^5\)

Ordanes the act of cohabitation to be put in execution aganes Androw Broun and Cristan Steill befoir thay get the benefit of mariage.

Ordanes Oliver Donaldson to be put in ward for disobedience, being warnit to compeir.

**Vigesimo 2 Januarii 1582**

*Presentes*: the minister, Jhon Murray, Androw Moncreif, Androw Donaldson, David Maky, Duncan Macgregor, Jhon Wenton, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Robertson, David Forbes, William Anderson.

Ordanes Dionyse Blakwod to be put in the touboth for disobedience pro 2.\(^6\)

[140] Ordanes Oliver Pebilles to be put in the touboth for disobedience pro 2.\(^7\)

Jhon Martyn, Robert Toddy, William Mortymar, Patrik Hendry, Robert Farge, and Ritchard Mason, playeres of St Obertis play, hes in all poyntis satisfiet the kyrk for the foirsaid superstitious pastyme and has promisit never to do the lyk.\(^8\)

**Vigesimo nono Januarii 1582**

*Presentes* the minister, Jhon Murray, Andro Donaldson, Jhon Smyth, David Maky, Duncan Macgregor, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Robertson, David Forbes, William Anderson.

Forasmekil as Dionyse Blakwood being oft and diverse tymes chargit to satisfy the will of the kyrk was disobedient and thairfoir was given over in the balyeis handes to tak ordor wyth hyme for his disobedience, nottheles the balyeis ar altogether slouthful and negligent and will not tak ordor thair-

\(^5\) Broun has done what he was supposed to do, so his caution need no longer be held responsible to pay a fine on his behalf. See 19 June and 11 Dec. 1581.

\(^6\) *Pro secundo*, for the second time.

\(^7\) Unfortunately, we are given no indication of what Peblis' offence was, or if this is the same Oliver Peblis as the bailie and kirkmaster.

\(^8\) See 25 Dec. 1581. Richard Mason was not named there and was presumably among ‘all the rest’.
wyth, and thairfor ordanis the Minister to give the said Dionise admonisition [sic] for his disobedience.9

Forasmekill as Oliver Donaldson is convict to be the father of Janet Macaranes barne, thairsoir the elderis ordanes the said Oliver to pay for this yeiris sustentation of the barne foure pundes beginning at Candilsmes nixt, and that the said Oliver find us caution this day aucht dayis.

Ordanes the same act to be usit aganes Sanctobertis men quhilk is maid aganes Dionise Blakwod.

Comperit Androw Burry and confessit his carnel deal wyth Margery Chreichton this tyme Holinome, that is at Candilsmes last bypass.10

Ordanes Margery Chreichton to be warnit to this day aucht dayis and in lykmanner ordanes Andro Burry to be present this day aucht dayes.

[141] Comperit David Scharpe and Elspet Androw and desyrit thair bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme James Gill, caution for hir Dionise Conqueror. Terme Fastrownseven. (Mariit)

Ordanes Patrik Jakson and Janet Imry fornicatrix to be warnit to this day aucht dayes.

Quento Februarii 1582


Ordanes the ordinance of befoir mentionat towart Dionyse Blakwod and Sanctobertis men.

Forasmikill as Alexander Gibson brother to Maig Gibson comperit befoir the assembly and declarit that he promisit to Andro Donaldson that he suld remove his sister at Martynmes last bypass out of the burial, upone the quhilk it is ordanit that scho be remotit, unto the quhilk the balyeis hes aggreit in respect of the kyrkis ordinance.

Forther the said Alexander Gibson said opinly that he suld lat the assembly understand quha buildit the burial house in the burial.11

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9 See 15 Jan. 1582 for the history of this case.
10 Holy Name Day is January 3 (or 2, before calendar reform); Candlemas, or the Feast of the Purification, is February 2.
11 'Kyrkyard' is crossed out and replaced with 'burial' at the end of the sentence. 'Kirkyard' would refer to the old graveyard around the parish church; 'burial' refers to the new town
Comperit George Jhonston and promisit to prepair the house appoyntit for vitiuous persones aganis this day aucht dayes under the pane of admitting of all his expensis quhilk he hes usit in tymes bypast.\textsuperscript{12}

Ordanes Dionyse Blakwod to enter in ward till Thursday cum aucht dayes and thaireftir to cum to the place of repentance.

Ordanes Alexander Dundis wyf to be heir this day aucht dayes and ordanes Andro Burry and Margery Chreichton to be present lykways apud acta.

\textit{Duodecimo Februarii anno 1582}


Quhilk day forsamekle as the deacon of the wryhttis compering befoir the assembly did earnestlie requyre in name of the haill brother of his craft that place in the kirk quhilk was assignit to them befoir betuix the twa pilleris nixt the pulpit on the northesyd of the kirk.\textsuperscript{14} The minister and eldars allowing thair god zeale and gudwill to help to decoir\textsuperscript{15} the house of god grantis to them leife to big seattis\textsuperscript{16} in that same place to thair awin ease to be proper to\textsuperscript{17} thame in all tymes cumming. Provyding allways that the seattis buyldit be tham be decent, cummlie and honorable at the sicht of the minister and the kirkmaister as aucht to be in the kirk of God, and that betuix this and Palmesunday nixttocum under the paine of tinsell\textsuperscript{18} of the place foirsaid and paying of x \textit{\pounds} to the kirkmaister to help to apparell graveyard in the precincts of the former Greyfriars, where Margaret (Maige) Gibson is still living in a house or hovel. Her brother may be reminding the session of his family's past patronage of a building in Greyffiars as a claim on space there for Margaret. The session would finally address the problem by prosecuting her for sexual offences and warding her – for adultery (22 Mar.), harlotry and the secret burial of unbaptised infants presumably born as a result (12 Nov. 1582), and fornication (15 Jan. 1583). Her longsuffering brother would be elected elder 4 Oct. 1583.

\textsuperscript{12} In other words, if he wishes to be reimbursed for what he has already spent, he had best finish the job. 'Vicious' here means convicted of some sort of vice or moral failure; the session seems to have commissioned a ward of its own.

\textsuperscript{13} The hand changes here, and with it, spelling and some record-keeping conventions.

\textsuperscript{14} This reference reminds us that at the Reformation the orientation of the kirk shifted from eastward or altarwise to focus on the long north wall where the elevated pulpit was now placed.

\textsuperscript{15} Decorate.

\textsuperscript{16} To build pews.

\textsuperscript{17} Exclusively occupied by.

\textsuperscript{18} Loss, forfeiture.
the kirk as becamis, and that thay be buyldit of new timmer, and that na auld daskis be brokin for reparation of the samyn. (The wryttes licence of their seat)

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris finding it convenient and aggreable to gud reason that the kirk quhilk is goddis house suld be decentlie reparation, and that sundrie honest men war willing for thair awin part to help the samyn, hes constitute Oliver Peblis bailye kirkmaister for this year, that all seattis maid or to be maid in the kirk be maid and reparit with his advyse. And be him places to be assignit to honest men that ar desyrus to big seattis, that efter leiffe askit and gevin thay may proceid. And mairover because the craftis ar desyrus to haiffe places of auld assignit to thame now of new to be appropriat to thame, the assemble granttis the samyn, provyding alwayis that the said Oliver advertiese every deacon to decoir the place assignit to him and his craft with honest seattis befoir Palmesunday nixtocum, certifiing thame giffe thay do it not befoir that day, all proprieties of places that thay can crave heirafter salbe null. And at the sicht of the kirkmaister libertie salbe grantit to ony man to decoire with seat or seattis the samyn. (The kirkmaisteris powar)

Comperit Alexander Dundes wyf and confesses that Andro Burrie came to ther house and drank a quart ail and fallowit hir servant woman being to the chalmer quha was going to do hir service, and lokit the dor upon him and hir, quhilk was done about Lambes according to hir servanttis confession.

Comperis David Gib and Margret Preis and desyris thair bannis to be proclaimed. And for fulfilling of thair mariage under the paine of x £ cation for him is Patrik Tully, [143] for hir Henrie Eldar. Terme the first Sunday of Lent. (Mariit)

19 Timber.
20 A 'desk' was generally a seat with a lectern.
21 They sought to construct their seats in the spaces previously assigned to them, presumably near the sites of their pre-Reformation altars.
22 Crave, request.
23 The 'decoir' always included the arms and emblems of the guild, and access to the seat was strictly limited to guildsmen, generally masters. On the construction of pews and galleries in the kirks of all Scottish towns of any size after the Reformation, see CP, 318–26. NLS ms 19239, the Perth Hammermen's Book, reveals that by 23 May 1589 at least, a 'gate penny' was collected by the guildsman who guarded the entry to that guild's seat. See below, 12 Feb. 1582, for the wrights' petition to construct their pew between two pillars near the pulpit.
24 Dundie's wife, as mistress of the household, was held to bear some responsibility for her servant's misbehaviour.
Compeiris lykwayis Jhon Garvy and Violet Richie and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit, and for performing of the mariage under the paine of ten pund he hes fund Blease Colt cation for him, and for hir is hir father James Robertson. Terme the Rud Day (Mariit)

Quhilk day also Jhon Salmond being in Dumbartan cam frome Leithbrunsin and mynding to go to France with his merchandries befoir his hamecumming, hes send to be distributit to the poore xxviii s, quhilk was collectit in the schip quharintill he was. (schipsylver)

Ordanis the fornication and inobedience of Sylvester Chapman to be menit to the presbiterie on Wednisday nixt.

Ordanis Patrik Jakson to be put in ward for his disobedience.

Ordanis the ordinance concerning Dionise Blackat and Sanctobertis men to be ratifiet, that is thay be wardit quhill thay obey the injunctionnis of the kirk.

Ordanis the woman of the burial to be removit and gife sche will mene her to the assemble they will help hir house meile.

Ordanis Androw Burry his party and the woman in the Meal Vennal suspect of witchcraft to be warnit againe this day aught dayis.

Decimo nono Februarii 1582

Presentes: the Minister, Jhon Murray, Andro Moncreif, Andro Donaldson, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Macgregor, Adam Anderson, Duncan Robertson wyth Henry Lyes balyei, Robert Anderson and Oliver Pebilles.

Ordanes to remember the disobedience of Silvester Chapman to the brethren of the brethren of the [sic] exerceis.
Ordanes Patrik Jakson to be put in ward for his disobedience.

Continewes the formar act concerning Dionysius Blakwod\textsuperscript{32} to be put in execution.

Comperit Walter Fildy and being convict of suffering laidis\textsuperscript{33} to cum in and out upon the sabbeth day promisit faithfully to keep it diligently in tyme cumming under the paine of ejecting hym furth of his office, and that by his awin consent.

Comperit Androw Colt and being convict of suffering laides to go in and out upone the sabbeth day promises to keep it straitly\textsuperscript{34} in tyme cumming under the pane of ejecting of hyme of his office, and that wyth wyth [sic] his advyse and consent.

Ordanis that frome the ending of the third bell to the end of the sermond thair be [no]\textsuperscript{35} port of this burgh be opin, neyther gret nor small wicked\textsuperscript{36} and this act to be notifiet alsweill in pulpit as be the balyeis for the better observation heirof at the marcat croce and to thair officeris. (steikin of the portis\textsuperscript{37})

Comperit Androw Garvy and Violet Blak and desyrit thair bannes of marage to be proclamit. Caution for hyme Dionyse Conqueror, caution for hir William Robertson. Terme Witsonday.

Comperit Isobel Elgyn and confessit hir fornication wyth Walter Scot for the first fault, and submittis hir to the disciplyne of the kyrk thairfoir, for performance quhairof scho is commandit to the ward.

Comperit Androw Mersser and recordit faithfully that Dionise Blakwod is in the touboth conforme to the ordinance of the kyrk, and in so doing the said Androw Merser is relevit of his caution for hym.

Ordanes the reder togither wyth the balyeis and elderes to pass through the town this day aucth dayes for taking up of the names of the inhabitantis of this town and thairaftir to pass to examinationis.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{32} Again, the same person as Blakcat: see 15 Jan. 1582, note.

\textsuperscript{33} Loads. Fildy is one of the town's porters, or gatekeepers.

\textsuperscript{34} Stricly, diligendy.

\textsuperscript{35} An important but obvious omission.

\textsuperscript{36} Wicket, gate.

\textsuperscript{37} Locking of the gates. The bell was rung an hour and a half-hour before the beginning of the service, marked by the third ringing.

\textsuperscript{38} These are the catechetical and moral examinations required for admission to communio, conducted by the elders in their quarters.
Ordanes Andrew Burry to be warnit to this day aucht dayes.

Ordanes the balyeis to pund for all dewties awand Mr James Smyth in his annuells and obittes and James Sym in lykmanner to pay my laist term sen Martynmes and all uther thinges for my [145] service, and this act to have the strength of ane decreit.

Upon the xxi day of this instant of Februar anno1582, Maige Mertyn being put in the tower above the northe kirk dor for concealing and heiding of the veritie in the action of Macwalter being ane adulterar withe Maige Paterson as was alledgit befor Duncan Macgregor eldar for the present, Andro Bythman kirkmaister, and Jhon Ronaldson officer, sche deponis that Maige Paterson send hir about Macwalter to his owen house desyring hir to bring him to hir motheris house that the said Maige Paterson and he micht forgadder there, bot sche wald not, bot brought hir to the said Maigis fatheris house. And he being brought ther, etter that thai hed drukin out the ail that was left over Maigis fatheris super, then send hir about ane uther point, and scho being gain to the dor, Maige Paterson being nakit, hir father slepand, Macwalter with hir put out the candle that was licht and in the meane tyme scho hard the said Maige Paterson say to Macwalter that the morn they wald tholle mekle schame for the thing they war doand, and scho said that they suld thoill mekle schame for it on the morne. And in the mean tyme Macwalteris wyf cam, and quhen Maige Paterson saw hir scho put Macwalter up a trap till a loft, and his wyf perceaving that traillit him down the trape and fell to the said Maige and raif her face and hir luggis, and so thay was sik tumult amangst them that Alexander Mayis wyf heiring it cam furthe with hir maden, and Henre with a crusie in his hand to sie the mater.

39 The bailies are authorized to impose fines for payments in arrears owed to Smyth by those who now control the rents previously paid for memorial masses for the dead.
40 Smyth, the clerk, shifts to the first person in this entry about his own back pay.
41 In this entry the name is clearly written McWalter, but since the name is later spelled Makwalter (e.g., 12 Mar. 1582), and for the sake of consistency in editorial treatment of the 'Me' as an abbreviation, the more usual convention of 'Mac' followed by lower case is here imposed.
42 Blythman, a former Carthusian, was also elected deacon every year from 1578 to 1583; for a bequest to the poor left at his death, see 6 Sept. 1585.
43 Referring to Maige Mertyn.
44 Pint of.
45 Having gone.
46 Tholle (or thoill) means to suffer or endure.
47 Scratched.
48 Ears.
49 Lamp.
Vigesimo sexto Februarioi ad 50 1582


Ordante James Sym to mak a buik for baptism and the departit51 of vii quair of paper and delyver it to the readar Mr William Cok.52

Ordante Robert Stanis to be put in ward for disobedience and lykwayis Petir Jakson, suspect of fornication.

[146] v Martii anno 1582

The ordor taken be the minister and eldaris for the communion
For keiping of the southe kirk dor Oliver Peblis [and] Robert Anderson, bailyes, and Andro Donalson, eldar
For receaving of the almous and takynis Andro Blythman and Andro Gib, deaconis
For keiping of the north quyer dor Henrie Lyes, bailye, and William Anderson, eldar
For keiping of the southe quyer dor Androw Moncreif [and] David Mackie, eldaris, and William Flemyng, bailye
For keiping of the wicket behind the auld pulpit Duncan Makgregor [and] Duncan Robertson, eldaris, and William Ross, officer
To convoy the braid throuche the tabillis David Forbes and Jhon Smyth, eldaris
To convoy the wyn throuche the tabillis James Sym, James Mar, David Wrycht, Andro Rynd, deaconis
To convoy the wyn fra the revestre William Stevison, Ewin Burrie
To prepair bread Robert Rynd
To gather the almous at the northe kirk dor Laurence Wilson and Jhon Brown, deaconis
To prepair the tabillis, naprie and cuppis the thesaurer
The first bell on the Sondays in the morning to be roung at four houris, the secund at half hour to fyve, and the last at fyve.
To the secund ministration and service, the first bell to be roung at halfhour to nyn, the secund at nyn, the thrid at halfhour to ten.53

Qhilk day lyway the minister, Andro Moncreif, Andro Donaldson, David

50 For anno domini.
51 This volume of the register of births and deaths is no longer extant. NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1 ends Feb. 1582, and the next surviving volume begins December 1614.
52 Who would later abscond with it: see 14 Mar. 1586.
53 This arrangement for communion services was typical of burgh parishes: CP, ch. 2.
Forbes, David Makie, Jhon Smyth, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Makgregor and Duncan Robertson, elders being convenit, compeiris Petir Jakson and Janet Jurie desyring ther bannis to be proclamit, and befoir it was grantit confess ther fornication mutual,\textsuperscript{54} for the quhilk the[y] submittit them to the discipline of the kirk and findis Jhon Robertson cation to satisfie first for ther fornication bypast,

\[147\] secundlie for performing of ther mariage, thridlie for abstening fra the haufing of carnal deal with [each] uther befoir ther mariage. And for the releif of the said Jhon, Stevin Fyfhes oblissit him self. Terme xx dayis efter Paice.\textsuperscript{55}

Compeiris William Gibson, portar at the South Inch port, and according to the ordinance of the kirk oblisses him self under the paine of tinsell of his office to steik the gret yeat\textsuperscript{56} of the port all day everie Sunday and in tyme of sermond to steik the hail port wicket and all and to delyver the keyis to the bailyeis, providing that gif ony gentilmen on horse bak cumming to this town be at the port, that it salbe lisom to him to lat him in.\textsuperscript{57}

\textit{Duodecimo Martii anno 1582}

\textit{Presentes:} minister, Andro Donaldson, David Forbes, Duncan Makgregor, Duncan Robertson, Andro Moncreif.

Quhilk day comperit Maige Mertyn and ratifiet hir confession (maid on the xxii day of Februar anno 1582 in the towr above the northe kirk dor)\textsuperscript{58} of new befoir the minister and elders concerning the aledgit adulterie betuix Jhon Makwalter and Maige Paterson. (About Macwalter)

Compeiris Margret Pullor and confessis hir fornication with James Wondram, servant to Maister Olliver Cok, advocat in Edinburgh, and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk for the same, and heirfoir is ordenit to be put in ward and punischeit according to the act maid agains fornicators of the first fait. (Satisfiit James Wonram)\textsuperscript{59}

Comperis Bessie Glass, spouse to William Duncan, and being accusit first of ignorance of the principallis in religion and heirfoir thought on wordie\textsuperscript{60} to

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\textsuperscript{54} It is unclear what sort of fornication would not be mutual.

\textsuperscript{55} Pasch, Easter.

\textsuperscript{56} Yett, gate.

\textsuperscript{57} He will be allowed to let a gentleman enter. It would, indeed, be unreasonable of the session to require a mere porter to challenge the social hierarchy by attempting to forbid entry to lairds or lords. Their own tendency was to refer offences by nobility to the presbytery.

\textsuperscript{58} This is a unique use of parentheses by the clerk.

\textsuperscript{59} Wonram has already satisfied the discipline of the kirk, probably in Edinburgh.

\textsuperscript{60} Unworthy.
be admittit to the supper of the Lord, secundlie for not frequenting the kirk on the sabbathe day, thridly for resorting to common tavurnis and filthie speiking befoir all kyndis of men in the same and sa to be a publict sclander to the hail town. Heirfoir first it is ordenit that sche be every day ane hour befoir nun heiring the examination publict in the kirk in the rudimenttis of religion and so to learn,61 secundly to be every sabbathe day twyse in the day to heir the preitsching, thridly that sche never be fund in a common tavurn ather dansching or speaking filthie and sclandrous talk under the paine of publict repentance on the seat for the first falt, secundly that gif sche be fund doand so to pay xx s to the poor, to be ane hour in the irnis on the crosshead on ane market day, and to be on the publict stull of repentance and ay sa oft as sche dois the lyk the paine to be dublit, and in the meantyme to find cation to fulfill the premisses. (About William Duncanes wyf)

[148] Comperis William Tyrie youngar and offeris him self cation for the relief of Bessie Glass out of ward for fulfilling of the premisses contenit in the foirsaid act, or ellis sa aft as sche beis fund culpable in ony of the foirsaid pointtis of the ordinance maid agains hir to present hir to the kirk under the paine of x lib to the poor ay and quhill he be delyverit of his cationarrie. Providing always that the said William Duncan be his releif according as he hes offerrit, and upon his offer sche is lattin out of ward.

Ordanis Dyonise Blakat with expedition to be put on crosshead the nixt market day, ther to stand four houris lockit in the irnis for his duble fornica- tion, and therafter to be presentit to the kirk. And this ordinance to be gisit to the bailye of his awin quarter to be put to execution, and he refusand to execut the same, it is ordenit to be delyverit to Olipher Peblis, bailye.62

Qhillk day Andro Gelletly gisand in ane complaint of Jhon Pett and his wyf for sclander committit be thame, the parties being finallie agreit. And because it was fund speciallie committit be the said Andro Gellettlyis and Jhon Pettis wyfes, it is ordanit that qhillk of them twa brak the freindschip maid betuix tham be the minister and eldaris convenit for the tym,63 that the act of flytarris be duble execut upon the brekares of the same. (Tuitsching Andro Gelletlieis and Jhon Pettis wyfes)

61 Here is evidence of daily public examination on the catechism.
62 The bailye of his quarter may be a friend of Blakat; still, his refusal to carry out the session order — and the elders' tolerance of his disobedience in this case — is remarkable. On other occasions they threatened disobedient baihes with displine: 29 Jan. 1582, 30 Aug. 1585. For the history of Blackat/Blackwood's case, see 15 Jan. 1582, note.
63 A subsection of the session convened to arbiter the quarrel.
Decimo nono Martii anno 1582

Presentes: minister, Jhon Murray, Andro Moncreif, Andro Donaldson, David Forbes, David Maky, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Robertson, Duncan Makgregor.

Comperis Robert Grant and Bessie Maky and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit, and for performing of thair mariage for him Patrik Grant is cation, for hir Jhon Smyth in the Kirkgait. Terme Midsummer. (Mariit)

Quhilk day it was ordanit that they that ar not communicat and receavit not takins fra the minister, reader or eldaris to be warnit againe this day viii dayis be or on uther ordinarie dayis befoir the assemblies to schaw ane ressonable cause of thair absence and disobedience.

Ordanis the reader to produce the namis of theise personnis that hes bein fornicatoris or adulteraris that the assemblie may appoint with him for that casualitie apertening to the reader.64

Ordanis James Jhonston, Christen Williamson and Issobel Murray to be warnit againe this day aucht dayis.

Ordanis Andro Carmichell65 to be warnit againe Thursiday nixtocum efter the sermond.

Ordanis Andro Boy to present his injureis upon Thursiday nixt according to the ordinance.

[149] Ordanis Dyonise Blakwod and Violet Hillok to be warnit againe Thursiday nixtocum.

Ordains Jhon Row to be warnit to condiscend till put the act maid be the maister of schoole and reformit be the minister in the book of the assemblie againe Thursiday.

Ordains James Sym to gif Robert Neill x s.

Ordains James Sym to gif in his comptis againe this day viii dayis.

Vicesimo secundo Martii anno 1582

Quhilk day Dyonice Blakwod being present befoir the minister and eldaris

64 This is an effort to collect that portion of the offenders' fines that help to pay the reader's stipend.

65 One of the St Oberts players: see 25 Dec. 1581.
and accusit quhy he wald not heaf\textsuperscript{66} the bairn gottin in fornication with Violet Hillok denyit the same, yit notwithstanding his defencis being hard, the assemblie thought thame not relevant. And heisfoir the said Violet being sworn and deponing that in the getting of that bairn sche knew never ane bot Dyonice, the assemblie with ane voice concludis that the bairn is the said Dyonicis and burdinges him to present the chyld to baptisme and to sustein the same for his awin part. (Dyonice Blakwoddis act)\textsuperscript{67}

Ordains Andro Carmichell to be wardit for disobedience.

Quhilk day Alexander Gibson offerit him self cation for Maige Paterson being suspect of adulterie with Jhon Makwalter to enter the said Maige quharesoever the kirk desyrit under the paine of x \£, quhairupon sche was delyverit out of the towre above the northe kirk dor. (Twitching Maige Paterson suspect of adulterie with Jhon Macwalter)\textsuperscript{68}

\textit{Vicesimo sexto Martii anno 1582}

Absentes: Andro Moncreif, William Anderson

Compeiris James Blythe and Bessie Chrystie and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. And for performing of the marriage cation for him is Olipher Car, for hir Alexander Chalmer, quha confesses ther fornication and mutual copulation befoir the upgifing of ther bandis, and heisfoir submittis them to the discipline of the kirk. Terme xx dayis efter Paice. (Mariit)

Comperis William Darnie in the parochin of Collesie\textsuperscript{69} and Violet Muile in this paroche and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. And for the performing of the marriage cation for him is under the paine of x \£ George Boy, and for hir Jhon Wilson, baxtar. Terme Witsounday (Mariit)

Comperis James Jhonston and confesses his fornication with Cristen Williamson, for the quhilk he submittis him to the discipline of the kirk, and heisfoir he is ordenit to be put into the towre above the northe kirk dor. (Satisfiit)

[150] Ordanis Jhon Row to be warnit againe this day aucht dayis to appoint with the minister and eldaris about the act maid betuix tham and Mr Jhon Rowes bairne.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{66} Have, take custody of.
\textsuperscript{67} See 15 Jan. 1582, note.
\textsuperscript{68} See 5 Feb. 1582.
\textsuperscript{69} Collace.
\textsuperscript{70} The minister Jhon Row's dependents are trying to collect the assistance due them from the session after his death in 1580 (Fasti iv, 229). See below, 11 Feb. 1583.
Ordains Alexander Chalmer to be put in ward for disobedience.

Ordains James Sym to gif Nicol Ronaldson v s and his sone ane pair of schoone.
Ordains James Sym to gif Robert Neill x s.
Ordains James Sym to gif Walter Dik x s.
Ordains him to gif Helen Randill vi s viii d.
To gif George Menzeis iii s v iii d.

Secundo Apprilis anno 1582


Qhilk day compeiris Christen Williamson and confessis hir fornication with James Jhonston and heirsoir submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk, and alledgis that he maid ane promeis to hir of marriage in hir fatheris nether chalmer, at the quhilk tyme sche hed to do with him, for the quhilk falt sche is ordenit to be put in the towir above the northe kirk dore. (Christen Williamson)

Ordans to put Alexander Chalmer to put [sic] in ward for disobedience.

Ordains Andro Carmichell and Walter Jak to be put in ward for disobedience.

Compeiris Thomas Fargison and Agnes Scherair and desyrit their bannis to be proclamit. And for performing of ther mariage cation for him is David Duncan, for hir George Boy under the paine of x £. Terme Witsonnday. (Mariit)

Comperit Donald Flemyngis wyf and being accusit of Patrik Tully for scanderis speaking of him, sche denyis the contenttis of his bill.

Ordans to gif Jhon Ronaldson ii s of the x s of the fornicatoris. 71

xvi day of April anno 1582

Presentes: Andro Donaldson, Duncan Macgregor, Andro Malcum.

Qhilk day compeiris Robert Macbaith and Margret Huntar and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him is Robert Makbaith, for hir George Huntar. Terme Witsonday. (Mariit)

71 This would have provided a powerful incentive for the kirk officer to seek out fornicators.
Ordanis Christen Wishard [and] James Jhonston to be warnit againe the nixt day.\textsuperscript{72}

[151] Compeiris William Williamson and Masie Sym and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Alexander Williamson, for hir Robert Sym, under the paine of £x. Terme Midsummer (Mariit)

Ordanis Margret Watson to be warnit agane the nixt day.

Compeiris Andro Wrycht and Elspet Barber and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Robertson, for hir Jhon Davidson. Terme Midsummer (Mariit)

Comperis Jhon Brydie and offeris him cation for Andro Wrycht to satisfie the sume of thre £ money betuix this and the day of his mariage, and in the meane tyme dischargis hir sclanderus tonng in all tymes cumming under all hiest paine aganis the said Andro Wrycht and his wyf.

Ordanis Thomas Mar to proif Robert Mertyn to be the stellar my lordis timmer\textsuperscript{73} agane this day xx dayis.

Ordanis James Sym to gif the witche in the tolbuith viii d in the day.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{vii May anno 1582}

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris convenit for the tyme in the assemble house, compeiris Jhon Mugly and Maige Stalkar. Cation for him is [sic] that efter the proclamation of the bandis he sail fulfill the mariage is David Gray millar, for hir Patrik Flek. Terme Witsunday (Mariit)

Compeiris Jhon Ray and Katherein Gardner and desyris their bannis to be proclamit. Kation for him is James Ritchartson, for hir Jhon Smyth. Terme Midsummer (Mareit)

Compeiris William Newing and Effie Ritchartson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Kation for him is Thomas Gibson, for hir Jhon Ritchartson. Terme Midsummer. (Mariit)

\textsuperscript{72} Wishard is not mentioned again; Jhonston is summoned again 25 June, but no appearance is recorded.

\textsuperscript{73} Thief (stealer) of my lord's timber. The case will be referred to the baihes' court on 14 May.

\textsuperscript{74} Maisie Mar: see above, 12 Feb., and below, 7 May.
Ordanis Jhon Stevison to be put in ward quhill he present Margret Watson to the kirk.

Compeiris Andro Burry and takis ane or twa that Marjorie Chreichton confest sche had carnal deal with him at Midsummer in anno 1581.

Continewis the Burryes action quhill this day viii dayis.

Ordanis the woman of the burial to be removit instantly.

Ordanis Jhon Ritchartson to be warnit aganis this day viii dayis.

[152] Ordanis Christen Huiston to be put in ward befoir the bell go about for Masie Mar that is in the tobbuith.

Ordanis Patrik Lamb to go to the laird of Cragy to speak for the wyn to the communion againe the first Sonday of Juin nixtocum and to report his diligence againe this day viii dayis.

Ordanis Alexander Chalmer to pay ane merk instantly for deteining ane fornicaterror within his house, and to enter in ward quhill he present hir.

Ordanis Sylvester Chapman to be giffin to Mr Thomas Macgibbon that he may charge him to cum befoir our assembhe.

Decimo Maii anno 1582

Qunilk day the minister and eldaris being convenit in the assembhe house, compeiris Margret Watson and confessis hir fornication with Jhon Nicolson indwellar in Edinburgh, that sen Andersmes was ane yeir and continewit quhill Midsummer last was, for the quhilk sche submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk and is ordenit to be put in the tour. (Margret Watson satisfiit 1 culpa)

75 The session postpones dealing with Burry until the following week.
76 Margaret Gibson – still holding on. See 5 Feb. and 12 Nov. 1582.
77 Mar is the woman charged with witchcraft (12 Feb., 16 Apr., 7 May 1582); Huiston's name does not appear elsewhere. The bell may have been to summon anyone who had evidence concerning Mar to come to the session and offer it. The outcome of her case is unknown; she does not appear in the records of higher courts.
78 With communion in both kinds offered to the laity after the Reformation, the kirk's wine bill escalated enough to require assistance from local lairds.
79 MacGibbon, alias Thomas Robertson, was minister of Moneydie: Fasti iv, 224. For Chapman, charged as a fornicator, see 12 and 19 Feb. 1582.
80 In the tower of the kirk.
Decimo quarto Maii anno 1582

Presentes: minister, Andro Moncreif, Jhon Smyth, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Macgregor, Adam Anderson, Duncan Robertson, David Forbes

Qhilk day compeiris Archibald Brown and Marion Henderson and desyris their bannis to be proclaimed, and for performing of their marriage under the paine of x £ to every party, kation for him is George Jhonston, for hir Robert Lamb. Terme Lambes, qua notheles dois confess ther fornication and heirfoir submittis tham selffis to the discipline of the kirk. (Mareit)

Compeiris Malcum Fargison and Janet Jhonson and desyris their bannis to be proclaimed, and being convict in fornication submittis their selffis to the discipline of the kirk. And for performing of their marriage kation for him is Alexander Pettie, for hir Thomas Robertson. Terme Midsummer

Compeiris Thomas Robertson and Issobel Henderson and desyris their bannis to be proclaimed, and for performing of their marriage cation for him is George Robertson, for hir Robert Sym. Terme Midsummer. (Mariit)

Compeiris Issobel Paterson and confessis hir fornication with Walter Chalmer dwelland with the pryor of Charterous, committit in Alexander Chalmeris house, burges in Perth, the tyme of ther carnal deil first was at Martinmes last bypast and the last tyme was viii dayis thereafter in anno 1581, for the quhilk fact sche submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk and heirfoir is ordenit to be put in ward of the fornicatores above the northe kirk dore. (Walter Chalmer 1 culpa)

[153] Forsamekle as Dyonice Blakwod hes not satisfeit the act maid anent the baptising of his bairne nether hes he performit his repentance for his fornication relaps with Violet Hillok, the minister and eldaris ordanis that he be put in ward therein to remaine quhill he satisfie the act foirsaid and fulfill his repentance.

Forsamekle as the minister and eldaris perceiving the tenor of the action intendit befoir them be Thomas Mar, wrycht, and Elin Blythe on the ane part aganis Robert Maxwell alias Mertyn in the Wodend to be perjurie and thift quhilk ar actionis not appertening to the ecclesiastical senat, findis them selffis not judgis competent to the same. Theirfoir with ane consent they refer the said action to the bailyeis as judgis ordinarie to the same.81

81 See above, 16 Apr., Mar accusing Mertyn of stealing. There is no record of this case in the bailies' court (PKCA ms B59/12/9).
Continewis Andro Burries action quhil this day viii dayis.

Ordanis Andro Donaldson to pay in to the burial xii led of Kingorn leddis of lyme with expedition and mair gif neid beis togidder with sand sufficient to the same.82

Ordanis the bell to go throuche the town for roupin83 of the house presentely inhabit be Jhon Eldar appertennning to the hospital and the said Jhon to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

Forsamekle as the assemblie was trublit with certane actiones of sklander quhilk was aggreit by the advyse of the kirk betuix Patrik Tully on the ane part and Robert Lynie wyf, on the uther betuix Alison Pollard and Effie Hay, it was ordanit that their half merkis suld not be restorit to thame agane.

Ordanis James Sym to delyver to Mr William Cok, readar, ii merk and ane half for his quarter service in the assembly.

Ordanis to gif James Thomson ane half merk fra Henrie Adamson.

Ordanis to gif Katherein Ritche v s.

Ordanis to gif Katherein Randell v s.

xxi Maii anno 1582

Presentes minister, Andro Donaldson, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Macgregor, Duncan Robertson, Jhon Smyth

Quhilk day compeiris Andro Gow and Christen Robertson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit, and for performing heirof he hes fund Thomas Robertson, for hir Patrik Cunningham. Terme xiii dayis efter Midsummer. (Mariit)

Compeiris Archibald Yule and Margret Duncan and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. For performing quhairof cation for him is Mr Jhon Mitchell, for hir William Mitchell. Terme Midsummer. (Mariit)

82 Greyfriers' buildings were damaged in the riot of 1559 and by now robbed and destroyed. Now that its yard was to serve as the new town burial ground, its wall required repair. Donaldson is here authorized to purchase twelve loads of lime (used for mortar) by Kinghorn's measure.

83 Auctioning or proclaiming that something is for sale.
Quhilk day Issobel Paterson being in ward for hir fornication committit with Walter Chalmer dwelland with the Pryor of Charterhouse as sche alledgis, compeiris Dyonice North and offerris him self cation for the said Issobel that he sall enter hir to the kirk at quhat tyme he salbe requyred that sche may answer to sik thingis as the kirk sall lay till hir chairge under the paine of xx £.

Compeiris Masy Karswall and confessis hir fornication with Thomas Keir and heirfoir submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. Yit notwithstanding becaus sche alledgit promes of mariage of the said Thomas, sche finding Andro Donaldson cation for hir entres is overseine quhill this day viii dayis. In the meane tyme that the said Thomas with hir compeir the day foirsaid to sie gif he will ratiffie the promes alledgit.

Ordanis Sylvester Chaipman to be put in ward.

Ordanis that Mr Thomas Macgibbon be accusit on Wednisday nixt befoir the presbiterrie for the fostering of Sylvester in his wyce.84

Ordanis Andro Burries action be proponit to the presbiterrie.

Ordanis Olier Peblis bailye to warn Jhon Eldar to remove fra the house he dwellis in at the nixt terme, quhilk Oliver Peblis testifiit he did as law will apud acta. (Removing of Jhon Eldar)

Ordanis Jhon Bery to be put in ward for not compeiring being war nit togidder with Jhon Christison.

Ordanis George Jhoneston to be war nit againe this day viii dayis to testifie quhat tyme it was quhan he past to Edinburgh befoir Lambes.

Ordanis Andro Burry and Marjorie Chreichton to be war nit again this day viii dayis.

Ordanis Andro Boy to present his injureis againe this day viii dayis. (Andro Boy)

84 MacGibbon, as a minister, could only be prosecuted by the presbytery for failing to turn Chapman over to the Perth session for his fornication, or otherwise protecting him. See 12 and 19 Feb. and 7 May 1582.
Ordanis James Will to pay ane merk and to be put in ward quhill he present his sister to the kirk.
Ordanis Jhon Pury to bring his woman that departit with bairn out of his house againe this day viii dayis.

28 Maii anno 1582
Quhilk day Jhon Murray, Andro Donaldson, Duncan Makgregor, Duncan Robertson, Jhon Smyth, Adam Anderson, David Maky being present in the revestre

Comperiris James Lethreische and Janet Kinros and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit, and for performing of ther mariage he hes fund Alexander Wilson caution for him under the paine of x £. For hir is Donald Chalmer. Terme the last of Junii. (Mariit)

Ultimo Maii
Presentes minister, Jhon Murray, Andro Donaldson, Adam Anderson, David Foules, Duncan Robertson, Duncan Makgregor, Jhon Smyth
Compeiris David Allan and William Aking and oblisses them self to pay ther dewty for ther byrony takis of the burial or this day xv dayis.

[155] Ordanis Walter Chalmer to be put in ward for disobedience

Quarto Junii anno 1582
Presentes minister, Jhon Murray, Andro Donaldson, Jhon Smyth, Jhon Wenton, Adam Anderson, Duncan Robertson, Duncan Macgregor, David Forbes

Ordanis the bailyes to warn Jhon Eldar fra the house perteining to the hospital inhabitat be him presently and to cause him to satisfie the byronnis quhilk they promisit to do. (Eldar)

Comperis Patrik Allan and Issobel Hutson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him to performe the mariage for his part, Jhon Berne, for hir Jhon Hutson. Terme Lambes. (Mariit)

Compeiris Thomas Keir and Masie Karswall and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. In the meane tyme beinge convict of fornication, submittis them

85 Overdue payments.
86 Ere, or by.
to the discipline of the kirk. Kation for him is George Macgregor youngar, for hir Oliver Kar. Terme Lambes. (Mariit)

Quhilk day Margret Corse being accusit gif sche knew of the bairn that Janet Paul did bear betuix xi and xii houris at even on ane Fryday quhilk was the 25 day of Maii, denyit the same and heirsoir in caise that tryall war gottin thereof, cation was fund for hir as law wald thir persons following, to wit, Robert Anderson and James Sym quotius. (Corse)

Quhilk day Alison Cok being examinet as ane witnes and nixt nighbour to Bessie Pattie gif sche knew of the bairn born be Janet Paul, testifies sche saw the medwyf Margret Corse gang up to Bessie Patties house at x houris at even on the day forsaid quhilk was the 25 of May and remane ther quhill twell houris at even and than cam to hir bed and quhill the said Margret was in Bessie Patties house sche hard Janet Paul travaling in hir childill as sche wald answer to god at the day of Judgment, and Marjorie hard the bairin gif twa skirillis and na ma. (Cok)

Ordanis Besse Pattie to be put in fast ward quhill sche present hir dochtar to the kirk.

Ordanis Marjorie Chreichton and hir medwyf to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

Ordanis Jhon Swanton to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

Ordanis David James, Issobel Melvin and Helenor Stevison spouse to Robert Tailyeor to be warnit againe this day viii dayis to answer to sik thingis as Edmond Peblis hed to lay to thair chairge.

[156] Undecimo Junii anno 1582
Presentes minister, Andro Donaldson, David Forbes, David Maky, Duncan Robertson, Duncan Macgregor, Jhon Smyth, Adam Anderson, Jhon Wenton, Andro Moncreif

Compeiris Mr Alexander Chyne of Tavertie and Katherein Brinson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him that he sail performe his mariagie is James Hepburn, for hir James Drummond. Terme Lambes. (Mariit)

87 Childbirth.
88 Cries.
89 Daughter.
Compeiris Jhon Dasson and Issobel Hilloche and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him is Nicol Blair, for hir Alexander Fargison. Terme Lambes (Mariit)

Compeiris Jhon Scott and Issobel Murray and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him is William Williamson, for hir George Hall. Terme St Jhonisday in harvest. 90 (Marit)

Continewis the decision of the action betuix Andro Burry and Marjorie Chreichton till this day viii dayis.

Ordanis Bessie Pattie and Margret Corse to be put in fast ward ay and quhill Janet Paul dochtar to the said Bessie be presentit to the kirk.

Ordanis Jhon Ronaldson to present Jhon Hall and Janet Horn incestuous personis to the bailyeis sa haistely as he may apprehend thame. 91

Ordanis all theis personnis that hes giffin ther bannis befoir us and hes not mariit at the day appointit to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

Continewis the action persewit be Edmond Peblis agains David James his spouse and Helenor Stevison spouse to Robert Tailyeor till this day viii dayis.

Vigesimo quinto Junii anno 1582
Presentes minister, Andro Donaldson, Duncan Makgregor, Jhon Wenton, Adam Anderson

Compeiris Robert Ronald and Margret Cluthie and desyris their bannis to be proclamit. For performance heirof he hes fund cation for him Jhon Ronaldson, for hir Andro Allan. Terme Lambes. (Mariit)

Ordanis James Jhonston, Dyonice Blakwod, and Thomas Rollok to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

Remittis Edmond Peblis action quhill this day viii dayis.

Ordanis James Sym to gif Jhon Bonar xx s

90 29 August, the feast day of the Baptist’s martyrdom.
91 See 29 May, 5 and 12 June, and 3 July 1581: Hall was Horn’s deceased husband’s nephew.
Ordanis to gif to Violet Colyne xiii s iii d.

Ordanis David James witness to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

Ordanis Margret Corse to be instantly put in ward.

Ordains to gif Katheren Randel vi [s] viii d.

[157] Secundo Julii 1582

*Presentes* minister, Jhon Murray, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Macgregor, Adam Anderson, David Forbes.

Qwhilk [day] George Jhonston being warnit to testifie quhat day he past to Edinburgh about Lambes to the intent that the action betuix Andro Burry and Marjorie Chreichton may the mor easely desydit confess it was the vii day of August *anno* 1581.

Qwhilk day forsamekle as Jhon Swanton maister of the sang scoolle being fund not qualifiit for that office and diverse utheris factes having committit, disagreand in the person of him that hes office in the kirk of God, it was ordenit that he suld on na wayis pretend to sik ane office in tyme cumming or yit to tak up the same in the kirk. (Swenton maister of sch)

Compeiris Bessy Patty and being accusit for hyding of hir douchtair quhan the bailyeis soucht hir, confessit that hir dochtar was in the stair albeit sche said to the assemblie that hir dochtar was in Balthyok.

*ix Julii 1582*

*Presentes* minister Jhon Murray, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Macgregor, Adam Anderson

Qwhilk day James Lawsonis action intendit be him aganis Jhon Schippart and his wyf the grund of the sklander being rypit out to proceid of the schedding of blud, it was delayit till first ordor suld be tane with blud be civil judgis and thereafter justice suld be ministrat for the sklandering of the said James.

Ordanis Andro Blythman to adverties the minister and eldaris gif he fundis ony man or woman laying middingis\(^2\) in the kirkyard, and in the meane

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\(^2\) Rubbish, garbage.
tyme that all middingis and stanis be removit out of the same and nane to be fundid working heirin heirafter.

Ordanis the masters of hospital to provyd ane hous to George Bow for xx s that he may remane therein.
Ordanis Archibald Brownis xl s to be giffin to William Cragy.

Ordanis William Jak to be put in ward for disobedience.

_xvi Julii 1582_
_Presentes_ minister, Andro Donaldson, Daid Maky, Duncan Macgregor, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Robertson

Compeiris Adam Wilson and Janet Rynd and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit, denying that they committit fornication, yet for performance of ther mariage he hes fund cation for him Thomas Fowlis, for hir Jhon Rynd hir father. Terme xv day of August.

_23 Julii 1582_
_Presentes_ minister, Andro Donaldson, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Macgregor, Duncan Robertson, Adam Anderson, Andro Moncreif

[158] Compeiris Robert Monypenny and Janet Jhonston and desyris their bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him is Alexander Monypenny, for hir Donald Jhonston. Terme xx dayis efter his returning.\(^\text{93}\)

Ordanis to put James Lasonis wyf for disobedience in ward.

Compeiris Violet Purvess and confessis hir fornication with Robert Makison, and that at fasterance evin and ane moneth bygane sen the last tyme he hed to do with hir dwewland in William Monippennis house in this town, and heirfoir submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk, and heirfoir ordains hir to be put in ward. Bot because sche micht not enter in ward at this present, sche hes fund William Monipenny cation to enter hir this day acht dayis under the paine of x £. (2 falt)

Compeiris James Nicolson and sayis he was mariit in Muthill with Elspet

\(^{93}\) Monypenny is perhaps a mariner or a merchant about to venture away on a journey.
Tailyor be Andro Dugall saxyeir sensyn and offeris him self to be ansurabil to the kirk quhan it sail please thame to call for him.94

6 Augusti anno 1582

Presentes minister, Jhon Smyth, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Makgregor, Duncan Robertson, Adam Anderson, Jhon Murray, Andro Donaldson

Compeiris Alexander Orkhard and Christen Blyth and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him is Jhon Meling, for hir Jhon Oliphant. Terme first of October Michelmes. (Marit)

Compeiris Vincent Thom and Girsell Gray and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him is James Lamb, for hir Alexander Quythill. Terme St Jhonisday in harvest. (Marit)

Ordanis Andro Burry to be mariit to gif his aithe quhidder gif Marjorie Chreichtonis bairin be his or no againe this day viii dayis.

Compeiris William Jak and being demandit gif Janet Hornis bairn was his, he sayis gif sche confessis that he is that bairin father he will tak with it, and farder being demandit gif Margret Oliphant servant to James Monipenny be with bairin to him, he denyis it, yit he is ordenit to compeir this day aucht dayis.

Compeiris Rosie Bruce and confessis hir fornication committit in Jhon Purvies house with Andro Drummond, and that the minister at Blair at the command of George Drummondis wif of Blair baptiest the bairn efter it was born. And submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk. Bot becaus sche was nureise to Jhon Kay at his request, he being oblisit under the paine of xl £ that efter his bairin be fosterit, he suld present hir to the kirk upon his obligation, sche was supersedit quhill the tyme foirsaid. (Rosie Bruce/ 1 culpa)

Ordains Jhon Kay to pay ane merk for receaving Rosie Bruce without ane testimonial.

Compeiris Bessie Cuy and confessis hir fornication with Jhon Ritchartson the tailyeor and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk heirfoir. She is ordenit to be wardit in the ward above the north kirk dor. (1 culpa)

94 They were married six years ago. The minister of Muthill, later in the presbytery of Auchterarder, was in 1576 Alexander Chisolm, who lived with his aged mother nearer Perth and may have left the reader, Andrew Dunlop, in charge: Fasti iv, 384.
Ordanis Jhon Ritcharton to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

[159] xiii Augusti anno 1582

Presentes minister, Andro Moncreif, David Forbes, David Maky, Jhon Smyth, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Macgregor, Adam Anderson, Duncan Robertson

Qhillik day compeirit Andro Burry and referris the desision of the action intendit agains him be Marjorie Chreichton to hir aith simpliciter, promising that gif sche swear that the bairin quhill sche burit be his, he will bapties the bairin. Heirfoir it is giffin to the said Marjorie till avyse with hir aith quhill this day aucht dayis.

Compeiris Oliver Peblis and giffis in ane bill of complaint aganis Henry Adamson and to the effect that the ordor may be observit he hes fund James Monipenny willinglie cation under the paine of fyf hundrethe merkis to be giffin to the hospital that he sall prouf the contentis of the bill and Oliver on the uther part hes promisit to releif him.95

Compeiris Oliver Peblis and takis ane act that the minister and eldaris denyit to gif him justice be reason they driftit tyme.96

Qhillik day it was ordenit with haill consent of the eldaris that war present that every eldar that cumis not on Mononday nixt being within the town or ony uther day appointit as ordinar hearafter sall pay twa schillingis to the puir, and behind the hour, xii d.97 (Behind the hour)

Ordanis Henrie Adamson to be warnit againe this day aucht dayis.

Ordanis Margret Oliphant to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

Ordanis James Sym to gif to Mr William Cok, readar, ii merk and ane half

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95 The amount is unprecedented; clearly Peblis and his neighbour believe that the case against Adamson is strong, though the cause is not yet clear. He now calls for criminal prosecution of Adamson. The 20 Aug. 1582 minutes will finally reveal that the issue is Adamson’s adultery with Peblis’s wife, Jean Thornton; obviously Peblis has opted not to cover up for his errant wife, whatever the cost to his own reputation. It is worth noting that Adamson had not been re-elected to the session the previous fall. The election came just a few weeks after Thornton’s prosecution for flyting (11 Sept. 1581), which may have been related to the sexual affair. For further discussion of the case, see Introduction, ‘Sexuality’.

96 The almost year-long hiatus in prosecuting a case of notorious adultery is unexplained in the minutes except by Peblis’ formal complaint here that the elders had been dragging their feet, but it is unclear exactly when the elders knew about the sexual offence. The only sin of Thornton’s that we hear about in 1581 is flyting, though her confession of 20 August will indicate that the adultery was committed at about the same time.

97 The marginal phrase was also inserted later in the text, in a different ink.
for his quarter fye for the wretin to the assemblie expyrang at Lambes lastbypast anno 1582.

Ordanis Andro Drummond to be put in ward quhan he may be apprehendit for disobedience.

Ordanis Jhon Ritchartson alias Schippart the tailyeor to be put in ward for fornication committit be him with Bessy Cuy, alledging that Thomas Maky hed to do with hir and that Jhon Ritchartson skynnar wald tel ma that hed carnal deal with hir.

xx Augusti anno 1582

Presentes minister, Andro Donaldson, David Forbes, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Makgregor, Duncan Robertson, Adam Anderson, Andro Moncreif, Andro Malcum

Compeiris Alexander Nicolson and Margret Glass and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. And for performance of the mariage he hes fund David Mar cation for him, and for hir is Alexander Glass hir father. Terme Mertinmes.

Compeiris Thomas Wilson and Elspet Kilour and desyris the bannis to be proclamit quhil was grantit. Bot because that the said Elspettis gudman past to Flanderis, it is ordenit that sche bring ane testimonial of his dead out of the cuntie. He died\(^98\) in betuix this and Lentron. And gif it sail happen (Wilson & Kilour) [160] that sche produce not ane testimonial betuix the dait heirof and the day affoir[said]\(^99\), sche salbe haddin as ane duble fornicatrix\(^100\) in the mean tyme. For performance of the mariage he hes fund Oliver Makison cation and Thomas Gall is for hir. The terme Lentron.

Ordains the act of the absentis of eldaris to be put in execution agains William Anderson, Jhon Smyth, and David Maky for ther absent.

Ordains Andro Burry to baptise the bairin gottin be him in fornication with Marjorie Chreichton, and to do the dewtie of a father thereto in respecte

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98 The clerk crossed through 'departure' and 'deparit' and inserted 'dead' and 'died'. Did the session perhaps inform Elspeth that her new marriage would be approved more readily if her husband had well and truly departed?

99 Torn.

100 She will be held (haldin) as a fornicator twice over; 'adulteres' is, unaccountably, lined through.
that it being referrit till hir aith with his consent, hes deponit that sche had never carnal deal with man bot with him. (Andro Burry)

Ordains Margret Oliphant to be put in ward for disobedience.

Ordains Violet Dog to be warnit againe this day viii dayis and the nichbouris about hir to bear witnes of hir lyf and conversation in respect sche is brutit to be fund in the salt of adulterie with Edward Dazell.

Ordanis Bessie Pattie to be put in ward quhill sche present hir douchtar to the kirk, and in the meane tyme a man to be directed about hir on hir motheris expense.

Compeiris Jhon Peblis and desyris the bailyis seing that Henry Adamson was in handis to put him in fearme ward ay and quhill he find cation to be answerabil to the lawis seing that his brother Oliver hed fund cation under the paine of v hundrethe merkis to persew the said Henrie criminally, bot na answer was giffin be them unto the said Jhon.

Quhilk day the eldaris presently convenit perceaving Henry Adamson to desyr ane copie of the bill giffin in be Oliver Peblis agains him thinkis that forsamekld as na preparatine hes bein befoir to gif ane copie of any bill giffin in befoir them, thinkis he suld haif na copie of the said bill, bot suld answer presentlie ye or na, quhilk he being callit in againe refosit to do, and answerit he wald nather answer affirmative nor negative except he receavit the copie of the bill giffin in be the said Oliver agains him.

101 The phrase 'with his consent' – an important notation – is in the margin, with a carrot to its place in the text.

102 That is, Bessie has to pay the cost of sending a man to search for her daughter while she herself is gaol'd.

103 Adamson will by his appearance (27 Aug.) have seen the bill, which identified the criminal charge as adultery (a moral offence, but capital) and added a second charge of slander. In light of Jean Thornton's concession below, Peblis might also have focused on Adamson's long pursuit or seduction of Thornton – a pursuit that would probably now be defined as stalking. In any case, his attempt at criminal prosecution seems to have failed; there is no record of it in surviving criminal court records, though the surviving ones are admittedly sparse, and the final settlement of his case by the General Assembly does not mention criminal pursuit (BUK iii, 621–22). Clearly the session did not satisfy Peblis at this meeting.

104 The session has not been supplied with a copy. Now Adamson should simply respond yea or nay to the charges. This he declines to do on perfectly legal grounds: he has a right to see the charges against him in writing.
Jeine Thorntonnis confession

Compeiris Jeine Thornton and oncompellit confesses that Henry Adamson
hes persewit hir mair nor thir nyne yeiris bygane, bot he hed never to
do with hir bot within this tolmonnd.\textsuperscript{105} And the first tyme was the last
nicht of the last watche in hir awin house at x houris at evin, sche sittand
at the fyrsyd dryand claithis, hir gudman being at the watche, on the kist
befoir hir bedsyd, na body being present bot his man being at the dor
without, hir women being furthe. Secundly in his awin bairin on a Setterday
befoir none, sche gang to the corral myll past in with him and steikit
the dor efter them, Kirstell\textsuperscript{106} standing without at the dor. Thridly in hir
awin coll sellar\textsuperscript{107} on a nicht at evin, hir gudman being therein, quha send
hir to Alexander Willeamsonnis house, and going furthe, sche met Henry
standing under the stair in the foirgait\textsuperscript{108} and returnit with him to the sellair.

Fourthly in the said Henryis yard four dayis befoir his bairin dyit, and
never sensyne nor befoir had sche to do with him.

The haill eldaris being present for the tyme ordains Oliver Peblis to find
sufficient cation that Jeine salbe answerabil to the discipline of the kirk to
be punischt as ane adulteress in respect of hir awin confession, and ordains
hir to mak hir repentance.

Ordains Henrie Adamson to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

\textbf{xxvii Augusti anno 1582 1582 [sic]}

\textit{Presentes} minister, Jhon Murray, Andro Donaldson, David Forbes, David
Maky, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Makgregor, Jhon Smyth, Adam Anderson,
Andro Moncreif

Quhilk day compeiris Henrie Adamson and alledgis twa partis to be in
the bill giffin in be Oliver Peblis agains him, the ane contening the fact of
adulterie committit be him with the said Oliveris wyf, quhilk \textit{simpliciter} he
denyis, the secund the sclander quhilk he alledgis to be unjust and that it is
he that is sclanderit gif ony be sclanderit and protestis for remeid incaise he
be obsolvvit, nochtheles he being desyrit to oppone againe the said Oliveris
witnesses in respect of his denial admittit threttein of the saidis witnesses
heirafter specisiit, to wit, Robert Hally, Malcum Kildow, Laurence Lamb,
Robert Grant maltman, Thomas Clerk, Marcus Hynd, James Fargison, James
Rettray of Kingcarchie, Thomas Dogleis, Alexander Schippart baxter and

\textsuperscript{105} Twelvemonth, year.
\textsuperscript{106} Perhaps her servant woman.
\textsuperscript{107} Coal cellar.
\textsuperscript{108} The street in front of the house.
burges in Perth, Patrik Maloche, Alexander Anderson, Alexander Curie of the quhilk witnesses sa mony as war present being sworin, deponit as fallowis (Henrie Adamsonis denial)

The deposition of the witnes of Oliver Peblis

Robert Hally confesses that Jein Thornton spouse to Oliver Peblis cryed him off the gait on ane Sonnday and bad him bid Henrie Adamson den of gild cum and gif hir ane choppine of wyn, for sche hed sum secret to tell him, quha did as the said Jein commandit him, quhilk thing quhen the said Henrie haird, he bad him speir at\(^{109}\) Jein quhat place he suld cum to to gif hir the choppin\(^{110}\) of wyne. Quha cumming to speir at Jein of the place quhair they suld mect, met with hir in the kirkyaird and did as he was commandit be Henrie. And sche bad him cum to Elspet Ramsayis, and being demandit gif Henrie cam to the said Elspetis, confesses that he cam that Sonnday efter none bot he spak not with Jein at that tyme, and quhill he was cummand up the stair, he saw Oliver cummand throuche the kirkyaird, and he slippit his way, and in the meane tyme he said yonnder is Oliver cumand in; mairover, he confesses that Henrie [162] Adamson and Jein Thornton was ane uther tyme in Elspet Ramsayis, he being with them togidder with Donald barron of Carquhon, Patrik Maloche, and his wyf, and that they had ane point of wyn and ane quart of ail. Secundly, he beand demandit gif he was with them in ony uther place confesses that he was with them in Alexander Andersonis house benethe the cross at the sellor dor cheik\(^{111}\) the gudwyf hir douchtar, the aquavytie\(^{112}\) man, with utheris of hir servanttis being present for the tyme and ane uther tyme in that same house he grantis that they war in ane hiech chalmer, the gudwyf and he being present. And he being requyrit gif he left thame in ony house there allane or gif he was send furth ony errand fra thame, declaris on his conscience he never left thame nor was send fra thame except it was to the house they war in to bring a piece braid to Henrie and Jein to drink withall. Thridly he confesses they war in William Adamsonis ane uther tyme he being with them, bot that ther haill speache quhairever he was with them (as he thocht) was about Dyonice Conqueriors mater that he hed to do with Oliver Peblis. And last of all he being demandit gif ever he broucht ony letterris or billis fra the said Henrie to Jeine, he answerit it mycht weill haif bein that he broucht bills fra the said Henrie to Jein, but of his conscience quiddar he broucht billis or noucht, he rememberris not at this present.

109 Ask.
110 A vessel containing the equivalent of a Scottish half-pint.
111 Side post of the door.
112 Whiskey.
Thomas Clerk admittit and sworin sayis nathing.

Thomas Dogleische admittit and sworin sayis nathing.

Alexander Schippart admittit and sworin deponis that Henry Adamson hes sundrie and diverse tymes cum to him to speir for Oliver Peblis baiye and sumtymes he hes sein him go in to Oliveris house quhan Oliver was therin and sumtymes quhan hes was nocht thairin, bot how lang he wald remaine he knew not.

Alexander Curie admittit and sworin sayis nathing.

The rest of the witnesses war absent that war admittit.\textsuperscript{113}

\textit{Tertio Septembris 1582}

\textit{Presentes} minister, Andro Donaldson, Jhon Wenton, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Makgregor, Andro Malcum, Adam Anderson, David Forbes

Comperit Thomas Henderson and Janet Henrie and desyris their bannis to be proclamit, and for performance heirof, cation for him is Alexander Wilson, for hir Jhon Henrie and William Young conjunctlie. Terme Mertinmes.

[163] Ordanis Violet Dog and hir nychtbouris to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

\textsuperscript{113} Given this weak evidence against Adamson, and despite Thornton’s confession, he was never convicted of adultery; however, his case was considered by the presbytery and thence moved to the provincial assembly and finally the General Assembly, which in 1583 finally ordered that he repent publicly before the presbytery and the congregation of the much lesser offence of scandalous behaviour: \textit{BUK iii, 621–22}. The language of the Assembly’s decision is teUlling: in the ‘process deduced before the presbytery against Henry Adamson burgess of Perth and approved by synodal assembly of the province ... having considered the process and probation led in the matter, being well resolved and advised therewith, [the Assembly] in one voice declares and finds the said Henry by his familiar and suspect behaviour with Jeanie Thornton, spouse of Oliver Peblis, resorting with her in private and suspect places, drinking and conversing with her, and other ways behaving himself not so chastely as becomes an honest married person, as by sundry circumstances in the said process appears to have given suspicion that he has committed adultery with her and thereby to have given occasion of slander in his person, therefore ordains him immediately after his returning from the assembly to compear before the presbytery of Perth and there with humility unfeignedly to confess and acknowledge that he has given occasion of slander, asking God and the kirk forgiveness and thereafter, upon a Sunday to be appointed by the said presbytery, he shall compear in the parish kirk of Perth in time of sermon before noon, sit in the place of repentance in his common apparel [rather than sackcloth] til the sermon be ended, and immediately after the sermon thereof and before the prayer, stand up in the said place of repentance and confess and acknowledge the slander given by him and ask God and [the] kirk pardon therefor, with promise in time coming to avoid all slanderous behaviour and suspicion of any such crime, under the pain of the censures of the kirk to be execute against him by the said presbytery.’
Ordanis Andro Moncreif the chalmerlaine, William Anderson, Duncan Robertson, David Maky, and Jhon Muray eldaris to be pundit for ii s the haid without ane reasonable excus quhy they war absent be alledgit.

Continewis the action intendit be Oliver Peblis bailye agains Henrie Adamson den of gild quhill the morin efter the prayeris, the eldaris being warnit *apud acta*14 togidder with the witnesses in the said action.

Ordains James Sym to gif William Purvie xii d oulkly.
To gif William Gibson xx s
To gif William Harvy x s
To the blindwoman in the muirhall viii d oulkly
To Helenor Ronaldson v s

Ordanis that William Anderson be pundit for ii s for his absence fra the assemblie.

Ordains William Jak, Andro Burry, Andro Drummond, Margret Oliphant, Issobel Stewart to be wardit for disobedience.

Quhilk [day] William Monipenny enterit his woman Violet Purves to hir repentance and sche was commandit to be wardit as a duble fornicatrix. (xvi s)

Quhilk day James Sym maid his accomptis.

*Quarto Septembris 1582*

*Presentes* minister, Adam Anderson, Andro Donaldson, Jhon Smyth, Duncan Makgregor, Jhon Wenton, Andro Malcum, David Forbes

Quhilk day forsamekill as thair is ane sklander ryssin on Issobel Sempill servant to Jhon Makgregor for the tyme, for removing of the said sklander it was ordenit that the said Jhon suld put hir away immediatly out of his house under the paine of xx £.

Quhilk day in the action intendit be Oliver Peblis agains Henrie Adamson, the parteis being present, thir witnesses efter specifiit war admittit, sworin, and deponit, to wit: David Sibbat, James Kinley, [164] ...15 and his wyf Katherein Nilson, and Elspet Ramsay.

14 According to the act.
15 Torn: one name missing.
Referris the action intendit be Oliver Peblis agains the said Henrie till Monnday nixt.

_Decimo Septembris_


Absentes William Anderson, vi s, Jhon Murray, Duncan Robertson, David Forbes, Andro Moncreif

Compeiris Jhon Bog and Elspet Ronaldson and desyris ther bannis to be proclaimit, denying in the meane tyme that their bannis giffin proceidit of ony carnal deal betuix them, nottheless for performance of ther mariage, cation for him is Jhon Bog eldar, for hir Alexander Monipenny. Terme Hallowmes. (Mariit)

Qhillk day compeiris Jhon Mathison chapman being callit and confesses that he hes interteniit ane woman in his house namit Agnes Bowar and is willing to performe the bannis giffin up betuix them befoir our assemblie. Qhhairfuir in respect of their cohabitation befoir mariage, he is ordenit to pay xl s, to mak his repentance, and to marie on Sonnday cum aucht dayis. (Jhon Mathie/ xl s/ Mariit)

Qhillk day the minister and eldaris being resolvit of the twa oppositionnis Henrie Adamson opponit agains sum of Oliver Peblis witnesses, concluddis with ane voice that famous women aucht to bear witnes in ony mater that cumis befoir them and ther testimonie reseavit sa far as the law permittis. Secundly, that theis quhome the partie defendar hes onder labouris may be receavit provyding that the laboris haif beine tane of sik personis as ar callit to be witnesses after the action be intendit, quhairin they are callit to be witnes. (of witnesses)116

Qhillk day compeiris Henrie Adamson and under protestation as of befoir not admitting the minister nor eldaris judgis competent and admittis the witnesses efter specifiit.117

116 On women's testimony, see Introduction, 'Procedures'. 'Labouris', or 'lawborrows' refers to a legal surety or guarantee required from one person that he will not injure another. For their testimony to be accepted, the witnesses could not already have been under this obligation to Adamson when the event occurred.

117 Presumably because of his status as a former elder, he rejects the jurisdiction of the session and will have his case referred to the higher court of presbytery.
Compeirit David Grayis wyf and complanit upon hir husband that he keipit not his awin house, bot was ane adulterer with Donald Tomsonnis wyf, and quhen sche was reproving him being in the said Donald house at midnicht, sundrie nichtbors being befoir, he cam hame immediadie thairafter and band hir hand and fut and tak the hanshaill\textsuperscript{118} of ane ax, and laying hir on ane stull brak hir leggis, armis, and suldaris, quhilk sche schew befoir the assemblie and nychbores testifiit, quha was ordanit to be wardit and to sustein ane inquest of nichbors. (Gray/ Millair)

\textit{Decimo Septimo Septembris 1582}

\textit{Presentes} minister, Jhon Murray, Andro Donaldson, David Forbes, David [sic] Makgregor, Jhon Wenton, Duncan Robertson, Jhon Smyth

Comperit James Jakson and Gils Stewart and desyris their bannis to be proclamit. Caution for him is David Jakson, for hir William Stevison. Terme Mertinmes. (Mariit)

Compeiris Andro Boy and presenttis his nureische to the discipline of the kirk, and sche is ordenit to be wardit instandly for hir fornication. (viii s)

Compeiris William Jak and denyis that Margret Oliphant is with bairin to him as of befoir.

Compeiris Andro Burry and promises to pay xl s and to enter on the stull of repentance quhan he is chairgit. (x s)\textsuperscript{119}

Compeiris Issobel Stewart and confesses hir fornication committit with Baltie Isak and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk and is ordenit to be put in ward. (viii s)

Compeirit James Sym and producit ane testimonial of Andro Coltis minister at Ragorton\textsuperscript{120} that Archibald Brown was mariit with Agnes Henderson 21 July anno 1582.

Compeirit Patrik Makquein and confesses his fornication committit with Issobel Gibson and is ordenit to be put in ward. (viii s/ Macquein)

Ordanis Alexander Rett and Thomas Robertson cautionaris for Malcum Farguson to be warnit againe this day viii dayis.

\textsuperscript{118} Handle.
\textsuperscript{119} A partial payment.
\textsuperscript{120} The minister of nearby Redgorton parish was Alexander Colt, fifth son of the Perth elder and sometime provost of Perth, Blaise Colt: Fasti iv, 241.
Ordanis Robert Makison to be warnit agane this day viii dayis.

Ordanis Dyonise Blakwod to enter and fulfill his repentance.

James Fargison and David Brown witnesses in Oliver Peblis action admittit, sworin and deponit.121

Ordanis Robert Hally, Malcum Kildow, Maige Brown servant to William Fleming bailye, Oliveris nureischë, Thomas Jhonston, Robert Hamilton unknawin, Jhon Duncan, [and] Andro Quhyttok to be warnit againe Thrusday nixtocum.

Ordanis the act of sklander to be put in execution upon William Knox for the sklandering of William Killochis douchtar. (vi s viii d)

Ordanis that all barnis that perturbis the kirk in tym of preaching or prayeris to be wardit ay and quhill they pay vi s viii d.122

[Vicesimo quarto Septembris 1582]

Quhilk day the minister and the haill eldaris being present, compeiris Robert Makison and confesses his fornication with Violet Purvess and submittis him self to the discipline of the kirk heirfoir. It was ordenit that he suld enter in ward as a fornicator to be punischt, or ellis to pay iii £ for dispensation with the ward and crosheid or ellis to pay fourtie s for dispensation of the crosheid and to enter his person in ward this day viii dayis.123 (Makison)

Ordains Malcum Fargusonnis cationaris to be pundit for x £ the haid and him self to mak his repentance on Sonday nixtocum, to pay xl s, and to marie on Sonday cum aucht dayis.

Quhilk day in Oliver Peblis action compeirrit Robert Hally as witnes in the said action, admittit, sworin and deponit.124

[Octavo Octobris 1582]

Presentes reader and haill eldaris except William Anderson.
Compeiris Thomas Maky and Agnes Smyth and desyris ther bannis to be

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121 Unfortunately these depositions were not copied into the session book. The rest of Adamson's case at the session level is missing; for the final disposition, see 27 Aug. 1582, note, and Introduction, 'Sexuality'.
122 Presumably this means that their parents will be warded and required to pay the penalty.
123 This is the first time that three options are on offer in this situation.
124 As before, the deposition is missing from the record.
proclamit. Cation for him is Walter Eldar, for hir Henry Lyes bailye. Terme Andersmes.\(^{125}\) (1 2 3)

Compeiris Jhon Maknair and Janet Campburin and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Finlay Macduff, for hir Jhon Eliot. Terme Mertinmes. (1 2 3 Mariit)

Continewis Robert Hally till the minister com hame.

15 Octobris 1582

Compeiris William Jak and Alison Glass and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Jak, for hir Alexander Williamson. Terme Martinmes. (Marit)

Compeiris Jhon Lamb and Alison Nicoll and desyris etc. Cation for him Patrik Lamb, for hir David Billy. Terme Andersmes.

\textit{Vigesimo secundo Octobris 1582}

\textit{Presentes} Adam Anderson, Andro Malcum, Duncan Makgregor, Jhon Wenton

[167] Quhilk day compeiris Thomas Lamb and Margret Clerk and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Lamb, for hir Jhon Clerk. Terme Andersmes

Compeiris Alexander Mertyn and Janet Robertson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him is Jhon Eldar, for hir Alexander Rett. Terme Andersmes. (Marit)

30 Octobris anno 1582

\textit{Presentes} minister and the haill eldaris except Jhon Murray and William Anderson

Compeiris Thomas Cry and Issobel Sinklair and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Lason, for hir Henry Lyes. Terme the last of December.

Compeiris Jhon Colt and Katheren Colt and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him and for hir baith Blais Colt. Terme the last of December. (26 Novembris/ Mariit)

\(^{125}\) The clerk’s hand changes at this point.
Compeiris Laurence Stanis and Christen Anderson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Citation for him Jhon Eldar, for [hir] Jhon Causland. Terme the last of December

Quhilk day according to the ordour yeirly observit ther was nominat eldaris to bear office in the kirk for this yeir:

The north syd of the Hiegait
Maister Jhon Mitchell, Andro Jhonston, and Walter Eldar

The southsyd of the Hiegait
Jhon Lawry, Jhon Smyth, and Alexander Glass

Beneth the cross
James Hepburne, William Hall, and James Drummond

The Southgait
Andro Moncreif, William Inglis, and Robert Chappman

Deaconis of the northsyd of the Hiegait
James Sym, Gilbert Donaldson, and William Cok

Of the southsyd of the Hiegait
Jhon Quhyt, Jhon Jak, and Robert Snail

Benethe the cross
James Mersser, Jhon Ronaldson, and William Cathrow

Of the Southgait
Andro Blythman, Jhon Ogilby, and Jhon Cramby

Ordains the namis of the new electit eldaris to be publischt on Thursdaysnixtocum efter sermond.

Ordains the maisteris of hospital to mak the accomptis on Thursdays nixt befoir the eldaris.

Ordains the auld eldaris and the new eldaris to conveine on Thursdays nixt that they may accept their office.

Continewis all the billis qhill Thursdays nixt and all uther actionnis.

12 November 1582

Quhilk day the minister and all the eldaris being present except James Drummond, it was ordenit that every eldar that cummis in to the session behind the hour suld pay xii d and that all that absentis thame self on ane ordinar day or ony uther day appointit to conveine suld pay ii s. (behind the hour/ Eldaris)

126 For identification of the elders, see Appendix I.
Compeiris Walter Gray and Helenor Ritchartson and desyris the bannis to be proclamat, and for performing of their mariage cation for him is Dyonice Conquerior, for hir Jhon Ritchartson under the pane of x £ the haid. Terme Andersmes.

Compeiris Thomas Ritche and Agnes Ruthven and desyris ther bannis to be proclamat. Cation for him is William Kirstell, for hir James Dog. Terme Andersmes. (Mariit)

Ordains every man that hes ane altarage to furneis their candil according to the ordor and in case they disobey, that the bailyeis compell them to do the same or ellis to caus that they be not answerit of ther annuellis and the bell to go throw the towne to the same effect. (chaplenis)

Ordains the bailyeis to put ther act to execution in and concerning the removing of Margret Gibson within xlvii houris.

Ordains Jhon Jak to go throw the town with Jhon Scott to get support to him.

[169] Quhillk day Margret Gibson and being first accusit of hir awin harlettry and secundly of the buriing of infantis onbapistest without the knowlidge of Nicol or of the belman, denyis the same plainly. (Gibson)¹²⁷

Compeiris Margret Robertson and confesses hir fornication with James Ruthven servant to my Lord of Gawry, and therfoir ordains hir to be put in ward. (Robertson/ viii s/ resavit)

Compeiris Janet Glass and confesses hir fornication with Adam Cheip. The first tyme of ther carnal dealing was in the last Lenton, the last tyme a moneth bygane. Heirfoir sche is ordenit to be wardit. (viii s / resav/ Glass)

Compeiris Christen Macgregor and confesses hir fornication with Jhon-Wobstair servand to James Gill, quhairfoir in respect of the gret abuis of hir body, it is ordenit tht sche be banischit the town.¹²⁸ (Banischit)

Compeiris Margret Stanhouse and confesses hir fornication with Gilbert Blyth servand to my Lord Gawry. Heirfoir sche is ordanit to be wardit. (viii s / Stanhouse)

¹²⁷ See 5 Feb. 1582, note, for the long history of this case.
¹²⁸ Given the severity of the punishment and the remark 'great abuse', we ought not conclude from silence in the earlier record that this is her first offence. Clearly more has been reported to the session than this brief entry includes.
Ordains James Sym to gif Mr William Cok ii merk and ane half for his quarter fy\textsuperscript{129} bygane at Hallowmes.

20 Novembris 1582
Quhilk day the minister and haill eldaris being present, compeiris Archibald Flemyng and Christen Dog and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Caution for him Donald Flemyng, for hir Andro Dog. Terme the first of January. (Flemyng)

Compeiris Andro Eilson and Margret Randy and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Caution for him is Andro Eilson, for hir Thomas Fischer. Terme the first of January. (Mariit/ Eilson)

Ordains Andro Donaldson master of the hospital to gif his comptis of the last yeir on Thursisday nixt and ordains Andro Moncreif, James Drummond, Mr Jhon Mitchell, William Hall, Oliver Peblis, and Robert Chapman with the minister to heir the same.

[170] Quhilk day the haill eldaris ordains Jein Thornton to mak hir repentance on Thursisday nixt in respect of her awin confession under the paine of excommunication according to the former act and that for hir adultery confess with Henry Adamson as sche alledgis.

Ordains William Flemyng bailye to put Margret Oliphant in ward for disobedience.

Compeiris Bessy Kinglassy and confesses hir fornication with Thomas Monipenny youngar. The first tyme was of ther carnal deal on Andersmes last anno 1581. The last tyme a [sic] thre oulkis sen syne or thereby. Heirfoir sche is ordanit to be wardit according to the ordor etc. (Kinglassy)

Ordanis James Sym to mak thre lokis to the crosheid.\textsuperscript{130}

Ordanis Jhon Ronaldson haiffmg fornicatoris to put every ane of them in ane sundry house in tyme cuming, to gif them bot bread and small drink, to latt nane of them cum to the nether windok, and quhan the cum to the crosheid that they be fast lokit in the irnis twa houris, ther curtchis aff ther headdis and ther faces bair, without ane plaid or ony uther covering under the paine of tinsell of his office.\textsuperscript{131} (Jhon Ronaldson/ fornicatoris)

\textsuperscript{129} Fee.
\textsuperscript{130} These would be manacles or jougs which would bind offenders to the market cross for the duration of their punishment.
\textsuperscript{131} On penitents' use of plaids to cover their faces, see CP, 148. Warding fornicators all
Ordains Margret Dog to present Issobel Dieson this day xiiiis dayis under the paine of warding of hir person ay and quhill sche be presenttit.

Compeiris Jhon Wobstair and confesses his fornication with Christen Makgregor and heirfoir is ordanit to be wardit. (Wobstair)

Compeiris Maige Jhonston and confesses hir fornication with Andro Carmichell and heirfoir is ordenit to be put in ward. (Jhonston)

Compeiris Issobel Gibson and confeses hir fornication with Patrik Makquein and heirfoir is ordanit to be wardit. (Gibson)

Quhilk day James Sym maid his comptis.

26 Novembris 1582


[171] Quhilk day compeiris James Monipenny and confesses his fornication with Margret Oliphant and heirfoir submittis him to the disciplein of the kirk quhan they chairge him to obey the same in all pointtis. (iiiis ℒ)

Compeiris Adam Scheip and confesses his fornication with Janet Glass and heirfoir submittis him to the discipleine of the kirk, quhilk to performe efter Andersmes immediatly on the nixt Mononday theairafter. He fndis Jhon Stobby cation under the paine of x ℒ, quhairin the cationar was convict in respect he enterit not the said Adam at the day appoitit. (Scheip/ x ℒ)

Ordanis Andro Donaldson master of the hospital to gif Jhon Ronaldson officiar to the kirk his waidge for the Martinmes terme in anno 1582 and to advance him the Witsonday terme thereafter falling in anno 1583, and heirwith to by claithe to gif the said Jhon. (Officiar of the kirk)

Tertio Decembris 1582

Presentes: minister and the haill eldaris except Robert Chapman, James Drummond, and Andro Jhonston

Together certainly would seem an invitation to further offence unless men and women were separated out. Presumably this was the case, and this order, with its prohibition of going to the window, aimed to reduce the sociability of their incarceration.
Quhilk day compeiris Jhon Sutar and Issobel Wilson and desyris thair bannis to be proclaimed. Cation for him is Patrik Justice youngar, for hir David Mar. Terme Newersmes.\textsuperscript{132}

Quhilk day compeiris Thomas Monipenny youngar and confesses his fornication with Bessy Kinglassy and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk. Yit in respect he hed gret busines to do, he findis Andro Stoup cation to enter him under the paine of x £ quhan the kirk chargit. Thairfoir the \textsuperscript{assembly}\textsuperscript{133} supersedit\textsuperscript{134} him quhill this day xiiii dayis. (Monipenny)

Ordains Wiliam Young to be pundit for x £ in respect that Thomas Henry mariit not on the day appointit, for quhome he was cation. (x £)

[172] Quhilk day the freindis of William Fary quha drownit him self at the head of the Southe Inche in the water of Tay cumming to the minister and eldaris convenit togider for the tyme in the revestrie, and desyring licence at the assembly to bury the said William in the Gray Freiris, quhilk is the burial appointit for the faithful that departit in the fear of God. The assembly answarit with ane voice that they wald not suffer him to be brought throuche the town in day licht nather yit to be buriit amangst the faithful in the place appointit for their burial, bot ordains that he be buriit in the Littil Inch that is within the water.\textsuperscript{135} And this to haif the strengthe of ane act to all siclyk personis in all tyme cumming, and assuring all that gif ony contaveins the same, the dead salbe tane up againe and the contraveinaris heirof zal mak ther publict repentance on the seat and thereafter zal pay ten £ to be giffin to ane of the deaconis that they may distribut it to the puire. (Twitching personis that becummis thair awin burier and puttis down thame selffis)

Decimo Decembris 1582

James Drummond, Andro Moncreif, and all the rest of the eldaris war present.

Quhilk day compeiris Archibald Brown and being demandit gif he causit bapties the bairin gottin with Alison Handy in fornication in his name denyit the same. And for the trew knowledge heirof he desyris Mr Patrik Galloway minister to demand at Alexander Young minister at Tibbermuir

\textsuperscript{132} New Year's Day.
\textsuperscript{133} Omitted.
\textsuperscript{134} Postponed.
\textsuperscript{135} A small island in the Tay just downriver of the town.
quha baptiest the bairin gif he causit the foirsaid bairin to be baptiest in his name and to report his answer on Mononday nixt, and to that effect it was ordenit that the said Alison suld be warnit againe this day viii dayis. (Brown)

[173] Compeiris Jhon Stobby and enteris Adam Scheip to his repentance, and is fird of his cationary. (viii s)

Quhilk day Jhon Paterson and Janet Weitfeit being wardit for disobedience, compeiris Ewin Burry and actis him self under the paine of xl £ to enter the foirsaid personis on Mononday nixt ather to gif up ther bannis to be proclamit or to drie ther repentance for fornication committit betuix them twa, quha ar releisit out of ward upon the foirsaid cautionarie offerit be the said Ewin Burry. (Paterson)

Compeiris Andro Carmichell and confesses his fornication with Maige Jhonston and submittis him to the disciplein of the kirk and is commandit to ward. (Carmichell/ viii s)

Ordanis Sir Henry Eldar to be warnit to be present at ii houris efter none on Mononday nixt and to bring with him the principal gift of the hospital with the rest of the fundationnis. (Eldar)

17 Decembris 1582

Presentes minister, William Hall, William Inglis, Alexander Glass, Andro Jhonston, Walter Eldar, Robert Chapman, Jhon Lawry, Andro Moncreif, James Hepburn, James Drummond

Quhilk day compeiris Jhon Paterson and Janet Weitfutt and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him is Andro Burry, for hir Andro Jhonston. Terme Fasterande Evin. (Paterson)

Ordanis Thomas Monipenny youngar to pay xl s for dispensation of the ward and crossheid provyding it prejudge na man in tyme cumming.\(^{136}\) (xl s/ 2 culpa)

Compeiris Helenor Merschell and confesses hir fornication with Alexander

\(^{136}\) Monipenny's case is not to be taken as precedent for anyone to have this option. In fact, however, it provided the precedent for Gilbert Blyth in the same circumstances at the next meeting.
Fary and heirfoir sche is ordenit to be wardit. (Merschell/ viii s/ peinia culpa resavit) 137

24 Decembris 1582
Quhilk day the minister and haiill eldaris being present desyris the bailyeis to chairge the counsal to convein on Thursiday nixt efter the sermond to seik the kist for the fundation of the hospital.

Quhilk day compeiris Gilbart Blyth and confesses his fornication with Margret Stanhous and payis xl s for the dispensation of the ward and crosheid. (xl s/ 1 culpa/ ressavit/ Stanhous)

[174] Ultimo Decembris
Quhilk day the minister and the haiill eldaris being convenit, Compeiris Margret Morison and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Chrystison and submittis hir to the disciplene of the kirk heirfoir, and desyris hir bairin to be baptiest, quhilk was grantit, and Oliver Makison receavit cati-onar under the paine of ane hundreth £ that the said Jhon suld lykwayis obey the injunctionis of the kirk quhan he convalest of his disease. (3 culpa/ Morison)

Compeiris Alexander Fary and confeses his fornication with Helen Merschell and heirfoir is ordanit to be wardit in the ward appointit for fornicatores. (Fary/ 1 culpa/ resavit)

Compeiris Margret Oliphant and confesses hir fornication with James Monipenny quha promeses to pay xl s for dispensation of the ward. (Oliphant/ 1 culpa/ ressavit)

Ordains Andro Donaldson master of hospital to pay to James Rynd v £ that was appointit for James Hepburn for his fie of the lxxxi yeiris. 138

Compeiris Stevin Patton and Margret Piery and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Monipenny, for hir Finlay Makduff. Terme Candilmes. (Mariit)

137 The pains or penalty of her guilt is received.
138 For his stipend in 1581.
Octavo Januarii 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being convenit, it was ordanit that ane eldar of every quarter of the town suld pass throuche the same every Sunday in tyme of preitching befoir none ther tyme about and not\(^1\) thame that war fund in taveronis, baxteres boithis, or on the gattis, and delait them to the assembly that every ane that is absent fra the kirk may be pundit for xx s according to the act of parliament. (absentes fra preiching)\(^2\)

Compeiris James Young and Violet Tailyeor and desyris ther bannis to be proclaimed. Cation for him Thomas Anderson, for hir Thomas Elgyn. Terme Fasterand evin. In the mean tyme he is ordanit to pay xl s to the puir for his rasche promes maid to Marion Dow. (Young)

xv January 1583

Quhilk day compeiris William Chalmer and Agnes Henderson and desyris ther bannis to be proclaimed. Cation for him Oliver Peblis, for hir David Ramsay. Terme Fasterand evin.

Compeiris Margret Gibson and confesses hir fornication with William Jhonston and is ordanit to be wardit. (2 culpa/ Gibson)

[175] Quhilk day it was ordanit that te eldaris of ilk quarter suld go throuche the town on Sunday nixt according to the former act.

21 Januarii 1583

Quhilk day it was ordanit that James Monipenny in respect he hes abusit his body with Margret Oliphant suld remouf hir out of his house with expedition under paine of excommunication. (Monipenny)

Ordanis that the haill tymmer lying in the kirk be remoufit out of the same or\(^3\) Setterday at evin, or ellis Oliver Peblis master of the kirk sail apply it to the use of the puire. (Timmer)

\(^1\) Note.

\(^2\) This requirement for searching means that all the elders are themselves absent from the sermon every Sunday. APS iii, 138, c.8 (1579) confirmed the earlier 20s penalty for sabbath breach, and directed that an offender who could not pay should be consigned to the stocks for twenty-four hours; cf. iii, 38, c.17 and iii, 211, c.1.

\(^3\) Ere, before.
29 Januarii 1583

Quhilk the minister and heall eldaris being present, compers David Allan and Janet Chrysty and desyris ther bannis to be proclaimed. Cation for him Andro Allan, for hir Thomas Anderson. Terme Palme Sonnday. (Allan)

Quhilk day Jeine Thornton being accusit first for hir absence fra the stulle of publict repentance on Sunday lastbypast, secundly for sclandering of honest men and women in this town alledging them mair giltyof adultery nor sche was, thirdly of evil speaking on the stull of publict repentance on the day of fast observit in this town, fourtly of fearful execrations usit be hir the nicht the brige fell. Denyis the haill eccept the first of hir absence fra the stulle at quhat tymne sche was seik as sche alledgit. Nevertheless, the assemblie sail offir to pruf the rest of the pointtis of hir accusation this day aucht dayis. (Thornton)

Ordanis the act maid in anno 1580 to be put in execution agans Thomas Monipenny youngar and Andro Carmichell. (Monipenny)

Ordanis the bell to go throuche the town and befoir charging all to remouif ther timmer out of the kirk.

Ordanis the namis to be tane up on Mononday nixt againe the communion.

xi Februarii

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present, compeiris Jhon Thomson and Margret Rynd and desyris ther bannis to be proclaimed. Cation for him that he for his part sail performe the bannis is David Thomson, for hir Jhon Rynd. Terme Witsonday. (Thomson)

[176] Compeiris William Stevison and Alison Fyf and desyris ther bannis to be proclaimed etc. Cation for him is George Stobby, for hir William Stobby. Terme Palme Sonnday. (Stevison)

Compeiris Jhon Smythe and enteris William Jhonston to the kirk quha is relevit of his cautionarie, and the said William ordanit to inter to his repentance. (Smythe)

Compeiris Oliver Peblis and protestis that he haif remeid of Henry Adamson according to his bill and the determination of witnes past theruppon. (Peblis)

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4 Cursing in time of disaster – the storm and flood that brought down a significant portion of Perth’s all-important bridge – would have been doubly reprehensible in most people’s eyes.
Ordanis the act of sclander to be put in execution agains Effy Tully for sclanding of Issobel Rynd. (Tully)

Ordanis Oliver Peblis to mein the evil interteining of Mr Jhon Rowis barnis to the presbiterrie and to report his answer on Mononday nixt.

xviii Februarii 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present, it was ordanit that all that cam not to the examination at the tyme they war warnit to pay half ane merk. (examination)

Compeiris Thomas Gardner and Helen Gall and desyris their bannis to be proclamit etc. Cation for him is Alexander Schippard, for hir Jhon Gall. Terme Witsonday. (Gardner)

Compeiris Violet Lokart and confesses her fornication with William Edmeston and submittis hir to the discipleine of the kirk quha is ordanit to be wardit. (1 culpa/ Lokart)

Ordanis that Nicol Belman do his dewty in all thingis in ringing of the bellis in dew tyme and keiping of the kirk under the paine of deprivation. (Nicol Belman)

25 Februarii 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris taking order about the ministration of the communion appointis as efter fallowis:

For keiping of the suith kirk dor Oliver Peblis and William Flemyng, bailyeis, and William Hall, eldar

For receaving of the almes and takynis at that same dor Adam Blythman and James Mersser, deaconis

For keiping of the northe quyer dor Patrik Inglis, bailye, and James Hepburn, eldar

For keiping of the suith quier dor Andro Moncreif and Robert Chapman, eldaris

For keiping of the wickit behind the lordis seat Jhon Jak [and] Robert Snaill, deaconis, and William Ross, officer

For convoying of the braid throuche the tabillis Mr Jhon Mitchell and William Inglis, eldaris

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5 Ill treatment: the orphaned children of the late minister are not receiving the support due them from the kirk.
For gifting of the cuppis to the peepil Jhon Lawry, Andro Jhonston, Walter Eldar, and Alexander Glass, eldaris
For purging the wyn in the cuppis James Quhyt, James Sym, Jhon Ogilby, and William Cathrow, deaconis
For convoying of the wyn frome the revestrie Gilbert Donaldson and Jhon Cramby, deaconis
For gathering the almes at the northe kirk dor Jhon Smyth, elder, and William Cok, deacon
For keeping of gud ordor it is appointit that James Drummond be in St Androis Ill, Robert Anderson at the skynneris dask, and Dyonice Conquer- rior in the Northe Ill.
For preparing of the braid Robert Rynd
For preparing of the claithis to the tabillis and the cuppis, the thresaurer
The bellis to be ronng according to the auld ordor.

Compeiris Margret Carvar and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Mathow
and submittis hir to the disciplein of the kirk quha is ordanit to be wardit. (2 culpa/ Carvar/ ressavit)

The assembly appointis James Drummond and Mr Jhon Mitchell to pass
with the proces deducit befoir them agans Henry Adamson to the pres- biterry on Wednisday nixt to seik their avyse therunto and to report ther answer this day viii dayis.6

[178] 4 Martii 1583
Qhillk day the minister and eldaris being present compeiris Jhon Bennat in Bambreithe and Janet Curat and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit, and cation for him and hir boith Adam Harrowar. (Bennat)

Ordanis the act of sclander to be put in execution againis Issobel Wentan for sclandering of Margret Snail, Christen Snail, and Elspet Cudbert. (Wanton)

xi Martii 1583
Qhillk day the minister and eldaris being present, it was ordanit that all persons that aucth7 ony thing of dewty or yeirly rent within this burgh suld be warnit to compeir befoir the assembly this day viii dayis.

6 Unfortunately the Perth presbytery minutes are only extant from 1618 (NRS ms CH2/299/1), so we only know the outcome of Adamson's part in the Thornton adultery case from the General Assembly ruling (BUK iii, 621-22).
7 Owed.
Forsamekle as sundry war absent fra the examination befoir the communion, it was ordanit that all that war absent suld be warnt quarterly to schew ane ressonabil cause quhy they absentit thame selffis againe this day aucht dayis. (examination)

Forsamekle as ther has bein ane action of sclander depending befor us this lang tyme bypass betuix William Killoch and William Knox, it was ordanit that Andro Jhonston, Alexander Glass and William Inghs suld travell to agre the foirsaid parties gif it mycht be and to report ther answer this day viii dayis. (Killoch)

Ordanis the act of sclander to be put in execution aganis Jhon Peblis for the sclandering of Jhon Canskin etc.

18 Martii 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present, it was ordenit that the act maid in Mr James Smythis tyme aganis Jein Thornton suld be put in execution baith aganis hir self and hir cautionaris for hir wickit and ungodly sclander committit aganis Metty Guthry of new aganis hir promes.8 (Thornton)

Ordanis the minister to confer with Andro Trumpet prively and assailye9 gif he will turne fra his godles opinion of papistre and report his answer to the assembly this day aucht dayis. (Trumpet)

Ordanis the act of sclander to be put in execution agans Violet Paterson for the sclandering of William Young, lorimer.

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8 Mattie Guthrie would soon marry the minister, Patrick Galloway (see 21 Apr. 1583), and Thornton's estranged husband, Oliver Peblis, would stand as her caution. Thornton's new slander of her was probably part of her generalised and apparently ongoing railing at 'honest men and women in this town alleging them more guilty of adultery than she was' (29 Jan.). Her targeting of Guthrie is understandable given Guthrie's friendship with Peblis and Thornton's resentment of Galloway and his colleagues for their discipline of her and referral of her partner's case to the presbytery. But one probably ought not discount altogether her suspicion of hypocrisy on the part of her godly persecutors. The act made in Smyth's time is the ruling of the session meeting of 20 Nov. 1581 (when Smyth was clerk), after an earlier incident of Thornton's flyting with Guthrie even before her troubles with the session over her sexual misbehaviour had begun. Thornton has now violated the terms of that ruling by slandering Guthrie again, despite her promise to refrain.

9 Try, ascertain.
Primo Aprillis 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris convenit for the tyme in the place appointit compeirit William Stobby and Katheren Flemyng desyring ther bannis to be proclamit, quhilk being grantit the said William found George Stobby cation for his part that he suld performe the band giffin up and the said Katherein fand Robert Flemyng for hir part. Terme Witsonday. (William Stobby)

Compeiris Dyonice Blakwod and Chirsten Mitchell and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Andro Mersser, for hir, Robert Blair. Terme Witsonday. (Blakwod)

Compeiris Andro Barry and Janet Henderson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him James Gill, for hir David Mar. Terme Witsonday. (Mariit/ Barry)

Compeiris Alexander Chalmer and Chirsten Cudbert and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Ross, for hir Jhon Wrycht. Terme Witsonday. (Chalmer)

Compeiris James Kar and promis to pay to the hospital yeirly and truely for his part of the land. (Kar)

Compeiris Alexander Monipenny and promisis to pay yeirly ii merk in tyme cummyng to the hospital. (Monipenny)

Quhilk day it was ordanit that Jhon Ronaldson officer to the kirk suld be present in the kirk at preitching and prayeris to the effect that ordor may be observit in the kirk under the paine of tinsell of his fy that he receavis of the hospitalitie.10 (Officer)

Octavo Aprillis 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris in respect of the great suspicion of harlettry betuix Madlen Firsell in the Meal Vennal dwelland and William Keipir quha resortis nichdy till hir house. The said Madlen was admonischit that gif ever sche war in companie or suspect with the said William that sche suld be punischit as affeiris. (Madlen Firsell)

Compeiris William Russell and Chirsten Ritchartson and desyris ther bannis

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10 The 'fy' is the kirk officer's fee, or remuneration, paid from hospital funds.
to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Lammerkyn, for hir David Jhonston. Terme Midsomer.

[180] Compeiris Michael Lyall and Agnes Yonng and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Alexander Monipenny, for hir Jhon Bog. Terme Witsonday. (Lyall)

Compeiris Margret Thomson and confesses hir fornication with James Tyrie quha is ordanit to be wardit for hir first fault. (Thomson ressavit)

Quhilk day forasmekle as Archibald Brown refering the decision of the mater betuix him and his party to the minister of Tibbermuir promising to do the dewty of ane father to the bairin in case the foirsaid minister wald say that the bairin was baptised in his name, in respect that the said minister deponit befoir the presbiterie that the bairin was baptist in the said Archibaldes name, the assembly ordanit the said Archibald to sustein according to his promiss the barin for ane yeir to cum. (Brown)

Decimo quarto Apprilis 1583
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris convenit for the tyme, compeiris William Glass and Elspet Macgregor and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Peblis, for hir Duncan Macgregor. Terme Midsomer.

Compeiris Jhon Clerk and Bessy Smyth and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Chapman, for hir Jhon Adam. Terme Witsonday.

Compeiris James Gill and actis hir self under the paine of xl £ to enter Jhon Makwalter to the kirk quhan he salbe requyrit heirfoir, upon the quhilk the said Jhon being accusit of suspition of adulterie with Maige Paterson and therfoir wardit was releisit. (Macwalter)

21 Aprilis anno 1583
Quhilk day Mr William Rynd minister at Kynnoull and the eldaris being present, compeiris Mr Patrik Galloway minister at Perth and Metty Guthrie and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Peblis, for hir Oliver Peblis. Terme Midsomer. (Mr P Galloway)

Compeiris Neill Makgie and Janet Pett and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Peblis, for hir, Jhon Rynd. Terme Midsomer. (Macgie)

Compeiris Balty Isak and confesses his fornication with Issobel Stewart and heirfoir is ordanit to be wardit. (Isak)
Ordanis xl s to be given to James Petlandy for the halling of the puire boy of the glengoir.\footnote{This is a substantial amount of money and may be for consultation of a physician – an expensive proposition since there was no physician in Perth. The glengoire is a venereal disease.}

Ordanis the act of scolander to be put in execution agains Blaise Ritchartson for scolandering of George Jhonston as [thief]\footnote{Torn.} and part of the way taking of his geir. (Ritchartson)

\[181\]

\textit{Sexto Maii 1583}

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris ordanit Andro Jhonston to present Janet Scharp againe this day auct dayis.

Comperis Andro Clerk and Agnes Murray and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Davidson notair, for hir Alexander Maxton. Terme Midsomer. (1 2 3)

\textit{Decimo tertio Maii 1583}

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present compeiris Thomas Lamb and Margret James and desyris their bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Lamb, for hir David James. Terme Lambes. (Lamb)

Compeiris Malcam Don and Margret Scherair, parochinaris of Creif, and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Ritchie, for hir James Quhyt. Terme Midsomer.\footnote{There is no indication of why the couple was in Perth, but they must have been resident for some time since the session was willing to proclaim the banns. It is unusual for the clerk not to record consultation with the minister of Creif.} (Don./ mariit in Creif)

Ordanis James Monipenny to remove Margret Oliphant incontinent\footnote{Immediately.} out of his house under the paine of disobedience. (Oliphant)

Compeiris Jhon Stevison and confesses that Margret Watson was in his house ane day and ane nycht and hir mother cam and brocht hir fra his house ham to hir away and patt hir away, quhilk hir mother confest. Heirfor sche was ordanit to be wardit quhill sche present hir dochtar and because the said Jhonis wyf is suspectit of harlettry with David Brown, ane admonition is giffin to him that gif his wyf be fund suspect with David or ony
uther in tyme cumming, sche sail be haldin as ane adulteres and sall suffer thairfois.15 (Stevison)

Compeiris Malcam Bischop and offeris him self cation under the paine of xx £ that Chirsten Bischop his sister sall mak hir repentance quhair sche maid the falt of fornication and sall report ane testimonial thereupon within vi oulkis or ellis sall maik hir repentance heir in this town. (Bischop)

Compeiris David Brown and confesses that at the baptising of Margret Watsonis bairin in James Makbrakis foirland that James Merschell was present and held up the bairin confessing the same to be his to be baptist, and William Cragy16 quha baptist the same, Jhon Rettray messinger, him self, and his servant war present at the request of James Merschell and Katherein Robertson mother to the said Margret, for sche prayit him to go and sie gif it was possibill that the bairin micht be baptiest. The tyme quhan the bairin was baptiest was at x houris befoir none. (Brown)

[182] Ordanis James Merschell to be wardit quhan he may be apprehendit.

Compeiris Jhon Rettray messinger and confesses that at the baptising of Margret Watsonis bairin, David Brown and his sister, Jhon Abraham, him self, and James Merschell war present quha held up the bairin confessing the same to be his and callit it Jhon David Brown, being witnes theirto and the nureise that kepit the bairin, protesting that he was witles of the same, nevertheless he submittit him to the correction of the kirk. (Rettray)

20 Maii 1583
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present compeiris Jhon Esmyth and Violet Rynd and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Adam Brisson, for hir James Hepburn. Terme Lambes. (Esmyth)

Compeiris Blease Ritcharton and Chirsten Williamson and desyris ther bannis to be proclmit. Caution for him Jhon Richardton, for hir Alexander Williamson. Terme Lambes. (Ritcharton)

15 See above, 16 Apr., 7 May (Stevison warded for failing to present Watson to the kirk), 10 May 1582.
16 Reader of Weem parish 1575–86 (Fasti iv, 191). Readers were not permitted to baptise, even in their own parishes. See below, 16 Sept. 1583 for Cragy's appearance.
27 Maii anno 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present compeiris James Cuik and Issobel Ramsay and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Cawslan, for hir Thomas Mar. Terme Midsomer. (Cuik)

Compeiris Jhon Wobstair and Issobel Thomson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Alexander Murye, for hir Robert Sym. Terme Midsomer. (Wobstair)

Compeiris Thomas Rynd and Helen Henrie and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Blackat, for hir Robert Blakat. Terme Midsomer. (Rynd)

Ordanis James Merschell, William Jhonston, William Edmeston, James Tyrie, Effy Tully, Issobel Moncure to be wardit for disobedience.

Compeiris Jhon Lamond and confesses his fornication with Margret Scharpe, quha is ordanit to be wardit. (Lamond satisfiit)

Compeiris Issobel Murdoche and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Blak quha is remittit till this day viii dayis because sche is seik. (Murdoch)

Ordanis Robert Edmeston to be pundit for ane merk for retenning of Chirsten Edmeston his douchtair being ane harlat and to be wardit quhill he present hir to the kirk. (Edmeston)

[183] Ordanis Andro Schang and Helen Wenton to be warnit againe this day aucht dayis.

Compeiris Agnes Fulton and confesses hir fornication with James Patton, maltman. They had carnal deal first betuix Yule and Candilmes, and lykwayis with William Gray at St Jhoneis Day in Harvest, and continually befoir. (Fulton)

The assembly desyris the bailyeis to remove Jhon Eldar fra his house according as he was lauchfully warnit.17 (Eldar)

Ordanis Helen Orme spouse to Henry Ady, Robert Hally and his wife,

17 See above, 4 June 1582, and for the outcome, 21 Oct. 1583.
and Bessy Patty to be warnit agaime Wednesday nixt to compeir besfoir the presbiterie.\(^\text{18}\)

### 3 Junii 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaries being present compeiris Janet Scharp and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Lamond quha is ordanit to be wardit as ane duble fornicatrix. (Scharp/ 2 culpa)

The assembly admonishes Patrik Fowlis and his wyf to keip the kirk under the paine contenit in the actis of parliament.\(^\text{19}\) (Fowlis)

Compeiris Jhon Chrystison and confesses his adulterye with Margret Morison, submitting him to the discipleine of the kirk. And because it was not notkwain to the assembly quhidder he was divorcit fra his wyf or no, and sa was onder suspition of adulterie, he promises to produce his libel of divorcement againe Lambes Day. In the meane he is admonisit to abstein fra hir house as he is suspectit of.\(^\text{20}\) (Chrystison)

Compeiris Janet Foistair and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Macweyin quha is ordanit to be wardit. (Fostair/ 1 culpa)

Compeiris Margret Corse and being demandit gif sche knew of the discord that was betuix David Gray and Alexander Cury, and gif David was in hir house, confessit that the said David cam out of Jhon Stevisonis house to hir house at v houris at evin and bad hir go to Jhon Stevisonis house about ane point ail. (Medwyf) And said that Helen Watson hed discordit with hir housband, and was command to him quhome with he wald drink ane point ail to put hir by ane ill hour because sche said to hir sche wald gang drown hir self. And sche broucht the ail, quhilk sche says is drukin at Alexander Curies dor, quhair the said David and Alexander discordit. Secundly, being demandit concerning Janet Paulis bairin and accusit for the same as art and part of the downeputting of the same, confessed that Jeine Paul sister to the said Janet cam about hir desyring hir to gang up to hir sister quha was seik and sche

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\(^\text{18}\) There is no previous mention of Helen Orme by name, but she may be a witness in another case. Robert Hally was a deponent in the adultery case of Jean Thornton with Henry Adamson (27 Aug., 10 and 24 Sept., 8 Oct. 1582). Bessie Patty was cited 2 July 1582 for hiding her daughter, Janet Paul, from the searching elders, Janet having given birth to a child who had died or been killed straightaway (4 June 1582, and below, 3 June 1583).

\(^\text{19}\) APS iii, 38, c. 17; 138, c. 18; 211, c. 1.

\(^\text{20}\) Divorce was possible in the Reformed church in cases of adultery, and the innocent party was permitted to re-marry. If he was truly divorced, the charge against him in this case would be the lesser one of fornication, rather than adultery.
past up with hir. And being in the house sitting on the kist befoir the
tbed at nyne houris at even, sche saw the said Janet sitting verie seik at the
fyre syd on the schinlay stand, blud being found about hir lyk ane woman
in hir childill and that hed borin ane bairin. Bot quhidder sche hed berin
ane or not, sche knew not, quha is ordanit to be put in the irnis.  

Compeiris Alison Cok and ratifiis hir former confession maid be hir befoir
the minister and eldaris being confrontit with Margret Corse the fourt of
Junii 1582 concerning Janet Paulis bairin, quhilk sche culd not deny. (Alison
Cok)

Compeiris Agnes Mersser and confesses that Agnes Niwing dwelland
with Mr William Oliphant tald hir that Janet Paul was lichter of ane lass.  
(Mersser)

The same day the officer Jhon Ronaldson recordit that about the same tyme
of yeir quhan Janet Paulis bairin was borin as is alledgit, Nicol Ronaldson
making Jhon Killochis grave fand ane dead new borin bairin yeirdit not ane
hand braid under the yeard without his or Nicollis knowledge.

Compeiris William Edmeston and confesses his fornication with Violet
Lockart quha is ordanit to be wardit. (Edmeston)

Ordanis James Sym to gif Mr William Cok readar x mark in compleit
payment of his scrybsie of all termes preceeding the terme of Lambes
anno 1583 with expedition.

10 Junii 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present, compeiris Nicol Blair and
Marjorie Malcum and desyris their bannis to be proclamit. Caution for him
Gilbart Blair, for hir Andro Malcum. Terme Lambes. (Mariit)

Compeiris Finlay Macinnes and Violet Cok and desyris ther bannis to be

Compeiris David Gray and confesses that he cam out of Jhon Stevisonis

21 See 4 June 1582: Margaret Corse was the midwife at Janet Paul's delivery of a child
apparently killed after giving two cries.
22 She had borne a daughter. See 4 June 1582 and 3 June 1583.
23 In a shallow grave, not a hand's breadth under the surface of the earth.
house, and command\textsuperscript{24} throuche the kirkyaird, Purves\textsuperscript{25} cryit upon him at v houris at evin to the medwyffis house quha past in. And efter Purves passing furthe he remanit thair till alevin houris at evin slepand in ane chear, and efter he waknit, he drank ane point ail, at quhat tyme he and Alexander Curie discordit in the dor therschit, and that Alexander Curie strak him over the midwyffis schulder. For the quhilk cause and utheris, being diverse tymes suspect of adulterie befoir, he was ordanit to be put to ane inquest and at the request of his wyf was delyverit fra the same, oblissing him self that gif ever he war fund in ane suspect place ether with Donald Thom-sonnis wyf, Margret Corse the midwyf, or yit with Helen Watson spous to Jhon Stevison, it suld be as adulterie confest be his awin mouth, and suld be willing to d[o]\textsuperscript{26} without ane inquest sa his wyf receaving him in favor, the[y] departit. (Gray)\textsuperscript{27}

\[185\] Compeiris Margret Corse the midwyf and being demandit first concerning Janet Paullis bairin, sche ratiffis hir former confession. (Corse)

18 \textit{Junii} 1583
Qhilk day the minister and eldaris being present compeiris Duncan Robertson and Agnes Robertson and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Inglis, for hir Patrik Grant. Terme Lambes. (Robertson Marit)

Compeiris George Hall and Gillis Freirton and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Caution for him Andro Malcum, for hir Mr P Galloway.\textsuperscript{28} Terme Lambes. (Hall Marit)

Compeiris George Chreichton and Issobel Scot and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Chirstell Chappel, for hir Jhon Strangbow. Terme Lambes. (Chreichton/ Marit)

Compeiris Effy Tully and being accusit for hir absence fra the communion and for the seperation betuix hir and James Sym hir husband, answeres sche hes bein absent four yeiris bygone fra the same for innmmeitie\textsuperscript{29} betuix hir

\textsuperscript{24} Coming.
\textsuperscript{25} Perhaps Violet Purves, found keeping the wrong sort of company on earlier occasions: see 23 July and 24 Sept. 1582.
\textsuperscript{26} Torn.
\textsuperscript{27} Gray's wife, Elspeth Campbell, had complained about his behaviour before, nor would he keep his resolve to be more circumspect in the future: he would be executed for adultery with Helen Watson on 5 Jan. 1585; cf. 17 May 1582.
\textsuperscript{28} Patrick Galloway, the minister. Later the kirk would forbid ministers serving as cautions.
\textsuperscript{29} Enmity.The kirk insisted on reconciliation with one's enemies before communion; however,
and hir nichtboris quhilk was fund na excuse be the kirk bot for the same she was convict of the penalty according to the act of parliament.\textsuperscript{30} To the secund sche anserit hir husband was in suspition of hir quhilk wes fals and wald tak ane inquest of hir nychbores for the same, quhairfoir xv of hir nychbores was ordanit to be present to try the same. (Tully)

Compeiris David Ramsay and takis act that he hes enterit his douchtar in law to the kirk alledging the adherence was in hir awin will. (Ramsay)

Compeiris William Meldran and deliveris ane testimonial of the kirk of Carrell that he was mariit with the said Davidis douchtair in law togidder with the decreet of the said kirk ordering hir to adheir to him under the paine of excommunication, protesting that sche suld be answerabill againe this day xv dayis quhan they according to our ordinance suld bring ane testimonial subscryvit with the minister and heill eldaris of Carreill in lyk maner protesting that his wrettis be redelyverit to him quhan he requyrit thame. (Meldran)

\textit{Primo Julii 1583}

Qhilk day the minister and eldaris being present, compeiris Janet Ray and confesses hir fornication with Robert Bruce servant to the master of Ogilvie quha is ordanit to be wardit. (2 falt/ Ray)

\[186\] Compeiris William Meldran and according to his promise producit ane testimonial subscryvit be the minister and haill eldaris of Carreill that they according to the ordinance of the presbiterie of St Androus had decernit his spous to adheir to him under the paine of excommunication, desyring the assembly of Perth to authorize and asist the same according to thair dewty. (Meldran)

Compeiris David Ramsay father in law to Margret Ramsay spouse to William Meldran, and be vertew of the comissioneres letteris dischargis the said assemblie of Perth to intromet with the action intendit be William Meldran agains his spous desyring act therupon and producit ane copy of the saidis letteris to the assembly and subscryvit the same with his hand, and farder tuk act that the assembly was not full bot absent for the maist part. Qhilk thing the minister and eldaris hering, the minister for his answer that not withstanding of the commissioners letteris, he wald asist the decreit producit be the assembly of Carreill and charge the said Margret to adheir to

\textsuperscript{30} APS iii, 71, c. 2.
the said William Meldran hir husband under the paine of excommunication. The eldaris for thair part being dischargit be the comissioneris letters and seing the maist part of the assembly absent, defrit thair answer til the morin efter the morning prayeris.\textsuperscript{31} (Ramsay)

\textbf{2 Julii 1583}

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being convenit for the foirsaid cause for diverse respectis with the advyse of the said William Meldran and Mr George his brother remittit the foirsaid action to be desydit be the commissioneeris. (Meldran)

Ordanis Andro Donaldson master of hospital to gif in his comptis of hospitality on Thursday nixt efter the sermond.

\textbf{xv Julii 1583}

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present, comperit David Finlason in the parochin of Brechin and Violet Ritchie and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Constantyn Malice, for hir James Robertson. Terme St Jhonsday in harvest. (Mariit ii Augusti)

Compeiris William Lyall and Margret Corse and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Monipenny, for hir Alexander Monipenny. Terme St Jhonsday in harvest. (Lyall)

Ordanis the officiar to dispasche of the town all lyparis commanding nane to resave thame in thar houses under the pain of xx £ and he to have half merk and his helper xl d for thair travell.\textsuperscript{32} (lyparis)

[187] Compeiris James Patton and confesses his fornication with Agnes Fulton quha is ordanit to be wardit. (viii s)

Ordanis Malcum Bischop to produce ane mair autentik testimonial subscr-yvit be the readar and four eldaris of his sisteris repentance nor he did agans this day xx dayis.\textsuperscript{33} (Bischop)

\textsuperscript{31} This jurisdictional quarrel was short-lived: the following day, the Perth session gave in. Their position was certainly weakened by poor attendance.

\textsuperscript{32} The finders' fee would be strong motivation for active enforcement. It is hard to conceive of townspeople knowingly receiving lepers into their homes, however.

\textsuperscript{33} They suspect that his testimonial is forged.
22 Julii 1583
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present compeirit Jhon Gibson and Marion Anderson and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Wrycht, for hir Jhon Donaldson. Terme St Jhonsday in harvest. (Gibson)

Compeiris Jhon Blak and confesses his fornication with Issobel Murdoch, quha payit xl s for dispensation of the tour and crosheid. (xl s)

Ordanis every ane that is warnit be the officer to collect the pooris alms and collectis it not to pay x s. (puires almes)

24 Julii 1583
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present compeiris Jhon Donaldson in Nalba and Janet Flek and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him, Thomas Donaldson, for hir George Jhonston. Terme Marimes. (Donaldson)

Compeiris Thomas Cry and Margret Donaldson and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Lammerkyn, for hir James Cudbert. Terme Michaelmes. (Cry/Mariit 15 Septembris)

Ordanis Jhon Swanton to keip only the tenor in the plsame [sic], secundly to help and sustein his barin onder the pane of deprivation fra his office. (Swanton)

Quinto Augusti 1583
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present compeiris Jhon Anderson and Violet Paterson. Cation for him Donald Jhonston, for hir Patrik Lamb. Terme Michaelmes. (Anderson)

Compeiris Patrik Patreson and confesses his bestial was in the burial. (Peblis)

Compeiris Oliver Peblis and biddis viii markis for the house of the hospital and als to satisffie the curat. (Peblis)

34 Warding in the kirk tower.
35 This act is aimed at dilatory deacons.
36 For Martinmas, 11 November.
37 In the sixteenth century, the tune was carried in the tenor line. This act, in line with Genevan practice, forbids harmonisation altogether, lest musical complexity distract attention from the words of Scripture.
38 His cattle or other animals have been grazing within the walls of Greyfriars burial ground.
39 Peblis wishes to buy a house that had sustained one of the pre-Reformation chapels and
Compeiris Ritchart Farnie and Jein Anderson and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Alexander Monipenny, for hir Thomas Anderson. Terme Witsunday nixtocum.

[188] The distribution of the almis giffin to the puir be the kingis majestie at Perth the thrid of Augusti extending to the sume of 22 £ xiii [s] viii d

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<td>Gilbert Garneris wyf</td>
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xii Augusti 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present, compeiris Jhon Mathow and confesses his fornication with Margret Carvar and promises to mak his repentance according to the ordor for the same, desyring in the meane tym ane testimonial that his bairin may [be] baptisit in Scone, and fand Gilbart Ray cation that he suld mak his repentance as said is. His desyre being hard and cation fund, the testimonial was grantit. And being demandit gif hewald chuse frindis on his part and stand at thair delyverance for the way takin of the dissention betuix him and Jhon Smyth, answerit he hed chosin

now supported the hospital. Part of his bid must be to provide a stipend or other acceptable payment to the curate who had been employed by the chapel and had been pensioned off by the protestant settlement.

40 The fact that she is not named suggests that she may have been an itinerant healer. Physicians usually dealt with venereal diseases by prescribing heavy doses of mercury. This boy may have recovered because of a female healer's less toxic resort to herbal remedies.

41 This sum may have gone to support poor boys in the sangschool or grammar school, or to help send some of them to St Andrews University.

42 The mason may be disabled or ill and unable to support his family.
already Jhon Peblis and Patrik Mathow for that sam purpois and wald stand at thair delyverance sa that they concludit nathing bot by his advyse and consent.\(^{43}\) (Mathow)

19 Augusti 1583
Quhilk day the assembly being convenit, comperit Andro Anderson and Helen Donaldson and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Anderson, for hir Donald Jhonston. Terme Michaelmes.

[189] 26 Augusti 1583
Absentes: Andro Moncreif, Mr Jhon Mitchell, William Hall, James Drummond, Jhon Smyth

Quhilk day comperis James Ballantyn and Helen Henderson and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Young, and for hir also. Terme Hallowmes.

Compeiris Effie Tully and desyris of James Sym\(^{44}\) hir husband adherence or ellis ane sufficient living to sustein hir and ane maid servant, quhilk being hard the assemblie assigned this day aucht dayis to answer to the said Effies bill. (Tully)

Compeiris Margret George and confesses hir fornication with George Forrest, servant to Charillis Mersser, quha is ordanit to satisffie according to the oridor. (viii s George)

27 Augusti 1583
Quhilk day forsemekle as Robert Blair burges in Perth was convict as cationar for Christen Mitchell his dochtar in law that sche suld haif accomplischit the band of mariage with Dionise Blakat bot in hir part delayit the same by the day appointit, it was ordanit that the said Robert suld pay £ x and the said Dyonice xl s for his part, and the said Christen als mekle, and thairafter the Dyonice bairin to be baptist. (x £)

Ordanis Jhon Peblis to pay £ x as cationar for Walter Mertyn quha accomplischit not the band giffin up befoir the kirk betuix him and Janet Stanhouse. (x £)

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\(^{43}\) He has agreed to binding arbitration of his quarrel.

\(^{44}\) Sym was a deacon.
Secundo Septembris 1583

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being presently convenit, compeiris Jhon Sym and Janet Malice and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Gilbart Blair, for hir Constyn Malice. Terme Mertinmes. (Sym)

Compeirit James Coll in Ochtargevin parochin and Alison Wrycht and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Alexander Pett, for hir William Catrow. Terme Mertinmes. (Coll)

Ordanis Jeine Thornton to be wardit for disobedience to the kirk. (Thornton)

16 Septembris 1583

Mr Jhon Mitchell, William Hall, James Drummond, William Inglis, Alexander Glass, Jhon Smyth

Compeiris Thomas Akyn and Margret Mullikein and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Adam, for hir George Stobby. Terme Mertinmes. (Akyn)

Compeiris George Forrest and confesses his fornication with Margret George quha is ordanit to be wardit till he satisfie according to order. (Forrest viii s)

Quhilk day forsamekle as ane great [bruit] was arisin on Margret Donaldson, servant to Mr Jhon Mitchell, that sche hed abusit hir body in harlettry with the maister of Errol, the minister in audience of the eldaris demandit at hir gif it was trew. Sche denyit the same, alledging the sclander to haif rysin of invious personis without ony caus of offence maid be hir. (Dondaldson and Mitchell)

Compeiris Jein Fenton and confesses hir fornication with Marcus Swanton quha is ordanit to enter in ward according to ordor. (Fenton viii s)

Quhilk day William Cragy being demandit concerning the baptising of the bairin in Alexander Macberakis foirland confeses that he baptisit the bairin in ane chalmer in the foirland appertening to James Macbreak at the command of James Merschell, quha send his servand about him and quha he cam the said James promisit to him to do it xx s quhilk he receavit and ane pair of hoose, for the quhilk David Brown was cation, quhilk he

45 Torn.
46 Omitted. This would be the usual formulation for a rumor that got the session's attention.
47 The elder, present in the court on this date.
had not receaved as yit. The bairin being presented be James Merschell, he confessit it to be his and sa it was callit Jhon David Brown. Jhon Rettray, David Brownis sister and the wyf that keipit the bairin was thair. And being demandit quhat was David Brownis and Jhon Rettrayis part in it, confessit that David Brown solisit him to do it and cam about him for to do it, and gaif him the xx schilhngis in James Mershellis name, and that Jhon Rettray said he micht do it for the bairin was weak and na danger was to fallow thereupon.48 (Cragy ane new fund minister)49

Quarto Octobris 1583
Qhilk day the minister and eldaris being presently convenit ellectit and nominatit thir personis fallowing to bear office in the kirk for thair lyftyme,50 to wit for eldaris and deacons:

[191] Eldaris
The northsyd of the Hiegait
Andro Donaldson, Jhon Davidson eldar, and Walter Eldar
The suithsyd of the Hiegait
Andro Malcum, Alexander Gibson,52 and Jhon Lawry
Benethe the cross
James Hepburn, Andro Mersser, and Andro Jhoneston
Suithgait
James Drummond, Andro Moncreif, and Mr William Rynd
Deaconis
The northsyd of the Hiegait
James Sym, William Cok, and Alexander Dundy
The Suithsyd of the Hiegait
Jhon Jak, George Hall, and William Williamson
Benethe the cross
Jhon Ronaldson, William Catrow, and James Mersser
Suithgait
Andro Blythman, Jhon Ogilby, and Robert Grant

48 See above, 13 May 1583.
49 Fasti iv, 191 records William Cragy only as reader of Weem parish in 1575.
50 This is the first mention of lifetime appointment to kirk office in the Perth book. This was not the intention of the authors of the First Book (174–75).
51 The scribe for this election opted to decorate the capitals of many of the elders' and deacons' forenames – not a usual feature of this or any session book in the sixteenth century. For biographical information about the elders, see Appendix I.
52 The brother of the woman in the burial ground, Margaret Gibson (see 5 Feb. 1582).
Quhilk day it was ordanit that the minister suld publictly teache on the office of eldarschip on Sunday nixt and thair in presense of the haill congregation convenit in the kirk receave solemlie to thair office with thair aith of fidelitie [to] travell uprichtly in the office to the quhilk they ar callit etc.

Octavo Octobris 1583
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being convenit, compeirit James Ritchartson alias Millair and Margret Ruthven and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Gibson, for hir Walter Ruthven. Terme Mertinmes. (Millair)

[192] Compeiris Andro Bell and Agnes Cok and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Smyth, for hir Henry Cok. Terme Mertinmes. (Bell and Cok)

Compeiris William Stewart and Helen Peircon and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him James Stewart, for hir Andro Scharp. Terme Mertinmes. (Stewart mariit)

Compeiris Jhon Kempie and confesses his fornication with Madlen Firsell. Cation that he sail performe his repentance, Oliver Cragy under the paine of ten £ er Andersmes. (Kempy and Cragy)

19 Octobris 1583
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being convenit, compeirit James Ritchie and desyris his bannis to be proclamit with Margret Anderson. Cation for him Constyne Malice, for hir Alexander Anderson. Terme Andersmes. (Ritchie)

Compeiris Robert Wilson and Violet Niwing and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Lawrence Wilson, for hir James Millair. Terme Andersmes. (Wilson mariit)

Quhilk day the haill eldaris in ane voice approvit the excommunication of Jeine Thornton for hir adulterie confest, be the minister Mr Patrick Galloway be reason of hir obstinat disobedience to the word of the kirk. (Thornton excommunicat)

21 Octobris 1583
Quhilk [day] the minister and eldaris being convenit, it was ordanit that the minister, Oliver Peblis, James Drummond, Andro Moncreif, and Andro Mersser suld speik James Moncreif of Barnhill or ony deput in his name
concerning St Paul's Chappel to be ane hospital house and to report their answer on Mononday nixt. (Hospital)

Compeiris Agnus Carnie and oblisses him self to pay ten £ for James Macalester in caise he present not the said James to pay his ten £ on Mononday after Andersmes Day. (Carnie)

Compeiris Bessy Duncan and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Mathow quha fundis Jhon Peblis cation that sche sail performe hir repentance efter Andersmes immediatly. And lykwayis the said Jhon oblisses him self to enter Patrik and James Ruthvenis this day viii dayis in cais they be in this town under the paine of xx £. (Duncan and Peblis)

[193] Compeiris Margret Lamb and confesses hir fornication with Andro Henderson and findis Alexander Cok cation that sche sail satisffie the kirk. (Lamb)

The haill eldaris with the consent and assent of the minister granittis feu to Jhon Eldar merchant of the house appertaining to the hospital bondat betuix Lareittis Chappel on the est, the common Suithgait on the southe, the provest of Methvenis land on the west, and the said Jhon Eldaris land on the north partis, presently inhabit be Robert Chapman for x merkis girsum and vi merkis of yeirlie dewty to be payit at twa termes in the yeir, viz Witsunday and Mertinmes, provyndand that gif the said Jhon be auchtand twa times togidder and the twa times rynnand in thre, that his feu salbe admittit of it self. Secundly, that he pay the masteres of hospital his byrony meatles betuix this and Fryday nixt. And thairfoir ordanis him to mak his chartor with all the clauses neidful of warrandin and the promisses being performit, that it salbe subscryvit be the minister, eldaris, masteres of hospital, and scryb to the assembly. (Eldaris feu)

Compeires Thomas Purdy and confesses his fornication with Chirsten Edmeston quha is ordanit to satisfie thairfoir. (Purdy satisfiit)

53 This suggests that at least two of the medieval chapels had survived the mob of May 1559 – St Paul's and St Ann's (see above, 11 July 1580).
54 For Angus.
55 The chapel of Our Lady of Loretto.
56 Girsum is an anticipation of rent in a gross sum, or a fine paid in consideration of a lease for a term of years.
57 If he misses three payments in a row.
58 He must pay the notary.
28 Octobris 1583
Absentes: Andro Moncreif, James Drummond, Walter Eldar, Jhon Davidson elder, Andro Mersser, Andro Malcum

Quhilk day compeiris Andro Schang and Helen Wenton and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him James Schang, for hir Jhon Wenton. Terme Andersmes (Schang an Wenton)

Compeiris Jhon Hutson and Margret Lamb and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Ross, for hir Ilykwayis. Terme Andersmes. (Hutson and Lamb)

Quarto Novembris 1583
Absentes: Andro Moncreif, Andro Donaldson

Quhilk day compeirit William Smyth and Elspet Culros and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Oliver Cragy, for hir Henry Lyes. Terme the 25 of December. (Smyth and Culross)

Compeiris Dynoice Blakwod and Chirsten Mitchellsis mother with the said Chirsten hir self and oblisses hir for his part and than foir thair pairt to parforme his mariage with Chirsten Mitchel within ane moneth efter Robert Blairis hamecummyng under the paine of ilk party ten £. (Blakwod and Mitchell)

12 Novembris 1583
Quhilk day compeiris Jhon Robertson and Janet Kinked and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for hym Duncan Robertson, for hir Thomas Monipenny. Terme 25 of December. (Robertson and Kinked)

15 Novembris 1583
Quhilk day comperit Andro Lifrent and Violet Lyes and desyris ther bannis to be proclamit. Cation for hym George Pettillok, for hir Henry Lyes. Terme 25 of December. (Lifrent and Lyes)

18 Novembris 1583
Quhilk day Henrie Balneffes promissit to mend the flescharis lichtis in sic sort that na fait suld be fand thairwith. Secundly to present Effy Yonng his servant to the kirk. (flescharis)

59 The guilds' lights in the kirk consisted of the holders as well as the candles. These could be quite elaborate constructions of wood (see, for instance, the plasterers' light surviving in the Perth Museum and Art Gallery) that required periodic painting as well as repair.
Quhilk day forsamekle as Thomas Wilson and Elspet Kilour had failyeit in the former act, it was ordanit that Oliver Makison and Thomas Gall thair cautionaris suld pay ilkane of thame ten £. Secundly that the said Thomas and Elspet Kilour according to the former act mak thair repentance as double fornicators. Thirdly that the said Thomas Wilson [and] Elspet Kilour and thair cautionaris bring ane testimonial betuix this and Witsunday nixt of the said Elspettis husband dead that sche may be mariit with the said Thomas Wilson. And last that in caise the said Thomas and Elspet resort togidder that they sall satisfie as thryse fallin in fornication. (Wilson and Kilour).

Quhilk day it was ordanit that Jhon Ronaldson officer suld half ane dayis mait of tham that ar mariit ilk Sunday. (Officer)

27 Novembris 1583

Quhilk day compeirit Thomas Wilson and Janet Blythe and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Lammerkyn, for hir Oliver Kar. Terme the first of Januar. (Wilson)

Compeirit William Gardner and Helen Sutair and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Anderson, for hir Patrik Lamb. Terme the first of Januar. (xl s Gardner)

Compeirit Duncan Finlason and confest his fornication with Maropill Wyat and thairfoir submittit him to the disciplein of the kirk, quha is ordanit to pay xl s for dispensation of the crosheid, nixt that he abstene fra hir companie in tym comming with certification that gif he failye he salbe haldin as relaps in fornication. And in the meane tyme he to enter to his repentance. (xl s Finlayson)

Ordanis James Sym to gif to Violet Geddare x s, to Janet Scroggis x s, to Alison Chalmer v s and vi d oulkly, to James Stewart x s.

2 Decembris 1583

Absentes: Jhon Davidson eldar, Andro Mersser, Walter Eldar, and Andro Donaldson

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60 See 20 Aug. 1582. Kilour's previous husband had allegedly died in Flanders. She was to have gotten a death certificate and married Wilson by Lent 1583.
16 Decembris 1583

Absentes: James Hepburn, James Drummond, Andro Malcum, Alexander Gibson, and Andro Donaldson

Compeiris Robert Dyn and Helen Macgregor and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Flemyng, for hir Thomas Monipennie. Terme Candilmes. (Din)

Compeirit Thomas Wannand and Agnes Mitchell and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Rorie Rollok, for hir Robert Makbaith. Terme Candilmes. (Wannand)

Ordanis James Monipenny to put away out of his companie Margret Oliphant incontinent with certification that [if] sche be fund in his companie heirafter he salbe haldin as relaps in fornication and ordanis Andro Mersser and Andro Jhonston to adverties him heirof.

Quhilk day forsamekle as Nicoll Belman is fund not to ring the bellis in cumlie ordor to the preitching and prayeris him self, nixt that efter the bellis ringing he nor yit his sone is not present to keip the kirk fra bairnis, doggis, and tumultus, and that he furnischtis not the lichtis as he is chargit, and sa in everie point of his office failles; thairfoir presentlie the minister and eldaris depose him fra his office. Bot nevertheles becaus he is of aige, thei admittit him de novo provyding he find sufficient cation to observe the premisses, utherways he salbe simpliciter deposit without ony farder, and the thesaurer to be dischargit to answer him of his yeirlie dewty for his service mar. In the meanetyme ordanis him to be wardit till he find cation to performe the premisses as said is. (Nicoll Belman)

22 Decembris 1583

Quhilk day compeirit William Clink in Tibbermuiris parochin and Janet Eleis and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Adam Harrower, for hir Jhon Causlay. Terme Candilmes.

Compeirit Jhon Hall and Jane Cunningham and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Gilbert Walkar, for hir Obbert Hereis. Terme Candilmes.

Either nothing worth recording was done at the 2 Dec. meeting and no meeting was held the following week, or a page is missing here.
Compeiris William Gray and confesses his fornication with Agnes Fulton and findis William Ross at the Charterhous yet cation that he sall enter this day aucht to his repentance. (Gray)

Quhilk day forsamekle as na ordor can be had with harlottis and disobedienttis to the voice of the kirk, it is ordanit that ane eldar of ilk quarter pas to the bailye thairof and sie the ordinances put to execution, that is to say for the north syd of the Hiegait Andro Jhonston, for the suithsyd thaireof Andro Malcum, for the quarter beneth the cross Oliver Peblis, for the Suithgait Mr William Cok readar, and they to report thair answer on the assemblie day thairafter immediatlie fallowinge. (for vyce)

30 Decembris 1583
Quhilk day compeirit James Duncanson and Marion Burroch and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him George Henderson, for hir Patrik Burroch. Terme Candilmes.

[196] Compeiris Bessy Justice and confesses hir fornication with Duncan Maknair servant to the laird of Weim, yit because sche was neir hir birth tyme, sche was supersedit till sche war delyverit.

Quhilk day forsamekle as Margret Smyth spous to George Suitar absentit hir self this yir bygane fra the kirk in tyme of sermon, bot especially in the tyme of publict fasting, thairfoir sche is ordanit to pay iii £ for hir absence commonly fra the kirk in tyme of preitching and uther iii £ for hir absence fra the kirk in tyme of fasting, and to be wardit till sche find cation under the paine of paying of the extent of the act of parliament maid thairanent gif sche be fund absent in ony tyme cumming, quha fand Jhon Donaldson tailyeor cation for the same, George Suitar hir husband releving him as he promisit to do and farder promisit to gif the sowm laid till hir chairie quhansoever sche war requirit thairto. (Suitaris wyf vi £)
1584

[Sexto Januarii 1584]

Absentes: Andro Moncreif, Andro Jhonston

Comperit Anton Gib and Janet Stanhouse and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him, Jhon Peblis, for hir George Pur[ves] Terme Fasterand Evin.

Comperit Thomas Findlay and Margret Randy and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Lammerkyn, for hir Walter Ruthven. Terme Fasterand evin.

Jhon Lammerkyn, deacon to the wobstaris, being inquirit quhy he had na licht to the wobstaris seat, answerit it was becaus the wind cumming in at the south kirk dore sufferit tham not to shaw licht, and offerit willingly iii £ to change the same that thair lichtis may burn.² (Lammerkyn)

Quhilk day forsamekle as ane gret abuse and sclander hes risin throw the convening of gret multitudes and banketting in tyme of contractis and banis of mariage giffin up befoir the kirk, it was ordanit that na contractis of mariage suld be receavit on the Monunday in tyme of assembly, bot that onyday or ony tyme of the day the parties to be contractit with thair parentis, or ony twa nerest of thair kyn the parentis being dead or ony ane of thame, pass to the ministeris chalmer or ony uther part assigned to thame be the minister, and thair befoir the minister and twa eldaris gif up thair bannis and thairafter that the twa nerest of the kynred of the parties contractit cum on Monday immediately thereafter following and thair in presence of the haill assemblie ratifie the contract forsaith, and thene act thame selfis under the paine of ten £ ilkane of thame that the bannis giffin up as said is salbe performit within xl dayis thairafter following. (contractis)³

¹ Torn.
² It is unclear whether the websters planned to repair the door, contribute to the erection of a south porch, or screen their lamps. The kirk’s present structure was dictated by Robert Lorimer’s notion of restoration, rather than any intention of restoring its sixteenth-century state; however, there is a stone arch visible on the west side of the south transept where there was probably at one time an external door. It would have opened into the transept at a point where the roof (then steeply sloped) would have been very low, suggesting that the websters’ seat was not particularly exalted. Were the wind blowing eastward, a light at the end of the seat near the door would easily blow out.
³ On the kirk’s efforts to curb traditional festivities at the contracting of marriages, see BUK i, 343 (1575); Todd, ‘Profane pastimes’. Compliance was slow in coming: see 25 Oct. 1584, 24 May 1585, 8 May 1587.
[197] Quhilk day forsamekle as Agnes Thomson complainit that Thomas Birrell wald not sustein his bairin gottin in fornication with hir, and according to the said complaint the said Thomas being accusit thairfoir, he promissit willinglie ather to gif hir sufficient to his powar, quhailron sche may sustein the said bairin resonablie, or ellis to tak the bairin fra hir and sustein it him self in tyme cuming, and never heirefter to be hard. (Birrell)

Quhilk day comperit Alexander Ruthven and confessit his fornication with Katherein Horin and submittit him to the disciplein of the kirk thairfoir. In the meane tyme desyring his bairin to be baptist be reason it was weak.\(^4\) Thairfoir the assembly being advysit ordanit the said Alexander and Katherein to find cation under the paine of xl £ ilk ane of thame that they sail accomplishe and end thair repentance betuix this and the first day of March nixtocum, and the bairin not to be baptist till the cation be fund and he ente[r] to his repentance for the first day. (Ruthven and Horin)

13 Januarii 1584
Absentes: Jhon Davidson eldar, Andro Malcum and Andro Jhonston

Comperyrit Jhon Bog and Marrion Scott and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him, David Rynd, for hir Jhon Bennat. Terme Fasterand Evin

Comperyrit Issobel Murdo and confessit hir secund fait of fornication with Jhon Blak, quha is ordanit to be wardit and satisfie as ane duble fornicatrix. (Murdo 2 faut)

Comperyrit Marion Chrystie and confessit hir fornication with Robert Foister, quha is ordanit to satisfie as ane duble fornicatrix on hir awin confession. (Chrystie 2 faut)

Quhilk day forsamekle as sundrie eldaris absentis thame selffes fra the assembly ilk Monday, and utheris cumis in after the hour, it was ordanit that ilk absent suld pay xii d and thais that cumis after the hour vi d onforgiffin. (absenttis fra the assembly)

20 Januarii 1584
Absentes: Andro Jhonston, Andro Moncreif

Quhilk day comperit William Tyrie, eldar, and becam cationar under paine of x £ that William Tyrie his sone suld performe or Fasterandevin his contract

\(^4\) On emergency baptism, theologically at odds with Reformed theology, see CP, 119–122.
giffin up befoir the minister and twa eldaris with Jein Murray according to the act maid anent contractis.

[198] Comperit Patrik Flek and becam cationar for Robert Anderson that he suld performe his contract with Janet Cunningham giffin up befoir the minister and twa eldaris or Fasterandevin according to the act maid thair anent. Terme Fasterand evin. (Anderson contract)

Comperit Andro Thomson and David Espein and becam cationaris that Alexander Mason suld performe his contract with Cirsten Espein giffen up befoir the minister and twa eldaris or Fasterand Evin according to the act maid thairanent. Terme Fasterand Evin. (Mason contract)

Qhilk day comperit Walter Bog sone to Jhon Bog and being accusit for cursing and byting of his mother in law to the effusion of hir blud, and be the testimonie of thre honest men admittit and sworin witnessis convict convict [sic] in the samyn, he was ordentin be the uniforme consent of the minister and eldaris to satisfie the kirk in fulfillin the haill pointis of repentance prescryvit in the Buik of Disciplein to ane adulterar or homiceid,5 and publicitly to craiff pardon of his mother in law in presence of the haill congregation in the kirk and in the common vennal6 quhair he committit the offence, and to pay ane certane penalty to the puir. And farder desyris the bailyeis and civile magistrates to tak ordor with him for punischin his persone civlie in respect his offence and falt is judgit be the buik of god heynous and wordie of the dead7 alsweill as adulterie and homiceid. And maiover that his father provyd for him heirafter that he be not fund to molest hir be word or deid heirafter, quhilk if it be done, his father and he baih salbe subiect to ecclesiastical and civile censuris extremlie. And ordanis this act to haif place in all siclyk crymes heirafter, and to be extendit alyk in all sic personis. (Bog and his mother in law)

27 Januarii 1584

Absentes: Andro Mersser, James Hepburn, Andro Moncreif

Comperit William Newing and Robert Chapman and becam cation under the paine of x £ ilkane of tham that Patrik Bennat suld accomplis the

5 First Book, 165–66, 171 asserts that adultery or homicide should be punished by the civil authorities with execution; however, if such offenders are spared by the civil sword, they should be treated as the ‘obstinate impenitent after the sentence of excommunication’ until they submit to a disciplinary procedure that includes a public confession, ‘with his own mouth damning his own impiety’ (quotes from 171).

6 A ‘vennel’ is a narrow public lane.

7 It merits a death penalty.
bannis giffin up befoir the minister and twa eldaris be him with Margret Lyndsay or Fasterand Evin according to the act maid thairanent. (Bennat contract)

Comperit Patrik Patrik[sic] Paterson and Nicol Blair and becam cation under the pane of x £ ilkane of tham that David Mukarsie suld accomplies the bannis giffin up befoir the minister and twa eldaris be him with Margret Colt or Fasterand evin according to the act maid thairanent. (Mukarsie contract)

Ordanis James Sym to gif of the puiris almes to Andro Scheir xx s, to Jhon Peblis ane mark, to Jhon Cramby vi s viii d, to George Bow vi s viii d, to Agnes Bunch xiii s iii d, to Walter Die xx s, Janet Davidson vi s viii d, Jhon Hendaris wyf x s.

[199] Ordanis Walter Bog to be wardit till he satisfie the kirk for offending his mother in law.

Qhilk day forsamekle as Eufame Tully giffin in ane bill desyrand hir husband James Sym adheir unto hir as to his lauchful spouis, was refusit as onworthie to be hard be reason that sche hard not the voice of the kirk in not satisfiing for the sclander committit be hir aganis Issobel Rynd, spous to Jhon Smyth. Sche fand Andro Moncreif, baxter, cation that sche suld satisfie Issobel Rynd for the sclander committit aganis hir, and lykwayis the kirk in ony thing they wald lay till chairge, and sa desyrit to be hard. Qhairro for James Sym hir husband in respect of the promis being demandit gif he wald adheir to Effy his foirsaid spous, refusit to adheir, promising to gif cause ressonable quhy he suld not do the same, qhilk cause he was ordanit to produce this day viii dayis. (Sym and Tully)

_{Primo Februarii 1584_}

Qhilk day forsamekle as fornication dois abound within this burgh of Perth without ony kynd of punishcment be reason that the offendaris so schone as they knaw thame selffis to be with bairnie eschewis fra the officer of the kirk quhan as he cumis to chairge thame, and so na order can be taine with thame except they be presentit be thair maisteris in quhais house and under quhome they dwell. Thairfoir it is ordanit that all maisteris, maistressis, and men with quhome and under quhome they dwell mak intimation to the officer of the kirk that they may be chargit be him to compeir befoir the assemblie according to order, under the paine of paying of xiii s iii d be thame that contravenis the same. And siclyk tht they thaime selffis present thame befoir the minister and eldaris on ane ordinair day of assembly under
the paine of xl schillingis to the puir. (fornicators releivit and not delatit to the kirk)\(^8\)

Comperis Beatrix Archibald and confessis hir fornication with Patrik Ruthven servant to my lord Gawry, quha is ordanit to satisffie for hir secund falt of fornication. (2 culpa ressavit Archibald)

Comperis Janet Makcarbery and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Tallis ane Hiland man, quha is ordanit to satisfie as ane duble fornicatrix. (2 culpa ressavit Makcarbery)

[200] \[\text{Octavo Februarii 1584}\]

Absentis: James Drummond, Jhon Lawrie, Walter Eldar, Alexander Gibson, Jhon Davidson, eldar

Comperit Alexander Was, laird of Maine, and George Stobby and becam cation that the banis giffin up betuix Anton Maxton and Margret Stobby suld be performit or Fasterand even under the paine of ten £. (Mariit)

Comperit Janet Makduiff and confessit hir fornication with Agnus Parson ane sclair, quha is ordanit to satisfie as ane fornicatrix of the first falt. ([1] culpa ressavit/ Makduiff)\(^9\)

Ordanis Madley Firsell to satisfie for hir fornication comittit with Jhon Kempie.

Ordanis Andro Donaldson, master of hospital, to pass instantly and tak institution of the altar quha is appertening to Sir David Coling, to wit of St Rook, St Mungo, St James, St Bryd.\(^10\)

\[\text{16 Marci 1584}\]

Quhilk [day] the minister and eldaris being present it was ordanit that the celebration of the hally communion suld be twyse in the yeir, \textit{viz.} In March and in September, and this to be observit in all tym cumming. (Lordis supper)

Forsamekle as Duncan Finlason hed not fulfillit nor enterit to his repentance nothir yit payit fourty schillingis to the puir as he was ordanit for dispensation of the ward and crosheid, it is ordanit that the bailyeis receive ane

\(^8\) The marginal note is decorated with a drawing of a hand, fingers pointing upward.
\(^9\) 'Angus' is presumably meant by 'Agnus'.
\(^10\) He is to collect the annuals for the hospital.
ordinance to put him in ward till he pay the said xl schillingis and thairafter find cation to performe his repentance. (Findlason)

23 Marci 1584

Absentis: Andro Jhonston eldair

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris appointit theis that fallowis to serve in tyme of the ministration of the communion.

For the south kirk dor to stand
James Hepburn and James Drummond bailyes, Oliver Peblis eldar
For raceaving of the pures almes thair
Andro Blythman and James Messer deaconis
To stand at the northe quier dor
William Hall bailye, Andro Messer eldar, Jhon Ronaldson deacon
To stand at the south quier dor
Andro Donaldson [and] Andro Moncreif eldaris, and George Hall, deacon
To keep the wicket behind the auld pulpeit
Jhon Jak [and] Robert Grant, deaconis, and William Ross, officear
For taisting of the wyn, that it be not mixit
James Hepburn and Andro Messer
For convoying of the bread through the tabills
Jhon Davidson and Andro Malcum eldaris
For giffing of the cuppis to the pepill
Jhon Lawrie, Alexander Gibson, Andro Jhonston, and Walter Eldar, eldaris
For filling of the cuppis
James Quhyt, Jhon Ogilve, James Sym and William Cok deaconis
For convoying of the wyn fra the revestrie
William Williamson and William Katrow deaconis
For gathering of the puris almes at the north kirk dor
Robert Chapman eldar and Alexander Dundie deacon
For preparing of the bread, Robert Rynd
The thesaurer to furneis burdclaise, basynnis and cuppis.
And the bellis to be rung acording to the auld ordor.
To sie that na tumult be in the kirk it appointit that Robert Anderson be in Sandrois Ill,\footnote{Anderson is to watch those sitting in the aisle formerly devoted to the altar of St Andrew.} at the skynnaris dask\footnote{Jhonson is to watch the area around the seat constructed by the skinners where members of their guild may sit.} George Jhonson, in the north Ill Dyonice Conquerior, in the South Ill Mr Jhon Mitchell.

Quhilk day forsamekle as Colyn Eviot of Balhousy\footnote{Colin Eviot of Balhousie was given to property disputes, and worse. See, e.g., PKCA ms B59/13/3, fo. 99v, his pursuit of a tenant for back rent in the Perth baihes' court, 26 May.} comperit befoir the
assemblie in presence of the minister and elders and desyrit his tak\(^{14}\) and assidation of the Blackfreiris appertaining to the hospital to be renewit to him. He being removit, the minister and elders ordanit him to cum on Thursday nixt and in the revestrie after sermon befoir the minister and elders frelie to offer quhat he will gif for girsum\(^{15}\) and yeirlie dewtie for sic takis as he will require to be set to him, and than he sall haif ane deliberat answer. (Balhousy)

Quhilk day forsamekle as Nicoll Ronaldson is not abil him self ring the bellis in the steipill to pretching and prayeris, and Jhon Ronaldson youngar qutra ringis the bellis under his father neglectis of tymes the ringing of thame and uthir tymes ringis thame unorderlie, it is ordanis [sic] that the said Jhon desist heirafter in all tymes cuming fra the ringing of the bellis. It is ordanit that Nicollis eld removable namit Jhon Ronaldson also, ring the said bellis in all tymes because he dois diligentle await thairon and hes rung thame sen his entreis in dew tyme. (Bellis Ringing)

[202] 30 March 1584
Quhilk day the minister accusing Thomas Anderson alias Tyrie before my Lord Gawrie and the elders for interrupping of the psalme and speking in tymes of sermon and after sermon unreverantlie calling his minister ane dr[u]nkin minister, he declynit fra the judgment of the minister because he was partie unto the presbiterie. Yit he giffing injurious talk to the minister he was commandit be my Lord of Gawrie to be put in fast ward till he fand cation to answer to the kirk.\(^{16}\) (Anderson)

Quhilk day comperit Adam Harrowar and becam cation that Mr Robert Purves suld marie Alison Blyth within xl dayis according as thay haiif giffin up thair banns befoir the minister and twa elders under the paine of x £. And for hir pairt, Thomas Jhonston bower is cationar. (Harrowar and Blyth)

13 Aprilis 1584
Quhilk day comperit Robert Cok and becam cation that Michael Baxter sail marie Margret\(^{17}\) on Witsunday nixt under the paine of x £, and for hir William Kar is cationar. (Mariit)

1602, and more seriously, NRS-WRH ms JC2/1, fo. 234 (1581), the charge before the Justiciary Court that he had kidnapped and held in captivity the burgess Jhon Anderson.

\(^{14}\) Leasehold.

\(^{15}\) An anticipation of rent; a sum of money paid in consideration of a lease for a term of years.

\(^{16}\) The seriousness of the offence is marked by Lord Gowry's unusual presence in a session meeting. This is the only instance in the session minutes of opposition to the recent (1581) formal establishment of presbyteries.

\(^{17}\) No surname is given for Margret.
Ordanis Andro Snail to put away\textsuperscript{18} Helen Ronaldson or ellis he salbe callit an relaps in fornication. (Snail)

\textit{20 Apprilis 1584}

Quhilk day comperit Adam Brinsson and becam cation that Gilbart Blyth sall marie Margret Stanhouse within xl dayis under the paine of x \£. For hir, George Robertson is cationar. (Mariit)

Comperit Findlay Macduff cationar that Jhon Macnair sall marie Helyn Bog within xl dayis under the paine of x \£. (Mariit)

Comperit Thomas Fowlis cationar that Thomas Purl sall marie Christan Edmeston within xl dayis under the paine of x \£. For hir William Ingles is cationar. (Mariit)

Comperit Jhon Burrie for Adam Ship cationar that he sall marie Issobel Low within xl dayis under the paine of x\£. For hir George Low is cationar. (Mariit)

The assemblie considering the lamentations of Janet Scot aganis Andro Marschell hir husband, ordanis the balye to put thair awin act in execution and desyris tham to ward the said Andro til he satisfie the same. (Marschell and Scot)

Agnus Carnie is dischargit of his cationar and of the payne of the uther v \£. (Carie)

Quhilk day forsamekle as Robert Blair has payit iii\£ for Dyonice Blakwod and Christyn Mitchell and has offerit uther x \£ in the assemblies will, it is ordanit that he haif ane lice[nse]

\[203\] to marie alandward\textsuperscript{19} quhair he please within xiii\textsuperscript{3} dayis next cum, and gif he the said Dyonice marie befoir the same day it salbe lisom to the [said] Robert to craif of the assemblie his awin x \£ agane, and thay sail gif unto him again eftir thair awin descretion.

\textsuperscript{18} Move her out of his house.

\textsuperscript{19} He has permission to marry outside the bounds of the parish, in the 'landward' or rural area surrounding the town, where the session has jurisdiction but less oversight. End of 'license' is torn away.
The actis that fallowis is since Mr Patrik Galloway, minister, departit\textsuperscript{20} xi Maii 1584

Presented: Oliver Peblis, Andro Jhonston, Andro Donaldson, Jhon Lawrie, Alexander Gibson, Walter Eldar

Qhild day forsamekle as the minister is absent, it is orderit that the reader with ony twa eldaris sall recave the contractis of marriage in tyme cuming.

Comperit Jhon Chrystison and desyrit his bairn to be baptisit, gottin with Margret Ruthven his spous quha had Mr George Ruthven cation that he suld performe the will of the kirk and sa licence was grantit. (Chrystisons bairn)

17 Maii 1584

Qhillk day it ws ordanit that James Sym suld delyver to Robert Blair ix £ of the ten that was consigned in his hand.

Comperoit James Lamb and was cationar that Chrystie Wilson sall marie Janet Salmond within x1 dayis under the paine of x £, and is cationar for hir lykwayis. (Mariit)

Comperoit James Monypenny confessing his duble fornication with Margery Oliphand desyring his barne to be batist, quha finding William Monypenny cationar that he suld performe the will of the kirk licence was grantit. (J Monypenny)

23 Maii 1584

Qhillk day comperit James David and is cationar for David Muill that he sall marie Agnes Quhyt within x1 dayis. Cationar for hir James Mitchell. (Mariit)

Comperit William Campbell and is cation that Andro Chalmerland sall marie Violet Mason within x1 dayis. Cation for hir Jhon Mason. (Mariit)

xi Junii 1584

Comperit Patrik Lamb and becam cation that Robert Brown sall marie Janet Thomson within x1 dayis. Cation for hir James Anderson, yet because

\textsuperscript{20} Patrick Galloway had succeeded John Row as minister in April 1581. At this point he had fled the wrath of Lennox over the suspicion that he had been complicit in Gowrie's attempt on Stirling (for which the earl would be executed). Hearing of his arrest order, he went first to Dundee, then London, and finally Newcastle. He would remain in England until November of 1585. See Calderwood, \textit{Historie of the Kirk of Scotland} iv, 110–122, and NLS ms Adv.31.1.1, fos 35r, 52v–53r, for Scott's summary – and an interpretation as partisan as Calderwood's. Perth was without even an interim minister until November 1584, when John Howieson was finally sent to supply Galloway's place. It is worth noting that the session continued to operate quite efficiently in his absence (pace Scott, fo. 53).
he was fund to haif maid promes to Gresell Gardneris dochtair, licence was grantit to him to marie, finding cation to obey the will of the kirk quhan he salbe requirit for his doubil promeis. Quha fand Andro Brown his father cationar thairfoir under the paine of x £.

[204] 18 Junii 1584
Compeirit Arthur Gibson and was cationar that Jhon Maill suld marie Bessie Blyth within xl dayis. Cation for hir James Blyth. (Mariit)

xxx Junii 1584
Compeirit Thomas Gibson and was cationar that Jhon Pettindreiche suld marie Helen Gordon within xl dayis and lykwayis the said Thomas is cationar for hir.

2 Julii 1584
Compeirit James Drummond bailey and was cation that David Mar sail marie Alison Blyth within xl dayis and for hir Walter Eldar is cation.

7 Julii 1584
Compeirit Robert Stanis and was cation that David Rollok sail marie Marjorie Chreichton within xl dayis. Cationar for hir is Alexander Dundie. (Mariit)

Quhilk day Robert Cruikschank referring to Janet Grantis aithe that the barin sche buir was his, sche swearing it was his only. He tuk up the barin and desyrit baptisme to it, quhilk was grantit provyding thay find cation to satisfie the will of the kirk thairfoir. He fand George Mathew cationar for his part and Mr Henrie Anderson for hir part, and so in presence of the eldaris with the congregation the barin was baptist.

8 Julii 1584
Comperit James Lason and was cationar that Andro Arnot suld marie Barbara Inglis within xl dayis. Cation for hir Patrik Inglis hir father. (Mariit)

9 Julii 1584
Compeirit Adam Anderson bailey and contractit in mariage Chirsten Anderson to marie within xl dayis. Cation for him Andro Anderson, for hir Jhon Anderson hir father. (Mariit)

14 Julii 1584
Comperit James Hardie and contractit in mariage Janet Chreichton, to marie within xl dayis. Cationar for tham baith is Donald Chalmer. (Mariit)
23 Julii 1584
Compeirit James Anderson and Issobel Wilson and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Anderson, for hir Christy Quhyt. Terme xl dayis. (Mariit)

[205]

Ultimo Julii 1584

Decimo August 1584
Comperit Jhon Makdill and Agnes Stobby and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Walter Ruthven, for hir George Stobbie. Terme xl dayis.

Qhillk day James Hepburn balye and Andro Mersser in name and behalf of the kingis majestie producit ane letter giffing licence to the assemblie particular of Perth to convein tham selfcis oulkly for the distribution of the almis to the puir, and to maintein vertew and punische vyce, notwithstanding of the act of parliament maiid in the contreair, discharging and exonering all personis that convenis for the saidis caus fra all pains [that] may incur unto thame thairfoir. Subscriptis be the kingis majesties awn hand, the Lordis Monrois and Thirlistanis handis at Falkland the ix day of Julii and of his grace reigne the sevintein yeir quhilke Andro Mersser keipit in his custodie.

Ordanis Margret Hall spous to James Nicoll to be punischit as ane sclanderous spekar for hir evil speking of Gilbart Blair and his spous.

Forsamekle as Mr Robert Purves and Alison Blythe among them selfcis

21 The hand changes at this point in the manuscript, and with it the form of the marriage entries. Marginal notations also disappear.

22 This act followed the Ruthven Raid and the attempt on Stirling, and Galloway’s arrest order. Parliament on 22 May 1584 ratified a Declaration Touching the Proceedings against the King at Ruthven together with an act punishing the rebellion which, according to Scott, was ‘not published along with the printed acts’ (NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fos 35r–35v) and would explain the need for the letter referred to in the session minutes, presumably by its having forbidden meetings in the burgh. Scott notes that the same parliament passed an act concerning the ‘Causes and Manner of Deprivation of Ministers’ which included four weeks of non-residency. Clearly this would apply to Galloway; Scott deduced that even apart from the other act this would have prohibited session meetings apart from special permission. In fact, however, there is ample precedent for sessions meeting without ministers in this and other parishes. Nor do the minutes bear out Scott’s note that during Galloway’s absence and before this date the session ‘met seldom and did little or no business but contract persons for marriage’ (fo. 35); the book records regular meetings (in fact, 14 in two months, 11 May to 10 Aug.) and decisions about baptism, financial transactions, and discipline of sexual offences.
privilie befoir witnes and twa notaris had dischargit ilkane another of the contract mad betuix thame befoir the minister and eldaris and the said Alison had contractit David Mar of new, it was ordanit that befoir David Mar war mariit with the said Alison, that Alison suld delyver ten £ for not accomplischng the contract maid with Mr Robert Purves. Secundarlie that the contract suld be producit befoir the assemblie and registrat in the buikis quhilk was maid privilie amangis thame selffis discharging ilkane another of the former contract maid betuix hir and the said Mr Robert. Thirdlie that sche gif hir aith quhidder gif sche had carnal deal with the said Master Robert or not, and gif sche had to pay xl s or ellis to mak hir repentance and gif not to be absolvit. And last becaus of David Marris cohabitation with hir, that the said David suld pay xl schillings qhilk silver James Sym collector of the puiris almes confess him self to haif receavit. And he suld answer for it. And sa licence was gif to tham to be mariit upaland.23

[206] The coppie of the discharge of the contract maid be
Mr Robert Purveis and Alison Blyth

At Perth the twentiefyt of Junii, it is of new contractit formallie as brutit24 and aggret betuix Mr Robert Purves, burgess in Edinburgh, and Alison Blyth, relict of Jhon Oliphant, forsamekle as thair was ane contract matrimonial betuix the saidis parties preceding this dait for mariage to haif bein accomplischit betuix tham conforme to the tenor of the samyn. And the said Mr Robert and Alison understanding tham and ather of tham at the making hereof onabil nor micht not aggre for sundrie respectis to haif performit thair first contract matrimonial, notwithstanding ony quhatsoever band maid in wret or word and publication thairof maid and publischit in the paroche kirks of Edinburgh and Perth or in utheris paroche kirks quhatoever, and speciallie becaus the saidis parties and ilkane25 of thame considering thair and baith thair naturis and conditionis. Thairfoir the said Mr Robert for his part and the said Alison for hir part being baith resolvit of thair awin jugementis and ather of thame not compelling utheris for the caus above and underwrettin hinc inde quit claimes, dischargis and simpliciter for ever exoneris utheris of thair personis, guddis and geir quhatsoever conforme to the particulair compt taine and maid betuix thame this day and the contract forsaid matrimonial, gif ony wes betuix the saides parties, to be destroyit, ceassit, rescindit, and annullit the samyn tenor ferme and effect thairof and all that may fallow thairupon ony maner of way. Swa that the saides Mr Robert and Alison may marie and solemnizat the band of matrimoniy fra

23 In the Highlands.
24 Discussed.
25 Each one; either.
this day furth with quhom they pleas *hinc inde*, never ane of thame to seik or pursuw ane uther heirafter. And thir presenttis to be registrat in bukis of consal gif mister beis 26 Commissary buikis of Edinburgh, and thairin to remaine *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and to that effect consenttis [*]
27 procuratores conjunctlie and severally *permittem de rato etc*. In procuratoris witnesses heirof baith the parties hes subscryvit thir presenttis with thair handis, yeir, place and day foirsaid befoir thir witnes: George Galloway, James Sym, David Mar, burgesses of the burgh of Perth; James Trumbill servitor to the said maister Blair; Andro Mudie and Allan Justice, notaris. 28

*Decimo septimo Augusti anno 1584*

Quhilk day Adam Anderson bailye, Andro Mersser, Jhon Lawrie, Andro Donaldson, Walter Eldar, Andro Malcom, Jhon Davidson eldar, James Hepburn bailye, Oliver Peblis and Andro Jhonson eldaris being convenit for the tyme.

Comperit Jhon Smyth in the kirk gait and offerit him to be cautionar for ten £ that Maijory Blair suld mak hir repentance for hir fornication committed with ane of the kingis majesties curteane servandis quha wes hald thairto be requirit, desyring hir bairn to be baptisit, was grantit.

[207] Quhilk dayorsamekle as William Merschell, persif[and] 29 and officiar of armes at the command of the kingis majesties letters purchasit at the instance of Mr William Cok, readar in Perth, agains Andro Donaldson, master of the hospitalitie of that our said burgh, maid intimation to the said Andro that he wald put him to the horin except he delyverit to the said Mr William xx £ yeirlie of the obit silver leftit within our burgh sen he entre to the redarschip according to the act of consal maid thairupon. The said Andro complening to the assemblie of our said burgh of the gret strait he was put to, and willing to haif releif of thame to satisffie the said Mr William, James Hepburn and Adam Anderson, bailyeis; Jhon Davidson eldar, Walter Eldar, Jhon Lawrie, Oliver Peblis, Andro Malcom, Andro Jhonston, Andro Donaldson, Andro Mersser, eldaris being present; it was ordanit be thame seing the obittis ar not weill payit that the said Andro sail delyver of the riddiest sylver he hes xx £ to Mr William Cok, readar in our burgh, in part of payment of his stipend auchand be the said Andro to him til ordore be takin be the bailyeis with the obit sylver that the said Andro master of hospital may be the better answerit thairof that he mak mak [sic] the mare

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26 If necessary (usually 'gif it misteris').
27 Here a large blank space is left for the names of the procurators.
28 There are no signatures on this copy of the document.
29 A low-level heraldic officer. Corner of page torn, obscuring the last few letters, but see below, 14 Dec. 1584, one Jhon Mershell described with the same term.
thankful payment to the said Mr William of all times preceeding the dait heirof. And siclyk yeirly and continuellie in tyme commyng induring the tyme of his service. Ordenyng the copie heirof subscryvit be the bailyeis and eldaris fornamed, to be giffin to the said Andro master of hospital and his successoris masteres of hospital as ane sufficient warrandeis quhan his accompts salbe requirit.  

24 Augusti 1584

Quhilk day William Hall and Adam Anderson bailyeis; Jhon Davidson eldar, Jhon Lawrie, Andro Mersser, Andro Donaldson, Andro Jhonston, and Walter Eldar, eldaris; being assemblit toggider with the readar in absence of Mr Patrik Galloway minister, understanding be report of nichtbors the filthie continuance in adulterie of David Gray spous to Elspet Campbell and Helen Watson spous to Jhon Stevison, concludit to go and tak tham and put thame till ane inquest, quha passing fand the said Helen at hame in hir bed lying in the brewhouse being full of bla and bludy straikis. And being demandit quha handlit her sa, scho answerit that the said David did it becaus he got not his will of hir. Yit being broucht furthe to ward, [208] ... hir as man and wyf, so sche being hald to ward they passit and tuik the said David, desyring the balyeis to put thame to ane inquest.

Compeirit Dyoneis Conqueror offering him self oncompellit to be cautionar under ane hundrth £ that David Gray suld never abuse him self againe nather being fund in suspect places nather with Helen Watson nor yit with no uther in tyme cuming upon the quhilk they war bath relevit.

Decimo octavo Octobris 1584

Quhilk day Jhon Davidson eldar, Walter Eldar, Andro Jhonson, Andro Mersser, eldaris, being convenit with the readar in absence of the minister, nominated theis persons fallowing to bear the office of eldarschip this yeir fallowing, that is to say:

For the northsyd of the Hiegait, eldaris

Dyoneise Conquerior, Andro Stoup, Jhon Stranngbow
Deaconis

Walter Gray, Ewin Burrie, and Alexander Pullor

30 Cok has successfully appealed to royal authority to secure his stipend, which Donaldson has had trouble paying because the annuals due from hospital lands have not been paid to him. The bailies must now enforce collection of the annuals, or obit silver (which before the Reformation had paid for masses for the dead).

31 The whole first line of the entry on this page is torn away.

32 For biographical information on the elders, see Appendix I.
For the southsyd of the Hiegait eldaris
Thomas Cok, Blaise Colt, and Jhon Smyth
Deaconis
James Quhyt, William Robertson, and David Wrycht
For Beneth the corse eldaris
William Hall, Oliver Kar, and Adam Anderson
Deaconis
Jhon Henrie, Robert Blair, Andro Clerk
For the Southgait eldaris
Duncan Robertson, Henrie Lyis, and Constyntine Malice
Deaconis
Nicol Blair, Robert Grant, and David James
ordanning thair names to be presentit to the bailyeis and consall that they may desyr and command the personis abovewrettin to tak on the office of eldarschip for this present yeir.

Vigesimo quinto Octobris 1584
Quhilk day the haill eldaris above specifiit being convenit with the readar in respect Jhon Ronaldson, officiar, was inlaked\textsuperscript{33} be this plaige constituttis Jhon Baxtar officiar for this yeir, ordaning him to haif the officiaris fie according to use and warint.

It was ordanit that the fornamit deaconis suld collect the puris almos at the kirk dor and present it befoir the assembly on the Mononday after the receat thairof, or ellis to pay....\textsuperscript{34}

It was ordanit that the contractis of mariage suld be receavit only on ane Mononday, quhilk is the day of assembly.

[209] Forsamekle as sundrie puir desyrit to marie a landwart because they haif not to by thame claithes nor to mak brydellis, it was ordanit that mariage suld be alsweill celebrat on Thursiday within our paroche kirk in tyme of sermond as on Sunday, and heirafter na testimoniallis to be giffin to marie alandwart. (Mariages dayis)\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{33} 'Inlake' is usually to run short or be wanting; here, perhaps, laid low or incapacitated. 'Intaked', or taken by the plague is a tempting read, but the scribe's 'I' is quite distinctive. For the great plague of 1584–85, see Introduction, 'Plague'.

\textsuperscript{34} Torn.

\textsuperscript{35} Perhaps weekday celebrations required less expensive clothing and festivity than Sunday celebrations. Landward marriages were obviously much harder for the session to control.
It was also ordainit that na barin suld be baptist of ane preitching day except the midwyf deponit on hir conscience to the bairne war waik to quhome the parentis desyrit baptism. And in cais ony bairnis war gottin in fornication, that befoir they be baptist in respect that the offenderis can not satisfie be reason of the plaig, that the silver salbe delyverit to ane of the deaconis that fornicators aucht to pay according to the former actis. (Baptising of barnis)

Secundo Novembris 1584
Quhilk day the eldaris being convenit with the reader, it was concludit that to the officer of the kirk only appertenit the distribution of the almis, and thairfoir it was ordainit that they suld diligentlie await upon the puir and minister to thair necessitie provyding they distributit nathing [but] by the consent and advyse of the eldaris. (distribution of almos be deaconis with advyse of eldaris)

The almos receavit at the kirk dor was xiiii s ii d lesum.

Nono Novembris 1584
Quhilk day it was ordainit be the advyse of the haiill eldaris that George Jhonston bailyie, Dyones Conqueror, Duncan Robertson, Blais Colt, and Oliver Kar, with certane deaconis of ilkane quarter so mony as pleasit to convene, suld the morow at ix houris pass and tak up the names of the puir indigent and thairaf[tr] report thair answer to the assemblie that they micht be provydit for according as the assemblie micht eft[ir] the almos was send in be the gentillmen of the cuntrey.

Receavit at the kirk dor xv s ii d lesum.

Decimo sexto Novembris 1584
Quhilk day comperit Alexander Munge and Margret Watson and desyr thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Munge, for hir Alexander Monipenny. Terme xl dayis. (Mariit)

36 Some services in the kirk seem to have been curtailed in time of plague. For emergency baptism of infants likely to die, a continuation of Catholic practice that flies in the face of protestant theology, see CP, 119–22.
37 This page apparently had its right edge carelessly cut after it was written, deleting a few letters of text from several lines.
38 Abbreviated as 'les', allowed or permitted, indicating acceptance of the accounts.
39 This is a rare optional meeting, presumably because of the plague.
40 These funds may be from the rents paid by rural feu holders of hospital lands, or voluntary gifts from local lairds for relief in time of plague. This is the first record we have of a formal census of the poor of the burgh.
Vigesimo tertio Novembris 1584

Quhilk day the minister Mr Jhon Huison, Dyoneis Conqueror, and the haill eldaris being convenit, finding the puire of the northsyd of the Hiegait to be xi scoir and xv personns, it is ordanit that the deaconis of that quarter sall ouklie receave frome the baxtaris xvi scoir bread. The southsyd of the Hiegait being xvi scoir and aucht to haif oulkly twentie fyve scoir bread. The quarter benethe the cross being xii scoir and twell to receave xvii scoir bread. The Southgait being xix scoir to receave twentie fyve scoir bread.

Receavit at the kirk dor xii s 1 d lesum.

The last of November 1584

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being convenit, it was ordanit that the butter that was send ffome Stirling suld be delyverit to Nicol Blair becaus he sutt for to haif it. And that the said Nicol sall delyver xxxvii £ for the same sa schone as his receaving the said butter, and that the said Nicol delyver to Ewin Bury the quarter of it for the Northsyd of the Hiegait, to David Wrycht ane quarter for the Southsyd, to Robert Monipenny ane quarter for benethe the cross, and the said Nicol to reteine ane quarter for the Southgait quarter. And the said deaconis to saill it to thair quarteris for xxxd the pound giffing only to ilkane person ane half pund or ane pound at the maist. And the said deaconis to receave the butter with common weichtis and to delyver it with treyis as thair profeit for thair panis. (Nicol Blairis butter silver)

It is ordanit that George Jak youngar and William Katrow salbe baxtaris and that the haill victual be delyverit to thame quha promisit to gif for everie

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41 Torn.
42 John Howieson of Cambuslang served as minister in Galloway’s place from 23 Nov. 1584 to at least mid-August 1585. NRS-WRH ms CS7/81, fo. 204 (24 Jun. 1580), suggests that Howieson might have been anxious for some respite from his own parishioners, whom he had pursued before the Court of Session for witholding their teinds and the rents due him and refusing to ‘answer nor obey him of the same without they be compelled’.
43 1,195 people – 20% of the town’s population – were thus eking out a living so far below the sixteenth-century poverty line that the town’s leaders felt obligated to feed them.
44 In time of plague, when trade between Perth and its environs for agricultural produce was restricted for fear of infecting the countryside, neighbouring communities like Stirling provided charitable assistance to fend off famine in the burgh. Butter would have provided much-needed fat and calcium to the diet; here its distribution and rationing was ordered to prevent hoarding and price-gouging.
boll aucht scoir and twell bread the least be xiii once weyit and gif they sell not the paice they suld refund the inlaik.\textsuperscript{45}

Receavit at the kirk dor xxii s

\textit{Decimo quarto Decembris 1584}

Qurilk day the minister and eldaris being convenit it was ordanit that no particular of ony manis suld be castin in to trubill the assemble, under the paine of fyve schilling. ([tru]biris of the assemblie with particularis)\textsuperscript{46}

[211] The puris almos receavit at the kirk dor, xiii s iii d.

Ordanis Dyoneise Duncan to haif ane pek mail\textsuperscript{47} oukly induing the tyme of the plaig, and also to be satisfiit with mail for the silver was auchtand him qurilk he wantit befoir the dait heirof being ordanit and allowit be the consal to be giffin him. (\textit{ad} Duncan)

Forsamekle as the eldaris onderstand sundrie honest personis to be within this burgh quha war aschamit to be put in the roll with common beggeris and yit sustenet great peniuritie, thairfoir they nominated theis that fallowis to be privelie answerit of a dewtie be the deaconis,\textsuperscript{48} that is to say:

- Andro Ramsay to haif ii pekis maill oukly
- David Carmichell ane pek oulkly
- Jhon Merschell skynnar ane pek oulkly
- Gils Hall ane pek oulkly
- Jhon Merschell pursifand\textsuperscript{49} ane pek oulkly
- Helen Peblis ane pek oulkly
- Patrik Hair ane pek oulkly
- Adam Dynham ane pek oulkly

\textsuperscript{45} Shortfall. Two baxters are designated to oversee production of bread from donated grain to be distributed to those in need during the plague-induced famine. The session authorized the distribution of bread, as of butter, and enforced the production of standard thirteen-ounce loaves, to ensure fair provision to the whole town. In the absence of council minutes for this period it is impossible to say why the session rather than the magistracy would have taken on this duty.

\textsuperscript{46} Apparently a ban on frivolous petitions.

\textsuperscript{47} A peck of grain. With the collapse of local trade, some payments (including new doles to temporary poor) are made in grain rather than money.

\textsuperscript{48} These are substantial inhabitants, even free burgesses like the goldsmith (wealthiest of the hammermen) and the skinner Jhon Merschell, who have fallen on hard times because of the plague and will now receive relief in private lest their reputation and status suffer by a public dole.

\textsuperscript{49} A heraldic officer, in better times.
Sir Alexander Cok curat\textsuperscript{50} ane pek oulkly
The goldsmyth in the Wattergait ane pek oulkly.
William Monipenny ane pek oulkly
Jhon Smyth above the Southgait port ane pek oulkly

It was also ordanit that Walter Gray and Robert Blair, deaconis, suld be collectores of the puiris almos.

\textit{Vigesimo primo Decembris 1584}

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being convenit, it was ordanit that William Merschell messinger suld haft ane pek mail oulkly, Andro Dog ane pek oulkly, and ilkane of thame ane creill of collis and that Mr Jhon Bogy, Robert Halleis wyf, William Chirstow, and Alison Chrystison and George Maine sall receave ilkane of thame ane creill collis.\textsuperscript{51}

It was ordanit that Walter Gray collector of the puiris almos suld gif to Jhon Swanton maister of the sang scull xii s daylie induring the tyme of the pest.\textsuperscript{52}

\textit{29 Decembris 1584}

Quhilk day the minister and eldaris being present, it was ordanit that Walter Gray, William Robertson, Robert Blair, Jhon Henrie, and Nicoll Blair suld distribut baith the collis and pettis that is in the onder the toubuithe unto the puir.\textsuperscript{53}

The puiris almos receavit at the kirk dor viii s x d.

\textsuperscript{50} A pensioner from a pre-Reformation curacy, blind from 1581, according to his will, NRS ms CC20/4/3/470. He left at his death in 1598 only household goods and clothing worth £3 6s 8d, but was owed more than £36, mostly in annuals from former chapel lands now held by such eminent burgesses as John Eldar (£10), Thomas Monypenny (£3 10s), Patrick Justice (£17 8s), and Nicol Blair (just 40d, but owing since 1580). He was therefore constrained to borrow for his own rent from Henry Adamson and left his servant woman's pay 26s 8d in arrears. See also Milne, 21, 197–99; and 18 Dec. 1587 (below).

\textsuperscript{51} A creill is a measure of coal. As with food, shipments of coal to heat the town this winter were inhibited by the plague, so that stipends and poor relief in the form of coal rather than money made good sense. This list of recipients are the ordinary poor receiving outdoor relief, not in private.

\textsuperscript{52} A substantial portion of Swenton's fee was paid by parents, and with his students now staying at home during plague time, he was presumably not receiving this income.

\textsuperscript{53} Economic dislocation caused by the plague, and the unwillingness of dealers in heating fuel from outside the town to enter its gate to deliver fuel, mean that the town's emergency stash of coal and peat must now be used to heat the homes of the poorest inhabitants.
Quhilk day the minister, Dyoneise Conquerior, Andro Stoup, William Hall, Blaise Colt, Adam Anderson, Duncan Robertson, and Constantyn Malice, eldaris, being convenit for the tyme,

Comperit Helen Watson, spouse to Jhon Stevinson, and being accusit of adultrie committit be hir with David Gray, spouse to Elspet Campbell, confessit that on Twysday at evin quhilk was the 29 of December, sche was takin out of David Grayes house be the watch, nathing being aff hir saif hir courche, hir collair, and slevis, and the said David was in his naked bed. And being demandit quhat sche menit to do, sche answirit sche menit to sit all nicht at the fyr syd and ane plead\(^1\) about hir head. And being demandit quhair sche was on Mononday at evin, sche answirit sche was in Kintilloch in ane Janet Clerkis house all nicht leyand and relevand certane weddis\(^2\) and pledgis to hir. And cuming hame sche met with the said David bringand in ane tin stoup\(^3\) ane peint ail out of ane house hard without the Hiegait port cheik,\(^4\) quha desyrit to go with him and sche obeyit.

The minister, Maister Jhon Howison, desyrit Thomas Donaldson, burgess in Perth, quha was myndit to pass to Lochlevin, to speir\(^5\) be the way in Kintilloch gif thair was ane callit Janet Clerk thair, and gif thair was, quhidder gif Helen Watson was with hir on Mononday at even or not, quha haiffing speirit it furthe, declarit on his conscience he socht for the said Janet and culd not find sic ane in all the town.

Comperit David Gray, spouse to Elspet Campbell, and being accusit of adultrie with Helen Watson confessit he being in his awin house on Tuysday at even the 29 of December 1584, the said Helen being with him bot not in the bed, and he beand in his naked bed, Thomas Cok and Jhon and Thomas Monipennies cam and tuk him and hir and brocht thame to ward. And being demandit gif he was myndit to lat hir sit still in the chymnay nuik\(^6\) all nicht answerit nay, for he raisit out of his bed and tuk aff hir curtche\(^7\)

\(^1\) A plaid mantle.
\(^2\) A wed, or wad, is an item or money offered as a guarantee of a future outcome, a pledge.
\(^3\) Bringing in a tin pitcher a pint of ale out of a house close beyond the side of the High Street gate.
\(^4\) The side of the gate at the end of the High Street.
\(^5\) Inquire. The session, doubting her story, here takes on detective duties.
\(^6\) The chimney corner.
\(^7\) A woman's cap, kerchief.
and desyr it hir to ly down. And being demandit quhair he met with hir
answered he bringand in ane tin stoup ail out of William Gowis met hir at
Robert Cokis cobil staine, but he desyr it not hir to go with him, yit sche
fallowit him, and thay war takin. Farther he declarit that he knew not quhair
sche had been before. And farther he ratyfit his former confession maid be
him quhair he was relevit be his wyf. The elderschip finding thare confession
to be diverse and understanding the contrair, delyverit thame to Thomas
Monipenny bailye desyring
[213] him and the rest of the bailyeis according to the ...\(^8\) and lawis of the
realme to put thame to inquest referring the witnes to the tryal of the same,
and for this effect ordanit ane supplication to be maid to the bailyeis.\(^9\)

The supplication maid be the elderschip of Perth unto the bailyeis thairof
The cession and eldaris of the kirk of Perth unto the lordis bailyeis thairof
wish grace, mercie and peace throuche Jesus Chryst. Forsamekle as David
Gray and Helen Watson haif bein apprehendit diverse tymes and convict be
thair awin confessionis to be adulterairis as is clerlie knawin to us be thair
awin confession and utherwaysis also, and now presentlie being in your lord-
ships custody for this fact, thairfoir we humbly beseik your lordships to put
thame to ane inquest, and do thame justice according to goddis law and the
lawis of thir cuntrie lest that utherways being lange winking at thair wick-
itnes, god of his justice plaige baith us and yow with the rest of this citie as
miserabil experience hes begun to teach us. This mekle the haill kirk hes
concludit with ane voice to be subscryvit be thair clerk the fourt of Januar
1585. (David Gray and Helen Watson war execut ye twelt day of Januar 1585
for thair adulterie on the gibett beneth the cross forwart hir motheris yet)

\(xi\) Januarii 1585
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris convenit for the tym ordanit Dyon[ese]
Conquerior deacon of gild to delyver in presence of the assembly the thre
hundre[d] merks he receavit fra the town of Edinburth to Robert Blair
and Walter Gray, collectors of the puiris almos. And than upon securitie the
cession salbe content to bring to the town as necessitie requiris.\(^11\)

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\(^8\) Corner torn, obliterating one or two words.
\(^9\) Turning the case over to the secular authorities opened the possibility of execution.
\(^10\) Execution for 'notorious' adultery (defined as resulting in a bairn, or keeping 'company
and bed together notoriously known, or impenitent and excommunicated) while in accord
with the letter of the law (APS ii, 539, 3:213) was extremely rare in practice. Here the
context of plague, hunger, and the presumption of divine wrath explains the extremity of
the penalty. Execution before her mother's gate points to the kirk's presumption of parental
responsibility for their children's sins and made a powerful public statement of the duty of
parents to discipline their children. Its effect on the mother can hardly be imagined.
\(^11\) Edge of page is torn. It was usual for parishes to collect money to relieve suffering
Andro Malcom convict for sclandering William Schippart.

Receavit at the kirk dor xv s ii d.

18 Januarii 1585

Quhilk day in presence of the haill session comperit James Walkar and confess his bairn was onbaptist because he suspectit it was not his awin. Thairfoir first he is ordanit to baptise it because he keipis company with Elspet Carvor his wyf, nixt that he resort after to the kirk quhairin he did last befoir. And his wyf is admonischit that gif sche be fund in suspect companie that the kirk will proceid agans hir as ane adulteres.\textsuperscript{12}

The assemblie ordans Ritchart Malcum to haif ane pek mail oulkly and the rest oulklie as followes:

- William Kyddis wyf ane pek mail
- Jhon Rettray ane pek mail
- Thomas Watson vi s vi d
- James Stewart iii s
- Ritchart Ruthven v s
- Andro Scharpis wyf ten schillingis
- Sicill Barry vi s viiid
- Violet Colyn iii s iii d
- George Menzeis x schillinges

[214]

25 Januarii 1585

Quhilk day in presence of the assembly comperit Jhon Eldar and Lillias Keir and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Beith, for hir Jhon Beith also.

It was also concludit that Mr Jhon Huisson minister of goddis word sail admonish Margret Watson adulteres with James Merschell befoir excommuni- cation.

Violet Dog being admonischit to abstein from all filthiness of adultery with Jhon Ramsay or utheris, subscryvit with hir hand that gif sche war fund suspitious in tyme coming it suld be

\textsuperscript{12} See 14 Apr. 1578, and 29 Jan. 1579, when Carvor was excommunicated for adultery. She submitted to discipline 20 Jul. 1579, but clearly her ill repute has continued, at least in her husband\'s eyes.
haldit as confessit adultery be hir self, and sche was willing to suffer thairfoir.¹³

The cession receavit the cattel send from my lord Atholl to be sould to Alexander Pullor for aucht merks xl d the peace and to delyver the silver.¹⁴

Receavit at the kirk dor xv s ii d

Ordanis Walter Anderson and Robert Card to be admonischit befoir excommunion.¹⁵

*Primo Februarii 1585*

Quhilk day in presence of the cession comperit Jhon Macwalter and Maige Paterson being suspect of adultrie, and tuitching that confessit thame selffis that gif evr they war fand in suspition toggidder in time cuming it suld be haldin as adultrie confest be thair awin mouthis and suld be willing to suffer thairfoir.

Receavit at the kirk dor xv s

Forsamekle as thair was sundrie puir anis within and without the toun in the ljudgis¹⁶ abil¹⁷ to perische for hungir, and the victual that was send be the cuntrey for the support of the puir was all distributit sa that thair was nane left, thairfoir it was ordanit that ilkane quha receavit meal suld haif oukly for the pek xxx d and thaise that receavit bread suld for ilk leaffe haiff iiid till god movit the hartis of the gentilmen of the cuntrey to send mair supperis for thair releif.¹⁸

It is ordanit that Waltar Gray collector of the puiris almos for the tym sail pay for the lokis to put on the duris of Hakkerstones tower.¹⁹

Forsamekle as sundrie godlie personis remanit fra the prayeris be reason that

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¹³ A triangular sign after this entry may be Dog's mark.

¹⁴ This is presumably more relief from the country for the plague-ridden town.

¹⁵ Card (alias Anderson) was charged with incest with his step-daughter 15 Feb. 1585. Walter Anderson would confess fornication on the same date.

¹⁶ Shelters for lepers or plague victims set up outside the town walls.

¹⁷ Liable.

¹⁸ In time of plague Perth's trade – including exchanges for agricultural produce with the surrounding countryside – ceased for fear of spreading infection, so that famine ensued. Only the uncertain charity of surrounding communities served to sustain the population.

¹⁹ The tower of the kirk was used for storage and by this date increasingly for warding of offenders at the session's order.
the hendmest bell rang sa schort quhill and they war not warnit to cum to the kirk, the prayers being half, it was ordanit that Nicol Belman suld ring the hendmest bell at the lest ane quarter of ane hour under the paine of deposition.20

Quhilk day Adam Anderson bailye gaif in his accomplis befoir the assemblie of the silver he had debursit in furnesching the seik puir anes inclosit and in the ludgis befoir ony support cam to the toun from the cuntrey quhilk drew to elevin £ and desyrit payment the[reof]. The assemblie thairfoir finding his accomplis ressonabill as they think promisit [payme]nt to him and ordanit him to b[e satisfied] ....21

[215]22 ... the hospital and puir be not farder frustrat.

Ordanis Jhon Cudbert to gif an dayis wark at the hiesst holle bellis for dispensation of his warding.23

Ordanis Patrik Justice to present Cristen Walleng this day aucht dyis.

Ordanis Patrik Ray to pay to pay [sic] Jhon Jak of the reddiest he has.24

20 Generally the bells were rung an hour and again a half-hour before the preaching service was to begin, to call people to reading and prayers. The scribe seems to have omitted a word after 'half'.

21 The final line of the page is mostly torn away, though James Scott could apparently still see it in 1774: he read the rest as 'satisfied of the readiest silver they had', which is plausible, though he mis-read the previous phrase as 'finding his accomplis right abil in all things': NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fos 45v–46.

22 A small leaf inserted into the book is paginated 215–216. It contains two inventories of goods, with session minutes scribbled very hastily around them, from both the top and the bottom of the sheet, with a corner torn away. One is of goods in William Monipenny's house belonging to the late Violet Purves, Monipenny's servant, disciplined earlier for fornication (23 July, 3 and 24 Sept. 1582); the other is of goods in George Man's house. A George Maine received coals from the kirk 21 Dec. 1584; however, since the goods in this inventory are a woman's, this list may be the rest of Violet Purves' possessions. The clerk of session may have inadvertently come to this meeting without his minute book and so written notes on whatever piece of paper came to hand, intending to re-write them legibly into the book later. The inventories are here transcribed along with the minutes since they pertain to people mentioned in the session book earlier, now presumably deceased, and because they may give us some insight into the material life of a household servant. Ellipses on these two pages indicate words illegible.

23 In lieu of warding for his offence, he is to repair a bell in the tower.

24 To pay him as soon as he gets money to do so.
Comperit Jhon Blak and produce an testimonial of the [elders]" at Methven of his contracting with Jenie Tyrie, caution James Ruthven.  

The inven[tory] of the geir perteining to umquhill Violat Purves, partlie in ane kist in William Moniepennyise house  

Item imprmis ane kist estemit and allowit xiii s iii d  
Item in the said kist of small twidlin lyning nyne eln and ane halffe, pryce of the ell xl d, summa xxxi s viii d  
Mair of wund twidling aucht eln and ane halffe, pryce of the eln 30d, summa xxii s iii d  
Item ane dun cord and ane vair pryce vi s viii d  
Item ane auld lyning curch of lynen summa of buth and ane uther litill curch pryce vi s  
Summa iii L xviii s xi d  

The inventor of the geir in George Manis house  
Item an new russet kirtill lynit with niw gray claith, pryce thereof vi merk  
Item ane new quhyt petticot lynit pryce xl s  
Item ane taskit russet kirtill pryce iii L  
Item ane auld kirtill of blak pryce xl s  


The officer of the kirk reporting to the minister and elderis that [sic] Jhon

25 Uncertain reading.  
26 At this point the text written from the top of the page ends; the rest of the page has the two inventories written from the bottom.  
27 The remaining text on this page is written bottom to top.  
28 Chest.  
29 Twilled linen cloth.  
30 Wound.  
31 A brown cord or girdle and a squirrel fur (vaird) used to trim a garment.  
32 The total is in fact £3 18s lid.  
33 A woman's garment comprising bodice and skirt worn under another gown.  
34 Stained.  
35 Several words are written in the margin, bottom to top – anent/ Fra/ Jesue/ annent/ qll’, but with the edge of the paper torn, there is no meaning to be deciphered.  
What can be discerned of the text written top to bottom seems to be rough session minutes. A top line is mostly torn away but could be a date.  
36 These seven are on the 1585–86 session, but none were elders in 1584–85, suggesting that these entries are placed a year earlier than they should be. Since the scribe often fails to include the year in his date, this leaf may have been found later and inserted into the wrong February when the volume was repaired by a modern archivist.
Ray and Oliver Cok for not gaddering the puris alms being commandit th[ereto] ... vi schillingis deburrit the officer Andro Da... now to be pundit for ten schillingis and the bailyes to tak order with the debursment.38

Gilbert Blair oblist him selffe under the pane of ten pundis to enter Adam Gray his man39 agan this day furtein dayis.

Comperit Jhon Ray and promissit to pay the ten schillingis for not collecting the almis.

Ordanis to publish from the pulpit on Sunday nixt Wm Reid to obey the voice of the kirk and that to be the first admonition.

Ordanis Jhon Eldar cautionar for Donald Kornell and Patrik Justice for Cristan Walleng to be wardit for disobedience.

Comperis Adam Anderson and taks act of the entres of Maige Quhyt to the weill of the kirk.

Comperis Jhon Young parochin Kynoull [and] Kathren Fodringham and desirit their bannes to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Henrie Young, for the woman Thomas Young. xl dayis.

David Moreis parochin Scone [and] Janet Dicson and desyrit theri bandes to be proclaimit. Cation for the man and woman David Dicson. xl dayis

Forasmekill as Henrie Leis ane of the masters of hospital and Patrik Ray war chairgit this day to produce their comptis of the hospital of the terme of Martinmes last bypast in the yeir 85, Patrik Ray ane of the masters comperit and declarit that he was reddy for his part to gif in his comptis with the leif40 in the absenis of Henre Leis. The assembly wanting the buik of the chapel rentall with thir lestes culd not proceed and ordanit that Henrie Leis sail be de novo chargit to produce the rental ... book of the hospital ... compeir this day aucht dayis.41

37 Deacon in 1585–86.
38 This scrap is very hastily written, torn, and badly stained so that much of this entry is illegible.
39 His household servant.
40 With permission.
41 One word illegible after 'rental', and half of the last line illegible.
8 Febmarii 1585
Quhilk day comperit William Kempie and Madlen Frissell\footnote{Surely the same person as the Madley Firsell who on 8 Feb. 1584 was disciphned for fornication with Jhon Kempie.} and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Lamb, for hir Jhon Chapman, quha war requirit to mak thair repentance for thair fornication befoir mariage.

Comperit Thomas Smyth and confessit his relaps fornication the first tym with Bessy Cudbert, the last with Elspet Reid, quha is ordanit to mak his repentance thairfoir, quha fand William Lethangie cation that he suld performe the premisses quhen he suld be chargit thairto.\footnote{For the outcome of Smyth's case, see 5, 17, and 26 July, 30 Aug., 7 and 14 Oct. 1585 (when he was received again into communion after completing his repentance).}

Receavit at the kirk dor vi s iii d

It is ordanit that Jhon Craby baxtar and Andro Scharp sall ilk ane of thame haif xii d ouklie

15 Februarii 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the cession comperit Thomas Ritchie and Isobel Mathow and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Mathow, for hir George Mathow.

Comperit William Merschell and Margret Brown and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Gibson, for hir Oliver Craigy, quha ar ordanit to mak thair repentance for thair fornication committit in the lodgis\footnote{The pest houses.} and to pay xl s befoir thair mariage.

Comperit Walter Anderson in Ballhoussy and confessit his fornication with Helen Reid under pretence of mariage, quha is ordanit to pay xl s for his disobedience to the kirk and to abstain from hir societie til they be marriit onder the pane of uther xl s. And the woman to be warnit agane this day viii dayis to gif up hir bannis be Dyoneise Conquerior, Duncan Robertson, and the readar.

Comperit Robert Anderson alias Card and confessit his incest with Margret Beath his wyffis dochtar, quha is ordanit to mak his repentance thairfoir and to find cation for ane hundreth that he sall continew therein quha
fand William Anderson and Christie Quhyt cationis to obey quhatsumever
punischment the kirk suld injoyne him.  

Receavit at the kirk dor vii s  

18 Februari 1585  
Quhilk day William Catrow and George Jak gaif in thair comptis befoir
Dyonese Conquerior, William Hall, Andro Stoup, and Constantyn Malice.

22 Februar 1585  
Quhilk day in presence of the minister and eldares comperit Thomas Tailyeor
and Marion Wilson and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him
Jhon Scott, for hir Lawrence Wilson. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Comperit Patrik Allan and Margret Nicoll and desyrit etc. Cation for him
Patrik Jakson, for hir William Nicoll. Within xl dayis.

Comperit Jhon Saidlair and Elspet Lamb and etc. Cation for him Jhon
Lammerkyn, for hir Thomas Lamb. Within xl dayis.

[218] Item forsamekle as the session fand Robert Card penitent of incest. It
was ordanit that he suld enter to his repentance in lynen claithis to declare
to the pepil his onfenyeit repentance.

Primo Marcii 1585  
Quhilk day in presence of the minister and eldaris compeirit Jhon Quhytt-
tatt and Chresten Philp and desyrit etc. Cation for him Andro Baith, for hir
Nicol Blair. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Compeirit Chirstell Chappel and Janet Duff and desyrit etc. Cation for him
George Jak, for hir Troylus Eldar. Within xl dayis.

Comperit Jhon Greiff and Elspet Mull and desyrit etc. Cation for him
Robert Greiff, for hir Adam Harrowar. Within xl dayis.

45 It is worth noting that the elders never either name or prosecute the step-daughter, suggesting
that she was young enough to be regarded as victim rather than willing participant, even
by elders generally inclined to punish rape victims (as in the case of Helen Watson, 24 Aug.
1584). Something is written in the margin here, but it is torn and illegible.
46 Most of a marginal entry is torn off: ‘[mar]at at/ ... dell was ...’.
47 Unfeigned.
Comperit Jhon Eldar and Margret Nicolson and desyrit etc. Cation for him James Balneffes, for hir Gilbert Duglas. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Octavo Marci 1585

Sederunt: Minister, Dioneise Conqueror, William Hall, Adam Anderson, Oliver Kar, Duncan Robertson, and Constantine Malice

Comperit Jhon Robertson and Bessy Causland and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him James Malice, for hir Jhon Causland. (Mariit)

Comperit James Blyth and Janet Quhyt and desyris thair bannes to be proclaimed. Cation for him Oliver Kar, for hir James Garin. (Mariit)

Comperit Walter Brownhill and Elspet Brown and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Campbell, for hir Thomas Forskell.

Comperit Lawrence Colt and Christen Hakkerston and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Scott, for hir Patrik Flek.

Ordanis Jhon Jak officar sa lang as he makis gud service to haif of ilk contrak vi d.48

Receavit at the kirkdor xv s v d.

Forsamekle as David Duncan tailyeor spouse to [ ] was suspect to haif committit adultrie with Chresten Burn. The minister admonischit thame in presence of the assemblie that incaise they keipit ony company toggidder in tym cuming, that it suld be reput and halden as confessit adulterie be thame, and they puneischit thairfoir according to the act of parliament to the the [sic] quhilk sche condiscendit bot he stubburnlie refusit.

Forsamekle as Nicol Blair had deliverit the butter silver that cam from Stirling for the support of the puir to Walter Gray collector of the almis, the assembly held tham payit be him, and be these presenttis dischargit him thairof.49

48 Kirk officers were notoriously ill-paid. This fee for receiving marriage contracts was not insubstantial considering the number of contracts made. Jak was responsible for making sure the marriage occurred within the prescribed time, and if not to inform the session and summon the parties and their cautions.

49 See 30 Nov. 1584.
15 Marci 1585
Sederunt: Minister, Dioneise Conqueror, William Hall, Jhon Strangbow, Constantine Malice.
The assemblie ordanit the minister to excommunicat Margret Watson for hir adultrie and disobedience to the kirk.50

[219] Comperit Chrystie Wilson and Margret Bennat and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Chrystie quhyt, for hir Walter Ruthven. (Mariit)

Comperit Jhon Blak and Violet Mar and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him, Jhon Gray, for hir Jhon Spense.

Vigesimo secundo Marci Sederunt 1585
Minister, Dioneise Conqueror, William Hall, Adam Anderson, Jhon Strangbow, Andro Stoup, Duncan Robertson, Constantyn Malice.

Compeirit Jhon Brown and Margret Campburin and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him James Brown, for hir David Forbes. (Mariit)

Compeirit Jhon Neilland and Elspet Lawreston and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Cok, for hir George Lawreston. (Mariit)

The Names of thame that suld serve in tym of the communion
To keip the south kirk dor
William Flemynge and Thomas Monipenny bailyeis, Dioneise Conqueror eldar, Ewin Burry and Walter Gray deaconis to gather the almos and takins
The north quier dor
Patrik Blair bailye, William Hall eldar and Jhon Jak officiar
The Suit quier dor
Adam Anderson, Andro Stoup and Alexander Pullor, deaconis
For the wickit
George Jhoneston bailye, Robert Grant [and] Nicoll Blair deaconis, and
William Ross officiar
For convoyong of the bread
Oliver Kar and Jhon Strangbow eldaris

50 See 25 Jan. 1585, her admonition before excommunication. The startling fact in this case is that the king attempted to intervene on her behalf: PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 173v, records a letter from James to the provost and baiies of Perth charging them to 'put Margaret Watson to liberty and freedom furth of our tolbooth of Perth wherein she presently remains and suffer her to pass where she please as you will answer to us.' This order may have released her from imprisonment, but it did not prevent her excommunication: see 1 and 11 Apr. 1585, 10 Jan. 1586, and her belated submission to discipline in Apr. 1586, below.
For convoying of the cuppis
Duncan Watson, Constantyn Malice, James Sym and Robert Blair
For filling of the cuppis
James Quhyt, Jhon Henrie, Andro Clerk and David Wrycht
To gather the almos at the north kirk dor William Catrow
The thesaurer to furneis all thingis neidfiil and the bellis to be rung as was befoir.
The assemblie allowis Adam Andersonis compt and ordanis the xi £ he deburisit to be payit to him againe of the rediest silver that first micht be had.

29 Marcii 1585
Sederunt: Minister, William Flemyng bailye, Dioneise Conquerior, Adam Anderson, William Hall, Duncan Robertson, Andro Stoup, and Henrie Lyis

Comperit Isobel Wenton and fand Jhon Wenton cation under the paine of ane hundr £ that sche suld keip pretching and prayeris in all tyme cuming, speciallie on Thursiday and Soniday; nixt that sche suld leif in peace with hir neibouris, especiallie with Walter Eldar and his servanddis; thridly that in all tyme cuming sche suld be obedient to hir husband according to goddis commandement. And Jone Eldar hir husband receavit hir againe and oblist him self to releif the said Jhon Wenton.

Ordanis the reaer Jhon Henrie and William Robertson to go to Robert Sinclair to get in his meal to the puir.

Ordanis Patrik Ray and his factum and Robert Blakwod and his factum to be warnit that the minister and eldaris may travail to reconceil thame.51

Undecimo Apprilis 1585
Quhilk day I, Mr Jhon Huison, minister of goddis word at Perth for the tyme, did at the command of the cession thairof excommunicat with the greif, sorow, and dolor of my hairt Margret Watson, symtyme ane member of the said kirk of Perth, for duble adulterie and twa bairnis born thairin, quhilk bairnis receavit never the sacrament of baptisme, and ane of thame sche sufferit to perisch and starve for hunger in the ludgis infectit with the pest. For theise causses and also for hir stubburn disobedience to the voic of the kirk efter mony dew admonitionis, especiallie thre oppinlie out of the pulpeit, the first the last of Januar, the secund the sevint of Februar,

51 That is, they should come to the next session meeting so that the minister may arbiter their quarrel. A factum is an agent.
the thrid the fourtein day thairof, being all Sonndayis anno 1585, as also
the twentie-fyft of Martche lastbypast. Mr William Cok readar in name
of the kirk admonischit the said Margret in the tobbuith of Perth befoir
Andro Stoup, Duncan Robertson, Jhon Strangbow, and Constantyne Malice,
edaris, witnesses, to satisfie the kirk for hir foirsaid adultery, the quhilk to
do sche utterlie refisit, and producit the sentence the ellevint of Appryl
thairfoor anno 1585 befoir thir witnes at all the thre several Sondays as
also at the pronuncing of the sentence, to wit George Jhonston, William
Flemyng,Thomas Monipennie, and Patrik Blair, bailyeis; Andro Stoup, Blaise
Colt, William Hall and Duncan Robertson, eldaris; with the rest of the haill
congregation in tyme of pretching and divine service befoir none. In witnes
quyairof I haif subscryvit this presentis and sentence with my hand the twel
of Appryl the yeir of god I m v c fourscoir and fyve yeiris. [signed] Mr Jhon
Howyson with my hand – JH

Duodecimo Apprilis 1585

Quhilk day in presence of the minister, William Flemyng bailye, William
Hall, Jhon Strangbow, Andro Stoup, Duncan Robertson, and Constyn
Malice eldaris

Comperit Robert Edwart and Gils Lamb and desyrit thair bannis to be
proclamit. Cation for him Robert Sym, for hir Jhon Donaldson. Within xl
dayis. (Mariit/ Edwart and Lamb)

Comperit Jhon Murie and Katherein Lennox and desyris thair bannis to be
proclamit. Cation for him David Murie, for hir Thomas Gibson. Within xl
dayis. (Mariit/ Murie and Lennox)

Comperit George Low and Margret Gall and desyris thair bannis to be
proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Turnor, for hir Jhon Gall. Within xl dayis.
(Low and Gall)

Comperit Alexander Grant and Issobel Mathow and desyerit thair bannis to

52 See 25 Jan. and 15 Mar. 1585. Plague victims were housed in temporary shelters outside the
walls, but their families were held responsible to provide for them there. Watson appears to
have deposited her child in a lodge and failed to return with food, or perhaps to have stayed
with the child but failed to feed it. One does wonder about the disinclination of others in
the lodges to attend to an abandoned child. The fact that Watson was admonished in the
tolbooth suggests that the bailies had ignored the royal order to free her (above, 15 Mar.
1585), or had quickly re-incarcerated her.

53 This couple will turn out to be troublesome: see 10, 18 Jan., and 4 and 11 Apr. 1586, the
latter a separation order.
be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Smyth, for hir Patrik Mathow. Within xl
dayis. (Grant and Mathow)

xix Aprillis 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the minister, Blais Colt, Dioneise Conquerior,
Jhon Strangbow, Andro Stoup, Oliver Kar, and Duncan Robertson, eldaris,
comperit Jhon Forbes and Elspat Fleming and desyrit thair bannis to [be
[xl dayis]. (Forbes and Flemming)

[221] Compeirit Patrik Henrie and Issobel Watson and desyrit [thair bannis]
to be proclamit. Cation for him George Jak, for hir Jhon Rynd.. (Mariit
Henrie and Watson)

Forsamekle as Wilham Clink hes producit ane testimonial of his mari[age]
with Janet Quhytok, spous to Jhon Peblis, baxtar, writtin be James S[pense]
at Findegask and William Scott reader at Monze, notwithstanding that thay
war adulteraris, the mater being intricat it was remittit to the nixt provin-
cial assembly, ordaning alsweill the readaris as the fornamit adultraris to be
summonit thairto. (Clink and Quhyttok/ Spense and Scott/ Radaris)

It is ordanit that ilk deacon that gatheres not the puiris alms being warnit
sall pay x s.

27 Aprillis 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the eldaris compeirit Jhon Hardy and Issobel Dog
and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Wilbrig, for
hir Thomas Dog. Within xl dayis. (Mariit/ Hardy and Dog)

Comperit Jhon Anderson and confessit his fornication with Katherein
Schippart, quha ar ordanit to satisfie for the same. (Satifiit baith)

54 Torn.
55 As both the entry and the marginal notation suggest, the two readers were held responsible
for ensuring that couples who presented themselves for marriage were in fact not already
married to others. The readers may have failed to proclaim banns in this case. The session
refers the matter to presbytery since the authorities of other parishes are involved. Gask,
or Findgask, had been without a minister since 1574, so Spense may have been inclined
to expand his duties from those of a reader. Scott had been Monzie's reader since 1574,
though he was denominated 'vicar' in 1584; the parish had no minister until 1592 (Fasti iv,
273 - Gask, with no reader named, and 279).
10 Maii 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the eldaris comperit Alexander Mitchell and Janet Blyth and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for hir Thomas Gibson, for hir Lawrence Wilson. Within xl dayis. (Mitchell and Blyth/Mariit)

Comperit David Abram and Violet Anderson and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Grant, for hir Walter Murray. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

It is ordanit that theise that hes carnal deal befoir mariage pay xl s and na cation be receavit in tym cuming.57

Comperit Christen Farguson and being suspect of adulterie with William Stevinson, confessit that hir bairin was gottin in William Stevinsonis house, bot the bairin was Adam Fargusonis in Mulyn, quha being in ward, the eldaris in respect of the vehemence of the pest and sche being neir to be delyverit relevit hir out of ward til the pleague ceassit and sche war delyverit.58 (Farguson the Heiland woman)

17 Maii 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the eldaris comperit Patrik Blak and Helen Gordon and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Wrycht, for hir Thomas Gibson. Within xl dayis, bot because that the said Helen cam befoir the assembly befoir with ane Jhon Pettindreath and dischargit the contract maid betuix thame, it was ordanit that Thomas Gibson suld pay befoir hir mariage with Patrik Blak the sowm of ten £ as cationar for the said Jhon and for baith. (Blak and Gordon/Mariit)

Comperit William Dog and Marjorie Barclay and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Dog, for hir Robert Stevinson. Within xl dayis. (Mariit Dog/ and Barkclay)

[222]

24 Maii 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the eldaris comperit Robert Sunderland and

57 This is a marked change in policy, requiring antenuptial fornicators simply to pay the fine straightaway or be warded rather than being allowed to secure caution that they will pay in time. It would have streamlined the session's procedure and simplified things for the clerk.

58 In the end, Stevinson would be convicted of adultery: see 13 Sept. 1585, 3 and 10 Jan. 1586. Christen Farguson may well be the 'Highland Cristane' with whom Robert Paterson confessed fornication 4 Jan. 1580. She seems not to have been prosecuted then; now she has presumably made the mistake of staying in town long enough to have been apprehended. The elders did recognise heightened contagion in the gaol during plague time.
Elspet Kinross and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Donald Chalmer, for hir James Lethreische. Within xl dayis.

Comperit Patrik Hutson and Janet Blak. Cation for him Jhon Hutson, for hir Jhon Blak. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

It was statut and ordanit that heirafter induring the tyme of the plague na bankettis suld be at mariages and na persones suld resort to brydillis under the paine of ten £ to be payit be ilkane that contravenis the same, and x £ to be payit be thame that callis mair nor four on the syd to the banket or brydell induring the pest. (brydells dyschargit)

Ultimo Maii 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the eldaris comperit Jhon Thomson and Elspet Clerk and desyris etc. Cation for him David Thomson, for hir Arthur Gibson. Within xl dayis. (Mariit/ Thomson and Clerk)

Comperit William Rudderfurdf and Issobel Mason and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Mr George Ruthven, for hir Andro Makbaith. Within xl dayis.

14 Junii 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the minister and eldaris comperit Thomas Bell and Maige Bennat and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Gibson, for hir James Millair. Within xl dayis. (Mariit/ Bell and Bennat)

Comperit Thomas Glen and Kathren Lawreston and desyrit etc. Cation for him Thomas Anderson, for hir Robert Thomson. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

20 Junii 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the minister and eldaris comperit Walter Anderson and Helen Reid and desyris etc. Cation for him Alexander Gibson, for hir William Anderson. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Comperit Thomas Dog and Chirsten Gardner and desyris etc. Cation for him Thomas Gibson, for hir Andro Rynd. Within xl dayis.

For most people, a £10 fine for attending wedding festivities would be prohibitive, so this order would be an effective way to control contagion during plague time. The rather confusing allowance that a bride or groom could invite four people without penalty does suggest, however, that the presence of a few family members on each side was acceptable.
Comperit Janet Morison and confessit hir fornication with James Gibson quhais ordanit to satisfie thairfoir. (satisfiit)

28 Junii 1585
Quhilk day in presence of the minister and eldaris compairit David Owd and Bessy Murray and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Robertson, for hir Jhon Lawry. (Mariit)

Comperit Andro Billy and confessit his fornication with William Rosttir quha is ordanit to satisfie. (satisffiit)

Comperit Janet Will and confesses hir tripil fornication with Andro Tosthoche quha is ordanit to be schavin and dowkit according to the act of parliament, yit hir dowkin is supersedit til sche be delyverit of hir birth.

5 Julii 1585
Quhilk day comperit Helen Giffen befoir the minister and eldaris and confessit hir adulterie with Thomas Malcum, baxtar, spouse to [ ] quha is ordanit to satisfie the kirk and the said Thomas [is warned to comppear] this day viii dayis.

[223] Quhilk day it was ordanit that James Pettland suld haif xii d for ilk fornicatoris or fornicatrixis head he scheavis.

Item forsamekle as Thomas Smyth confessit his tripil fornication with thre sundrie women and now haiffand the last woman with bairin agane, it ordanit that he salbe wardit, schavin, and dowkit according to the act of parliament. (Thomas Smyth)

Duodecimo Julii 1585
Quhilk day the minister and eldaris except Oliver Kar being present, it was ordanit that William Cok and Jhon Lammerkyn suld be pundit for xx

60 One of the forenames must have been mis-written, since a sodomy case would have gotten much more attention than this.

61 APS iii, 25, parliament's 1567 act requiring ducking and banishment for a third conviction of fornication. Second-time offenders were to have their heads shaved. In either case, however, the wealthy could pay a large fine to avoid the corporal punishment. The statute was very rarely implemented in Perth.

62 Shaving and dunking in the river is unusual even for triple fornication and is best explained by the context of the ongoing severe plague, presumed to be divine judgment for toleration of sin in the community.

63 Left blank by the clerk.

64 Torn.
s because they gatherit not the almos at the kirkdoris with the deaconis. And siclyk that all that ar warnit be the officiar to gather the almus in tyme cuming and dois it not salbe pundit for xx s ilkane of thame toties quoties\textsuperscript{65} they ar absolvit thairfra. (Almos)

Item it is ordanit that the haill eldaris be present oukly at the cession and so mony as absentis thame therefra to be oukly pundit for xii d, and incais they keip not the hour apponitit to pay vi d.

Item forsamekle as Eufame Tully bruittis hir husband James Sym\textsuperscript{66} of adulterie and the cession for not punieisching of him, it is ordanit that sche ather accuse him or ellis cease to bruit ather him or the cession, and that sche gif hir answer quhilk sche promissit to do this day aucht dayis.

Item forsamekle as Jhon Jak officiar to the kirk is fund negligent in the executing of his office, the cession admonischis him to be mair diligent or ellis they will provyd for ane to serve in his office.

Item it is ordanit that ane eldair go throuch the streittis everie Sonday in tyme of sermon befoir and after none to not[e] all that cum not to the preitching, that ordor may be takin with thame according to the act of parliament\textsuperscript{67}.

Compeirit Violet Ruthven and confessit hir fornication with Robert Wallace quha is ordanit to satisfie thairfoir quha fundis Michael Hall cation that sche sall enter to ward this day aucht dayis.

Compeirit Jhon Wrycht and Barbara Lithon and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Moncreif, for hir Thomas Gibson. Within xl dayis.

Compeirit Robert Auld and Chirsten Quhyt and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Flek, for hir Robert Quhyt. Within xl dayis.

\textsuperscript{65} For each day they fail to do the job. Collecting alms at the kirk door during plague time would have been a hazardous duty.

\textsuperscript{66} The deacon.

\textsuperscript{67} APS iii,138 (1579) ratified an earlier act of James IV in banning fairs, markets, labor, selling of meat or drink, and gaming on the sabbath and specifically required sermon attendance. The penalty for a first offence of 'wilful remaining from the parish kirk in time of sermon or prayers on Sunday' was either a 20s fine or twenty-four hours in the stocks of 'such other engine devised for public punishment'.
Compeirit James Reoch and Marjorie Brown and cation for him Walter Gray, for hir Patrik Ray. Within xl dayis.

Item forsamekle as Chirsten Ochrie is brutit to keip ane bordell quhilk sche denyit, it is ordanit that ane asyse\textsuperscript{68} salbe summonit agane this day viii dayis that tryal thairof may be had.

Item forsamekle as William Ronaldson haiffing ane great housshald of bairnis inclosit as suspect of infection,\textsuperscript{69} it is ordanit that Nicoll Blair deacon gif him half ane merk till this day viii dayis.

[224] Item forsamekle as Thomas Malcam, baxter, and Margret Oliphant war as and diverse tymes personally warnit to cum befoir the assembly and satisfie the kirk for thair offences and compeirit not, bot they remanit obstinat, thairfoir the eldaris presently convenit ordanit Mr Jhon Huison minister to admonesh thame befoir excommunication except Dionise Conqueror and William Hall.\textsuperscript{70}

17 Julii 1585

Quhilk day the minister, Adam Anderson, Andro Stoup, Henrie Lyis, Jhon Strangbow, Constyne Malice and Duncan Robertson eldaris, and William Flemyng bailye, being convenit for the tym, understanding that Thomas Smyth had brokin the kingis ward\textsuperscript{71} and notwithstanding of his grevois offences wald not satisfie the kirk nor yit obey the act of parliament, to the dishonor of god, contempt of the kingis majestic, and sclander of the kirk, ordanit Mr Jhon Huison minister to admonesh Thomas Smyth and Margret Oliphant and Thomas Malcom befoir excommunication and in caise of disobedience to excommunicat them.\textsuperscript{72}

Item it was ordanit that the said minister chairge publicdy out of the pulpeit all that knawis of Thomas Smythis waygoing or ar partakers of his coyn, that they ether advertise him self for the readar as they think best, utherwayis

\textsuperscript{68} A judicial inquiry by men appointed for the purpose.
\textsuperscript{69} This is the only indication of the houses of infected families being locked for the duration.
\textsuperscript{70} This is a rare example of a divided decision with objectors' names noted. William Hall was a baxter, indeed offen the deacon of the baxters‘ guild, and so may have been reluctant to participate in the excommunication of one of his brothers. There is no apparent reason why Conqueror would have objected. Margaret Olyphant was excommunicated 15 Aug., with Hall's concurrence. Malcom would be warded for not completing his repentance 18 Oct. 1585, but he must thereafter have compined, because there is no record of his excommunication.
\textsuperscript{71} He has escaped from gaol.
\textsuperscript{72} Malcom would appear 2 Aug. Smyth (ordered dunked on 5 Jul.) finally came on 12 Aug.; he would be 'received ... as obedient' 7 Oct. 1585.
mac answer that knowledge be gottin. Heirafter they salbe excommunicat and puneischit according to the lawis of this realme.\footnote{That is, if people who know of his whereabouts fail to report him, they are themselves subject to excommunication.}

Item that publicdy he chairge the honest men that ar warnit be the officiar to gather the pures almos at the kirk dor to do the same, under the paine of xx s \textit{toties quoties} they absent thame self thatirfra.

Quhilk day the haill assemblie and session of the kirk aggreis in ane voice that sa mony fornicatores that have not satisfit the kirk for thair offence hitherto and are rather willing to pay ane pecunial sowm of money according to the act of parliament then utherways to satisfie the civil magistrat and the kirk for releif of the puir being presentlie in great necessitie sall instantlie delvery the sam according to the act of parliament to support the puir withall that ar furth in the ludgis, quha utherways salbe libil to die for want or than to be compellit for hungar to stray and go abrod in the contrey and infect the same. And ordanit that this our ordinance sall haif onlie place induring the tyme of the pleag and this extreme neid, quhilk utherways can not presently be helpit. And thairfoir desyris both all this congregation and also all thame that sall cum efter within our roumes\footnote{Our successors in the office of elder.} to judge cheritable of this our ordinance and rychdie to ponder and wey the causes that moved us thereto, to wit, the saving of the lyffis of our puir bretheren and sisteris and culd find na uther help at this present to releve thame withall. And thairfoir haif receved for this effect the pecunial sowme from the persones underwrettin and also dischargis the personnis underwrettin from all farther satisfaction to the kirk. They ar to say George Jhonston bailye, Katherein Horin, James Gibson, Jhon Robertson.\footnote{The economic dislocations caused by plague have driven the burgh to such strait that they can only relieve the poor by excusing public repentance in exchange for prompt payment of the fornicators' penalty established by statute – £40 for a first offence, 100 merks for a second, and £100 for a third. These are huge sums compared to usual practice in Perth, but would exempt offenders from warding, standing at the crosshead in irons, and even appearance on the stool of repentance. The elders presumably expected more substantial offenders to take advantage of the opportunity to avoid public humiliation. Even if only a few did so, like the four listed, poor relief funds would benefit very considerably. The session members are clearly rather embarrassed, however, that they have compromised their standards for repentance and so insert an apologetic.}

Forsamekle as Mr William Cok was found to haif servit this yeir and mor bygone and has not receavit his fie therefoir be reasoon of the pleag, thairfoir
the session ordanit hym to tak up the fourty schillings ay and quhill he was satisfiit.\textsuperscript{76}

\[225\] The forme of the testimoniallis to be giffin [fornica-]\textsuperscript{77}
toris or fornicatrices maid upon the foirsaid act
Be it herd till all men to quhom this present testimonial cum that N has satisfiit the kirk of Perth for his fornication committit with N. And that according to the act of assemblie in the foirsaid kirk of Perth maid to that effect be the minister and eldaris the 17 day of Julii anno 1585 in witnes quhairof I Mr William Cok, clerk \textit{etc} hes subscryvit this present testimonial with my hand.\textsuperscript{78}

\textit{26 Julii 1585}
\textit{Sederunt} Minister, Dyoneise Conquerior, Adam Anderson, Jhon Strangbow, Constein Malice

Comperit Robert Wallace and Violet Ruthven and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Michall Lyall, for hir Henry Mathow. Within xl dayis to be mariit.

Forsamekle as Barbara Brown notwithstanding sche was making hir repentance for hir fornication with Thomas Smyth, yit hantit his companie\textsuperscript{79} twys on ane Sunday quhan sche was on the stull.\textsuperscript{80} Sche is ordanit to stand twa houris on the croshheid on ane market day lokit in the irnis and gif in ony tyme coming sche suld be fund in his companie except he marie hir it salbe retpit for duble fornication.

Item it was ordanit that James Petlandy suld schave the headis of fornicatores or fornacatrixis and to receave yeirlie forty schilling thairfoir, quhilk he consentit to do, upon the quhilk he was releavit out of ward.\textsuperscript{81}

Item it was ordanit that all persons that war to be mariit suld gif thair aithe

\textsuperscript{76} That is, he may keep 40s fornicators' fines as he collects them until he has collected what he is owed by the session.
\textsuperscript{77} Torn.
\textsuperscript{78} The development of blank forms like this is an indicator of the bureaucratisation of session operations in the sixteenth century.
\textsuperscript{79} Was found in his presence.
\textsuperscript{80} During the term of her repentance.
\textsuperscript{81} There is no record in the book of his having been warded. Perhaps he had declined to shave heads for the fee he had previously been awarded (5 Jul., 12d per head), and the session had punished him rather than re-negotiating. Warding in close proximity to other offenders during plague time was a very severe punishment, so that whether the 40s per annum was an improvement or not, he accepted it.
the nicht befoir thair mariage and gif they refusit to do it ather to pay xl schillingis or mak thair repentance public[ly] on the stall. And this to be done befoir the reader and twa eldaris.  

Compeirit Margret Giffen and confesses hir fornication with Jhon Dundie quha is ordanit to satisfie the kirk therefoir. (satisfiit)

Quhilk day it was ordanit that ilk person that beis warnit befoir the assembly to compeir and comperis not salbe pundit for the first fall for half merk and the said half merk to be dublit toties quoties they be warnit to compeir and compeiris not.  

(Act for disorder)

Quhilk day it was ordanit that Thomas Dundie suld be pundit for half merk for his disobedience and lykwayis that he gif his answer quhidder Girsell Talyeor his woman passit away with bairin to him or not.

Secundo Augusti anno 1585

Sederuntes: Minister, Dyoneise Conquerior, Adam Anderson, William Hall, Jhon Strangbow, Henrie Lyis, and Constein Malice

Compeirit Mathow Mitchell and Christen Billy and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Anderson, for her David Billy within xl dayis.

Compeirit Patrik Henrie and Issobel Millair and desyris etc. Cation for him Dyoneise Conquerior, for hir Jhon Hall. xl dayis. (Marit)


Compeirit Thomas Watson and Effy Gothra and desyris etc. Cation for him Jhon Robertson, for hir William Gow. xl dayis.

[226] Compeirit Lawrence Lamb in Kynnoul paroche and Girsell Belett and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Lamb, for hir Patrik Flek within xl dayis.

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82 The principle is guilty until sworn innocent. The context is an increasingly desperate need for money for poor relief as the plague and its concomitant economic dislocation continue.

83 This is another desperate attempt to increase the kirk's income in the straitened circumstances of plague time.

84 Died: see 16 Aug., below.
It was ordainit that the clerk suld half xii d for ilk testimonial he giffis to fornicatoris that ar receavit. ([clerjk])

Forsamekle as Thomas was lauchfullie warnit to compeir to this day and compeirit not, it was ordainit according to the former act that he suld be pundit for xx s.

Compeirit Thomas Malcam baxtar, spouse to [ ] and confessit his adulterie with Helen Giffen quha is ordainit to satisfie and kirk thairfoir.

Ordanis Andro Donaldson master of hospital to gif to Jhon Jak officer to the kirk his Witosday fie as his predecessores officers had of befoir of the hospitality.

9 Augusti 1585
Sederunt: Minister, Adam Anderson, William Hall, Jhon Strangbow, Henrie Lyis, Constein Malice.

Compeirit Robert Lithome and Agnes Anderson and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Adam Harrowar, and her Patrik Flemys. Within-xl dayis.

Compeirit Robert Brown and Helen Scherair and desyris etc. Cation for him George Robertson, for hir Andro Gib. Within-xl dayis.

Compeirit Patrik Smyth and Margret Stewart and desyris etc. Cation for him James Balneffes, for hir William Smyth. Within-xl dayis.

Compeirit George Findlason and Agnes Findlason and desyris etc. Cation for him Patrik Anderson, for hir Jhon Adam. Within-xl dayis.

Ordanis Thomas Dundie to be pundit for ii merk for disobedience to the assemblie.

12 Augusti 1585
Qhilk day forsamekle as Thomas Smyth as appeared did offer his repentance to the kirk for his tripil fornication be the ingifling of ane bill befors the session, thairfoir they concludit to receave his repentance notwith-

85 Torn. The fee would be paid by the convicted.
86 Surname omitted; it could be Smyth or Dundie.
87 See above, 5 and 12 Jul. 1585. A blank is left in the entry for the name of Malcom’s wife.
88 See above, 26 Jul. 1585.
standing he was publiclie admonischt befoir excommunication befoir he shew him self obedient provyding he satisfyt the civil magistrat for breking of the kingis ward and actis of parliament maid aganis fornicatores of the thrid fall. (Thomas Smyth/ alias Carill)

15 Augusti 1585

Qhilk day I Mr Jhon Huison minister of christis evangel at Perth for the tyme did at the command of the session excommunicat Margret Oliphant with greif and dolour of my hart being sumtyme ane member of Christis kirk at Perth for hir tripil fornication committit be hir with James Monipenny, burges in Perth, and continuance thairin without ony kynd of repentance as also for hir stubburn disobedience to the voice of the kirk efter mony dew admonitionis giffin to hir alsweill be Jhon Jak officiar to the kirk as be me four several Sondays publictie out of the pulpeit of the kirk of Perth, the first the xviii of Julii, the secund the 27 of Julii, the thrid the first of August, the fourt the tenth of August being all Soundayis anno 1585. And sche being disobedient as yit I pronuncit the sentence of excommunication agans hir [227] the fyftein day of August anno 1585 befoir thir w[itnesses] at all the foir several Sondayis of admonition as als[o] at the pronuncing of the sentence, to wit, George Jhonston, William Flemynge, Patrik Blair, bailyeis; Adam Anderson, Oliver Kar, William Hall and Jhon Strangbow, eldars; with the rest of the congregation of Perth in tym of preitching and dyvine service befoir none. In witnes quhairof I have subscrivit this proces and sentence with my hand the sixtein day of August anno 1585. [signed] Mr Jhon Howyson with my hand JH

16 Augusti

Sederunt minister, Adam Anderson, William Hall, Jhon Strangbow, Andro Stoup, Duncan Robertson

Compeirit David Dicson and Janet Glas and desyrit thair bannes to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Wenton, for hir Alexander Glas, within xl dayis.

Compeirit Thomas Ritchie and Bessy Kinglassy and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Bonar, for hir Thomas Monipenny. (Mariit)

Compeirit Jhon Lamond and Rosina Bruce and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Smyth, for hir Jhon Kay.

89 Corner torn.
Forsamekle as Thomas Dundie being suspect of fornication with Girsell Tailyeor his awin servand was aft and diverse tymes requirit be the minister to confess his offence and satisfie for the same, wald not confess. And the minister and eldaris charging him to present his woman this day aucht dayis, quhilk he refusit lykwayis to do with fearful execrations affirming mair nor sax oulkis bygane sche passit aff the tolbuith,\textsuperscript{90} thairfoir the eldaris hold his fornication \textit{per} confessit and ordanit the minister to proceid aganis the said Thomas with admonitions befoir excommunication or ellis to mak him to satisfie the kirk thairfoir. And the woman he retenit dead in his house the space of xlviii houris as it was aucht dayis heirafter notoriously knawin\textsuperscript{91} to the bailyeis befoir hir burial.

Comperit Patrik Lamb and becam cautionair that Ewmond Findlason under the paine of ten £ cum befoir the assembhe within xx dayis and gif his answer quhidder he wald contract \textit{[marriage with]}\textsuperscript{92} Chirsten Ochrie with quhome he confessit he had carnal deal, or not. And the said Ewmond offerit to releive him of his cationar.

Receavit at the kirk dor viii s ii d.

It was ordanit that Robert Cuming in the cart suld haif xii d oukly.\textsuperscript{93}

23 Augusti

\textit{Sederunt} minister, Jhon Strangbow, William Hall, Constein Malice, Duncan Robertson.

Compeirit Gilbert Ester and Margret Wallis and desyrit \textit{etc.} Cation for him William Kar, for hir Robert Lamb. (Mariit)

Recavit at the kirk dor be James Quhyt xii s.

The names of the puir that receavis oulkly almos
Robert Ritchie 30d, Robert Ewing xii d, Jhon Cramby xii d, the seik woman in the hospital ii s, George Stanhouse xii d, Chirsten Orlin xii d, the blindwoman in the Muirhall xii d, Issobel Watson xii d, George Monzeis

\textsuperscript{90} Beyond the tollbooth, to the town burial ground beyond the walls.
\textsuperscript{91} In August, the stench of a two-day-old corpse would indeed be noticed. There was already strong suspicion that something was amiss on 26 July.
\textsuperscript{92} Omitted.
\textsuperscript{93} This dole will continue for some years: see 6 Feb. 1587, where Sym is to ‘buy Robbie the Cart a new coat’.
and his wyffe xii d, Helen Robertson xii d, Violet Gedare xii d, Chirsten Chrysti xii d, David Drummond xii d.

Ordanis Robert Grant to gif to Nicol Belman ane pair of schone.  

30 Augusti anno 1585

Sederunt: minister, Adam Anderson, William Hall, Thomas Cok, Andro Stoup, Duncan Robertson, Constein Malice, and Jhon Strangbow

Compeirit Jhon Symson and Issobel Langlandis and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Eldar, for hir Patrik Grant.

Forsamekle as through the negligence of the bailyeis sundrie war not puneischit that contempnit the kirk and the ordinances thairof, thairfoir the assemblie with ane voice ordanit the minister to proceid with admonitions befoir excommunication aganis the bailyeis incase they put not the kingis majesties actis of parliament to execution aganis Thomas Smyth on Satterday nixt and in all tym cuming aganis all sik publics offendaris. And that the bailyeis may be foirsein of this ordinance ordanis Dyoneise Conqueror and Duncan Robertson to speik tham and to report the bailyeis answer to the minister on Thursiday nixt that incase they do thair dewtie he may stay to proceid, utherwayis that he gif the first admonition on Thursday nixtocom and incase of disobedience on Sonnday cum aucht to excommunicat thame without ony farder delay. And this act to haif place not only aganis the bailyeis present, but incase thair successoris bailyeis do not thair dewtie, that in lyk maner the minister of this congregation sail proceid aganis thame that gud order may be observit within our burgh and the kirk may get obedience. ((lag]anis [th]e bailyeis [th]at puttis [no]t the actis of the kirk [in] execution)

Ordanis Andro Stoup to be collector of the puris almos and to gif his compt everie Mononday befoir the session.

Appointtis Dyoneise Conquerior, Henrie Lyis, and Andro Stoup for the kirk to heir the masteres of hospitallis comptis the morn aucht dayis.

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94 Shoes.
95 Informed.
96 Next Sunday (Sunday come eight days).
97 Torn.
Receiveit at the kirk dor xii s iii d. Of that ten was giffin to James Pitlandy for his quarter fie in hand for the schaving of thair headis that committis fornication according to the act of parliament.

*Sixto Septembris* 1585.

*Sederunt* minister, William Hall, Jhon Strangbow, Andro Stoup, Thomas Cok, and Duncan Robertson.

Receiveit be Andro Stoup of the puiris alms 30 s v d of the quhilck at the command of the assembly he debursit xv s, so restis xv s v d.

Ordanis Andro Stoup to gif Jhon Ronaldson sone to Nicoll Belman ane pair schone.


The quhilck day den Andro Blythman departing left to the puir x £.99

Comperit Thomas Smyth and haifffing satisffiet the actis of parliament100 submittit him self humblie to the kirk, lamenting his stubburnes and prom-isisit to satisfie quhatsumever the kirk wald lay to his charge.

*13 Septembris*

*Sederunt* minister, Dioneise Conqueror, William Hall, Adam Anderson, Jhon Strangbow, Andro Stoup, Duncan Robertson, and Constantyn Malice.

Compeirit Walter Bog and Kathren Makgregor and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Bog, for hir Jhon Makgregor.

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98 Torn.

99 Blythman has died, perhaps of the plague, and left a bequest to the poor. The title ‘den’ may be a carelessly written ‘dec’, since Blythman, a former Carthusian who continued to live in a townhouse owned by that order after the Reformation, had served as a deacon from 1578 through the 1583–84 term, and as kirkmaster (19 Feb. 1582).

100 That is, he has been shaved, warded, pilloried in irons on the crosshead, and ducked for having committed fornication with three women: see 8 and 15 Feb., 11 Apr. 1580; 8 Feb. 1585; 5 and 17 July 1585. Two of his partners, Bessie Cuthbert and Barbara Brown, were sent to the crosshead 26 July 1585. He will be received by the congregation 7 and 14 Oct. 1585.
Compeirit Malcum Hall and Janet Mitchell and desyrrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Hall, for [her] Hew Mitchell.

Receavit of the puiris almos be Andro Stoup xx s vi d and his compt being hard thair restit in his hand xxxi s iii d.

Ordanis Andro Stoup to gif James Petlandy vi s viii d in his hand and ane uthir half merk quhan he hes healit the boy he has under cuir of the glengoir.

Compeirit Chirsten Ferguson and confessit hir adulterie with William Stevison, spous to Margret Lamb, and being demandit quhair and quhan the bairn was gottin anserit it was gottin in William Stevinsones house in day licht, his wyf being furth in the hall besyd hir awin bed, quha submitting hir self to the injunctionis of the kirk, is ordanit to satesfie the same as ane adulteres and to enter to hir repentance on Sunday nixt or ellis the minister to proceid aganis hir to excommunication.

Ordanis William Stevinson to be warnit agane this day aucht dayis.

Ordanis Andro Stoup to gif James Rob ane half mark and also becaise the said James leg is brokin, ordanis thre £ of Patrik Elliottis silver to be giffin him to support him withall. (Rob)

Ordanis Jhon Forbes the saxtyn to be wardit for disobedience.

The assemblie requestis the bailyeis to brak up the hospital house dor quhairof violently James Dyning withheld the key and wald not gif it that the puir seik woman micht be put theirin.

101 Petlandy, also shaver of fornicators' heads, is probably a barber-surgeon. The session pays for some medical care for the poor, in this case to cure a boy of glengore, a venereal disease. There was some concern in early modern towns about sexually transmitted diseases becoming epidemic: the Glasgow Burgh Records of 1600 (i, 206) note 'the greit suspicoune of sindry persones infectit with the glengoir, quhilk, gif it be nocht preventit, will endanger the haill towne'.
102 'Highland Chirsten' had earlier denied fornication with Stevison, in whose house she was a servant (10 May 1585; cf. 4 Jan. 1580).
103 Dunning, or Donning, patron of St Ann's chapel, had endowed the hospital some years earlier with the proviso 'that the poor be placed and input in the said hospital by the advice of the said James' RPC iii, 288 (4 Jun. 1580). He seems here to be claiming his privilege.
Forsamekle as sundrie resortit in tym of sermon to tavrons and ailhousses and cam not to the kirk as becam christianis, thairfoir it is ordanit that ilk tavernor or ail sellair that sellis wyn or ail in tym of sermon pay xx s and also all that resortis to tavrons or ail housses and are thair apprehendit sall pay x s and that this penaltie be takin fra the contravenaris of this act sa aft as they are culpabil thairof. (act [for ab]santeis [from] sermon)\textsuperscript{106}

\textbf{18 Septembris 1585 sederunt}\textsuperscript{106}

Quhilk day in presence of Mr William Cok, readar, William Hall and Thomas Cok eldaris, compeirit David Inglis and James Drummond and desyrit that Patrik Inglis of the byris and Jein Drummond mitt be proclamit and said Jhon Cok becam of both cautionar that they suld accomplish thair mariage within xl dayis.

[230] \textbf{20 Septembris 1585}

\textit{Sederunt} minister; Thomas Monipenny [and] William Fleming, bailyeis; William Hall, Adam Anderson, Jhon Strangbow, Henrie Lyes, Andro Stoup, and Duncan Robertson, eldaris.

Quhilk day compeirit Oliver Cragy and Issobel Meling and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him and for hir boith Patrik Lamb. Terme xl dayis. (Mariit)

Receavit at the kirk dor xx i s vi d.

\textbf{28 Septembris 1585}

\textit{Sederunt} minister; Dioneise Conquerior, William Hall, Adam Anderson, Thomas Cok, Constantyn Malice, and Duncan Robertson, eldaris

Quhilk day comperit Andro Gibson and Chirsten Hally and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Thomas Gibson, for hir Adam Brysson. Terme xl dayis. (Mariit)

Compeirit Thomas Finnok and Janet Boyd and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Grant, for hir Jhon Clerk. Terme xl dayis. (Mariit)

Receavit at the kirk dor xxii s vi d.

\textsuperscript{106} Margin torn.
Ordanis Thomas Anderson cationar for George Low and Patrik Lamb cationar for Edmond Findlason to be warnit aganis this day viii dayis.

Quhilk day compeirit William Stevison and confessit his adulterie with Chirsten Ferguson, quha upon his awin promeis was ordanit to enter to his repentance on Sonnday efter the celebration of the communion.

Quarto Octobris 1585

Sederunt minister; Dyonise Conquerior, William Hall, Thomas Cok, Jhon Strangbow, Henrie Lyis, Constantyn Malice, Duncan Robertson, and Andro Stoup, eldaris.

Quhilk day compeirit Jhon Young and Janet Mar and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Oliver Young, for hir William Jak. Terme xl dayis.

Compeirit Alexander Moncreif and Violet Brown and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Moncreif, for hir Hary Drummond. Terme xl dayis. (Mariit)

Compeirit Jhon Smyth and Janet Leitch and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him James Lamb, for hir George Lawrenston. Terme xl dayis. (Mariit)

Andro Stouppis compt being hard thair restit in his handis of the puiris almos xvi s ix d.

Ordanit Thomas Dundy and Patrik to compeir for thair fornication, with Dioneise Conquerior, or ellis to be wardit ... cation to performe thair repentance....


Ordanis Janet Cudbert to haif xii d oulkly for the wynding of the puir.
Ordanis that nan be admittit to the communion that ar fornicatoris except they haif satisfiit the kirk.

Ordanis Jhon Jak officiar to haif ane quhip in his hand to ding away the doggs out of the kirk and to strik the bairnis that brakis the glassyn windokis.¹¹⁰

7 Octobris

Quhilk day compeirit David Grant and Chirsten Anderson and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Grant, for hir Adam Anderson. Terme xl dayis.

Quhilk day Thomas Smyth, Rosina Bruce and Janet Reid war receavit be the eldaris as obedient members of chrystis kirk.¹¹¹

Quhilk it was appointit that sa mony as war at variance that willingly wald offer thair action in so for as it appertenit to the kirk to the decesion of the minister and eldaris, that incaise thair party adversair wald not appoint with thame, that they suld be admittit to the communion and the party obstinat suld be repellit threfra and excommunicat for thair disobedience.

And according to this act Robert Blakat and his faction war aggret with Patrik Ray and his party upone this condition, that thretty merks suld be giffin to Robert Blakwoddis man callit James Reid or [ ]¹¹² Reid, and that as Patrik Ray and Mr Jhon Huison drank to Robert Blakwod and his servand, so Andro and Gilbart Rayis suld ratiffie the same at the sicht of Mr Jhon Huison or with uther minister that occupeit his place. [signed] Mr Jhon Huison¹¹³

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¹¹⁰ There is certainly evidence (visual and textual) for dogs in protestant churches during service time in early modern Europe, but the reference to window-breaking here suggests that the officer was to use his whip as well during the week against vandals and dogs. On dog-whipping duties during this period in English churches, see John Craig, 'Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547–1642', in W. Coster and A. Spicer (eds), Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 2005), 104–23.

¹¹¹ 'Church' is crossed out before 'kirk'. Reid was one of Smyth's partners. For Rosina Bruce, see 16 Aug., requesting her banns. Perhaps the marriage was unduly delayed.

¹¹² A blank is left for the forename, perhaps of a kinsman of James Reid.

¹¹³ This is an example of session arbitration of a feud. Barring from communion parties unwilling to submit to arbitration obviously provided the elders with a means to compel settlement and avoid violence. Blackwod (probably mis-written 'Blakat' in the first instance) and Ray seem to have quarrelled about money. Ray appears here to be the willing party, and the ceremonial drinking to his opponent by Ray and the minister a ritual declaration of his acceptance of arbitration (on which ritual, see CP, 253–54). Andro and Gilbert, also part of the Ray faction, must drink as well, in the minister's presence, to seal the peace. The final phrase suggests that Blackwod intends at least to wait for the
Sederunt minister; Dioneise Conquerior, Adam Anderson, O[liver] Kar, Thomas Cok, Duncan Robertson, Andro Stoup.

Quhilk day Thomas Smyth, Agnes Boll, and Rosina Br[uce] war receavit be the kirk and absolvit fra ony farder satisfaction for thair offences of fornication bypast.

Forsamekle as George Makchanse and Elspet Cudbert war baith apprehendit in nakit bed toggidder in filthy fornication upon the tent of this instant, being the first Sonnday of the holie communion and of publict fast and humiliation appointit be the kirk to be holily observit that god of his mercy micht remove this intollerabil pleague from this town and all uther townis within this cuntrie, and lykwaysis that the foirsaid personis hes bein baith put furth in the ludgis as suspect of the same seiknes, from the quhilk god hes preservit tham to this hour, notheless thay half without all feir of god filthilie committit the foirsaid vyce of fornication, thairfoir the haill session ordanis that the fornamit persons salbe cartit bakwart throuche the town from the said Elspet house quhair they war apprehendit, haiffand paper hattis on thair headis, on Setterday nixt at ten houris befoir none, and thairafter that they be lokit fast in the irnis on the crosheid and thair stand til thre efter none, and thairafter to be wardit til Sonnday at quhat tyme the officiaris sail convoy thame with thair paper hattis to the the [sic] publict seat of repentance, that thair they may confes thair offence and ask god and the congre[gation] forgisines for the sclander thay gaif and evil examplip to utheris to commit the lyk. And this act to strik upon all sic personis quhom the watch apprehend in fornication in tym of the communion humiliation or ony uther tyme in tym cuming that vyce may [be] rooted out of this

designated payment and the rest of the ritual drinking before reconciliation. Certainly a quick settlement is not expected: Howison in signing recognised that it might take longer than his temporary tenure of the minister's post.

Smyth and Bruce had already been received by the session (7 Oct.); this reception 'by the kirk' suggests a formal ritual in the church before the congregation on a preaching day, doubtless the previous Sunday, 10 Oct., which as a communion Sunday was a traditional time for reception of penitents. This is the first mention of Boll's case.

Carting, a common punishment by public humiliation throughout Europe, pre- and post-Reformation, usually entailed the use of a dung cart, and exposed the offenders to both the verbal scorn and flung missiles (refuse, dirt, rotten vegetation or eggs) of their neighbours. The offenders standing backwards on the cart pointed to their having turned upside-down, as it were, the moral standards of the community. The paper hats would have written on them the offence of which they had been convicted.

Torn.

Omitted.
town and god may bliss it. (George Makchanse and Elspet Cudbert war cartit throuche the town according to this act)

18 Octobris 1585

Sederunt minister; William Hall, Dioneise Conquerior, Henrie Lyis, Adam Anderson, Andro Stoup, Constein Malice, Duncan Robertson, Jhon Strangbow, and Thomas Cok, eldaris.

[233] Compeirit David Glaiss and Margret Gibson and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Caution for him Alexander Glass, for hir Andro Gib. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Compeirit Jhon Murray and Margret Cok and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Robert Lithome, for hir Oliver Cok. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Compeirit Duncan Scheip and Chirsten Cudbert and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Adam Scheip, for hir Jhon Anderson. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Compeirit Andro Schairp and Margret Ruthven and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him William Glok, for hir Walter Ruthven. Within xl dayis.

Ordanis Andro Ramsay to enter Thomas Malcum baxtar in ward for not fulfilling his repentance for his adultrie committed with Helen Giffen, and than he salbe fred frome his cationar that he may be retenit thairin til he find cation under the paine of ane hundreth £ that he sail continew everie day in his repentance as it is appointit to him til he be receavit be the kirk againe.119 (Thomas Malcum)

Andro Stouppis comptis being hard, restis in his hand viii £ xviii s fyve penneis.

The namis of the eldaris and deaconis that ar appointit to bear office for this yeir to cum

The eldaris namis120

The deaconis namis

119 See above, 5, 12, and 17 Jul., and 2 Aug. 1585.
120 For biographical information on the elders, see Appendix I.
The Perth Kirk Session Books: 1585

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The session appointis Patrik Ray and Henrie Lyis to be masteres of hospital for this yeir ordaning thame to interprye nothing thairin without the advyse of the counsal and session, and because they ar bot collectoris of the puiris living quha may spair na fie for service done to theme, thairfoir the session dischargis the fornamit masteres of hospital of all the fie and dewtie their predicessoris masteres of hospital had befoir, and siclyk ordanis that na master of hospital half ony fie for thair service in tyme cuming, bot frelie serve and be diligent in thair calling, for thair reward they sail haif frome god. ([masters] of the hospital electit)

Octavo Novembris 1585

Quhilk day Mr Patrik Galloway, minister,122 and the eldaris being convenit for the tyme ordanit Robert Anderson and Patrik Flemyng, eldaris, to request the bailyes to tak ordor with the deaconis of craftis that according to the ordor thairlichtis may be hung up in thair awin places within the [kirk].123

Item, it was ordanit that na person suld haif societie or companie with sic as ar excommunicat, sic as Jein Thorn[ton],124 Margret Oliphant and Margret

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121 Margin torn. Previously the hospital masters had received an annual stipend of £5.
122 See note above, 11 May 1584; Galloway has now returned from his exile.
123 Incomplete entry.
124 Torn. See above, 13 and 20 August 1582, 10 Jan. 1586, and for a summary of the case, Introduction, ‘Sexuality’.
Watson,\textsuperscript{125} under the paine of the censoris of the kirk, and ther interteniers to be warnit and admonischt under the paine of excommunication to put thame out of thair companie. And to this effect ordanis the officiar to sie quhair the fornamit persons ar intertwinet and to warin the gudman and gudwyf of that house to compeir befoir the assemblie that they may be admonischt as said is. (excommunicat persons)

\textit{Decimo quinto Novembris 1585}

\textit{Sederunt} minister; Robert Anderson, Alexander Oliphant, Patrik Flemyng, Oliver Cragy and Thomas Gibson

Compeirit Jhon Anderson and Agnes Gill and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Patrik Anderson, for hir James Gill. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Compeirit George Hall and Elspet Cudbert and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him George Robertson, for hir Troylus Eldar. Within xl dayis.

Compeirit David Chalmer and Katherein Norie and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for hym Walter Blear, for hir Robert Sym. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

[235] Ordanis the officiar to warn all [fornicators] and adulterairis he knawis not to haif [satisfied]\textsuperscript{126} the kirk againe this day viii dayis.

\textit{ix Decembris 1585}

\textit{Sederunt} Robert Anderson, Alexander Oliphant, James Malice, Jhon Anderson, Duncan Makgregor, Patrik Grant

Quhilk day compeirit Jhon Wod, burges in Perth, and gaif in befoir the eldaris ane bill aganis Jhon Young, tailyeor, alledging that the said Jhon Young hes maid ane promeis of mariage to Agnes Wod his dochtair, upon the quhilk as the common word of the town was carnal deal fallowit. And sa notwithstanding the said Jhon intendit to marie Janet Mar, it was not lauchful nor lisom\textsuperscript{127} to him to do the same be reaason of the foirsaid promeis, desyring the assemblie for goddis cause to tak ordor with it. The assemblie thairfoir

\textsuperscript{125} For Oliphant's excommunication, see 15 Aug. 1585, and 12 and 17 Jul. 1585. For Watson's excommunication, 11 Apr. 1585; see also 25 Jan. and 15 Mar. 1585.

\textsuperscript{126} Torn.

\textsuperscript{127} Lawful or permissible.
willing to tak tryal in this mater with the advyse and gudwill of Jhon Wod referrit the mater to Jhon Youngis aith, quha not being resolvit with him self at this present, refusit to swear and gif his aith. Thairfoir they grantit him licence til Mononday nixt to advyse with the headis of the bill and than to gif his answer, quhilk he promisit to do.128 (Young and Wod)

13 Decembris 1585

Compeirit William Aking and Elspet Henderson. Cation for him Oliver Makison, for hir Jhon Cok. Within xl dayis. (Mariit 16 Januarii 1586)

It was ordanit that nane that had carnal deal befoir thair mariage suld be mariit except they gif xl s to the puir or ellis maid thair repentance on the Sonnday befoir thair mariage.

Appointtis Jhon Anderson and James Sym to be collectors of the puiris almos. xl s for this yeir.129

Forsamekle as Jhon Young tuik til advyse with his aith on Fryday last till this day and now being chargit to gif his aith wald not, thairfoir the session takis Mononday nixt till advyse with the pronuncing of thair decreit, ordaning Jhon Youngis mariage to stay til thair decreit be pronouncit. (Young and Wod)

[236] 20 Decembris 1585
Sederunt minister; Robert Anderson, Alexander Oliphant, James Malice, Patrik Flemyng, James Adamson, and Patrik Grant

Compeirit Jhon Scott and Marjorie Murray and desyrit thair bannis to be proclaimit. Cation for him Andro Donaldson, for hir James Murray. Terme Lawsonnday.

See below, 20 and 27 Dec. There will in the end be three women involved - Agnes Wod, Janet Mar, and Chresten Justice, mother of Jhon Young's illegitimate child. Both Young's reputation and his reluctance to swear his innocence will count against him.

Unlike the hospital masters, the collectors continue to receive a stipend - a sensible way to motivate active collection and a better return for the poor box.
Compeirit Thomas Pullor and Janet Corse and desyris thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Wenton, for hir Adam Anderson. Within xl dayis. (Mariit 16 Januarii 1586)

Compeirit Jhon Young and Issobel Maine. Cation for him Andro Jhonston, for hir George Maine. xl dayis. (Mariit eodem die\textsuperscript{130})

Quhilk day the session understanding be the several tryal of Jhon Wod and Jhon Young that thair wes sic conferens betuix Jhon Wod on the ane parte and Jhon Young and his father and his brother on the uther part anent the mariage of Jhon Young with Agnes Wod, notwithstanding that this day was appointit to produce thair decreit in the foirsaid action, demandit as yit at Jhon quhidder he wald swear or not that he maid na promeis of mariage to Agnes Wod as was alledgit be hir father. He refusit to gif his aith, bot remittit the same to Jhon Woddis aith, quha deponit as fallowis: that the said Jhon Young maid ane promeis of mariage to Agnes Wod his dauchtair befoir his awin father, his brother, and George Wod and Jhon Wod in Jhon Woddis awin house, and it was aggreit upon that Jhon Young suld receave of Jhon Wod with his douchtair thre hundreth merkis, ane hundreth merkis worth of plenneisching to his house, and auchtein mark yeirly out of the land quhair Marcus Hynd remanis at the brigend. And the said Jhon Young tuik Marcus Hyndis penny for the yeirlie payment of the said sowm and gaif down to Marcus Hynd ii merks of the said auchtein merk. The first pairt being provin of Jhon Woddis bill, the session demandit at Jhon Young gif he wald swear he had na carnal deal with Agnes Wod. He refusit also to do it. Thairfoir becaus the mater was weightie, they tuik Mononday nixt til advyse with the pronouncing of thair decreit, ordaning Jhon Youngis mariage to stay ay and quhyl thair decreit were pronuncit. (Young and Wod)

\textsuperscript{[237]} Compeirit Chirsten Justice douchtair to umq[uhill] ...\textsuperscript{131} Justice and alledgit be ane bill that Jhon Young had maid promeis of mariage to hir upon the quhilk they had carnal deal toggidder and buir ane bairin to him. Because she culd not prove the promeis bot was maid undar blankat, the kirk wald not acknowledg it, bot ordanit Jhon Young to appoint with the said Chirsten betuix this and this day viii dayis at the sicht of Mr Jhon Makgibbon and his awin father quha promeisit to do it and to report ane answer this day aucht dayis.

\textsuperscript{130} The same day, 16 Jan.

\textsuperscript{131} Torn.
27 Decembris 1585

Absentes Patrik Grant and Andro Malcum

Compeirit William Murray and Chirsten Gardner and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Andro Donaldson, for hir James Gardner. Within xl dayis. (Mariit 23 Januarii 1586)

Compeirit Andro Donaldson and Issobel Cok and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Andro Donaldson, for hir William Cok. Within xl dayis. (Mariit eodem)

Compeirit Walter Slettray and Margret Bannerman. Cation for him James Anderson, for hir Jhon Thomson. Within xl dayis. (Mariit)

Compeirit Ewmond Findlason and Chirsten Nikkibrie. Cation for him James Marsh, for hir James Sym. (Mariit eodem)

The session ordanit Jhon Young to send to Jhon Wod and aggre with him betuix this and Mononday nixt and to report ane answer that they micht decerne in his action according to the determination of goddis word. And as concerning the mater betuix him and Chresten Justice, becaus sche remittit hir pairt to the discretion of the assembly, they ordanit Jhon Young to gif to the said Chirsten instantlie ten merkis money and to tak the bairin from and sustein it in all tyme cuming and bring it up in goddis fear. (Young and Wod and Justice)
3 Januarii 1586
Absentes: Andro Malcum, Jhon Davidson, Jhon Anderson

Compeirit George Drummond and Margret Quhyt and desyrit thair bannis to be proclamit. Cation for him Jhon Macmertyn, for hir Chrystie Quhyt. Within xl dayis. (Mariit 23 Januarii 1586)

Compeirit Kathrein Robertson and Katherein Diremoche etc. Cation for him James Patton, for hir Thomas Brown.¹ xl dayis. (Mariit eodem)

Ordanis William Stevinson, Jhon Chrystison, Thomas Malcum, and Janet Foister to be warnit againe this day viii days.

[238] Ordanis the officiar to warn all tham that intertein excommunicat persons within the town againe this day viii days.

Ordanis the belman to tak tent that na persone that receaves oukly almis beg at the kirk dor, bot to admonisch thame to desist fra begging and gif they will not obey, to advert the kirk that thair almos may be dischargit.

Decimo Januarii 1586
Absentes: Andro Malcum

Comperit William Stevinson and promeisit to satisfie the kirk for his adulterie committit with Chirsten Farguson, quha is ordanit to be wardit til he find cation thereupon.²

Thomas Monipenny is admoneischit for the first tyme to debar Jeine Thornton fra his companie because sche is excommunicat.³

Alexander Anderson is admonischt for the first tyme to delivar Margret Watson fra his house and companie because sche is excommunicat.⁴

¹ One of the forenames is mis-written and should be a man’s.
² Ferguson was the ‘Highland woman’ who lived in his house as a servant.
³ See 8 Nov.1585. It is unclear whether this is Thomas Monipenny the bailie.
⁴ See 25 Jan., 15 Mar., 11 Apr., and 8 Nov. 1585.
The assemblie dischargis all mariages to be maid on Sondayis in the morning in tyme cumming.

George Low being demandit quhy he wald not accomplisch his mariage with Margret Gall seeing the tyme is past lang syn answerit that gif the said Margret wald lat him sie his gear he delyverit to hir, he is willing to marie and to accomplisch his promise at the sicht of the assemblie. Thairfoir the assemblie appointit Thomas Gibson and Oliver Cragy to sie the gear broucht befoir George Low according to his desyr and they to report thair answer this day aucht dayis.6

Ordanis Andro Donaldson master of the hospital to pay to Jhon Jak officiar his officiar fie for all termes bygane sen his entres as his predecessoris officiaris had befoir.7 (kirk officiar)

18 Januarii 1586

Absentes: Andro Malcum, Thomas Gibson and Oliver Cragy

Compeirit Andro Lyall and Issobel Lamb and disyris thair bannis to be proclamation. Cation for him Andro Gardner, for hir Robert Lamb. Within xl dayis.

Compeirit Jhon Cudbert and Bessy Lawson and desyrit thair bannis to be proclaimed. Cation for him David Ma... for hir Patrik Lamb. Within xl dayis.

[239]9 Anent the sclanderous report of Adam Brisson [to] the brethren.

Ordanis David Mar to be put in waird for fourtein pund becaus he hes failyeyt in his probation quhilk he tuik to prove the samyn be the elders quha denyit the same.10

5 Forbids. The elders found the revelry associated with marriage unseemly on the sabbath: CP, 211–15.
6 Low's apparent distrust of his fiancée bodes ill for this marriage. Their banns were requested 12 Apr. 1585. For the outcome of the case, see 4 and 11 Apr. 1586, 11 Sept. 1587.
7 His pay may have been in arrears because of the long plague season.
8 Torn.
9 The top line of this page, which may have indicated the date, is torn away, as is the top corner, obliterating a few words of the first two entries. Since the next entry is dated March, and the session has long been meeting weekly at least, a page may be missing from the volume here. The hand also changes, as does the orthography. James Scott attributed this 'chasm' already in the register in 1774 to 'the leaves having been loosed from the binding' so that they 'are now lost' (NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 55).
10 See above, 10 Aug. 1584. The £14 consisted of penalties owed by the burgess Mar's wife, Alison Blyth, for a broken marriage contract with Robert Purves of Edinburgh (£10), for
ORDANIS THOMAS TURNER CAUTIONER FOR GEORGE LOW AND JHON GALL CAUTIONE FOR MARGREIT GALL\(^{11}\) TO BE WARDIT FOR THE PENALTY BECAUSE OF NOT FULFILLING THE BAND OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN THEM TWAI.

ORDANIS GEORGE LOW AND MARGREIT GALL BAITH TO BE WARNIT AGAIN MONDAY NIXT.

**SEPTIMO MARCI 1586**

CONVENIT THE MINISTER AND ELDRES *VIZ* ROBERT ANDERSON, PATRIK FLEMYNG, JHON ANDERSON, *ETC.*\(^{12}\)

COMPERIT WILLIAM MONCREIF AND confessit his offence and submittis him in the kirkis will.\(^{13}\)

THE ASSEMBLIE Suspendis ther inquest towards William Moncreif unto the tyme the presbiterie tak ordor with the provest of Methven.

ORDANIS JAMES MERSCHELL, JHON CRYSTISON, THOMAS MALCOM, DUNCAN FINLASON, AND THOMAS LAMB TO BE WARDIT FOR THEIR DISOBEDIENCE.\(^{14}\)

ORDANIS GEORGE HALL CAUTIONER FOR GEORGE MACCHANCE TO BE WARDIT BECAUSE THE SAID GEORGE HES NOT FULLFILLIT THE BAND OF MATRIMONIIE WITH ELSPET CUDBERT.\(^{15}\)

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Fornication with Purves (40s), and for antenuptial cohabitation with Mar (40s). James Sym acknowledged receiving the money in August. For the uncertain outcome of all this, see below, 8 and 18 Mar. (with references to the £14 now owed to Mar), 4 and 11 Apr.

\(^{11}\) ‘Gaw’ and ‘Gall’ recur frequently in Perth records for the same person. In this case the scribe’s ‘ll’ looks very much like his ‘w’, but other scribes blithely alternate the two spellings, which probably tells us something about sixteenth-century pronunciation of the name. Gall is generally preferred, and in this case will appear in marginal notes later (e.g. 4 Apr. 1586).

\(^{12}\) The *et cetera* is unusual for this scribe; it may indicate that all were present, though he uses ‘omni presentes’ for this elsewhere (13 Jun. 1586, for example). The omission of any entries for February could mean either that the session did not meet or that the clerk, William Cok, was dilatory in view of his not having been paid by the session for some time; see 14 Mar. and 11 Apr. 1586; cf. 6 Sept. 1582.

\(^{13}\) The offence is never named, nor is there any reference to William Moncreif in the next volume of the session minutes. Presbytery records for this period are not extant.

\(^{14}\) For Merschell, adulterer with Margaret Watson, see 13 May 1583, 25 Jan. 1585. For Chrystison, adulterer with Meg Morison, see 11 May 1584, 3 Jan. 1585, and later this day (7 Mar. 1586). For Malcom, adulterer with Helen Giffen, see 5, 12, and 17 July; 2 Aug.; and 18 Oct. 1585. For Finlayson, fornicator with Maropill Wyat, see 27 Nov. 1583 and 16 Mar. 1584. Lamb’s offence is unknown. Merschell, Finlason, and Lamb will be summoned again 25 Apr. 1586, but none appear in the next volume of the session minutes.

\(^{15}\) See above, 14 Oct. 1585, for McChausne’s carting with Elspet. The order for warding of his unfortunate cautioner will be repeated 14 Mar.
The order for the communion
To keep the south kirk door
William Flemyng bailie, Andro Mersser deacon of gild, Robert Anderson
[and] James Adameson elders
To collect the teakyns and almes
Robert Lethone, Henrie Balnevis, and William Glass deakyns
To gadder the almes at the north kirk door
Jhon Ray deakyn
To keep the south quere door
Henrie Leis bailie and Thomas Gibson elder
To keep the north queir door
Olifer Peblis bailie, Andro Malcom elder
To keip the dor at the skynnens desk
Mr Patrik Quhytlaw bailie, Jhon Davidson elder, and William Ross officiar
To convoy the wyne fra the revestrie
David Anderson and Jhon Cramby deakyns
To fill the cuppis
James Sym, Andro Arnet, Troylus Elder, and Blase Powery deakyns
To convoy the bred
Alexander Olyphant and Patrik Grant elders
[240] To convoy the cuppis
Patrik Fleming, Jhon Anderson, Duncean Macgregor, Andro Cragy elders
To reparate the kirk and furnieish the elementis and thingis
apperteining to the tabil
William Hall thesaurer
To wait on the breid
Sir Robert Rynd
To keep order in Sanctandrois III
James Malice elder
Comperit Jhon Crystison and confessis hs adulterie with Meg Morison, for
the quhilk offence Mr Jhon Mitschell and Olifer Mackison war cautioners.
(Crystison)
Lykwayis Thomas Donaldson becumis caution for his entres quhensoevir the
kirk sall requyr the same.
Comperit Robert Hereis and Janet Wilson and desyrit thar bannes of
mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man, Dioneise Conqueror, for the
woman Mr Henry Anderson. (Maryt 19 Junii)
Ordanis Thomas Anderson alias Turner to be wardit unto the tyme George
Low releife him.
Ordanis James Anderson alias Malt to enter Walter Retray on Mononday aucht dayis or els him selffe to enter in weir.

Ordanis Adam Cheip as cautionar for Elspet Crystie to enter hir on Twysday efter preitsching to ressaiffe hir injunctions.

Continuis Andro Moncreife cautionare for Margerie Pitscotty till Twysday efter preitsching

Ordanis David Mar to be warnit againe Twysday to answer efter preitsching.

Octavo Marci 1586
Comperit Donald Farcharson and Elspet Crystie and confessit thar fornication committit be them.

Ordanis Donald Farcharson and Elspet Crystie to enter to thar repentance on Thursday nixt. (Farcharson/ Crystie)

Comperit Adame Cheip caution for the observation of the p[ ].

Comperit David Mar and is willing ather to produce on Mononday fourtein dayis ane discharge or els sufficient witnes to prove the samyn, and failyeing heirof to be in the kirkes will. (D Mar)

Ressavit fra Donald Farcharson for his offence and his woman for avoding of them fra the tower and the cross, fourtie schillings.

Ordanis Andro Moncrieif to be wardit for not presenting of Margerie Pitscottie.

Ordanis Jhon Lammerkyn and Gabriel Stalker to be warnit to be present this day efter preitsching at even.

[241] Decimo quarto Marci
Convenit war the minister and eldris viz Patrik Gal[loway], James Adamson, Jhon Anderson, Alexander Olyphant, Duncan [Macgre]gor, Patrik Grant and James Malice

16 Torn.
17 Torn.
18 The afternoon sermon.
19 Two surnames partly torn away.
Comperit Robert Ramsay of the parochin of Farnell and Grisel Eviot of this parochin and desyrit their bandes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Joubing Craig, for the woman Jhon Jhoneston, goldsmith. (Mariit 16 Maii)

Ordanis Mr William Cok incontinent to delyver the buik of the assemblie with the buikes of baptism, mariage and burial. (Mr W Cok)

Comperit Jhon Greife and Janet Brown and desyrit that bandes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Gabriel Stalker, for the woman Patrik Auchinlek. (Mariit 16 Maii)

Ordanis George Hall cautioner for George Makchance to be wairdit becaus he hes not fulfillit the band of matrimonie with Elspet Cudbert.20

Ordanis James Anderson to be wairdit ay and quhill he pay ten pundes becaus he producit not Walter Rettray this Mononday.

Ordanis Thomas Anderson alias Turner to be wairdit quhill George Low releife him.

Ordanis James Anderson to be wairdit and lykwayis Walter Rettray for his releife.

Ordanis Mr William Cok to be wardit quhairsoever he be apprehendit ather in kirk or market for his dissobedience.21 (Mr W Cok)

Ordanis Loucardie younger becaus he hes beine warnit personahe at his dwelling and sundrie uthers placis to compeir befoir the kirk quhereunto he hes obstinatlie and contempteouslie rebellit, that he haif na benefite of the law unto the tyme that he mak his obedience unto the kirk. This lykwayis to be publissit oponilie and giffin to the bailyeis for this effect. (Loucardythe younger)

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20 There is no further reference to this case in this or the following volume of session minutes.

21 Cok has apparently declined to turn in the session book and register for examination by the elders as they requested above. He would not be the only early modern session clerk to do so: NRS mss CH2/523/1, fos. 36v, 37v–38r, 45r (the Burntisland clerk's insistence that the books were his personal property); CH2/147/1, fo. 47r (Ellon's clerk vowing, 'Him that seeks this book from me, I'll see hanged upon a tree.') In Cok's case, the books seem to be serving as hostages for his back pay.
**Vigesimo Marcii**

Quhilk day was Elspet Crystie ressavit be Patrik Grant in favor of the kirk agane in presens of the hail pepil that war presentie at the preitsching.

**Vigesimo primo Marcii**

Convenit war the minister and elders underwreittin: Robert Anderson, Patrik Fleming, James Adameson, Jhon Anderson, Duncan Macgregor, Androw Malcom, James Malice, Patrik Grant, Alexander Oliphant

Comperit James Gill and Cristen Banevis and desyrit ther bands of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Olifer Young, for the woman Henrie Banevis. (Mariit 23 Maii)

Comperit Thomas Ramsay and Isobel Anderson and desyrit ther bandes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Dog, for the woman, Jhon Cousland. (Mariit 16 Maii)

Comperit William Fildie and producit ane testimonial fra the minister of Dron of his contractit with Cristen Clerk ane of that parochin, and desyrit his bandes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for him Jhon Bonar. (Mariit 13 Juni)

[242] Ordanis the laird of Inchmarteine to be present afoir the assemblie betuix this present and Mononday nixt hereftir and failyeng heirof, the chairgis be usit.22

Ordanis Andro Donaldson to be warnit and present his buiks of the hospital againe Mononday nixt.

Ordanis William Fleming and Henrie Leis, bailyeis, to ryd to my lord Moncreifes to seik the Blakfreirs evidentes.23

Ordanis Janet Wilson to be wardit for hir dissobedience.

Ordanis James Sym to make sufficient keyis to the kirk dores, quhilk sall be thankfullie allowit to him in his comptis.24

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22 The effort to get the Ogilvy laird of Inchmartin to pay his hospital dues continues (Milne, 36, 50, 78, 162, 237, 307).

23 The laird of Moncreif held former Blackfriars’ lands and owed payments to the hospital (Milne 36, 91, 112–13).

24 His expenses will be repaid.
Comperit war the minister and elders viz Alexander Olyphant and James Adameson

Comperit Jhon Justice and willinglie confessit his fornication committit with Janet Smyth and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk and findis Patrik Justice caution that he sall fulfill the injunctions of the kirk eftir bonfeir tyme becaus he may not leife his maisters wark, quha desyring his bairne to be baptiset refusit allantlie unto the tyme that caution war for the woman in lykwayis. (J Justice)

Comperit David Crystie and producit ane testimonial of the minister of Forgandenie schawand that he was contractit with Agnes Galt ane maid of thar parochin quha findes Patrik Crystie his brother caution for fulfilling of the band under the paine of ten pundis. (Mariit 27 Junii)

Comperit James Haipbron and was inquirit gif he knew gif ther was fourtene pundes grantit be the elders in their tyme to David Mar, quha answerit that he was never in the assemblie house sen the elders wer assemblit in Sanctandrois III unto this day and submittis his jugment heirof to wreit. (J Haipbron)

Ordanis the northsyd of the Heigeit quha war not at the examination to be warnit agane Mononday nixt.

Ordanis to gif unto Walter Meik ten schillingis.

Comperit lykwayis Adam Anderson and being inquyrit gif he knew that there was fourtene pundes grantit to David Mar quha declarit he haid na remembrance thereof gyf it was grantit bot it was in commoning and heirfor remittis his judgment to writ. (A Anderson)

25 St John's eve (23 June), also Midsummer eve, when bonfires were lit to celebrate the summer light.
26 Only (a variant on allanerly): that is, the session refused to baptise the child until its mother's caution was produced.
27 The minister of Forgandenny parish at this date was John Row, nephew of the first protestant minister of Perth (Fasti iv, 209; NRS ms CC8/8/400-402, identifying Row as the Perth minister's 'brother-son').
28 There seems to have been a time when the session met in the aisle of the kirk that formerly held an altar devoted to St Andrew. In the margin, 'J Haipbrone'.
29 That is, those who lived in that quarter of the burgh but had failed to appear.
30 Commonly assumed?
Comperit Janet Smyth in Tirsappie and confessit hir fornication committit be hir with Jhon Justice and fand Jhon Colt caution that scho suld fulfill the injunxions and discipline of the kirk quhen ever scho war requyrit thereto. (J Smyth)

Quarto Apprilis 86
Convenit war the minister and elders, viz Patrik Flemyng, James Adameson, Jhon Anderson, Patrik Grant, Jhon Davidson, and James Malice.

Ordanis David Mar to be warnit agane Mononday acht dayis to heir him and se him selfe convict in the former act.

[243] Comperit Thomas Galloway and Margret Holt and ther bandis of mariage to be proclamit. Caution [for the] man Thomas Pullor, for the woman David Wryt. (Mariit 13 Junii)

Comperit George Kynmont and Margreit Bowie and desyrit [their] bandis of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Wanton, for the woman William Knox. (Mariit)

Quhilk day the haill assemblie in ane voice and ane consent convictid George Low and Margreit Gall in the penaltie of ten pundis and ordanis them to be warnit agane Mononday nixt to heir and se them convict heirin. (Low Gall)

Ordanis the act maid anent them that gadders not the puris folkes almes to be thre several times put in execution agains Jhon becaus he was thre several times desyrit to gaddr the puir folkes almes and disobeyit. And siklyk ordanis at the outgoing of the assemblie him to be pundit heirfoir. (Lowry)

Comperit Jhon Wilson in Murton and producit ane testimonial of the ministers of Logybryd schawing that he was contractit with Margreit Garvie ane of their parochin and desyris the bandes of mariage to be proclamit and findes James Lamb caution that he sall fulfill the band. (Mariit 13 Junii)

Undecimo Apprilis 86
Convenit wer the minister and elders to wit James Adamson, Patrik Flemyng, Jhon Anderson, Duncan Macgregor, James Malice, Jhon Davidson, Alexander Olyphant

31 Words missing are due to torn top corner of the page.
32 Surname omitted in the text, but it appears in the margin. Lowry was one of the deacons, and a notary (15 Aug. 1585).
Ordanis Alexander Olyphant, Patrik Flemyng, James Adamson, and Duncan Macgregor to declair on Tuysday heirefter to the synodol assemblie the just caus quhy Mr William Cok was deposit fra the Reidare.\textsuperscript{33}

Forsamekil as David Mar hes failyeit in his probation and the day that he suld provin his action is alreddie past and expyrit of, it self, therefor the haill assemblie convictis him in the fourtene pundis.\textsuperscript{34} (Mar convict)

The haill assemblie convictis George Low in the penultie of ten pundes for his fornication committit be him with Margreit Gall. (Low convict)

Forasmekil as the haill assemblie foirsenig the greit inamintie\textsuperscript{35} and mutual contention quhilk is abill\textsuperscript{36} to aryse betuix George Low and Margreit Gall gif thai be jonit in mariag, and for avoding all sklanderis and evil bruities that ar to aryse heiron to the defame and sklander of this congregation, dois with consent and assent of baith the parteis absolve them and mak frie the ane of the uther in al tymes so that thai may use them selfis under the feir of god as becummis trew cristians in all tyme cumming at their awin plesor. (Separation Law Gall)\textsuperscript{37}

The haill assemblie convictis Margareit Gall in the penaltie of ten pundes for not fulfilling the band of matrimonie.\textsuperscript{38}

[244] Quhilk day comperit Maig Quhyt and confessit in presence\textsuperscript{[sic]} of the minister and elders and confessit hir thrie fault of fornication committit with Jhon Swenton, maister of the sangschoil and hearfoir submittes hir to the discipline of the kirk and to this effect findis Adam Anderson caution,

\textsuperscript{33} Why William Cok had been deposed from the office of reader in the parish. The 'synodal assembly' is the presbytery, whose sixteenth-century registers are not extant. Doubtless Cok's refusal to turn in the session book and register on 14 March had something to do with his deposition. Obviously we have the register for this date; presumably another scribe recorded the action and filled it into the session book when it was returned, though the hand is consistent with Cok's, so he may have dutifully copied it in after the dispute over back pay was settled.

\textsuperscript{34} Apparently no elders could recall the session awarding him the fourteen pounds he had collected (see above, 18 Mar.).

\textsuperscript{35} Enmity, un-amity.

\textsuperscript{36} Liable.

\textsuperscript{37} This ruling allows them to marry whom they will; they are not bound to each other by their previous fornication, even though it was apparently under promise of matrimony. The couple's banns had been requested 12 Apr. 1585; the fact that they had not yet married finally occurred to the session 10 and 18 Jan. 1585. For the upshot of it all, see 11 Sept. 1587.

\textsuperscript{38} The session tends to keep its an eye on the bottom line: having forbidden the marriage, the elders still reap the considerable financial benefit of the fines (£10 from each) for not marrying.
and the assemblie ordanis that the extremitie of the act maid anent fornica- 
tores be usit extremelie aganist the said Mairge.  

Quhilk day Jhon Swenton comperit and confessit his thrid fault of fornica-
ction committit be him with Maige Quhyt and heirfoir submittis him to 
the discipline of the kirk. And lykwayis confessis the bairne to be his. ([Sw] 
enton 3 fault for)  

Quhilk day comperit Patrik Smyth and confessit his fornication commit 
with Margreit Stewart and desyrit becaus he was not abil to pay the penultie, 
to drie his repentance on Sunday nixt, and the Sonday therefter to be 
marit, quhilk premisse the minister and elders in on voce grantit. (1 Smyth 
marit)  

Ordanis Cristen Fergusson to be warnit agane Twysday. 

Decimo octavo Aprillis 86 
Convenit war the minister and elders viz Patrik Flemyng, James Adameson, 
Jhon Anderson, Patrik Grant, Androw Malcom, James Malice, Jhon Davidson, 
Alexander Olyphant 

Ordanis Cristen Walleng, Magie Blak, and the thre women that fled fra 
Tibbermuir to this towne to be warnit agane Mononday nixt. 

Comperit William Robertson and Janet Haipbron and desyrit thar banns to 
be proclamit. Caution for the man Alester Macduff, for the woman Patrik 
Auchinlek. (Mariit 11 July) 

Quhilk day comperit Alexander Anderson beneth the cross and at the 
earnest request of Margreit Watson became caution for hir that scho sail 
fulfill the injunxions of the kirk quhilk gif scho failyeit, the said Alexander 

39 The marginal entry here is torn away except for a final 'e'; it may simply be 'Quhyte'. 
40 The marginal note is partly torn away. This is the same couple that appears in the very first 
entry of this volume. 
41 Endure, suffer. 
42 In the marginal note, the numeral (probably indicating the appearance on the stool) and 
'Smyth' are written in a different ink from 'marit'. This is one of many examples in the 
manuscript of marginalia being written over time, as events occur. The penalty that Smyth 
could not afford was the 40s for antenuptial fornication. 
43 From the context, they fled the discipline of their own parish, hoping vainly to lose 
themselves in the larger town. 
44 Anderson's neighbourhood, below the Market Cross, distinguishes him from the plethora 
of other Alexander Andersons in Perth.
suld pay ane hundreth pundes to the puir, quhilk he promiset in the audience and presence of the haill assemblie being for the present convenit. (Anderson caution for Watson)45

Ordanis that the first day of Margret Watsons repentance sall begyn on Thursday nixt and scho sall be absent fra the seift of repentance unto the tyme the prayers be said afoir preitsching and lykways eftir preitsching, and sall continew in hir repentance ay and quhill forder ordor be tane thereintill.46

Ordanis William Stevinson to begyn on Sonday nixt and continew Thursday and Sonday therefter in sackcloth and syne to be ressavit in the favores of the kirk.47

[245] Ordanis Duncan Finlason and James Merschell againe Mononday nixt.

Quhilk day in presens of the minister and elders comp[earit Ga]briel48 Stalker and at the request of Janet Auchinlek [became] cautione for hir that scho sall fulfill the injunctions of [the] kirk for the quhilk caus it is ordanit that scho begyn hir [repen]tance on Sunday nixt and continew thereintill ay an quha[n] forder order be tane be the elders heirintill. (G Stalker caution/for Auchinlek)

Ordanis Jhon Makwatter and his wyffe to be warnit againe Mononday nixt.

Quhilk day the billis giffin in be Robert Dun and Malcom Fergusson against Jhon Makwatter ar referit to ther probation againe Mononday nixt.

45 A £100 penalty entails a huge risk for the cautioner, especially considering this woman's record; however, Anderson was already in trouble for sheltering Watson when she was excommunicated for adultery and neglect of her child who died in the lodges. See 15 Jan., 15 Mar., 11 Apr., and 8 Nov. 1585, and 10 Jan. 1586. Clearly he has some sort of social obligation for her.

46 It is unclear why she would appear on the seat only during the sermon. Perhaps this would make her 'convoy' to and from the seat more notable, since separated from the convoy of other penitents. It may also emphasize her excommunicate status, since she would be unable to participate in the psalm-singing and prayers with the congregation before and after the sermon, but would still undergo the hortatory element of the service. The next (and last) time we find her name in the session book, 22 Apr. 1588, her banns are to be proclaimed with George Spittel of Stirling. This followed her release from gaol ordered by the king (PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 173) in March of 1585. Perhaps life in Perth became intolerable for her and she sought a new place where she could re-establish her reputation.

47 His offence was adultery with a Highland woman who lived in his house and had borne his child in the plague season the year before: 10 May, 13 Sept. 1585; 3 and 10 Jan. 1586.48 MS torn, eliminating the ends of the lines in this entry.
Decimo tertio Apprilis 86
Quhilk day as it was appointit be the minister and elders that the reidar suld reffuse caution for David Anderson servand to Thomas Oliphant in Freirton that his bairn micht ressaife the sacrament of baptism, willinglie for this effect Jhon Adam became caution and sourtie that the said David suld fulfill the injunxions of the kirk for his fornication committit with Effie Mulliky dwelland also in Freirton and suld drie his repentance according to the act maid against fornicatores eftir bonefere tyme that he myt wark fra the sawing tym.

Vigesimo quinto Apprilis 86
Convenit wer the minister and elders, viz James Adameson, Jhon Anderson, Duncan Macgregor, Androw Malcom, James Malice, Jhon Davidson, Alexander Olyphant.

Comperit James Hude and Agnes Thomeson and desyrit ther bandes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man, Robert Snell, for the woman Thomas Monepenny. (Mariit ii July)

Ordanis Cristen Walleng, Magie Blak, the women that fled fra fra [sic] Tibbermur, Duncan Finlason, James Merschell, and Thomas Lamb to be warnit against Mononday nixt.

Quhilk day William Niving, wobstere, being examinat and inquirit gif it was of veritie the sklander of Marion Rollok on the lady Manye deponet as followis: That the ladye Manye and he being cumand throch the Wattergeit, Marion Rollok being standing on hir awn stair said to the lady, ‘Maistres, gif me my wirt dicsch again.’ And the lady said, ‘Gif I haif your wort disch, cum to my house and ken it.’ And Marion said, ‘Parchance ye will cut my tail fra me above the tail as you haif done to utheris.’

49 Presumably because of conflict of interest. The same will apply to elders and ministers.
50 Suffer.
51 During the sowing season.
52 NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 55 has ‘Monzie’, as in the nearby parish; however, the spelling here is quite clear.
53 Going along.
54 A wort (wirt) dish was used in the ale brewing process.
55 NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 55 has ‘rail’ for ‘tail’, but the initial letter is certainly not an ‘r’. Neither phrase has an obvious meaning. Perhaps most interesting is the presumption that a wealthy lady would borrow a wort dish from an ordinary townswoman. There is no indication in the session or town records of any ensuing slander charge against Rollock or theft accusation against Lady Monzie or Manye.
Forasmekill as Jhon Makwatter and Elison Imbras his spouse hes beine sundrye and dyverse tymes callit afoir the essemblie for trubling their nychtbores and inspical for bakbyting, sklandring of Robert Dun and his wyffe, of Malcome Ferguson and his wyffe, and presentlie thai ar convict (Act against McWatter) [246] of the crymes [laid to] their chairge be Robert [Dun and Malcom] Ferguson. Hearfoir it is ordanit that the said Jhon Makwatter and his wyffe be put in wyrd unto the tyme repentance be fund in them for ther sklandrous lyf. Secundlie thai sail come to the place quhair thai maid the offence to them, and there on their kneis craife pardon of the offence committit at the person[s] quhom thai half offendit. Thridlie thai sail pay ane suffecent penultie to the puir according to the act maid against flytt[ers]. Last gif ever thai be fund in word or deid heireftir to offend ony nychtbor, the barre accusation salbe ane sufficient pla... of conviction, that the act maid against flyters be extendit against them, and finalie to be banisit the town for ever.

Comperit Thomas Olyphant in Freirton and became caution for David Anderson and Effie Mullyky his servandes that thai suld fulfill the injunxions of the kirk for their fornication committit togidder. And becaus thai war bissie at their beirsod declara[nd] that thai war willing to do the samyn quhen ever thai war cald to this effect efter sawing tyme, for the quhilk caus thai submi[s] them boith to the discipline of the kirk.

Isobel Waddell spouse to Jhon Adam being lykwayis examinit of the matter betuix the ladye Manye and Marion Rollok spouse to Patrik Bruce, deponit as William Niving did.

Ordanis the masteres of hospital to tak order anent the pryor of Quhyt-freirs.

David Low lykwayis being examinat anent the matter betuix the ladye Manye and Marion Rollok deponit as William Niving and Isobel Waddell.

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56 Scott's 'Bruce' (NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 55) is clearly a mistaken transcription; cf. 15 May, below.
57 There may be a word after Fergusson, but it is faded and the corner of the page torn away.
58 Much of this line at the top of the page is torn away, but there does not seem to be room for the names of Ferguson's and Duncan's wives. Scott has the full text, so presumably the edge of the page has crumbled since his time.
59 For the ritual of public apology in the place of offence, see CP, 153–54, 249–50.
60 End of word is missing in the binding.
61 Busy sowing their barley.
62 Torn.
63 See above, 25 April 1586.
64 This has to do with payments due to the Carmelite prior, pensioned at the Reformation.
Convenit the minister, Jhon Davidson, James Adameson, Patrik Flemyng, Jhon Anderson, Alexander Olyphant

Comperit Jhon Cudbert and confessit his fornication with Margret Blak and heirfoir submittis him to the discipline of the kirk. And for this effect findis Thomas Cok caution under the pain of twentie pundes.

Comperit Jhon Blak and became caution for his sister Margreit Blak becaus scho was in traveling and mycht not come him [sic] selfe, that scho sail fulfill the injunctions of the kirk as schon as god releisis hir, under the paine of twente pundes.

Comperit Walter Burnet and Isobel Cok and desyrit ther bandis of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Anderson, for the woman Jhon Cok hir father. (Mariit 23 Mai)

The assemblie ordanis that nather Nicoll nor na uther burye ather bairnes or ony corsis without the avyse of Jhon Jak belman and gif Nicoll be fund contravening the samyn as he has done sundrye and dyvers tymes of befoir, he sail be deprevit of his office and be banisit the towne for ever.65

Convenit the elders viz Jhon Anderson, James [Adamson, Duncan]66 Macgregor, Patrik Grant, Jhon Davidson elder

Comperit Jhon Robertson and Margret Lamb and desyrit their [banns] of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Robertson [and] for the woman Robert Lamb hir father. (Mariit 25 July)

Comperit James Gaifray of the parochin of Kynoule and Vi[olet] Robertson of this parochin and desyrit their bandis of mariage proclamit. Caution for the man Alexander Niving, for the woman Patrik Auchinlek. (Mariit)

Ordanis all actionis to be differd to the ministers hamecuming.67

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65 Nicol Belman was one of the bell ringers and grave diggers of the kirk (see 1 Feb. 1585), but clearly under John Jak's supervision. Jak received a fee for burials and so would have resented Nicol's usurpation of his authority.

66 The upper right corner of the page is torn away, along with enough of the right margin to omit bits of the attendance roll and the first two entries.

67 Although elders did meet to deal with routine matters in the minister's absence, including
Quinto Maii 86
Convenit Duncan Macgregor, Jhon Anderson, Jhon Davidson

Comperit Donald Kornell and desyrity his bairne to be baptisit, quhilk was refusit unto the tyme he suld find sufficient caution that ather he suld fech ane testimonial fra the minister of the abay of Halyrudhouse of his lauchful mariage with Cristen Walleng or ellis according to the forme of fornica-tores to sit on the repentance stule baith he and scho and for this caus Jhon Elder becomes caution for him and Patrik Justice for hir quhilk fallyeing the testimonial on Witsunday to submit them selfs to the injunxions of the kirk and the cautiones to pay ten pundes.68

Comperit Marcus Honyman and producit ane testimonial fra the minister of Kynross of his lawful contracting with Elspet Parson and desyrity ther bandes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution that he sail performe the samyn, Gabriel Stalker. (Mariit 10 Julii)

Comperit Jhon Beirne and desyrity ane testimonial that Elison Leisleis dreid69 hir repentance for hir fornication committit with Jhon Hampton to the end scho myght be mariit, quhilk was grantit gif he wald becum caution for hir becaus it70 was not fund in the buik, to perform the injunxions of the kirk quhen scho requyrit unto the quhilk he con[sented].71

Decimo quinto Maii 86
Convenit elders James Adameson, Jhon Anderson, Duncan Macgregor, Patrik Grant

Comperit Jhon Souter and Isobel Imbrae and desyrity their bandes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Spens, for the woman William Cok. (Mariit 23 Maii)

Comperit William Robertson and producit ane testimonial of the minister of Kilrinie of his lawful contracting with Elspet Curot of that parochin and desyrity their bandes to be proclamit. Caution for the performance heirof, Androw Jhoneston. (Mariit)

discipline, this entry indicates how important the clergy were to particularly difficult disciplinary and other business.

68 See 1 Feb. 1585 for Walleng's first summons; 18 and 25 Apr. 1586.
69 Suffered, underlay.
70 A record of her having performed repentance.
71 Torn.
Vigesimo tertio Maii

Convenit the elders viz Robert Anderson, Patrik Flemyng, James Adamson, Jhon Anderson, Thomas Gibson, James Malice, Duncan Macgregor, Alexander Olyphant

Ordanis the bailyeis to caus the adulterers and fornicators gif them an bill to caus them ather to ward them or ellis find caution to compeir befoir the assemblie on Mononday nixt.

Comperit Jhon Adam and Margreit Hillok and desyrit their bandis of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Adam, for the woman Patrik Lamb. (Mariit 17 July)

Decimo nono Maii

Quhilk day William Stevinson was ressavit in the favor of the kirk be Duncan Macgregor elder in presens of all the pepil assemblit in the tyme of the preitsching on ane Sunday afoir noun, quha promisit never to commit sik crymes in tymes cumming.

Trigesimo die Maii

Convenit the minister and elderis viz James Adameson, Patrik Flemyng, Jhon Anderson, Duncan Macgregor, Andro Malcom, Jhon Davidson, James Malice, Thomas Gibson, Alexander Olyphant

Comperit Androw Ogilby and Margreit Ruthven and desyrit ther bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Ogilby, for the woman William Ruthven. (Andro Ogilby 17 July)

Comperit Jhon Donaldson and Agnes Young and desyrit ther bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Alexander Ro...73, for the woman James Coll. (Jhon Donaldson/Mariit)

Comperit Effie Duncan and was requyrit gif scho was with bairne quha denyit that scho was with bairne to na man. And becaus scho wald not grant that scho was with bairne, it is ordanit that gif scho be fund with bairne

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72 This entry at the top of the page could have been inserted out of order; more probably it was simply mis-dated for vigesimo nono, since it records a Sunday repentance with the next meeting on the thirtieth, the session's regular Monday.

73 Torn.
whatever place she be in that all be ane testimonial directit to cause her drie dubil repentance.\textsuperscript{74}

Comperit Agnes Gibson being inquirit gif she was with bairne confessit the same and grantit it to be Adam Grayes, quha submittit her self to the discipline of the kirk. (Receavit)

Ordainis the minister to speik the minister of Tibbermure concerning the pryor of Quhytfreirs.\textsuperscript{75}

Ordainis that twa of the puir that ressaivers ouklike almes twa and twa everie Saturday at even swip the kirk, quhilk gif they do not that in tymes thereafter that ressaife na almes.

\textit{Sexto die Junii 86}

Convent the minister and elderis \textit{viz} Patrik Flemyng, James Adameson, Jhon Anderson, James Malice, Alexander Oliphant, Duncan Macgregor, Jhon Davidson

Comperit Thomas Dundie and Isobel Ray and desyrit ther bandes of marriage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Duncan Robison, for the woman Patrik Anderson. (Thomas Dundie/mariit 14 August 86)

Comperit Walter Young and Isobel Conyngham and desyrit ther bandis of marriage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Stevin Blak, for the woman Donald Chalmer. (Young 17 July)

Comperit William Mullykyn and producit ane testimonial of the elders of Dumbarne with his lawful contracting with Elisabeth Broun ane of ther parochin and desyrit ther bandes to be proclamit. Caution for him for performans heirof according to the act Thomas Olyphant. (Mullykyn mariit)

Ordainis Jhon Ray\textsuperscript{76} to be pundit of the penaltie of ten scillingis becaus he gadderit not the almes on Sunday preceding this dait as he was lawfullie warnit thereto be the officer.

\textsuperscript{74} The elders' suspicion could have been fed by either Duncan's appearance or her reputation.
\textsuperscript{75} The Carmelite prior, pensioned at the Reformation; cf. 30 May, above.
\textsuperscript{76} Deacon.
Ordanis Oliver Cok to be pundit of the penaltie of ten schillingis according to the act because he gadderit not the puir folkes almes on Sunday last.\footnote{An additional line on this page is torn off.}

\[249\] Mononday nixt for the …\footnote{The top line of this page and much of the next line are torn away, along with most of the upper corner of the page, cutting the last word or two from each of the next few lines.}

Ordanis to warne Jhon Elder cautionar for Do[nald Kornell] and Patrik Justice cautioner for Cristen Walleng …\footnote{See 1 Feb.1585, 18 and 25 Apr. 1586, 2 and 5 May 1586.}

Forasmekil as James Merschell being mony and diverse tyme[s] … be apprehendit and chargit to compeir afoir the kirk to … the addulterie committit be him with Margreit Watson, … hir repentance for the same fact hes disobeyit at all tyme[s] [and] hes abusit the lenite of the kirk calling him to repentance [and] also he cessit not inopportunitie at all occasionis especialie in the nyt to seik to fall in the same wyse agane, and alluring the woman to forder foly to releps in the saide cryme. Thairfor the minister and elders in ane voice consentis that for his continuance in sin without amendment, and obstinat impynes to\footnote{Impugning of.} the voice of the kirk, that on Sunday nixt publickly he be admonisit to gif his obedience to the kirk under paine of excommunication. And this to be the first admonition afoir the pronouncing of the sentence. (James Meschell)

Ordanis Donald Farcharston to enter to his repentance on Thursday cum acht dayis.\footnote{See 8 Mar. 1586.}

Ordanis Maige Quhyt to be wairdit in the tolbuith ay and quhill the act of parliament be execut on hir for hir thrid fault of fornication.\footnote{The parliament of 1567 required that a fornicator convicted for the third offence, ‘as well the man as the woman’ either pay £100 or spend twenty-four days in gaol on bread and water and ‘in the end to be taken to the deepest and foulest pool or water of the town or parish, there to be thrice ducked and thereafter banished the said town or parish forever’ (APS iii, 25, re-affirmed by the 1581 parliament, iii, 210). There is no report in the minutes of this punishment being carried out against Quhyt. Neither does the record indicate any punishment for her parmer, the song school master Jhon Swenton; on the contrary, he seems to have continued in his office and was granted a new set of clothes on 13 May 1588.}
Ordanis William Ross at the Charterhouse yet\textsuperscript{83} to answer on Mononday nixt for his woman.

Ordanis that everie elder sersh and inquir in his awin quarter gif there be ony persones offenders especialie fornicatores and adultereis, tham that gang about the town on Thursday efter preitsching.

Ordanis Patrik Ray and Henrie Leis masteres of the hospital to produce the ressait of the hospital silver on Mononday nixt for the Martinmes time in anno fourscoir fyve yeiris.

Ordanis that Patrik Ray ane of the masters of hospital answer Jhon Jak officer of his pension of acht pundis now and tymes cumming as of befoir.

\textit{Tredcimo die mensis Junii}

\textit{Omnis presentes}

Comperit Jhon Young of the parochin of Kynnoul and Kathren Fodring-hame and desyrit their bandes to be proclamit. Caution for them bayth Jhon Young. \textit{(Mariit 17 May)}

Comperis David Moreis of the parochin of Scone and Janet Dicson and desyrit their bandes to be proclamit. Caution for them bayt David Dicson. \textit{(Mariit 17 July)}

Comperis Jhon Blak of this parochin and producit ane testimonial fra the reider at Methven of his lawful contracting with Jean Tyrie of that parochin and desyrit their bandes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Ruthven. \textit{(Mariit 10 July)}\textsuperscript{84}

Quhilk day Agnes Gibson was ressavit in the favoris of the [kirk] be Duncan Macgregor eldar. \textit{(Ressavit Gibson)}\textsuperscript{85}

Quhilk day lykwayis was Margreit Blak ressavit in the favore [of] the kirk be Alexander Olyphant eldar. \textit{(Ressavit Blak)}

\textsuperscript{83} He lives near the gate (yett) of the pre-Reformation Charterhouse, the Carthusian monastery.

\textsuperscript{84} The minister in Methven parish was James Hering; no reader’s name is recorded in \textit{Fasti iv}, 221.

\textsuperscript{85} The lower right corner of this page seems to have been cut out.
[250] ... Aleson ...-son Andro Malcom Thomas ...

[Conv]enit minister and elders *viz* Alexander Olyphant, Robert Anderson, ...

Comperis Robert Lamb of the parochin of Kirklevin and Effie [Cay?] of this parochin and desyrit ther bandis of matrimonye to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Blair, for the woman James Robertson.

Quhilk day comperis Androw Lawden and confessit his fornication wyth Isobel Landye desyring his bairne to be baptisit and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk.

Ressavit Donald Farcharson the Thursday eftir this dait in favores of the kirk be Alexander Olyphant, elder.

Comperis Patrik Murray of the parochin of Dupline and Nicolas Maxton of this parochin and desyres thair banes to be proclamit. Caution for the man the laird of Manye, for the woman Alexander ...

Comperis Patrik Gib parochin of Balach and Janet Wass of this parochin and desyrit thair bandes to be proclamit. Caution for the man George Lowreston, for the woman David Anderson.

Upone the xxiii day of Junii Margreit Blak was ressavit in the favores of the kirk be Alexander Olyphant, elder.

*Vigesimo septemo Junii*

*Seniores presentes*: Robert Anderson, James Adameson, Jhon Anderson, Duncan Macgregor, Alexander Olyphant, Androw Malcom

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86 The first line of the page is torn, with only these few names legible (though one would expect a date since the attendance roll follows). Much of the next line is also missing, both top corners of the page being torn off. This final page of the volume is much darkened and faded.

87 This is a three-letter surname beginning with C, but is badly faded.

88 The parish of Duplin at this date had only a reader, Robert Simpson, alias Glook: *Fasti iv*, 193. The surname of the last cautioner is illegible, mostly torn away. Clearly one of the forenames should be a woman’s.
Forasmekil as the minister and elders persaving the ruinouse, pitiful, greit and lamentabil estait of the kirk in all partis and placis thereof, and the greit decay that is abi\textsuperscript{89} to incur theron, and being deiplie in hairt and conscience angrie thereat, all in ane voice and with ane consent did act and be thir present ordanis the minister to omit and leife his ordinare text and purpose quhereon the [sic: he] preitschit of befoir and desyrit him most eirnestlie to elect and chuse sum part and portion of scriptur quha he thocht maist able and meit to move the hairtis of the pepil and specialie the bailyeis and magistratis quhatsumever bering reul and auctor\textsuperscript{ity} in the said burgh to provyd that the samyn with all diligence war reparit and mendit in all honest and decent form, quhilkes failyeing and not being in no waysis done, all suld returne to ruin to the greit hurt and skaith of this commone weill. Unto the quhilkes foirsaidis desyris, the minister perceaving their greit zeal, hairtlie and willinglie agreit in all poyntis as was maist zealus and prompt in performing their sut and desyr in all poyntis according as thai ordanit and fardar as possible war to the forderance of this godlie enterpryse.

Quhilk day the minister and elders of the kirk of Perth being for the present convenit ordanit Jhon Jak belman and officiar to be satisfeit be an pairt of ...\textsuperscript{90} payment [and] so ordanis the master of hospital present ane ...\textsuperscript{91} to satisfie Jhon Jak....\textsuperscript{92}
Septimo Novembris 1587

Qhuilk day the minister and elders of the burgh of Perth being for the time convenit within the revestrie of the same, understanding that thai have bene sundrye and dyverse tymes troublit with flyters and sklanderers of their nychtboures, and for order taking with them in tymes cuming ordains that all persones quhatsumever within this burgh or parochin of the same alsweill to burgh as to land3 being callit accusit and convict in the offences of flying or sklander sall be apprehendit be the bailyeis quheresumever for the tyme and on Saturday immediatly following the daie and dait of the decret against the sklanderer and flyter, and put upon the kirkstule fra ten hores afoir none quhill twelffe, thereon to remane with the brankes in their mouth and not to cum down quhill the foirsaides twa hores be justly expyrit and past, and therefter pay ane half merk to the puir and also find caution to compeir in the seat and stule of publicke repentance thair to confess their offence publickly in presens of the hail congregation convenit in tyme of preitsching and to cum down therefter and humblie on their knees craif the persons or persons offendit pardon and forgevenes.

[10 October 1586]

The election of the elders quha ar to beir chairge as also the deakyns fra the 10 of October in anno 1586 and sa furth that yeir quhill that tyme againe in the yeir of god 1587

1 July through September entries for 1586 are missing, likely from mishandling of CH2/521/1, though possibly because the session clerk, William Cok, was imprisoned and then deposed from his office of reader and clerk for withholding the session book and parish register on grounds that his stipend was badly in arrears (11 Apr. 1586). Given relative consistency of hand, he presumably repented, came to an agreement with the session about payment, and was restored at some point. More puzzling is the absence of any minutes between the Oct. 1586 elections and Jan. 1587. Perhaps by the time Cok complied he was so disgrunted at being harassed that he had neglected to take proper notes for meetings during the second half of the year. Another possibility is that his stipend was again in arrears in 1586, and that the gap we have in the register represents a scribal strike, with the exception only of the important election results. This volume of the session minutes is foliated rather than paginated, with the first entry being on the verso of the unfoliated flyleaf.

2 This act was written out of chronological order on the flyleaf rather than with the November 1587 entries, probably just to draw attention to it. A marginal note on fo.12r of the manuscript indicates its placement ‘at the beginning of the buik’.

3 Both within and outwith the walls of the burgh.
### Elders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Deakyns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Mathow</td>
<td>James Sym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Macgregor</td>
<td>William Jak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Elder</td>
<td>Henrie Broun</td>
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### North Syde of the Hegait

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Broun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duncane Macgregor</td>
<td>James Sym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Elder</td>
<td>William Jak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patsik Blair</td>
<td>David Glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Cok</td>
<td>David Wricht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Olyphant</td>
<td>Jhon Wilson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### South Syde of the Hegait

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Wricht</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Anderson</td>
<td>Jhone Forbes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Adamson</td>
<td>Jhone Henrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhonon Anderson</td>
<td>James Mersser</td>
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### Beneath the Cross and Wattergeit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Wricht</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Moncreif</td>
<td>Mathow Cheip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Robertson</td>
<td>Laurence Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Wilson</td>
<td>Robert Grant</td>
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### Southgeit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Wricht</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Androw Donaldson</td>
<td>Patrik Ray</td>
</tr>
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### Masteres of Hospital

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Wricht</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Forbes</td>
<td>John Forbes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Henrie</td>
<td>John Henrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mersser</td>
<td>James Mersser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathew Cheip</td>
<td>Mathew Cheip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurence Wilson</td>
<td>Laurence Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Grant</td>
<td>Robert Grant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The 2 of Januar 1587

The minister and elders ordain theis that collectis the pures almes everie Sonday and Thursday at the kirk dores in tyme of preitsching and prayers in the morning afoir nonday [sic] and efter none to be present to coUect the almes at the cessing of the first bell and continue to the end of the preitsching and every person honest man or deaco[n] appointit and wairnit heito be the bailyie failyeing heirin to pay ten schillingis according to the act maid of befoir in the uther buik. (Collectiones at the kirk durris)

Ordanis the fundacions to be tane doun and visit\(^5\) on Friday nixt.

Ordanis Dioneis Conquerior to present afoir the assembly on Monoday nixt the idolatrous vestmentes of and buikes of Sir Robert Fin or the buikes of idolatrie perteining to quhatsumever person now presenthe being within the Spey Towr.\(^6\)

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\(^4\) For biographical information about the elders, see Appendix I.

\(^5\) Reviewed.

\(^6\) Fin, given the title 'Sir', was a pre-Reformation priest or friar who had apparently managed to keep his vestments and mass books hidden away for nearly three decades since the Reformation. Other Catholic books that had been seized were being kept in a chamber in the tower over the Speygate, one of the ports in the town's wall. The Spey Tower was often used as a gaol, so it is possible that the books' unnamed owner is also incarcerated there.
Ordanis to gif oulkly to Isobel Hewat ane puir woman 2s
Ordanis to gif to Maige Nory ane puir woman oulkly 10s

[1v] 9 Januar 1587
Ordanis to publis oppinly and in the presens of all the pepil on ane Sunday
afoir none the dissobedience of Jhon Elders alias Laird and to be ane admoni-
tion afoir excommunication gif he obey not in tymes cuming.7

Comperis Isobel Reid and confessis hir fornication with Patrik Ruthven
and submittis hir selfe to the discipline of the kirk. (Ressavit 2 Cul.)

Comperis Cristen Cok and confessis hir fornication with George Jak
younger and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Ressavit 1 Cull.)

Comperis William Macbaith and Isobel Scherer and desyris their bandes
of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Malcom, for the
woman Jhon Scherer hir father.

Comperis Alexander Mar and Agnes Baxter and desyris their bandes to be
proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Spens, for the woman George Baxter
hir brother.

Comperis George Smyth and Janet Cramby and desyris their bandes of
mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Smyth, for the
woman Jhon Cramby.

Comperis Janet Robertson and confessis hir fornication with George
Jhoneston and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Ressa. 1. Cul.)

George Hall of his frie motive will becumis caution to entir his woman
Isobel Tailyor on Mononday cum fyftein dayis.

16 Januar 1587
Ordanis Androw Moncreif, James Adamson [and] Patrik Blair to enter in
communication with the laird of Inchmartene anent the byron fermes.8 The
masteres of hospital to be present with them provyding thai conclude na
thing but9 the consent of the assembly.

7 His offence was withholding hospital dues: see 16, 23, and 30 Jan. 1587.
8 Overdue rents.
9 Without.
Comperis Robert Lamb and confessis his fornication with Cristen Donaldson and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk.

Ordanis the bailyeis to put in execution the act maid in favores of Robert Sutherland his wyfe against Jeanis Haly dochter to Robert Haly and [ ]\textsuperscript{10} Blofin his servand.

Becaus Jhon Elder alias Laird promisit faytfiilly to present him this day affoir the minister and elders and hes faiyleit heirin, ordanis yit as of befoir the sensurs of the kirk to be extendit in full force against him.

23 Januar 1587

Ordanis to gif to George Scot presently lying seik iii £ and that to be giffin be James Sym according to his necessitie and not all togidder.\textsuperscript{11}

Comperis Isobel Grant and confessis hir fornication with James Donaldson and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Resa 1 Cul.)

[2r] Comperis Oliver Brewhouse and Elspet Bruch and desyris ther bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Gabriel Stalker, for the woman Androw Eilson.

Comperis Thomas Harlow and Janet Grant and desyris ther bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Carrick, for the woman Patrik Grant.

Comperis Walter Barland and Janet Hay and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Macbaith, for the woman Finlay Wilson.

Jhon Elder alias Laird submittis him to the will of the minister and elders and this day acht dayis is ordanit to be present to heir their will, quhilk faiyleing and he not obeying, the sensurs of the kirk to be execut against him for the faultis and offensis committit be him befoir.

30 Januar 1587

Appointis Robert Anderson, Alexander Olyphant, Patrik Blair and James Adamson to confer with the laird of Moncreif on Tuysday cum acht dayis and the Mononday therefter to report his answer.

Comperis James Donaldson and confessis his fornication with Isobel Grant

\textsuperscript{10} A blank space is left for the forename.

\textsuperscript{11} That is, Sym is to dole out smaller sums as needed by the sick man, not to exceed £4 total.
and confessit his fornication in the parochin of Tibbermuir and heirfoir submittit him to the will of the kirk. (Ressa. 2 Cul.)

Ordanis Jhon Bog to be wairnit againe Mononday nixt.

Ordanis Jhon Elder alias Laird in presens of the minister and elders in humilitie to craife forgivenes for his offenses and presentlie to be wardit quhill he satisfie the thingis addettit to the hospital.12

Comperis Janet Ray, grantis that hir last bairnis father was ane heland man callit Duncan Macintaggart and confessis the bairn to be above Dunkelden in ane toun callit Pitlochry and ordains hir to be wardit quhill scho find caution to bring ane testimonial fra the minister of the parochin that the bairn is alyffe and that scho hes fulfillit the [sic] hir repentance.

6 Februar 1587
Comperis Jhon Stobby and Cristen Lacok and desyris ther bandis of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Mr George Quhyt, for the woman Jhon Joneson.

Ordanis James Sym to by Bobbie the cairt ane new coit.13

Ordanis Nicol Belman to ring the curfor14 and warkman bells in the morning and evening the space of ane quarter of ane hour at the tymes appointit, viz 4 hours in the morning and 8 at evin, quhilk failyeing and the bell not being in dew tyme or at the tymes appointit to be deprived] for ever. This the first admonition. (Curfor and warkman bell ringing)15

[2v] Jhon Bog being accusit for breaking of the saboth day and misper-soning16 of his magistrates confessis the same. Heirfoir he is first convict in the penultie according to the act maid anent the breakers of the sabbath, secundly for mispersoning of his magistrates, to be wairdit ay and quhill he be humilitie requyr him self releisit,17 thridly to be wairdit quhill he satisfie the taxt for reperation of the kirk. (Jhon Bog)

12 See above, 9, 16, and 23 Jan. 1587.
14 Curfew.
15 The workman's bell awakened people at four in the morning; the curfew bell at eight in the evening (several hours after sunset in February) warned people to be in their homes as the watch began patrolling the streets.
16 Verbally maligning.
17 Until by his humility he merit release.
Comperis George Jak younger and confessis his fornication with Cristen Cok and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk. (Ressa.)

Ordanis William Reid adulterer to present him self in lining\(^\text{18}\) cloth on the stule of repentance on Sunday nixt.

13 Februar
Comnperis Jhon Gibson and Bessie Patterson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Gibson, for the woman William Anderson.

Gilbert Donaldson caution for David Strachon that he sall fulfill the injunx-ions of the kirk for his fornication committit with Cicill Barry and to this end the bairne to be baptisit.

20 Februar 1587
Comperis Androw Patterson and Violat Gairdner and desyris ther bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Oliver Young, for the woman Mr George Ruthven.

Comperis Archbald Getye and Kathreine Gibson and desyris their bandis of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Oliver Cok, for the woman Thomas Donaldson.

Comperis David Udny and Janet Scot and desyris their bandis of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Ronaldson, for the woman Androw Donaldson.

Comperis Cristopher Lifrent and Isobel Rynd and desyris ther bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Lifrent, for the woman Thomas Monepenny.

28 Februar
Ordanis Margreit Reid to be wairdit for dissobedience.

Ordanis James Kedy and Jhon Gray litster\(^\text{19}\) cautioners for [ ]\(^\text{20}\) to be wairdet for dissobedience.

Comperis David Baxter and confessis his fornication with Geils Stewart and

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\(^{18}\) Linen.

\(^{19}\) Dyer.

\(^{20}\) A blank space is left for the name of the offender.
incaice scho be fund with bairne promises to maintene the bairne uppon his awin expensis. (Jhon Bog)\(^{21}\)

[3r] 6 Merch 1587
Ordanis James Merschell quherever he be apprehendit to be wa irritated for his disobedience.

James Stewart ane of the puir of the hospital compleining on William Donying son to James Donying for straiking and dinging of him. The said William gentily forwart nit gif it happen him to commit the lyk in tyme cuming to be punisit condingly therefoir and this ane gentill admonition to his youth and young maners and the first.\(^{22}\) (William Donying)

Ordanis Geils, Elspet and Margreit Stewartes to be warnit agane Mononday nixt.

Ordanis that na bairne be fetsht in in tyme of preitsching bot to be holdin in sum secreit place quhill the preitsching be endit and than to be presentit to the minister with them for avoding of tumults of the incumming of the pepil with them for outganging for them and also for the crying of the infant and bairne quhilk mak din in tyme of the preitsching sa that uthers in cuming thereto ar stoppit fra hering. (Young bairnes efter preitsching to be fecht in the kirk)

Ordanis on Tuysday nixt the reider with the elders of every quarter as fallis to them to wret the names of the pepil to the communion.\(^{23}\)

Ordanis the masteres of hospital to caus ane officiar of armes mak intimation to the laird Inchmarteine.\(^{24}\)

The ordor to be observit at the table
To keip the south kirk dor
Oliver Car bailyie, Thomas Monepenny dean of gild, Robert Anderson and James Adamson elders

\(^{21}\) This name, written very faindy in the margin, seems to refer back to the case of the sabbath-breaker at the top of the page.

\(^{22}\) Gentleness of the admonition may reflect the elders’ recognition of the high standing and long service of William’s father. William’s violence toward the old man and the note here of his youth may suggest that he had been given responsibility for the hospital rather too soon, perhaps upon the untimely death of his father.

\(^{23}\) They are to turn in their lists of parishioners in their quarters who have passed the examination and may receive communion tokens.

\(^{24}\) The laird seems still resistant to paying his hospital rents.
To collect the toakyns and almes there
William Jak, Henrie Broun and David Glass deakyns

To gadder the almes at the north kirk dor
Jhon Wilson deakyn

To keip the south queir dor
David Forbes bailyie, Androw Wilson elder

To keip the north queir dor
Robert Anderson and Walter Elder after the steiking$^{25}$ of the south kirk dor

To keip the dor at the skyners dask
Robert Cok elder, William Ross and George Laureston officiars

To convoy the wyne to the tabils
Jhon Forbes, James Mersser deakyns

To fill the cupis
James Sym, Jhon Henrie, Laurence Wilson, Robert Grant deakyns

To convoy the breid
Alexander Olyphant, Patrik Blair elders

To convoy the cupis
Jhon Anderson, Robert Mathow, Duncan Robertson, Duncan Macgregor elders

To keip order in Sanct Androis Y1
Androw Moncreif elder and [ ]$^{26}$

To awat on the breid, cover the tabils and furnes necessaris
Patrik Ray master of hospital and thesaurer

[3v] Septimo Marci 1587
Quhilk day Girsell Bisset being callit and comperit and being accusit becaus Mr Androw Abercromby maid residence within hir house quhilk was sklanderous to this tou and congregation be resson of deling togidder$^{27}$ of befoir in Dunkeld and the sklander maid to that congregation, denyit the same.

$^{25}$ Locking.
$^{26}$ Illegible.
$^{27}$ Engaging in fornication, or carnal deal.
Theirfoir the minister and elders gaif hir admonition to keip hir self fra sklander ather with him or ony uthers in tyme cuming, as also that na drink be usit in hir house efter nyne hours at evin at the farrest.28 (Bisset)

Comperit Kathrene Mackie for flyting with Janet Fowls spouse to Jhon Macgregor confessit that scho had beine thryse of befoir callit afoir the assembly for flyting with hir nychtboires. It is ordanit gif scho be found in the lyk cryme in tymes cuming to be banisit the toun for ever. (Mackie)

The minister and elders present ordanis gif ever Bessie Kinglessye spouse to Thomas Ritschy beis found in tymes cuming flyting with hir sister, breaking the saboth day or flyting with hir nychtboires in tyme cuming to be punisit condingly herefoir, viz scho salbe wardit acht dayis and sall stand four hours on the cros heid and at last sall stand on the repentance stule to be ane example to uthers to do the lyke and pay ane penultie to the puir to be payit be hir according as the elders sall think gud. And gif ony occasion of hir towards hir sister or hir sisters towards hir in tyme cuming everie ane of them to be punisit according to the same. (Kinglessye)

Decimo tertio Marcii 158[7]29
Comperis Alexander Ramsay and Isobel Foster and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Finlay Wilson in Moreton, for the woman Patrik Auchinleck there.


Comperis Alexander Watson and Margret Lamb and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Cramby, for the woman Jhon Wryt.

Comperis James Miller and Agnes Colt and desyris ther bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Scot, for the woman Robert Millar.

Comperis Barbra Broun and confessis hir fornication with Thomas Dundie and that Thomas came to the kirk of Kinkevin and causit his bairn to be baptist be Patrick Salmond reidar there.30 (Ressavit)

Vigesimo Marcii 158[7]
Geils Stewart being callit afoir us and accusit gif scho had ony carnal copulation with David Baxter confessit the same. (Stewart)

28 Latest.
29 The final numeral of the year is omitted.
30 Patrick Salmon was reader of Kinclaven 1567 to 1591: Fasti iv, 161.
Ordanis hir twa sisters Elspet and Janet Stewartes that thai be not found in house agane with ther sister bot every ane of them to go in service or quhar thai may be best intertenit [without] sclander under the paine of wairding their persons and banisment of the toun.\textsuperscript{31} (Stewartis)

Tertio Apprilis 1587

Comperis James Wilson and Cristen Auld and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Wilson, for the woman Stevin Hakkerston.

Comperis Thomas Spens in the parochin of Moneymeil and Helen Mowat and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Oliver Cok, for the woman Thomas Gibson.

Comperis Jhon Burry and Janet Robertson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Burry, for the woman William Robertson.

Comperis David Baxter of the parochin of Leslye and Margret Ruthven and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man George Low, for the woman Patrik Auchinleck in Tullylum.

Comperit Geils Mitschell and confessit hir fornication with Walter Doglech and heirfoir submittis hir to the will of the kirk. (Mitschell 1 Cullpa)

George Drummond being requyrit gif he was marit answerit that the gudman of Millmak\textsuperscript{32} marit him. Thairfoir was commandit to fech ane testimonial fra him thereof on Mononday fyftene dayis quhilk he promis[ed] to do.

Decimo septimo Apprilis 1587

Comperis Mathow Anderson and Joane Forbes and desyris their band[s] to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Justice, for the woman Jhon Spens merchand.

\textsuperscript{31} Three young single women living together, with one of them suspected of sexual offence, alarmed the elders enough for them to give this draconian order that the family be dissolved so that each sister could enter service in a household where her behaviour would be supervised.

\textsuperscript{32} Identity uncertain.
Comperis Jhon Brusson and Janet Gillespie and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Alestair Macduff, for the woman Jhon Peter.

Comperis Malcom Fergusson and Margret Donaldson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Lyell, for the woman Jhon Spense.

Comperis David Murye and Margreit Macnab and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Archbald Getye, for the woman Thomas Foulis.

Convictis James Stobby, Peter Quhythill and Walter Gray in the penaltie of vi s viii [d] ilk ane for breaking of the saboth day, and thai to be wardit quhill thai satisfie the samyn.

Ordanis that na stabil be in the kirk yeard efter Witsonday and gif ever thai be found heirefter ony the setters thereof to pay x pou[n][ds].33 (No stabillis to be in the kirkyard)

Vigesimo quarto Apprilis 1587
Comperis Androw Ray and Annas Boswall and desyrit their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man George Boswall, for the woman George Macgregor elder.

Comperis Jhone Adam of the parochin of Kynoule and Elspet Wilson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Brydie, for the woman Jhon Cudbert.

Receavit out of the box, xviii s viii d.

Comperis Margreit Olyphant being sorowful for hir sins and offense of fornication, desyris to fulfill the injunxions of the kirk. (Olyphant) [4v] And the elders seing hir penitent behaved remittis hir to the pi[llo]rie on Thursday nixt and receave hir injunxions.34

Primo Maii 1587
Ordanis the deakins to be wairnit againe Mononday nixt and advisit that

33 Space within the burgh walls was at a premium, so it must have been tempting to stable one’s animals on what appeared to be under-used land.
34 For the history of this woman, excommunicated for trelapse fornication in 1585, see 31 Dec. 1582; 17 May 1584; 12 July, 15 Aug., and 8 Nov. 1585. People who entertained her despite her excommunicate status were still being admonished on 12 June 1587.
thai gif na silver to na puir folk bot only to the collector to be distributit to the puir. (No silver to be distributit bot be the distributer apointit)\textsuperscript{35}

Comperis Jhon Turnor and Margret Jhoneson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Blyt, for the woman Jhone Cramby and Androw Meling conjunctlie.

Ordanis James Walker to tak twa bairnes fra his wyffe and sustene them in bed and burd and for the furnising of his wyffe and the uther bairne oulkly to gif hir fourtye penneis and fourtye schilling yeirly for hir house meill at Martinmes or els adhere unto hir as his wyffe. (James Walker)

Williame Tyrie delatit ane breaker of the saboth day and that is not participant of the sacrament of the Lordis supper and gois throch the streitis of the toun in tyme of preitsching. (William Tyrie licentious)

\textit{Octavo Maii 1587}

Ordanis that the bailyeis, counsel and elders convene their officiar[s] and convene the hail puir strange and idel beggers upon the brig of Tay and everie ane to be put out at the portis. And gif the porteres be found to lat them in againe to be dischargit of their office. And this to be done ilk acht dayis\textsuperscript{36} and gif ony be found within the town to gif them ludging to pay xl s. (Ordor of strang beggers)

Comperis George Baxter and Nans Allan and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Auchinleck, for the woman Androw Allan.

Comperis George Farrest and Elspet Hunter and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the an Charles Mersser, for the woman the laird of Manye.

Comperis Cudbert Hall in the parochin of Kinfauns and Nans Boway and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Weilland, for the woman Jhone Wod.

Comperis Robert Mugly and Margreit Budion and desyris their bandis to

\textsuperscript{35} This and the other marginal notes on this page and the following two are written in a different (more italic and so perhaps later) hand. The act is designed to ensure that alms go to approved recipients, not to people who may be less deserving but adept at playing on the collectors' sympathies.

\textsuperscript{36} Once a week.
be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Mortin, for the woman William Robertson.

Qhillk day it is ordanit that gif there be ony persons of ony number conven[ing] in tyme of contractis or ony banketis maid therefter the upgiffin of the bandis, the parteis making the banket to pay fyve pound onfoir-gevin\textsuperscript{37} and ratefeis the act maid of befoir the [ ] day of [ ] anno [ ]\textsuperscript{38} anent the inconveniences of gaddring of pepil in tyme of contracts and making times and for avo[iding] of banketingis at the same. (Banketing at contracts dischargit)

\textit{Decimo quinto Maii 1587}

Comperis Isobel Wilson and confessis hir fornication with David Drumond and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Ressa. 1. \textit{cul}.)

Ordanis to gif to James Stewart vii d of gud silvir oulkly.

\textbf{5r}\textsuperscript{39} Ordanis Malcom Fergusson to seperat him self fra Margreit Do[nald] son with quhome he is contractit presentlye and gif he be found heir[after] in companye with hir to be estemit as relaps in fornica[tion] and satisfie ane penaltie to the puir.\textsuperscript{40}

Seing it becums everie particular person within a reformit congregation [and] burgh to resort to the kirk the place of publick preitsching [and] receaving of instruction and strenthening of their fayth in the p....\textsuperscript{41} of god at all occasions and specialy at appointit tymes, therefor nane suld be drawin by ony occasion during the said space of preitsching away. Nevertheless understanding sundry honest m[en] and maisters of sundry vocations ar found walking on the gai[ts] or abyding in their bouthis\textsuperscript{42} absenting them selffis thereby frome ser[mon] on Thursday to the gret sklander of the word quhilk thei profe[ss] quhen the rest of their godly nychtboures are

\textsuperscript{37} Without exception.
\textsuperscript{38} Day, month and year are left blank for the clerk to fill in later. The most recent acts against marriage banquets were 6 Jan. 1584 and 24 May 1585, when the fine was £10.
\textsuperscript{39} Top line has been cut off, along with much of the right edge of the page. Given the missing first line, the date of this entry may be 22 May 1587 (as James Scott has it in NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58).
\textsuperscript{40} See 17 Apr. 1587 for Donaldson and Ferguson's banns.
\textsuperscript{41} NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58r has 'pure truth', but even if the edge of the page were whole, there would not be room for this much text; perhaps 'purity'?
\textsuperscript{42} Shops.
occupiit in spiritual [service] of their god, heirfoir the minister and elders now consid[idering] ordanis that the dean of gild convene the bretheren of his ca[l]ling as also everie deakyn the bretheren of their callingis hone[st men] and maisters and their charge them that everie Thurs[ay quhilk] is the ordinar day of preitsching, leifing the exercize [of their] awin calling for that tyme of preitsching, frequent the [kirk] and with the rest of their godly nychtboures gif them selffis [to the] heiring of the word and spir-ituall service of god. As [also] with common consent that thai appoint the penultie expr[essed in] the act of parliament for breaking of the saboth day [be taken] up of the contraveners of this ordinance. And to this ef[fect] ane notary be appointit be the dean of gild and everie d[eacon in] their calling for noting the contraveners and collecting of [the pe]nulteis to be distributit to the use of the puir. [And that] this act maid have civil strenth appointis Alexander [Olyphant], James Adamson and Jhon Anderson elders with the reid[er present] it to the consel that it may be ratefiet there. (Observation of Thursdayis preaching)

The ratefication hearof be the counsel Quhilk day the bailyeis, counsel and deakyns of craft[s of the] burgh of Perth being convenit for the tyme hes ratefijed the act and ordinance above wreittin swa that the samyn m[ay ...] thereanent in all poyntis anent the saboth day. And ev[ery ane] men and maisters may keip the ordinar preits[ching day] to wit Thursday, and that the dean of gild and d[eacons] convene their brethren for chairging and reveling of [the act] quhen speci-fiet to them swa that the samyn [being] mentionat mak tak gud success

43 Scott's read of a word no longer visible, NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58r.
44 The surname is not visible, but NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58r inserts Olyphant – plausibly, since he is an elder.
45 Again, Scott's credible reading of the text is now torn completely off.
46 This act effectively elevates Thursday obligations during preaching time to sabbatarian heights.
47 NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58r has 'in this our', but I am not convinced there would have been enough room on the page for this many words.
48 NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58r has 'person honest', but again it does not seem likely that there would have been sufficient space for this much text; nor does the clerk generally use 'person'.
49 NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58r inserts 'of crafts'.
50 NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58r inserts 'above specified'.
51 NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58v inserts 'act above', but 'being' is likelier.
52 Sic, for 'may'.
and proced [through the]\textsuperscript{53} burg to the plessor of god.\textsuperscript{54} (The touns confirmation)

[5v] ... in fourty schillingis for his cohabitation befoir mariage and gif he be found in house with hir again to be estemit as relaps in fornication and pay dubil fourtye schilling[s] therefoir.\textsuperscript{55}

Comperis Margret Letiljhon and confessis hir fornication with Duncan Macduff and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Ressa 1. cull.)

Qhilk day the minister and elders being convenit comperit Dioneise Conqueror quha being requirit to gif in his comptis particular of the debursing of iii C merkes giffin of the liberalitie of the godly of the congregation of Edinburgh for the releif of the puir within this congregation in tyme of the great necessitie of the pest\textsuperscript{56} answerit he haid no particular compt to gif but that qhilk he had giffin in befoir to the foirsaid minister and elders at his last being in afor them. Quhairfoir being removit and inquisition maid quhidder gif or not he haid presentit ony compt there befoir them, it was found that nane as yit was giffin up be him concerning the debursing of the same.\textsuperscript{57} The haill assemblie present in ane voice ordanis the said Dioneise this day acht dayis to present befoir them ane particular compt of debursing of the foirsaid iii C merkes under the paine of the sensurs of the kirk and ane ordinance to be gevyn for warding his person therefoir. And that in respect twa deakins chosin be the kirk to wit Robert Blair and Walter Gray war appointed the fourteine of December anno 1584 to receve the silver giffin at that tyme for releif of the puir and to distribute the same with the advyse of the assembly, as also the said Dioneise was appointit be ane ordinance of the burgh maid the elevenit of January anno 1584\textsuperscript{58} to redelyver in presens of the said assembly to Robert Blair and

\textsuperscript{53} Scott in NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 58v implausibly renders this 'to the spiritual service of God'; 'plessor' is in fact quite clear. He adds (fo. 59r), 'the leaf on which the above act of session and town council is written is now loose from the binding and much shattered, and if not much taken care of, will probably be soon lost', suggesting that he may not have been able to read much more than is presently visible and has waxed inventive for the missing or difficult bits. My own insertions in brackets take into account space available and the clerk's usual expressions.

\textsuperscript{54} Here the ratification seems to be initialed AB, followed by a nearly illegible mark that may be 'not', for notary.

\textsuperscript{55} Beginning of first line cut off.

\textsuperscript{56} In the winter of 1584.

\textsuperscript{57} This would have been easy enough to verify from a review of the session book, which indeed does not include the accounting.

\textsuperscript{58} 1585 New Style.
Walter Gray collectores foirsaid, quhilk ordinancis he dissobeyit and as yit hes rather maid a delyverie of the said sowmes nor yit in so lang a space giffin any compt of debursing of the same. (Conqueriore) 

The testimonial of George Drummond's mariage fra the minister of Creif. George Drummond (deir brother) hes beine at me saying ye desire to knaw gif he be mariit with Margreit Drummond. It is trew I my selffe mariet them in Monivaird. I beleise as I remember it be thre or four yeir syne. It was upon ane oulk day and not very publickly for this caus, scho was ane ane [sic] wedow and greitlie addettit in det and he desyrit it suld not be knawin he mariet hir unto the tyme scho haid appointit with hir creditoris. Thair was na uther caus quhy it was not publickly bot this. The kirk of Monyvaird their paroch kirk at that tyme was ruinuse and down and the parochiners thereof hantis to Creif quhair their bands was proclamit as the rest of the parochiners. At Millend the 18 of Apprylis 1587.

30 Maii 1587
Comperis Thomas Jakson and Cristen Fergusson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Jakson his brother, for the woman Adam Harrver.

Comperit James Fergusson and being accusit gif he haid ony carnal copulation with Isobel Fell in the Inch or in ony uther part and being desyrit to gif his aith heiron wald in na wayis depon nor clenge him selffe heirof. Therefor it was haldin pro confessis. (Fergusson)

Comperit Jhon Martein and lykwayis being callit afoir us accusit and demandit gif he haid ony carnal deal with Margreit Foster ather in the Inch or ony uther place deponit simpliciter be the eternil god that nather in that place nor ony uther he ene carnal copulation with the said Margret. (Mairtein)

Comperis Alexander Boner of the parochin of Colesse and Jean Conque-
rior of this parochin and desyrit their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for
the man Dioneise Conquerior, for the woman Oliver Young. (Mariit)

12 Junii 1587
Comperis Jhon Cawie of the parochin of Audy and Isobel Blakwod of this
parochin. Caution for the man Robert Blakwod, for the woman Alexander
Maxton.

Ordanis that ilk persons gevin up their contractis or promises of mariage thai
present them afoir us in the assembly house on Mononday thereafter at tва
hours efter none and incaice thai do not the samyn to pay fourtye schillingis
to be gevin to the puir. (Contractis)

Ordanis the forme that hes beine usit befoir in the instans of uthers excom-
municatis to be usit with Margreit Olyphant, and on Sunday nixt publicdy
to be proponit gif there be ony persons that knawis of hir misbehavior ather
in lyffe or maner sen hir entres to the seif of repentance.

Comperit David Baxter being inquirit gif he was mariit answerit yes, and
that in Arne parish be the reider thereof, and Margret Ruthven confessit
scho gait na testimonial of our assemble or reider. (Baxter/Ruthven)

Decimo octavo Junii 1587
Comperis Henrie Leis and Isobel Meling and giffis up their bandis. Caution
for the man and woman baith Thomas Anderson. (Mariit 13 August 1587) 66

Comperis Margreit Car and confessis hir fornication with Jhon Lonedon
servand to my lord Drummond and submittit hir heirof to the discipline
of the kirk and herefoir presentlie wardit.

Vigesimo primo Junii 1587
Comperis Androw Adam and Janet Quhyt and desyris their bandis to be
proclamit. Caution for the man William Blakwod, for the woman William
Monepenny.

Elspet Cudbert gaif in ane complaint on Malcom Denis becaus he inter-
tenit hir husband in his house and sufferit him not to come to his awin
house nather nicht nor day nor to interteine his wyffe and house as he
suld do, quhilk was found to be verie evil done. Therefor the minister and
elders ordanit the said Malcom never to suffer him to come in his house

66 The date was entered later in a different ink, after 'Mariit'.
nor intertenne him ony wayis to draw him fra his awin house, and incaice he be found to contravene the samyn and fall in the same fault in tymes cuming, to pay ane penultie according as the ministr and elders sail appoint.  
(Malcom Denis)

_Tertio Julii 1587_

Comperis Margreit Spink and confessis hir fornication with William Schell and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

Comperis Duncan Macduff and confessis his fornication with Margreit Liteljhon and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk.

_Decimo septimo Julii 1587_

William Schippert baxter being callit and accusit for breaking of the saboth day confessit the same. Thairfoir was decernit in the penultie and ordanis gyf ever he be found to set out his breid to sell in tyme of sermond or ony uther tyme on the sabboth day to be punisit therefoir in his person (Selling of breid on the sabboth punishit) [7r] and the act maid anent breakers of the sabboth to streik upon him in all rigor. And this act to straik on all uthers being found breakers of the sabboth in tymes cuming.

Comperit Jhon Watson and Violat Malice and desyrit their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Couslan, for the woman James Malice hir father.

Ordanis Margreit Olyphant to enter on Thursday nixt to the repentance stule in sackcloth and continew four dayis in that forme til scho be ressavit and stand at the kirk dor quhill the thrid bell and prayers be endit in the said sackcloth, the elders of everie quarter to await on her and convoy hir to the said repentance stule.  

Ordanis to wairne Andrew Mersser this day acht dayis to produce his letter a[nd] tak of the lipperland.

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67 This is an unusual intervention by the session at the behest of a wife distressed at her husband's preference of his friend's company to hers.
68 This entry describes the penitential procession from kirk door to stool.
69 His lease of the land where a leper hospital once stood, from the income of which he may owe a duty to the hospital. A tak is a lease granting tenancy of land or property; the letter will set out the terms and presumably clarify whether any of the rent payment from the land is owed to the hospital.
Ordanis the master of hospital with all diligence to proceid against all that ar adettit to the hospital.

*Vigesimo quarto Juli 1587*

Comperis Thomas Anderson ane of this parochin and produces ane testimonial fra the minister of Tibbermure\(^{70}\) of his lawful contracting with Agnes Ruthven ane of that parochin of Tibbermure and desyrit their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for performance of the samyn within fourtye dayis William Ross at the Charterhouse yet.

*Ultimo Juli 1587*

Ordanis the mutarars\(^{71}\) for their disobedience after being warnit and callit on not comperit to be wardit.

David Baxter being inquyrit of quhom he haid gottin the testimonial of the proclamation of his bandis declarit in presens of the minister and elders that he gat it not from the reidar nor knew ony thing thereof til the nicht afoir his mariage declaring to the said Margreit gif that scho wald not get hir testimonial he suld in na wayis marie hir gif scho wald not be reddy that nicht so that all micht beine performit on the day efter declarit scho was as reddy as he was, and gaif him this testimonial quhilk he nather knew nor of quhom scho had ressavit the same. (D. Baxter/ False testimonial)

[7v] *Octavo Augusti 1587*

Ordanis the Saboth day to be keipit especialy in the mills, flesh buithis and baxter buiths and back houses unto the paine contenit in the act of parliament anent the breakers of the same.\(^{72}\) (Keiping of the sabbeth)

Ordanis Margreit Ruthven to be wardit ay and to be retenit therein quhill scho declar the wreitter of the feign[ed] testimonial of the proclamation of hir bandis.

Ordanis the prior of Quhytefreirs wyffe to have the Martinmes termes annuels nixtocum quhilk he uptuk induring his lyfetyme, to releife hir of det tane on to support his necessitie in tyme of his seiknes.\(^{73}\)

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\(^{70}\) Alexander Young, formerly the prior of the Carmelite monastery in Tullilum.

\(^{71}\) Millers. See below, act of 11 Sept. 1587, regarding mills running on Sunday.

\(^{72}\) APS iii, 138 (1579) and iii, 211, c. 1 (1581) levied 20s for working or selling on Sunday.

\(^{73}\) The old prior of Whitefriars (Carmelites), pensioned off at the Reformation, subsequently married, and his widow now gets some portion of his income to pay her debts. This income would otherwise have gone to the poor in the hospital; presumably the elders preferred not to see the prior’s widow among their number.
Andrew Mersser promises within twenty days to produce his letter of tak of the lipperland. (Tak of Liperland)

Comperis Marion Wobster adultrix and confessis hir adulterie with Alexander Chalmer spous to Isobel Monepenny Monepenny [sic] quhais first carnal deal was ane moneth afoir Peace quhen the said Isobel was absent visiting sum of hir freindis the space of thrie dayis and lykwayis haid carnal deal with hir all the said space of hir absence and never befoir that tyme and ans sensyne at quhat tyme his wyffe apprehendit them and tuke them in the fact. Heirfoir was ordanit efter dew tryel of hir fait confessit be hir owin mouth to be cartit about the toun haiffand on hir haid ane moyct or capuch haiffand wrettin about the marganis thereof hir fait and cryme and at last to be baniset the toun forever. (Ma. Wobster adul.)

Comperit Patrik Justice that seing there was na minister at the kirk of Rynd to minister the sacraments and that ane callit Gavin Swenton ane of the paroschin haid gottin ane bairn in fornication desyrit the minister that the said Gavins bairn suld be baptist and he suld be caution that he sail fullfill the injunxions of kirk quhilk was grantit, and for this effect the said Patrik became caution and his bairn was baptist.

[8r] Comperis Robert Spens and confessis his fornication with Bessie Rodgy and heirfoir submittis him to the discipline of the kirk.

Ordanis Walter Young alias Pyper common drummer that after his offence done to James Stewart being considerrt, to restore to the said James same-kill silver as his kirk yeard dichtingis was avail, and by that to mak him ane sufficient amendment for the wrong committit and efterwart gif he be found to injur him in word and deid to be subject to maist extreme punishment that can be devysit according to his offence.

Decimo tertio Augusti 1587
Comperis Thomas Scotland of the parochin of Aberdeine and Janet Randy

74 Pasche, Easter.
75 Once since then.
76 A woman's cap. This one is made of paper, so that her offence can be written on it.
77 It is unclear why Wobster would not have been given the opportunity of public repentance and reconciliation, since she did confess her fault. Perhaps she was impenitent and confessed in a boasting manner, but in such a case one wonders why she was not excommunicated as well as banished. The offended wife was from a prominent family; maybe her kin prevailed upon the session to impose this severe penalty.
78 There was a reader until 1585; the minister John Wood arrived in 1593: Fasti iv, 243.
79 As much money as he had available from his payments for cleaning the kirkyard.
ord this parochin and desyrit their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Macmarten, for the woman Ewin Rynd.

Ordanis William Lessels boitman and his companions quhow schone thai come to the toun [to be wardit] becaus against the ordinance of god, the burgh, and the kingis acts did in tyme of preitsching on Sunday efter none loise his boit to the greit contempt of god and his ordinance. Thairfoir ordanis him to be wardit and pay ane penultie to the puir in exempil of uthers not to contravene the same in tymes cuming.

Ordanis the master of hospital to gif to [ ] Wilson in Tibbermuir twentie schillingis for ane evident [ ]

David is being found ane filthy speiker to the blaspheme of godis name and ignomine of of [sic] this reformit congregation. It is ordanit gif he be found so onreverently in tymes cuming to speik of god and his haly name, to be bannisit the toun for ever.

Effie Tully being inquyrit quhy scho keipis not the kirk answerit the kirk was ane deuty to her becaus the minister dois not his dewetie, and confessit the resorting of Ales[tair] Menzeis to hir chalmer. For inquisition of hir behavior ordanis xx of hir nichtboures to be warnit in again Monond[ay] nixt. (Effie Tully)

Vigesimo Primo Augusti 1587

Forasmekill as Effie Tullye sundrye and dyverse times hes being callit afoir our assemblye for sundrye and dyvers bruites araisit upon hir be the nychtbores dwelling about hir upon suspicion of carnal copulation haid and adultery committit with sundry resorting to hir hous and abyding there all nicht and now in special for mair and oppin sklanderous behavior with Alester Menzeis quha also is provin be honest and famous nychtbores callit sworn and admittit to testifie in that purpoise that the said Alestair continualle at his being in this toun did resort to hir chalmer efter acht, nyne, ten horis at evin or nyt and there remanit, not seine come down till the morning sometymes thrie, foyr, fuye, sex horis sometyme at ten and elevin horis, quhilk was very suspicous and sklanderous and greitly cryit out against be the haill honest and godly nychtbores as maist filthye. Heirfoir the assembly present in ane voice thinkis that the said Effie hes gevin now just occasion of sklander of adulterie and mereitis condinge punishment

80 These words are crossed out.
81 A large blank space follows this, and the recipient's forename is blank. Clearly the scribe meant to fill in the details of the case later but neglected to do so.
82 The rest of the name is omitted.
therefor by publick satisfaction for away taking of the sklander. Not the 
less seing their mynd is to bring hir be repentance unto god and also seing 
there is sum houp of reconciliation betuix hir and hir husband, honest men 
being chosen to compon\textsuperscript{83} the matter betuix thame, thai have suspendit the 
severite of their sentence quhilk scho mereites and punishmment quhilk scho 
desarvis houping for hir amendment and there reys as of befoir to absteine 
frome all siclyk occasion in tyme cuming ather with this man or ony uther 
under the paine quhilk is appointit for adulterars. Certefeng\textsuperscript{84} hir gif scho 
be found heirefter sa suspisciously and ongodly to behave hir selfe scho sall 
be compellit to satisfie as an adultrix convict in adulterie and decernit to 
suffer punisment as ane adultrix. Also ordanis hir to frequent the preitsching 
and prayers and inspecial to keip the saboth day mair specialy nor scho hes 
done under the paine of excommunication quhilk present admonition scho 
thankfully acceptit and consentit thereto. (Effie Tullye)

\textit{28 Augusti 1587}

Ordanis David Sibbert cautioner for the entres of Bessy Glass alias Kismie 
to be wairdit for disobedience.

\textit{Quarto Septembris 1587}

Comperis Robert Anderson and Jean Anderson and desyris ther bandis to 
be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Anderson, for the woman Adam 
Anderson.

Comperis Robert Keir and Nans Lamb desyris their bandis to be proclamit. 
Caution for the man Androw Donaldson, for the woman Robert Cok.

Ordanis the master of hospital this day acht dayis to gif in his accomptis of 
the hospital of baith the years preceding.

Thomas Gallaway confessit being callit afoir us that he was desyrit be 
George Gawrie servand to Patrik Tully to gang with him to Methven to be 
witnes to his bairne.\textsuperscript{85}

Robert Blair confessit that at the command of Jhon Joneson to Patrik Blair 
geid to Methven to be witnes to his bairn gottin in fornication.

Comperit Androw Mersser and according as he was appointit this day 
to produce his letter a tak of the lippermens ease\textsuperscript{86} obeyit the same and

\textsuperscript{83} Settle, reconcile.
\textsuperscript{84} Certifying to.
\textsuperscript{85} To his child's baptism.
\textsuperscript{86} The leper hospital.
after the tak was red it was found that his takis wer expyrit and outrun at Witsunday time last bypast. Theirfoir appointis James Adamson and Patrik Blair to confer with Androw Mersser to sie quhat he will augment of his gudwill to the utilitie of the puir for the said lipperland and thai to report their answer this day acht dysis and the said Androw to be present. (Androw Mersser)

Undecimo Septembris 1587
Forasmekill as the muterars hes beine dyverse and sundry tymes chairgit to compeir afoir the assembly for permitting their servandis to occupie on the saboth day alsewll as on the rest of the wlk and hald their millis going to ony that resortit to them express against the law of god, the actis of parliament and ordinainces of the kirk maid heranent, and Dioneise Conqueror with Thomas Anderson duly appeirit for their partes willing to have the saboth day keipit and promisit that the ordainance suld be obeyit, notthele[ss the] entire saboth day thai ar found to continew in farder offence to the dishonor of god, contempt of the kingis laws, and ordinainces of the burgh. Thairfoir the haill elders ordains that gif efter this day thai be found on the Sonday to hald (Muterars) [9v] millis ganging, let their haill office men87 to come to the kirk that sail be punisit and that penultie tane up fra the contraveners according to the act [of] parliament, and this to be tane up fra everie person contravening the said act. And lykwisis the millers and office men of the mills of Balhusie and Cragy to be under the lyk sensur.

Forasmekill as Margreit Gall sundrye and dyverse tymes hes beine callit afoir our assemblye for sundrye and dyvers bruites araisit upon hir be the nychtboures dwelling about hir upon suspicion of carnal copulation haid and fornication commit with sundrye resorting to hir house and there abyding all nicht. And now inspecial for neair and oppin sklanderous behavior (sen the seperation of hir and George Low quhilk for fornication he confessit)88 with Jhon Pilmuir the laird of Ruthven and Thomas Menzeis quha ar proven be honest and famous nychtboures callitt, sworne, and admittit to testifie in that purpoise that the laird of Ruthven Jhon Pilmur and Thomas Menzeis continualy at their being in this toun did resort to hir house in day licht and at even and there not stir [or] come out quhill the morning at acht, nyne, ten, hours and especialy the laird of Ruthven being found at ten hours afoir none in hir bed there lying quhilk was very suspicous and sklanderous and greitly cryit out against be the haill honest and godly nychtboures as maist filthye. Heirfoir the assembly present thinkis that the said

87 All the officers of their guild.
88 See above, 12 Apr. 1585, 10 and 18 Jan., 4 and 11 Apr. 1586.
Margreit now hes gevin just occasion of sklander of fornication and mereites condinge punishment therefor by publick satisfaction for awaytaking of the sklander. Notwithstanding seeing their mynd is to win hir be repentance unto god and houpis for amendment, ordanis to admoineish hir now as of befoir to absteine frome all sic lyk occasion in tyme cuming ather with thes men or ony utheris under the paine quhilk is appointit for thes that ar relaps thryse in fornication. Certefeing hir gif scho be sene heirefter suspiciously and ungodly to shame hir selffe scho sail be compellit to satisfie as thes aduitlex and convict in adulterie and banisit the toun for ever. Also ordanis hir to frequent the kirk at preitsching and prayers and inspecial to keip the saboth day. (Margreit Gall.)

[10r] better nor scho hes done under the paine of sensuring according to the actis of the kirk and actis of parliament quhilk present admonition scho thankefully ressavit acceptit and consentit to the premise promising to use hir selffe in all thingis as a regenerat cristian.

Forasmekil as Bessye Glass alias Kismie relict of umquhill William Dican hes beine dyvers and sundrye tymes callit in afoir us for hir unhonest and onschamefast behavior for speiking of badrie and oncomely language for singing of filthy and ungodly sangis and ballandis, for dancing and becking on the streites afoir nobil gentil men and women resorting to the toun, for cuming to their lodgingis and there maist schamefully abusing hir selffe contrare to the dewetie of ane godly or weill reformit woman and member of this congregation, and for not behaifing hir selffe in any gud calling bot rather in skaffing or beggrie by hir inordinat jestis contrarie to the command of god and his buk. As also last mair specialy hes in the merket places of the toun and all uther places quhere scho did frequent in hir skafferie onnaturalye and ongodly nominit and defamit sa far as lay in hir Mr George Ruthven with mony and dyvers opprobreis and sklanders sufficiente provin be honest and famous nhictboures within this toun callit, sworne and admittit to testifie in that caus quhilk is found very onruly and onhonest to the greit contempt of god and his word and greidy cryit out against be the haill godly nhictboures of this toun. In respect of the quhilk premissis the assembly present thinkis and jugis that the said Bessy hes gevin greit occasion of sklander to the kirk of god and mereites condinge punishment therefor. And ordanis the act maid anent flyters with all rigor to be put in execution against hir as also gif ever in tyme cuming scho be

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89 Bawdry.

90 The term can mean scrounging or sponging, though in this context scoffing may be the most accurate meaning. The next phrase suggests that she is making her living as a sort of stand-up comedienne.

91 One of the deacons at the next election, 9 Oct.
found sa to behaife hir selfe onschamefastly quherever scho be apprehendit contravening the same to be tane be the bailyes of the toun and in exempil of all uthers to do the lyke maist rigorously to be punisit and last of all to be banised the toun for ever. (Bessie Glas alias Kismie)\textsuperscript{92}

Ordanis on Thursday nixt the minister and elders efter preitsching to go to lipper mans croft and ordanis the stanis and marches to be set down, the boundis cognoset, and ane asidation (Lipper croft) [10v] to be set to ony that maist will gif for it.\textsuperscript{93}

20 September 1587
Comperit Thomas Dundie in the presens of Duncan Robison and Duncan Macgregor elders and desyrit his bairne to be baptisit. It was refusit unto the tyme he had satisfiet the kirk for his fornication committit with [ ].\textsuperscript{94} And for this caus be resson his bairne was waik fand Andrew Ry caution to fulfill the injunctions of the kirk quhen ever the minister or elders suld requyr the samyn of him to the quhilk baith the saidis Thomas and Androw consentit. (Thomas Dundie)

9 October 1587
Patrik Ray ane of the maisters of the hospital in presens of the minister and haill elders than being present becaus of the day of election producit his comptis of the hospital of twa yers preceeding the dait heirof and protestit that nane suld be auditores to the heiring or allowing of his compt accept thes elders that haid borne office in his tyme being master of hospital quhilk was grantit unto him and becaus be resson of the election and uther necessars adois that incurrit the acceptation of them was deferret quhill Mononday twentie dyis and than the said Patrik Ra ordanit to have all weill wreittin over and attentikly\textsuperscript{95} and be the minister and haill elders suld be ressavit and allowit according to equite.

The elders present all in ane voice befoir god promises to elect and chuse sik men to beir the office of elders for this year to cum as ar endowit with gud qualiteis, fering god, hating vyce in all estait of men, and that will promeis with the assistance of the minister to exerceise cristian discipline in all persons offenders within the jurisdiction of this parochin quhairthrow godis glorie may be advansit, sin punisit in the person of all offending, and

\textsuperscript{92} See 21 Oct. 1588.
\textsuperscript{93} They are to determine and mark the boundaries so that the property can be let or sold to the highest bidder.
\textsuperscript{94} A blank is left for the name.
\textsuperscript{95} Authentic.
last that thai may leife ane memorial to their posteritie and successores of trew and upricht dealing in all poyntes according as godis word dois requyre.

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<tr>
<th>Elders</th>
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<td>Alester Macduff</td>
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<td>Alexander Pullor</td>
<td>James Sym</td>
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<td>Donald Jhoneston</td>
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<td>Patrik Olyphant</td>
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<td>Alexander Gibson</td>
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<td>Beneth the crose and Wattergeit</td>
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<td>Oliver Car</td>
<td>Mr George Ruthven</td>
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<td>Adam Anderson</td>
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<td>Andrew Donaldson</td>
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<td>Jhon Jak</td>
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*Decimo sexto Octobris*

Comperis Patrik Meirnis of the parochin of Reit and Margret Donaldson ane of this parochin and desyrit their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Gill, for the woman William Monepenny.

*Vigesimo quarto Octobris*

Duncan Foster fletscher be wairnit to this day comperit and being accusit for breaking of the saboth day of drinking in tyme of preitsching on Sonday afoir none [11v] last bypast, confessit the same humblie and submittit hym in the will of the minister and elders. And thairfoir it was ordanit with consent of the haill that he suld be forgivevin of this fault with promission he fall not in the elyk in tyme cuming and incaice he fall in this fault heirefter the penaltie

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96 For biographical information on the elders, see Appendix I.
97 George Ruthven was the surgeon and apothecary mentioned in Henry Adamson’s *Gall’s Gabions* (Edinburgh, 1638), *passim*; NLS ms Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 60v. He was also the object of Bessy Glass’s comedy (see 11 Sept. 1587).
98 On Adamson, also a frequent elder, see Appendix I.
contenit in the act of parliament anent breakers of the sabbath be dublit be him for satisfaction.

Jhon Jak officiar recordit that he wairnit Andrew Thomson and Henrie Arnot pro secundo⁹⁹ and thai not compeiring thairfoir ordanis thame for their disobedience to be warrit.

Jhon Jak officiar recordit lykwayis wairst pro tertio Thomas Dundie, Jhon Blair and George Gairne fornicatorum personaly, and thai not compeirit therefoir ordanis tham to be warrit.

Cristen Schaw lykwayis wairst not compeairit therefoir ordanis hir to be warrit.

The minister and elders haiffing respect to the gud love and amitie [that] suld be betuix man and his wyffe especially betuix Alexander Paterson and Janet Duncan his spouse appointis Andrew Moncreife and Patrik Olyphant and Androw Anderson elders to confer with thame and mak thame to agrie and quhatever ilk ane of thame suld do to ane uther be appointed be tham and thai to report their answer on Mononday nixt. (Paterson. Dun)

Trigesimo Octobris 1587

Ordanis Androw Moncreif [and] Patrik Olyphant elders with the reider to speik with Jhon Ruthven merchant anent the intretinement of his mother and thai to report the answer on Mononday nixt.

Ordanis Thomas Dundie, Jhon Blair and Walter Doglich and George Gairne to be wairnit of new althocht oft befor dyvers tymes under the paine of excommunication.

Alexander Moncreif flescher promises in tymes cuming to keip the sabbath day better nor he hes done. Thairfoir the elders suspendis their sentence and determination that incace he be found contravening the samyn in tymes cuming to redubill the penultiie contenit in the act of parliament maid anent the breakers of the sabbath. (A. Moncreif)

[12r] Ordains the act be extractit quhilk William Monepenny is cautionar for Margreit Donaldson that he may be wardit according to the act and quhill he pay ten pound becaus foarty dayis being alreddy past and the said Margreit hes not fullilit the band nor is willing to do the same.

Ordains the lichtis to be put up in the kirk.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ For the second time.
¹⁰⁰ Winter darkness required more light fixtures to be placed.
Comperis Thomas Broun and Isobel Watson and desyrs their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Ronald Cleroch, for the woman David Sibbet.

**Septimo Novembris 1587**

The act against flyteris in the beginning of the buik concludit this dy.\(^{101}\)

Compeiris Thomas Dundie and confessis his fornication with Gillys Mitschell and therefoir submittis him to the discipline of the kirk and appointis him presently to gif to James Sym fourty shillings for dispensation of the towr and crose heid\(^{102}\) and find caution that quhen he returnis fra Endernes\(^{103}\) to enter to the stule of repentance but\(^{104}\) ony contradiction. (Walter Doglesche)

Appointis ane fast to begin on Saturday nixt and to continue quhill Sunday acht days therefter at even with greit humiliation and prayer to god that it wald pleise him to remove the plaige of the pest from the touns of Edinburgh, Leith etc and to preserve us therefra as also to preserve us fra the pest of the saul quhilk is papistrick ignorance maitenit presently be thir Jesuites and papists new cum in, quha pressis to bring men under the thral-dome of idolatrie and ignorance and from the trew knawlege of Cryst our savior revelit to us in his word and to embrace their superstition, reitis and ceremoneis fra the quhilk the lord preserve us. And ordanis this to be noteifiit fra the pulpeit on Thursday nixt that nane incur ignorance heirof that everyone may address tham to fasting, to prayer and humiliation at the tyme appointed. (Fast)\(^{105}\)

Comperit Patrik Law and Cristen Wilson and desyre their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Donaldson, for the woman Jhon Wilson.

[12v] Comperit Patrik Wylie and Margreit Bow and desyrit their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Burroch, for the woman David Bow.

Compeiris Androw Fischer and Nans Lud and desyris their bandis of mariagie to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Jhoneson, for the woman Thomas Burrell.

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\(^{101}\) The act was copied out onto the flyleaf of the volume, facing fo. 1r.

\(^{102}\) He buys his way out of warding in the Spey tower or kirk tower and corporal punishment at the market cross.

\(^{103}\) Inverness.

\(^{104}\) Without.

\(^{105}\) Spottiswoode's *History* for the end of 1587 (ii, 378–79) reports Jesuits arriving from 'beyond sea' in aid of the Armada. See also *RPC* iv, 107.
Compeiris Peter Laureston and Elspet Wilson and desyris their bandis of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man George Wilson, for the woman Robert Ronald.

Compears George Irland and presentit ane testimonial fra the minister of Dunkelden that he was contractit with Isobel Brydie ane of that parochin and fand Jhon Jhoneson caution to fulfill the band within xl dyis according to the act.

The minister and elders present in ane voice consentis that Thomas Dundie 1 in respect his fault was done in tyme of the pest, 2 that he is ane mariit man presentlie, 3 becaus greit sklander wald aryse as [if] he haid done ane new fact, 4 that in that tyme dispensation was gevin for money because men durst not present them selfis on the stule of repentance foir fair of the pest, he is ordanit to pay the penultie of four pundis heirfoir, and incaise the kirk be sklanderit heirfoir to be reddy to do his obedience quhen the kirk requyris. And presently ordanis him to be put in waird quhill he satisfie the samyn. (Thomas Dundie/ Dispensation)

Ordanis the bailyeis to speik Walter Doghtsch to pay his civil punisment to enter in the stule of repentance and to bring ane testimonial that his bairn is baptisit quhilkes failyeing the minister on Sonday nixt to gif the first admonition afoir his excommunication.

Compeiris Jhon Blair and confessis his fornication with Margret Anderson and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk, and becaus his urgent adois he man to the northland he is ordanit to find caution to satisfie the civil punisment and to enter in the stule of repentance at his returning.

**Vigesimo Novembris 1587**

Ordanis Patrik Tully to be put in ward ay and quhill he present George Gairne his servant to the kirk and ressave his injunxions for his offence.

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106 See 16 and 26 Feb. and 1 and 5 Mar. 1579; 26 July, 15 and 16 Aug., and 30 Sept. 1585. Given that the offence for which he is being penalised was committed at a time when composition of the stool for a cash payment was possible (during the plague), the session will allow it now – unless anyone is thereby offended at their laxity, in which case Dundie will have to sit on the repentance seat.

107 The woman’s name was apparently added later: it is written in a different ink and compressed into a too-small space.

108 He has business that will take him out of town, but he is obliged to perform his repentance when he returns.

109 ‘Octobris’ is crossed out.
Ordains Andrew Donaldson to produce his comptis againe Mononday nixt and of the restis that he restis awand of.

Ordains Patrik Ray to produce his comptis on Mononday nixt.

Ordains James Adamson master of hospital to be present.

Ordanis the hundreth poundis that is gottin fra the land of Inchmartene to be gevin to James Adamson and Androw Donaldson.¹¹⁰

Forasmekill as god be his holy apostle Jhon commandis that gif ony man come to the faytheful and bring not the doctrine of the treuth with him, thai be not ressavit in house, nather ony bid thame god speed, for he that biddis him god speid sall be partaker of his evil deidis,¹¹¹ yet notwithstanding thair is sundry persones of this congregration that ressavis in house Jesuites, avowit ennemeis to godis treuth and papistis, reasoners against the treuth, infectors of utheris, excommunicat and trafequers¹¹² for the subjektion of the trew religion, keipand familiar societie with thame contrar to godis command and to the greit sklandar and infection of this congregration quhere the treuth first began in this kingdome to be publisht, and to the subversion of the gospel and trew religion betyme¹¹³ unless order be put thereto speddle. Thairfoir the minister and elders in ane voice ordanis that nane within this congregration ressave in house or ludging ony sik papist or Jesuite in tyme to cum, nather use ony familiar societie with thame till first thai advertise the magistrates and the ministers and elders of thame that order may be tane with tham in thair procedingis and may be moved ather to recant their errores and subcrybe the confession of fayth authorised and set out be the kingis majestie or than suddenly to depairt the town under the paine to be compted as favorers of thame and their ungodly procedingis and partakers of their errores, and to be called and persued therefoir as enemeis of godis treuth and to be compellit to mak their publick repentance and to be subject to farder sensuring of their ungodly doing. And this act to be publisht be the minister in pulpet the nixt Sonday efter sermone that nane pretend ignorance. As also Adam Anderson and Androw Malcom elders to present it to the counsell to be authorised there and therefter to be publisht at the market cross upon the market day to the effect foirsaid, quhilk all was done. (Act against Jesuitis)

¹¹⁰ The laird has finally paid his overdue hospital rents.
¹¹¹ 2 John 1.10.
¹¹² Traffickers.
¹¹³ Eventually.
25 Novembris

Compeiris James Gill cautionar for [ ] that efter scho rysis out of chilbed to mak her repentance. James Farq to relief him.

[13v] Decimo octavo Novembris 1587

Ordanis the bailyes to speik Walter Dogisch againe to pay his civil punisment, to enter to the repentance stule, and to bring us ane testimonial that his bairne is baptist, quhilkes failyeing the minister on Sunday nixt to gif the first admonition to his excommunication.

Compeiris Jhon Blair and confessis his fornication with [ ] and submittis him selffe to the discipline of the kirk and becaus he is presentlie to go to Enderness promises to find caution to the bailyes for satisfaction of the civil punisment and for entring to the stule of repentance.

Ordanis on Tuysday nixt Patrik Ryis comptis, master of hospital, to be gevin in and the auld elders to be wairnit to be present.

Compeiris Jhon Merschell and Kathrene Blair and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Gib, for the woman Androw Blair hir father.

4 December 1587

Compeiris Alexander Robertson and Bessy Prinne desyrying their bandes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Robertson, for the woman Alestair Macduff.

Comperis Jhon Macweme and Margreit Blair and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Nicolson, for the woman Alexander Glass.

Compeiris Janet Caudry and confessis hir fornication with Jhon Murray and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

Compeiris Janet Farg and confessis hir fornication with Androw Allan and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

\[114\] Again, 'Octobris' is crossed out.
\[115\] A blank left for the name.
\[116\] A blank left for the name.
\[117\] Inverness.
\[118\] Ray's.
\[119\] The previous year's elders, who will be able to verify from memory some of the expen- ditures.
Jhon Davidson younger being found throw greit advysment of the elders als also be the voice of the common pepill to be sklanderous to the kirk of this reformit burgh and being callit heirfoir is ordanit to seperat him selffe fra the companye of Marion Pennycuik with quhome is presently suspectit especialy frome his mothers in the nicht quhere scho presentlie remainis ay and quhill thai be mariit or els to incur the punisment appointit for fornicatours, quhilk he promisit to do. (Jhon Davidson)

11 December 1587
Comperis Androw Allan and confessis his fornication with Janet Farg and submittis him self to the discipline of the kirk.

[14r] Ordanis thes baxters that on Saturday last at evin playit Sanctobertes play to be wairdit quhen ever thai be apprehendit ay and quhill thai gif their obedience for satisfaction of kirk and congregation. (Baxters play Stobertes play.)

Forasmekill as Robert Blakwod and Alexander Maxton cautiones for Jhon Tullie and Isobel Blakwod hes failyeit in that they being cautioners for completing the band of matrimone with Jhon Tully with the said Robertes dochter and the said Robert callit therefoir to schaw ressonabill causis quherefoir it was not done, he offerit him self in the kirkis will, quha thinkis that for the offence done he sal satisfie the will of the elders in the penultie befoir the mariage, quhilk thai ordaine to be betuix this and Candilsmes nixt under paine of dubling the penultie. And also ordanis that he remove out of his house ather the man or his dochter unto the day of their mariage for removing of offence of sklander resavit be cohabitation within his house, quhilkes failyeing it sail be haldin pro confessio of fornication. (Obli Robert Blakwod)

Ordanis Walter Doglisch to be wardit conforme to the act of befoir of the dait 7 November 1587.

Comperis Jhon Martin and confessis his fornication with Janet Caudry and submittis him selfe to the discipline of the kirk.121

18 December 1587
Qhilk day Walter Doglisch comperit and offferit his obedience to the kirk and to performe all punismentis condinge for his fault especially both the civil punisment according to the will of the minister and elders, and on

120 Pennycuik seems to be living in his mother's house.
121 Cf. 4 Dec., when the clerk recorded Martin's surname as Murray.
Thursday nixt to enter to the repentance stule, quhilkes failzeng and he not performing this as promissit the sentence of excommunication to be extendit against him with all rigor and to the uttermost. (Obedience Walter Doglische)

Ordanis the masters of hospital to collect and uptak the annuels of the alter-agis perteining to Alexander Cok curat and to mak him payment thereof at twa times of the yeir viz Witsonday and Martinmes so lang as he leifs.\[122\]

Comperis Nans Burroch spouse to William Donaldson sumtyme servitor to the erle of Gowrye and confessis hir adulterie with Androw Quhytcock smyth dwelland be eist the brig of Tay and also confessis that hir bairne was baptisit in the town of Sanctandrois at the tyme quhen the plaig was in Perth, Mr William Cok being witnes to the baptising of the said bairn.\[123\] At quhilk tyme the said William tuik fra hir his awin bairne to be enterntenit with him self.\[124\] (Burroch adul.)

Ordanis the master of hospital of new to chairg Inchmartene.\[125\]

\[14v\] Vigesimo quinto decembris 1587

Comperis Jhon Davidson and giftis and presentis ane testimonial frome the eldarship of Leith of his contracting with Maijory Penycuik ane of the said parochin of Leith and performance of the said band within fourty dayis. Findis George Robertson skynner cautioner.

Ordanis Androw Dog to have the ulkly almes that George Moyers wyf haid befoir viz 12d.\[126\]

Ordanis James Adamson master of hospital to gang to Edinburgh quhen the Session settis down and persew the suspention.\[127\]

\[122\] Cok, curate before the Reformation, may be now too aged and infirm to collect his own pension.

\[123\] Suggesting that Cok, the reader and clerk, fled the town at the plague's outbreak, since movement in and out of Perth during the time would have been forbidden.

\[124\] Burroch may have had to confess adultery if her husband was away attending Gowrie when the child had been conceived. The couple seems now to be separating, since Donaldson is taking custody of his own child.

\[125\] The laird seems always to resist making his hospital payments.

\[126\] The woman has now died.

\[127\] This may refer either to the process for securing a new hospital charter (14 Apr. 1588) or to the action against the laird of Moncreif for hospital dues (23 Sept. 1588).
1588

*Vigesimo Primo Januarii 1588*

Ordanis James Stewart to have six penneise oulky agumentit to the threittie penneise he haid befoir makand in the haill iii s.

Comperis James Adam and Elspet\(^1\) and gevis up their bandis. Caution for the man Adam Cheip, for the woman Jhon Quhyittet.

*Vigesimo Nona Januarii 1588*

Comperis Jhon Pullor and Violet Stanis and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Walter Elder, for the woman Robert Stanis.

Comperis Thomas Quhittet and Janet Finlason and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Walter Elder, for the woman Patrik Nivin.

Comperis Patrik Boner and Elspeit Tully and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Grant, for the woman Thomas Gibson.

(Marit)

*Vigesimo septa Februarii 1588*

Comperis Jhon Ritsch of the parochin of Cargill and Elspet Macky of this and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Scot, for the woman Oliver Rettray.

Ordanis the maisters of hospital to mak ane buik of ten quayrs\(^2\) of paper to conteine and hald the comptis of the hospital yearlie.\(^2\)

Quhilk day William Kynloch porter of the brig of Tay port being accusit for breaking the saboth day especially for inlatting of leidis on the saboth day and in tyme of preitsching confessis with his awin mouth that dyverse tymes hes brokin the saboth day be inlatting of laidis of fuste\(^3\) and burdingis at the said port contrarie the actis maid thereanent of befoir. Theirfoir the minister and elders but contradiction\(^4\) findis him culpabill and wordy\(^5\) heir-

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1 Elspeth’s surname is not given.
2 No longer extant.
3 Perhaps fustian, which was certainly brought into Perth in large quantities, judging from the wills of burgh cloth merchants.
4 Without dissent.
5 Worthy.
foir to be deposit fra the said office for ever. And seing thai not willing to reject (William Kynloch porter)

[15r] him alludie⁶ bot houping he sall keip better order in tymes cuming notwithstanding the actis past of befoir in his contrar, suspendis their rigor at this present in houp of amendment and ordanis him in tymes cuming neither to ressave ony leidis on the saboth day within the port nor procure for ony at the bailyeis handis for the inlatting of thame. And incaice he be found to contraven the samyn in tymes cuming to be deposit fra his office for ever.

Quarto Martii 1588

Comperis Jhon Miller of the parochin of Forgundenny and Marion Marschell of this parochin and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Gibson, for the woman George Fleming.

Qhillk day James Brydie walker⁷ being oft tymes callit on of befoir us now comperit as cautioner for Jhon Adam ane of the parochin of Kynoule for the fulfilling of the band of matrimonie within fourty days according to the act with Elspet Wilson ane of our parochin. And seing that the said Jhon hes not done the same and the fault of the non-performance of the same was in him allane never enquyring for the performance heirof sen the day of the contract, convicts the said James Brydy in the penultie and ordanis him to be wardit ay and quhill he satesfie the samyn. And seing that the said Jhon posponis and deferris the tyme not willing to performe the band gevin up be him with the said Elspet and seing lykways he hes dyverse tymes abstractit geir and money fra the said Elspet under pretence of mariage and so defraudes hir baith of the promeise maid and lykways of the geir, the minister and elderis advysing ryplie and being weill avysit thocht it hard that thir twa suld be mariit togidder incaice greit inconvenencis suld follow thereon, them selffis to be brocht to povertie and have na thing for their sustentation and sa maid abill⁸ to steal and reafe⁹ frome their nychtboures to redound at last to their schame and infame, thai being baith present requyrit of them quhidder thai wald performe their contract gevin up or not. Baith Jhon and Elspet with on consent desyris thame to be fraid¹⁰ of [each] uther sa that as god please thai may use them selffis in tymes cuming according to their plesor alwayis being free of their promise so that thai may maryl quhom thai pleise. To the quhillk petition the minister and elders for the causis foirsaid aggret and therefoir did discharge their contract with their

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⁶ Lightly, or perhaps altogether? The word is clearly written, but not in DOST.
⁷ Fuller.
⁸ Liable.
⁹ Raid, plunder.
¹⁰ Freed.
awin consentis, at quhat tyme Jhon Cudbert wricht satesfeit the penultie as cautioner for the said Elspet for not fulfilling the band. And ordanit the Jhon Adam to be wardit ay and quhill he satisfie the geir and money ressavit be him fra hir and James Brydie lykewyis to remane in ward ay quhill he satisfie lykwyis as thai have done. (James Brydy cautione for Adam)\textsuperscript{11}

[15v] The ordor to be observit at the tabill in tyme of the communion
To keip the southe kirk dor
Adam Anderson bailyie, Robert Anderson dean of gild, James Adameson, and Patrik Justice elders
To keip the southe queir dor
OUver Young bailyie, Andrew Wilson elder
To keip the northe queir dor
Andrew Malcom bailyie, Oliver Car eldar
To keip the dor at the skynnerys dask
Patrik Blair bailyie, Alexander Gibson eldar, George Lawreston and William Ross officiars
To keip order in Sanctandrouse Iyl
William Chalmer
To await on the bread
Mr George Ruthven deakyn
To repair the kirk, furneise the elementis, and all uther necessars to the tabil
Oliver Peblis thesaurer

\textsuperscript{11} The length and detail of this entry signals how rare such dissolutions were: the session took contracting very seriously.
Qhillk day William Fleming\textsuperscript{12} being callit afoir the assemblie for resett-
ting, gevin ludging, intertenement and convoying of the laird of Fentrie\textsuperscript{13} are enemie to god and religion and avowit papist and Jesuit excommu-
icat for the same, and common trafficuer for subversion of the trew
religion qhillk was aganis the command of god and expreslie against
the rewle of his word and lykwayis agains the actis maid be the kingis
majestie and assembleise general and particular especialy against the
act of our awin assemblie publisched from the pulpit and croce of this
burgh.\textsuperscript{14} Being heirfoir accusit answerit that nather for contempt of god
nor na gud rewle or act maid be the king or kirk he did the same, but
rather of necgligence becaus he was in companye of the erle of Hontly
and was ressavit under his covirtor.\textsuperscript{15} (William Fleming ressait of Jesuits)
[16r] Confessing the same to have beine ane fault promises never to do
the elyk in tymes cuming and incaice he be found to contravene in tymes
cuming the penultie in the act contenit to streak on him all excuses being
put asyde qhillk fault the minister and elders overseis\textsuperscript{16} at this present in
houp of amendment.

Comperis David Ramsay and confessis his fornication with Janet Olyphant
and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk.

Comperis Henrie Tailyor and Kathrene Garner and desyris their bannes to
be proclamit. Caution for the man Walter Ruthven, for the woman Jhon
Smyth.

\textsuperscript{12} If this were the former elder of this name, the entry would probably say so.
\textsuperscript{13} The General Assembly in October of 1583 ordered the minister of Dundee to admonish
Sir David Graham, the 'young laird of Fentrie', to subscribe the Confession of Faith or
be excommunicated for his popery. Although the king requested that they re-consider, by
February of 1587, the Assembly named him amongst others as an 'excommunicate papist'
in a petition to James to summon them to appear before him for their offences. They
also accused him of having 'seduced' the chief of Dumbarton and 'stolen away the hearts
of the commons by banquetting at Yule.' In June the king requested nullification of the
excommunication, and the Assembly appointed several ministers to 'deal with' the laird to
convert him, but to no avail. He was eventually convicted for his part in a 1592 conspiracy
to invite the king of Spain to invade Scotland – and leave 5,000 troops there to proclaim
'liberty of conscience' to Scots Catholics. His fellow conspirator George Ker saved his own
neck by revealing the plot under torture, but Fentrie was beheaded in Edinburgh 16 Feb.
1593. See BUK ii, 638, 642, 700, 713; David Moysie, Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland ...
1572–1603 (Edinburgh, 1830), 100–101.
\textsuperscript{14} 20 Nov. 1587. See also RPC iv, 107.
\textsuperscript{15} Protection. Hundy was a known Catholic.
\textsuperscript{16} Overlooks.
Quinto Aprilis [sic for March] 1588

Comperis William Malice and Margreit Anderson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Malice his father, for the woman Alexander Anderson hir father.

Comperis Jhon Meling and Janet Macgregor and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Meling his father, for the woman Duncan Macgregor her father.

Comperis Jhon Richardson and Isobel Young and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Richardson, for the woman Neil Macgie. (Mariit)

Qhillk day the haill fleschers being callit afoir us and accusit for breaking of the saboth, prophaners of the Lordis tabil, swerars and banners and common barganers all confessit them giltie heirof. And becaus the minister and elders persavit them quha was obstinat, especially Androw Jhonston, and all the rest of the craft to submit them selfis to the will of the minister and elders, thairfoir the said minister and elders suspendit their judgment and rigor of their sentence qhillk their faultis requyrit at this present in houp of amendment. And incaice ony of them be found to contravene in tymes cuming, the penulteis contenit in the actis of parliament anent sik offensis with all rigor to be execudit upon them and that quhow aft soever thai be found culpabill of the samyn. (Fletschers)

[16v] Qhillk day the minister and elders presentlie convenit considdering the idolatrrous pastyme of sundrye insolent young men in playing of sanc-tobertes play to the greite greife of the conscience of the faythful and infamous sklander of the haill congregation throchout this haill countrie hes ordanit for present punisment of the same and siclyke idolatrrous pastyme in tymes cuming that William Scharpe, Walter Symeson, William Malcom, Thomas Dawnie, David Randy, and James Maloch be put in ward therein to remaine on releifit qhill everie ane of thame have payit twentie schillingis to the puir to put them selfis in the seat of repentance therein to remaine the sabothe day in tyme of sermone and attor to find caution under the

17 Three more March entries will follow on fos 16v and 17r.
18 Swearers and cursers.
19 Bargainers, buying and selling on Sunday.
20 Statutes for sabbath observance include APS iii, 38, c. 17, cf. 56b; iii, 138 (1579); and iii, 211, c. 1 (1581, the last two ordering a penalty of 20s for the first offence). The most recent of many acts against blasphemy was in 1581: APS iii, 212, c. 5.
21 In addition.
pane of ten poundes and dubling of the former punisment sa aft as ever thai offend thatairin, never to do the elyk in tyme cuming. And gif ony of foirsaid be not responsall for the twentie schillingis to stand in the irons of the croce head in ane market day for that part. And this act to be extendit upon all sic idolatrouse players and observers of siclyk superstitious dayis in tymes to cum without exception. (Act for Sanctobertis playes)  

**Penultimo Januarii 1588**

Qhilck day the deakin of the baxters of the burgh of Perth with the haill bretherene of the samyn craft being convenit for the tyme to tak order for amendment of the blasphemus and ethniek playes of sanctobertes pastyme and to represe the insolencie of sick as sall heirefter performe or mint to do the lyke. And finding that the playing of the same this yir hes ingenerat throught this haill cuntrie greit sklander of the gospel, evil reporting of the town, and disdaine of the craft, ordanis that William Scharpe, Walter Symeson, William Malcom, Thomas Dawny, David Randy, and James Malloch sail attour and with the punisment munit to thame be the bailyeis and counsell submit them selfe in the minister and elders willis to satisfie the kirk in all poynits for remofing of the said sklander. Also gif thai or ony of thame or yit ony uthers of the said craft be found heirefter to use the elyk idolatrouse pastyme thai sail be debarrit frome all the libertes of the craft nevir to have entres to the same agane and to be banist the town for ever. Also gif ony of the said craft be found to procur for siclyke offending heirefter thai sail be reput as meintiners of the said idolatrouse pastyme and incur the penultie above specefeit. Sic subscribitur George Jak deakyn of the baxters above wreittin for myself and in name of the brethren of baxters craft with my hand led at the pen be Adam Brisson notary at my command. Id est Adamus Brisson notarius publicus admissus de speciali mandato dictum Georgii Jak per scribet et non alios sign, script, manua sua etc. (The baxters craftis act anent sanctobert)

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22 This act, with its much heavier penalties for repeat offenders than earlier prosecution of St Obert's players had levied, was long in coming: see 16 and 20 Dec. 1577 for the first recorded offences; 5 Jan. and 15 Dec. 1578; 25 Dec. 1581; 22 and 29 Jan. and 5 and 12 Feb. 1582.

23 This is an earlier act of the baxters' guild, passed in the wake of the 1587 St Obert's day celebration, which apparently they have now asked to be inserted into the session book. It served to provide a partial defence of the leaders of the guild, who could demonstrate with this act that they had made an effort to curb the observation of the saint's day and cooperate with the session, and perhaps also to draw to the session's attention the traditional right of the crafts to discipline themselves — a custom now threatened by the aggressiveness of the session in imposing moral discipline in the name of the kirk.

24 Assigned.
18 Meche [sic] 1588
Comperis Androw Gairne and Margret Cruikschank and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Gow, for the woman Jhon Cramby.

Comperis Androw Scharpe and Isobel Wilson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Henrie Willamont, for the woman Jhon Elder alias Laird. (Mariit)

Comperis George Gairne and confessis his fornication with Isobel Guthray and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk.

22 March 1588
Ordanis thes that was the players of Sanctobertis play on Sunday nixt to enter in the seat of repentance and there to humbill them selffis and declar their repentance to the exempill of uthers to do the elyk in tymes cuming.

25 March 1588
*Octuagesimus annus*
Ordanis William Dyn puir man to have the place and rowme of William Ramsay now decessit oulkly xii d

Ordanis Isobel Keir puir auld woman to have the place of Violat Gellise now dessicit oulkly xii d

Ordanis the elders this day acht dayis to tel thes that communicat not last quhen the communion was ministred.

*Primo Aprillis 1588*
Comperis David Drummond of the parochin of Cargill and Kathrene Blyth of this parochin and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man and woman David Mar.

Ordanis James Brydeise chens to be comprysit and the silver thereof to be presentit their afoir us to be distributit to the puir becaus he payit not ten poundis as cautioner for Jhon Adam quha fulfilht not the band of matrimony within fourtye dayis according to the act.25

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25 Brydie has perforce paid the caution's penalty in kind by having his chains confiscated and their silver extracted.
Octavo Apprilis 1588
The minister and elders ratefeis the act maid of befoir anent the absentes fra the assemblie without ane ressonabill cause and thes that cummis in behind the hour also. (The act maid anent abentes fra the sessione renewit)

Ordanis with the minister, the masteres of hospital, Alexander Gibson and Patrik Oliphant elders to speik the counsel on Mononday nixt anent the laird of Bahousie26 and to report their answer this day acht dayis.

[17v] Decimo quarto Aprilis 158827
Comperis William Malyce and Margreit Anderson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Malice his father, for the woman Alexander Anderson hir father.

Comperis Jhon Meling and Janet Macgregor and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Meling his father for the woman Duncan Macgregor hir father.

Comperis Jhon Richartson and Isobel Young and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Richartson, for the woman Neil Macgie.

Quhilk day the haill fleschers being callit afoir us and accusit for breaking of the sabbath day in absenting them selfsis therefra in tyme of preitsching and prayers being prophaners of the Lordis tabil and greit swerars and banners using greit and execrabil aithis to the dishonor of godis maist blesset name to the great greife of the conscience of the godly, and daylie fechts,28 all in ane voice confessit them selfsis giltye heirof. Yet becaus the minister and elders did persave that there was greit contentions amangis them selfsis and sum moir abstinat than utheris especially Androw Thomeson, referrit them to the aggriment of their brethrene. Yet notwithstanding becaus thir thair notorius confessit factis ar wordy of seveir punisment, the minister and elders suspendis the rigor of their judgment and sentence at this present quhilk thair faultis requyrit on houp of amendment. And incaice ony of them hereafter be found to fall in the said crymes the penulties contenit in the actes

26 The laird is perpetually indebted to the hospital.
27 The entries below repeat those of 5 Apr., fo. 16r, though with additions to the fleschers act. The clerk may have been copying rough notes into fair copy and forgotten that he had already written this bit.
28 Fighting.
of parliament to be extendit in all rigor upon them and that quhowsoever thai be found culpabil heirin. (Fleitschers)²⁹

Quhilk day comperit in presence of us minister and elders of the kirk of Perth within the revestrie of the samyn the persones underwreittin viz Robert Anderson, Adam Anderson, Patrik Blair, James Adamson, Patrik Grant, Duncan Robertson, Patrik Stanning, Robert Mathow, Oliver Car and Patrik Ray. Quhilk persones exponit schew and declarit that thai and ilk ane of thame rexive for their awin partis hes for the godly zeal quhilk thai have towards the advansment of hospital of this burgh and for the obtening and outquyking of the new confirmit gift of the hospital and for the composition payit for the confirmation thereof passing of the great seals, [18r] act of parliament, and uther chairgis and expensis maid thereanent, laid the sum and gevin pledgis in wode of the sume of twa hundreth xiii Ł vi s viii d money, quhilk sume the saidis persones ar oblister to pay agane at ane lang tyme bypast. And be resson of none payment making of the said sowme their saidis pledgis ar to be comprisit for the samyn. In respect quhereof the saidis persones haiffe and this day menit thame to us desyring that we suld cause thame rexive for their awin partis to be repayit of the said sowmes for the reliefe of their said pledgis. The quhilk desyr we haiffand found ressonabil, heirfoir the minister and elders foirsaid of the said burgh commandis and ordanis the maisters of the hospital of this burgh present and to cum to content, satisfie and repay the foirsaid sowme of iiŁ xiii Ł vi s viii d to the foirsaid persones rexive ilk ane of thame their awin partis thereof, viz to everie ane of thame, their airs, executores and assignas the sowme of xxi Ł vi s viii d for releife of their said pledgis and that of the reddiest fructis, rents or emolumentis gottin or to be gottin in of the said hospital. As also ordanis the saidis masteres of hospital present or to cum to pay to Mr Oliver Colt advocat the sowme of fiftie nyne poundes four schillinges debursit be him lykwyis concerning the obtaining of the gift of the hospital foirsaid. Quhilkes sowmes being payit to thame and everie ane of the said debursers, the samyn salbe thankfully allowit be us and our successores in the masteres hospitals comptis present and to cum as foirsaid is.³²

²⁹ The session is displaying uncharacteristic forbearance: cf. 5 Mar. 1588.
³⁰ An abbreviated form of 'respectively', so that the phrase means 'each and every one'.
³¹ A form of assignee, a term frequently found with 'heirs and executors', for one to whom property is formally assigned.
³² Ratification of the hospital charter awarded initially during the king's minority (1569) was an expensive proposition, and arrears of hospital rents would have made it impossible without the voluntary pledges of these donors for the services of their advocate in Edinburgh. They wish to ensure that their loans will eventually be repaid. The new charter was in fact secured, dated 29 July 1587, and confirmed by an act of parliament (APS iii, 500–503, c. 111; iii, 581, c. 81). Both charters are in Milne, pp. li–lvi, lvi–lxvi.
Vigesimo secundo Aprilis 1588
Comperis William Grant of the parochin of Scone and Kathrene Adamson of this parochin and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrick Grant, for the woman Robert Grant.

Comperis George Spittell of the parochin of Streveling and Margreit Watson of this parochin and desyrs their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhone Basilly, for the woman Gilbert Blair. (Mariit)

Vigesimo nono Aprilis 1588
Comperis William Wod and Isobel Swan and desyres their bandes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Lamerkyn, for the woman David Jhoneson.

[18v] Comperis Robert Snell and Kathrene Broun and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Henrie Leis, for the woman Alexander Broun.

Ordanis the act maid anent flyters to be put in execution on Janet Fenton for the sklandering of Janet Lyndsay spouse to Jhon Maclawrei and Lilias Fenton spouse to James Murray. (Satisfeit)

Ordanis lykwayis the said act to be put in execution on Malcom Ewfame and Margret Tulleyis for sklandering of Thomas Burrell and his spouse.

Sexto Maii 1588
Comperis William Anderson and Helene Drummond and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Mersser his father, for the woman James Drummond hir father.

Comperit Henrie Anderson and Helene Coll and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Mathow, for the woman Walter Doglische. (Mariit)

Comperis Alexander Jhoneston and Janet Blair and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Donaldson, for the woman Gilbert Blair. (Mariit)

33 Stirling.
Comperis Andrew Mackey and Elspet Wilson and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man David Jhoneson, for the woman, Alexander Carnoath.

Ordanis the bailyeis yit as of befoir to put in execution the act maid against sklanderers of their nychtbores on Malcolm Ewfame and Margret Tulleyis for their sklanding of Thomas Burrell and his wyffe.

Decimo tertio die Maii
Absentes Andrew Malcom, Alexander Gibson, Oliver Car, Patrik Justice

Comperis George Thomeson and Geillis Peit and desyrs their bandis to be proclamit. Cuation for the man Lawrence Lamb, for the woman William Ross tailyeor.

Comperis Henrie Scharpe and Janet Henderson desyring ther bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Henrie Willamont, for the woman Androw Blyth.

Ordanis the masters of hospital to gif unto Jhon Swenton a new garment of clothes.

Ordanis the masteres of hospital to send for ane new letter to remove Bahouse his tentenis etc.34

Vigesimo die May
Absentes Androw Malcom, Alexander Gibson, Oliver Car, Patrik Justice, Duncan Robertson.

Comperis Jhon Rodgie.

[19r] Comperis Jhon Macbaith and Cristane Ronald and desyris their bandis to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Smyth, for the woman Androw Gib.

Ordanis Jhon Macwatters wyffe to be wairdit for sklanding of Jhon Richartson ay and quhill scho fulfill and satisfie the act of the kirk.

34 The laird of Balhousie's tenants may be squatting on hospital lands.
Vigesimo quinto Maii 1588
Absentes Oliver Car, Patrik Justice

Ordanis Jhon Blair, Janet Olyphant and Cristen Maclawre personaly warnit and not comperit to be wairdit for disobedience.

Tertio Junii 1588
Absentes Androw Malcom, Alexander Gibson, Oliver Car, Adam Anderson

Ordanis Janet Forrest puir woman to have the place in the tickit of the puirs alms that Janet Gairvy haid oulkly viii d.

Ordanis the hail elders to be wairnit to be present this day acht dayis to counsill in the turne betwix the hospital and the minister of Tibbermuir.

Decimo Junii 1588
Absentes Donald Jhoneson, Alexander Gibson, Androw Malcom, Oliver Car, Patrik Justice, Adam Anderson, Duncan Robertson

Ordanis Jhon Blair, Janet Olyphant, Cristen Maclawrey, and Geils Stewart to present them selfis in the stull of repentance on Thursday nixt.

Decimo septimo Junii 1588
Absentes Alexander Pullor, Donald Jhoneston, Androw Malcom, Alexander Gibson, Oliver Car, Adam Anderson, Patrik Justice, Duncan Robertson

Comperis Patrik Cok and Isobel Sydie and desyris their bandis to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Androw Conquerior, for the woman Oliver Young. (Mariit)

Comperis Jhon Colt and Elspet Stalker and desyris their bandis to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Patrik Allan, for the woman Thomas Broun. (Mariit)

Primo July 1588
Omnes presentes

Comperis Thomas Moncrief and Helen Fergusson alias Gow and desyris their bandis to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Robert Moncreaf, for the woman Thomas Jakson.

35 Roll.
36 Quarrel, controversy.
37 Alexander Young.
Ordanis Jhon Gall and his dochter Bessie Gall to be warnit to this day acht days.

The bill gevin in be Janet Mitschell dochter to umquhill William Mitschell on Janet Dallie is confessit be the said Janet and provin be sufficient witnes therefor it is ordanit that the act of the buk maid anent flyters be put in execution on the said Janet etc.

Comperis Jhon Gray and Margreit Broun and desyris their bandis to be proclaimit. Caution for the man James Donaldson, for the woman Thomas Cok. (Mariit)

Comperis Cristan Maclawrey and confessis hir fornication with Androw Gibson and therefoir submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

Compers William Wysman and Marion Broun and desyrs their bandes to be proclaimit. Caution for the man William Blyt, for the woman Androw Walter.

Ordanis Jhon Gall to present his dochter Bessye Gall this day acht dayis or els to incur the penultie contenit in the act of parliament for not declaring hir fact to the assembly and committing the fact in his awin house. (Jhon Gall)

The haill assemblye present etter tryell of the bill gevin in be Jhon Lory merchand against Bessye Kinglassy spouse to Thomas Ritschy be sufficient witness scho hes be found giltye of all gevin in against hir. Thirfoir the act maid anent flyters and sklanderers to be put in execution on hir, and hir husband to mak satisfaction to the said Jhon at the sicht of the minister and elders. (Kynglessye)

Archibald Steidman confessit his offence committit against [ ] Moir spouse to [ ]99 and heirfoir submittit him selfe to the will of the minister and elders. Thairfoir he is ordanit upon his kneise to ask forgeveness of his offence of [ ] hir husband and hir confessing his offence promising never to do the lyk

38 See 16 Aug. 1585 for their banns. A blank space had been left for the forename, which was written in later in a very faint ink.

39 Blank spaces left for the names.
in tymes cuming. And he with his awin mouth desyrit that if ever heirefter he suld be culpabill heirin the punishemt foirsaid to be dublet.

Secundo Septembris 1588

Comperis Jhon Strannigle and Marion Donaldson and desyrs their bands of marriagge to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Wanton, for the woman George Robertson.

Comperis Henrie Hall and Cristane Richartson and desyris their bannes of mariadgge to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Rollok, for the woman Alexander Richartson.

Comperis Thomas Douglas and Margreit Smyth and desyris their bannes of mariadgge to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Kynpont, for the woman William Drummond.

Comperis David Randy and Margreit Baquharnay and desyris their bannes of mariadgge to be proclamit. Caution for the man Alexander Randy, for the woman William Clink.

Nona Septembris 1588

Comperis Bessie Gall and confessis hir fornication with Ritschie Macbene servitor to the erle of Erroill quho haid last ado with hir thrie ulkes affoir the xxv day of December and quha was lichter\(^{40}\) the thrid of August as scho confessit. (Bessye Gall)

Janet Bell servand to Mr Jhon Anderson being called comperit and being inquyrit gif scho knew ony think concerning the deal of Ritschie Macbene with Bessye Gall dochter to Jhon Gall elder merchand, confessit that at Candilsmsess last at the command of the the [sic] said Ritschy past and brocht the said Bessye furth of William Ross tailyeores house to the said Ritschie quhere he remanit in hir maisters house and thai geid\(^{42}\) out at even in the glouming\(^{43}\) togidder and scho knew not quhair.

Nans Thomeson medwyffe spouse to James Cudbert alias Damchord webster quha was present at the delyverance and birth of the said Bessy

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\(^{40}\) The hand changes a bit here, the spelling rather more, through September 1588.

\(^{41}\) That is, she was lighter of a bairn: she gave birth.

\(^{42}\) Went.

\(^{43}\) Dusk, twilight.
Gall being inquyrit quhat was the deposition of the said Bessye in the tyme of hit birth and to quhome the bairne appertenit and quho was father of the bairne, deponit that efter inquisition of hir in the foirsaid tyme of hir birth and incalling of the name of god to be witness to trewh with greit and horribill aithis declarit the bairne to appertene to Ritschie Macbene, quha lykwayis schew the bairne according to hir oppinion to ben borne at the ful perfection of birth and not afoir tyme. And at the tyme of the traveling of the said Bessy Ritschy Macbeine came to the yet and desyrit to be in. As also that the said Bessye confessit the bairne to have bene gottin in Mr Jhon Andersonis house being thryse fecht to him be Janet Bell the said Mr Jhonese servand.

*Vigesimo tertio Septembris 1588*

Ordanis Violat Quhyt ilk ulk to havexii d
Ordanis Henrie Wilson and his wyffe to have ulkly xii d

Comperis William Macbaith and Nans Robertson and desyris their bannes of mariadge to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Macbaith, for the woman Nicol Blair.

Comperis William Scharp and Margreit Jak and desyris their bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Schairp, for the woman Jhon Jak.

The minister and elders present nominates and appointis Androw Donaldson, Duncan Robertson, James Adamson, and Patrik Olyphant masters of hospital and elders to concur for us minister and elders, with Oliver Pebbles, James Drummond, Oliver Young, and William Robertson, nominated by William Creif of that ilk and gevis them power to resson, agrie and conclude, the minister being overman, and aggreing with them or ony thrie of them in the action of the puir persewit against the laird of Moncreif quherein he is addettit to the hospital and promises to stand at their delyverance for our part (Commission concerning the laird Moncreif [20v] and appointis the persones nominated be us to be present at efternoon sermon on Thursday nixt in the kirk of Perth, as also the uthers consentis thereto and promises to meit and the foirsaid tyme to do in the premisses as becumis.

44 Tiebreaker.
The minister and elders ordanis the masteres of hospital of this yeir past to use all rigor and extremitie against them addettit to the hospital assuring them that na comptis salbe tane of them without payment and execution.

**Septimo Octobris anno 1588**

The names of the elders chosen for to bear office in the yeir to cum

- The north syd of the Hegeit
  - Robert Mathow, Duncan Macgregor, Walter Elder
  - Southsyde of the Hegeit
  - Alexander Olyphant, Robert Cok, Jhon Wilson
  - Beneth the cross
  - Robert Anderson, Thomas Gall, David Billie
  - The Southgeit
  - Robert Lethome, Patrik Lamb, Constantine Malice
  - Deakyns
  - The North syd of the Hegeit
  - Robert Moncreif, Walter Gray, Alestair Macduff
  - Southsyd of the Hegeit
  - Jhon Henderson, Alexander Chalmer, Jhon Crystison
  - Beneth the cross
  - Mr George Ruthven, Patrik Quhyt, Jhon Forbes
  - The Southgeit
  - George Smyth, Robert Grant, Patrik Boner
  - Officiar

**Jhon Jak**

**Decimo tertio Octobris 1588**

Ordanis the elders of everie quarter to pass with ane bailyie to inquyr of the names of the puir within their quarters and present them heir this day acht dayis that our awin puir may be knawin from strangers and idel beggers.

Comperis Marion Broun and confessis hir fornication with David Connynghame servitor to the laird of Cadell and submittis hir selffe to the discipline of the kirk.

**Vigesimo primo Octobris**

Ordanis on Twysday nixt that the act maid of befoir against Bessie Glass alias

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45 There was a complete turnover of the eldership in this election. See Appendix I for biographical information on the elders.
Kismie be put in execution and to be put to ane assyse to juge of hir gif scho be ane woman wordy\textsuperscript{46} to dwell within sik ane reformit congregation.\textsuperscript{47}

Comperis Janet Spedy and confessis hir fornication with Robert Dundas and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

[21r] Seing that the assembly douttit greitly upon the bruit passit upon Bessy Gall quha suld be father to hir bairne, remittis hir yet upon caution till fardell tryell,\textsuperscript{48} and David Lyndsay becumis caution to present hir agane quhen the kirk requyris.

\textit{Vigesimo octavo Octobris 1588}
Absents Thomas Gall, Robert Lethome, Constantine Malice

Comperis Jhon Weitsit and Nans Dicson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Walter Richman, for the woman William Clink.

Comperis Stevin Broun and Helene Fyffe and desyris their bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Auchinleck in Tullylum and Patrik Jakson.

Comperis Patrik Connynghame and Elspet Chapman and desyrs their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Connynghame his father, for the woman James Chapman hir fathr.

Quhilk day the madwyffis\textsuperscript{49} being convenit, Mairjorie Russell, Margret Stewart, and Nans Thomson promisit be aith that thai suld never be at the birth of na woman knawin to be suspect of fornication or adultrie bot suld revele the samyn to the elderschip and lykwayis promisit never to tuitch sik ane woman quhill\textsuperscript{50} of conscience scho declar to hir quha is the bairns father. (Maidwyffis)

Quhilk day being convenit within the revestrie of the burgh of Perth the minister and elders thereof hes ordanit Androw Donaldson and James Adamson maisters of the hospital of the said burgh to pay four penneise

\textsuperscript{46} Worthy.
\textsuperscript{47} This is the bawdy comic of 11 Sept. 1587.
\textsuperscript{48} Further investigation.
\textsuperscript{49} Midwives.
\textsuperscript{50} Until.
ouldly to everie ane of xxi puir scholars remanand and abydand at the schoill and baring the towns mark takin in their arms the first wilkes payment to begyn on the fourth day of November and swa furth to indur oulkly during their remaining at the schoill and bearing of the said takyn and na wyse uther, als also to pay Duncan Ridoch their doctor and teacher oulkly xii d extending the haill to viii s oulkly quha was followis

Robert Young Jhon Williamson
Robert Broun elder William Hay
Robert Broun younger Thomas Hamilton
Robert Crystie William Duncan
Robert Adamson William Paterson
Androw Moreis Androw Alman
Jhon Schairp Alexander Duncan
Jhon Henderson Andro Macgregor
James Hay Patrik Williamso
Jhon Hamilton Jhon Cowper (Puir scholars act)

Quarto Novembris 1588

Absents Robert Mathow, Robert Cok, Thomas Gall

Ordanis Jhon Gall to be warnit quhill he pay x s for break of the saboth.

Maise Rodgie being wairnit comperis and is accusit as ane common ressait of theisis, vagabondis and siclyk, in consideration of the quhilkes the minister and elders will not with rigor enter with hir, but houping for amendment remittis hir, scho finding caution never to the elyk. And for observation of gud order in tymes cuming Jhon Cusye of his awin frie motive will becums cautioner at hir desyr under the pane of ten poundis on his part and hir banisment.

Comperis Thomas Jhoneson and Margret Spink and desyris their bannes to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Jhon Lamerkyn, for the woman William Jak.

Comperis James Crystie and Helene Pircy and desyris their bannes to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Jhon Crystison, for the woman David Mar.

Undecimo Novembris 1588

Absentes Duncan Macgregor, Jhon Wilson, Thomas Gall

51 There are in fact only twenty in the list.
52 Will not severely punish her.
Quhilk day being convenit within the revestrie of the burgh of Perth the minister and elders of the same hes ordanit Androw Donaldson and James Adamson maisters of hospital of the said burgh to chairge, call, purswe, resave and uptak all and sundrye annuell rentis, few meallis, and deweteis quhatsumever addettit and furthcomand fruct of all and sundry landis, tene- ments, houses, biggingis, yeardis, and utheris lyand within the burgh of Perth territorie and suburbs thereof quhilkes belangit of befoir to the Chairter-house, Sanct Stephan and Sanctmungois altars and now perteining to the said hospital. And quhat annuells soever the saidis masteres of hospital ressavis fra the persons addettit and gevin the acquittances thereon, the minister and elders present oblishes them and their successores to warrand and releif the saidis masters of hospital at the hands of the annuellars and all uthers haif-fand or pretendand to have entres thereto. (Uptaking of dewteis pertening to the hospital)

Comperis Jhon Ranch and Elspet Thomson and desyrs their bannes to be proclaimit. Caution for the man William Thomson, for the woman William Kynpont.

Comperis James Gawy and Crysten Niell and desyris their bannes to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Patrik Jakson, for the woman Patrik Auchinlek.

Comperis Alexander Stanhouse and Margret Mersser and desyrs their bannes to be proclaimit. Caution for the man George Robertson, for the woman William Kynpont.

[22r] Forsamekih considdering the greit sclander that arysis of young women taking up housses and dwelling togidder as codrois and common ressaits of honest mens servandis and their geir, it is ordanit that na honest man set them ane house without the avyse of ane of the bailyeis and elders publicly to be allowit, under the paine of the house mell\textsuperscript{53} to be gevin to the puir. The persons as codrois taking up house to be halden and reput as forni- catores and enterteiners of bordels and punisit as fornicatores.\textsuperscript{54} (Codrois)

\textsuperscript{53} The rent of the property.

\textsuperscript{54} A codroch or codracht seems to be a person of no calling and suspect reputation keeping her or his own house. \textit{DOST} (defining it as a slovenly person) offers five examples of the term, four of which come from the Perth session minutes (1588, 1618, 1621, 1638). The only earlier example is from a Cupar register of 1482 forbidding owners to let property to cottars or codrachts. The presumption seems to have been that groups of independent young women, without fathers or husbands to keep an eye on them, would necessarily wind up as fornicators, prostitutes, and receivers of stolen goods.
It is ordanit that na inhabitant within this burgh cheifly taverners and toppis of wyne and eill ressavage or keep within their house upon the sabbath day any person or persons stranger or inhabitant quhatsumever in tyme of preitsching or sermone under the pains content in the actis of parliament, actis of burgh, and ordinance of the kirk, assuring thame quha ever thai ar that contravenis the foirsaides with all rigor to be punisit in exempill to uthers.

The minister and elders present ordanis that na person nor persons within this burgh houshalder nor uther ressavage into their service or house any man or woman out of ane town or congregation without ane sufficient testimonial of their godly and honest behavior in tyme past be the minister of that parish quhere thai cam fra. And seing there ar sundry harlotes and filthy leiffars enterit in this town in service, fugitives fra the discipline of the kirk quharfra thai ar come, it is ordanit that every man try his awin house quhere ony sik is and delait their names to the elders of their quarter or to the session of the kirk, certeising them that disobeys in the premisse thai salbe punisit according to the actis and ordinancis set down before for punisment of sik crymes. (Ressait of harlots)

The minister and elders of the kirk of Perth ratefeis and approves the judgment of the commissioners of the general assemblie and presbiterie of Perth in all poynies concerning the alienation and setting of the waist ground callit sum tyme St Ans Chapel to Mr William Rynd minister at Kynoull.

[22v] Secundo Decembris 1588

Ordanis Androw Ruderfurd webster to pay ten schillingis becaus the sabbath day ws brokin in his house be his wyffe in warping ane wob thereon, and his wyf to present hir self in the repentance seit on Sonday nixt for the same.

Comperis Jhon Duncan and Helison Swan and desyris their bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Gill, for the woman Thomas Broun.

55 Ale.
56 This provision, typical of Scots parishes after the Reformation, is what makes the disciplinary system so effective: people could not escape the discipline of their own parish by fleeing to another.
57 This former ecclesiastical property is thus transferred to support a preaching ministry in the neighbouring parish of Kinnoull, just across the Tay from Perth.
58 Setting the warp on her loom to weave cloth.
Nono Decembris 1588
Absents Walter Elder, Robert Cok, Thomas Gall, Constantine Malice

Comperis James Blak and Marion Murdoch and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Meling, for the woman Patrik Justice.

Decimo octavo Decembris 1588
Absentes Thomas Gall, Robert Lethome

Ordanis William Hall, Androw Mersser and Jhon Forbes ilk ane of them to be poyndit for x s for not collecting the puirs almes as thai war wairnit be our officiar thereto.

Comperis Patrik Heir and Marion Blair and desyrs that bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Patrik Heir his father, for the woman Jhon Keir.

Vigesimo septimo Decembris 1588
Absents Walter Elder, David Billie

Comperis James Gelletly and Kathrene Malice and desyrs their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Clink, for the woman David Malice hir father.

Comperis Janet Hamilton and confessit hir fornication with Jhon Broun and submittis hir selffe to the discipline of the kirk.

Ordanis Jhon Bog to pay x s for breaking the saboth.
Absentes Thomas Gall

Ordanis George Hunt to pay ten schillingis for breaking the sabbath day.

Alexander Chalmer being accusit for committing adulterie with Marion Webster denyit the same.

Decimo tertio January 1589
Absentes Robert Mathow, Alexander Olyphant

Comperis Violat Broun efter lang inquisition haid and tane of hir negligence and sleuth towards hir young infant and bairne of hir selfe frely confess that the bairne perisit throw hir necgligence. Thairfoir scho is ordanit on Sunday nixt in lyning clase to mak hir repentance heiffoir and in tyme of pretsching to be present in the repentance stueil. (Perising of bairnes)

Comperis lykwayis Bessy Gibson spouse to [ ] Robertson lykwayis and in the foirsaid maner hir necgligence towards hir bairne and infant.¹

Quhilk day Oliver Peblis being callit and upon his conscience inquyrit ad as he wald answer to the greit god gif the bairne that Jean Thorneton was with was his. And that becaus becaus [sic] of oppin and constant confession of the samyn especially on hir birth and to the reider and elders that was send to enquyr the same of hir efter hir birth besydis the greit bruit of the samyn. He tuik it on his conscience sa mot his saul be saifte at the latter day gif ever he maid sik occasion.² (Oliver Peblis)

Vigesimo primo Januarii 1589
Ordanis Patrik Malloch for breaking of the sabbath conforme to the act of parliament to pay x s.³

¹ A blank space is left for the husband's forename.
² His denial of paternity would later be confirmed by Thornton: see 21 Jan. 1589, her confession of another adulterous relationship, this time with a servant of the earl of Crawford. Despite her excommunication and her illegitimate child, she seems to have remained in Perth for the time being: see 21 Oct. 1589, when she was found living with Thomas Moneypenny. Meanwhile, by 1588 she had been put to the horn (NRS–WRH ms JC26/Box 2, High Court of Justiciary Processes 1586–93, 22 Dec. 1588, 'Coram Perth adulteraris'). This made it all the more important for Peblis to deny any contact with her, although Moneypenny's sheltering her the following year does make one wonder about the effectiveness of horning.
³ In fact the parliamentary fine is 20s; 10s is more usual in Perth.
Comperis James Jakson and Nans Wod and desyris their bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Alexander Gibson, for the woman Jhon Wod hir fayther.

Comperis William Ronaldson and Marion Fell and desyris their bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Crie, for the woman Jhon Ryrie.

Margreit Mackerres alias Owin confessis that scho haid carnal deal with Androw Ogilby servitor to my Lady Gowry and that under promise of mariage, quha now is departit in the Lord of this present lyf. And now sensyne contening in hir sklanderouse lyf and adjourning out of hir gud fathers house, scho geid to Jhon Finlason servitor to the laird of Copmalindy and drank with him using company with him at hir plessor, quhilk is very sklanderous, on the quhilk follow[it ] tymmer⁴ and play betwix hir gud father Androw Basiley and Androw Thomson with the said Jhon Finlason with quhom scho confesses carnal deal.⁵ (Margret Mackerres)

In respect that the flechers ar found to contravene the acts set down and not keping the saboth nor resorting to their owin publick place⁶ as becums, ordanis the Reider to pass to his brother the deakin⁷ and intimat our ordi-
nance to him and the haill bretheren, quha is to not[e] the names of the absentes out of their place befoir and efter none in tyme of preitsching and present them to the kirk the Monoday nixt efter, and to assur them that according to the act of parliament the penultie salbe tane of them toties quoties thai ar found to offend, with oversicht⁸ at this present in houp of amendment. (flecschers)

Comperis Jean Thornton confessing hir former faultis and crimes as is befoir set down [in] the buikes of assembhe. And now of new confessis hir fact of adultery with David Achterlony servant to the erle of Crawfurdf for the tyme quha haid carnal deal with hir sundry and dyverse tymes. And lyk wayis confesses that scho haid never carnal deal with Oliver Peblis sen the Lordis came out of Ingland in Scotland. (Jean Thornton)

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⁴ A musical instrument, perhaps a tambourine.
⁵ The last phrase, in a different ink, seems to have been added later. Mackerres's case continues 15 Dec.
⁶ Their guild seat in the kirk.
⁷ Of the fleshers.
⁸ 'Of' is here crossed out.
Comperis Jean Paul and confessis thir first fact of fornication with Robert Stewart servitor to the kingis majestie quha forst hir aganst hir will as she was gangand to Slippifeild doing hir maisters erandes. (Jean Paul)

*Septimo Februarii 1589*

Comperis Kathrene Durinoch spouse to Patrik Robertson and confessis hir adulterie with Androw Makfarlan. Heirfoir appointis hir to be present at the presbiterie on Thursday nixt. (Kathrene Durinoch)

*Decimo quinto Februarii 1588*

Comperis Kathrene Schoirt and confessit the occasion quhin scho came out of Edinburgh was becaus scho haid committit adulterie with Thomas Ramsay burges in the Channongeit and that hir husband Mr Archbald Wilby haid left hir and gon fra hir. (Kathrene Schoirt)

*Vigesimo quarto Februarii*

Robert Blakwod being callit compleit and is found to have contravenit the actis. Thairfor conforme to the act of parliament ordanis him as cautione for his dochter and partie being found to have failzeit in that hir bannes of marriaige within fourty dayis has not [been] fulfillit with Jhon Cally, and seing that he objectis he may not gudly at this present performe it, the minister and elders with ane litill oversicht ordanis that their bannes be performit betwix this and Witsonday nixt, utherways the penultie to be triplit without ony kynd of favor or any forder oversicht. And the foirsaid penultie of ten poundis presently to be payit utherways not to have the benefit of marriaige. (Robert Blakwod)

Comperis Janet Malice and confessis hir fornication with James Peblis and submittis hir to the will of the kirk. (Janet Malice)

Comperis Margreit Campbell and confessis hir first fact of fornication with David Chrystie and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Margret Campbel)

The order to be observit at the tables

To kep the south queir dor

Alexander Maxton bailye, Dioneise Conquerior dean of gild, James Adamson master of hospital, David Billie elder

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9 As is clear from Helen Watson's case (24 Aug. 1584, 5 Jan. 1585), allegations of rape did not help a woman charged with fornication or adultery.

10 Her party, or her betrothed.

11 Cally.
To collect the takins and almes there
Patrik Quhyt and Alestair Macduff deakyns
To collect the almes at the north kirk dor
Jhon Forbes deakyn
To keep the south quoir dor
Oliver Young bailyie and Jhon Wilson elder
To keip the north queir dor
Patrik Grant bailyie, Robert Anderson elder
To keip the skynners dask
Patrik Blair bailyie, Robert Mathow elder, George Lowreston and William
Ross officiars
[24r] To convoy the wyne to the tables
Jhon Henderson, Alexander Chalm[er] deakyns
To fill the cupis
Jhon Crystison, George Smyth, Robert Moncreif, Walter Gray deakyns
To convoy the breid
Alexander Olyphant, Constantine Malice elders
To convoy the cups
Thomas Gaw, Patrik Lamb, Robert Cok, Robert Lethome elders
To keip order in St Androwis Ile
Androw Donaldson master of hospital
To dress and order the breid
Mr George Ruthven
To repair the tables and furneis the elementis
Oliver Pbles thesaurer

Tertio Mertii 1589
Comperis Alexander Imbry and Violat Hillok and desyris their bannes to
be proclamit. Caution for the man George Galloway, for the woman James
Swenton.

The minister and eldars present in ane voce consentit that Patrik Boner 1
that in respect his fault of fornication was done in tyme of the pest, 2 and
that he is ane marit man presently, 3 becaus gret sklander wald aryse as he
haid done ane new fact, 4 that in that tyme of pest dispensation was gevin
for money becaus men durst not present them selfis in the stule of repent-
ance for feir of the pest, it is ordanit to pay the penultie of iii £ therefoir,
and in caise the kirk be sklanderit throw this his fact he to be reddy to mak
obedience quhen as the kirk requeris. And presently ordanis him to be put
in waird quhill he satisfie the samyn. (Dispensation Patrik Boner)

Comperes Nans Brown and confessis hir fornication with Alexander Leis
and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk. (Nans Brown for.)
Comperis James Pebles webster and confessis his fornication with Janet Malice and therefoir submittis him to the discipline of the kirk. (James Pebles for.)

Forasmekill as the bill gevin in be James Adameson, Jhon Lowrie, Duncan Robertson, Robert Blair and David Jakson anent the sklander mad[e] be Jhon Henderson against them, the said Jhon is found culpabill, thairfoir he ordanit to offer his obedience to them qher he did.\textsuperscript{12} The minister and elders desyrs them lyk as himself als[o] that seing the occasion heirof hes rissin upon setting of taxt\textsuperscript{13} that he be sa respectit in his taxt in tymes cuming as becums ane man of lyk rentis. (Agriment Jhon Henderson, James Adamson etc.)

\textit{Decimo Mercii 1589}

Comperis James Stewart of the parochin of Tibbeermuir and Janet Keir and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Ration for the man George Spittell, for the woman Alexander Anderson.

Comperis Henrie Stobby with Margreit Macwilliam and desyrs their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Haws, for the woman Jhon Spens.

\textit{Decimo septimo Mecii}\textsuperscript{14} 1589

In respect the saboth day is brokyn be sik as cariis leidis thru the stankis\textsuperscript{15} as beggers strong and idell and malefactores quha hes regress and ingress according to ther plessor, ordanit that this be intimat to the counsell that thai tak order therewith. As also concerning William Kynloch keper of the brig of Tay that lattis in beggers and utheris foirsaidis for recompensing, sum acht penneis sum mair, and 1 it is reportit that he hes sufferit tymeris\textsuperscript{16} beggers to enter within the town for payment to him of contribution as is confest be the beggers themselffis, 2 as also that he hes takin in certane leidis on the saboth day contrair their actis, thairfor ordanis the counsell to tak order heirwith. (William Kynloch)

Comperis Jhon Leang and Isobel Ross and desyris ther bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Gaw younger, for the woman William Hall elder. (Mariit)

\textsuperscript{12} Perhaps meaning in the place where he had slandered them.
\textsuperscript{13} An assessment, duty.
\textsuperscript{14} March.
\textsuperscript{15} The canal or ditch surrounding the town.
\textsuperscript{16} Arrogant.
Seing this town is overlaid with strong idell and oncouth beggers abstracting be their continual residence the fude and almes that justly appertenis to our awin puir membris born and gottin within this town, sa that thai able\textsuperscript{17} to starve for hungar in cai remedy be not provydit incontinent, it is ordanit that na inhabitant within this town ressave ony of them in ludging nor gifft them almes except to thes only that hav the haly lamb the towns mark and takin on thar brestis.\textsuperscript{18} And that nane pretend ignorance appointis Jhon Jak on Tuysday nixt to gang about the town and mak this knawin to our haill nychtbores, that nane have excuse in caise thai contravene. (Act Beggers)

Qhilk day Bessie Young dochter to Walter Young swacschman\textsuperscript{19} is delatit ane woman suspect in fornication with Thomas Schairpe parochiner of Kynfaunis becaus scho was sene to repar to Marion Blairs house with the said Thomas the last day of the convention and there to abyd allane with him ane certane space being under acquantance in drinking and commoning afore at sundrye tymes. Thairfoir ordanis the said Bessye to behave hir self mair unsuspectly in tymes to cum, assuring hir that gif that this admonition tak no place bot the elyk suspition fallow in that caice the suspition salbe constit as the fact and punisit accordingly. And for observation of this scho tuitshit the pen and consentit herto.\textsuperscript{20} (Bessie Young)

[25r] Ordanis Marion Blair seing Bessie Young hes bene sene to repair suspicioulsy to hir house that scho ressave not hir in this maner again nor yit na uthers nor yit to hald sik ane house under the pane of rigorous punisment as salbe devysit. (Marion Blair)

And seing that Cristen Gloik spouse to Alexander Connynghame is ane greit flyter and sklanderous speiker, ordanis hir mair cristianly to leife with hir nychtbores and not to flyt with them and sklander them and incaice scho be found sik ane in tymes coming according to the act maid against flyters to be punisit. (Cristen Gloik)

\textsuperscript{17} Are liable.

\textsuperscript{18} The badging of beggars native to the town was a common practice in late sixteenth-century Europe; 'stranger' poor in most realms were forced back to their own parishes of origin so that they would not place unbearable demand on the local supply of alms. Perth's town emblem was the lamb associated with its patron saint, John the Baptist.

\textsuperscript{19} Street sweeper.

\textsuperscript{20} That is, she put her hand on the notary's pen when he wrote the act as an indication that she agreed and would have signed the obligation had she been able to write her name.
Vigesimo quarto Mercii 1589

Ordanis that the penultie of thrie pundis ressavit fra Patrik Boner be gevin to the masteres of hospital to by clothes to Jhon Swenton.

Appointis that na contractis heirefter be ressavit in quyet manner as was ordanit heirefter bot the parteis that is to be contractit sall cum as use was befoir to the kirk on Mononday efter none afor the assemblie and gif in their bannes to be proclamit only the parteise and twa cautionars with them utherwayis thai sall be dischargit and send hame quhill the nixt day. (Use of Contractis)

Ultimo Mertii 1589

Comperis Patrik Paterson and Margreit Clum and desyres their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Adam, for the woman Jhon Strainiglo. (Mariit)

Comperis Thomas Fergusson and Isobel Wilson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Robertson, for the woman Jhon Beirne. (Mariit)

Comperis Robert Jakson and Janet Powry and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Macbaith, for the woman Robert Snell. (Mariit)

Comperis William Wod and Isobel Stewart and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Lamerkyn, for the woman Androw Anderson. (Mariit)

Septimo Aprilis 1589

Ordanis George Hunter maltman this day acht dayis to be present to gif ane confession of his fayth becaus it is reportit be the elders that he is ignorant of the beleve and commandmentis. (George Hunter)

Comperis Androw Baharlly and Margreit Robertson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Henrie Broun, for the woman Thomas Robertson hir father.

[25v] Forasmekill as William Kynpont pewderar became caution for Thomas Douglas quha now is fugitive, for completing of the band of matri-

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21 The final numeral is omitted. Before 1600 in Scotland, the new year would begin the next day, March 25; perhaps the clerk was considering shifting to 1589 a day early?
22 A hammerman who makes pewter objects.
mony with Margreit Smyth within fourtye dayis under the pane of ten poyndis. The said William desyrit to have ane fortye dayis licence to seik for his releif quhilk was grantit to him with certefication, and [if] the said Thomas came not to performe the said band and releise him of the ten poyndis, he suld pay it him self. (William Kynpont)

_Vigesimo Octavo Aprilis 1589_
Comperit Robert Spense and confess his relaps in fornication with Bessie Rodgie with quhome he begat ane bairne befoir and submittit him to the discipline of the kirk. (Robert Spens. 2. Cul.)

Comperit Margreit Brydie and confess hir fornication with George Low and submittit hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Mar. Brydie. 1. Cul. Satisfeit.)

Comperis William Richardson and Violat Hamilton and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Alexander Ritchartson, for the woman Walter Gaw hir father. (Mariit)

Comperis Andrew Gow and Isobel Malice and desyrs their bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Charles Merser, for the woman David Malice. (Mariit)

_Duodecimo Maii 1589_
Comperis Jhon Murray and Bessie Corby and desyris their bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Oliver Peblis, for the woman Duncan Robertson. (Mariit)

Comperis Alexander Leis and confessis his fornication with Nans Broun and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk therefoir. Presently wardit. (Alexander Leis 1. Cul.)

_Decimo octavo Maii 1589_
Ordanis the porters to suffer na spenzertes nor na uther idel vagabondis or beggers quhatsumeuer within the town. And thes that ar presently in the town incontinent thai gang aff the samyn and dispache them. And incaise the porters lat them in simpliciter to be depryvit of their office becaus thai ar dyverse tymes admonisit for keiping of the portis. And incaise ony ressave or ludge ony spenzertes or beggers as said is being lattin in be their sleuth and negcligence of the porters, thai sail pay the penultie of twentie schil-

23 Possibly diseased persons generally, or specifically people infected with the 'Spanish pox', a venereal disease (spenzie fle). The term could simply refer to Spaniards (Spanzeartis) or undesirable foreigners. The 'z' here is the yogh.
lingis for ilk person of spenzert or beggar foirsaid ressavit. And that nane pretend ignorance ordanis Jhon Jak officiar to intimat the same to the parties and thes that hes intertenit them of befoir. (Porters/ Spenzertes/ Beggers)

[26r] Comperis James Malice and Janet Blair and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Adam Anderson, for the woman Gilbert Blair hir father.

Comperis Androw Hurd and Cristane Gardner and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Schang, for the woman Jhon Duncan. (Mariit)

Ordanis the masteres of hospital ather to satisfie the minister of Tibbermur or the last day of Junii nixt or ellis to subscryve his letter.

Ordanis the masteres of hospital to use the letters against all thes addettit to the hospital with certification to them that their comptis sail not be hard acceptit nor allowit without the payment or horning.24 (Masteres hospital)

Quhilk day day [sic] James Drummond for love he bers to the puir hospital of this burgh and the maintenance thereof as also to be ane gud exemplill to all thes that hes altrags in their handis to demit them in the handis of the kirk, comperis for himself and as factor to his son Henrie25 Drummond and demittis simpliciter and friely overgevis the altarages of St Gregorie [and] St Augusten26 pertening to him and his son to be ane augmentation to our hospital. (James Drummond)

Ordanis Bessie Lowdian spouse to Jhon Duncan, Bessie Patterson spouse to Alexander Ross messinger, and Violat Patterson hir sister presentely to be wardit and to satisfie conform to the act for sklandering ilk ane aneuther. And the said Bessie27 to be put to ane inquest on Friday nixt to h[sic] try quhat woman28 of lyf and conversation scho is.

Comperis Cristane Gray and desyris hir bairne gottin in fornication as scho confessis with William Baxter servitor to my lord Drummond to be baptisit

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24 To be ‘put to the horn’ is to be outlawed, with all one’s goods escheat to the crown: it is a dire threat to those who have failed to pay their hospital dues. The ‘letters’ are the documents required to initiate legal pursuit of the defaulters.
25 Forename inserted later, in a different ink; his son is a minor.
26 Saints’ names written later in a darker ink into a too-small blank left for them.
27 Surname not specified.
28 Sic, for ‘manner’ – to see what sort of life she lives.
quha was grantit. And seing scho was ane puir creator onabill to sustene hir self in waird, it is ordanit that efter the bairne be baptisit scho immediatly be baniset the town for ever. (Cristane Gray. 1. Cul.)

Comperis Jhon Dea and Marion Colt and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man David Jakson, for the woman Thomas Colt. (Mariit)

_Vigesimo sexto Maii 1589_

Comperis Elspet Kynneir and confessis hir adulterie with Alexander Drummond goldsmith, spouse to [ ]²⁹ in Aberdene. And seing scho was presently seik, Oliver Maxton becam caution to present hir on Mononday nixt under the pane of twentie poundis. (Elspet Kynneir for./Caution Oliver Maxton)

_Secundo Junii 1589_

Comperis James Rettray in Tirsappie and confessis his fornication with Helen Watson dochter to Jhon Watson their.

[26v] Ordanis Janet Macduff to be tane and presentit on the croce heid on Saturday nixt thereon to remane fast in the irons fra ten hours afoirnone quhill twelf with ane myter on hir heid and wrecttin 'of infamie' and therefter to be banised the town for ever.³⁰ And incaice scho be found in the town agane to be brunt with the towns mark on the cheik.³¹ And gif ony nychtbores ressave hir in Judging in tymes cuming or ony wayis to intertene hir to pay fourty schilingis. (Janet Macduff)

Comperis Geills Mitschell and confess hir secon fault of fornication with Walter Doglsche and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.³² (Geilis Mitschell. 2. Cul.)

Comperis Donald Garvy of the parochin of Monydie and Mairyene Pullor ane of our parochin and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Garvy, for the woman Alexander Pullor hir father. (Mariit)

Comperis Jhon Lamond and Margreit Bruce and desyris their bannes to

²⁹ Blank left for the name.
³⁰ Particularly egregious sinners had long been required as part of their humiliation to wear paper hats with their offences written on them. See CP, 147.
³¹ Apparenly quite impenitent, she is now to be branded. The next sentence indicates, however, that the elders seem to expect that even this permanent mark of infamy may fail to prevent townspeople from taking her in.
³² See 21 July 1589.
be proclamit. Caution for the man George Young, for the woman Thomas Wilson. (Mariit)

_Tertio Junii 1589_

The minister and elders gevis licence to play the play with conditions that nether swering, banning, nor nane scurrilitie be in it to be ane offence to our religion quhilk be profest and ane evill exempill to utheris. And incaine ony be in the samyn or ony person ad ony of the samyn by the register of play it self ordanis him to be wairdit and mak his publick repentance.33

(Licence of the play)

The minister and elders being convenit ordanis David Jakson to have the girsum of the Blakfreirs back yeard. And he sail for the samyn big ane gud dyck34 about the samyn for havyng keiping heirof. And seing it is ane place of burial quhilk suld be honorably mainttenit, ordanis that the dyk be weill biggit to be ane step that beastis have na entres therein nor na beastis nather of his awin nor na utheris come there under pane of escheitting of them except only that he scheir the samyn. And this to be bigget Maii nixt forscoir ten yeir. (Blakfreirs gras)35

_Nono die Junii 1589_

Comperit William Young and confest that Elspet Patterson with quhom he is suspected to have had carnal copulation dois only by his smedy collis,36 bring in his watter, and wacsche his clothes and that be resson he is onabill to do the same him self. And faithfully promises incaise he be found in ony suspect doing with the said Elspet herefter to be punised with all soveritie. (William Young)

Ordanis Walter Doglicsche to produce his witnes this day acht dayis concerning the exact day of his passing to the sail. Quha hes fund Robert Monepenny caution that he sail do the same and mad full respondecie37 for him for this effect. (Walter Doglicsche)

[27r] Comperis Alexander Robertson and Elspet Broun and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Gilbert Blair, for the woman David Grant. (Mariit)

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33 This tantalisingly brief entry is an indication that all drama was not effaced by the Reformation in Scotland, as is so often presumed. Given the date, a Midsummer play may be the subject.
34 Build a strong wall.
35 Girsum - anticipation of rent, or a fine paid in consideration of a lease for a term of years.
36 Purchase coal for his fire.
37 Took full responsibility.
THE PERTH KIRK SESSION BOOKS: 1589

Decimo quinto Junii 1589

Ordains that the hail that was done be Janet Watson servand to Jhon Rynd flescher to be as ondone be resson it procedit informely. And theirfoir ordanis hir of new agane to be wardit. And scho to be retenit thereunto entring in the begynning of ane oulk unto the nixt Saturday following thereftir. Thaireftir scho to be tane furt and set betuix x and xii hours upon the croce heid with the yrns about hir neck. And in end to caus hir find sufficient caution to present hir self to the publict place of repentance and gif scho refussis to ward hir ay and quhill scho do the samyn. (Janet Watson flyter)

Contenuis the action betwix James Rettray and Helen Watson there to this day acht dayis and ordains Helen Watson to gif instrumentis the said day quhat farder scho remembers concerning James Rettrayis promise and silver gevin him. And the said James to avyse with his aith betuix this and the said day, David Anderson standing caution for the woman and Patrik Justice for the man.

Ordains Geils Mitschell to gif in the exact day of birth and baptising of hir bairn betwix this and this day fyftene dayis.\(^{38}\)

Ultimo Junii 1589

Ordains James Rettray to tak his man chyld fra Helen Watson and intertene him and scho keip the lass and intertene hir.

Quhilk day being assignit to James Rettray in Tirsappy to gif in his aith gif ever he maid promese of mariage to Helen Watson dochter to Jhon Watson there, he being present and be incalling on the greit name of god inquyrit as he wald answer to god or have his saul saifit in the day of the Lord, inquyrit gif ever he made ony promese of mariage to the said Helen by the same aith he answerit as he suld mak ane reply to god he never maid ane promese of mariage to hir at na tyme. Thairfoir seing this day was assignit to gif in his aith and be resson of his purgation thocht hur void of his promese gif ony haid bene, and obsolvit him simpliciter of the samyn. (James Rettray sworne)

Comperis Patrik Kynloch and Jean Inglis and desyris ther bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Alexander Gibson, for the woman Patrik Inglis. (Mariit)

Septimo Julii 1589

Comperis Jhon Marten and Nans Quhyt and desyris their bannes to be

\(^{38}\) See 21 July 1589.
proclamit. Caution for the man Dioneise Conqueror, for the woman Crystie Quhyt hir father.

[27v] Comperis William Bynning and Cristane Gray and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Henrie Banevis, for the woman Jhon Piter. (Mariit)

Comperis Thomas Donaldson and Janet Thomeson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man David Duncan, for the woman Patrik Allan. (Mariit)

Ordains the act of sklander to be put in execution against Violat Broun spouse to Alexander Moncreif flecher for flying and sklandering of Elspet Hany relict of Robert Anderson skynner as is provin.

Vigesimo primo Julii 1589

Comperis Adam Gray and Bessie Stowp and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Gilbert Blair, for the woman Alexander Gibson.

Comperis Janet Olyphant and confessis hir fornication with David Ramsay and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk. And Jhon Donaldson becumis caution for the civil penultie of fourty schillingis. (Janet Olyphant 1. Cul)

Comperit Geils Mitschell and according as scho was appointed gaif in afoir us an bill the birth of hir bairn making mention that it was born the xiii day of Apryl in Methven fourscoir nine\(^39\) yeirs, quhilk being considderit be the elders was not to [sic] thocht be sufficient.\(^40\) And therefoir ordanit hir to bring ane sufficient testimonial of the samyn to be witnessit be the midwyse quha was at hir birth and subscryvit be the minister and elders at Methven. (Geils Mitschell)

Comperis Patrik Walker and Cristan Olyphant and desyres their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Haipbron, for the woman Jhon Elder. (Mariit 1 Aug.)

Comperis James Donaldson and Isobel Ramsay and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man and the woman boith Thomas Donaldson.

\(^{39}\) 'Acht' crossed out.
\(^{40}\) They had required on 15 June that she bring a proper baptismal certificate.
Quhilk day the minister and elders of the burgh of Perth being convenit within the revestrie of the samyn hes ordanit James Adamson ane of the masteres of the hospital to delyver to Piter Hay of Leis ane chairtor and evident contenand ane boll quhyt\textsuperscript{41} alledgit furth lyand yerly furth of the barony of Leis sometyne to the Blak freirs and now to the said hospital, togidder with the decreit past thereupon. And alsua ordanis to delit\textsuperscript{42} the said boll quhyte furth of the register and rental thereof to the entent the samyn be never socht nor acclamit in tyme cuming be the masteres of hospital nor their successores. And that becaus the said Piter Hay of Leis hes delyverit to us certane evidentis and writtis concerning to the said hospital of far greitter valor\textsuperscript{43} nor the said boll quhyt yeirly as alsua becaus [28r] he nor our predicensores war never in use nor possession of the uptakyng of the said boll quhyt.

\textit{Vigesimo Octavo Julii 1589}

Forasmekill as there is ane great brute and slander arysin within this town of the oncomely behavior of Janet Justice, that is to say that scho is ane common pandrouse betuix my Lord Sanquhair and Mary Irland now presently in Henrie Adamsons house besyd the greit suspition of hir self with the said lord or his servandis be resorted there at x, xi, or xii hours at even, quhilk is oncomely and greitly cryit out against be all the haill nychtbores of this town, scho being callit comperit and being inquyrit gif scho was pandrous as said is confest that be my lord Sanquhair scho was desyrit to go to Mary Irland that he myt hai conference with hir quhilk scho refusit. And as tuitsching his resorting to hir house the tymes and hours foirsaid, grantit the same bot upon na evil intention, bot becaus scho was his lain-star.\textsuperscript{44} Thairfoir the same being thocht very suspitious in hir person, was commandit and admonisit not to use sik thingis in tyme cuming nor to have hir house oppin to ony persons at sik tymes in the nyt, nor use na suspitious company utherwayis it suld be haldin and reput as fornication and scho as ane fornicator to be punisit. (Admonition Janet Justice)

\textit{Quarto Augusti 1589}

Forasmekill as Margreit Maclawren spouse to James Stobby burges of Perth is found culpabil and convict of the sklander gevin in be Margreit Robertson spouse to Jhon Spense litster burges of the said burgh and seing scho merites condinge\textsuperscript{45} punishment therefor and that the act of sklander suld be put

\textsuperscript{41} A wheat crop: the produce of a parcel of land.
\textsuperscript{42} Delete.
\textsuperscript{43} Value.
\textsuperscript{44} Laundress.
\textsuperscript{45} Condign.
in execution with all severitie against hir, yit the minister and elders with
ayse and consent with the said Jhon Spens and his spouse suspendis with
the rigor of the said act, and ordanis the said Margreit Maclawren upon hir
kneis in presens of the minister and elders to ask the said Jhon Spens and
his wyff pardon and forgiveenes and lykways on hir kneis affoir hir awn
house the place quhar sho committit the sklanderous words to do the elyk.
And incaise heirefter scho sail be found sua to sklander the said Jhon and
his wyff or ony of their servandis the samyn be notefeit to the minister and
elders the act maid anent flyters and sklanderers with all rigor to be put in
execution against hir. (Margreit Maclawren)

[28v]  Undecimo Augusti 1589
Qhillk day William Kynloch keipper of the brig of Tay port being callit and
accusit for inlatting of leidis on Sunday last contrair the actis of the kirk and
his admonition afoir, confessis that on Sunday last at the second bell afoir
none he came to the kirk with his frends to his mariage yit at the last bell
being going hame he leiffmg the keyis of the port with his bairn at hame,
tha war tane fra his bairn be ane servand of my lord Drummondis and tuke
in tymmer thereat by his knowledge. This his answer being considderit,
his is thocht not wordy of his office and tharfoir simpliciter for ever to be
depryvit seing no amendment can be in him eftir sa mony admonitions. And
appointes Robert Anderson, James Adamson, and Thomas Gaw to intimat
this act to the counsell on Mononday nixt. (William Kynloch)

Qhillk day Nicoll Belman being called and accusit for not ringing the
curfors and werkman bellis at acht hours at even and four hours in the
morning according to the custom and use answerit that David Mar haid
tane away the tow to the brig of Erne. Thairfor ordains Robert Anderson
and James Adamson to intimat the same to the counsel to cause the said
David hang up the bell towis agane as gud and sufficient as tha war quhen
he tuke them down. (Nicoll Belman)

Seing that ther ar mony and dyverse enormeteis in tyme of preitsching
within the kirk and about the samyn with bairnes playing and crying in
tyme of preitsching in the kirk yeard, it is ordanit that the bailyes keip
ther awin appointed seatis on the preitsching dayis that the minister may
intimat to them sik thingis as is to be done. And incaise thai be absent to

46 Timber.
47 Bell rope.
48 Young children were barred from the service (See CP, 37-38; above, 17 Sept. 1582 and
16 Dec. 1583). A natural solution to the child care problem would have been for them
to play during the sermon in the kirkyard, where their parents could see them out the
be nominat be their names to come to the samyn the nixt day and thair in caise of absence publicly to be reprofit. And lykwayis that the officiars await on the bailyeis and keip the preitsching tyme as said is utherwayis to be poyndit as breakers of the saboth to the exempill of all utheris to do the lyk. (Bailyeis/Officiars)

Ordanis David Hall to satisfie according to the decision of Oliver Young [and] Patrik Blair balyeis and ony twa of the elders James Nicolson, Robert Brown, and his father and make sik satisfaction as thai sall think meit becaus that threw his doing sik injurious words fell out betuix the said James and the said Robert and his father. And the samyn to be reportit to us agane on Mononday nixt. (David Hall)

[29r] Forasmekill as Robert Brown is found oft tymes of have[ing] brokyn the saboth day and that with burning, tymming and filling of the same especially on the Sonday and being accusit herefoir promises in tymes cuming to amend and incaiche he be found doing the elyk in tymes cuming with his awin will promises to pay ten poundis.

Decimo quinto Augusti 1589
Na thingis done bot wairningis thereat and continuit.

Decimo octavo Augusti
Ordains the bailyeis and counsel to be present afoir the kirk on Mononday nixt to answer for breaking the kirk fluer against their awin actis, actis of the general assembly and hon[or]abill actis of the cyntrie.

Comperis William Fischer and Marion Dow and desyrit their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Andro Macbaith, for the woman Thomas Donaldson.

In respect the laird of Moncreif hes bene dyverse tymes desyrit to be present to tak order with him ordains the masteres of hospital to denounce him.

window or conveniently check on them. The bailies or officers are here assigned to be at hand to quell the children’s noise when it disturbed the minister.

49 Meaning unclear. Burn-bearing is carrying water; temming is emptying a container; ‘the same’ seems to have no referent.

50 The usual reason for breaking the kirk floor was burial of an eminent person, forbidden after the Reformation but obviously still practised: see 2 Sept. 1589 entry, copying a 10 Jan. 1588 act of the burgh; CP, 333–38; BUK i, 280, 378, 388; First Book, 201.
The minister and elders appointis James Adamson to be master of wark for repairing of the kirk.

**Vigesimo sexto Augusti 1589**
Comperis Patrik Gow and Helen Olyphant and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Gow, for the woman Andro Allan.

Comperis Isobel Scot and confessis hir fornication with William Tailyeor servitor to my lord of Atholl.

**Primo Septembris 1589**
Comperis Adam Wilson and Margreit Marschell and desyrs ther bannis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Henrie Arnot, for the woman Jhon Cok.

**Secundo Septembris 1589**
Quhilk day bailyeis, counsell, decanes of craftis, minister and elders of the burgh of Perth convenit this day within the revestrie understanding that there was ane act and ordinance maid upon the tent day of Januar the yeir of god iM vC lxxx vii yeirs be the bailyeis, counsell, dacanes of craftis, minister and elders of the said burgh bearand the tennor following: *Decimo die mensis Januarii anno domini 1588* years Quhilk day the bailyeis, counsell and decanes of craftis, minister and elders of the burgh of Perth convenit this day understanding that be act of parliament and generall assembly it is ordanit that there sail be na persones buryit within the kirkis of this realm, nor the fluirs thereof to be alterit nor brokin to that effect for sundry gud causes and respectis mentionat in the saidis actis, quhilk is the bailyeis, counsell and decanes of craftis, minister and elders foirsaidis being inyndit to cause be observit, hes according thereto ordanit and ordains that the kirk fluir of this burgh sail not be rasit nor brokyn nor ony burial to be maid therein in tyme cumming as the said act beirs. And seing that sen the dait of the said act certane persones hes bene buryit within the said kirk quherewith thai have dispensit, thay now of ane mynd consent and assent and now have ordanit and ordanis that there salbe na person or persones of quhatsumever calling thai be of bureit within the kirk of this burgh. And that the kirk fluir thereof sail not be rasit nor brokyn in tyme cumming, without the special advyces, consentis and assentis of the saidis bailyeis, counsell, decanes of craftis, minister and elders of the said burgh or the maist part of the counsell and elderschip the[n] presently convenit within the revestrie be first have and obtenit thereto under the pane of ten poyndis money to be payit be everie particular person that sail

51 Enjoined.
happin in ony tyme cuming to consent in the contrair heirof, to be employit to the reparation of the said kirk. And also incaice of contravention heirof to satisfie the kirk be their publick repentance affour the payment of the said ten pondis. And ordains this repentance affor the payment of the said ten pondis with this act alsweill to be insert in the buikes of counsell and buikes of the assembly of Perth. To the making of the quhilk repentance James Davidson decane of the hammermen and George Robertson ane of the counsell and deacane of the skynners disassentit. 52 (For breaking the kirk fluir)

Octavo Septembris 1589

Ordanis Mr George Ruthven collector of the casualeteis that incummenis to the puir & to tak order with the puir scholers presently at the schoul and gif everie ane of them buikis according as thai mister. 53

Quhilk day Isobel Tailyor comperit as scho was wairnit to this day and seing scho was presently with bairne to [ ]34 servitor to my lord of Artoill and it was not sufficiently knawin quhidder hir husband George Richton presently beyond the sie was leifand or not, was commandit to find caution to satisfie the kirk for hir offence and becaus it was in dout quhidder hir fact was fornication or adulterie, scho was ordanit to bring ane sufficient testimonial of hir foirsaid husbandis death becaus scho alledgit the samyn be the report of some that came fra Flanders. And lykwayis desyring becaus the tyme of hir birth presently scho approchit fand Robert Eduard hir maister cautioner to compeir befoir the kirk at quhat tyme thai suld call hir as also for hir satisfaction for hir offence of the matter suld be tryit quhidder it was fornication or adulterie according as scho suld be injoinit with this promission that hir bairne suld be baptisit quhilk was grantit, and the said Robert Eduard became cautioner for performance of the promisis under the pane of twentie poyndis. (Isobel Tailyor)

Decimo quinto Septembris 1589

Forasmekill as William Makdill son to Androw Makdill and burges of Perth being accusit for breaking and overlowping 55 the gray freirs dyk in tyme

52 Neither Davidson nor Robertson was an elder; they may have been present to represent the council and deacons of crafts in opposition to a decision that pitted religious commitments against secular interest in maintaining high social status by means of burial in sacred space.
53 Need, lack.
54 Blank left for the father's name.
55 Leaping over.
of preitshing to have access to the buittis\textsuperscript{56} by\textsuperscript{57} all kynd of gud order and specially at sik tyme quhen as the rest of the town war [at the] preitshing serving god, confesset the same. And for howp of amendment in tymes cumming the rigor of punishmet was suspendit with certification ane he do the elyk in tymes cumming he sail incur sik punishmet as sail be monit to him be the minister and elders. (William Makdill)

Comperis William Young alias Suddes and confessis his fornication with Janet Scherar and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk. (William Young Satis.)

Quhilk day Androw Donaldson and James Adamson burgesses of Perth maisters of the hospital that forsamekill as William Rynd son to umquhill Robert Rynd ane necessar and profitabill servand in our kirk of Perth during his lyftyme, being pr[ovi]dit to the altragis underwritten and in use of uptaking of the annuellis and dewteis thereof thir sundry yeirs past, has for the love he beirs to the advansment of that hospital forisaid hes [sic] willingly and friely overgevin and renouncit to us and the hospital the altragis St Jhon the Evangeleist, St Laurence, and St Michaels annuels and deweties thereof and all ryt and titill of ryt quha he hes or may clame thereto transferis the same in\textsuperscript{58} the said hospital and Mastership thereof for ever. And also hes promiss[it] and oblist him self faytfully to concur and assist us and the said hospital in inquiest and consul as neid beis to pruve the possession of the said annuellis and dewteis be wreit and witnes sa far as lyis in his power and habilite. HaifFing consideration also of the gud service of the said umquhill Robert his father in our kirk of Perth and finally to the hard estait of Agnes Gormok relict of the said Robert, ane indigent wedow and of greit aige onabill to win her leifing and Cristane Rynd their dochter ane fatherles damesell onprovyd[ed] quha acht ane suld be holpit be the rentis of the hospital. Thairfoir and for sundry utheris gud causes and considerations moving us to have gevin, grantit and assignit and be thir presentis we for us and our successoris masters of the said hospital with avyse, consent, and assent of the minister and eldership of the said kirk of Perth gevis, grantis and assignis to the said William Rynd during his lyftime all and haill the annuel rents profitis, emoluments, and deweteis quhatsumever of the saides thrie altragis and rents ...\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{56} The town's archery buittis were in the South Inch, near where the old Franciscan friary had stood.
\textsuperscript{57} Probably a mis-writing of 'but', meaning 'without'.
\textsuperscript{58} To.
\textsuperscript{59} Edge and lower corner of page torn; top line of verso cut through the text so that only the bottoms of some words are legible.
and consentis ... unto him our full power and mandat during his lyfetyme to uptak the samyn for the persones quhatsumever addetit in payment thereof yeirly and timely at the termes of payment usit and wont, and to tak and pursue therefor gif none beis acquittant or acquittance is to gif thereupon as efferis quhilk salbe als valiabill to the payes as gif thai war gevin and subscrivit [by] us. And finally all and sundry thingis to be use quhereby he may mak him self in our name and be our power to be payit of the saidis annuellis and dewetis and quhilk we myt do our selfis in ony maner of way during the said tyme. Provyding that the said William bestow the maist part of the saidis annuellis upon the helping, supporting and sustening of the saidis Agnes and Cristane his mother and sister during his lyfetyme with them for the quhilk he salbe answerabill unto us. And dischargis the said William in respect of the promise of all comptes and payment of the said annuellis to be tane up be him during the space of his lyfetyme and oblishes us [and]our successores with aths, consent, and assent as sais is to renew thir presentis for the saids Williams securitie of the saidis annuels during his lyfetyme so oft as neid beis. And thairfoir ordanis Andrew Donaldson and James Adamson maisters of hospital foirsaid to contract with the said William Rynd in manner and form as is afoir specefeit for the special intertenement of his mother and sister induring his tyme. (William Ryndis Contract)

Comperis Cristane Cok relaps in fornication and confessis hir second fact of fornication with George Jak younger and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk. (Cristane Cok. Sa.)

Ordains Jhon Dawson to satisfie the act geven out and maid anent sklanders flyters and for sklandering of Cristane Sympson spouse to James Lamb merchand.

Vigesimo secundo Septembris

Comperis Richart Blak and Violat Kynglessye and desyris their bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Ewin Rynd, for the woman Thomas Richy.

Comperis Margreit Makdill and confessis hir first fault of fornication and that with Duncan Makcust and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk. (Margaret Makdill)

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60 Seven or eight words illegible; the phrase ‘gowning and commoning’ may appear near the end of the line.
61 ‘Sa.’ perhaps the shorthand for ‘satisfied’.
62 Slanderous.
Penultimo Septembris 1589
Comperis Robert Tailyeor and Kathrene Scherer and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Lathriche, for the woman Jhon Hutson.

Comperis Isobel Haly and confess hir adultery with Patrik Wilson in the parochin of Findugask quha presentit ane testimonial of hir obedience to the said kirk quha is ordanit that efter scho hes satisfeit the kirk of Findugask to report [31r] the testimonial of the minister there of hir satisfaction as said is, and therefuir becaus scho hes in sum part offendit this kirk and congregation to present hir self in the repentance stule of this kirk in lyning clothes beirst on ane Sunday after none in tyme of praitsching, for the performance of the quhilk Thomas Jhoneston bower and burges of Perth became cautioner under the pain of xx £ and actit him self to this effect. (Isobel Haly)

Comperis Janet Makcarbry and confessis hir fornication with William Duncan skynner and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Janet Makcarbry Sa.)

Ordains Bessy Robertson relict of Sir Robert Ritschy to have oulkly amangis the ordinar puir xii d.

Sexto Octobris 1589
Forasmekill as at the playing of the kyllis in the North and South Inchis the sabbath is brokyn and godis haly name profanit, ordains the bailyeis to cause break them and not ther names that playis at them and gif them in to the assembly ilk Mononday that thai may be punisit. (Kyllis)

Quhilk day the minister and elders of the burgh of Perth being for the present convenit, considdering that thai can not aggrie with David Cowper concerning the altragis of St Bryd and Sanct James, ordains the said David to find ane sufficient caution and burges of this burgh and to act them in the borrow court buik of the samyn to delyver to Androw Donaldson and James Adamson masters of hospital the sum of twenty merkes quhilk was gevin to the said David in howp of aggriment, and the samyn to be delyverit to the saidis masteres of hospital or their successores maisters of hospital at Witsonday fourscoir ten yeirs under pane of doubling of the same. And lykwayis ordanis the saidis maisters of hospital to delyver to the said David the pecis, rytes, giftis, contractis, evidentis, and utheris hir [sic] wreittis

63 They must break the wooden kyles, or skittles, spoiling the sport for weekdays as well as Sundays, and note the names of the players.
the saidis altragis and the contractis past betuix them and the said David in
name of the kirk or hospital to be destroyit and reiffin at baith their sichtis
lyk as the samyn have never bene spokyn nor proponit befoir.\textsuperscript{64}

[31v] \textit{Decimo tertio Octobris} 1589

Qhilk day the elders of the yeir last past haifing now puttin ane end to the
course of their office for the yeir fourpast hes electit to succeed in their
places conform to the order the persones under specefeit baith elders and
deakyns.

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<tr>
<th>Elders</th>
<th>Deakyns</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The north syd of the Hegeit</td>
<td>Androw Rynd</td>
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<td>Mr Henrie Anderson</td>
<td>Henrie Brown</td>
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<td>Patrik Fleming</td>
<td>Patrik Kynloch</td>
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<td>Alexander Pullor</td>
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<td>The southsyd of the Hegeit</td>
<td>Alexander Jhoneston</td>
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<td>Androw Malcom</td>
<td>William Glass</td>
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<td>Alexander Maxton</td>
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<td>Patrik Blair</td>
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<td>Beneth the cross</td>
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<td>David Billy</td>
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<td>Mr George Ruthven</td>
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<td>James Banevis</td>
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<td>Constantine Malice</td>
<td>Gabriel Mersser</td>
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<td>Robert Lethome</td>
<td>Patrik Boner</td>
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<td>Masteres of hospital</td>
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<td>Androw Donaldson</td>
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<td>and James Adamson</td>
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<td>Officiar</td>
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<td>Jhon Jak</td>
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\textit{Vigesimo primo Octobris} 1589

The minister and elders being informit of the povertie and meine estait of
Jhon Stanhouse son to umquhill James Stanhouse and his indigens of clothes
ordains to gif him twentie schillingis to by ane coit.

\textsuperscript{64} The session has been making a concerted effort to wrest legal control of the income from
the pre-Reformation altars from laymen to the hospital. In this case, despite a good-faith
pledge of twenty merks to the lay holder, they have failed, so Cowper must re-pay the
money; in turn, all the documents associated with their negotiations will be torn up so that
he is again free to collect the income himself for the time being.
Comperis William Clerk and Margreit Wilson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Anderson, for the woman Finlay Wilson.

Ordanis the masteres of hospital to gif in ther comptis on Mononday nixt of the twa yeiris last bypast.

Qhilk day Alestair Menzeis efter dyverse wairningis afoir us comperit at the last and being accusit gif ever he haid ony carnal deal with Eufame Tully denyit and being inquyrit of his conscience as said constantly contenuit in denyell of the same quha voluntarly promisit gif ever heireftir he sall be found in company or suretie with the said Eufame heireftir, that the kirk may tak ony suspicion of him of the same, or gif he be found heireftir be his company with hir to gif ony sklander to the kirk, he sall satisfie according as the kirk sall injone unto him. Qhairroir the kirk, that is minister and elders, ordains gif ever he be found heireftir to hant hir company it sallbe haldin and reput pro ipso facto and as a fornicator he sall satisfifie, to the qhilk he him self willingly agreit.

Forasmekill as Jean Thorneton is ane excommunicat and suld not be halden in the companye of gud cristians that servis god mekill less to be interteinit in bed and burd within ony honest godly mans house to the greit sklander of god his word, kirk, and this congregation, it is ordanit that all the bailyeis – Robert Anderson, Oliver Young, Henrie Banevis, and Andrew Mersser, Adam Anderson and Constantine Malice twa of the elders pass to Thomas Monepenny presently and intimat to him the kirkis will that is to say that he separat and put out of his house the said Jeane Thorneton under the pane of excommunication and the saidis bailyeis and elders to report their diligence on Mononday nixt and na utheris to ressave hir under the pane of excommunication.

Vigesimo octavo Octobris 1589

Qhilk day the minister and elders ordanis the bailyeis incontinent to pass and poynd George Sympson and Andrew Rynd the deakyns of the kirk for not collecting the puirs almes on Sonday last according as thai war warnit thereto as Jhon Jak kirk officiar recordit, throw quhais negligance the puir was hurt and defrandit, qhilk was done presently be the bailyeis, their poyndis producit in face of the essemblie and their selfifs that is George Sympson and Andrew Rynd comperit and severally gaif in their causis quhairfoir the samyn was not done. George Sympson answerit quhy he did not the same was becaus he thocht utheris suld not bene pretermittit and

65 Excused from the duty.
he requyrit thereto. And the said Androw answerit that he haid not tane on
the office of ane deakyn and thocht he suld not bene chairgit. Thairfoir the
minister and elderis remitis the rigor of their determination under promeis
the nixt Sunday and all uther dayis thai suld be chargit thai wilbe mair
cairfull and do diligence that in the [event] ... 66
[32v] the puir was hurt throw their necgligence thai sale pleise to get sa
mekill in agane, quha thai promisit, upon the quhilk promises their poyndis
was restorit to them agane. (George Sympson/ Androw Rynd)

Forsamekill as it standis with the word of god and with everie ane of our
tounis deweteis to be instant and67 prayer for the kingis magistie praying
god to send him ane happy viage throch the sie and joyful meting with his
quene and agane heisty and joyful returning to this cuntrie agane with his
quene and haill company. It is thocht gud as the custom and form throch
all Scotland to quhom word of his departur is cum that Sonday nixt and all
utheris Sondayis as sall be thocht meit ane fast sall be. And that the same
the mair solemnely may be done na mariagis to be usit in that tyme. (Fast
for the king/ Na mariagis in this tyme)

Seing that dyvers admonitions takis not effect especially in the baxters quha
ar at divers tymes admonisit that on Sonday in tyme of preitsching na breid
suld be set out to sell, it is ordanit that ane scholer68quyetly be stud furth
be the visitores and afoir them to not69 quhair the same is done and to be
reportit agane to the elderis on Mononday nixt that the doers of the same
may be punisit, and ane disson70of the breid tane and distributit amang the
puir. (Baxters setting breid furth in tyme of preitsching)

Secundo Novembris 1589
Comperis Androw Calloch of the parochin of Muthill71 and Helen Duncan
of this and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas
Crie, for the woman George Hunter.

Comperis Jhon Gray and Margreit Allan and desyris their bannes to be
proclamit. Caution for the man David Allan, for the woman Androw Allan.

66 One word illegible.
67 For 'in'.
68 One of the grammar school boys, to be used as a scribe?
69 Note.
70 Dozen.
71 The parish of Muthill, in Auchterarder presbytery, at this date had no minister; John
Davidson would be installed in 1590.
Forasmekill as this day was assignit to certain honest nychtbores of Tirsappy to be present and of their conscience to declar quhidder it was trew that [ ] Gudell spouse to Richart Watson was ane witsche as Jhon Watson there allegit or quhat evil likliheid thai saw in hir. Walter Watson, Jhon Cluny, George Scot, [and] James Scot being inquyrit severally as thai wald answer to god quhat thai kend, altogidder aggret in ane [voice] but contradiction that thai saw never saw thingis into hir quhairby thai myt suspectit hir of (Richart Watson/ Jhon Watson)

[33r] the same, but that scho was ane honest puir woman quha wark honestly for hir leifing without quhais holp hir husband Richart Watson wald bene deid, quha was ane auld agit man. Thairfoir the minister and elders ordanis the act of sklander to be put in execution against the said Jhon Watson and Helin Watson his dochter.

Qhilk day Elspet Dundie spouse to Duncan Macgrigor comperit afoir the minister and elders and gaif in ane bill against the said Duncan hir spouse bearing in effect that the said Duncan had strikkyn hir, spulyeit hir house, and done utheris mony injureis to hir, desyring the minister and elders to cause the said Duncan modefie hir sumthing to leif on. The matter being considderit, it was appointit that Adam Anderson, Patrik Fleming, Constantine Malice, and William Banevis Reider to pass to the said Duncan and try the matter and to travell with the said Duncan and his wyff to bring them to ane unitie and concord and on Mononday nixt to report their diligence. (Elspet Dundie/ Duncan Macgrigor)

Decimo Novembris 1589
Comperis Androw Rodgie and Girsell Davidson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Jakson, for the woman Thomas Cok.

Qhilk day Robert Blakwod in presens of the minister and elders comperit being the day assignit to him to schaw the ressonabill causes quhy the bannes of mariag gevin up afoir the kirk the twell day of Junii 1587 betwis Jhon Callie and his dochter was not perform schew first that the greit troubles and dangers in the quhilkes he hes bene sen the upgeving of the saidis bannes with the greit hasart and perell of his lyf, secondly the ground

72 Blank space left for forename.
73 Without.
74 Struck her and despoiled her house.
75 Twelfth.
76 Edge of page worn away.
77 Here a carrot points to the marginal notation by way of explanation, though the note
quhereon the civil contract was maid betwix the said Jhon Callie and him was not performit as was contractit and Isobel Blakwod his dochter future spouse to the said Jhon was not infeft in his landes according to contract and promes quhilk was done only upon Wednesday last and quha schone the same was done there mariage is [to be] performit. The quhilkes ressons being considerit and tryit, he being removit, ar found ressonabill, yit na thing to hurt the order and act of the kirk. Quhairfoir the minister and elders with consideration mair of the first caus than the second dispensis with the rigor and ordanis not the loss of ony actis past of befoir that he pay fyve poyndis allenerly to Mr George Ruthven collector of the puirs almes to be gevin to the puir. (Robert Blakwod/ was ane stop and hinder[re] Banessit) [33v] Quhilk day comperis Girsell Bisset as scho was warnit and being inquyrit quhow mony bairnes scho haid borne to Mr Androw Abercromby in adultare confest that scho haid borne thrie men children the first callit Alexander, the second Thomas, presently with hir and interteneit be hir at the hie schoil in this town, the youngest Robert presently with him self in Dunkelden, and there interteneit be him at the schoil, quhilk barnes war baptist as scho confest be ane preist callit Sr Jhon Salmond in the kirk of Kepat, for the quhilkes offenses of adulterie committit in begetting the saides barnes with Mr Androw Abercromby spouse to Agnes Crichton Lady Balindane scho has not maid hir repentance and never obeyit the voice of the kirk. Quhairfor the minister and elders ordanis hir to bring ane testimonial surely quhair the barnes war baptist fra Mr William Glass minister at Dunkelden, bering lykwayis hir repentance and satisfaction for the same or els to remove of the town that scho be not farder sklanderous to this congregation.78 (Girssel Bisset)

Decimo Septimo Novembris 1589

Forasmekill as the masteres of hospital exponit and schew that thai was symmonit be the minister of Tibbermuir to Edinburgh to heir and sie the contract past betwix the said minister and them in name of assembly and kirk to be registrat, quhilk being hard and considdert be the elders present, it was ordanit that the saides masteres of hospital Androw Donaldson and James Adamson mak defensis herein and quhat ever expensis thai war in defence of the samyn79 the same to be allowit to them in their nixt comptis. (Masteres hospital)

is unfortunately cryptic. Nothing elsewhere in the session book or in any other town documents of this period indicates the nature of the hazard and peril in which Blakwod found himself.

78 See 2 Feb. 1590.
79 These would include the cost of travel and of the securing and writing of legal documents.
Vigesimo quarto Novembris 1589

Forasmekill as James Adamson and Andrew Donaldson masteres of hospital reportis and schawis that thai can get nane of the annuellis appertening to the kirk and hospital, it is ordanit that all quhatsumever ar addettit in the same ather within burgh or without on maid payment as yit that thai be put to the horn.

Comperis Duncan Makduff and confessis his fornication with Margreit Makgill and submittis him self to the will of the kirk. (2. Culpa.)

Quhilk day comperis Elspet Kynnour servitor to William Drummond and being found with bairn as scho confessis to ane Alexander Drummond goldsmyt and seing that the said Alexander hes ane wyffe in Aberdane as it reportit, scho is ordanit to find caution to get hir ane testimonial fra Aberdene subscryvit be the minister thereof quhiddir the said Alexander hes ane wyf or not and ane testimonial be brocht betwix this and Candilsnes nixt (Elspet Kynnour) [34r] that it may be cleirly knawin quhiddir the bairne be gottin in fornication or adulterie that according to hir fact scho may satisfie, and to find caution for performance of the same als also to be reddy eftir inquisition to satisfie the will of the kirk. Under the quhilk premisis hir maister William Drummond became cautioner under the pane of fourty poundis and actit him as said is. (William Drummond cautioner)

Primo Decembris 1589

Quhilk day Violat Brown spouse to Alexander Moncreife flescher comperit as scho warnit to this day and was accusit for turning of the riddell with scheirs & ane poynt indeid of witschcraft and devilry agains godes word and that for wanting of an crown of gold of ane young manis within hir house, denyit the same bot that scho said only throw dolor of hir hairt for want of the same of gif it wer ather betwix hell or hevin scho suld have it. (Violat Brown)

The minister of Tibbermuir (and Methven and Dupplin, at this date) was Alexander Young, formerly the Carmelite prior of Tullilum. He claimed income, probably from Tullilum lands, that the session thought ought to be due to the hospital (Fasti iv, 254).

80 For 'is'.

81 Spinning a sieve on the point of a shears was a traditional means of telling fortunes or finding lost goods. Violat's 'dolor' may have been on behalf of her houseguest, or she may have been worried that he thought she had stolen from him; either way, the final phrase suggests an angry determination to have the money back whatever the cost. This is the first instance in this or any kirk session minute book of a clear association between this particular practice and witchcraft or diabolism. That turning the riddell was not peculiar to the lower sort is clear from the session's charge against the merchant, elder and county sheriff Alexander Peblis of Chapelhill in 1619 (NRS ms CH2/521/7, p. 65). The king
For the quhilk cause foirsaid Jhon Howton flescher lykwayis was callit and accusit and confest that he was in Alexander Moncreiffis house quhen the young man came in and delyvert the gold to the said Alexanderes wyf and lykways quhen as he mist ane walit and peice of the said gold for the quhilk the said Alexanderes wyf said scho suld turn the riddell hot did it not. (John Howeton)

Quhilk day David Jakson comperit and producit fyve poyndis penultie for cautionarie for Thomas Scotland becaus the said Thomas fulfillit not the band of matrimony with Janet Randy. Quhairfoir the said David protestit that he suld be wardit quhen as he came to the town for his releif quhilk the elders present grantit. (David Jakson for Scotland)

Octavo Decembris 1589
Comperis Patrik Weitfiit and Janet Stobby and desyris their bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Walter Cudbert, for the woman Androw Stobby.

Decimo quinto Decembris 1589
Comperis Abraham Alexander and Margreit Davidson and desyris their bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Jhon Beirne, for the woman James Davidson.

Comperis Jhon Murray and Isobel Wilson and desyris their bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Thomas Donaldson, for the woman Alexander Wilson.

Comperis Jhon Duncan and Janet Blair and desyris their bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Robert Schang, for the woman Androw Malcom.

[34v] Quhilk day Elspet Eakyn spouse to Jhon Basilly comperit in presens of the elders and schew hir dochter Margreit Mackerres was lichter of ane bairne being in perel of deith and desyrit for godis cause that the bairne micht be baptist and scho suld find caution under the pane of fourty poyndis that scho incontinent eftir scho raise suld satisfie quhatever the kirk wald injone to hir to be done for satisfaction of hir offence for the quhilkies causis foirsaides Androw Basilly and Robert Snell under the sowme foirsaid became cautiones for ane to present hir quhen the kirk requyrit under the pane of xl £. (Margaret Mackerres/ Androw Bassilly/ Robert Snell)

 himself was concerned with this particular superstition: James VI, Daemonologie (1597), ed. G.B. Harrison (Edinburgh, 1966), 12.

82 See above, 21 Jan. 1589.
Decimo secundo Decembris
No thing done but certane wairningis driftit\textsuperscript{83} and differit to the nixt day.

Vigesimo nono Decembris 1589
Comperis Henrie Tailyeor and Kathrene Merten and desyris their bannes of mariage to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Richartson, for the woman Oliver Car.

Trigesimo Septembris [sic, for December] 1589
In respect that Robert Blakwod the 12 day of Junii anno 1587 became cautioner for his dochters mariage to be performit within the space of ten dayis under the pane of 10\textpounds as Alexander Maxton cautioner in lykmaner for Jhon Callie, and the said Robert failyeand in performance thereof, and being callit and comperand and accusit the elevint of December 1587 answerit that the fault was in him self in respect he wald not have his dochter mariit quhill according to the civil contract scho war infeft in hir future husbandis landis, and willingly promisit under pane of doubling the sowme to perform the mariage betwix the present dait and Candilsmes nixt and separat his dochter out of his house quhere the man was also. And therefter the 24 day of Februar 1588 being callit agane for failyeing in his promisses answerit as of befoir and promisit with expedition to do it. The minister and elders in ane voice without contradiction ordanit the said Robert to pay the penultie of ten poundis (instantly and the rest to be payit)\textsuperscript{84} betwix this and Witsunday nixt under pane of trepling the sowm. Never the less the said Robert contenuit in his former drifting to the greit sklander of the kirk, perverting of disciphne and gud order in the town and geving ane occasion to utheris be his evil exempill to the elyk, till at last a pledge for his penultie quha obtenit the persones marit the elevint day of November fourscoir nine yeirs, quhilk pledge being offerit unto him according to his premes to be releifit with ane certane sowme condiscendit be \textsuperscript{[35r]} the elders for support of the puir within the town. And he refusing it altogether being desyrit thereto first be the kirk officar, nixt be the collector of the puiris almes, thriely in presens of the bailyeis be ane elder directit to him, and last be the minister and haill elders, thairfoir all in ane voice minister and elders hes ordanit the said Robert to be poyndit and wairdit be the bailyeis quhile he pay the haill, quhairin gyf thai be slak the ministers to admonise them publicdy and therefter to proceid agains the said Robert with admonitions as ane contemnar of the voice of the kirk. (Robert Blakwod)\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{83} Delayed.
\textsuperscript{84} A carrot in the text points to this marginal insertion of the omitted text.
\textsuperscript{85} Marginal note on fo. 34v, at the beginning of the entry.
1590

Quinto Januarii 1590
Comperis Laurence Dowye and Janet Duncan and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Gregor, for the woman George Hunter.

Comperis Jhon Bennet and Janet Anderson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Bog, for the woman Jhon Neving.

Comperis William Duncan alias Calloche and confessis his fornication committit with Janet Macharbry and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk. (1. Culpa.)

Duodecimo Januarii 1590
Comperis Walter Skirling of the parochin of Errill and Elspet Gibson of this parocin and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Jhonston, for the woman Patrik Justice.

Comperis Androw Ramsay of the parochin of Tibbermuir and Isobel Mar of this parochin and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Burry, for the woman Jhon Spens.

Comperis Janet Rynd and confessis hir 2 fault of fornication with Robert Stewart brother to my lord Innranoch and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

Forasmekill as Henrie Arnot being callit was present and was accusit for breaking of the saboth, blaspheming godis name, sklandering of his nychtbores, and singing of silly and ungodly sangis confess the same and promisit never to do the elyk in tymes cuming upon the quhilk promies the rigor that sik faultis requyrit was suspendit.

Ronald Person as he was wairnit comperit this day to gif faithful declaration of the departur of Walter Dogliesche out of this town to the sail, confest that on Thursday after Midsommer Day being the 27 day for the tyme foirscoir acht yeris, he departit from this town and knew on na wayis quhidder he came agane. (R.o. Person)

1 'Quinto' is written over 'Primo'.

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Geillis Mitschell confess that the last place that scho had carnal deal with Walter Doglsche was ...² (Geillis Mitschell)

[35v] Walter Doglsche being inquyrit of his saul and conscience 1 quhidder or not upon sail he geid out of this town to Dundie the 27 of Junii 1588 or not, 2 quidder he cam out of Dundie agane or not, deponit be god he geid away that said day bot returnit not agane to this town. And thairfoir according to his aith obsolvis him of the bairne Geillis Mitschell buir in Methven. (Walter Doglsche)

Decimo nono Januarii 1590
Comperis Thomas Kathrow and confessis his fornication with Margreit Carmichell and desyris the bairne to be baptist quha presently enters in ward for his part of satisfaction and Crystie Quhyt baxter becummis cautioner that the said Margret sail obey the injunctions of the kirk at hir uprysing.³

James Lamb becumis unlytarly caution that Janet Keir his nurische eftir the spenning⁴ of his bairne sal satisfie the injunctions of the kirk under the pane of xx s.

Vigesimo sexto Januarii 1590
Comperis Janet Ray and confessis the last fault of fornication committit with Jhon Brown being hir fount fault and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

Secundo Februarii
Ordanis Girsell Bisset on Mononday nixt athir to bring ane testimonial sufficient of hir repentance [before] the baptising of hir bairnes and obedience to the kirk or els to be baniset but ony forder delay.⁵

Nono Februarii 1590
This day becaus of necessar jurnis⁶ all thingis continuit to the nixt day.

Decimo sexto Februarii
Comperis Gilbert Douglass and Margret Young and desyres their bannes to

² Bottom line of page cut off. The elders are actually more interested in when than where her child was begotten: see following entry.
³ From childbed.
⁴ To 'spean' or 'spen' is to wean an infant.
⁵ See 10 Nov. 1589. The elders do not believe her claim that the three children had been baptised in another parish, else they would not be considering baptism for them now.
⁶ Journeys.
be proclamit. Caution for the man William Duglass, for the woman Patrik Grant.

Comperis Margret Donaldson and confessis hir fornication with James Beton and submittit hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Margret Donaldson)

Comperit Janet Ray and confest hir fornication with Jhon Brown quha is presently in Edinburgh quhilk as scho confest is hir fourt fault. And heirfoir submittis hir self to the will and discipline of the kirk. (Janet Ray)

Vigesimo tertio Februarii 1590
Comperis Margret Gray and confessis hir fornication with William Henry servitor to Jhon Hering, this hir secund fault, and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk. (Margret Gray)

[36r] Comperis Elspet Brown and confessis hir fornication with Jhon Carmichell greife and servitor to the laird of Dury, hir first fault, and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Elspet Brown)

Secundo Mercii 1590
Comperis Androw Poll and Jean Colt and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Adam Poll, for the woman Jhon Colt.

Nono Marcii 1590
Comperis Thomas Cudbert and Margret Tailyeor and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Allan, for the woman James Blak.

Decimo sexto Marcii 1590
This day in absence of our minister Mr Patrik Galloway being gone to the kingis magiste at the ernest desyr of this haill assemble comperat Mr William Rynd master of schoil and was desyrit effecteously that with his presence he wald assist our assemble be his gud counsell, to the quhilk petition the said Mr William aggreet with condition that the elders wald keip order ilk session day quhilk thai promisit. Heirfoir all actis maid of befoir war ratefeit and approvit.

Vigesimo primo Mercii 1590
Comperis Androw Gow and Kathrene Gregor and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Elgin, for the woman Jhon Gregor.

7 Greve, that is, overseer, farm-bailiff, or steward.
**Vigesimo nono 1590**

This day being the day assignit to Elspet Kynneir servitrix to William Drummond to bring ane testimonial quhidder or not the bairn gottin with George Drummond as scho confest was leifand, and mair over ane uther testimonial from Aberdene fra the minister thereof to testifie quhidder the said George was mariit and haid ane wyf there leifand or not. William Drummond her caution presentit hir this day and was obsovlt fra forder cautionary of hir. And being inquyrit gif scho haid the testimonial denyit. Thairfoir hir fact was haldin adultery and presently therefoir wairdit, quha brak ward and past away.⁸ (Elspet Kynneir)

Comperis Beates Eakyn and confessis hir fornication with Alexander Meik in Eister Elcheth quhilk bairne was dead and burrit be Thomas Cristall in the Leonards kirk yeard, and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk, Robert Blakwod [36v] hir maister cautioner under the pane of ten poyndes that eftir his bairne is fosterit he sail present hir to the kirk, quhilk was grantit to him becaus he schew the danger of the bairne being presendy scl.⁹ (Beates Eakyn)

The elders considering the evil payment that William Banevis present reader gettis of his stipend appointed to him as also his present necessitie and adois⁹ ordanis the masteres of hospital to tak fourty merkes fra David Jakson and gif unto him being the superplus by iii C merkes gevin to the laird of Bahousy out of the Blakfreirs tract of that haill sowm of sevintene scoir merkes addettit be the said David to the hospital for the samyn. (William Banevis)

**Sexto Aprylis 1590**

Persons being warnit to this day comperit not therefoir thai ar all ordanit to be wairdit for dissobedience.

**Decimo tertio Aprilis 1590**

Comperis James Robertson of the parochin of Kynnoull and Cristen Lathangie of this parochin and desyrit their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man David Wryt, for the woman William Lathangie hir father.

Comperis Robert Huid of the parochin of Rynd and Elspet Farfar of this parochin and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Snell, for the woman Jhon Adam.

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⁸ She broke out of gaol and left town.
⁹ Beates (perhaps a form of Beatrix) is his child’s wetnurse; the final abbreviation may indicate ‘suckling’. ‘Fostered’ here is ‘weaned’.
¹⁰ Troubles.
Comperit David Jhoneston and Violat Robertson and desyrit their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Jhoneston, for the woman Walter Bog.

**Vigesimo Aprilis 1590**

Jhon Jak officar recordit that he wairnit Jhon Smyth to collect the almes on Thursday and Sunday last quha was not present according as he was wairnit. Ordanis him therefoir to be poyndit for ten schillings according to the act.

Comperis Elspet Gibson and confessis scho ressavit within hir house Violat Dawy fornicatrix fugitive fra the discipline of the kirk of Kynnoull quha lykwayis was lichter there. And becaus scho revelit not the same to our kirk according to the act and lykwayis scho ressavit ane fornicatrix of ane uther parochin according to the act of the kirk scho is ordanit to pay ane merk, quhilk scho did, and was gevin to Mr George the collector of the puirs almes, & quhilk bairne ded and carat over in ane cobill and burat in Kynnoull be Cudbert Cambron. (Elspeth Gibson/ Practiseis)

[37r]

**Vigesimo septimo Aprilis 1590**

David Billy promisit to mak ane ledder to the prayer bell towinge for ane merk.

Comperis Laurenc Coll and Elspet Basilly and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Dioneis Conqueror, for the woman William Brown.

Comperis James Rettray and Helen Watson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Justice, for the woman David Mar.

Comperis Isobel Grant and confessis hir fornication with Androw Sanders servand to the provost of Methven, hir 2 fault and submittis hir self in the discipline of the kirk.

**Quarto Maii 1590**

Comperis Patrik Clerk and Margret Conquerior and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Wryt, for the woman James Mar.

11 Lighter of a bairn — that is, she bore a child there.
12 The baby died and was taken across the river in a rowboat (cobill) to be buried in Kynnoull.
13 The marginal note seems to refer to the underlying problem of a Perth parishioner violating standard practices of the kirk by not revealing to the session the sinner in her home.
14 A leather handle or other leather part for the rope (tow) of the bell rung to call people to prayers.
Undecimo Maii 1590

Comperis Margret Spink and confessis hir fornication commitit with Thomas Jhoneston webster and submittis hir to the will and discipline of the kirk. (Spink/ 2 Cul.)

Comperis Barbra Edison and confessis hir fornication with William Quhittet and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Edison/ 1 Cul.)

Decimo octavo Maii 1590

Comperis Adam Anderson and Isobel Robertson desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Anderson, for the woman Duncan Robertson.

Comperis Henrie Moncur and Agnes Donaldson desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Oliver Pebles, for the woman Mr James Row.

Comperis Androw Malloch of the parochin of Tibbermuir and Bessye Yester desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Blak, for the woman Thomas Brown.

Comperis William Quhittit and confessis his fornication with Barbra Edison convictit and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk. (William Quhittitt 1 Cul.)

Comperis Maige Farchar and being found ane inlire to the town as also with bairne was enquyrit quhom scho was with bairne declarit that sche was with bairne to hir awin husband callit [ ] presently dwelland with Margret Murray in Balgow[rie] (Maige Farchar) and war mariit in the kirk of Methven be Mr Piter Primrose minister there. Thairfoir scho was ordanit to cause hir allegit husband to be present this day acht dayis.

Vigesimo quinto Maii 1590

Ordanis Maige Farchar to be wairdit becaus as scho was commandit hir allegit husband was not present.
Comperis Isobel Cowper and confessis hir fornication with James Henderson sumtymes greife\(^\text{18}\) to my lady Gowry and submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk. (Cowper 1. Cul.)

Comperis Mr Jhon Clerk and Janet Macgregor and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Clerk, for the woman George Macgregor her father.

\textit{Primo Junii 1590}

Comperis David Lyndsay and Elspet Hamilton and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Inglis, for the woman Mr William Rynd.

Comperis Thomas Donaldson and Margret Lathangy desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Mr James Roe, for the woman Oliver Car.

Comperis William Reid and Mairiene Walker desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Ross, for the woman Thomas Gibson.

Comperis Alexander Gibson and Nans Blyth desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man William Cok, for the woman Patrik Allan.

\textit{Octavo Junii 1590}

Ordanis that the comptis of the haill silver that hes bene collectit for reparation of the kirk be presentit this day acht dayis.

Ordanis to Jhon Jak to foirwairn the balyeis and al the porters that na beggers be lattin in at the portes at Midsummer fair.

\textit{Decimo quinto Junii 1590}

Quhilk day Janet Burnet was caUit and inquyrit quidder scho was with bairne or not, denyit the same. Thairfoir seing scho constantly denyit, it was referit to hir aith and scho to be avysit therewith quhill Mononday nixt. (Burnet)

Comperis Archibald Steidman and Helen Corsby and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Adamson, for the woman Mr William Rynd.

\(^{18}\) Greve, steward.
Comperis Thomas Bea and Margret Gibson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Gibson, for the woman Alexander Gibson hir father.

**Vigesimo secundo Junii 1590**

Ordanis Duncan Robertson to be poyndit for twentie schillingis becaus thir twa Sundayis his tavern was oppin in tyme of preitsching and strangers ressavit.

Ordanis the examination afoir the communion to enter on Mononday nixt.

Ordanis the masteres of hospital to denunce all persons addettit to the hospital alswell within burgh and without and register the horning betwix this and Mononday nixt.

**Vigesimo nono Junii 1590**

Comperis Andrew Morton and Barbra Merser and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Gill, for the woman Jhon Anderson.

Comperis Nans Merk and confessis hir fornication with Robert Merk servitor to Robert Stewart of Pitchafles and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Nans Merk 1. Cul.)

Comperis Margret Ramsay and confessis that scho is presently with bairne to Malcom Macculay pyper. And seing that it is suspectit that Piter Fischer hir husband is lifand ordanis hir presently to be wardit quhill scho bring ane testimonial declaring hir husband quhom scho allegis to be ded in Tarn-vath fra the minister thereof within thretie dayis utherways it salbe haldin per confesso adulterie, for performance of the quhilkes Patrik Inglis becam caution under the pane of xx £. (Margret Ramsy/ Caution Patrik Inglis)

The order to be observit in serving the tables at the communion

To keip the south kirk dor

Oliver Young bailie, James Drummond den of gild, James Adamson master of hospital, and David Billy elder

To collect the almes and takins

Androw Rynd [and] Henrie Brown deakyns

To collect the almes at the north kirk dor

Jhon Forbes deakyn

To keip the south queir dor

Androw Anderson bailye [and] Thomas Gaw elder

To keip the north queir dor

Robert Anderson bailye [and] Adam Anderson elder
To keep the skynnners dask
Henrie Banevis bailye, Patrik Blair elder, George Levingston and William Ross officiers

[38v] To convoy the wyne to the tables
Patrik Kynloch and William Glass deakyns
To fill the cupis
Alexander Jhoneston, David Wricht, Mathow Anderson, Gabriel Mersser deakyns

To convoy the bread
Alexander Maxton [and] Constantine Malice elders
To convoy the cuppis
Mr Henrie Anderson, Patrik Fleming, Andrew Malcom, Alexander Pullor
To keep order in St Androis Iyll
Robert Lethome elder [and] Andrew Donaldson master [of] hospital
To dress the bread
Mr George Ruthven
To repair the tables and Furneis the elementes
Oliver Pebles thesaurer

Sexto Julii 1590
Comperis William Lyell with Margret Chalmer and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Monepenny, for the woman James Orick.

Comperit David Strachon spouse to Cicill Bairy now dwelland in Dundie and being inquyrit gif he dwelt in Dundie sen he was mariit with the said Cicill grantit and confess the same and lykwayis enquirit gif ever he was callit afoir the kirk for ane bairne begottin with Margie Bruce there denyit the same. In consideration of the quhilk he is ordanit to bring ane testimonial fra the minister of Killemuir of his honest behavior within ane fourty dayis under the pane of ten poyndes and presently to be wairdit quhill he fand caution to do the same. Fand Jhon Young tailyeor caution quha voluntarly became caution under the pane foirsaid for performance of the promise. (David Strachon)

Comperis Helen Hay and confessit that scho had committit fornication with William Jhoneston servitor to Capitane Car and had bona fide satisfeit the kirk of Leith quhair scho committit the offence. And seing in hir was some takins of repentance and that scho was put fra hir freindes for the same offence and was constrainit to serve heir in this town for hir lefing, liberty was grantit to hir to remane and abyd within the town with this consideration, sche suld leife ane haly and ane godly lyf quhilk scho promissit to do. (Helen Hay)
Appointes Patrik Fleming, Jon Spens, and Constantine Malice elders to be auditores of Jhon Jakes compts. (Auditores compt)

Decimo tertio Julii 1590
No thingis done this day accept certane persones wairnit to this day callit not comperit and ordanit to be wairdit for dissobedience viz Janet Fendor, Christen Steil spouse to Androw Brown, and the relict of James Yester.

Vigesimo Julii 1590
Comperis William Spens and Janet Conquerior desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Elder, for the woman Oliver Cok.

Comperis William Hamulton and Helen Watson desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Wilson, for the woman Charles Mersser.

Comperis Robert Patton and Elspet Patterson desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Swenton, for the woman Jhon Gibson.

The box being opint this day there was ressavit out of it xi s. (Box opint)

Ordanis Patrik Fleming, David Billy and Alexander Pullor elders to by tymmer to mak ane substantiuseder to the kerk stoill.

Comperis Janet Moreis servitrix to Janet Mertene and confest that at the command of Cristen Steill hir maistre[s] for that tyme past at dyverse tymes to Ronald Persons house and there ressavit fra his servand coillis. In consideration of the quhilkes for seing it to be dangerous incaise order sall not be put heirtill, ordanis the said Crysten Steill as also Janet Moreise to be put to ane inquest afoir the bailyeis and order there to be tane with them that be ther exempill, utheris feir to do the elyk. (Cristen Steill)

Comperis Piter Stowp and confessis his fornication with Janet Fendor and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk. And seing it is sklanderous to the kirk to permit the said witness to hald hir in his house, he is ordanit to

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19 The stool of repentance needed to be high enough for the penitent's face to be seen by the congregation, so that a ladder was in some cases necessary to mount it. For more on the height of repentance stools, see CP, 130-35, esp. 132, n. 12. The parish of Elgin had provided a ladder for its seat by 1594: NRS ms CH2/145/1, fo. 64.

20 Edge of page worn away. Cristen Steill had a less than godly reputation for sexual laxity, which may have contributed to the problem for her servant: see 19 June and 11 Dec. 1581.

21 See 12 Jan. 1590. Person seems to know the wrong sort of people.
put hir out of his house incontinent as also to find caution to present hir on Mononday nixt. And James Body becam cautioner to present hir under the pane of ten poynds.

[39v]  
**Vigesimo Septimo Julii 1590**

Comperis William Blakwod and Janet Purttles desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Blakwod, for the woman Androw Grant.

Comperis Thomas Eakyn and Janet Finlason desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Thomas Olyphant, for the woman Thomas Brown.

Quhilk day ane bill of complaint gevin in be Violat Ramsay dochter to David Ramsay upon Jhon Macduff chapman bering in effect that the said Jhon haid maid promese of marriag to hir. Dayis of payment of the tocher

22  
gud aggreit on, suld performit the same at ane certane days. Lykwayis be freindes condiscendit on he being callit and enquyrit gif it was trewh or no as scho alledgit denyit the sam. Therefoir it was simpliciter but ony farder remittit to his aith, and quhill Mononday nixt to answer with his conscience.  

23 (Jhon Macduff)

**Tertio Augusti 1590**

Comperis Jhon Blair and Maijerie Anderson desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Nicoll Blair, for the woman Andrew Anderson.

Ordanis James Body cautioner for Piter Stoup and Janet Fendor to be wairdit becaus he did not present this day the said Piter and Janet.

This day being appointed to Jhon Macduff to avyse with his conscience quhidder he maid promeis of marriag to Violat Ramsay or not being inquirit gif he was sufficiently resolvit, denyit yet becaus the minister and elders thocht that he culd not algidder planely deny yit as of befoir remittit him to be avysit quhill Mononday nixt.

**Decimo Augusti 1590**

Comperis Jhon Russill with Barbra Brown desyring their bannes to be

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22 Dowry.
23 See below, 31 Aug. 1590; and for the outcome for Violat, 26 Oct. 1590 (her banns with Jhon Murdoch).
proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Tully, and for the woman the said Patrik lykwayis.

Decimo septimo Augusti 1590
Ordanis Jhon Cok to be wairnit agains Mononday nixt to delyver afoir the minister and elders the buik of baptisme, mariage and burial.24

This day being assignit to Jhon Macduff to gif his aith & callit not comperit thairfoir ordanit to be wairnit agains Mononday nixt.

[40r] Vigesimo quarto Augusti 1590
Comperis Stevin Philp and Cristane Davidson and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Gilbert Blair, for the woman Jhon Davideson elder.

Comperis Thomas Philp and Elspet Thomeson desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Auchinleck, for the woman Jhon Bennet.

Ordanis James Adamson and Androw Donaldson masteres of hospital to send over ane letter to Edinburgh to Mr Oliver Colt to purchaise ane suspention ganist George Balfour tuitshing the annuels that sumtyme appertenit to the charterhouse and now to the hospital and puir members of cryst in Perth.

Ordanis Jhon Cok for dissobedience to be wairdit.

Comperis William Banevis and Cristane Salmond desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Banevis, for the woman Jhon Davidson elder.

Tregesimo primo Augusti 1590
Comperis Ronald Stewart and Margret Gramme and desyrit their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man and woman Robert Mathow.

Comperis William Smyth in the parochin of Burnteland25 and Isobel Macky of this parochin desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Stevinson, for the woman William Stevinson.

Comperis this day Jhon Macduff and confest that he aggreit with Violat

24 This volume of the register does not survive, so perhaps Cok did not obey.
25 Burntisland.
Ramsay dochter to David Ramsay in the promese of mariage with hir as also with her frendes in the pecunial sowme and quantitie thereof prom-
isit with this condition the silver suld be reddy haill to gidder in numerat money the day as was apointed and condiscendit upon uthers herewith. And ordains Jhon Macduff to present his contract maid betwix him and the woman in the parochin of Monydy26 this day fourtene dayis. (Macduff)

The minister and elders gevis and grantis licence upon the supplication and present povertie of Elspet Scot spouse to George Crichton to bring ane testimonial that the said George is deid beyond sie betwix this and the first of Februar nixt utherwayis hir offence salbe haldin pro confesso adulterie and scho punised accordingly. And findes Thomas Henrie stabler cautioner for hir entres the day forisaid under the pane of twentie poyndes. (Elspet Scot)

Octavo Septembris 1590
Comperis Alexander Justice and Margret Macbaith desyring their bannes to be proclaimed. Caution for the man Patrik Justice his father, for the woman Androw Macbaith hir father.

Ordains Thomas Donaldson and Margret Lathangie to be wairnит to Mononday nixt becaus their bannes of mariage ar not performit within the fourty dayis according to the act.

Decimo quinto Septembris 1590
Comperis Margret Lathangie according as scho was warnit to this day and was inquyrit quhy scho completit not the band of matrimonie with Thomas Donaldson within the day statut conform to the act. Answerit that scho wald never compleit that mariag with him for sik causis as scho knew and wald not oppinly declair. Thairfoir scho is convictit in the penultie of ten poyndes. Mairover inquyrit gif scho haid carnal deal with the said Thomas sen the day of the contract remittit the same to the deposition of the said Thomas quha being callit and inquirat as said is confest the same. Thairfoir both convictit ilk ane of them in fourty schillings. Thairfoir and in consideration of the promise ordains them baith to be wairdit quhill thai satisfie according as thai ar convictit. (Margret Lathangie/ Thomas Donaldson)

Comperis Jhon Colt and Kathrene Greife and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Allan, for the woman Oliver Cok.

26 Moneydie parish, near Perth, whose minister at this date was Thomas Robertson, alias Macgibbon (Fasti iv, 224).
Seing Jhon Macduff hes not presentit his contract in wret maid with the woman of Monydy parochin according as he was appointed, ordanis him presently to be wairdit and his mairiage over stay quhill\textsuperscript{27} the samyn be done. And lykways ordanis the reider to gif him na testimonial quhill he satisfie according as he was appointed. And incaise it be found therein that the sowme exceides the sowme he suld have fra the fermes of Violat Ramsay herin he pay the samyn to be distributit to the puir. (Jhon Macduff)

\textit{Vigesimo secundo Septembris 1590}
No thing done this day bot certane fornicatores gevin up in ticket to the officiar to be wairnit to the nixt day.

\textit{Vigesimo octavo Septembris 1590}
Comperis Jhon Olyphant and Mairiane Beirne and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Alexander Olyphant, for the woman Jhon Beirne hir father.

Comperis Isobel Marschell and confessis hir fornication with Robert Maxton servitor to the laird of Oultequhay and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

Comperis Bessie Cruikschank and confessis hir fornication committit with William Gray servitor to Jhon Graham.

Comperis Beatriche Robertson and confessis hir fornication with Jhon Anderson messinger.

Comperis Jhon Gaw in Muirton and confessis his fornication with Janet Bowie and submittis him to the discipline of the kirk.

Comperis Janet Burnet and confessis hir mair nor\textsuperscript{28} half gone with bairne to Thomas Gelletly servitor to the young laird of Logy quhais first acquaintance in carnal deal was ane foartene dayis afoir palmesonday anno 1590 afoir the quhilk tyme scho haid never carnal deal with him albeit he did oft tymes resort to this town. Seing the matter is suspicious and that the elderis can not altogidder credit hir confession, it is thocht meit the matter to be better tryit. And seing the said laird of Logy is with the kingis magistie in court and the said Thomas his servitor is with him there in service, appointes the minister quhen as he reparis to the kingis magistie to try the matter and

\textsuperscript{27} To be delayed until.

\textsuperscript{28} ‘Mair nor’ (more than) is inserted above the line – either the scribe or Janet concerned to be more precise. She has passed the halfway point in her pregnancy.
report the surety of the premise. In the mean tyme Robert Monneypenny becam cautioner under the pane of ten poyndes that scho sail obey quhen scho sail be callit upon.\(^{29}\) (Janet Burnet)

\textbf{Quinto Octobris 1590}

Comperis Androw Basilly and Cristane Powry and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Jhon Basilly, for the woman Robert Cok.

Comperis William Malcom and Isobel Gelletly and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man George Malcom, for the woman Androw Gelletly.

\textbf{Duodecimo Octobris 1590}

Comperis William Rynd and Helen Sym desyring their bannes to be proclamat. Caution for the man David Rynd, for the woman, Jhon Sym.

Comperis James Smyth and Kathrene Birrell desyring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man James Lamb, for the woman Gilbert Blair

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
Elders\(^{30}\) & Deacones \\
\hline
Robert Mathow & William Robertson merchand \\
Walter Gray & Alistair Macduff \\
Jhon Wenton & Jhon Thomson \\
\hline
The north syd of the Higeit

George Malcom & Jhon Henderson baxter \\
Alexander Olyphant & Patrik Cok \\
Andrew Arnot & Alexander Jhoneston \\
\hline
Beneth the cross

Robert Anderson & Mr George Ruthven \\
James Mersser & Jhon Crystison \\
Oliver Young & Ronald Person \\
\hline
The Southgeit Quarter

Jhon Pitkairne & James Banevis \\
Thomas Gaw & Jhon Sym \\
Andrew Wilson & Androw Gelletly \\
\hline
Masteres of hospital

James Adamson and Androw Donaldson
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\(^{29}\) See below, 22 Nov. 1590.

\(^{30}\) This is a rather remarkable election, with six men chosen for the first time (Arnot, Gray, Malcom, Mersser, Pitcairne, and Young).
THE PERTH KIRK SESSION BOOKS: 1590

Officiar

Jhon Jak

Decimo nono Octobris 1590

Comperis Androw Cudbert and Kathrene Merser desyiring their bannes to be proclamit. Cautioner for man and woman Jhon Cudbert.

Comperis Patrik Bowman and Janet Irland desyiring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Alexander Maxton, for the woman William Brown.

[42r] Ordanis thes that ar visitores on the saboth day ather bailye, elder, or deacon for the tyme, to not[e] the absentes fra the kirk in tyme of preitsching being apprehendit ather in taverns, eilhouses or calsay, and cause the officiar at the tyme of their apprehension wirn them to compeir afoir the kirk the Mononday nixt etf ir that order may be tane with them for breaking of the saboth and contravening the act of parliament. And incaise thai dissobey and compeir not the said Mononday, ilk person dissobeying breakers of the saboth to pay the penultie conform to the act of parliament the samyn to be tane up be the bailyeiis and gevin to our collector of the puirs almes and lykwayis wairdit for disobedience. (Order for the Saboth)

Quhilk day the minister and elders of the kirk of Perth being convent within the revestrie of the said burgh all in ane voice ordanis James Adamson and Androw Donaldson masteres of hospital of the said burgh to gif to William Banevis present reder the sowme of fourty poyndes money of the first and reddiest silver of the hospital quhilk salbe allowit to them in their comptis. (William Banevis)

Vigesimo sexto Octobris 1590

Comperis Jhon Murdoch of the parochin of Ochtergevin and Violat Ramsay of this parochin desyiring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Androw Meling, for the woman Jhon Wod.

Comperis Thomas Auchinleck and Janet Eviot desyiring their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Patrik Auchinleck in Tullylum his father, for the woman Patrik Auchinleck in the Muirton.

Secundo Novembris 1590

Comperis Janet Fendor and confessis hir fornication with Piter Stup and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk.

31 A blank was left for the name of the parish, which was added later and appears in a darker ink. Auchtergaven was in the presbytery of Dunkeld (Fasti iv, 140).
Ordanis ane testimonial to be gevin to Nans Macgibbon presently dwelland in Dundie sumtyme ane servant, ane borne woman within this town, of hir gud behavior seing scho is presently to be mariit.

Nono Novembris 1590
Ordanis Robert Mathow to be ane oversiar of kirk wark in tymes cumming.

[42v] Comperis Thomas Dugat and Helen Aleson of the parochin of Scone and in absence of Mr Jhon Abercromby desyrit their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man Robert Blair, for the woman Gilbert Blair.

Ordanis na browsters to mask their fat on Sunday at even and seing it is the common use of sum browsters to do the samyn ordanis thes that ar visitores to enquyr and not their names that not only thes that bringis in burn bot also thes to quhom it is brocht unto may be punisit for doing the same and pay the penultie contenit in the act of parliament for breaking of the saboth. (Burne bearers)

Ordanis James Adameson and Andrew Donaldson masteres of hospital to satisfie the fie and pension of all yeirs and termes bygan addettit to Jhon Jak our kirk officiar quhilk salbe allowit to them in their comptis. (Kirk officiar)

The minister and haill elders for the tyme being convenit hes found be trefyel of famous and credibil witnesses sworn and deponit that Kethrene Ritschy dochter to umquhill Robert Ritchy hes not behavit hir self sa cris- tianly as becam hir sitting up all nyt with sundry men and inspecial with James Stewart servitor to Jhon Olyphant quha not only was sene cumming out of hir motheris house in the morning, bot also to pass to the wod of Aberdagy behaifing themselffis suspiciously, as also with William Cuchill, James Malloch miller, and sundry utheris. Thairfoir ordanis hir in all tymes cumming to keip her self ffie from thes and all siklyk company, places, and tymes, certefeing hir that in respect the kirk overstis hir now in this vehement suspicion, gif ony siklyk be found heireftir it salbe haldin pro confesso and scho salbe punised as ane harlot, to the quhilk scho hir self hes willingly aggreit and promisit to keip hir self frie from all suspicion. And incaise scho

32 He is to supervise work on repair of the kirk building. 'Master of kirkwark' is the usual title for this unpaid position.
33 Minister of Scone, perhaps away on a journey.
34 A female brewer.
35 Mash their malt in the brewing vat. Malt is mixed with hot water to form wort.
36 The elders assigned to visit their quarters on the sabbath to ensure proper behaviour.
37 Water for brewing.
38 Temporarily overlooks.
be the testimony of nychtbores beis found to do the lyk, scho sail be punisit according to the premise. (Kathrene Ritschy)

Quhilk day Kathrene Murdoch as scho was wairnit comperit this day and grantit that scho had ane husband callit William Fereggis servitor to Alexander Ruthven of Freland and notwithstanding that sundry hes desyrit to enter in mariag with hir and inspecial Alexander Murray servitor to ... James Ruthven quhereunto freely scho walde condiscend gif hir husband and the kirk wald yeild thereto. Being also accusit of sundry suspicions denyit the same. The minister and elderis ordanis hir to adhear to hir husband and to keip hir self frie fra all kynd of suspicion under the pane of the censurs of the kirk. And ordanis this to be delatit to the presbitery on Thursday nixt that thai may tak order heirwith. (Kathrene Murdoch)

Decimo sexto Novembris 1590

Ordanis the haill bailyeis and elders to be present on Tuysday nixt in the morning at the prayers for the collecting of the silver to the kirk of Geneva from thes that hes not gevin as yeit.

Comperis Jhon Macwalter and Henrie Tailyeor and war accusit for absence fra the preitsching on Sonday last and found gilty heirof. Seing this is their first fault ordanis them ilk ane for his awin part to pay ten schillingis according to the act of parliament and thai to be wairdit quhill the same be done.

Ordanis Piter Stoup to be wairdit quhill [1] he find caution to enter for the last day of his repentance on Sonday nixt on [the] repentance stul to be receavit, 2 quhill he pay in civil penulty fourty schillingis for keiping house with Janet Fendor his harlot, 3 that he seperat hir fra him out of house. And incaise heireftir he sail be foynd sa suspiciously to behave him self toties quoties suspicion salbe haid of him and hir toties quoties thai sail satisfie as relaps in fornication and pay their penulteis conform. (Piter Stup)

Comperis Janet Moncur nurische to Thomas Dundie and confessis that the last bairne scho buir was to Jhon Ogilby son to the laird of Balfor quhilk bairne was baptisat as scho belefit in the name of Thomas Rodgy be convoy of thes with quhom scho left the bairne in custody becaus scho haid borne ane bairne to the said Thomas befoir. And being appeilit of hir conscience gif ever he haid carnal deal with hir sence scho haid ado with Jhon Ogilby

39 One word illegible.
denyit that scho haid ado with him in that tyme, for the quhilk offence last committit scho confessis scho hes not satisfeit. Now seing the matter is very suspicious and it may be found that scho hes committit adultery with sum wyffis husband, the minister and elders suspendis their opinion and ordanis hir to be wairdit quhill scho find caution to satisfie the kirk quhen as scho sall be wairnit to compeir to answer to sik things as salbe laid to hir chairge. For quhome Thomas Dundie becam caution as said is under the pane of xx poyndis and scho oblist hir self to releif him. (Janet Moncur/ Thomas Dundie caution)

Comperis Janet Fuird and confessis hir fornication with Jhon Olyphant son to my lord Olyphant quhais carnal deal was thrie oulkes afoir Lambes last, and submittis hir to the discipline of the kirk. (Janet Fuird)

[43v] Marion Stewart maidwyf being inquyrit gif ever at the request of ony other man or woman consylit the father of ony woman harlotes bairne and ressavit ane gud therefor and fatherit it on ony uther, denyit the same. Bot being compelit afoir god on hir conscience at last confessit that scho geid to Jhon Foirbrand messon in Malcom Hallis close at the special request of Janet Ray ane schew to him that Janet Ray haid fatherit hir bairne on him, thairfor scho desyrit the said Jhon to ressave the bairne and sustene it or els gif sum thing for to sustene it. (Marion Stewart maidwyf)

Janet Ray callit afoir the elders comperit and being demandit quha was father to the last bairne scho buir first confessit that Jhon Brown sumtyme servand to Constantine Malice, and being compeallit of hir conscience befoir god, strukkin with terror of conscience confessit that Jhon Foirbrand messon was father to hir last bairne and that scho haid never carnal deal with the said Jhon Brown. And lykwayis confessit that the said Jhon Foirbrand bruik up be force upon hir under silence of the nyt and forcit hir agains hir will, eftir quhat tyme scho persaving that scho was with bairne revelit the samyn to the said Jhon Foirbrand quha commandit hir not to tell that scho was with bairne to him incaise it suld defame him seing he was mariit, quhilk gif scho did scho suld never get ony thing fra him ather for the support of hir or the bairne. And for verification of the premise grantis scho ressavit fra the handes of Patrik Gib barrowman at his command ane merk of silver. Mairover confessit that scho never declarit in the tyme of hir birth quha was

40 Concealed.
41 Went.
42 As usual, rape provided no defence for the woman; neither did her poverty and inability to support the child without the father’s financial help.
43 Foribrand’s.
hir bairnis father becaus nather be the maidwyf nor na uther in the tyme scho was requyrit. (Janet Rayis confession/ Adul.)
The minister and elders understanding weil the deceit usit both be Marion Stewart maidwyf and Janet Ray in consyling the said Janetes bairnis father presently for avoiding of punisment to the ane and gaine to the uther thinkes them both wordy of condinge punisment.44 Ordanis therefoir the said Marion the rigor of punisment that scho merites for hir haynous offencis that is banisment of the town, dischajrge of hir office and publick repentance on the repentance stul being suspendit with. And lykwyis that according to hir aith came not to reveil this purpose to the session of our elders that scho on Sunday nixt afoir none in tyme of preitsching be at the fut of the stul of repentance and fra that place confess hir offence, and that the said Janet Ray upon the stul of repentance confess lykwayis hir offence that thai may baith be exempils to all uthers to attempt the lyk in tymes cumming. (The punisment of Stewart & Ray)

Vigesimo secundo Novembris 1590
Comperis William Dowy of the parochin of Forgundeny and Helen Nory of this parochin and desyris their bannes to be proclamit. Caution for the man George Hunter, for the woman James Nory hir father.

Comperis Janet Basket and confessis that scho hes borne thrie bairnis and this last bairnis father that scho hes borne in the Wembe in the Heland is Adam Menzeis ane young man without ane beird, servitor to the laird of Wembe quhais parentis scho knawis not bot understandis be report that he is ane man born in the Rannoch quha haid carnal deal with hir only anis in hir fathers house, hir sister being send furt be him [on] ane erand, that being alone within the house he forcit hir agains hir will ten or twlef dayis eftir Yule last. And lykwayis confess that scho was lichter45 in the said town of the Wembe in the Heland in ane cotter house twa dayis eftir Michalsmess last quha was never visitit be the said Adam in the tyme of hir lying in chyldbed bot anis quha denyit the bairne saying quhow was it possibill to him to get ane bairne with hir haijfing bot anis ado with hir. Seing therefoir that he wald not altogidder ressave the bairne fra hir scho was constraint to put the bairne to ane nurische calit Janet Menzeis upon hir awin expense. Unto46 the matter be better tryit, be ressin of ane greit suspition of adulterie ordanis hir presently to be wairdit quhill forder tryell be haid in this mater and ane supplication send to Mr William Glass minister at Dunkelden to try in the premise and lykwayis Jhon Wenton eldar becaus he is frequent with the

44 Worthy of condign punishment.
45 Delivered of the child.
46 Until.
Heland men about the Wembe to try of the cuntrie men quhat thai hard or knawis in the matter and he to report the same to the elders. (Janet Basket)

In respect that Piter Stoup hes satisfeit the rest of the act of the dait 16 Novembris 1590 in paying the penultie and making of his repentance, and as yit hes not seperat him self fra Janet Fendor according to the former ordinance, convictis as relaps in fornication and ordanis him and hir de novo to satisfie the kirk and quhan ever he may be apprehendit put in waird quhill 1 he find caution to satisfie [and] 2 find caution to put away the said Janet out of his land and all utheris suspicius place that will inable to aryse sklander. (Piter Stup)

[44v] Comperis William Cok maltman and being demandid quhidder or not he had carnal deal with Isobel Peirs his woman or not wald nather confess or deny the same. Thairfoir the minister and elders thinkes him tacet consentire videtur. Ordains him to be wairdit quhill he find caution to satisfie the kirk. (William Cok)

Marion Stewart maidwyf confessis that scho was present at the birth of Janet Burnet and inquyrit hir in the tyme of hir birth quha was hir bairnis father, quha answerit upon hir conscience that Thomas Gelletly servitor to the laird of Logy was hir bairnis father. Lykwayis denyis that scho knaws quhidder the said Janetes bairne be baptist or not.48

Ultimo Novembris 1590

Comperis Jhon Brown of the parochin of Curuss and Kathrene Blyth of this parochin and desyris their banns to be proclamit. Caution both for the man and woman David Mar.

Comperis Isobel Peris and confessis hir fornication with William Cok maltman and heirfoir submittis hir self to the discipline of the kirk.

Comperis Janet Brown and confessis that scho committit fornication in the northland with ane callit James Tailyeor. The minister and elders considering hir to be ane very suspect woman and not wordy to have residence within sik ane reformit congregation ordains hir presently to be wairdit quhill Tuysday nixt [and] that ane assyse of hir nychtbores be callit and scho banisit the town for ever.

47 His servant.
48 See above, 28 Sept. 1590.
49 Probably Culross.
Comperis Alexander Forbes and being inquyrit gif the bairne that Margret Pebles was with was his denyit the sam, yit confessis he haid carnal deal with the said Margret never afoir the deceise of umquhill David Forbes his father nor ane fourtene dayis therefter. And albeit the said Margret constantly affirmis hir bairne to be the said Alexanderes, yit he constantly denyis the same affirming it to be ane gentilmans in Angus callit Jhon Junes. (Alexander Forbes)
The minister and elders remittis the tryell of the matter to ane uther tyme and ordanis to find caution to enter on Mononday nixt for quhom William Inglish deacon became cautioner to present him the said day under the pane of xx \mathcal{L}. (William Inglish Cau.)

\textit{Septimo Decembris 1590}
Comperis David Buchan of the parochin of Dumbarny and Bessye Mitschell of this parochin and desyrs their banns to be proclaimit. Caution for the man and woman Patrik Anderson.

[45r] Comperis Thomas Wod and Janet Will and desyrs their banns to be proclaimit. Caution for the man James Will, for the woman August Cairdnye.

\textit{Decimo quarto Decembris 1590}
Comperis Mr Thomas Mug and Violat Wilson and desyrs their bannis to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Alexander Mug, for the woman Androw Wilson hir father.

Comperis Thomas Drummond with Margrat Jhoneson and desyrs their bannis to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Jhon Brown, for the woman Jhon Ruthven.

Comperis Jhon Tenender and Beatrich Wyld and desyrs their bannis to be proclaimit. Caution for the man Jhon Adam, for the woman Alexander Henderson.

Comperis James Peit with Masie Carswell desyring their bannis to be proclaimit. Caution for the man James Robertson, for the woman George Macgregor younger.

Quhilk day Jhon Henrie merchant frely becumis cautioner for Janet Basket to enter hir quhen as the kirk sail requyer under the pane of fourty poyndes to obey the injunjxions of the kirk.\footnote{See above, 22 Nov. 1590.} (For Basket caution Jhon Henrie)
Ordanis de novo Piter Stup to separt him self fra Janet Fendor and to remove hir fra and out of all houses pertening to him for eschewing of sklander conform to the former actis or els to be wairdit quhill he perform the same. And inlykmaner to remove or els be wairdit quhill scho find sufficient caution incontinent to remove hir self out of the said parties house and company and to satisfie the kirk in performing the rest of repentance under the pane of ten poyndes.

Quhilk day Effie Barnis spouse to Thomas Hay confessit that Thomas Scot spouse to Janet Rynd was with hir drinking in hir awin house the tent day of this moneth instand of December about vii or viii houres at evin or thereby with sum utheris with him in cumpanye as also did resort to hir at sundry tymes afoir and that becaus scho allegit scho was schewand his clothes. Seing therefoir suspicion and sklander of adulterie hes rissin thereupon, ordanis hir to find sufficient caution that scho sail not be found hereftir to be in ony suspect place hereftir with him in company. And incaise scho sail be found to do the contrair hereftir upon the nake[d] suspicion scho sail be haldin as an adultries and ordanis thir premes to be ane sufficient admonition to hir according to the act of parliament. (Effie Barnis)

Alexander Messon voluntarie becumis cautioner under the pane of ten poyndis that Jhon Foirbrand sail answer and be obedient to the kirk quhen ever thai sail requyr.51

*Vigesimo primo Decembris 1590*

This oulk warningis only to the nixt day.

*Vigesimo octavo Decembris 1590*

Comperis Margret Car being lawfulle warnit to this day and confessis hir fornication with James Ramsay son to William Ramsay procurator denying scho haid ony carnal deal with ony uther. Haifing carnal deal with the said James in his awin chalmer the first time ane moneth afoir Midsummer last and secundly in his said chalmer at Sanctjhomesmess thereftir. For the quhilk fact scho submittis hir self to the will and discipline of the kirk. (Margret Car)

Comperis William Mathy alias Rusie and Libra Schere and desyris their bannis to be proclamit. Caution for the man Charles Mersser, for the woman Jhon Cowsland.

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51 See above, 16 Nov. 1590.
Comperis Margret Finlason and accusit on the suspicion betwix hir and Alestair Menzeis quha will nather grant nor deny hir familiaritie with the said Alestair, thairfoir the minister and elders ordains hir herefter nather to be in suspect company with him nor any uthers. And this to be for ane admonition. And also presently to be wairdit quhill scho ather grant or deny the same simpliciter. (Margret Finlason)
APPENDIX I

PERTH ELDERS, 1576–1590

The following identifications are made from admissions lists in the Perth Guildry Book (sometimes indicating occupation), burgh council election returns, entries in the kirk session minutes, hospital rental books, records of Parliaments and of the Conventions of Royal Burghs, General Assembly acts, wills proved in the Commissary Courts of Edinburgh and (in a few cases) St Andrews, records of the Justiciary Court, bailies court books, manuscript craft guild books, and a miscellany of other town documents held in the Perth and Kinross Council Archives and the Perth Museum. Only one name proved impossible to identify, and the occupations of two others cannot be deduced from the evidence. The reader should note that years of service as elder, deacon, councillor, bailie, or dean of guild are indicated in these biographies by election years: an elder chosen in 1580 would have served from that autumn election until the autumn of 1581. Elections were generally held at or near Michaelmas. A few were irregular for political reasons. The 1572 council and bailie ‘elections’ were actually ‘nominations’ or appointments by the Earl of Mar, designed to bring the numbers of craftsmen and merchants closer to equality in order to avoid conflict in the burgh. In 1585, in the aftermath of the plague and with the absence of most of the deacons of crafts from the October election, there was a second election in December, the king choosing a new provost to replace the Earl of Montrose. Two elections were also held in 1587, when the new (and very young) Earl of Gowrie was named to the provostship once held by his father and the council was largely replaced, though with familiar names. In 1600, in the wake of the Gowrie Plot, there were no elections: the 1599 council was continued by royal order, with two changes – Gavin Dalzeil and Adam Anderson taking the places of Oliver Peblis (who had been suspected in an earlier Gowrie conspiracy) and Androw Henderson (now put to the horn). 1 In wills, ‘free gear’ is the value of an estate after all debts are collected and paid. Most Perth wills were proved in the Edinburgh Commissary Court, though a few appear in the St Andrews Commissary Court.

1 PKCA ms B59/12/2 (council minutes and election returns), fos 24v, 34v, 38v–39r, 63v.
HENRY ADAMSON. Merchant burgess, elected elder in 1580. He was the son of Patrick Adamson (bailie in the 1540s, often dean of guild, d. 1570), brother of Patrick Adamson the titular archbishop of St Andrews and of James Adamson the elder (below), and uncle of the Henry Adamson who penned *The Muses Threnodie* in the 1630s. His sister married Perth's schoolmaster Andrew Simson, later minister of Dunbar. Our Adamson was a member of the council from at least 1574 until 1582 and was chosen bailie in 1574, 1578 and 1579. He may have sought the office also in 1576, when he protested the election of James Anderson as bailie. Chosen dean of guild in 1581, 1582, and 1597, he also served as the burgh's representative to parliament in 1581, and to conventions of royal burghs in 1577 and 1580–82. He was, with Dionysius Conqueror, one of the burgh commissioners for collection of the parliamentary tax of 1578 to repair the bridge over the Tay. A substantial property-owner in the town, he appears in the bailies court records of 1576 in eviction processes. His orthodoxy must have been beyond question, since he was commissioned to deal with the recusant John Scot (13 Feb. 1581) during the term of his eldership. He was also one of the elders sent to admonish James Donning about hospital administration (22 May 1581). He clearly had enemies, two of whom violently attacked him in July of 1581 and were accordingly gaoled at the session's order (3, 6 July 1581). Perhaps this attack was related to Adamson's eventually notorious affair with Jean Thornton, the wife of another elder, Oliver Peblis, reported to the session in August of 1582 as having begun a year earlier (see Introduction for fuller discussion). Adamson denied offending, even in the face of Thornton's confession and insistence that he had been pursuing her for nine years. His case was referred to the presbytery 25 February 1583 and was finally settled by the General Assembly that year with a judgement that he had behaved suspiciously and 'not so chastely as becomes an honest married person', giving 'occasion of slander'. This much he apparently did admit as he was ordered before Perth presbytery and to repent before the congregation. Remarkably, he was elected to the session again in 1589, and he returned to the eminent standing of dean of guild in the 1597 election. Resentment of his ultimate exoneration and reinstatement to prominence in the burgh in the face of Oliver Peblis' humiliation and the horning of Peblis's wife may have driven Oliver's kinsman Thomas Peblis to slay Adamson on Good Friday, 1598. (Peblis was executed for slaughter on 30 May 1598.) Adamson's will, given in by his widow and executor Helen Orme, disposed an estate valued at £2180 3s 11d, including £1609 17s in debts owed to him, mostly in the form of grain and rents, though he had clearly served as a lender of cash to local nobility like Laurence Lord Oliphant and Lady Erroll, and to fellow Perth merchants like Dionysius Conqueror. His estate also included £400 won
in a judicial action brought against William Oliphant of Gask for stealing his grain and other goods.²

JAMES ADAMSON. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1585, 1586, 1599 and 1607. He was the brother of Henry Adamson (above) and of Patrick Adamson archbishop of St Andrews, and father of the poet Henry Adamson. Admitted to the guildry in 1571, he was elected to the council in 1578; served as burg treasurer 1594–96; was chosen dean of guild in 1598, 1599 and 1600; and represented the town in the parliaments of 1597, 1606, and 1607, and in the conventions of royal burghs of 1587, 1593, 1594, 1596, 1597, 1599, 1600, annually from 1602 to 1604, 1609 and 1610. He was among the ten ‘well-affected men and worthy of memory’ who contributed 32 merks each to purchase from the king the second hospital charter in 1587 and was hospital master from then through 1599.³

ADAM ANDERSON. Baxter burgess elected elder in 1579, 1581, 1584, 1587, 1589 and 1592. He appears in the Guildry Book in 1571, admitted at the same time as his brother Andro (second and third sons of the merchant Jhon Anderson) and was first elected to the council in 1580. He was son of Marjorie Lamb and so the nephew of one of the 1544 martyrs, Robert Lamb. Anderson served as bailie in 1583 and 1584, was elected to the council again in 1585 and was bailie again in 1587. He then won regular election to the council from 1588 through 1595, excepting only the vote of 1591. He was also among the ten hospital donors of 1587. The elder Robert Anderson was his older brother.⁴

² PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 27r–28r, 31r, 33r and 62r; ms B59/12/8 (bailies court minutes), fos 221v, 224r (1577 assise) et passim; B59/26/1/11, a caution list of 1582 showing Adamson serving as caution for William Anderson and Henry Leis (both also elders) and Leis in turn serving as his caution. GB, 202, 278, 280, 302 (the bridge tax), 313 (service on a 1581 inquest), 327–29 (his participation in 1582 as dean of guild with Dionysius Conqueror as fellow commissioner in securing the decree from the king acknowledging Perth’s priority over Dundee in conventions of royal burghs and parliaments), 410, 534; APS iii, 195; CRB i, 41, 97, 112, 126; BUK iii, 621–22. NLS mss Adv. 31.1.1, fo. 60v; Adv. 31.1.5, pp. 215–16; Adv. 35.4.4 (the ‘Chronicle of Perth’, compiled from the 1590s in various hands), fo. 6r. NRS ms CC8/8/22/705 (1598 will submitted by his widow Helen Orme; his brother James served with Orme as executor). Orme asked the kirk session to excommunicate Thomas Peblis; the session conferred with the presbytery, and Peblis received his first admonition before excommunication 20 May. A final excommunication before his execution is not recorded.

³ NRS ms CH2/521/3, pp. 110–11; CH2/521/4, pp. 140–41; Milne, pp. xlv, 5, 7; GB, 267 (as Adeson), 359 (as Adamson, assenting to a tax in 1588), 371, 372, 375, 388, 398 (treasury election, 1595), 536; PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 62v–63v, and B59/26/1/14 (receipt, 1600); APS iv, 118, 280, 365; CRB i, 229, 394, 428, 472, 499; CRB ii, 41, 66, 126, 154, 169, 269, and 286; NLS mss adv. 31.1.1, fo. 60v; NLS mss Adv. 31.1.5, p. 44 (James Scott’s description of Adamson as an ‘eminent merchant’).

⁴ PKCA mss B59/12/9, fo. 66r; B59/26/1/11 (1582 caution roll); B59/12/2, fos 32r, 33r–34v, 38r–48r. GB, 268, 305, 331, 356–59; Milne, 5; NRS ms CC8/8/44/223–4 (Robert Anderson’s will); NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 66v.
ALEXANDER ANDERSON. Skinner burgess elected elder in 1576 and 1578 (when he was also a member of the council). He was admitted to the guildry in 1567 and had been chosen to the council in 1553 as one of the earliest craftsman councillors, and again in 1558, 1569, 1578 and 1579. He was married to another sister of the 1544 Perth martyr, Robert Lamb, and so was likely an early protestant. At his death in 1579 his estate was valued at £245; he left a widow, Jonet Gowrie, and two daughters.5

ANDRO ANDERSON. Hammerman burgess elected elder in 1587. He was the third son of the merchant Jhon Anderson and Maijorie Lamb, and was admitted to the guildry in 1571. He often appears on assizes of the bailies court.6

HENRY ANDERSON. Son of the merchant/elder Jhon Anderson senior, and younger brother of the elder Robert Anderson. Tided 'Mr', he was a university graduate. He was admitted to the guildry in 1581 and elected elder in 1589, 1591, 1593, 1595, 1596, 1598, 1599, and 1601–03. He was chosen for the town council in 1596 and each year from 1598 to 1600, and he also represented the burgh in parliament in 1596.7

JHON ANDERSON. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1576 and 1577. He had been admitted to the guildry at some point before 1547, when he sat on an assize recorded in the Guildry Book. He was chosen councillor in 1556, and elected again in 1558, 1569, 1572, 1573, 1575, 1576, and 1578. He was selected to be a bailie in 1567 and 1574. Anderson owned considerable property in the burgh and in Tullilum (former Carmelite property) owing rents to the hospital, and he left at his death in October of 1579 an estate worth £1349. He was married to Maijorie Lamb (d. 1582), a sister of the 1544 martyr Robert Lamb, who left at her death in 1581 an estate valued at £38 19s 4d. Among their children are the elders Robert, Adam, Andro, and Henry Anderson, along with five daughters (Bessie, Isobel, Agnes, Margaret, and Eufame).8

JHON ANDERSON younger. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1585, 1586, 1596, 1600, and 1601, apparently unrelated to the Jhon Anderson above.

5 NRS ms CC8/8/8/63–65 (he left two daughters and a widow, Jonet Gowrie); GB, 257; NRS ms B59/1/1, fo. 34v; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fo. 31r.
6 NLS ms 19239, fo. 38v; GB, 268; NRS ms CC8/8/10/414–415 (mother's will). He was caution in a bailies court case in 1582 (Oliver Pehlis and Henry Leis presiding) for Eufame Anderson, the widow of Robert Gall about a disputed inventory of Gall's goods; and he sat often on assizes (e.g. in 1583 cases: PKCA ms B59/12/9, fos 19v, 107v).
7 GB, 315; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 61v, 62v, 63–63v; APS 4:97.
8 GB, 188, 193, 227, 239, 305; Milne, pp. xlv, 12, 13, 26–28, 30, 33, 35, 48, 66; NRS ms CC8/8/7/621–3 and CC8/8/10/414–415 (Marjorie Lamb's will); NRS ms B50/1/1, fo. 34v; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 17r, 21v, 24v–25r, 26r, 27r–28r, 31r.
He is probably the Jhon Anderson admitted to the guildry in 1575 and elected to the council in 1579, brother of Thomas for whom he served as caution in 1582. Bailie in 1582, he left an estate of £792 and donated £10 to the Perth hospital at his death in 1602 – making his will unusual for the time, since very few named charitable donations. He left both a pregnant wife and – interestingly given his role as moral disciplinarian on the session – an infant ‘son natural’ or illegitimate child.9

ROBERT ANDERSON. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1576 and very frequently re-elected, in 1580, 1585, 1586, 1588, and annually from 1590 through 1603, making him an unusual fixture on the session. Anderson was chosen bailie in 1574, 1578, 1579, 1581 and 1589, and he represented the town in the conventions of royal burghs of 1587 and 1588. The eldest son of Jhon Anderson senior (elder, above) and Marjorie Lamb, he was admitted to the guildry in 1564, and he became dean of guild in 1580, 1587, and 1596. He was elected to the council in 1576, 1577, and annually from 1582 to 1601 except for the two years when he was dean of guild. The brother of Adam and Andro Anderson, above, he was also one of the ten men who secured the second hospital charter in 1587. At his death in 1608 he left an estate of £543.10

WILLIAM ANDERSON. Merchant burgess elected to eldership in 1576 and 1581. Admitted to the guildry in 1568, he also served as burgh treasurer in the 1578, 1579 and 1585 terms and was chosen bailie in 1580. In 1581, 1582 and 1585 (in the first of the two elections of that year) he won election to the council. He owned substantial hospital properties, some of which he sold to Dionysius Conqueror. In a property dispute heard in the bailies court in 1582 there are notations of his voyages ‘to the East Seas’, which took him away from the town for as long as two years at a time. Anderson died in 1595, leaving free goods and gear worth £264 15s 4d.11

ANDRO ARNOT. Merchant admitted to the guildry in 1574. He was elected deacon in 1585 and elder in 1590, 1596, 1598, and 1600. He was a frequent holder of high burgh office, elected to the council annually from

9 PKCA mss B59/12/2, fo. 33 and B59/26/1/11 (caution roll, Jhon Boig serving as his own caution); NRS ms CH2/521/2, fos 159v–160r, and ms CH2/521/3, pp. 159, 195–96; GB, 239, NRS ms CC8/8/37/738–39.
10 PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 27r, 28r–28v, 31r–34r, 38r, 42r, 52r–53r, 58v, 60r–64r; B59/26/1/11 (William Flemyng serving as his caution in 1582); and B59/26/1/14 (1600). GB, 250 (eldest son of Jhon Anderson); Milne 5, 115–17; CRB i, 229, 274; NRS ms CC8/8/44/223–24 (his will) and ms CC8/8/10/414–415 (his mother’s will); NRS ms CH2/521/2, fos 41v, 53r, 66v, 85v, 107r, 133v, 159v–160r, and CH2/521/3, pp. 1–5, 48–49, 110–11, 159, 195, 244–45, 288.
11 NRS ms CC8/8/28/182 and ms CC8/8/22/705 (his wife’s will); GB, 147, 239, 261; Milne, 11, 36, 47. PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 31r, 32r, 34r–35r; B59/26/1/11; and B59/12/9, fos 41v, 42r (the bailies court case).
1596 to 1600 and in 1604; bailie in 1601 and 1602, 1605 and 1606; and dean of guild in 1607. He died in March, 1609, leaving an estate of £1265 13s 4d, most of it in debts owed to him by other merchants.12

DAVID BILLIE. Bower burgess elected elder in 1588, 1589, 1594, and 1595. Billie, a brother of the wrights guild, had been admitted to the mercantile guildry in 1564 but seems never to have held civic office. His reputation for religious orthodoxy is evident from his service in 1580 as caution ‘for ignorance’ of David Watson at the baptism of Watson’s son: his assignment was to ensure that Watson acquired sufficient religious understanding to be able to instruct his child. Billie was still living in 1600, when his name appears on a receipt, Jhon Colt serving as his caution.13

PATRICK BLAIR. Merchant burgess admitted to the guildry in 1564 and elected elder in 1586, 1589, 1592, 1593 and 1599. He was among the ten hospital benefactors of 1587; served six terms on the council (1581, 1589, 1590, 1592, 1593, and 1603); was bailie in 1585 (first election), 1587 (both elections), 1588, 1591, 1596 and 1598; and represented the burgh in the parliament of 1597 and frequently in the conventions of burghs (1591–93, 1597, and 1598). He and Robert Matho served as each other’s cautions in 1582. Blair was dean of guild in 1594, 1595, and 1602. He was a man of great wealth, his 1604 will recording an impressive estate of £3233 8s 6d.14

WILLIAM BURY (Burrie). Skinner burgess elected elder just once, in 1577. A craftsman of substance, he was admitted to the guildry in 1543 and died in 1579 leaving an estate of £522.15

OLIVER CAR (Kar). Merchant burgess elected elder in 1578, 1584, and 1587. He was among the ten hospital benefactors of 1587 (described there as a merchant). Car was elected to the council in 1575, 1580, 1582, 1585 (both elections), and 1587 (again, both elections), and he served as bailie in 1586. He had been admitted to the guildry in 1563. His will is not extant, but his wife Jonet Paterson left at her death in 1578 an estate of £138 17s 8d, mostly in leather, linen and wool, to Car and their two adult sons.16

12 PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 61v–66v; GB, 239, 277, 359; NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 159v, and CH2/521/3, pp. 48–49, 159; Milne, 100; NRS ms CC8/8/45/681–2.
13 NRS ms CH2/521/2, fos 107r, 133v; GB, 251; PMAG ms Wrights Incorporation Book, fos 1r–3v, passim (bowers were members of the wrights guild); PKCA ms B59/26/1/14; NRS–NRH ms OPR 387/1 (n.f.), 1 Sept. 1580.
14 GB, 251; NRS ms CC8/8/38/531–37; Milne, 5; APS iv, 118; CRB i, 354, 369, 394; CRB ii, 1, 23. PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 27r–32r, 38r, 42r, 61v; B59/26/1/11; and B59/12/8, fo. 223r (caution). NRS ms CH2/521/2, fos 66v, 85v and CH2/521/3, pp. 110–11.
15 NRS ms CC8/8/7/326–28; GB, 152.
16 PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 27v, 32r, 33r–35r, 38r, and B59/26/1/11 (he and George Powry
ROBERT CHAPMAN. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1576, 1578, 1580, and 1582. Admitted to the guildry in 1553, he died in 1591 leaving property worth £827 15s 8d, much of it in malt and barley, suggesting that he may have begun as a brewer or maltman, though he is described as a merchant in his daughter Elspeth Chapman's 1608 will.17

ROBERT COK. Baxter burgess elected deacon in 1578, elected elder in 1586, 1588, 1591, 1597, and annually from 1604 through 1611. He was admitted to the guildry in 1567 and elected to the council in 1587, 1589, 1590, and 1598. In 1596 he was a bailie and in 1597 he served as burgh treasurer. His own will is not extant, but at her death in 1603 his wife Agnes Malcom left a large estate worth £1129 10s.18

THOMAS COK. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1584. Admitted to the guildry as a baxter's son in 1578, he may be the son of Robert Cok.19

BLAISE COLT. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1580 and 1583. Admitted to the guildry in 1541, he served in 1551 as a constable to investigate forestalling, was treasurer in the same year, and was regularly a member of guildry assizes. He was elected to the council in 1570, 1571, and 1586 and served as bailie in 1574. Colt held burgh property on the west side of the Kirkgait, according to the hospital rental books. He died in 1594, leaving a substantial estate worth £1199 2s 7d. He was a notable moneylender, his will recording, among other loans, one of 400 merks to the earl of Atholl. He was the father of Jhon Colt (guildry admission 1578), who would be elected to the kirk session annually from 1592 to 1599 and 1604 to 1606.20

DIONYSIUS (Dionise) CONQUEROR. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1578, 1580, and 1584. Admitted to the guildry in 1564, Conqueror was chosen dean of guild in 1578, 1579, 1582 through 1585 and 1588. He was bailie in 1574, 1576 and 1577 and was elected to the council in 1575, 1578, 1580, and 1581. Conqueror represented the burgh in parliament in 1584, and in many conventions of the royal burghs (annually from 1577 to 1584, 1589

serving as each other's cautions in 1582); GB, 249; Milne, 5; NRS ms CC8/8/6/89–90, also describing the widower as a merchant.  
17 GB, 230, 410; Milne, 21, 66; NRS ms CC8/8/26/131–34, CC8/8/45/347–50 (Elspeth's will).  
18 GB, 366–67; PKCA ms B59/12/2 fos 38r, 42r, 61v–62v; NRS ms CC8/8/38/250–53 (Malcom's will) and CC8/8/30/309–311 (witness to Andro Wilson's will, 1596); NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 53, CH2/521/3, pp. 1–5, CH2/521/4, pp. 8–18, 60, 105, 140–41, 170, 217, CH2/521/5, p. 2.  
19 GB, 298.  
20 GB, 145, 214, 208–10 (constabulary), 214, 239; NRS ms CC8/8/26/328–30; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 22r–22v, 27r, 38r; Milne, 15. For Jhon Colt's eldership, NRS ms CH2/521/2, fos 66v 85v, 107r, 133v, 159v; CH2/521/3, pp. 1–10, 48, 110–11; CH2/521/4, pp. 8–18, 60, 105.
and 1590, and 1601). His will is not extant, but his wife Agnes Peblis, who
died in 1596, left an estate valued at over £780. He held substantial burgh
property, including lands from St Monans altar, St Paul’s Hospital, and the
Convent of Scone owing rents to the hospital. He purchased some of his
hospital property from William Anderson (above). Attesting to Conqueror’s
eminent status is the frequency with which he was asked to stand surety at
the baptisms of children named Dionysius from the 1560s on. He appears
in the bailies court records not only as a magistrate in the ‘70s, but also
as suitor and defender in property cases, the longest and apparently most
notorious being a 1581 case that dragged on for two years, concerning the
disputed goods of the late Henry Conqueror aboard a ship returned from
Danskin, claimed both by Conqueror and by a group of merchants including
his fellow elders Jhon Anderson, Robert Matho, and Alexander Pullor, along
with Thomas Anderson and David Malice. Conqueror lost the cause and
was briefly imprisoned in the tolbooth at the insistence of Matho and his
colleagues; he finally had to offer the value of his own house in the North-
gait for the fine and repayment of the value of the contested goods. It is
worth considering what effect this case might have had on the operations of
the session! More egregious was the discovery by his brethren 15 May 1587
that Conqueror had apparently kept for himself 300 merks donated by the
congregations of Edinburgh to relieve the poor of Perth during the plague
of 1584–85. Although subsequently elected to civic office, Conqueror never
again served as an elder.\textsuperscript{21}

OLIVER CRAGY. Cooper Burgess elected elder in 1579 and 1585. A
brother of the wright’s guild, Cragy was admitted to the guildry in 1559. His
1586 will suggests that he combined his craft with overseas trade, filling his
barrels with salmon which he exchanged for French wine: nineteen barrels
of salmon worth £16 each were in ‘the parts of France’ at the time of his
death, ‘sent with a merchant for buying of wine’. He lived on the north side

\textsuperscript{21} PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 27r–28v, 31r–40r, 64r; B59/13/1 (register of decreets), numerous
entries; B59/12/9, fos 1r, 19v ff (through 116v, but especially 80r–80v and 87v, the warding
order, in the long case against the claims of Matho et al); and B59/26/1/11. Conqueror
was related to the Andersens on his mother (Aleson Anderson)’s side, and he acted on
her behalf as Henry Conqueror’s widow, as well as his own. See also GB, 250, 277,
279–84, 293–300, 327–29 (his participation with Henry Adamson in securing the royal
acknowledgement in 1582 of Perth’s priority over Dundee in the Convention of Royal
Burghs and in parliaments), 330–34; APS iii, 335; NRS ms CCB/8/31/380–88; Milne, 11,
12, 17, 28, 29, 36, 47, 62, 74, 94; NLS ms Adv. 31.1.5, pp. 12, 27, 57 et passim; NRS-NRH
ms OPR 387/1, n.f.,1562 entries, for example. ‘Dionysius’ was a name common in Perth
long before the Reformation, in honour of Saint Dionysius whose altar, located within St
Katharine’s Aisle in the parish church, had been founded in 1484 (Milne, 44). (A councillor
named Dionysius Conqueror elected in 1601, and also elected elder 1599–1603, is probably
a younger kinsman: PKCA ms B59/12/2, fo. 64r; GB, 364; NRS ms CH2/521/3, pp. 110,
159, 195–96, 244, 288.)
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of the Southgait and held Blackfriars lands owing hospital rents. Cragy may have been a protestant as early as 1551, when the deacon and brethren of the wrights fined him two pounds of candle wax for 'molesting the kirk' and (more curiously) for 'putting fyr in Patrik Mar his bed at the tym of Yule at the evensong'. His estate after debts was valued at £198 22d, much of it in rents owed to him. He was survived by his second wife, Isobel Melvin (identified in his will as a brewster) and sons Walter, Patrick, Jhon (in Germany at the time of his death), Thomas, and Oliver. He named the baxter Andro Rynd and the cooper (and fellow-elder, below) Andro Wilson tutor to the two minor sons. The legacy of his will is interesting for his rather unusual inclusion of a religious formulary, which was clearly protestant: he averred that 'salvation consists only in the free mercy of God offered to him through the death and passion of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ'. His widow contested the will in the Perth bailies court against the claims of her stepson Thomas Cragy (by Oliver's first wife), insisting (in vain) that since she and Oliver had not had children, she should get half rather than the usual terce or third of his estate. Cragy had also been involved in a bailies court case against Patrick Lamb in 1581 about a disputed bolt of linen.22

JHON DAVIDSON. Notary elected elder in 1576, 1580, 1583 and 1585. He served as bailie in 1578 and 1579, and sat on the council in 1570 and 1580. Davidson paid hospital rents on his Blackfriars lands.23

ANDRO DONALDSON. Hammerman burgess elected elder in 1576, 1578, 1581, 1583. He was hospital master from 1577 to his death in 1596. Well-respected in his guild, he was deacon of the hammermen in 1568, 1569, and 1571 and regularly a member of the 'eight masters', the guild's annually elected ruling body. In the mercantile guildry from 1564, he sat on the council in 1570, then seems to have focused his efforts on the session and the hospital, returning to the council only in 1591 (after a year as bailie) and 1592. He was not very well-off, leaving an estate of only £46 6s 8d.24
JAMES DRUMMOND. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1576, 1582, 1583, annually from 1594 to 1602, 1605, 1606, and annually from 1608 through 1611, so that he provided a decided element of continuity for the session. He was selected for the council in 1576, annually from 1578 to 1582, and again in 1585 and 1587; served as bailie in 1583 and 1584; was dean of guild from 1589 through the 1593 term; and was the town’s parliamentary representative in 1592, 1593, and 1600. He was the town’s delegate to conventions of royal burghs in 1585. Drummond was the second son of David Lord Drummond and commendator (titular abbot) of Inchaffray after the death of Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, in 1576; he was created Lord Maderty in 1607, when the abbey was made into a temporal lordship, presumably for the aid he offered to the king in the 1600 Gowrie plot. He owned considerable burgh property owing rents to the hospital. He was on occasion in the 1580s clerk of the Perth sheriff’s court.  

WALTER ELDER. Skinner burgess, deacon of the glovers’ guild in 1576 and 1577, elected elder in 1578, 1582, 1583, 1586 and 1588. Elder was installed in the mercantile guildry in 1567 and elected to the council in 1578, 1579, and 1587. He paid modest rents to the hospital.  

PATRICK FLEMYNG. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1585 and 1589. Admitted to the guildry in 1567, he was elected to the council in 1585 and 1586, was bailie in 1587, and was again elected to the council in 1591, 1592, and annually from 1604 to 1606. He was one of the ten hospital benefactors of 1587, sold some of his own rental properties to the hospital (as did Patrick Grant and Robert Matho), and served as hospital master from 1601 to 1608. He was the younger brother of William Flemyng, elder (below).  

WILLIAM FLEMYNG. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1576 and 1580. Part of a magisterial dynasty in the burgh, he was the eldest son and heir of the merchant and councillor Thomas Flemyng, brother of Patrick Flemyng (above) and was admitted to the guildry in 1554. He was chosen a bailie in 1562, 1565, 1567, 1570, 1572, 1573, 1575, 1576, 1578, 1579, 1581, 1582, 1585, and 1586; and he sat on the council nearly every year when he was not a

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25 APS iii, 530 and iv, 6, 191; CRB i, 199; Milne, 49, 64, 70, 80; NLS ms Adv. 31.1.5, pp. 125, 165; NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1, n.f., 25 May 1572 (baptism of his son Jhon); PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 28r–34r, 38r, 42r, 51v, 52v, 53r, 58v; GB, 332–34, 364–71. NRS mss CH2/521/2, fos 107r, 133v, 159v; CH2/521/3, pp. 1–10, 48, 110–11, 159, 195, 244; CH2/521/4, pp. 60, 105, 170, 217; CH2/521/5, p. 2; NRS ms SC49/1/10, n.f.  

26 GB, 256, 311; Milne, 160. PKCA ms B59/12/8, fo. 220v (as a suitor for a two-dollar debt against the tailor William Anderson in 1577); B59/12/9 (1582); ms 67 (Glovers’ Minute Book) p. 1 (recording him among the guild’s 1593 auditors) et passim; and ms B59/12/2 (fos 31r, 38r).  

27 GB, 257 (admitted as son of Thomas Flemyng), 305; Milne, pp. xlv, 5–7; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 34r, 48r.
bailie, as a function of his frequent bailie service. Flemyng was a member of parliament for the burgh in 1568, 1579, and 1587 (along with his nephew, Oliver Car) and served on occasion as an officer or sheriff depute of the Perth sheriff's court.  

DAVID FORBES. Saddler burgess elected elder in 1578 and 1581. An active member of the hammermen's guild, he was deacon of the hammermen in 1574, 1575, 1579 and 1580. In 1585 and 1587 he was elected to the council. He was admitted to the guildry in 1565 by right of marriage to Jonet Quhithill. At his death in 1599 he left an estate valued at £373 11s 1d.

JHON FORBES. Hammerman elected elder in 1586 and 1588. He was among the guild's 'eight masters' in 1590. Son of the saddler and elder David Forbes (above), he was only admitted to the guildry in 1593.

THOMAS GALL (Gaw). Notary elected elder annually from 1588 to 1591, and again 1595 and 1596. He was admitted to the guildry as 'clerk' in 1577, and his occupation is mentioned in the 1602 will of his wife Isobel Blair. His father, the merchant Jhon Gall served as his cautioner in 1582 until he should 'return from the sail' to face unspecified charges.

ALEXANDER GIBSON. Notary and burgess elected elder in 1576, 1583 and 1587. Admitted to the guildry in 1563, he was chosen for the council in 1570, 1571, 1573, 1583, 1584, 1589 and 1590. The session was frequently troubled by his sister, who illegally inhabited space in the Greyfriars burial ground. He died in 1593, leaving minor children and an estate worth £183.

THOMAS GIBSON. Burgess of unknown occupation elected deacon in 1579 and elder in 1585. He may be the man of this name admitted to the guildry in 1548. Gibson held substantial urban properties owing hospital rents.

28 APS ii, 548 and iii, 4, 128, 428; PKCA mss B59/8/3, B59/26/1/11 (caution for Robert Anderson in 1582), and B59/12/9, passim (frequently on assizes of the bailies court); GB, 234 (as eldest son of Thomas Flemyng), 239; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 18r, 19r, 22r, 24r–26r, 27v–33r, 34r–38r; NRS ms SC49/1/10 (n.f.), passim. NLS ms Adv. 31.1.5, p. 9 (James Scott) notes that he enjoyed the patronage of Lord Fleming's daughter (the wife of Chancellor Maitland), who helped secure the second hospital charter 'on very easy terms'.

29 NLS ms 19239, fo. 38v et passim; NRS ms CC8/8/26/113–115; GB, 252; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 27r–27v, 31r, 32r, 34r, 38r (first 1587 election).

30 NLS ms 19239, fo. 54; GB, 383.

31 NRS ms CC8/8/15, fos 270r–72r; PKCA ms B59/26/1/11; GB, 295.

32 PKCA mss B59/12/9, fo. 8v; B59/12/2, fos 22r–22v, 26r, 33v–34r, 42r–43r; B59/26/1/11 (caution for Jhon Bein, 1582). GB, 249, 301; NRS ms CC8/8/29/221. For his sister Maige and the Greyfriars ground, see 5 Feb. 1582, for example.

33 GB, 196, 315 (Gibson as a caution in 1581), 403; Milne, 64, 73, 74, 152.
ALEXANDER GLASS. Saddler burgess elected elder in 1577 and 1582. He frequently held office in the hammermen’s guild and is probably the man of this name admitted to the guildry in 1567.34

PATRICK GRANT. Skinner burgess admitted to the guildry in 1570 and chosen elder in 1578, 1585, 1593, 1595, 1596, and annually from 1605 to 1611. He was deacon of the gloveyers in 1587, served as bailie in 1588, 1598, and 1604, and was elected to the council in 1596, 1599, 1600, 1605, and 1606. His will is not extant, but his wife, Agnes Anderson, left at her death in 1599 an estate worth £765 8s 8d, including a large store of hides, and her will describes him as a merchant. Grant was one of the ten men who funded the second hospital charter in 1587; in addition, he sold some of his rental properties to the hospital. He held land from the Abbey of Lindores owing rents to the hospital.35

WALTER GRAY. Merchant chosen deacon in 1584 and 1588, and elder in 1590, 1592, 1594, and 1596. He was admitted to the guildry in 1579 and elected to the burgh council in 1596 and 1597, 1599 and 1600. He died in January of 1601, leaving an estate of £936 14s 8d. His will, unusually, includes a religious preamble to the legacy in which he ‘acknowledges his soul’s salvation to consist in the death and passion of his savior Jesus Christ’, and a bequest to the poor of £20, to be distributed by the session and hospital masters.36

WILLIAM HALL. Baxter burgess elected to the session in 1582, 1584, 1598, 1599, and 1604. He was regularly chosen deacon of his craft — in 1569, 1570, 1574, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1580, 1583, 1584 — and was admitted to the guildry in 1572, the son of baxter Malcom Hall. Hall was elected to the council in 1572, 1573, 1578 (when he also served as burgh treasurer), 1581, 1585, 1586, 1597, 1599, and 1603. Hall was chosen bailie in 1583, 1584, 1587, 1601 and 1602. He held lands from the abbey of Scone and other ecclesiastical properties owing hospital rents. At his death in 1606 he left an estate valued at £1088.37

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34 NLS ms 19239, fos 38v, 45r, 54v–56v, 60v et passim; GB, 260; PKCA ms B59/12/8, fo. 226r (service on an inquisition, 1577).
35 PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 38r–40r, 61v, 62v, 63, 65v–66v; B59/26/1/11 (caution for Adam Anderson, and Anderson for him, 1582); B59/12/9, fo. 173r; and ms 67 (Glovers Book), pp. 1 (1593) – 20, passim. NRS mss CC8/8/34/656–67; CH2/521/2, fos 85v (an uncertain identification: ‘Grant’ may be here mis-written ‘Gray’), 133v, 159r–160v; and CC8/8/35/855. PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 61v–63v records his elections to the council. See also his widow’s 1603 will, which describes him as a merchant, as do the guildry records (GB, 308, 391).
36 GB, 270; NRS ms CC8/8/43/62–63 (d. August 1606, his son and namesake his executor; the unusual feature of his will is that he had only £4 of debt.); NRS ms CH2/521/3, pp.
JAMES HEPBURN. Merchant burgess elected a burgh elder in 1576, 1579, 1580, 1582, and 1583, and a landwart elder in 1592 through 1594. He was elected to the council in 1568, 1569, 1572, 1573, and annually from 1579 to 1582, and he served as bailie in 1583 and 1584. He was on the council again at the second 1585 election but was deprived of his office for abandoning the town during the plague outbreak of that year (despite the fact that he was then also serving as hospital master); none the less, he very briefly held the office of provost in 1587. Hepburn held considerable property owing rent to the hospital and is sometimes designated 'of Magdalens' because of his former chapel properties outside the walls. He seems also to have been something of a money-lender: at his death in 1596 he left a substantial estate of £1226 8s 4d, including debts owed to him totalling £871.38

DAVID HORNE. A very wealthy saddler burgess elected elder in 1577. He was a hammerman master by 1568, admitted to the guildry in 1565, and he served as deacon of the hammermen in 1582 and 1583. Horne held a great deal of former ecclesiastical property with rental income to the hospital, and he was an even more notable money-lender than Hepburn: his will of 1596 records an estate of £2800, a remarkable £2750 of which took the form of debts owed to him. He lived in the Southgait on property paying 26s 8d annually to the hospital.39

PATRICK INGLIS. Saddler burgess elected elder in 1576 and 1580. In the guildry from 1565, he served as a town bailie in 1575 and 1582 and was burgh treasurer in 1572 and 1573. He was often chosen to serve as one of the hammermen's 'eight masters', the guild council, and was deacon of his craft in 1570. Inglis was elected to the council in 1574, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1581, and 1585, but in this last year his colleagues deprived him of his office for leaving town during the plague outbreak. He held substantial hospital property, and his signature on a guild document of 1580 suggests that he was literate.40

48, 110, 288. Milne, 18, 29, 37, 87, 145; PKCA ms B59/16/1, fo. 43v; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 21v–22r, 24v, 26r, 27r–27v, 28v, 31r–32r, 33v–34r, 38r, 62r, 63r, 64v–65r, 67r.
38 PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 21r–21v, 31r–34v, 38r; Milne, 29, 68, 79, 102; GB, 332–33; NRS ms CC8/8/29/471–73 and ms CH2/521/2, fos 45v, 107r, 133v. His son and namesake was chosen for the council in 1589.
39 Milne, 10, 12, 13–14 (property in the Meal Vennel), 19, 61–62; GB, 252; NLS ms 19239, fos 42v, 45v, et passim; PKCA ms B59/12/9, fos 52r, 197v; NRS ms CC8/8/32/6–8 (Witnesses included his fellow-saddler and elder, Alexander Glass; the will also notes that Horne was boarding the son of a minister who owed him £51 in back fees.)
40 NLS ms 19239, fos 38v, 39r–65r (passim), 45v for signature; GB, 252, 287, 331–32; Milne, 13–14 (property in the Meal Vennel), 61, 71, 149. PKCA ms B59/12/8, fo. 221v (evicting tenants); B59/12/9, for 47r, 54v, 79r, 80r–80v, 92r, 93v (again evicting his tenants), 187v; B59/12/8, fo. 221v (evicting one of his tenants); B9/26/1/11, fo. 1r (caution for Richard Ross, and Duncan Robertson his caution), 4r (horners roll); B59/12/2, fos 24v, 26r, 27r–28v, 32r–33r, 34r–34v.
WILLIAM INGLIS. Hammerman burgess elected deacon in 1578 and elder in 1582. Frequently among the hammermen’s ‘eight masters’, he was deacon of craft in 1583, 1584, and 1590. Inglis was elected to the council in the second election of 1587 and in 1589.\(^\text{41}\)

ANDRO JHONSTON. Merchant burgess elected to the session in 1577, 1582 and 1583. Admitted to the guildry in 1571, and a holder of hospital properties, he appears never to have held burgh office.\(^\text{42}\)

DONALD JHONSTON. Merchant’s son admitted to the guildry in 1571 as fourth son of the merchant William Jhonston, and elected to the eldership in 1587 and 1595. He held a modest property owing rent to the hospital.\(^\text{43}\)

GEORGE JHONSTON, alias MACGREGOR. Skinner burgess elected elder in 1576 and 1579. He was admitted to the guildry as a skinner in 1567 and appears in the hospital rental books as a glover. He was deacon of the glovers guild in 1579, 1580 and 1585; was regularly elected to the council (in 1569, 1572, 1573, 1576, annually from 1581 to 1584, and 1586); was bailie in 1574; and served as burgh treasurer from 1580 through 1587. He owned hospital property, and his wife Jonet Bury died in 1583 leaving a very substantial estate worth £870, much of it in wool; however, at Jhonston’s own death in 1592 only £35 17s 8d remained in his own estate.\(^\text{44}\)

PATRICK JUSTICE. Cordiner burgess elected elder in 1587. Justice owned substantial hospital lands and was admitted to the guildry in 1574. He was a leader of his guild, serving as deacon of the craft in 1574, 1576, 1579, 1581 and 1582. He was nominated to the burgh council by the Privy Council in 1567, when the burgh elections were set aside by the queen’s government, and was more properly elected to the council in 1573 and 1574.\(^\text{45}\)

\(^{41}\) NLS ms 19239, fos 45r, 54r–56r, 65r, 96r; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 33v–34r, 38v; Milne, 189.

\(^{42}\) GB, 268; Milne, 79; PKCA mss B59/26/1/11 (David Jhonston and he serving as each other’s cautions in 1582) and B59/12/9, fo. 107r (Jhonston’s wife, Christiane Nory, winning a property dispute in the bailies court).

\(^{43}\) GB, 268; Milne, 27, 67; PKCA ms B59/26/1/11 (he and Gilbert Ray cautions for each other in 1582); NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 133v.

\(^{44}\) PKCA mss 67, fo. 1; B59/12/9, fo. 171r (his involvement in an arbitration); PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 21v, 24v, 26r–28r, 31r–35r, 38r (first 1587 election; he was replaced at the second by Oliver Phebbs); GB, 259; Milne, 13, 21, 62, 70, 121; NRS ms CC8/8/13/170–72 (wife’s will) and CC8/8/26/614 (his will, proved 1594), his son Jhon the executor and sole beneficiary.

\(^{45}\) Milne, 49, 70, 178; PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 26r–28r, 31r–33r, and B59/26/1/11 (Henry Adamson his caution in 1582); NRS ms CC8/8/21/647 (witness to J Gibson’s will, 1588); GB, 276 (1574, admitted as a tanner), 323 (caution in 1582); RPC i, 505–506. Verschuur, Politics, 118–19 gives a succinct account of the events of 1567 and their larger context.
PATRICK LAMB. Maltman burgess elected elder in 1588. A son of the merchant Thomas Lamb, he was admitted to the guildry in 1570. He died in 1590, leaving a widow and two children and an estate worth £326 5s 2d, mostly in debts owed to him (over £264). He served as an arbiter for the bailies court, in (among others) a 1585 case against the elder Oliver Cragy, and in February of 1588 served as cautioner for two fellow-maltmen charged with forestalling.\textsuperscript{46}

HENRY LEIS (Lyes). Tailor burgess elected to the session in 1579, 1584 and 1599. Admitted a master of the tailors’ guild in 1560 and to the guildry in 1563, Leis served on the council in the 1575 through 1577 terms, as bailie in the 1580 through 1582 terms (so that he sat on the council again the following year), in 1585 (both elections). Inexplicably he did not return to the council in 1586, but he was chosen in the second election of 1587 and in 1589. He may be the son and executor of William Leis, maltmaster, whose 1578 will left to him as sole heir an estate worth £326 20s. He certainly features prominently in the minutes of the tailors; in 1573, as deacon of the guild, he gave a foretaste of his eldership by disciplining ungodly tailors.\textsuperscript{47}

ROBERT LETHOME. Saddler burgess elected deacon in 1585 and 1587 and elder in 1588, 1589, 1593, and 1596, and so an example of an elder with prior diaconal experience. A leading figure among the hammermen, who had admitted him master in 1585, Lethome was chosen one of its ‘eight masters’ (the guild’s ruling council) in 1590. He had been admitted to the mercantile guildry in 1584, and he served as hospital master from 1597 through 1608. He was elected to the burgh council in 1596, served as bailie in 1597 and so sat on the council again in 1598, and was re-elected in 1602 and 1607. He was again bailie in 1617 and so on the council in 1618. Lethome also served as burgh treasurer in 1601. His own will is not extant, but his mother, Jonet Murray, left him 300 merks as executor in her will of 1591.\textsuperscript{48}

JHON LOWRY (Laurie). Merchant burgess elected elder in 1579, 1580, 1582, and 1583. He died in the plague outbreak of 1584. Admitted to the guildry as a merchant’s son in 1550 (his own sons admitted in 1571), he seems

\textsuperscript{46} NRS ms CC8/8/21/333–34; GB, 265, 348–55; PKCA ms B59/12/9, fo. 171.

\textsuperscript{47} GB, 249; PMAG ms 4 (Tailors book), fos 16v (admission), 18v, 19r (the discipline case), 26r, et passim. PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 27v–28v, 32r–34r, 38r; B59/12/9, fos 19v, 25v, 27r, 39v, 76v; B59/26/1/11, fos 1r (he and Henry Adamson cautions for each other in 1582), 4r (caution for Thomas Meik); NRS ms CC8/8/6/513–15; NRS ms CH2/521/3, pp. 110–11. NRS ms CH2/521/3, pp. 110–11.

\textsuperscript{48} NLS ms 19239, fos 50r, 54r–54v; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 61v, 62v, 64r–64v, 67r, 73r; Milne, pp. xlvi, 7, 93, 95, 101; NRS mss CC20/4/2/332–333 (1591) and CH2/521/2, fos 85v, 159v–160r; GB, 333.
never to have held civil office. He left an estate valued at £2704 5s 11d, most in an impressive variety of goods for sale in his booth — skins, cloth, spices, honey, quicksilver, fiddle strings, pots and kettles among them. He was survived by his wife and several children, including two sons. One, his namesake, would be elected deacon in 1585 and elder in 1591 and 1595).  

DUNCAN MACGREGOR (Makgregor, McGregor). Merchant burgess elected elder in 1577, 1581, 1585 and 1586. In the latter two years he was also elected to the burgh council. He is probably the man of that name admitted to the guildry in 1565 by virtue of his wife, Elizabeth Dundee, eldest daughter of the eminent merchant Alexander Dundee.  

DAVID MACKAY (McKy, Makie). Maltman burgess elected to the session in 1578 and 1581. He died in the plague outbreak of 1584. Admitted to the guildry in 1560, he held hospital lands from St Paul's altar in the Southgait. His will, made in 1584, was not proved in the Edinburgh Commissary Court until 1592; he left an estate worth £532 6s 8d.  

OLIVER MAKYSON (Makison, Mackayson, Mackesson). Merchant burgess elected elder in 1579. He was admitted to the guildry in 1570; his son Robert entered in 1579. Described as a merchant in a 1585 bailies court entry about his service as executor for Mr Jhon Mitchell, he appears in council election returns for 1568, 1570, 1571, and 1575.  

ANDRO MALCOM. Baxter burgess chosen for the session in 1577, 1581, 1583, 1585, 1587, 1589, 1592, 1594, 1598, and 1600. He was elected to the council in 1575 and 1577, was bailie in 1587 and so on the council in 1588, served as bailie again in the 1590 and 1591 terms and on the council in 1592. He held considerable property owing rents to the hospital. Malcom can be found frequently in the bailies court book serving on assizes. Although his own will does not survive, that of his wife Isobel Scot (d. 1587) left goods and free gear worth £200, unsurprisingly including quantities of malt, barley, and flour.

49 NRS ms CC8/8/16/732-42; GB 206, 239, 268, 311 (inquest service 1581); PKCA ms B59/13/1, fo. 2r (service on a 1577 assize) and ms B59/26/1/11 (caution for Constantine Malice in 1582, and his son serving as his caution). A 1598 will in the Edinburgh Commissary Court (CC8/8/31/688-91) may be that of his daughter-in-law, Isobel Broun, survived by her husband, Jhon Lowrie. Broun left free gear worth £380 11d.  

50 PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 35r-35v (both 1585 elections), 38r; B59/8/2, fo. 81r; B59/26/1/11 (caution for George Jhonston)/ B59/12/9, fo. 80v (service on an inquest). GB, 252, though there was also a Duncan Makgregor admitted to the guildry in 1541 (146).  

51 Milne, 12, 75; NRS ms CC8/8/24/342-43; GB, 201.  

52 GB, 202, 240, 308 (his son admitted 1579); PKCA mss B59/8/3 fo. 244r, and B59/12/2, fos 21r–22v, 27v.  

53 PKCA mss B59/12/8, fo. 242v (a 1598 inquisition in a boundary dispute) et passim; B59/12/9, fos 82v (a debt case), 84r, 93r; B59/12/2, fos 27v–28r, 38r–40r, 51v–53r. NRS
GEORGE MALCOM. Deacon of the baxters in 1586 and a member of the council in 1591, Malcom was elected elder only twice, in 1590 and 1593. He had been admitted to the guildry as the son of a baxter in 1575.54

CONSTANTINE MALICE (Maleis). Merchant burgess first elected elder in 1584, then again in 1589 and annually from 1591 to 1595, 1597, 1602, 1603, annually from 1605 to 1607, and 1609, so that his influence on the session was remarkably long and sustained in an era when there was regular turnover of personnel in the fall elections. Admitted to the guildry in 1581 as son and heir of the merchant David Malice, he survived the 1615 death of his wife, Isobel Elder, who left an estate worth £380. He held substantial burgh property owing hospital rents. Malice held burgh office with great regularity from 1597 through 1619: he was chosen for the council every year from 1592 to 1595 and in 1597; served as bailie in 1599 so that he returned to the council in 1600, was dean of guild in 1601, was elected to the council in 1602 and 1603, served again as bailie in 1604, returned to the council every election from 1605 through 1607, and again became bailie annually from 1613 to 1615 and in 1619.55

JAMES MALICE (Maleis). A very wealthy merchant burgess elected elder in 1580 and 1585. Admitted to the guildry in 1563, he died in 1593 leaving to his widow Jonat Blair (daughter of the litster Gilbert Blair) and two children an impressive estate worth £5394 10s 7d, much of it (£4196 10s 3d) in outstanding loans to people in the town and surrounding countryside; most of the items in his shop were dyes and cloth. This Malice never held civic office.56

ROBERT MATHO (Mathow). Merchant burgess elected elder in 1586, and again in 1590, 1592, 1594, 1597–1599, 1604, 1607–1609. He was admitted to the guildry in 1567; was one of the ten hospital benefactors of 1587, and held civic office with great regularity. He was chosen for the council in 1591, 1592, 1594, 1595, 1597, 1601, 1602, 1604, and 1607; served as bailie in the terms of 1593 and 1596; was treasurer of the burgh from 1598 through

mss CC8/8/18/148–49; CH2/521/2, fos 66v and 107r; and CH2/521/3, pp. 48 and 159. Milne, 26, 59, 62, 155. 54

NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 85v; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 38r, 52v; GB, 280. 55

PKCA ms B50/12/2, fos 53r–67r, 71r–73v, and B59/26/1/11 (the elder Jhon Lowry as his caution); NRS ms CC20/4/6, fo. 60; Milne, 52, 143, 150, 184; GB, 314. For election to the session beyond this volume’s 1590 terminus, see NRS mss CH2/521/2, fos 53r, 66v, 85v, 107r, 133v; CH2/521/3, pp. 1–10, 244–45, 288; CH2/521/4, pp. 60–61, 105, 140–41, 217. 56

NRS ms CC8/8/29/152–161 and CC8/8/23/709–18 (his father-in-law’s 1591 will, naming James Malice one of his executors and leaving him and Janet Blair the bulk of his dyeing goods); GB, 278, 347, 368 (his admission and those of his sons William and Adam, in 1587 and 1590). BKCA mss B59/26/1/11 (he and Robert Chapman cautions for each other in 1582); B59/12/9, fo. 169v; B59/13/1, fo. 2r (a 1577 assize).
the 1600 term; and was dean of guild in 1603. He was one of the successful suitors in the 1581–1583 bailies court case against Dionysius Conqueror, and seems to have been the instigator of Conqueror’s being gaoled in 1583 in the tolbooth. His orthodoxy was regarded as sufficiently reliable for his to stand ‘caution for ignorance’ of Thomas Brown in 1580 as a condition of Brown’s son being baptised; Matho had to ensure that Brown learned enough correct protestant doctrine to be able to instruct his child.\(^{57}\)

ALEXANDER MAXTON. Elected elder in 1577, 1589, 1591, and 1599; and to the council in 1587. He served as bailie once, in 1588, and since his occupation is not listed in the election list, while that of the craftsman bailie of that year is, he was probably a merchant. He sat on the council again in 1589 as a former bailie.\(^{58}\)

ANDRO MERSER. Merchant burgess chosen elder in 1583. Merser was admitted to the guildry in 1567 by virtue of his marriage to Margaret Blackwood, a merchant burgess’s daughter. He was selected to be dean of guild in 1575, 1576, and 1585; a bailie in 1569, 1571, 1572, and 1573, and again in 1589; and a councillor in 1574, 1577, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1587 (both elections), 1588 and annually from 1590 through 1595. Merser served occasionally as a court officer in the Perth sheriff’s court, and he held substantial property owing hospital rents.\(^{59}\)

JAMES MERSER. A deacon elected four times in the 1580s (1580, 1582, 1583, and 1586), Merser was chosen to serve as elder annually from 1590 to 1593. A cordiner, he had been admitted to the guildry in 1576 and was chosen deacon of the cordiners in 1589, 1591, 1597–99, 1605 and 1606 and elected to the council in 1592.\(^{60}\)

ROBERT MERSER. Elected elder in 1576, occupation unknown.\(^{61}\)

JHON MITSCHELL. Titled ‘Mr’, indicating university study, Mitschell’s occupation cannot be known with certainty; however, there was a notary

\(^{57}\) NRS mss CH2/521/2, fos 41v, 66v, 107r; CH2/521/3, pp. 1–10, 48–49, 110–11; CH2/521/4, pp. 8–18, 140–41, 170, 217. PKCA mss B59/12/9, fos 73r, 87r–87v (the Conqueror case), 169v (a 1584 inquisition); B59/26/1/11 (he and Patrick Blair cautions for each other in 1582); B59/12/2, fos 52v, 53r, 58v, 60r, 61r–65v, 67r. NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1, 20 May 1580; GB, 258, 305, 387, 407; Milne, 5–6, 71.

\(^{58}\) NRS mss CH2/521/2, fos 31v, 53r; CH2/521/3, p. 110; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 38r–404, 42r; Milne, 21; GB, 260 (3 Sept. 1567).

\(^{59}\) PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos 21v–28r, 38r–60v, and B59/26/1/11 (caution for William Blackwood in 1582); GB, 256, 265, 275–76, 285–90, 336–41, 365–70, 373, 398, 535; Milne, 11, 18, 29, 33, 66, 70, 87; NRS ms SC49/1/10, n.f., 1585 entries.

\(^{60}\) NRS mss CH2/521/2, fos 53r, 66v, 85v; GB, 288, 367; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 42v, 52v–53r, 62r–63r, 66r–66v.

\(^{61}\) The only reference in the volume to an elder of this name is on 1 Sept. 1577.
by this name active in the town in the 1570s and 1580s. He was elected to
the session in 1579 and 1582. He could be the son of the merchant and dean
of guild (in the 1540s) Jhon Mitschell; if so, he was admitted to the guildry
in 1575, though without the title. He left no extant will and did not hold
civic office.62

ANDRO MONCREIF. Baxter burgess elected elder in 1577, 1578, 1581,
1582, 1583, 1586, and 1587. He was admitted to the guildry in 1567 as the
son of the maltman of this name, who died in 1586 leaving an estate valued
at £450 12s 3d. Moncrief held considerable rental property in the burgh,
including lands formerly pertaining to the Charterhouse (with annual feu-
mail of over £6 in the Old Rental Book of the hospital) and St Michael’s
altar, both in the old Charterhouse ‘yett’ near the Southgait. He also owned
property in the Northgait.63

JHON MURRAY. Future laird of Tibbermuir, elected elder in 1581. Murray
had been admitted to the guildry in 1565 by right of his mother, daughter
of a merchant burgess (Oliver Maxton) and chosen to the council in 1569.
He may have been the grandson of Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir, described
in his will as an ‘indweller in Perth’, who at his death in 1580 left to his son
(also Jhon) land and goods worth £638. A Jhon Murray admitted to the
guildry as a merchant in 1586 may be his son.64

ALEXANDER OLIPHANT (Olyphant). Merchant burgess elected elder in
1578, 1585, 1586, 1588 and 1590, and father of the elder Patrick Oliphant,
below. Admitted to the guildry in 1543, he regularly held public office there-
after, being elected bailie in 1545; dean of guild in 1548, 1552 and 1567;
bailie again each year from 1561 to 1564, and in 1568, 1569, and 1570; and
councillor in 1569, 1571, 1585 (December election) and 1586.65

PATRICK OLIPHANT. Merchant burgess elected to the session in 1587.
The son of Alexander Oliphant (above), he was admitted to the guildry in
1577 and was elected to the council in 1593, as bailie in 1594 and 1595, and
so to the council again in 1596. He owned substantial hospital property and
lived in an imposing house in the Watergait. He died in December of 1600,
leaving Margaret Adamson his widow to be executor (together with James

62 GB, 280, 534–35; NRS ms CC8/8/10/68–70 (as witness to the will of Patrick Mitschell
of Tibbermuir, 1580). He may be the Michell noted in the first hospital rental book: Milne,
26, 79.

63 NRS ms CC8/8/16/49–52; Milne, 19, 31, 62, 87, 93, 103; GB, 259, 279–80 (serving as
caution for Robert Moncreif of Easter Moncreif and David Tuly of Kynmonth), 286.

64 NRS ms CC8/8/10/68–70; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fo. 21v; GB, 251, 342.

65 NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 41v; GB, 152, 164–166, 239, 534–535; PKCA mss B59/12/2, fos
4v, 21v, 22v, 35r, 38r, and B59/12/4, fo. 78r.
Adamson, his paternal uncle), and an estate valued at £247 13s 4d for her and his sons, Patrick and William.66

JHON PEBLIS. Craftsman burgess elected elder only in 1576. With his three brothers (Andrew, a baxter, Alexander, and Oliver, below), he was admitted to the guildry in 1554 and thereafter advanced rapidly in civic responsibility. He was designated craftsman bailie in the elections of 1570, 1572 and 1573; was elected to the council in 1576 and 1577; and eventually served as sheriff of Perth. He held property owing rents to the hospital, and was a rather profligate moneylender: at his 1585 death his ‘free gear’ or estate after payment of his debts (£1267 18s) amounted entirely to debts owed to him, and he had apparently himself borrowed money to make the loans.67

OLIVER PEBLIS. Merchant burgess elected elder in 1576, 1582, 1591, 1593, 1598, and 1599, the brother of Jhon, above. He resided in a house in the Northgait, and he owned considerable property owing hospital rents, including a particularly valuable plot from St Gregory’s altar that paid five merks annually. By 1584 he was denominated ‘of Chapelhill’, the title taken later by his son Alexander (baptised 1566). Admitted to the guildry with his three brothers in 1554, he was chosen dean of guild in 1574, 1576 and 1577; served as a bailie in the terms of 1572, 1573, 1575, 1581, 1582, 1585 (second election), 1592, 1594, 1595, and 1597; and was elected to the council in 1569, 1570, 1576 (as former bailie), 1578, 1579, 1580, 1583, 1596, 1598 (the last three again as former bailie), and 1599. He was burgh treasurer in 1587, 1588 and 1589. In 1581 he served as the first recorded kirkmaster, responsible for the physical upkeep of the kirk. Peblis represented Perth in the parliaments of 1572 and 1590; was delegated to the conventions of burghs in 1578, 1582, 1586 and 1587; and served as sheriff depute of the county. His son, Alexander Peblis of Chapelhill, would also have a long and illustrious magisterial career from 1616, serving several times between 1628 and 1638 as provost of the burgh. Peblis died in 1606, leaving an estate valued at just £63 18s 4d, much of it in tiends from the Chapelhill property in the form of barley, peas and oats. The low point in Peblis’s otherwise successful life, recounted in the present volume of kirk session minutes, was the early years of the 1580s, troubled first by his tumultuous marriage to Jean Thornton, who in 1581 committed notorious adultery with his former friend Henry Adamson (above), and then by a charge of treason leveled against him on suspicion that he was involved in Gowrie’s attempt on Stirling in 1584.68

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66 GB, 295; Milne, 81, 96; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 58v–61v; NRS ms CC8/8/36/321–22 (noting annual rent on his Watergait house as £26 13s 4d).
67 GB, 234; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 22r–22v, 24v–25r, 26r, 28r–28v, and B59/26/1/11, fos 1r, 3v (caution list); Milne, 58, 87; NRS ms CC8/8/16/92–98.
68 PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 21r–22r, 24v–25r, 26r, 27r–28v, 31r, 32r, 33r, 35r, 38r, 40r, 42r;
JHON PITCAIRNE. Admitted to the guildry in 1587 by right of his marriage to Jonet Seton, Pitcairne joined the session in 1590 and served ten more terms during the following seventeen years—re-elected in 1592, 1597, and 1599, and 1600, 1602, and 1603, 1606, and 1607. He seems never to have been elected to burg office, and it is not possible to identify his occupation.

ALEXANDER PULLOR. Skinner burgess chosen deacon in 1584 and elder in 1587, 1589, and 1601, making him one of the examples of an elder with prior experience in the ecclesiastical diaconate. He was deacon of the skinners in 1586. He may be the grandson of the Alexander Pullor admitted to the guildry in 1499; his own sons were admitted in 1581 and 1589. Pullor held the lucrative tacks of the timber market. He was probably related to the early protestant Lawrence Pullor, also a skinner. In the disastrous plague year of 1584–85 he took on the important task of administering the sale of cattle sent for relief of the town by the Lord Atholl.

DUNCAN ROBERTSON (Robison). Merchant burgess elected to the session in 1577, 1581, 1584, 1586, and 1587. He was one of the ten hospital benefactors of 1587, and owned property owing hospital rents. The son of the merchant Andro Robertson, he was admitted to the guildry in 1574, and he was elected to the burgh council in 1581. Robertson’s own will is not extant, but that of his wife, Cristiane Crysteson (d. 1582), of which he was executor, records her estate worth £195, much in the form of knitted and woven cloth, including quantities of canvas; thread and needles; and assorted other goods including reams of paper, pepper, glass, and wine.
RICHARD ROSS. Merchant burgess chosen elder in 1578. In the guildry from 1562, he held substantial hospital property, including lands in the Water-gait. His son-in-law, the soutar James Small, was admitted to the guildry in 1567. He never held burgh office.\(^72\)

WILLIAM RYND (Rhynd, Rind). Titled ‘Mr’ to indicate graduate status, Rynd was a skinner’s son who became a notary and master of the grammar school after Andro Simson departed in 1562. Admitted to the guildry in 1565, he was elected to the session in 1583 but did not hold civic office. He held considerable property owing hospital rents. Rynd studied at St Andrews and was licensed in 1557. He was one of the authors of *The Second Book of Discipline*, and he eventually became minister of Perth’s neighbouring parish of Kinnoull until his death in 1610. He was one of the oversmen assigned by the minister Jhon Row’s will to aid and defend his children.\(^73\)

JHON SALMOND (Salmon). Merchant burgess chosen for the session in 1577. A guildry member from 1565, he held hospital property, including lands from the Convent of Scone on the Northgait paying rents of four merks annually to the hospital. An act of the guildry in 1579 compelled him to pay a debt to a Dundee ship’s skipper, Thomas Kay, of £16. Salmond did not hold civic office.\(^74\)

JHON SMYTH. Gunsmith elected elder in 1579, 1581, 1582, and 1584. He was admitted to the guildry in 1572 ‘for haldyn of the townis artefiyery chargit and to be gunnar to the schuting of the samyn arteleyery quhen tyme requiris and beis chargit thairto on his awyn expensis’.\(^75\)

JHON SPENSER (Spens). Merchant burgess chosen elder in 1589. Admitted to the guildry in 1574, he was elected to the council in 1589 and annually from 1593 through 1595; he was bailie in 1590 and burgh treasurer in the 1591 and 1592 terms.\(^76\)

\(^{72}\) Milne, 15, 18, 32, 124; GB, 247, 256; PKCA ms B59/26/1/11 (caution for the tailor William Ross in 1582).

\(^{73}\) GB, 253; Milne, 67, 74, 76–77, 101, 103; NRS ms B59/1/1, fo. 21r; Fasti iv, 218; *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree*, ed. A.I. Dunlop (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1964) ii, 406, 408; NRS ms CCB/8/8/400–402 – Row’s will, which he signed both as notary and as minister of Kinnoull. He participated in the ceremonial installation of Jhon Malcolm as minister of Perth in 1590, and of William Cowper as minister of the ‘second congregation’ in 1595: NLS ms Adv. 35.4.4 (‘Chronicle of Perth’), fos 4v–5r.

\(^{74}\) Milne, 17, 74, 81, 153; GB, 254, 303–304.

\(^{75}\) GB, 272. PKCA mss B59/12/8, fo. 224r (service on an assize); B59/26/1/11 (caution for David McKy in 1582, and Henry Adamson caution for him); B59/12/8, fo. 224r (assize).

\(^{76}\) GB, 278; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 42r, 52r–53r, 58v–60v.
ANDRO STOUP. Merchant burgess chosen for the session in 1578, 1579 and 1584. He was admitted to the guildry in 1544 with part of his fee remitted 'in consideration of [unspecified] work done for the burgh'. Clearly a respected member of the guildry, he was chosen a constabular in 1551 to investigate forestalling, and frequently served on assizes and inquests through the early 1580s. His son Peter was admitted to the guildry in 1568, his son-in-law, also a merchant, in 1587. Stoup also held hospital properties. 77

JHON STRANGBOW. Skinner elected elder only twice, in 1584 and 1591. He apparently never held other offices in the burgh, he was not in the guildry, and his will his not extant. 78

JHON WENTON. Skinner burgess elected elder in 1579, 1581, 1590, 1594, 1595, and 1608. He could be either of the two skinners named Jhon Wenton admitted to the guildry, one in 1565 and one in 1574. He was deacon of his craft in 1585, and he held some hospital property. 79

ANDRO WILSON. Cooper elected elder in 1586, 1590, 1591, and 1592. He was deacon of his craft in 1577. At his death in 1596 he left to his pregnant widow, Jonet Lamb, and three daughters 'free gear' worth £362 12s 8d. The inventory of his shop included twelve barrels of salmon (valued at over £665), which helped to pay his debts. His will includes a somewhat unusual protestant preamble to the final portion, the legacy, acknowledging that 'his salvation is only in the death and passion of Jesus Christ' and that he 'commits his soul to the protection of God eternal'. 80

JHON WOOD. Baxter, appears in only one election return, in 1577. He was admitted to the guildry in 1575. 81

OLIVER YOUNG. Elected to the session only once, in 1590. A prominent magistrate, he was elected to the council in 1590 and 1596 and chosen bailie annually from 1587 to 1589, again from 1591 to 1595, and from 1598 to 1602. He represented the burgh in parliament in 1593 and 1594, and was almost certainly a merchant. 82

77 GB, 157, 193, 208, 240, 263, 311–12 (a 1581 assize), 345; Milne, 52, 58.
78 NRS ms CH2/521/2, fo. 53r.
79 NRS ms CH2/521/2, fos 41v, 107r, 133v; CH2/521/4, p. 170; GB, 252 or 277; Milne, 57, 58; PKCA ms B59/12/2, fo. 34r.
80 NRS ms CH2/521/2, fos 41v, 53r, 66v; NRS ms CC8/8/30/309–11; Milne, 51, 86, 102, 110; PMAG ms Wrights Book, fo. 4r (p. 3).
81 GB, 283, 370 (1590, his second son's admission, also as a baxter).
82 PKCA ms B59/12/2, fos 39r–39v, 42v–43r, 52v–53r, 58v, 60r–64v; APS iv, 6, 56.
APPENDIX II

HOSPITAL MASTERS, 1577–1590

1577
Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir
James Davidson (resigned in August)
Andro Donaldson

1578–80
Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir
Andro Donaldson

1580–85
Andro Donaldson
James Hepburn¹

1585–86
Andro Donaldson
Henry Leis²
Patrick Ray

1586–87
Andro Donaldson
Patrick Ray

1587–96
Andro Donaldson
James Adamson

¹ Milne erroneously reports 'John' Hepburn as hospital master 1580–86. The 14 November 1580 election return instead indicates James Hepburn with Andro Donaldson. Selection of new hospital masters does not appear in the elections of 1581–84, but there are numerous references to Donaldson's continued service (e.g., 20 Nov., 10 and 31 Dec. 1582, 2 July 1583). Hepburn's fee for 1581 is noted 31 Dec. 1582, but there is no other indication of his active service as hospital master after the 1580–81 term; none the less, since the plural 'hospital masters' is generally used in subsequent years, Hepburn may still have held the office formally.

² Milne fails to note the 18 Oct. 1585 election of Leis and Ray. Donaldson is mentioned as hospital master in 1585 and 1586, however, suggesting that he continued in office without re-election: see 1 Feb. and 2 Aug. 1585, 10 Jan. and 21 Mar. 1586, though the 6 June 1586 entry refers only to Ray and Leis as masters. For further information on hospital masters who were also elders (Donaldson, Hepburn, Leis and Adamson), see Appendix I.
The following entries in the midst of the first surviving volume of marriage registers for Perth are disciplinary cases and are most likely instances of the parish clerk inadvertently writing session minutes in the wrong book, or perhaps just noting as memoranda items that he intended to copy into the session book later. In the absence of an extant volume of session minutes from the period 1560–1577, they provide evidence of the existence of an earlier session, and of its disciplinary, charitable, and administrative activities.

[132r]

The x day of Januar 1568

... John Monepenne [compaered] and confessit thair [sic] carnal dayl [with] Besse Blak and therfor ordains tham to mak thair repentance or elles to pay xls to the puir²

[135r]

... die February 1568 uppon ... repentance³

George Anderson The laird of Balhoussy ...ly adulterie [torn]
William Car
William Elder
Jonat Hog Robert Young has performit his dew repentance conform to hes testimonial
Christiane Levingston
Mage Yulle Waltir Rukar⁴

---

1 NRS-NRH ms OPR 387/1. As in the foregoing edition, marginal notes are inserted at the end of the entry to which they relate, in parentheses.
2 This isolated entry occurs on a page otherwise taken up with marriage banns.
3 This page seems to be a list of people assigned to performed repentance. Where the sin is indicated, it is sexual. Given its location amidst marriage records, perhaps these were people not permitted to marry until they had repented; however, unlike other matrimonial records in the volume, there is generally no indication of who married whom, if indeed marriages are being recorded here. This transcription reproduces the original placement of data on the page for the 1567–70 cases, for which position in some cases is significant. Parts of the first line are illegible.
4 It is tempting to suppose that Robert was the sexual partner of either Jonat or Christiane,
Elizabeth Bachane
Cathirine Ruderfurk

Marci 1568

Oliver Young
Dionise Blakwod
William Hendersons nurrice
Eleine Matto
Isobel Moncreif for adulterie with the laird Balhoussy (28 marci)

Primis
Richart Fynlason hes doyn their repentance (xxx Junii)
Jonat Duncan (anno 1568)

The xx day of October 1568
Alexander Jonston bowir hes don & performit their repentance
Andro Thomson for thair fornication
David Forbes nuris

The secund day of Januar 1569
Androw Merschall and his ... hes don thair repentance

John Boig hes performit his repentance for his adultrie

Paul Cosland his maid his repentance for haffying daill with Kathryn Karmage afor mariag (... God)

xxiii of April de anno Lxviii
David Merschell, Margret Stewart, Thomas Colt, James Hundson has performit thair repentance.

and Walter of Mage; however, Robert's partner was Isobel Moncreif, as appears below, so placement on the page is not a reliable indicator.

5 His children's wetnurse.
6 Perhaps the beginning of a date which the clerk never completed.
7 Given the arrangement of the marginal dating, Richart and Jonat seem to have been partners.
8 Bracketing is original, so that the note seems to apply to all three men.
9 Left blank.
10 Carnal deal.
11 Part of the margin is obscured.
12 This date is in the margin but seems to apply to the remaining cases on the page. These four are listed vertically but bracketed, so that the final phrase can be seen to apply to all.
29 February 1568
Jone Cuk is becumit caution for David Makchire [alias] Pullaris must enderly the trial of the krk and the jugement thereof onder the panes of ten £ to the puir and in this respect the eldares ordanis the barnis to be baptisit.

Xvii Marci 1568
Quhilk day Jhon Scot flescher is becumit actit of his awyn frie consent to cause Elen Wilson to perform the civil ordinance and alsua the ordinance of the kirk for fornication comitit be hir wyth Hector Maclane and that within xxx days or elles to pay ten £ to the puir.

30 Marci
Quhilk day George Low is becumit cautionar for Gilbert Scheill in Murton that the said Gilbert sail onderly the ordinances of the kirk and the civil punisment for fornication comitit be hym wyth Isobel Cryton thair and that within xxx days or elles to pay ten £ to the puir. And the said Gilbert is becumit actit for his releaf.

Quhilk day the said Gilbert hes obleist hym self to tak his barne fra Marion Cummyng and sail cause fostir the said as effris.

Viii Aprilis 1568\(^{13}\)
Quhilk day Andro Colt is becumit obleist for Alexander Randy that upon Sonday nixt he sail compere befor the presbyter and maik repentance for not cumyng to the examination and that he sail cum to the samyn in all tymes and quhen onder the pane of ten merkes to the puir.\(^{14}\)

The xxvi day of October in anno Lxx yeires
Quhilk day maister William Rynd is becum actit sourete\(^{15}\) for Margret Fiendlayson that scho sail perform the civil punisment and the ordinance of the kirk for hir fornication comitit with Paul Cunyngham how suyne the brin\(^{16}\) on hir brest is wenit and this under the payne of x merkes to the puir.

---

\(^{13}\) The date is in the margin, and the entry that follows is in a faint ink, perhaps added later when the clerk learned the rest of the story.

\(^{14}\) The standard abbreviation for presbytery in this entry may refer to the session, given that formal presbyteries were at this date still in the future. The New Testament term πρεσβυτερος means ‘elders’ and may well have been explained as such by John Row as he met with the session and its clerk.

\(^{15}\) Surety, or caution.

\(^{16}\) Bairn.
James Smal dekon is become soro[ty] for John Donaldson that he shall perform his repentance afor his mariage with Christen Donaldson under the payne of v £ money to the puir betwix this xx dayis of paische.

William Wenton
Jas Brison

This day gavyn in custodie to Thomas Robertson for the puir boy that has the stane xv s id.

In the midst of marriage records, the following administrative note appears; it is here printed as it appears near the middle of the page. A relationship between the two men’s names on the left and the record of 15 shillings and a penny spent on the healing of a poor child with kidney or gall stones is not evident.
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Several terms or concepts that would appear on nearly every page of this volume appear in the index only when they are discussed as concepts or when they appear outside everyday circumstances. These include: adultery, banns, caution, civil punishment (though particular forms of corporal punishment are indexed), contumacy, discipline, fornication, poor (when referring to fines paid to the poor, as was routine), and repentance.

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Alexander (Allexander)
Andro (Androw)
Cristane (Cristan, Cristiane, Cirstane
Dionyse (Dionys, Dionise, Dionysius, Dionice)
Elspet (Elspat, Elspeth)
Euphame (Ewfame, Eupham, Eufam)
Henry (Hendrie, Hendry, Henrie)
Isobel (Issobel)
Janet (Jonat, Jannet, Jonnet)
Jean (Jein, Gein)
Kathren (Katrene, Katherin, Katherine, Ketren, Catherin, Cathrine)
Malcom (Malcolm, Malcum)
Matho (Mattho, Mathow)
Margret (Margaret, Margreit, Margreat)
Patrik (Patrick)
Violet (Violat)

This practice has been followed with some surnames that were commonly spelled in a great variety of ways; standardised and alternative spellings are given before the relevant section of the index. Names of elders are not indexed when referred to solely as present in an attendance roll or at communion.

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