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THE INCORPORATION OF FLESHERS OF STIRLING.

(By DAVID B. MORRIS.)

EARLY HISTORY.

In considering the story of the development of burghal life in Scotland in early times, one of the most interesting features is the growth of the associations or incorporations known as the Crafts. These constituted the working tradesmen, the men who wrought with their hands, as distinguished from the merchants, the men who bought and sold. These classes together constituted the burgesses, but the distinction between them appeared at an early date, and while the craftsmen always maintained a position of independence of the brethren of the Merchant Guild, the merchants were the dominant factor in the administration of the burgh's affairs throughout a prolonged period. The struggle between the Guildry and the Trades constituted a great part of the history of any Scottish burgh from mediæval to modern times.

There is no record of the actual origin of the Crafts of Stirling. When the earliest Town Council minutes that have been preserved begin, in 1610, the Trades were already in existence with their deacons and their principles of government. The leading Trade Incorporations of Stirling were the Hammermen, Skinners, Bakers, Weavers, Tailors, Fleshers, and Shoemakers. These bound themselves together in a body as the Seven Incorporated Trades, ruled by a Convener Court, consisting of the Deacon and old Deacon of each trade, thus numbering fourteen, the chairman being known as the Deacon Convener. It was usual for such bodies to obtain from the Town Council a Deed of Foundation, known as a "Seal of Cause," but no evidence has been found of such having been granted in favour of any of the Seven Incorporated Trades of Stirling. The craftsmen had obtained a definite position by the year 1424, when, by an Act of Scots Parliament, they were given the right to choose their deacons. This marks a stage in the long controversy, which need not be further followed here.

The earliest Minute Book of the Fleshers Incorporation, which has been preserved, begins in 1658, but there is evidence of the existence of a Fleshers Incorporation in Stirling at a very much earlier date. In the Charter by King David I., granting and confirming certain rights to the Church of the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline, dated 1129, the King granted, among other privileges, "half of the hides, fat, and tallow of all beasts killed at the feasts held in Strivelin." In the Laws of the Four Burghs are many interesting regulations dealing with fleshers. These ancient Laws were collected and methodised in the reign of David I. (1124-1153). The title bears that they were constituted and confirmed by King David, and that they were the laws of the four burghs—Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Stirling. These constituted the Court of the Four Burghs, which, ultimately, developed into the Convention of Royal Burghs. From an early date this code of laws was observed throughout the burghs of Scotland, and it is clear that they must have been followed in Stirling from their inception. To give an idea of their nature, and the quaint old Scots in which they are expressed, let me quote articles 64 and 65:—

"Of fleschewaris in the burgh.

"Wha that wyl sell flesche he sal sell gude flesche, beyff, muttone, and pork eftir the ordinans of gud men of the toune, and he sal sett his flesche opynly in his wyndow that it be sene communly till al men that will tharof. And fleschewaris forsuth sal serve the burges in tyme of slauchter—that is to say, fra the fest of Saynt Martyne whil Yhule, of the flesche in thar lardynner to be graythit and dycht. And gif the fleschewar graythis evil flesche, he sal restor hym the scathis that aw the bestys. And the fleschewaris whilis thai serve thaim thai sal ete at thair burde wyth thair servandis. And thai sal hafe for a cow or ane ox a halpeny, and for a schepe a halpeny, and for a swyne a halpeny."

This means that fleshers were to sell according to the ordinance of the Town Council—"the gud men of the toune"—and to put the flesh openly in the window where it could be seen. The inhabitants were in the habit of killing a beast for winter use about Martinmas, called a

"mart," and fleshers were to kill and dress such animals. If they prepared diseased flesh, they were to make good the damage, and when doing this work they were to get their meals at the table with the servants of their customer. The charges for the work are stated.

"Of bestys bocht to be slayne.

"Na man duelland ututh the burgh sall by bestys for to slay befor that undern be rungyn in wynty and mydmorne in somyr. Bot the propyr fleschewaris of the toune sal by bestys to the propir oysis of the toune al tyme of the day at hym lykis. And na fleschewar sal sla na by na beste on nyctertale bot on lycht day in thair bothys and thair wyndowis beande opyn. And wha sa beis convykyt other wayis doande sal geyff viii s. for his amerciament."

The object of this regulation was to prevent secret buying and selling, so as to forestall the market. Persons dwelling outside the burgh were not to buy beasts before the nine o'clock ("undern") bells were rung in winter, or before six o'clock ("mydmorne") in summer, but town fleshers could buy beasts at any time of the day. No flesher was to kill at night, but by day in their booths, with the windows open.

Further regulations provide that fleshers were to sell off their flesh to all who would buy, retaining only fourpence worth over night, and that no flesher would be allowed to become a Guild Brother unless he foreswore to work with his own hands. This was one of many rules to preserve the distinction between merchant and craftsman. The laws of the Guild which were collected between 1249 and 1294 also contain a similar regulation, ordaining that no butcher, so long as he chooses to practise his trade, would be allowed to buy wool or hides, unless he will abjure his axe and swear that he will not lay his hand upon beasts. Another of these Guild laws, dated 1283, provides that no butcher should go beyond the burgh to meet and buy beasts coming to the town to be sold.

In the reign of Robert I., which ended in 1329, a schedule was drawn up containing the points to be inquired into by the Chamberlain in his judicial visits throughout the country. These include the following:—If fleshers buy other than sound beasts, if they sell flesh other than publicly in the market, if they keep the

assize imposed on beef, mutton, and pork, if the appryers of flesh (who fix the selling price) do their office justly, how often fleshers are assessed, and if fleshers "put to" their hands to kill "marts." At a meeting of the Court of the Four Burghs, held at Stirling on 12th October, 1406, the following was ordained:—

"Item the Baillie may ilk day, except it be ane halie day, cognosce and correct the breakers of the asise of bread, aill, and flesh, and als the rebelles and perturbers within the burgh, als oft as necessitie requyres and complaint is made."

These, and other laws which have been preserved, show that the fleshers at a very early date in Scottish burghs were well regulated bodies.

The earliest record in the minutes of the Town Council of Stirling dealing with fleshers is dated 28th April, 1522. It is as follows:

"It was fundin be the inquist that ony flechour that slais ony falty flecht within burgh, or brekis ony fawin flecht to tap amongis nebouris, that he sall be expellit fra flecht slain within burgh for ane yeir, and ane unlaw unforgyvin."

"It is ordinit that the dekin of the flecheris that beis for the tyme cum to the offmaris that beis the said tyme and schaw thaim ony of the said craft that byis ony fawin flecht or ony falty flecht to tap upon nebouris and fallin helrof that he sall pay xl s. to the kirk warik."

"Item, that na flecheir hald na servand bot he that he will risspond and ansour for him."

"Item, that na martis, syen nor mutton, be slane on the hegait be na flechour na their servandis, bot in the Bakraw and in bouis, under the pane of the unlaw als aft as tha sall."

On 27th October, 1522, it was provided that a Baillie should fix the price of flesh. On 16th July, 1526, it was provided that no indweller in the burgh should kill flesh except a freeman, also that no "nyeiris" or "nyeircres" (kidneys and the surrounding fat) be taken out of the sheep when presented for sale. There was also a provision against the blowing of flesh. On 6th October, 1527, the fee of the flesher for breaking or cutting up a "mart" was fixed at fourpence, and twopence for a young beast. This was repeated on 5th October, 1528, and the head was to be exposed for sale with the mutton. On 3rd September, 1529, licensed the deacon and crafts-

man of the fleshers to bait a bull on St. Cuthbert's day, or on the Sunday next thereafter.

On 24th January, 1549, there seemed to be trouble with the fleshers, as provision was made for merchants lending money to fleshers and for fleshers presenting the skins and tallow at the market along with the flesh. William Niddisdale protested that the fleshers should have "place to sell thair penny worthis quhair thay best ma." The Deacon of the Fleshers and "brethir" of the craft complained of being stopped from breaking or cutting up fish upon the shambles, and it was ordained that the fleshers and the tacksman of the shambles were to be free to cut up fish. Apparently it was found convenient to employ the butchers, who were provided with the necessary accommodation and tools, for cutting up fish for sale. On 18th April, 1547, the Council approved of the craft taking a knife which belonged to an unfreeman. On 2nd May, 1597, the dues to be exacted from outland fleshers were laid down, being referred to as of "auld use." On 21st December, 1618, blowing of flesh was prohibited. Further regulations were enacted in 1638, 1647, and 1665.

These and other records show that, from an early date, the Town Council of Stirling regulated the killing of animals for food and the sale of the flesh, fixed the charges for killing and "breaking" the flesh, provided for the inspection of meat, for securing that the meat would be killed in an open way and openly exposed to sale, so that diseased flesh could be detected, and provided drastic penalties for the sale of tainted meat for food. The distinction between freemen fleshers and landward fleshers continues throughout, the latter being subject to certain restrictions and payment of dues.

THE STIRLING BUTCHERS AND GUTHRIE THE MARTYR.

The Stirling butchers attained an unenviable notoriety from their association with the Rev. James Guthrie, known as "The Martyr." Guthrie was first minister of Stirling from 1649 to 1661. He took an active part in the politics of that troublous time. There was no justification for Guthrie's execution. The man was a fearless upholder of the principles in which he believed, and he died for conscience sake. While

this is not the place to appraise the value of his life and work, there is no doubt that the part he played made him many enemies. His untimely interference at Dunbar, which was largely responsible for the defeat of the Scots army, his equally untimely excommunication of Middleton, his remonstrance to the Commission of the General Assembly, his publication of "The Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland," his address to King Charles II. upon the restoration of that monarch, and his general irreconcilable conduct throughout, were the causes that led him to his doom. His conduct in Stirling was such as to make him exceedingly unpopular. When the Scottish army, ragged, shoeless, and half starved, held Stirling against the power of Cromwell and his English soldiery through the long winter of 1650-51, Guthrie preached a series of sermons in which he did all in his power to discourage the troops, he even persuaded some of the officers to resign, and was suspected of influencing the Governor of the Castle. For this he was deposed by the Commission of the Church, although the sentence was never carried out. He hailed sixty of his own townspeople before an alien bench of judges, because they resisted his intrusion of a colleague of his own persuasion. These citizens the jury declined to convict. (Law Mathieson's "Politics and Religion in Scotland," page 180.) One can understand how there must have been many in Stirling to whom Guthrie's conduct had given the gravest offence. Dr. M'Crie states that: "On one occasion the mob rose against Guthrie on Sabbath as he was repairing to church, and pelted him with stones and mud. A popular tradition, maintained to the present day, is that the butchers of the town, who were foremost in the wild halloo, actually hounded their dogs upon the good man to tear him to pieces. As it was, he was struck down, and would probably have been murdered on the spot had he not managed to escape into a friend's house." (Ronald's "Landmarks of Old Stirling," page 72.) Tradition places the scene of the incident in the Vennel Close, or Ladie Vennel, which is quite a short distance from the butchers' quarters, and a stone used to be pointed out on which the martyr's blood was spilt. I have myself, when a boy, had this stone shown to me.

Another part of the tradition is that Guthrie cursed the butchers, and prophesied that no butcher would thenceforth thrive in Stirling. This is referred to in an elegiac ode by the Rev. Ralph Erskine on Alexander Hamilton, afterwards minister of Stirling, who, when a student at Edinburgh, took down Guthrie's head from the Netherbow Port, where it had been exposed, a public spectacle, for twenty-eight years. Erskine writes:—

"O, Stirling, Stirling, hast thou been the seat
Of famous martyrs and confessors great;
Some thou hast stoned, by thy fierce butcherous
hive,

Which never since have had a day to thrive."

(Drysdale's "Auld Biggins of Stirling" page 99.) Verification of the prophecy used to be sought in the diminished number of butchers in the years succeeding the event, but, in point of fact, there have always been prosperous butchers in Stirling, although, in 1803, the resident members of the Incorporation were reduced for a short time to one.

It is very probable that Guthrie did pronounce such a curse, for he was fierce, outspoken, and feared no danger. He was also a mystic, with a strong taint of superstition. A pupil of Samuel Rutherford, his mind habitually dwelt in the supernatural. On going to Edinburgh to subscribe the Covenant in the churchyard of Greyfriars, he met the executioner of the city at the West Port, and was so struck with the incident that he said "he took the Covenant with the resolution to suffer for all things contained in it, if the Lord should call him thereto" (Rev. Thomas Thomson's "History of the Scottish People," page 129). His last words shouted on the scaffold were a prophecy, "The Covenants, the Covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving."

Superstition was rampant throughout Scotland at that time, and the belief in witchcraft entertained by the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland is now almost inconceivable. Witness the doings of the Rev. Matthias Symson, Guthrie's successor in the parish of Stirling, concerning the Alloa witches (Dr. Menzies Fergusson's "Scottish Social Sketches," page 87), the contemporary "Fairly Commonwealth," written by the Rev. Alexander Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle, and the

Records of Kirk Sessions all over Scotland. The efficacy of a curse was also believed in. For example, the curse of the M'Leans against the Wardlaws of Pitreavie, arising out of an incident of the battle of Inverkeithing in 1651, to which the evil fortune of that once powerful family has been ascribed. (J. C. Gibson's "The Wardlaws," Transactions, Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society, 1908-9, page 30.)

The Town Council possess an original portrait of Guthrie, and also his chair, which are both placed in the Smith Institute. His statue, sculptured by Handyside Ritchie, was erected in the cemetery at Stirling in 1857, the cost being defrayed by public subscription. His clock is said to have been presented to the Rev. Dr. Beith in 1852. (Drysdale's "Old Faces," vol. III, page 103.)

THE BOOTHS IN THE BACK ROW.

The buildings on the south side of St. John Street and Spittal Street were anciently known as the Back Row, and the line of houses between these streets and Broad Street and Baker Street was called the Middle Row. St. John Street was also known as Fleshmarket Street or the South-gait, the present name only dating from 1793. In a Charter by King James V., dated 16th November, 1525 (Stirling Charters, page 195), in favour of one of the altars in the Parish Church, the tenement conveyed is stated to lie on the north side of the High Street thereof, near the habitations of the butchers. Every public street was of course the High Street, and this was undoubtedly St. John Street, as we know that the butchers by that time had their habitations or booths in that locality. Each butcher apparently killed his animals on the street in the neighbourhood of his booth. On 28th April, 1522, the Town Council forbade this practice, and ordained that killing be done "in the Back-row and in bouis." This was repeated on 27th October in the same year, when the fleshers were directed to kill "on the Baksyid or in their bouis." Apparently the Council wished all killing to be done either in the privacy of a booth or on the vacant ground between the Back Row and the old Town Wall. On 5th October, 1528, the Council ordained that no butcher meat was to be sold on the "hee mercait gait" (Broad

Street), but should be taken to the Backrow to be sold. An entry in the Council records of 4th October, 1529, makes the position of matters clear:—

"It is thoct expedient, and is ordinit, that all land fleschouris sall stand with thar flecht in the Bakraw betuex the almousous gavill and doune throw to the fleschouris of the said burgh guhar tha slay and brekis thar flecht, and in ony waist pairt maise convenient betuex the hee passagh to the Grayfreris and the said almousous gawill."

"It is ordinit be the provest, baillies, and counssall, that all persoun or personis that hais ony middingis in the Bakraw, or on the heegait of the said burgh, to tak tham away within xxiiij howris efter tha be chargit, vnder the pane of viij s.; and the mydding to be fre to ony persoun or persons that will leid it away and to incur na danger tharfor."

The almoushouse was afterwards the minister's manse, and was situated in the middle of what is now St. John Street, to the east of the Parish Church. The country butchers were to stand towards the top of the street, down as far as the place where the town butchers were in the habit of slaying and breaking their flesh (the lower part of the street), or in any waste part between the high passage to the Greyfriars (the upper end of Spittal Street) and the almoushouse gable. The condition of matters must have been very insanitary, as the Council record shows. On 24th January, 1550, the Council ordered that all fleshers, both burgh and landward, should present skins and "taucht" (tallow) to the market along with the flesh.

It is evident from these and other records that by the middle of the sixteenth century there was a well-established flesh market in St. John Street, where both town and country butchers sold flesh, that the animals were killed there or in the immediate neighbourhood, and that the butchers were possessed of booths which were used for both purposes. The first mention of a public slaughter-house is on 11th January, 1557, when the Town Council resolved to erect a flesh-house at the public expense. On 18th February, 1561, we have a record of three and a half merks being offered for a booth in the flesh-house, so it must have been completed by that date and the

practice of the Council letting out the booths to the butchers for a rent established. The locality is not stated, but there is no doubt that it was St. John Street. On 12th February, 1638, certain regulations for the fleshers were appointed to be proclaimed in the Bakraw yearly. On 18th December, 1714, a full set of Regulations for the Flesh Market was drawn up by the Council and proclaimed. These include a provision that fleshers' manure was not to be emptied in any part of the Backrow or in closes or passages, "except the backsides." Apparently the manure was kept in the back gardens.

Nimmo, in his "History of Stirlingshire," published in 1777, describing the amenities of the town, says:—"But this, together with the other beauties of the place, is much tarnished by a great nuisance, to be met with in several other towns, that is, the shambles in the very midst of it; in consequence of which, the blood and gore of the slaughtered animals is often to be seen running in a large stream throughout the whole length of the town. Such a spectacle, though familiar to the inhabitants, is exceedingly disgusting to strangers. This nuisance might be removed by shifting the shambles to some back part of the town, which might be done without much expense or apparent detriment to any individual."

The stocks or booths in the Back Row were possessed by the different butchers on a regular title, and were conveyed and assigned in security of borrowed money by properly tested deeds. The oldest of these writs in the Town Council's possession is a bond and assignation by Janet Cairns to Walter Stevenson in 1736, in which reference is made to a previous conveyance, dated 1727. In 1763 the Incorporation of Fleshers granted a disposition and assignation to James and John Thomson of "the waste ground of the common flesh stock which belonged to the trade, being the lowermost stock in the flesh mercate, and on which waste ground the said James and John Thomons since the sale erected a stock or shamble covered with wood." There was thus evidently a booth which the Incorporation of Fleshers retained in their own hands. The stock conveyed is described as ten and a half feet in length from east to west, and ten and a half feet in breadth from north to south, bounded by

William Bowie's stock on the west, and bounded on the other parts by the public street of the said flesh mercate of Stirling. From this it would appear that the booths or stocks extended in a row east and west, and that this was the eastmost stock. All the stocks dealt with in the various titles are described as being bounded on the north and south by the public street and on the east and west by the other stocks, respectively. A disposition by William Robertson to John Johnston (1780) describes his flesh stock as bounded on the east by a foot passage of the different sides of the said street "betwixt the stock hereby disposed and the one belonging to William Bowie." This was evidently a through passage between two booths. Following upon the erection of the public slaughter-house and flesh market in Cowane's Yard, the Town Council bought up all the rights of the butchers in these booths. By a disposition, dated in February and March, 1783, eight different fleshers conveyed to the town treasurer for behoof of the Town Council their "several flesh stocks or shambles in the Back Row of Stirling, lying and bounded and more particularly described in our respective right thereof," in consideration of the vice-town treasurer of the burgh having paid to them, respectively, certain sums of money as the agreed price and value of the subjects disposed, for which sums they had specially granted receipts to him and therein discharged the Burgh of Stirling and all concerned thereof forever.

In the Court of Session proceedings of 1823, in Dick against the Incorporation of Fleshers, one of the witnesses, William Murdoch, stated that he remembered the flesh market in the Backrow. There were six or seven wooden shades called stocks, which extended down the middle of the street, and the freemen butchers both slaughtered and sold there. Some of the fleshers sometimes, in the winter season, killed at their own doors, on the south side of the street, under the wooden foreshot of the houses. All these stocks belonged either to the Incorporation of Fleshers or to private individuals members of the Incorporation. The country fleshers stood on the open street, along the sides of the houses on the north side of the street, beginning at the east end of the Jail and extending down. There was an interval opposite

the stocks, and they recommenced and extended down to John Sutherland's stair foot. The country fleshers had fixed places where they put up their flakes each market day, and they were taken down and put in some of the public-houses when the market was over. Another witness, Thomas Miller, described the stocks as "timber shades supported by wooden pillars." He stated that the country fleshers brought the whole of their meat in slaughtered upon the Friday morning, that being the weekly market day, and did not bring it in any other days of the week.

The booths were taken down and the ground thrown into the street. The quaint building still standing on the south side of the street, with a turnpike stair, was the Fleshers' Tavern, a familiar haunt of the members of the trade. It is a very ancient building, but its early history is obscure. On the north side of the street, nearly opposite, there is an old building with its gable to the highway. At the eaves there is an ornamental stone, on the side of which, facing east, are carved three butcher's cleavers.

THE SLAUGHTER-HOUSE IN COWANE'S YARD.

On 10th November, 1781, the Town Council considered a proposal to erect a new fleshmarket and slaughter-house, and, after negotiations, a feu was taken off from Spittal's Hospital at Cowane's Yard, where the High School now stands. It had previously borne the name of the Greyfriars' Yard, and was, in fact, the ground that had been occupied by the Franciscan or Greyfriars Monastery prior to the Reformation. Competitive plans for the new building were submitted by different architects, and those of Mr Gideon Gray were accepted. They are docketed as approved on 26th January and 9th February, 1782. They show an open market for the sale of flesh and a slaughter-house with five booths along the outer side of the east wall. Each booth was twelve feet square, with pillars in front to support the roof. The building contractors were Messrs Campbell & Bowie, and the cost was about £650. The new premises were opened on 22nd November, 1782, and were proclaimed by the Town Council to be a public market. The stalls were allocated by the magistrates. Very shortly, the building was

found to be defective and insufficient. On 13th May, 1783, the butchers were allowed, at their own expense, to open out five windows in the slaughter-house. On 1st May, 1783, the Council entered into a contract with Messrs Eadie & Telford for the erection on Deacon Dick's garden wall of an additional slaughter-house, containing five stalls of the same dimensions as those previously built, the cost being £82. This building was declared to be finished on 13th September, 1783. An attempt was made to feu the adjoining ground, and stances for four houses were exposed to public roup on 15th February, 1783, but no offers were received. A proposal from the Cameronian congregation asking for a site for a church came to nothing. A magnificent plane tree, twenty-seven feet in circumference, had to be cut down when the fleshmarket was erected.

The agreement made with the Incorporation of Fleshers in connection with the new slaughter-house is contained in the following minute:—

Minute of Town Council, 4th March, 1782.

Act anent the report of the Committee appointed to meet with the Inc. of Fleshers about purchasing from them their present shambles in the Backrow, etc.

The same day the Council took into consideration the report of the Committee appointed by the Act, of date the twenty-ninth day of Decemr. last, to meet with the Incorporation of Fleshers in order to commune with them about their present gate penny, etc., and with regard to purchasing from them their shambles in the Backrow, and the indemnification to be given them therefore, as these will be useless when the new mercate and shambles are erected, of which report the tenor follows, vizt.:—Stirling, 2nd Jany., 1782.—David Gourlay, Esq., Provost, Baillie James Young, Baillie John Glas, Dean of Guild Banks, and Convener Stewart, a quorum of the Committee, appointed by the Town Council to meet this day with the Community of Fleshers. Having accordingly mett the said Corporation, the following proposals being agreed to unanimously:—1st, It is agreed that the Town Council shall give seven pounds sterling yearly to the Community of Fleshers in full for their claim of gatepenny formerly paid by themselves and country butchers. 2dly, The

butchers agree to pay one-half of any flesh mercat dues that shall in time coming be charged the country butchers for liberty of having stalls given them in the new intended flesh mercat in place of former gatepennies. 3dly, The Community of Fleshers agree to sell their several stocks, which they have in property in the old mercat place, and the Committee have offered them their original purchase money. 4thly, The Community insist they shall have their choice of ten stalls, each fifteen feet long with fire places, and this is reported to the Council accordingly. (Sic. sub.) David Gourlay, James Young, John Glas, Robert Banks, John Stewart, Pa. Johnson, John Thomson, John Taylor, Pat. Stevenson, William Bowie, Andrew Littlejohn, John Blair. And the Council having reasoned on the said report, they approve of their Committee's proceedings, except with regard to the two following particulars:—First, with regard to the new mercate dues, the Council have settled these as on a paper apart, whereby in most articles the town's fleshers will pay about two-thirds of the dues exacted from the country butchers, and, secondly, with regard to the fire place demanded by the Incorporation, the Council agreed to make one vent at each of the four corners of the new mercate place, so as to accomodate two stalls with fire places at each of these corners.—David Gourlay.

The gatepenny question is here dealt with. This was a payment made by the country butchers, non-burgesses, for the privilege of standing on the "gait" or street and selling their meat within the burgh. The charge had been made by the Incorporation of Butchers, which included all the butchers in the town; all being necessarily burgesses until the passing of the Burgh Trading Act, 1846, abolished exclusive privileges of trading in burghs. The Town Council of 1782, anticipating future legislation, bought up the privilege of the Incorporation for an annual payment of seven pounds, and allowed the country butchers the right to sell their meat in the market, charging them, however, double the rate of market dues exacted from the burgh butchers.

Hitherto the country butchers had never killed any animals within the burgh, that being the exclusive privilege of members of the Incorpora-

tion. Evidence was given in the Dick litigation of 1823, particularly by William Murdoch and Helen Littlejohn, of the growth of a practice by which country butchers were allowed to use the slaughter-house upon payment of one shilling per cow, afterwards commuted to ten shillings per quarter. This began shortly after the opening of the premises at Cowane's Yard, John Garrow, then at Abbey, afterwards at St. Thomas' Well, being the first to get the privilege, about sixteen others following. William Dawson at Cornton, who declined to agree, was prevented by the Incorporation from killing, and went to a place in the Castlehill, outside the burgh, and killed and sold there.

A list of the country butchers frequenting the market has been preserved. These number forty-two, and they came from Dunblane, Doune, Cambusbarron, Craigneaze, Redhall, Gargunock, Craigarnet, Dunfaff, Randyfurd, Bridge of Allan, Carronbridge, Abbey, Glendealls, Kilsyth, Muirland, and Blair.

It is interesting to note the regulations made for the new market and slaughter-house. These are contained in the Articles of Sett. The successful offerer was Duncan Campbell, who, on 17th November, 1782, became the first tacksman. The following November he was succeeded by Angus Robertson.

Stirling, 9th November, 1782.

Articles of Sett of the Annual Customs and Fleshmercate.

As to the Fleshmercate.—That the following rates shall be paid to the tacksman for viviers brought in to be sold, vizt.:—For each cow or ox belonging to burgesses inhabitants, fourpence sterling; and for each cow or ox belonging to strangers, eightpence sterling. For each sow belonging to burgesses inhabitants, twopence sterling; and for each sow belonging to strangers, fourpence sterling. For each calf, sheep, or goat belonging to burgesses inhabitants, one penny sterling; and for each calf, sheep, or goat belonging to strangers, twopence sterling. For each lamb, kid, or grice belonging to burgesses inhabitants, one halfpenny sterling; and for each lamb, kid, or grice belonging to strangers, one penny sterling. Declaring always, that in case the new mercate should not be opened for two or three weeks, or longer time

after Martinmas first old stile, the tacksman shall have no discount therefor, he being allowed to draw the old gatepenny in the old mercate till the new one open.

That the tacksman is to have the dung of the shambles, he being obliged to cause the same to be carried off weekly under the penalty of two shillings and sixpence sterling for each week's neglect, besides forfeiting the dung to be disposed of by the magistrates.

That the mercate is to be kept clean at all times by the tacksman, and is to be opened each lawful day at six o'clock in the morning from the first of March to the first of October, and at seven o'clock in the morning from the first of October to the first of March, at which hours the sales are to commence and no sooner.

That the same regulations are to be observed in the new mercate as are contained in the annual proclamation made by the magistrates at visiting the mercates yearly.

That no person shall weigh their tallow anywhere else than at the town's trone, under the penalty of one shilling sterling money for each failure.

That no meat shall be broken or sold or housed except in the publick mercate place.

That no persons shall be allowed to kill or flea any beasts whatever in the mercate place, or in their own houses or cellars, nor any where else within burgh except at the publick shambles allenarly.

That it shall not be lawful for any person, whether town or country flesher, to keep their meat in houses or cellars after the hour for opening the mercate, but that the whole shall be then carried to the mercate and exposed to sale under the penalty of three pounds Scots money for each beast so concealed.

That no flesher, whether belonging to the town or country, nor any other person, shall be at liberty to buy up meat brought to the mercate for sale in order to sell the same again, as this practice tends to forestall the mercate.

That the town's fleshers shall have the choice in the first place of as many stalls as are necessary for their accommodation at the direction of the Committee, which they are to allocate among themselves by ballot or otherways, and the remainder to be in like manner allocated to the country fleshers yearly.

In a corner of the market beer and other liquors were on sale, this stall being, in 1812, kept by Helen Littlejohn, widow of a flesher named John Taylor. Perhaps this explains an incident recorded by Dr. Lucas in his diary for 15th November, 1818 (*Stirling Antiquary*, vol. vi., page 116):—"The customs, fleshmarket, shore dues, etc., were let, as usual, and went off rather higher than last year. Thomas Balfour, a Councillor, and Thomas Anderson, Deacon of the Fleshers, fought a battle in presence of the magistrates and others. They were nearly equally matched, but they were parted before they could end the matter, each side claiming the victory."

LITIGATION WITH JOHN DICK.

Thomas Anderson, who has been mentioned, and his partner, William Dougal, were the cause of much litigation and friction in the town for a considerable period of years. The action of the Patrons of Cowane's Hospital in letting to them the farms of Hood and Ladysneuck, while they acted as Patrons, was the occasion of prolonged litigation between the Guildry and the Patrons, which was settled in 1831 by an interlocutor of Lord Moncrieff embodying an arrangement made by the parties, which fixed certain regulations for the conduct of the Hospital's business, which are in force to the present day.

Dougal and Anderson were originally butchers in Craigmill, but they joined the Incorporation of Fleshers in 1811, when the entry money was £8. The Incorporation then consisted only of the two partners, Dougal and Anderson, and of their servant, Peter Blair, and another. They immediately raised the entry money to £25, afterwards to £60, and then to £100, with £3 3s of dues, called the "Speaking Drink," and a candidate for admission was required to show that he was possessed of £150 of capital. It is evident that by these measures the partners intended to have the whole butchers' business of the town in their grasp. John Dick applied for admission, but could not offer more than £25, which was rejected, and he affirmed that had he been able to offer £100, the result would have been the same.

Such a position of matters could not last. The old ideas of class and trade privileges were being

overturned, and new ideas arising out of the French Revolution and the peace concluded after Waterloo were everywhere sweeping over the country. The Guildry had already relaxed their principles, and freely allowed non-members to trade in the town in consideration of a payment of money. The country butchers had, at an early date, by payment of the gate penny, obtained right to sell on the street. In 1782 the action of the Town Council had given them the right to sell in the flesh market. Thereafter, by payments to the Incorporation of Fleshers, they had obtained the right to kill in the slaughter-house. The trouble now arose through a country butcher, John Dick, opening a shop in King Street, where he sold meat to his customers. The ensuing litigation might be said to be the defence by the Incorporation of their privileges, although the fact that the Incorporation consisted practically of two men, and certain other sinister aspects of the case, show that other considerations entered into the proceedings.

The first step was taken in 1812, when the Incorporation obtained from the Magistrates of Stirling interdict against Mary Menzies or Dick, John Dick's mother, and John Bain, her servant. The action apparently was undefended. In 1817 the Incorporation presented a petition to the Magistrates complaining that John Dick, not being a freeman of the Incorporation, had opened a shop, and it was alleged was in the practice of slaughtering within the slaughter-house without permission of the Incorporation. It should be noted that, as the Deacon of the Fleshers was a constituent member of the Town Council, one of the partners was certain to be in that body, and they generally took turns of sitting in the Council. As this went on for a long period they had undoubtedly much influence with the Magistrates. The legal proceedings were prolonged and complicated, but, in spite of the forms of law being apparently observed, it is clear that Dougal and Anderson had the Magistrates on their side. The matter resolved itself into two processes, one a complaint against Dick for slaughtering cattle within the bounds of the burgh, without being a member of the Incorporation, and selling butcher meat in a shop, and the other a complaint against Dick

for breach of the interdict against him in the previous process. These actions were conjoined in 1823.

Dick denied that he slaughtered within the burgh, but stated that his slaughter-house was in Causewayhead. It appeared that these premises were situated on the west side of the village of Causewayhead, but the Incorporation pleaded that they were within the Royalty of the Burgh of Stirling, over the whole of which their privileges extended. Acknowledging the force of this contention, Dick removed his slaughter-house to the east side of the village of Causewayhead, and thus was not only beyond the Royalty of the Burgh, but actually outside the County, the boundary between Stirlingshire and Clackmannanshire being the middle of the street. To justify his keeping a shop in the town, Dick entered with the Guildry on 1st March, 1823.

The Magistrates granted interdict, and as Dick continued to sell meat in his shop, found that he was acting in breach of the interdict, and put him into prison. Here he remained for a considerable time, and was at first refused communication with his friends or access to his papers. He, however, raised an action in the Court of Session of Suspension, Liberation, and Interdict, on 29th September, 1824. The action was defended by the Incorporation, and the proceedings were very lengthy. Dick chiefly founded on an Act of Parliament passed in 1703, Cap. 7. This is a very singular statute. It prohibits fleshers from directly or indirectly taking grass parks exceeding one acre, and declares that all animals found on grazings so let shall be forfeited. It is believed that the occasion of this enactment was that during the sitting of the Scots Parliament the only convenient enclosure to which the horses of the members and their servants could be sent was tenanted by a butcher, whose charges were considered unconscionable, and so the whole trade throughout the country was made to suffer for the action of one of their number. The Act of Parliament, however, contains at the close a provision that it shall be lawful to any person to sell flesh on every lawful day of the week in burghs, free from any imposition whatever, except petty customs. Dick pleaded that he was selling by virtue of the statute, and denied that

he was slaughtering within the burgh, acknowledging that the latter was an exclusive privilege of the Incorporation. The Lord Ordinary, John Hope, on 18th February, 1825, decided in favour of Dick, except that he was wrong in acting in defiance of the interdict, and that he ought to have taken legal proceedings to have it removed. He therefore granted the Incorporation part of their expenses under that head. In the interlocutor the Lord Ordinary states: "The Lord Ordinary thinks, that in respect to slaughtering, there was no occasion for any procedure against the complainer, who appears not to have done anything in violation of the rights of the respondents, and who claimed nothing contrary to these rights. In respect to the selling of flesh, by the complainer, not being entered in the Corporation of Fleshers, and on days not market days, the Lord Ordinary thinks the statute 1703 has not been shewn to be in desuetude generally, but, the contrary; and he does not think it could go into desuetude in Stirling, while it was observed in other places. In respect to selling in a shop, not being in the market, the Lord Ordinary thinks that a restriction, in any town in Scotland, of all sale of flesh to the market, and, consequently, to market hours, is not compatible with the spirit and intention of the statute; and, at any rate, he sees no good authority for such a restriction in Stirling."

The Incorporation reclaimed against this decision to the Inner House, and the case came before the Second Division, which, in 1827, confirmed the judgment of the Lord Ordinary. Apparently by that time Dick had given up his shop in King Street, as it is recorded in the Guildry minutes of 17th March, 1827, that there was not a single flesh shop in the town.

THE SLAUGHTER-HOUSE AT THE BRIDGE CUSTOM-HOUSE.

The next important circumstance was the removal of the slaughter-house to a new site adjoining the Bridge Custom-house. The immediate occasion of this was the necessity of finding a suitable site for the High School, which the Town Council, on 6th September, 1852, resolved to build in order to take advantage of the generous offer of £1000 towards that object made by Colonel Tovey Tennent of Annfield.

The Council was agreed that the best site for the school was where the fleshmarket stood, along with the adjoining ground, but the Incorporation of Fleshers objected. They raised proceedings in the Sheriff Court, and obtained interim interdict against the Council taking down the building. They alleged an interest in the structure, but were quite unable to support this claim, even in their own statement. They had contributed nothing to the cost of the building, and the Sheriff Substitute, Sir John Hay, had no difficulty in recalling the interim interdict which had been granted. The Fleshers appealed to the Sheriff Principal, Charles Baillie, and he, by his interlocutor, dated 16th February, 1854, adhered to the interlocutor appealed against.

Arrangements for erecting the High School were at once proceeded with, and the Council looked out for a site for the new slaughter-house. Several sites in the neighbourhood of the bridge were considered, and ultimately the structure behind the Custom-house, still standing, was put up, on ground belonging to the Common Good. It contained eight stalls, of which four were allocated to the Incorporation, the remaining four being let by the tacksman to other butchers, not members of the Incorporation. The resolution to proceed with the work was passed on 19th March, 1855, the architect being Mr Mackison, and the cost \$406. The building was ready for occupation by 9th February, 1856, when the Council resolved to let the Bridge Custom dues and the Fleshmarket dues together. Upon the opening of the new building, the practice of selling butcher meat in the market ceased, the butchers now having shops of their own, and the place became simply a slaughter-house.

Questions arose between the Incorporation and the Town Council as to the stall rents, the value of the dung, which the Town Council retained and sold, and the gatepenny, it having been agreed that the rates for killing in the new premises should remain the same as in the old, and that members of the Incorporation should pay only half the charges made against non-members. These questions remained in abeyance, and were again raised in 1880. After prolonged negotiations, the matter was settled on 15th January, 1883, when the Town Council agreed to pay the Incorporation annually £7 for dung

money and £7 for gatepenny, while the Incorporation paid £4 of rent for their four stalls. Arrears on both sides were mutually squared up.

THE SLAUGHTER-HOUSE AT WINCHELHAUGH.

For some time prior to 1907, the Town Council considered the question of the slaughter-house, particularly as regards its structure, the system of management, and the provision made for the inspection of meat. Since the slaughter-house was erected in 1855 there had been a considerable advance in public opinion as to how such an institution should be constructed and managed, and it was felt that the time had come when matters should be put upon a more modern and satisfactory basis, and the slaughter-house dissociated from the public-house business carried on by the tacksman. Dr. Dittmar, of the Local Government Board, reported unfavourably on the premises on 12th April, 1907, and the Council forthwith proceeded with the construction of a new building. A site in Winchelhaugh Park was leased from Cowane's Hospital. Mr A. H. Goudie, Burgh Surveyor, was architect, and a structure costing £6150 was erected. The old system of separate booths for each butcher was done away with, not without opposition from the trade, and large, commodious, and airy killing halls for cattle, sheep, and pigs, respectively, were put up. Here the butchers kill in turn, and everything is open to inspection by the superintendent. Convenient lairage and cooling room accommodation is provided, and the place is fitted with the newest and most approved appliances. There is a tripery and also a gut-preparing house, and a digester for the conversion of all diseased meat into marketable although not edible commodities. Ample hot water is provided, and the place is kept scrupulously clean.

As usual, the Incorporation of Fleshers were difficult to deal with. They revived the old claim of a right in the building of the slaughter-house, and the Incorporation privileges and the gatepenny and the dung money. The matter was compromised by the Town Council paying the Incorporation £200, in return for which their claims in respect of gatepenny and dung money were for ever discharged, the members agreed to

pay the same rate of dues as other butchers, no rents being chargeable against anyone, and all the other rights and claims of the Incorporation of whatever description were cancelled. Byelaws regulating the premises were adopted, and a scale of charges was fixed. The new slaughter-house was opened on 27th October, 1909.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE FLESHERS' INCORPORATION OF STIRLING.

The first of februar 1658.

The quilk day Andro Thomsone, Dycone his cominet his brithrine together that thair his receavit Wilame Mayn to beie ane faithfull brether of craft and on nowayes purchis lordshipe agains his Daicon and his brethrine according to his oath given yr upone in al ponts as the order of the craft as is bokit and subscriyt with our hands

Andro Thomsone
Alexr Yong
James Balfour
Willoim Mayne
Thomas Macaullay

23 februar 1661. The quilk &c heast recevit Joine McKuine prentie to Wilome Maine the spec of fyve zeire ane zeir for mait and fie before the brethrine and craft and Joyne Dunkisone cationer thair.

David Makguine
Andrew Thomsone, Witnes
Thomas Macaullay, Witnes
Alexr. Zong, Witnes.

14 Sept. 1670. Received James Stinson son to James Stinson in Randifourd who heth mairied with ane frieman's daughter whose name is Isobell Littljon daughter to the said James Litteljon. For scor pundis Scots, and for his speaking drink and other chainges twentie pund Scots.

10 December 1670. Received John Duncasone younger sone to John Duncasone, corderner at the burne of cambs who was preintie to the said John Duncason present Deacon to the tred. Ane hundreth and twentie pund Scots mony, the quilk soume is a prentice deue. Speaking drink twentie pund Scots.

13 May 1672. Apprentices to serve for seven years and one for meat and fee.

21 April, 1686. The whilk day Patrick Thomson, Decon, heth conveyin his brithren togither and beth with aneanimos vos of the rest of the brithren own and asists the said Decon upon the persuit persheived be him and the rest of the brithren aganest any persone whotsomever who transgreses aganest the said Decon and therefor ech person whot somever disobeys the samin shall be mad layable to pay fourtie shiling Scots mony unforgiven. As witness our hands at Stirling.

Patrick Thomsonsone
Andrew Liddell
Robert Moir
John Litiljohn
John Duncansone
Andrew Watsone
Robert Duncane
John Glespe
John Cowie
Alexander Steuart
Patrick Macqueen
J. D.

1 May 1686. The whilk day Patrick Thomson Decon heth conveyin his brithren togither and beth mad ane act with the most part of the voses of the traid that James McKorter nor non-els shall be recaved in to be ane servent or no maner of person whotsomever except jornimen or prentices

Patrick Thomson
J. D.
Robert Duncane
Andrew Liddell
Alexr. Stewart
John Duncansone
John Litiljohn
John Bowie
Andrew Balfour
John Glespe
Robert Moir
Patrick Macqueen

5 Jun 1686. Receaved be Robert Duncan and James Steirnsone present boxmaisters to the fleshers in Stirling flour bands on of John Dick hamerman and one of John Martin wreatter on of James brown, baillie, on of

them Edward Robertson, cordiner, to be put to the regester with the wholl consent of the traid.

Androu Liddell.

7 March 1693. Approve of ane discharge given be Robert Duncan and Archibald Moir of four years a (annual) rent to John Robertsonsone present Deacon.

That no freiman nor servant can either buy or receive from George Balfour flesher in ye Raploch burn any sort of quick flesh qch is killed in ye burgh of Stirling in respect of his seaverall prejudices done to the sd brethern.

9 June 1693. Agreed to borrow ane hundreth merks for defraweing of the expenses of the sed papers belonging to James Broune and paying of Harie Dow.

12 Jany 1695. An apprentice allowed to have his indenture given up to him although having half a year to serve.

28 Jany 1699. Agreed to borrow five hundred merks from John Wingzet in Neither toun of Innerallone.

2 Feby 1699. Agreed to borrow one hundred merks from Mr John Allan, Writer in Sterling.

4 Feby 1699. The Trade having got a Disposition by John Robison, Flesher and Margaret Stewart his spouse of his house in the Backrow on the last day of January by past, and since put in the box, Having paid in ready mony two hundred merks Scots borrowed from John Allan, Wrtr in Sterling, for qlk bond is given to him, and having given Bond to the said John Robison and spouse for five hundred merks as the hail remains of the price of the house and yeard, the life-rent of Agnes Blackburn being reserved; the Trade approved.

6 April 1699. Allow the Deacon what was spent by him with the Deane of Gild and Deacon of the Shoemakers.

1 Aug. 1699. A tenement and yard in the Backrow purchased by the Trade from William Keir, flesher and his creditors. Bond granted for five hundred merks to John Morisone, late Baillie for the price.

- 2 Sept 1699. One hundred merks borrowed from Agnes Chrystie relict of umqll Patrick Anderson, Maltman in Stirling.
- 22 June 1700. Each cow that shall be killed by any freeman wtin the sd. burgh shall pay six pennies Scotts money to any man that shall be ordained be the tread for collecting of the same and that the collecting of the said six pennies shall begin at lambis nixt 1700 years.
- 26 April 1703. Refuse to concur in the calling of a second minister until such tyme that he be heard by some of the counsell who understands whither he be fitt for this place or not.
- 4 Decr 1703. James Gillaspie having been fund guiltie of seavrall former faults particulrly for abusing freemen ordained to subscribe the act for his peacable behaviour.
- 19 June 1704. Having considered the numorus and scandalous complaints given in upon Robert Waugh, thought fit that such a person as the said Robert should not be admitted to live in aney honest community, and therefore charge the said Robert never to draw a knyffe nor be an servant to non of the fairsd incorporatione in all tyme coming.
- 26 March 1706. No houses nor yairds to be set to any person qtsomever without a sufficient cautioner, and that the said cautioner shall be non of our own number
- 27 Jany 1707. Robert Duncan, flesher, being owing to Andrew Shirray, maltman, Burgess, one hundred and five Pound Scots, in security whereof his flesh stock and hail plenishing are disponsed to prevent the poinding and apprising of which the Trade take over the debt by granting Bond to the said Andrew Shirray for Forty five pound Scots.
- 4 June 1707. Sett the houses belonging to the Incorporation to the persons under wrenten and ther cautioners, viz.
John Robertsons his house thrietie six pounds Scotts and John Anderson, Baxter, caur.
Andrew Millars house thrietie six pounds and John Thomsone, Garlie Craig, caur.

- Robert Waughs house eight pounds Scotts and William Duncan, caur.
John Fergusons house, eight pounds Scotts.
Walter Stivensons house, eight pounds Scotts, and James Adam, meason, caur.
- 15 April 1708. John Balfour admitted, and he being obliged to give ane treat or dinner to the tread they ordain him to pay to the boxmaster in lew yrof ten pound.
- 16 April 1713. The Incorporation being obliged to pay 200 merks for their part of William Callander his house, as the rest of the treads are, agree to borrow that sum from Patrick Denar, Cordiner in Abey of Cambuskeneth.
- 13 June 1713. In order to pay the Incorporation's debts each cow to be killed is half pennie, each sow is half a pennie, each sheep, lamb, calf, and goat is two pennies Scotts, payable by the owner to the boxmasters.
- 6 July 1717. The Incorporation set their yeard to George Rind for seven years for Eighteen pund Scotts yearly.
- 8 June 1719. Borrowed one hundred merks from Patrick Gillespie, James Hailie, and John Maine, present Deacone and boxmasters to the Incorporation of Shoomakers in the Abay of Cambuskenneth.
- 5 March 1720. John Stivensone, Flesher and present Deacone, made report that the Trades lades hes of long tyme broken beiss to the country people and received payment yffore And never delivered the samen to the Trade. Therefore they all of ane consent unanimously Discharge the hail lades of the said trade from breaking of beiss to the country people without payment yffore. And whoever does and receives the samen are heirby obliged to deliver to the said Trade the half of what received and applay the oyr half to the use and behoove of the breaker alunder the paine and penalty of flourty shilling Scotts for each fault. And lykewayes under the penalty fairsaid heirby discharges all freemen and unfreemen lades and prentices from goeing with ane cuntry man or stranger to any layer within the burgh where there is fed kine alowless that a member of the Trades hes bought the cow or kine and designes to sell the samen.

5 March 1720. John Stivensone Flesher and present Deacon made report how undiscreitly the cuntry people have treated the said trade for this long tyme And for that effect the said trade takeing to their serious consideration Doe heirby Dischaige all members of the said Incorporatione from giving any previledge or harbour to any cuntry man either belowe their flesh stocks or shambls or foirstaires in all tyme coming which is in their custody And that under the penalty of fourty shilling Scotts for each fault to be committed by yin or either of yin in tyme coming In testimonie grof the whole members of the said Trade have subscribed thir prnts, place, day, month and year a' wrytten

(Nine signatures.)

10 Jany 1721. Reported that John Stivensone, present Deacon was incarcerated within the Tolbooth of Linlithgow be vertue of Lers of Caption reased at the instance of Alexander Moir Wrytter in Dunblaine, factor for the creditors of the deceased James Montaitth of Glentey for a debt of the Trade. Agreed to give a Bond binding the whole members.

21 May 1722. Agreed to borrow two hundred merks to pay debts.

24 July 1724. Some years ago a bad and disallowable practice obtained in this and the oyr six incorporate trades of this Burgh of entring persons who were never educate in the Knowledge of the particular trade by whom they were admitted a member qck cannot reasonably be conceived to have been of any oyr designe than that qck is base, mercenary and lucrative And qlk if not restrained may prove loss and disadvantageous to yin and the oyr Incorporate trades whose sons if being poor may reape the benefite of a large sum of money lately mortified by Mr John Allan. Ordain no one to be admitted to the Fleshers unless they have served an apprenticeship. The children of any of the fleshers that beis hereafter entred contrair heirunto shall have no intrest in benefite of or advantage by either Spittal's hospitall the donation of Mr David Adamson or the said Mr John Allan's Mortificatione.

23 Nov. 1725. Assent to the calling of the Reverend Mr Alexr. Hameltoun, Minister of the Gospell at Airth to the functions off first minister of this burgh.

12 July 1728. The which day the dicken convined the tread togeher of the anent of Jeames Gillespie whereof that the grat abuses he have dun unto the dicken whereupon the peace of market caled him a darned leier and he wold not give a cues — for him for a dicken and whereupon the tred thinkes it fit that he shuld be find in fortie shiling Scots monie

4 January, 1730. James Glespie fined forty shillings for taking a cow that was bought for the use of his "landslide."

13 January, 1731. The minute recapitulates the proceedings with reference to the calling of a Third Minister for the Burgh. The Fleshers agreed of new to thirle themselves to the Bridge and Burrowmilns and to pay the converted multure to the Magistrates and Town Council for payment of ye touns debts, second and third ministers' steypands, schoolmasters sellarys, drumers and peypers fials, Kings cess, publict works of this burgh and all oyr publict burdens except quartering of ye military, watching and warding and ye out puting of persons of men to ye militia.

8 March, 1731. Approve of the call of the Rev. Mr Ebenezer Erskine, minr. of ye Gospel at Portmoak.

29 May, 1731. The which day George Renie, present Decoin, hath convind his remnant bretheren togeher in there ordinar mitten place anent Wull Stivensone, oficer to the incorporation of fleshers and bieng alowed to wairn the tread and did not obeye the same, The Trade takeing to there seruous consideration that he should be fined according to the acts of tread being fortie shillin Scots money.

21 April, 1733. James Stevensone abused the Deacon in the face of the court in caling him a d iduit and the tread taking it to there serious consideration that he is guilty for to pay forty shilling Scots mony.

23 Nov., 1733. Agreed to redeem a ground annual of four merks Scots payable to Mr

Duncan Bachop, Doctor of Medicine, furth of the fleshers back tenement in the Back Row, for two hundred marks, which was agreed to be borrowed from James Adam, maltman burgess.

- 17 Dec., 1737. The fleshers finding that they are in a lo condition and not able to pay the dues belonging to the trade with the former gate penny, agree to reduce the dues.
- 23 Feb., 1740. About Walter Stevenson paying sum money about our affairs We all for by any majestret we bound and oblidge our selfs that the said money should be refound to the said Walter Stevensone.
- 23 Feb., 1740. Agreed to sell by public roop tenement of land and yard posset by Hellon Lennaks, now beloin to the Fleshers.
- 21 Aug., 1740. The Trade being greatly burdened with debt, and having no other fund for payment except tenement yairds and pertinents lying in the Back Row and the gate penny resolve to apply to the Convener Court for liberty to sell the heritable subjects by public roop.
- 20 April, 1742. John Stevensone admitted for Twelve pound and twelve shillings Scots, but this not to be a precedent.
- 28 Oct., 1768. The Incorporation made choice of the Rev. Mr Thomas Olland, minister at Cambusnethan, to be Second Minister in the vacancy caused by the transportation of Mr Maqueen. Protest against the assertion that the Fleshers' Trade is bankrupt.
- 8 Oct., 1763. Refused to admit Peter Johnstone, flesher in Earth.
- 30 July, 1768. No member to purchase meat from a country butcher to sell, only for his own use, as this is "no less than forestalling the market." (Ten signatures.)
- 4 Aug., 1768. The gatepenny let to the highest bidder for £6.
- 6 May, 1769. Agreed not to spend the Common Good of the Trade on drink, except one shilling per quarter.
- 6 June, 1769. Considered the sale of "that tenement of houses lying in fleshmarket south side of the street and yard lying in the Castell hill of Stirling."

Adam Bennet, flesher in Blairlogie, admitted on payment of £47.

- 6 June 1769. Resolved to prosecute Peter Stevenson, flesher in Stirling, "untill he give up all papers and pay that ten hundred marks to the Incorporation of Shoemakers in the Abbay of Stirling."
- 27 June, 1770. Agreed to enter Peter Stevenson on his giving the Incorporation "a sufficient say." Two fleshers appointed to be the "saymasters." "The say is a sheep."
- 16 August, 1770. Peter Stevenson, son of a flesher, admitted on payment of £2 2s and a dinner.
- 15 Nov., 1771. Patrick Stevenson's entry money, £2 10s.
- 10 Jan., 1772. Object to the Patrons of Allan's Mortification purchasing land at Cornton at a very dear price.
- 23 July, 1772. Gatepenny let to highest bidder for £8 1s.
- 24 Feby., 1774. Agreed to pay Deacon Robert Stevenson and Jannet Lowrie's rent of their houses for three years past.
- 13 Aug., 1774. Robert Stevenson admitted for £2 2s.
- 20 Aug., 1774. Object to Spittal's Hospital letting two parks, "called thee Back Brea Cow or Sandy Hole Park, etc.," at a rent far below value.
- 23 Dec., 1774. Two entrants admitted, the say being a cow. Two members protested against taking £2 2s, and appealed to the Convener Court for redress.
- 29 Dec., 1774. Freeman's son admitted for £2 2s. Two shillings discounted for ready money.
- 7 Aug., 1777. Gatepenny let, £9 6s.
- 6 Feb., 1778. 10s 6d given to the poor of the Trade.
- 4 March, 1782. Agreement with Town Council as to sale of shambles and building of new fleshmarket.
- 27 Nov., 1784. The whole funds belonging to the Incorporation are £31.

- 20 April, 1785. William Boyd, butcher, from Carlisle, admitted for £8 8s.
- 7 Nov., 1785. William Boyd, an Englishman, from about Carlisle, after entering with this trade, without paying the dues, "in a short time he eloped and has never since been heard of." His entry cancelled.
- 27 Jan., 1787. Agree to depart from prosecution by the "Gildree and Trades and Tollerate Communities" against the Town Council as to the letting of the fishings.
- 9 June, 1787. David Monteath, fletcher in the Abbey, admitted for £8 8s.
- 17 Nov., 1787. Three widows allowed 7s 6d, 4s, and 2s 6d, respectively. John Blair, officer's fee, 5s; William Bowie, clerk, 5s for year.
- 18 Feb., 1788. The stock of the Incorporation, amounting to £51 10s, let to Mr John Galloway of Borrowmaddock.
- 10 Dec., 1788. Bills not to be accepted for entry money, only ready money.
- 17 March, 1789. Appoint delegates to vote for Mr David Davidson, minister, Dundee, as minister of the Second Charge, in room of Mr Walter Buchanan, going to the charge of the Canongate Church, Edinburgh.
- 16 May, 1790. William Dawson and John Garrow, both Fleshers in the country, granted liberty to slaughter in the slaughterhouse at "a certain price," and at the Trade's pleasure.
- 1 March, 1792. 14s granted for a coffin for the wife of a member.
- 11 May, 1793. The Town Council having appointed the Rev. Mr James Sumerville, then second minister, to fill up the first charge, then vacant by the death of the Rev. Mr John Muchet, the Trade appoint delegates to vote for Mr William Innace to be the second minister.
- 5 Jan., 1794. £2 given to a woman with two small children "to carry her way to her husband."
- 11 Nov., 1796. Resolved to apply to Presbytery to have the vacancy of Third Minister supplied and the West Church repaired.

- 16 May, 1797. Paid 18s 9d, the share of each Trade, to repairing the Trades' House and getting a new chair to the Convener.
- 20 June, 1798. Lent £73 to Allan's Hospital.
- 28 June, 1798. Lent £20 to the Deacon, John Taylor.
- 23 July, 1798. The Convener Court object to the Incorporation lending £21 and £20 to their Deacon, and ordair Incorporation to get back the money. Whole funds of the Incorporation stated to be £21, £20, and £73 lent out.
- 10 Jan., 1799. The Boxmaster's Accounts first entered in the minutes. Note.—This practice was continued with gaps until 1822. The receipts show the payments by the Town Council for gatepenny, dues of entrants, sums received from country butchers for the use of the slaughter house (generally 10s, sometimes £1), and interest on money lent. The expenditure shows Clerk's, Boxmaster's, and Officer's fees, repairs to Trades Hall and to fittings at slaughter house, sums paid in charities to widows and poor members of the Incorporation, trade, marches, and Convener's farewell dinners, and other items which are obviously sums spent on drink.
- 17 Oct., 1799. Delegates appointed to vote for a second minister in place of the Rev. William Innes, abdicated and subsequently deposed.
- 23 Dec., 1799. In consideration of the great scarcity and high price of meal, £20 voted for the purpose of procuring meal to supply the poor of this Burgh at a reduced price.
- 8 Sept., 1804. "John Johnstone, Flesher in Stirling, son in Law of the deceased Andrew Littlejohn, Flesher there, having proposed to enter with the Incorporation of Fleshers and gave his speaking drink to Deacon Bowie, the only resident Member of the Incorporation, who appointed a sheep to be his essay piece and named Robert Dick and Robert Thomson, Fleshers in Stirling, to be his Essay Masters." William Bowie.
- 11 Sept., 1804. Foregoing admitted for £2 10s each.
- 20 Sept., 1804. Peter Blair admitted for £2 10s.
- 25 Nov., 1806. Jas. Wright allowed to open shop

for the purpose of selling flesh, till further orders.

- 25 Novr., 1811. William Dougall and Thomas Anderson admitted, "they having satisfied the Treasurer and paid all the accustomed dues."

Treasurer to lodge £16, being the entry money received from the foregoing, in the hands of the Stirling Banking Company.

Agreed.

Primo. Entry money raised to £25, besides speaking drink and entry dinner.

Secundo. No unfreeman to be allowed to carry on trade within burgh without first satisfying the trade by a payment of ten shillings per quarter.

Tertio. Those claiming the privilege of killing animals to pay one shilling.

- 30 Nov., 1811. Reported eight persons made the quarterly payment of 10s.

"John Dick, who has practised killing within burgh, and in open defiance refuses to agree with the Incorporation in respect of his contumacy, the trade unanimously agree that in future the said John Dick shall be ordained to pay over to their treasurer one pound sterling for liberty to carry on the fletcher trade within burgh until Candlemas next. The Incorporation also authorizes Deacon Blair in all time coming to interdict any person who may attempt to infringe upon the liberties and privileges of their trade."

- 20 Dec., 1811. Agreed to interdict Mary Menzies alias Dick and John Dick, her son, from selling or disposing of butcher meat within the burgh.

- 23 Sep., 1812. William Dougall appointed Deacon.

- 15 Sep., 1813 (Flyleaf at beginning of book). Entry money fixed at Fifty guineas. Minute signed by whole members, viz., William Dougall, William Bowie, Peter Blair, Thomas Anderson.

- 16 March, 1816. Present William Dougall, Deacon Convener, Thomas Anderson, Boxmaster, William Bowie, Clerk, Peter Blair, Old Deacon. Entry money to be Fifty Guineas. Thereafter considering that the Incorporation of Bakers have lately raised their entry

money to about Seventy Pounds resolve farther to increase the entry money to £60.

- 10 Septr., 1818. Agreed to let seats in West Church—(1) No. 12, holding ten bottom rooms; (2) No. 110, holding six ditto; and (3) No. 114, two bottom rooms.

- 21 Dec., 1819. Voted Ten guineas to employ poor men to work on roads and footpaths leading from Bridge Street to the Bridge and thence to the Causewayhead.

Seat No. 12 in the West Church to be rent free "as said seat was occupied by all their members who chused to attend."

- 1 May, 1823. Entry money raised. Strangers, £100. Apprentices who have served five years with a freeman of the trade, £25. Son or son in law of a freeman fletcher, £3. Speaking drink, £3 3s. All entrants to be worth £150. (Minute signed by eight members.)

- 10 May, 1823. Approves of the plea between the Deacon and John Dick, and requests the Deacon to watch over the interest of the Trade at the expense of the funds thereof.

- 21 June, 1823. Deacon submitted schedule of intimation and protest by James Rae, an unfreeman, who has not shown himself qualified for admission, and has refused the dues of speaking drink and raised an action before the Magistrates. Deacon reported Opinion of Counsel (contents not stated) and authorised to defend case.

- 18 Feb., 1825. £70 uplifted to pay expense of plea with John Dick.

— 1840. Memorandum relative to the privileges of the Incorporation, being Return ordered by the House of Commons on 24th December, 1819.

- 28 March, 1840. Entry money reduced. Strangers, £30. Apprentices, £5. Sons or sons in law, £2 2s. Speaking drink, £1 1s. No person to be admitted unless with £150.

- 27 Oct., 1842. Accounts show that the members divided £19.

- 24 Nov., 1843. Considering that Town Council have issued a presentation to the Second Ministerial Charge of Stirling in favour of the Rev. Robert Watson, Chaplain in Stirling.

Castle, without affording an opportunity to this Incorporation to exercise their vote in his calling, and the Convener Clerk having lodged in the Court of Presbytery a Notarial Protest, resolved to follow up the Protest by measures at law.

- 27 Nov., 1843. Similar resolution with reference to Third Charge.
- 10 Oct., 1853. Agreed to take legal advice as to the Town Council taking down the Flesh-market for the purpose of erecting part of the projected Academy thereon.
- 20 Jany., 1854. Agreed to apply to the Sheriff for Interdict against the Town Council taking down the Fleshmarket.
- 20 Septr., 1907—Considered Town Council's proposals for erecting new slaughter house.
- 20 June, 1908. Agreement came to with Town Council.