

**The
Incorporation of Maltmen
of Stirling**

By
DAVID B. MORRIS
Town Clerk, Stirling

*(A Paper read to the Stirling
Natural History and Archaeological Society,
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William Hourlay.

THE INCORPORATION OF MALT MEN OF STIRLING.

INTRODUCTORY.

The literature of malt liquors is vast and varied. The mother of Amyas Leigh in Charles Kingsley's "Westward Ho!" said to her son, "They who drink beer, think beer." As a set-off to this, we have the eulogy by George Borrow in these words: "Oh, genial and gladdening is the power of good ale, the true and proper drink of Englishmen. He is not deserving of the name of Englishman who speaketh against ale, that is good ale, and yet there are beings, calling themselves Englishmen, who say that it is a sin to drink a cup of ale, and who, on coming to this passage will be tempted to fling down the book and exclaim, 'The man is evidently a bad man, for behold, by his own confession, he is not only fond of ale himself, but is in the habit of tempting other people with it.' Friends, there is a time for everything; there is a time for a cup of cold water; there is a time for strong meat and bread; there is a time for advice, and there is a time for ale; and I have generally found that the time for advice is after a cup of ale—I do not say many cups; the tongue then speaketh more smoothly, and the ear listeneth more benignantly."

THE MAKING OF MALT.

The making of malt is a very ancient industry. It may be said as a generalisation, that the people of all countries, whether savage or civilised, have, in every age, prepared an intoxicating drink of some kind. At an early stage of the civilisation of mankind it was discovered that by fermenting the juice of the grape a pleasant and potent liquor could be made. It was probably at a later date, and after the cultivation of cereals for food had been well established, that it became known that a stimulating drink could be provided from grain. This was accomplished by the process

which we call brewing. The art was known and practised by the Egyptians many hundred years before the Christian era, and afterwards by the Greeks, Romans, and ancient Gauls, from whom it has been handed down to us.

Tacitus, writing of the manners and customs of the Germans in the first century of the Christian era, states that beer was their usual beverage, and from his description, imperfect as it is, there can be no doubt that they understood the process of converting barley into malt. Pliny states that the natives who inhabited the west of Europe in his time had a liquor with which they intoxicated themselves, made from corn and water.

The art of malting is believed to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. Previous to this the intoxicating drink used by the Britons was mead made from honey. Beer being so easily made by an agricultural people with plenty of grain, it was gladly welcomed, and became the national beverage. Beer was at an early date made from wheat, but this was superseded by the drink made from barley.

We are informed by William of Malmesbury that in the reign of Henry II., the English were greatly addicted to drinking. The monasteries were remarkable for the strength and purity of their ales, brewed from malt prepared by the monks with great care. The monks of Wetmore discovered that the waters of Burton-on-Trent were specially adapted for brewing, and a document dated 1295 proves that the industry was established there by that date.

A vital part of the process of brewing is the preparation of malt. Malting consists in steeping the grain in water to supply moisture enough to cause it to germinate, and when the growth is sufficiently advanced, stopping it by drying the grain on a kiln. The process of germination causes a chemical change, the resulting product, which is due entirely to the working of natural laws, being the thing which is essential to the making of beer. The germinated and dried grain containing this active principle is called malt. Substitutes for malt are known and used, but the liquor brewed from these, however palatable or intoxicating it may be, is not, strictly speaking, beer. Brewing consists in converting the malt into beer, the addition of hops being customary. Ale is the fermented liquor obtained from an infusion of malt without the use of hops,

or with a less proportion of hops, but the distinction between beer and ale is not clearly maintained at the present day.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE INCORPORATION.

There is abundant evidence of the making of malt and the brewing of ale in the burghs of Scotland at an early date. The Laws of the Four Burghs were sanctioned in the reign of David I. (1124-1153), and as Stirling was one of the Four Burghs from which they emanated, there can be no doubt as to their application in our town. These Laws contain provisions for the good quality of the ale (19, 63), for forbidding a Provost or Bailie to brew during his period of office (59), for supplying ale to travellers (67), and that ale was not to be brewed in vats used for other trade purposes (94). The Laws of the Gild, dating from 1249 and succeeding years, provide that oats coming into the market to be sold for food were not to be made into malt in greater quantity than one chaldar (43).

The High Chamberlain made periodical journeys on circuit throughout the kingdom, and among the points into which he was directed in the fourteenth century to inquire were—if the tasters of ale perform their office justly (Art. In. 21); if millers or stall-holders who are not burgesses make malt (58, 66). The questions to be put were duly set forth. (It. Cam. 6, 28.) The points of inquiry as to Polentarii or Maltmakers were as follows (It. Cam. 26):—

OFF THE CHALANCE OF MALT MAKARIS.

In the first that thai mak baith evill and gude malt all togidder, whar thai aucht to mak thaim sundry and syne sell thame of sundry price. Item that thai steip nocht thair beir eneuch for grete haste of the makyn of jt. Item that thai lat jt alkyrspre and schut out all the pith of jt, whare it aw bot to chip and cum at the tane end. Item that thai mak jt on ane evill flure throw the whilk jt is maid spewill and vnhalisum. Item that thai reyk jt on the kill. Item that thai grynd jt our small that jt will nocht ryn when jt is maskit, whair jt aw to be grundin bot in twa or in thre.

By a statute of James IV. in 1503, maltmakers were directed to present their malt for sale in the market.

It is evident from these regulations which undoubtedly were in force in Stirling that malt

making was an industry in our town from at least the twelfth century and probably much earlier. The earliest minutes of the Town Council which are preserved begin in 1519, and by that time the Maltmen were an Incorporation with a Deacon.

An early ordinance of the Town Council regulates the time for the sale of malt:—

16th April, 1520.—It is statut and ordinit that na meill, malt, baier, nor quhit that cummis to the marcat of this said burgh, be saild quhill xii. houris at nune, under the pane of viii.s.

A resolution of the Town Council as to brewing, dated 9th October, 1562, is interesting:—

BREW WYFFIS.—It is statut and ordinit that na maner of persoun brew or mak traffik within this brought bot allanerly honest menis wyffis and widois, and thairfor ordinis the baillies to sers. and seik the town and discharge the rest.

At this time the making of malt was a man's job, and the brewing of ale was a woman's, but both sexes at times engaged in the two parts of the process. Hence the terms "maltman" and "brewer," "malster" and "brewster." These two last are feminine forms, and until the end of the thirteenth century denoted women, as in "spinster," a woman who spins.

"Webster" was originally the feminine of "weaver," although later on it came to be the designation of the male craftsman of the loom, just as "baxter" was originally the feminine form of "baker."

THE VISITOR OF THE MALTMEN.

The Incorporations which existed in Stirling were the Merchant Guild, the Seven Incorporated Trades, and the Tolerated Communities. The last named were the Maltmen, the Mechanics, the Omnium Gartherum, and the Barber Surgeons. While the Merchant Guild and the Seven Incorporated Trades were highly organised bodies in close touch with similar bodies in other towns, the Maltmen and the other Tolerated Communities maintained a more independent existence. Generally speaking, the Maltmen were reckoned as a Craft, although they took no part in the united counsels of the Seven Trades in their Convener Court.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the chief feature of burghal life throughout Scotland was the contention between the merchants and the crafts. The records of every royal burgh tell

the same tale with local variants. The main question at issue in the fifteenth century, and to some extent in the sixteenth, was the right of the members of the crafts to choose their own head or deacon, surely the sine qua non of self-government. The chief cause of the contention during the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth was the demand of the crafts to be represented in the Town Councils. Subordinate to this question, although of considerable importance, was the craftsman's claim to deal in merchandise in certain particulars concerning the product of his craft, to import the materials for the manufacture of his wares, and even to buy goods for re-sale.

The successive stages of the question may be traced in the legislation of the period, which fluctuated as the contending parties gained influence with the ruling powers in Parliament. The Maltmen, as craftsmen, were affected by this legislation, and took their part in the struggle. In 1503, Parliament ordained Maltmen to sell their malt in open market. In 1555 the choosing of Deacons by crafts was forbidden, and visitors were to be appointed instead. This last Act failed to meet with acceptance, and its provisions were dispensed with by a letter under the Great Seal, granted by the Queen Regent, Mary, and dated at Stirling, 15th April, 1556. This letter restored to the crafts their right of choosing deacons. The Maltmen were, however, specially selected for repressive legislation in this particular. In 1567 Parliament expressly forbade Maltmen to have a Deacon. The Act is in the following terms:—

STATUTE OF KING JAMES VI.

A.D. 1567.

ANENT THE DEKINNIS OF MALTMEN.

37. Item, it is statute and ordanit be our Soverane Lord, my Lord Regent and thre estatis of this present parliament, for the commoun weill of this realme, that thair be na dekin of craft of maltmen, outhir to burgh or land, or ony uther pairt within this realme; and gif ony wryting, gift or privilege be govin ony tyme befor, our Soverane Lord, with avise of my Lord Regent and thre estatis foirsaidis, decernis and declairis the samin to have bene fra the beginning and to be in all tyme cuming null and of nane avail, force

nor effect, swa that it salbe never lesum to ony of the maltmen of this realme to have dekinnis bot to be repute na craft.

The foregoing events are the explanation of the different titles which were given to the Chairman of the Incorporation of Maltmen in the Town Council records and elsewhere. In 1521, 1522, and 1523, the names of eight Deacons are given, those being, almost certainly, the Seven Incorporated Trades and the Maltmen. In 1529 the Deacons include Thom Andro for the Maltmen. In 1545 the Town Council were dissatisfied with the Deacons chosen by the Weavers, Tailors, Maltmen, and Fleshers, and the minute states: "The remanent dekinnis chosin be the counsall, and haldin able to serve the touin, deprivand the ignorantis chosen be the craftis thereto." We do not know who was the ignorant Deacon chosen by the Maltmen, but his substitute appointed by the Town Council was Thomas Michell.

In 1549 Andro Neleson was Deacon of the Maltmen. In 1564 Alexander Kincaid was Deacon. Following upon the above quoted Act passed in 1567, we find that in 1595 Jhone Layng was designated Convener of the Maltmen. (Charters, page 217.) On 4th October, 1596, Duncan Patersoun was styled Visitor of the Maltmen, and on 25th October of the same year, the Chairman of the Maltmen is referred to as the Convener. (Charters, pages 222 and 223.)

In 1547, the Maltmen and the Baxters were united in complaining of the oppressive exaction of the customs dues by the customer, and the Town Council, on 24th January, by a resolution, met the difficulty. In 1601, however, we find the Maltmen and the Baxters in open feud with each other. The Town Council intervened on 16th September, and issued a long ordinance on the subject. The Council ordained six master bakers and six maltmen to enter their persons in ward within the Tolbooth, and to remain therein upon their own expenses. The six bakers for the whole members of their trade, apprentices, and servants, and the six maltmen similarly for those whom they represented. These men were hostages that the one trade or their followers should not harm or molest the other till 18th October following, under severe penalties which are set forth in the minute.

The trouble with the Baxters led to the Maltmen being challenged for appointing a Deacon contrary

to the Act of Parliament. The matter came before the Convention of Royal Burghs, which meeting at Ayr on 5th July, 1602, passed an Act. This Act contains the record of a complaint to them by Robert Houstoun and Cristell Cayrnis against a pretended Deacon of the Maltmen usurping that office contrary to the Act of Parliament and debarring the complainers from following their calling. The Convention ordained the Town Council to prohibit the Deacon.

It was nearly nine years before the Town Council obeyed the order of the Convention, which they did in the following minute:—

Maltmen, 5th June, 1611.—The provest and bailleis (being charged at the instance of Christopher Cairnes, baxter, to put to due execution the act of parliament, December 1567, against maltmen having a deacon, and also the act of convention, 5 July 1602, against the maltmen of Stirling infringing the act), discharges the deacoun of maltmen of this burghe and his brether of all usurpeing of the said office in tyme cumyng, and of all trubling and molesting the said Christopher Cairnes and utheris inhabitantes of this burghe, burgessis and friemen of the same, in useing and exerceing of the said tred of making of malt at thair pleasour, they keipand alwayes the lawes and statutes of this burghe; and declair that in all tyme cuming thair sould be na deacoun nor visitour of maltmen within this burghe, nor yet sall they be reput ane craft within this burghe at na tyme heireffir, notwithstanding guhatsumevir act, licence or tollerance, grantit to thame be the provest, bailleis, or counsall of the said burghe, at ony tyme of befor.

THE MALTMEN'S SEALS OF CAUSE.

The usual legal charter of a burghal Incorporation in Scotland was a document, known as a Seal of Cause, granted by the Town Council. We have no definite information as to the original Seal of Cause of the Incorporation of Maltmen in Stirling, but in a document granted by King James VI. in 1603 he refers to the privileges of the Maltmen as being in their possession past the memory of man, and as having been authorised by the Magistrates of Stirling. The King's document has been referred to as a Seal of Cause, but this is scarcely accurate. Seals of Cause were not granted by the Crown, but by the Magistrates. A Seal of Cause was of the nature of a Charter

of Incorporation. The King's document is a judgment in a dispute between the Maltmen and other craftsmen in which he forbids other craftsmen to usurp the privileges of the Maltmen by the making of malt. Thus it is in effect a confirmation of the Maltmen's rights previously granted by the Magistrates, but it is not a Royal grant of these rights. We may, however, use the name by which it appears to have been known and call it a Seal of Cause. Three supplementary Seals of Cause granted by the Magistrates have been traced, and as these are all important documents, they are given here in full.

SEAL OF CAUSE I.

King James VI., 23rd August, 1603.

James be the Graice of God King of Scottis To our Lovittis James Levenox, Messr.

Messingiris our Schiriffs in that part conjunctly and severallie speciallie constitute greiting ffor sa meikle as we are crediblie informit of some debait and altercationis laittlie fallen oute betwix the Craftismen of our Brugh of Striviling on the ane pairt, and the maltmen of our said Brugh on the uthir pairt anent ane libertie usurpit by the saidis Craftismen to make and sell malt againe the privilegis propir and dew to the saidis Maltmen, and quhairof thay and thair Predicessors have bene in continuall possessioun in all time bygane past memorie of man and thair said privilegis authorized and allowit be the Magistrattis of our said Brugh for the tyme Qrupoun grittir animosities and trouble is lyke to fall out amangis thame to the dysquyeting of the publict peace and quyetnis of our said Brugh Raising and interteinyng of factionis within the same and bringing on of mony uthiris inconvenientis without remeid be provydit. Oure will is thairfor and we chairgis you straitlie and commandis that in continent thir our lets (Letters) sene ye pas and in our name and auctie (authority) command and chairge the haill Craftismen of our said Brugh on the ane pairt, and the Maltmen inhabitantis within our said Brugh on the eithir pairt. That thay and every ane of thaim observe our peace, keip good reull and quyetnes within our said Brugh And onnawayes to gif occasionis ony of thame to uthiris of trouble and unquyetnes bot that thay and evirie ane of thame content thame selfis with thair awne ordinarie vocatioun and calling fairbeiring to usurp upoun thame

directlie or indirectlie ony liberties and privilege qlk to thair awne callingis nawayis apperteins. And in speciall that the saidis Craftismen annawayis usurp upoun thamis the libertie and privilegis of making of malt qlk we and our previe counsall tak sic order thairanent as sall stand wt. the publict weill and benefite of our said Brugh undir the paine to be reputis haldin and estemit as factiouse and seditiouse personis, raiseris of factiounis muteineis and seditiounis within our said Brugh to the trouble and disquieting of the same. And to be pirsewit and puneist thairfor with all rigor and extremitie to the terror of uthiris to attempt the lyke heireftir. The quhilk to do we commit to you conjunctlie and severallie our full power be thir our Lrs. (Letters) delyvering thame be you dewlie exicute and indorsate againe to the birar (bearer). Gevin undir our Signet and subscrivit with our hand att Striviling the XXIII. Day of August and of our Reigne the XXXVI. yeer 1603.

(Seal)

James R.
Montross, Canlius. (Cancellarius Chancellor),
Secretary.

Indorsed on back. Theis Lrs. pretit. (presented) and Regrit. (Registered) the day wt. in written.

Mr Robert Young.

SEAL OF CAUSE II.

Town Council, 14th September, 1612.

Act, Maltmen.—The provest, baillies and counsall, convenit, hes statute, ordinit, and permittet, that the maltmen of this burgh now present and tocum may, at thair plesour in all tyme cuming, bruke, joyse and posses thair wounted liberteis, privilageis and immunitis, grantet to thame be the lawes of this realme, actis and statutes of this burgh agreeable thairto, anent the friedome of malt making within this burgh, siclike, als frelie and amplie in all respectis as the maltmen of ony other burgh within this realme hes uset and exercet or yet may exerce and use the said tred of maltmaking, but contradictioun or agane calling quhatsumever; with power to the saidis maltmen to haif ane visitour amang thame for trying the insufficiencie of thair malt and prices thairfor, quha salbe haldin to present to the counsall of this burgh all intrant maltmen crevand the said tred to be admittet thairto be the counsall of the toun; and for thair entrie to the said tred they sall pay to

the toun for augmentatione of thair commoun gude the soume of sixtene pundis in name of entres, and to the visitour of the maltmen and friemen thair of the soume of aucht pundis; and gif he be ane maltmannis eldest sone he sall pay to the toun (8 merks and to the maltmen 4 merks; a maltman's second, third, or fourth son, or one who marries a maltman's wife or daughter, to pay to the toun £8 and to the maltmen £4; a merchant or craftsman, to the toun £8 17s 4d and to the maltmen £4 8s 8d). And in all taxationes or uther impositiones that salbe raised or imposet upoun this burgh, the merchandis and craftismen usand the said tred of maltmaking salbe stentit with the said maltmen according to thair chairge and handling in that tred.

SEAL OF CAUSE III.

Town Council, 2nd March, 1646.

Act anent new intrant burgessis and Maltmen.—Statutes and ordanes that na outland men that sall be ressavit and enterit heireftir to the libertie and fredome of ane nychtbour and burges of the said burgh, nor to the libertie of maltmaking within the same, be ressavit nor admittit to the libertie nor fredome thair of quhill they be knawin to be honest and discreit men worth fyve hundreth merkis of thair awin frie gear, and that thai remane and duell within the said burgh for bearing burding with the rest of the nychtbouris thair of in stenting, watching, warding, and all uther burdingis, quhilk gif thay failie and remove and duell aff the toun, thay sall foirfalt, amitt, and tyne thair said libertie and fredome, baith thamsellis and thair successioun. And farder, the said counsell, for cleiring quhat the saidis new intrantis sall pay heireftir for thair said fredome and libertie foirsaid (not being nychtbouris nor burgessis bairnes of befor) sall pay fra this furthe for thair said entrie of nychtbour and burges to the thesaurer of this burgh for the tounes vse xxiiij li., and for thair entrie and libertie to the maltmaking 1 merkis.

SEAL OF CAUSE IV.

Town Council, 6th February, 1725.

Grant in favours of the Maltmen.—The magistrates and toun counsell having considered the representation formerly given in to them by Thomas Archibald, visitor, John Thomsons, Thomas Campbell, and James Nicoll, merchants

and maltmen, burgesses of the said burgh, and Andrew Muirhead, maltman, burgess there, present masters of the incorporation of maltmen within the said burgh, for themselves and in name and behalf of the remanent maltmen therein, as being authorised by their act of court to the effect aftermentioned, humbly shewing that where the maltmen within this burgh their being imbodyed or incorporate, having been for many years bypast, by indulgence and under the shadow and protection of the saids magistrats and counsell and their predecessors in office, the maltmen have alwise gratefully acknowledged the same and would never presume to do or enact any thing in relation to their entries or other publick concerns of any moment without speciall allowance from or authority of the saids magistrates and counsell or their forsaid for that effect, from whom they have had many favourable grants and concessions; and seeing that the better regulation of the entries with the maltmen as to the particulars aftermentioned, nor what has been hitherto provided, might in all appearance tend to the increase of the maltmens stock or common good, and consequently to the furdre releif and support of their poor; and seeing that other incorporations have provided and enacted that no child or childeren of any intrant with such a society, being married or forisfamiat time of their father or father in law's entry therewith, shall have any priveledge or advantage thereby, but when they come to enter with any such incorporation and be admitted as members thereof they pay thereto for their entry as strangers, and that the representants humbly conceived it might be judged as reasonable that the incorporation of maltmen should be as far allowed, indulged, or privileged that way, as others lay down rules to themselves, and that no hardship can justly be pretended by any such indulgence or concession from the said counsell, since that such as neglect to enter in due time, before their children be married or forisfamiat, have themselves only to blame if their children suffer thereby by paying dearer for their entry with the maltmen than they would otherwise have done had their parents entered in due time for their advantage, and therefore craving to the effect underwritten; which being upon the thirtieth of January last tabled, and then and now read in publick counsell, they find the desire of the representation reasonable and grant the same; and hereby not only ratify and approve of all their

former acts and grants in favours of the said maltmen, but also statute, enact, and appoint that the child or children of any person or persons entering with the maltmen, who be married or forisfamiat time of their parents entry with the maltmen, shall have no ease, benefite, or advantage by their saids parents entry, but be obliged to pay as strangers, when they shall enter as maltmen, to the treasurer or boxmaster of the said incorporation.

DRINKING IN SCOTLAND: THE MALT TAX.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the favourite drink in Scotland was ale, generally called "tupenny" from its costing two pence a Scots pint—equal to two English quarts.

"Wi' tippeny we fear nae evil,
Wi' usquabae we'll face the deevil."

It was made by the housewives at every mansion and farm, as well as by professional brewers in the town, and was drunk in the dining-room, in the kitchen, and in the change house. At the tables of the gentry the alternative was claret.

Peace from foreign wars having been secured by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and it being considered that there was therefore less necessity to placate Scottish feeling at home, Parliament proceeded to extend to Scotland the English tax on malt. From this exaction Scotland had been exempted by the Act of Union, although there had been a Scottish malt tax at an earlier date. A duty of sixpence was imposed on every bushel of malt. This caused great indignation throughout Scotland, and strenuous opposition was made by the Convention of Royal Burghs. In the House of Lords a motion to dissolve the Union rather than pay the tax was proposed by the Earl of Findlater, seconded by the Duke of Argyll, and was lost by only four votes. The Scottish resistance to the impost was so determined that the tax was not levied for a number of years. In 1724 Parliament tackled the question, and resolved, in lieu of the malt tax, to levy an additional duty of sixpence per barrel upon ale brewed in Scotland. This, however, merely transferred the evil from the brewers to the public at large directly, and there was widespread discontent. In the following year, when the Act came into force, serious riots occurred in Glasgow, where nine men were killed and a considerable number wounded.

The brewers of the principal towns in Scotland

assembled in Edinburgh and resolved to offer a determined resistance. The Court of Session had issued very minute regulations regarding the price of ale. The brewers resolved to stop brewing rather than comply with the regulations, and this they were enabled to do through having in anticipation, provided a large surplus stock of liquor. The Lord Advocate, who was the well-known Duncan Forbes of Culloden, was resolute that brewing should go on, and threatened to commit the malcontents to prison on a charge of conspiracy. In the end they yielded. Ultimately Parliament removed the tax from the ale and laid it again on the malt, but reduced the rate to threepence per bushel.

The malt tax, unfortunate in its imposition, had a far-reaching effect on the habits of the Scottish people. Henceforward, the brewing of "tupenny" steadily declined, and that rather harmless beverage was replaced by whisky, the drinking of which in Lowland Scotland had been previously practically unknown. Whisky, the very name of which is Gaelic, had been made throughout the Highlands, and it does not appear generally to have been drunk there to excess. This potent spirit was now conveyed across the Highland borders and gradually became the typical Scotch drink.

Another serious effect of the malt tax was the great increase of smuggling. From Holland, France, and Spain, luggers brought their contraband cargoes of gin, wine, and brandy, and many a Dirk Hatteraick became familiar with the quiet bays of the Solway, the rocky coast of Forfarshire, and the populous shores of Fife. Everywhere country gentlemen, farmers, and burgesses helped the smugglers to run their cargoes and baffled the excisemen. In many places the people became quite demoralised. They were lured away from honest toil, and the industrial life of the small towns was seriously affected. ("Social Life in Scotland," Henry Gray Graham.)

MALT MAKING IN STIRLING.

The business of making malt and brewing beer was extensively engaged in in Stirling, and the number of brew houses and malt barns that formerly existed is surprising. Many of these must have been very small places, employing few people. They were scattered all over the old parts of the town, and we find authentic evidence of this in the title deeds of the properties, these documents

containing descriptions of the subjects to which they pertain. An examination of the Burgh Register of Sasines for a limited period has disclosed no fewer than thirty-six premises devoted to the industry, and probably there were many more which I have failed to note. On the other hand, it is probable that all these businesses were not being carried on at the same time, as the old descriptions are frequently repeated in subsequent documents for a very long period. Probably none of these references is older than the eighteenth century. In most cases the brewing houses and malt barns would be situated on the ground behind the dwelling-houses and shops which faced the street, and access would be obtained by closes and entries. The following is a summary of the information gleaned, and I have quoted shortly the descriptive terms used. "Coble" was the Scots term for the vat in which the grain was steeped.

Church Wynd, East—Mr Page, Brew house.
 Broad Street, South—M'Nicol, Brewery (dating from 1529.)
 St. Mary's Wynd, East—Mrs Storrer, Brewery.
 St. Mary's Wynd, East—Mr Forsyth, Corn barn.
 St. Mary's Wynd, East—Burden, Great malt barn, granary, kiln, and coble, also brew house.
 St. Mary's Wynd, East—Mr Melrose, Malt barns.
 Barn Road, South—Burden, Malt barn near the Da Well.
 Barn Road, North—Bellfield, Malt barn.
 Winchel Place—On south of burn leading to the mill dam, Brew house.
 Drip Road—Duncan.
 Princes Street—North end of Sauchie Orchard, Malt barn, kiln, and coble.
 Bow Street, West—Livingstone's public-house, Brew house.
 Baker Street, North—M'Nicol, Malt barns.
 Baker Street, North—Middle of street, Brew house.
 Baker Street, South—Near Lady Vennel, Finlayson, Brew house.
 King Street, South—Messrs M'Are, Malt barn.
 King Street, South—Messrs Graham & Morton, Malt barn, kiln, and cinder house.
 King Street, South—Mr Livingstone, Kiln and coble.
 King Street, South—Mr G. R. Jenkins, Malt barn.
 King Street, South—Mr Crockhart, Malt barn.
 King Street, North—Bank of Scotland, Malt barn, kiln, and coble.
 King Street, North—Rossleigh Ltd., Kiln.

Arcade—Central and Upper portions, Barns and brew house.
 Murray Place, West—Mr Thomas Muir, Malt barn, kiln, and coble.
 Murray Place, East—Woolworth, Malt barn.
 Murray Place, East—Waverley Hotel, Brew house.
 Port Street, East—Messrs Wm. Somerville & Valentine (formerly Adam), Brew house.
 Port Street, East—Messrs Kinross, Malt barn.
 Port Street, East—Mr John Gillespie, Malt barn, kiln, and coble, also brew house.
 Port Street, East—Bush Tavern, Square of maltings.
 Port Street, East—Port Custom House, Brew house.
 Port Street, West—Messrs D. & J. MacEwen & Co., Brew house.
 Upper Craigs, South—Observer Buildings, Barn.
 Upper Craigs, South—Craigs House, Barn.
 Upper Craigs, South—Christie, Eastern end and near railway, Stove house, hovel, and kiln.
 Burghmuir, East—Colquhoun, Brewery.

Interesting information as to the quantity of malt made in Stirling is derived from the Multure Books of the Burgh which are still preserved for the period from 1st August, 1757, to 23rd November, 1823. From 1757 to 1775 the Collectors of the Matures were the Dean of Guild and the Deacon Convener of the Seven Incorporated Trades. From dues on malt they ingathered between £5000 and £6000 Scots per annum. Their expenses included the following wages paid in Scots money—Waiter £30, Collectors £27, Clerk's servant (probably a clerk in the Town Clerk's Office) £3, and Town Officer £4 10s. The point is not clear, but it rather appears that the Dean and the Convener shared the Collectors' salary between them.

From 1775 to 1823, the Collector was Robert Sconce, whose period of service was thus a long one. His salary as Collector and payments for assistance corresponded to the previous arrangement. The accounts throughout the whole period mentioned were regularly audited every quarter by the Extraordinary Auditors of the burgh. They give figures of the amount of malt manufactured in the town, upon which duty was paid. For a

few selected years the numbers of bolls of malt were as follows:—

Year.	Bolls of Malt.
1758	4531
1778	5965
1798	4689
1818	2235
1823	1795

From 1757 to 1800 the figures are steady, the variations from month to month being very slight. With the beginning of the nineteenth century a change set in, and the quantity of malt showed a steady although very gradual decline. These were chiefly war years, but even after the victory of Waterloo in 1815, the figures showed no improvement. We know that these were times of great political unrest following the long harassing years of the war.

The foregoing figures represent the quantities of malt upon which the burgh malt duty was paid. The report on the Burgh of Stirling submitted to the Commissioners contained an estimate of the manufacturers of the town for the year 1831, which includes malt, about 13,000 quarters per annum, worth at least £40,000. Taking the Scottish boll of malt as 13-18ths of an Imperial quarter gives 18,000 bolls. It is difficult to reconcile this estimate with the returns in the Multure Book. As the local duty was levied only on malt which was brewed in the town, it is probable that a great deal of malt was manufactured and exported without paying duty. It was the brewing industry and not the malt making industry that declined in Stirling.

In 1782, the population of Stirling was about 4500, and there were 94 houses licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors, or one for every 48 people. In 1792 the population was 5000, and there were 70 licensed houses, or one for every 71 people. In 1841 the population was under 9000, and the licensed premises numbered 96, or one for every 93 people (Statistical Accounts). These figures compare unfavourably (or favourably, according to the point of view) with the present population of 22,000 with 54 licensed houses, or one for every 400 people.

PRICE OF MALT.

From time to time the Town Council fixed the price of malt and also that of ale. Lest we think these prices were extremely high, it is well to remember that the money was Scots, which at a

later date was reckoned of one-twelfth of the value of Sterling money, and also that the Scots pint was equal to two English quarts.

16th January, 1519-20.—Quhiet was funding saild for xvij s. the boll; malt was funding for xx s. the boll.

1st October, 1520.—Quhit was fundin saild for xij s. iiij d.; malt was fundin saild for xij s. iiij d.

16th July, 1526.—Quhoit was fundit samokle as the bakstaris of the said Burgh couft in Leicht at this last waiaigh for xv s. the boll, and all wder quhit tha coft for xvj s. the boll. Malt was fundin for xvj s. the boll.

15th October, 1526.—Maltmen—Mieschal Stensoun, dekin to the maltmen, has promisit to the provest and ballies that na maltman within this burgh sall sell malt na derrar na xvj s. the boll, and atour that tha sall tak bot twa s. mair for the boll of malt na the bair is coft quhill Youll nixt to cum, and fra that furcht bot xij d. betuex bollis.

16th February, 1595-6.—

ORDINANCE FOR THE MALT MEN.

The hail maltmen within this brucht is convict for the transgressing of the last ordinance and act maid anent the selling of malt, beiring that it could not be liesume to thame to sell onie malt sen the last ordinance darrer nor ten pondis the boll quhill they could have meanit thame to the counsall, except Thomas Forrester and Jhone Scott and Alexander Thomson; and thairfoir ordanit ilk ane of thame to be poyndit for four pondis to be vnforgewin, and to remane in waird quhill the samyne be payit; and siclyk to sell the boll in tyme cuming for xvj merkis quhill thei meane thame selfis to the counsall vnder the paine fairsaid.

4th October, 1596.—Malt ten pundis; aill eighteen pence.

Apparently the Maltmen demurred, and the Town Council passed the following resolution:—

25th October, 1596.—The counsall all in ane voce fand and ordinit that the malt mycht be sauld for x li. the boll, with consent of the convener of the maltmen, and aill xvij d. the pynt, vnder the pane of v li for ilk contrauentioun.

The following table shows the price of malt and ale as fixed by the Town Council from time to time (Extract from Records):—

Date.			Malt		Ale	
			the Boll.		the Gallon.	
			£.	s. d.	s. d.	
1519-20	January	16	.....	1 0 0		
1520	April	16				
1520	July	16	.....	0 16 0	1 4	
1520	October	1	.....	0 13 4		
1520-1	January	15	.....	0 13 4		
1521	April	8	.....	0 13 4		
1521	September	30	.....	0 12 0		
1522	October	27	.....	0 12 0	1 0	
1523	October	5	.....		1 4	
1524	October	31				
1524-5	January	16	.....	0 16 0		
1525	October				1 0	
1526	October		.....	0 16 0		
1527	September		.....	0 16 0	1 8	
1528	October	5	.....		1 0	
1529	October	4	.....	0 14 4		
1545	Oct. and Nov.	.....	.....	1 10 0	2 0	
1545-6	January	18	.....	1 14 0		
1546	October	6	.....	1 10 0		
1548	October		.....	1 4 0	2 0	
1549-50	January	20	.....	2 4 0		
1554	October	1	.....	0 16 0	1 4	
1554-5	January	14	.....	0 19 0	1 4	
1555	October	14	.....	1 8 8	2 0	
1556	October	5	.....	1 16 0	2 8	
1561-2	January	19	.....	2 0 0	2 8	
1565-6	January	4	.....	1 13 0		
1567	April	26	.....	1 17 0		
Ale the Pint.						
1599	October	19	.....	7 6 8	1 2	
1600	October	6	.....	6 0 0	1 0	
1601	November	9	.....	6 3 4	1 0	
1602	November	22	.....	7 13 4	1 2	
1603	October	8	.....	6 13 4	1 0	
1604	December	3				
1605	November	18	.....	6 6 8	1 0	
1607	February	28	.....	6 0 0	1 0	
1607	October	9	.....	5 6 8	1 0	
1608	November	21	.....	5 6 8	1 0	
1609	October	16	.....	5 13 4	1 0	
1610	November	5	.....	6 6 8	1 0	
1611	October	21	.....	5 16 8	1 0	
1613	October	4	.....	7 0 0	1 2	
1614	October	21	.....	6 0 0	1 0	
1615	October	21	.....	7 0 0	1 2	

Date.			Malt		Ale	
			the Boll.		the Pint.	
			£.	s. d.	s. d.	
1616	October	20	.....	6 0 0	1 0	
1617	October	24	.....	6 0 0	1 0	
1618	November	4	.....	6 10 0	1 2	
1619	October	15	.....	5 13 4	1 0	
1620	October	30	.....	4 10 0	0 10	
1621	November	21	.....	7 6 8	1 4	
1622	October	25	.....	8 0 0	1 4	
1623	December	19	.....	12 0 0	2 0	
1624	October	20	.....	6 6 8	1 0	
1625	October	28	.....	6 0 0	1 0	
1626	November	3	.....	5 13 4	1 0	
1628	November	19	.....	6 0 0	1 2	
1629	October	9	.....	8 0 0	1 4	
1630	November	12	.....	9 0 0	1 4	
1631	October	26	.....	6 0 0	1 0	
1632	November	16	.....	6 13 4	1 2	
1633	November	22	.....	7 0 0	1 2	
1634	November	26	.....	7 13 4	1 4	
1636	November	4	.....	8 13 4	1 6	
1637	November	11	.....	8 0 0	1 4	
1638	November	10	.....	6 6 8	1 0	
1639	November	19	.....	5 13 4	1 0	
1640	November	25	.....	5 13 4	1 0	
1641	November	15	.....	8 10 0	1 4	
1642	November	4	.....	9 16 8	1 8	
1643	November	9	.....	7 6 8	1 2	
1644	November	28	.....	6 6 8	1 0	
1647	November	19	.....	7 13 4	1 4	
1649	November	29	.....	11 6 8	1 8	
1653			.....	12 13 4	2 0	
1663	December	31	.....	5 13 4	1 4	
1664	December	6	.....	4 13 4	1 0	
1667	December	19	.....	5 6 8	1 2	
1668	November	26	.....	5 0 0	1 2	
1670	December	1	.....	5 0 0	1 2	
1672	December	21	.....	5 10 0	1 4	
1673	December	1	.....	5 0 0	1 2	
1676	November	16	.....	4 13 4	1 2	
1678	January	1				
1678	November	13	.....	4 0 0	1 0	
1682	March	21	.....	5 0 0		

4th January, 1683.—Appoyntis the multur of the malt frae Monday nixt to be conform to the pryce of seavin pund the boll, and see to continuoꝝ whill recalled be the magistrats and councill.

22nd October, 1683.—Malt ordained to be at £5 the boll.

THE STIRLING MALT DUTY.

THE MINISTERS' STIPENDS.

Quite distinct from the national malt tax was a duty on malt imposed at a much earlier date by the Town Council, and known during its later period as the "mark upon the boll of malt."

The payment of the ministers' stipends has always been an obligation on the community down to the present day. Prior to the Reformation the clergy derived their income partly from the teinds exigible from the lands in the parish, and partly from the contributions of the citizens through the several Incorporations, as well as from funds contributed by generous donors. After the Reformation these payments continued in varying forms. The First Minister, in course of time, became the recipient of the teinds, and the Second Minister got the payments from the Incorporations, supplemented by contributions by a number of generous people. The payments by the Incorporations were apparently grudged, and in 1681, the Town Council agreed to take over the obligation and to relieve the Incorporations in consideration of the latter consenting to the imposition of a duty on malt. In 1730, when a Third Minister was appointed, the Town Council agreed to pay his stipend also in consideration of an increase in the malt duty. The malt duty was abolished in later times, and the Incorporations thus ceased to contribute compulsorily to the support of the ministry, but the Town Council continued to pay yearly £250 to the Second Minister and £200 to the Third Minister, as well as other outlay on Communion elements and precentors' salaries. This lasted until 1928, when, under the Church of Scotland (Property and Endowments) Act, 1925, all these payments were redeemed by a lump payment of £12,232 5s 4d to the Church of Scotland General Trustees. That sum was borrowed by the Town Council on the security of the Common Good of the Burgh, and will be wiped out by a sinking fund during a period of thirty years. Thus ended, so very recently, an association between the church and the municipality which had lasted for many centuries.

The malt duty was first imposed in interesting circumstances.

The dispute between the Crafts and the Merchant Guild reached its height in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The matter was brought

from time to time before the Privy Council and the Convention of Royal Burghs. An attempt was made to bring about a settlement by arbitration, and John, Earl of Mar, was proposed as arbiter. This failed, but the efforts of the Rev. Patrick Symson, the Parish Minister, were more successful, and a compromise was effected, which was embodied in a written Agreement, recorded in the Town Council books on 4th November, 1616. The clause which now concerns us is as follows:—

"Item, becaus the toun hes lytill commoun gude or meinis, ather to interenye thair ministerie, thair kirk, tolbuyth, brig, schoir, calscyis, schole, or uther commoun warkis and effairis, quhilk can not be sustenit without the rents and commodite of mylnes as utheris tounes hes, theirfoir how soone the toun may have occasioun to acqyre and gett mylnes able to serve the toun, we the saidis craftis, maltmen, and utheris vndersubscryvand, for our selfis and our successouris, sall consent and grant, with the remanent inhabitants of this burgh, to thirle ourselfis to the saidis mylnes for siclyk servyce and dewteis paying as the burrowis of Lynlithgow or Glasgow payis and gevis, but any gainstanding quhatsumever to be maid be ws in the contrair; provyding that sum of the craftis and maltmen be partneris in the undertaking to gett and acqyre the saidis mylnes for the weill of the toun, giff thai sall imbrace the same as utheris sall offir and undertak to do thairfoir. And unto the tyme that the saidis mylnes be acqyred and had we are content that thair sall be ane impost of viij d. lift of ilk browst of aill or beir that sall be fra this furth browin within this brought, with tua schillingis of ilk fyve shillottis of landwart malt that sall be browin within the same and not presenttit to the mercatt, in contentatioun of the ladyll dewtie thair of quhilk is defraudit and preiudgit be not presenting of the same to the mercatt as it aucht to be, conforme to the act of parliament."

There is a reference in the foregoing to the town acquiring mills. There were two mills in Stirling, the Burgh Mill situated near the gasworks, and the Bridge Mill near the bridge. The mill dams adjoining these mills were supplied from two artificial watercourses, known as the Burgh Mill lade and the Raploch Burn or Bridge Mill lade. About the time of the Reformation the mills somehow came into the possession of the Erskine family, and had to be bought back by the town. This project was evidently under

discussion in 1616, but was not finally effected until 1652. From that date the mills bore a most important part in the life of the burgh.

The Town Council were assiduous in exacting payment of the multures due to them or their tenants in the town's mills in respect of grain used in the making of malt. For instance, when a distillery was set up at the old bridge, the Town Council, on 14th July, 1782, resolved to prosecute the owners, John Border & Co. for two hundred bolls of abstracted multures. On 20th October of the same year the claim was compromised, and the offer of Alexander Ogilvie for himself and his partners was accepted.

The Multure Books previously referred to are the record of the income derived from the multures and of the expenditure in collection. The legal warrant for the collection of the multures was the possession by the Town Council of the two town mills.

DUTY ON MALT.

The following table gives the revenue derived by the Town Council from the impost on malt:—

Date.			Impost of Malt.		
			£.	s.	d.
1616	Nov.	11	146	13	4
1617	"	10	168	0	0
1618	"	10	182	0	0
1619	"	9	160	0	0
1620	"	10	160	0	0
1621	"	9	120	0	0
1622	"	8	120	0	0
1623	"	10	80	0	0
1624	"	10	92	0	0
1625	"	10	100	0	0
1626	"	10	106	13	4
1627	"	9	130	0	0
1628	"	10	120	0	0
1629	"	10	100	0	0
1630	"	10	100	0	0
1631	"	10	124	0	0
1632	"	9	128	0	0
1633	"	8	110	0	0
1634	"	10	120	0	0
1635	"	10	100	0	0
1636	"	10	110	0	0
1638	"	9	133	6	8
1639	"	11	140	0	0
1640	"	10	165	0	0
1641	"	10	133	6	8
1642	"	10	160	0	0

Date.			Impost of Malt.		
			£.	s.	d.
1643	"	10	166	13	4
1644	"	29	133	6	8
1646	Feb.	2	60	0	0
1646	Nov.	10	80	0	0
1647	"	10	145	15	0
1648	"	9	100	0	0
1649	"	10	106	13	4
1650	"	9	235	0	0
1651	"	21	213	0	0
1652	"	20	165	1	2
1653	"	10	170	0	0
1654	"	11	266	13	4
1655	"	10			
1656	"	10	166	13	4
1657	"	10			
1658	"	10	213	6	8
1659	"	10	140	0	0
1660	"	10	100	0	0
1661	"	9	73	6	8
1662	"	10	136	13	4
1663	"	10	140	0	0
1664	"	10	140	0	0
1665	"	10	140	0	0
1666	"	10	140	0	0
1667	"	9	140	0	0
1668	"	10	140	0	0
1669	"	10	140	0	0
1670	"	10	140	0	0
1671	"	10	140	0	0
1672	"	9	140	0	0
1673	"	10	140	0	0
1674	"	10	140	0	0
1675	"	10	140	0	0
1676	"	9	140	0	0
1677	"	10	140	0	0
1678	"	9	140	0	0
1679	"	10	143½	0	0
1680	"	10	143½	0	0
1681	"	10	143½	0	0
1682	"	9	143½	0	0
1683	"	10	143½	0	0
1684	"	10	133½	0	0

On 14th March, 1681, there was produced to the Town Council a gift under His Majesty's Great Seal, dated 24th December preceding, granting an impost for the space of seventeen years of 20 shillings Scots on each boll of malt brewed and consumed in the burgh, or 2 pence on each pint of ale, for defraying the public debts. The Council

consented to the impost, subject to the approval of the Trades, and farther agreed that if they preferred a voluntary contribution the amount levied would be restricted to a merk (13/4) on each boll. The Act of Relief approved on 19th May, 1681, narrates that the levying of 13/4 on the boll was agreed to by the Guildry and Trades on condition that the whole inhabitants were relieved of ministers' stipends, drummers' fees, cess, and all public burdens, except quartering of militia. (Extracts, Vol. II. page 46.)

The following acts were passed by the Town Council in November, 1681 and 1682:—

7th November, 1681.—The proveist, baillies, and counsell, having at lenth considered the maltmens opinion anent the bringeing in of the beare to the mercatt to be sold, and also considering the great expenssis the toun has bein at in buildeing and makeing of ane maill mercat, they ordain that upon Friday next, and in all tyme comeing, the hail corne, malt, peese, and beanes, to be brought to this burgh and sold therein, shall come to the said place now called the maill mercatt. And als have ordained that noe maltman nor others buy any beare befor it be brought to the said place called the maill mercatt (Noblemen and gentlemen fermes excepted). Or if they buy any in the countrie that they bring at least ane bag therof to the said mercatt place. And that noe neighbour buy malt from persones outwith this burgh whill it com to the said mercatt place on the Wednesday or Friday, the ordinar mercatt dayes.

9th November, 1682.—The magistrats and counceill having explained the exception of nobilmen and gentilmens fermes, exeimed frae the new imposition upon the victuall to be brought to the maill mercatt, they find that the exception is onlie of those who have at least ane thousand pund Scotts or ten chalder of victuall.

In 1685, "The merk on the boll of malt, the half merk upon the ilk boll in name of multore, and the impost, all sett to William Houstoune, cordiner, for ane yeir for £5000." In 1686, "in respect that the merk on the boll of malt, half merk of multore, and impost, could not be sett, and that noe persons wold offer therfor, they appoint the same to be collectit weekly." After this the impost does not appear in the annual let of customs. On 9th September, 1700, the Town

Council approved of a voluntary offer made by the Incorporations to increase the multure to 20/8 per boll, and of the Act of Relief by the Town Council in favour of the Incorporations relative thereto.

At the end of 1730 the Town Council received a petition from the various Incorporations asking that a Third Minister be appointed for the burgh. After numerous meetings and negotiations, this was agreed to, and the Incorporations, including the Maltmen, agreed to pay a multure of 18/8 Scots per boll of malt, in order to raise a fund for the payment of the stipend. An agreement was drawn up and signed, and the Incorporations thirled and astricted themselves to grind their malt at the town's mills, on condition that they should be relieved of the stipends both of the second and third ministers and of the town's debts, etc. On 16th January, 1731, the Town Council passed an Act of Relief, embodying the above resolutions. A Third Minister was duly called. He was the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, who came from Portmoak. He afterwards left the Established Church and founded the Secession Church, as is well known.

The increase of the multure was followed by an impost on imported ale. In 1732 the brewers of Stirling applied to the Town Council to have a tax levied on all ales brought into the burgh, as owing to the high multure duty payable by them for grinding their malt, strangers were able to undersell them. The Town Council thereupon imposed a duty of 5/- Scots, increased on 1st July, 1725, to 7/6 Scots on each Scots gallon of ale imported, but to be returned to the importer on its being exported. It is stated (Report of Commissioners) that this never yielded a large sum.

THE CHURCH.

In common with the other crafts, the Incorporation of Maltmen had, as we have seen, a close connection with the Parish Church. Before the Reformation each Trade Incorporation was in the habit of maintaining in the Parish Church an altar, dedicated to its own particular Patron Saint. Thus the Weavers maintained the altar of St. Severine, the Bakers that of St. Hubert, and the Hammermen that of St. Eloy. On its ecclesiastical side an Incorporation was known as a Fraternity, and as St. Matthew was the Patron Saint of the Maltmen of Stirling, they constituted the Fraternity of St. Matthew. The usual contribution

for church purposes was a penny per week per member, known as the "weekly pennies," but special contributions were made from time to time by members who could afford more, or who were influenced by pious motives.

The following entries in the Town Council Minutes show the close connection of the Maltmen with the altar of St. Matthew:—

17th March, 1521-2.—Johen Hendersoun hais promisit to gife four schilling yeirly, at twa termes Whitsovn-day and Mertimes be evinly porciounis, to the dekin of the maltmen that beis for the tyme to the vphald of dyvyne seruice to be don at the altar of Sanct Mathow fundit and situat within the parocht kirk of the said burgh. (Extracts, Vol. I., p. 15.)

19th June, 1523.—The same day, John Henderson duelland in the Spittal, was in amerciament for the non scottin and lottin with the maltmen of this said burgh in the geving of his penny to the repairing and the uphalding of the altar of St. Mathew fundit and situat within the Parish Kirk of the said burgh by the said maltmen, and daily divine service done at the same. (Trans. Stirling Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc. 1905-6, p. 53.)

30th July, 1526.—Allexander Crag hais tane upon him to prefe sufficiently that Thom M'Calpy promisit xxs. to the maltmen and to thair alter of Sane Mathow, and to prefe the same this day xv. dais. (Extracts, Vol. I., p. 27.)

8th March, 1548-9.—The provest and baillies hes grantit to the Maltmen that all thaim that use their occupation sall pay olkis pennys with thaim, alswele without the toun and within. (Extracts, Vol. I., p. 54.)

8th July, 1562.—The Counsell being avisit with the charge and supplicatione giffin be the Queenis grace vpon the complaint of James G (- - -), chapellin, ordinis the act maid and grantit be the counsel of befor to the said James to be fulfillit in all pointis; and gif the maltmen falyeis ordinis thaim to be poindit for xij d., ilk day, for the said James sustentatioun. (Charters, p. 209.)

Prior to the Reformation the Town Council were patrons of the altars in the Parish Church, and after the Reformation their right of patronage continued, being confirmed by a Charter of Queen Mary, dated 15th April, 1567. The practical

value of this right was that the choice of ministers was vested in the Town Council, but the exercise of this choice was qualified by the fact that the Town Council were required to consult with the Guildry and the Crafts Incorporations. This was in recognition of the contributions which these bodies had made to the altars of the church before the Reformation, and which they continued to make to the church in one form or another in post-Reformation times. In 1643 the contribution of the Maltmen towards the ministers' stipends was 50 merks or £33 6s 8d, and in 1660 it was £60. The choice of a minister was frequently the occasion of much contention in the town, there being so many bodies to be consulted. The Maltmen duly sent their delegates to the meetings held for the purpose of calling a minister. The Minutes of the Incorporation bear evidence of the careful consideration which church matters always received from the Maltmen.

In 1797 a serious dispute arose between the Town Council and the Incorporations, which on this occasion were unanimous. As we have seen, the Incorporations, by consenting to a tax on malt, had provided the income for a Third Minister. When the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine seceded about 1740, he carried so many of the congregation with him to the Erskine Church that the need for a Third Minister was not felt for some time. The Town Council therefore refrained from filling the vacancy. In the course of years the East and West Churches became much overcrowded, and as the Town Council declined or delayed to obtain a Third Minister, although furnished with the money for his stipend, action was taken by the Guildry, the Seven Incorporated Trades, and the four Tolerated Communities, including the Maltmen. A Petition was presented to the Court of Session to ordain the Town Council to take steps to call another minister, but the Petition was thrown out on the ground that the Court had no jurisdiction, and that the action should have been taken in the Court of Teinds. It is interesting to note that the Petition states that there were in Stirling at that time, 1892 members of the Established Church and 1724 Seceders and Episcopalians. A Third Minister was not appointed until 1817, when the Rev. Archibald Bruce was elected.

The Maltmen had pews in the East Church occupying the eastern end of the south aisle, under the scholars' loft, where the pupils of the Grammar School with their Rector and Usher sat. The Kirk

Session on 18th August, 1663, granted them seven seats which the Session had lately built where some time "stood the old Session House," the Maltmen recouping the Session for the cost.

In 1714 they obtained liberty to open out a special door for themselves in the outer wall of the church adjoining their pews. This continued until 1803, when it was built up. This doorway can still be seen from the outside of the church. The Maltmen's door was also used by the Mechanics for entry to their loft. Apparently the Kirk Session were of opinion that by using this private door some of the worshippers escaped contributing to the offering, and so we find the Town Council passing the following Minute:—

2nd July, 1726.

Maltmen and mechanicks to collect offering.

Having considered the petition given in to them by the kirk session of this burgh, they appoint the visitor of the maltmen and deacon or overseer of the mechanicks and their successors alternatly in order one of their number to attend at the foot of the stair leading to the maltmens seat and mechanicks loft in the church each sermon day, whether on the Lords day or week day, with a plate or cup in order to collect the offerings that beis given by those that enter that way for the use of the poor.

The Maltmen objected, and petitioned the Town Council to rescind their resolution on the ground that the Maltmen did not enter by their door but used it only for exit from the church, and if they were compelled to stand at the door at every service on the Lord's day or week day, this would interfere with the time when they behoved to turn or work their malt when on the floor, which is known to be a work of necessity, otherwise the same would entirely spoil. The Town Council recalled their minute, and appointed the Mechanics by turns to take the collection at the private door.

The Maltmen also had pews in a loft in the West Church in the north aisle, between the two middle pillars. The right to erect this loft was granted by the Town Council on 28th June, 1731, for payment of £24. The seats measured 81 feet 9 inches, this being presumably the width of bottom room provided. In 1818, when alterations were made, the Maltmen accepted alternative

accommodation, consisting of seven pews on the ground floor, partly in the area and partly at the side of the church.

PRESENT POSITION OF THE INCORPORATION.

In 1912 the membership of the Incorporation had been reduced to one, namely, Mr William Robert Galbraith, brother of the former Town Clerk of Stirling, and, at that time, no longer resident in the town. Mr Galbraith took steps to have the Incorporation put upon a satisfactory footing. He presented a Petition to the Court of Session stating that he had been admitted on 17th November, 1857, and was the sole surviving member. He asked the Court to interpose authority to certain Bye-laws and Regulations contained in a Minute by him, dated 27th November, 1911, and included in the Petition. The Court of Session granted the prayer of the Petition, and pronounced an Interlocutor confirming the proposed Bye-laws and Regulations. These now form the constitution of the Incorporation of Maltmen.

They provide that the funds and property of the Incorporation are to be held and managed by a Governing Body, consisting of the Provost and four Magistrates for the time being of the burgh, along with Mr William Robert Galbraith, and such other members as might be duly admitted into the Incorporation and elected to act on the Governing Body by annual election by the members of the Incorporation, to the number of not exceeding six in all. The Governing Body are directed to apply the income (1) in payment of expenses of management, (2) in payment of pensions, grants, and allowances to members and to widows and children of deceased members in necessitous circumstances, and payment of funeral expenses, (3) the surplus income to be paid to the Governors of the Stirling Educational Trust, to be applied by them for the purposes of their scheme.

Mr Galbraith duly handed over the funds to the new Governing Body to the amount of over £600. Mr William Robert Galbraith is now dead, and the Provost and Magistrates now constitute the Governing Body, the income being duly accounted for to the Stirling Educational Trust as directed in the Interlocutor.

It will be observed that it is still open to those having the necessary qualifications to become members of the Incorporation, but so far none has done so, and, at the present time, there are no

members of the Incorporation. The funds are applied to a very useful purpose.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS
OF THE
INCORPORATION OF MALTSMEN
OF STIRLING.

The Books of the Maltmen which have been preserved are as follows:—

- (1) Account Book from Michaelmas, 1686, to Martinmas, 1793.
- (2) Minute Book from 17th June, 1749, to 27th July, 1819.
- (3) Minute Book from 22nd September, 1819, to 21st October, 1886.
- (4) Account Book from 24th November, 1825, to 22nd May, 1875.

A number of documents belonging to the Incorporation still exist. The most valuable of these is the original letter, dated 23rd August, 1603, bearing the signature of King James VI., which has been termed a Seal of Cause. The others are mostly extracts of Minutes by the Town Council, Kirk Session, and Convener Court. There is also an ornamental key of the old Trades Hall, made for the Visitor in 1751.

Stirling, June 17th, 1749.

The which day the Visitor and Masters and remanent members of the Incorporation of Maltmen in Stirling having met in their ordinary meeting place, and at the said time they admitted Alexr. Brymer, son-in-law to Malcom M'Goven, Maltman in Stirling and John Cameron to the freedom and priviledge of Malt making within the Burgh of Stirling as freely as any other Maltman of the said Society, they having given their oaths de fidei and that they shall not pack nor peall with no unfreeman directly nor indirectly and that they hath deponed to and bear Scot and lott with the rest of the said Incorporation.

Alexr. Brymer's entrie is 14 pund Scots as a Maltman's good son and John Cameron's entrie is 48 pund Scots.

Thos. Turnbull.

25 September, 1749.

Thomas Turnbull chosen Visitor; Alexr. Thomson, Alexr. Christie, William Jaffery, and Thomas Henderson, Masters; Willm. Allan, Treasurer; David Graham, Clerk; and James Russall, Officer.

Charity to be given to one man £6, an apprentice £6, and three widows £4 10s each, all Scots money.

Patrick Muirison's son to get £15 5s 3d on being bound apprentice to the Weaver trade.

24 February, 1750.

One member to get 8/- for clothing, and another a pair of shoes.

20 April, 1751.

Three members and the Visitor to go the marches in regard there is no young men to go this year. Allowed 10/- to defray their charges.

29 April, 1751.

The said day the Marches was gone about, and after a second thought of the Master Court and the meeting of Maltmen along with them they judged it proper not to spend anything out of the Maltmen's box.

6 May, 1751.

Agreed to uplift £1000 Scots lent to the Town of Stirling at 4½ per cent.

17 May, 1751.

The Master Court in the Visitor's house laid on the Ladle Roll.

17 August, 1751.

Allow 10/- for the funeral of the daughter of a Maltman.

5 November, 1751.

Agreed to meet with the Convener Court anent meeting in the house newly erected for the public meetings of the Incorporations.

4 January, 1752.

The Society of Maltmen met at their new meeting place in Spittal's Hospital's yard. The Master Court represented William Stevenson, Clerk to the said Society his condition at their last meeting. For contumacy and bad usage he was justly deposed from the said office as Clerk.

Thomas Shirray to make a good two armed chair to be covered with leather and brass nails in it, and their coat of arms, viz., Shovell and

Bisom or any other thing necessary as their coat of arms to be done at the expense of the Society.

Likewise the copy of their Charter from the Seven Trades to them to meet at this new house are to be insert in this Book and the parchment to be put in the box.

Minute of the Convener Court, dated 27 November, 1751—

The Maltmen paid £7 sterling, and were allowed the privilege of meeting in the Trades new house "laying in the head of the Neather Hospital yard," being answerable for damage to the windows or fabric, and the Visitor to keep the key.

Agreed to procure the key for the Visitor.

22 February, 1752.

The chair made by William Shirray with the Maltmen's coat of arms approved, and left in the new meeting place for the use of the Preses. Cost, £2 2s 6d.

27 February, 1752.

Found George Danaskine, late Visitor, liable in £18 Scots, as he had lost the Mort Cloath.

26 March, 1752.

John Fisher in Carsmill not being a freeman had taken a barn to malt some barley. Found that this was no encroachment as he had given security that he was neither to sell, brew or distill any of the malt within the Burgh.

9 May, 1752.

Agreed to petition the Town Council to be equally freed with the Merchants from the dues on Barley, in regard the Maltmen pay £70 Scots to the Town as Ladle Money upon bear or barley.

21 September, 1752.

Two auditors to be elected annually.

11 April, 1753.

Officer allowed £6 Scots for his extraordinary trouble.

9 April, 1754.

Protest against the Town Council imposing sixpence Scots for each boll of malt grinding upon the steel mill at the Burrow Mills.

3 May, 1755.

Concur with the Town Council and Gildry in opposing the Trustees on the Turnpike Roads who are to prosecute the inhabitants at the Quarter Sessions for statute work.

27 May, 1755.

Agreed to give Five guineas to the repair of the road between this town and Newmarket.

25 May, 1756.

Complaints by Brewers and Maltmen of insufficient grinding of malt, one third being ungrinded and at other times so small that it will not run in the fatt, likewise that the horses is not muzled.

5 August, 1756.

The deceased Alexander Stewart's Bond to the Society renewed by his son Archibald Stewart of Glassingall (£366 13s 4d). John Stirling of Garden's Bond (£333 6s 8d) to be renewed or paid up. No answer has been got from Annat and Argitie (Conjunct Bond for £400).

5 February, 1757.

Agreed to give £100 Scots to the poor "in this straitened and calamitous time."

7 October, 1758.

Delegate chosen to vote for Second Minister in place of the late Mr Daniel M'Queen.

24 February, 1759.

The Master Court allowed 6/8 Sterling once a year.

13 November, 1759.

Agreed to a Moderation for Mr John Muschet, probationer to supply the present vacancy.

16 January, 1760.

Agreed to find a proper master to Robert Thomson, the orphan, and to give 3/4 for shoes and stockings to him.

26 February, 1760.

To write to Mr Stewart of Annat to pay up his money.

22 May, 1760.

To purchase four yards of velvet and other furniture for a mortcloth for children about twelve years of age.

All young men in the place that is entered as Maltmen to attend the Magistrates in visiting their marches, and on refusal the Visitor to make application to any Magistrate to cause them to go the marches or pay as their predecessors did before them.

5 August, 1760.

The old mortcloths to be disposed upon to-morrow evening by way of publick roup at the Visitor's house. The children's mortcloth presented and approved.

6 August, 1760.

The three old mortcloths sold at 2/6 Sterling.

22 September, 1760.

Admit James Harvie son to John Harvie, tenant in Gribloch of Arnmanuall in Kippen Parish, as a Maltman.

18 December, 1762.

Alexr. Brymer found guilty of packing and pealing with Alexr. Hodge, Brewer, in a pretended bargain of buying sixty bolls of barley and selling the same to same person.

1 February, 1763.

Agreed to contribute £5 to the Magistrates for mounting a water machine for extinguishing fire.

7 July, 1763.

To defend Bill of Advocation taken by Alexr. Brymer, and employ Mr John Sim, Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, and take proceedings against Alexander Bryce.

7 November, 1764.

Bryce's case referred to the arbitration of three Stirling writers instead of awaiting the decision of the Court of Session.

16 May, 1765.

Arbiters' decision against Alexr. Bryce, who was decerned to pay the Maltmen's expenses by annual instalments of £10.

20 January, 1768.

James Gray at Bridge of Allan and Robert Marshall at Airthrey accused of having a malt barn in this Burgh without acknowledging the Society and making malt therein.

James Wingate accused of allowing his brother Alexander the use of his barn and making malt therein without his being entered with the Community.

A Committee to report.

6 February, 1769.

James M'Tuan fined £3 Scots for packing and pealing with his servant.

31 December, 1772.

Provost Henry Jaffray accused of trespasses against the privileges of the Maltmen, as well as against his Burgess Oath, by causing malt to be grinded, brewed in the country and brought into the town without paying the ordinary impost.

23 January, 1773.

Provost Henry Jaffray gave thirty shillings to be divided among the poor as a satisfaction for his inadvertantly having sold some malt within this burgh, he having not been entered.

4 September, 1773.

Grant £30 Sterling out of the Community's stock for bringing in the waters from Gilles-hill for the use of this town.

The largest mortcloth is so old that its unbecoming to the community. Agreed to get a new one.

4 January, 1774.

Approved of a Contract betwixt the General Committee upon the Water Scheme and Mr David Young, plumber in Perth for bringing in water from Gilles Hill.

25 November, 1777.

Considered the transactions between John M'Killop and Provost Jaffray anent the legality of their making malt conjunctly.

22 January, 1778.

Appoint a Committee to meet with Provost Hendrie Jaffray to try what reason he may be brought to.

Agreed to repair the Maltmen's seats in the East Church.

2 February, 1778.

Agreed that any further prosecuting against Provost Hdry Jaffray be laid aside till furdur advised.

19 December, 1778.

A Committee chosen to meet with a Committee of the Guildrie, the Seven Incorporated Trades, and the other Tolerated Communities of this Burgh to concert on proper measures for putting a stop to the growth of popery, which appears to be encouraged by the Parliament of Great Britain, and to testify their opposition against such a seeming calamity being introduced into this land.

13 July, 1779.

Considered a plan to be offered to the King and Council for restoring this burgh to their wonted privileges.

9 November, 1779.

Agreed to support a proposal to bring back the Cattle Market at our latter fair from the town of Doun to this place again.

20 April, 1780.

Agreed to address the Managers of the Burgh against the proposal of Parliament to augment the duty on malt.

12 August, 1780.

Agree that Mr Walter Buchanan who hath preached here for some time past be elected Second Minister.

15 May, 1782.

Considerable quantities of ale and beer are brought into this town without paying any impost, especially the small beer or ale. Agreed to apply to the Town Council thereanent.

13 June, 1782.

Support the abolition of Patronage in the call of a Minister.

1 April, 1783.

Agreed to take the advice of an able lawyer in Edinburgh as to an Order of the Justices of the Peace to have the firloft made less.

5 May, 1783.

To oppose the alteration of the Measures.

3 March, 1785.

Object to an Imposition anent the billiting their malt by obliging them to bilgate their malt paying the same with white money.

18 July, 1785.

George Taylor, brewer, guilty of bringing malt to his own use without being duly bilgated.

21 September, 1786.

Ten guineas given for the building of the English and Writing Schools.

10 February, 1787.

Consent of the Town Council obtained to the entry of strangers being raised from £4 to £8.

26 May, 1787.

To let the seats of this Community in the East Kirk by public roup to the highest bidders.

5 March, 1789.

Rev. Mr Walter Buchanan of the Second Charge translated to the Parish of Canongate.

28 November, 1789.

Grievances concerning grinding and embezzling malt at the Burrow Mill.

7 June, 1791.

Disapprove of the Town Council's Petition against the election of the Honble. Andrew Cochran, son of the late Thomas Earl of Dundonald, as representative for this District of Burghs.

31 January, 1792.

Alexander Ogilvy allowed to make malt to 1st December on paying Two guineas without entering.

14 March, 1793.

To pay proportion of repair of roof and windows of West Church.

11 May, 1793.

Rev. Mr James Somerville translated from the Second to the First Charge.

28 October, 1796.

Petition Presbytery to have the vacancy of the Third Charge supplied, and the roof, walls, and windows of the West Church repaired.

17 October, 1797.

The stair and trance leading to the Maltmen's loft in the West Church to be repaired.

18 January, 1798.

To resist the attempt of the Collector to exact full dues from the inhabitant freemen of the Burgh at the Bridge and Burrows port.

26 December, 1798.

William Mathie claimed the right to make malt without liberty from the Community of Maltmen on the ground that he was a King's Freeman as his father was a soldier. Not admitted.

1st February, 1799.

Agreed that doctors and lawyers and Town Council should have soldiers quartered upon them.

Agreed that the seats in the East Church be repaired and improved, but the Maltmen will not give up their seats to the Town Council upon no account

19 March, 1799.

Agreed that the words "Packing and Pealing" signifies and imports the following things:—

1. That no Member of the Community of Maltmen can in any respect be conacted in partnership with any unentred person.
2. That no Member of the Community of Maltmen can give the use of his Barn to any unentred person within the Burgh of Stirling for the purposes of Malting. And that no Member of the Community can be allowed to malt or make malt for the use of any unentred person living within the said Burgh.
3. That no Member of the Community of Maltmen can allow any King's Freeman to malt in his barn or in his name anywhere als within the said Burgh. And that no member of the Community shall malt to no King's Freeman within the said Burgh without previes notiss given to the Community.

Agreed that the Oath administered to every member when entred shall include the above Articles.

The Oath is as follows:—

"I swere by God that I will be a Trew and Faithful Brother to the Community of Maltmen in Stirling and that I will neither Pack nor Peal with any un Freeman but will bear Scot and Lot with the reast of my Brethren in said Community."

11 May, 1799.

The Maltmen's loft in the West Church to be repaired.

13 June, 1799.

The Maltmen having placed a wooden pillar under their loft in the West Church for greater safety, Mr Graham of Meiklewood complained that it interfered with his property below.

25 July, 1799.

The seats in the loft in the West Church to be let all but the two back ones.

19 October, 1799.

Delegate appointed to elect a Minister for the Second Charge occasioned by the abdication and subsequent deposition of the Rev. William Innes. Instructed to vote for Mr John Russell, Minister of the Chapel of Ease at Kilmarnock.

17 December, 1799.

Give Five guineas to the Poor during the present scarcity of provisions.

21 January, 1800.

In consequence of the dearth of provisions, agreed it would be better to give to the poor Six guineas in hand for a march dinner than eat it and drink it.

19 June, 1800.

Approve of a Scheme of different Societies in Edinburgh for importing grain from Foreign Markets, and agree to give £100 Sterling to purchase wheat and Indian Corn meal.

4 October, 1800.

Committee appointed for managing the grain.

21 March, 1801.

Agreed to buy four bolls of beans to grind into meal to supply the Community of Maltmen until the Indian Corn come from Edinburgh.

22 September, 1801.

To cover the Visitor's chair anew and alter the Visitor's chair in the West Church.

17 March, 1802.

As the East Church is to be new seated the Council shall not alter the Maltmen's seats nor remove them out of the place where they now stand, or if they do they shall place them as nigh the pulpit as they now are or if they are to make them into dask they shall give us as many bottom rooms as we have.

29 June, 1802.

This day the Maltmen's seats in the East Church was measured. From the front pew to the backmost seat 14 feet, and to the back wall 17 feet. First pew in length 9 feet 11 inches; Second pew 11 feet; First desk 8 feet 9 inches; Second desk 7 feet 7 inches.

1 December, 1812.

Agreed to raise the prices. Draff 2d. per peck. Barn 8d. per pint. 10 pint barrel of ale 2/3. 20 pint barrel 4/6. 4 gallon tree 7/4. Porter 4/- per doz. Strong ale 4/6.

12 January, 1815.

George Donaldson fined £2 10s for five makings of malt without entering.

4 May, 1817.

Delegate appointed to vote in election of Second Minister in place of the late Rev. John Russel. Instructed to vote for Mr Archibald Bruce.

19 June, 1817.

Agreed to give one guinea and a half to aid the making of the public walks.

20 June, 1818.

If the West Church is fitted up without side galleries, agreed to take the same quantity of seat room in a good part of the area.

2 September, 1818.

Agreed to take the following seats in the West Church. Nos. 6, 33, 41 in the area, and the side seats 57, 58, 59, and 60.

29 September, 1818.

Agreed to let the seats in the East Church for a year at the old rent.

24 May, 1819.

In consequence of the present proceedings in Parliament, the Maltmen considered their present Political rights in the Burgh.

14 June, 1819.

There are 52 persons entered with the Incorporation resident within the Burgh.

8 July, 1819.

Considered the Reform of the Set of the Burgh.

25 December, 1819.

The Maltmen petitioned Parliament for obtaining a vote in the Town Council. Petition sent to Mr F. Ward Primrose, M.P., for presentation. Letter from Mr Primrose read, proposing to delay presenting the Petition until Parliament takes up the subject of Scotch Burghs again.

5 February, 1820.

Agreed to petition the House of Commons for taking off some of the additional duty laid on malt.

10 February, 1820.

Submitted Order of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Royal Burghs of Scotland dated 24 December, 1819, ordering that there be laid before the Committee a Return of every Corporation, whether of Guildry or Craft, in each

Royal Burgh specifying their Corporate Style or Description, the number of Members in each, their Office Bearers and privileges.

The Report was given to the Town Clerk to be forwarded, and a copy was sent to Mr Primrose, M.P.

22 February, 1820.

Letter of this date from Mr Primrose stating that the Devolution of Parliament is expected soon, and any farther proceedings will depend upon whether the Committee is revived in the new Parliament. He presented the Maltmen's Petition to the House of Commons in December last, and it was referred to the Committee on the Scotch burghs.

13 February, 1822.

To purchase a new Mortcloth.

2 April, 1822.

John M'Ney, Distiller at Kersmill allowed to make malt within the Burgh until December for a payment of 35/-.

23 May, 1822.

A vote of thanks to Lord Archd. Hamilton for his unwearied and indefatigable exertions in Parliament in promoting the welfare of the Scotch Burghs and opposing the Lord Advocate's Bill.

23 September, 1824.

The Community of Maltmen met in the house of John Christie, then Visitor, at the Farewell Supper.

14 June, 1827.

To petition Parliament against a Bill for obliging every Distiller from malt only to make within his own premises all the malt which he shall use for distillation, and on which he intends to claim the drawback. Arguments set forth at length.

16 October, 1828.

A meeting of Brewers considered the steps to be adopted in consequence of the Act of Parliament providing that after 28th instant, Imperial measures alone can be used. A series of resolutions passed as to the size of measures to be used, based on the Imperial standards.

4 May, 1835.

Agreed to draw up a Memorial to be transmitted to Lord Dalmeny regarding alterations in the Malt Laws.

13 November, 1841.

John M'Intyre, Brewer, called upon to enter with the Maltmen, or pay £1 per year, under threat of prosecution.

27 August, 1842.

Agreed to meet the Queen on her entry into Stirling on her way from the North on 10th September.

10 November, 1857.

Agreed to the removal of the Burgh Mill and Mill Dam, and to free the Town Council of their obligation in the Act of Relief, dated 6th January, 1731, to grind malt at the Town's Mills, on being freed of all obligations on the Maltmen in said Act of Relief.

19 October, 1861.

Agreed to inquire as to the possibility of being relieved from payment of the Ladle Roll money made yearly to the Town Council, and further if it was competent for the members to dissolve the Incorporation.

19 November, 1864.

Agreed to dine in the Golden Lion Hotel on 15th December.

21 October, 1886.

Three members present. The members asked Mr MacLuekie to present a Memorial for the opinion of Counsel on various matters affecting the Constitution of the Maltmen and the administration of their affairs.

THE MALTMEN OF Stirling 5/2/57 FINANCE—ANCIENT AND MODERN

By Archd. Jamieson

When the Town Council of Stirling met on 9th October, 1562, and ordained that

na maner of persoun brew or mak traffik within this brught bot honest menis wyffis and widois they were simply issuing a new, and temporary, regulation for a trade that had already been known in Stirling for over four centuries. The Laws of the Maltmen were sanctioned in the year 1124.

Part of the following information is extracted from the researches of the late D. B. Morris, town clerk, and antiquarian.

Like other crafts, the Incorporation of Maltmen had a close connection—both religious and financial—with the Parish Church.

Before the Reformation, each Trade Incorporation maintained in the Parish Church an altar dedicated to its own particular saint. That of the Maltmen was Saint Matthew, and the recognised minimum contribution for church purposes was a penny a week per member—popularly known as the "Weekly Pennies."

"FOR MALTMEN ONLY"

In the year 1714 a grave problem, not without its humour, arose over these weekly pennies. The Maltmen had obtained permission to open out a special door into the church "for Maltmen only." The wall was broken for this door and an outside stair was led to the Maltmen's pews situated in the loft. In course of time a rumour—which originated in the Kirk Session—spread through the burgh to the effect that the Maltmen were using this private door to escape the collection. Thereupon the Town Council, solemnly convened on 2nd July, 1726, passed a resolution that trustworthy collectors be appointed to make sure that none escaped his cash obligation; and also that trustworthy "watchers" be appointed to watch the trustworthy collectors!

The Maltmen, having protested that regular attendance on Sundays and week-days might interfere with their necessary work in the brew-house or malt-floor, the Council recalled their minute and appointed the Mechanics to take the collection at the private door. This door was closed in 1803.

Naturally, being subscribers, the Maltmen had a vote in the election of ministers, and we have this evidence from their minute book:—

19th October, 1799. — Delegate appointed to elect a Minister for the Second Charge occasioned by the abdication and subsequent deposition of the Reverend William Innes. Instructed to vote for Mr John Russell, Minister of the Chapel of Ease at Kilmarnock.

(None other than "Black Russell," of Burns's "Holy Fair.")

CHURCH FINANCE

Prior to the Reformation, the clergy derived their incomes partly from the teinds, and partly from the Trade Incorporations and generous donors. After the Reformation these payments were continued in varying forms. The First Minister still kept the teinds, and the Second Minister got payments from the Incorporations, including the Maltmen, but these payments were evidently grudging and paid under protest. As a result, in 1681, the Town Council decided to take over the obligation on condition that the Maltmen agreed to the imposition of a small

duty on malt. In 1780, when a Third Minister was appointed, the Town Council agreed to pay his stipend also, in consideration of another increase in the malt duty. In later times the malt duty was abolished and the whole obligation devolved upon the Town Council—amounting to £450 per annum, plus the outlays on communion elements, and precentor's salaries.

This lasted till 1928, when, under the Church of Scotland (Property and Endowments) Act, 1925, all these payments were redeemed by an immediate lump-sum payment of £12,232 5s 4d to the Church of Scotland General Trustees. To pay that sum the Town Council of Stirling had to borrow on the security of the Burgh Common Good—the loan to be wiped out by a sinking fund over a period of thirty years. Thus ended, or will end in 1958, an association between Church and Municipality which lasted for many centuries.

"TUPPENY"

Until the middle of the 18th century the favourite drink in Scotland was ale, commonly called "tuppeny," because it cost two-pence per Scots pint, equal to two English quarts. It was made at every farm and mansion house (once more by the "menis wyffs"—the brewers) as well as by the professional brewers.

But a great change was imminent. After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, it was considered by the English Parliament—the war being over—that there was less need to placate Scottish feeling. The English Parliament, therefore, proceeded to extend to Scotland the English tax on malt. By the Act of Union in 1707 Scotland had been exempted from this tax, and its proposed re-imposition caused great indignation throughout Scotland. In the House of Lords a motion, supported by the Duke of Argyll, to dissolve the Union rather than pay the tax was defeated by only four votes. So fierce was the opposition that action was delayed till 1724, when Parliament decided, as an alternative, to levy a tax on ale brewed in Scotland. This, however, merely transferred the evil from the brewers to the public, and when the Act came into force in 1725 there were serious riots in Glasgow and elsewhere; in Glasgow nine people were killed.

The brewers, as a protest, assembled in Edinburgh and resolved to stop brewing. The Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Cul-loden, declared that if brewing was stopped, he would put the objectors in prison. In the end they yielded.

The malt tax had far-reaching and evil effects on the habits of the Scottish people. The brewing of the harmless "tuppeny" steadily declined and was replaced by whisky, the drinking of which was practically unknown in the Lowlands of Scotland, and little known in the Highlands.

Robert Burns remarked on the change:

"Wi' tuppeny we fear nae evil.
Wi' usquibae we'll face the deevil."

STIRLING BREWHOUSES

The making of malt, and brewing, was an important industry in Stirling. There were upwards of thirty-six premises devoted to the industry, as malt-barns, kilns, vats, etc. Some of these were situated on sites still easily located, e.g., at premises now occupied, in King Street, by the Bank of Scotland, McAree, Graham & Morton, Crookarts, and Alexander's Stores; in Port Street at Woolworths and the Bush Tavern, and in the Craigs at the offices of the "Stirling Observer."

(Continued in next column)

(Continued from previous column)

AFTERTHOUGHTS

The reference by Mr Morris to the indirect effect of the Treaty of Utrecht on the life of Scotland is correct. But that Treaty had also direct and disastrous results elsewhere, which may be news to many readers. It gave to England the exclusive right to supply negro slaves to the Spanish West Indies, and, incidentally, made Manchester and Liverpool great and wealthy cities. "Their present opulence," wrote Professor Merivale of Oxford, 1840, "is as really owing to the toil of the suffering negro as if his hands had excavated their docks." And when the Liberal reformers demanded the abolition of the slave trade, the merchants of Liverpool petitioned Parliament in 1788 not to interfere with "this source of wealth." From "this source of wealth" several churches in Liverpool and Bristol were built by "pious donors," and dedicated to the Glory of God. Of course it was an old and highly respected English industry. Queen Elizabeth had been financially impressed, and loaned a ship to John Hawkins to capture and sell slaves. She wished him "prosperous success and much gain." She was a partner in the adventure! The ship was called the "Jesus." Elizabeth was called "Good Queen Bess." Hawkins was knighted by the queen and chose as his crest "a negro in chains." Many of these slave traders were "religious" men—even pious. One of them while waiting on the African coast for his cargo of slaves wrote the well-known hymn: "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds." It would appear, therefore, that the Treaty of Utrecht did more than adversely affect (indirectly) the life and habits of Scotland. Readers of our national daily newspapers should realise that all the oppressed and subject peoples of the world to-day have been taught to remember what we have been taught to forget.

The most obvious effect of the malt tax, however, was the great increase in the smuggling of gin, wines and brandy from Holland, France and Spain. It became epidemic. "The people were lured from honest work; country gentlemen, farmers and burgesses helped the smugglers to run the cargoes." The Sabbath was a good day for the adventure. Churches were favourite places, to hide the liquor, and at least one bank financed the industry.

But that is another, and a very long story.