

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
EAST LoTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY
VOL. XI.

1968

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OF THE
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ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

ELEVENTH VOLUME
1968

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FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

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OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

THE LATE MR WILLIAM COPELAND TAYLOR

As this volume of "Transactions" was nearing completion at the printer's, the Society learned with the deepest regret of the death, on 17th July 1968, of Mr W. C. Taylor, C.A., who had been its honorary treasurer for no less than thirty-two years. Appropriately enough it was at an Annual General Meeting in East Linton on 23rd May, 1936, that Mr Taylor became honorary treasurer and he has fulfilled the duties of the office ever since with the greatest distinction.

Mr Taylor was a quiet, reserved man and a much respected one by those of long standing in the Society who knew him well. His love of East Lothian was matched by his knowledge of it and it was the influence of this love, founded on such detailed but lightly carried information, that made him so enthusiastic a member of the Society whose function, as he saw it, was to preserve and restore and make lively all that stirred his historical and antiquarian appreciation of his native county. Its kirks and castles, its noble families and its common folk, its traditions and legends, its significant part in the history of early Scotland, its regiment, the Royal Scots, in which he served throughout the 1914-18 War, were all to him matters of abiding value and interest. He could never be persuaded to lead an outing but often, when he knew the leader well, he would quietly provide the unusual bit of information that enlivened the whole visit and gave it that quality which no guide book can approach.

And he loved the Scottish countryside as much as he loved its history. Right to the end of his life he was a great walker and knew the hill tracks of the Lammermuirs and much further afield from frequent experience. The English Lake District he visited annually and derived from each visit infinite pleasure which he shared with his friends, often in long sessions on the telephone, as soon as he returned. But beneath his enthusiasm to report what he had seen and done among the hills was his desire to find out at first hand what the Society had been doing in his absence. The man was very much more than the treasurer and though we shall miss his steady hand in our financial affairs, it is the gentlemanly charm and the quiet enthusiasms of the man who was a friend that we mourn.

His widow, his son and daughter-in-law and his grand children will miss him even more than we. We can only say to them that the Society sincerely sympathises with them in their loss, but rejoices, as must they, that he enjoyed life to the full, right to the end.

THE LATE MR JAMES ANNAND

With the death of Mr James Annand on 11th July 1967, the Society lost one of its oldest and most faithful members. The work and interests of the Society were always very close to his heart and in countless practical ways he made easy the tasks of its office-bearers. Having been himself Secretary of the Society for a number of years in the 1930s he had a particular sympathy for the problems of later secretaries and, in any crisis of organisation or printing, not only were his personal advice and help at once made available but the whole resources of the "Courier" were directed to its solution. During the last twenty years or so, many were the notices that reached members in time only because Mr Annand had been unostentatiously but very effectively in the background.

He served for many years on the Council of the Society with great acceptance. He was always so full of common sense and moderation and a sense of the fitness of things that he was relied on heavily. And he was equally relied on to write a full and accurate report of everything the Antiquaries did so that the files of the "Courier" contain, from his hand, what is virtually a history of the Society. When he was unable to be present at a meeting and to write his usual report he was very disappointed indeed and, with many apologies, asked if the secretary would do it for him.

Professionally, he was a real tower of strength when it came to printing the "Transactions." It was his knowledge and skill in the printing world that enabled the Society to produce a succession of volumes that are the envy of most other similar societies.

It is not for this obituary to write of his many interests and activities out-with the Society — his professional work with the "Courier," his service as Session Clerk of St. Mary's, his enthusiasm for the Rotary movement and for the Haddington Drama Club, his regard, which he shared so deeply with his wife, for Thomas Carlyle and Jane Baillie Welsh. Rather I would pay a quite personal tribute to one who so sincerely identified himself with East Lothian and with all that the Society was attempting to do for it that more than on anyone else the Secretary leaned on Jimmy Annand. When the Post Office was too slow to meet the dead line, he personally delivered parcels and papers. When someone was needed to collect fares at an outing, he was there too. To make sure that there were enough people to justify hiring a private bus, both he and his wife travelled by it, even when his own car would have been much more convenient. When some decision of importance was required or a move that demanded some diplomacy, he was again the confidant and adviser.

We in the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society mourn his death and extend our most sincere sympathy to his widow. But he has left a legacy that will long survive him: it is the will of those who follow him in the "Courier" that what he did for the Society must continue to be done.

G.M.

13th November 1967.

ACCOUNT OF LOSSES OF THE BURGH OF DUNBAR, 1651

The document here printed is now preserved among the Dunbar Burgh records in the Scottish Record Office. Its provenance and its earlier history, however, remain obscure.

It is probable that the document was compiled late in 1651 or early in 1652, as is suggested by the fact that the latest entries in the account of quarterings fall in December 1651. This impression receives support from three documents, strikingly similar in form, which survive in the papers relating to the Committee of Burdens and Losses, etc., formerly in the possession of Robert Hepburn of Keith Marischall, clerk, etc.¹ These contain accounts of the losses of the barony of Keithmerschell preceding 1st January 1652, of the tenants of Cockburnspath for the crops of 1650 and 1651 (with a note of cess paid since September 1651), and of the parish of Humbie for the period October 1650 to January 1652 (noted "given up 1652"). It is very probable that the Dunbar account was compiled at the same time, and that those responsible for its compilation had similarly the Committee of Burdens in mind with an eye to compensation or relief.

The Dunbar account shows the impact on the burgh and its inhabitants of the Cromwellian occupation of the Lowlands, following the defeat of the Scottish army at Dunbar on 3 September 1650. The long list of individuals who submitted accounts of their own losses may be of particular local interest.

The treatment of the document for publication requires little explanation. The first few entries in the account of individual losses have been given in full; thereafter the entries are presented in an abridged form, giving only the name and sum of money, to avoid needless repetition. The accounts of quarterings and of provisions for neighbouring garrisons have been given in full transcript.

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

P.1.

Accompt of losses sustainit be the inhabitants of Dumbair since the coming of the Inglish army into this kingdome. Geivin up in particular accompts be the severall inhabitants respectife for their owne pairts in anno 1651.

	Lib.	s.	d.
Imprimis James Fortoun gave up ane accompt of losses amounting to the sowme of	219	15	4
Item George Smith younger burges gave up ane particular accompt of his losses extending to the sowme of	791	13	4
Item Agnes Restoun hir accompt of losses geivin up, extends to the sowme of	1,410	0	0
Item William Walker wester his accompt of losses geivin up be him, extends to the sowme of	903	5	0
Item Williame Clerkson his losses specifeit in his particular accompt, extends to the sowme of	727	10	0
Item Alexander Stewart his accompt of losses geivin up be him, in his subscrivit particular accompt, amounts to	1,546	19	8
Item Robert Maissone his losses specifeit in his particular accompt subscrivit be him, extends to the sowme of	140	8	0
Item James Kellie merchand his accompt of losses subscrivit with his hand extends to the sowme of	250	4	0
Item James Adamsone his losses given up in his accompt subscrivit extends to the sowme of	445	12	0
Item William Walker wheilwright his accompt of losses given up be him extends to the sowme of	103	4	0
Item Patrik Mathie younger his accompt extends to	40	0	0
Item George Mairtein his accompt of losses extends to	1,212	0	0

[Alexander Davidsone, £214:13s.4d.; Alexander Williamsone, £468:10s.; Alexander Hammilton, £68; William Bryssoun, £1,114; Henry Johnstoun, £159:14s.; Mr William Kelly, £266:6s.8d.; John Smith merchand, £3,445; George Wilsone, £51; William Gillies, £234:13s.4d.; William Nisbit elder, £95; Johne Aikman, £54; William Nisbit (?) king, £160; Thomas Massone, £283:6s.8d.; Robert Cowine £409:11s.8d.; Patrick Cowine, £710:13s.4d.; David Law, £116:17s.; Elspeth Tunna, £280; Kathriene Richesonne, £53; Marrione Kyle, £42; Edwart Wood, £63:4s.; James Bald, £706:6s.8d.; John Doorie, £358:2s.; John Dowglas, £341:6s.8d.; Marrienne Williamsone, £1,507:10s.4d.; Patricke Achesonne, £85:14s.; Robert Willsonne, £350:16s.]

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

P.2.

[Robert Wallace, £128:4s.8d.; John Massonne younger, £321; William Kirkwood, £1,319:10s.; James Kellie coupper, £306:18s.; Agnis Fergusonne, £31; Alexander Fergusonne, £154:6s.8d.; John Kellie, £1,282:8s.4d.; Alexander Sydeserffe, £169:14s.8d.; Robert Kellie, £143:4s.8d.; Thomas Robertsonne, £441; Henrie Younge, £210:10s.; George Smart, £672:17s.; George Faw, £532:6s.8d.; John Jonsonne gairdinare, £40; John Gilpatricke, £189:2s.; John Millne, £432:6s.8d.; Cristiane Whitsonne widdow, £171:17s.4d.; Cristopher Skead, £272; Marrioune Hammiltoune, £239; James Cockburne, £486:13s.4d.; John Reid, £1,745:6s.; George Adamsonne, £570:10s.; Robert Greive, £406; George Forsythe, £84:10s.; Alexander Nisbit, £180; Thomas Hay, £327; John Jollie, £46; Alexander Kellie, £481:12s.8d.; Adam Cathkine, £19; Margreat Stainhous, £115:9s.4d.; John Ridpethe, £296:7s.4d.; George Blake, £468:16s.; Issobell Alleisonne, £261:10s.; Androw Young, £231; William Smyth wrycht, £164:16s.8d.; Daniell Hom, £129:15s.; Elspeth Eydingtoun, £49:10s.; John Massonne elder, £185; James Foord, £139:6s.8d.; John Thine, £170:14s.; Issobell Kirkwood, £285; Alexander Binnie, £194:13s.4d.; William Bairnesfather, £246:2s.; Margreat Lawder, £671:14s.; George Aitkine, £66:2s.8d.; Robert Oleiveir, £115:10s.; John Forrest, £750; George Ker, £683:5s.; John Birnibaine elder, £85:16s.; James Gray, £592.]

P.3.

[William Gilpatricke, £173; Robert Jonsonne, £200:6s.; George Guidaille, £36; Marrie Stewart, £52:10s.; Henrie Steivensonne, £175:12s.8d.; George Nemmo, £281:3s. Andro Richesonne, £380:6s.; Edwart Frissall, £676:2s.; Margreat Kellie, £96:6s.8d.; Sarra Blake, £358:7s.; Richard Oswald, £466:16s.8d.; Bessie Sandie, £787:8s.; William Denevell, £81:4s.; David Jonsonne, £78; Nicoll Kellie elder, £1,439; William Pattersonne, £142; Archbald Dumbair, £54; John Peirie, £33; John Birnibaine younger, £111:8s.8d.; Richard Hom, £326:18s.4d.; Marrioune Wood, £25; Margreat Purves, £2,701:16s.; James Boge, £61:8s.; William Browne, £176:16s.8d.; Marrione Affleck, £134:10s.; James Wallace, £96:10s.; John Nisbit, £602:6s.8d.; George Hammiltoune, £515:6s.; George Millne, £464:4s.; Edwart Muire, £41:10s.; Alexander Affleck, £336:10s.; Barbra Mandersonne, £4:13s.4d.; John Affleck, £130; Marione Dischintoune, £128:10s.; John Pattersonne, £242:10s.; John Osburne, £506:13s.4d.; Alexander Hammiltoune, £60:5s.4d.; William Purves, £2,447:6s.8d.; Robert Thine, £28:8s.; Alexander Schaw, £26:13s.4d.; William Mackrie, £181:6s.; Helline Lawrie, £29:13s.4d.; Thomas Kellie younger, £616:14s.; Margreat Hendersonne, £663:6s.8d.; James Devell elder, £77:6s.; George Affleck, £396:12s.; Jonette Kirkwood and hir sonnes losses is £640:7s.; William Walker eister, £1,194:8s.4d.]

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

P.4.

[James Wilsonne, £360:15s.8d.; John Hammiltoune, £66; Elspeth Dyet, £38:6s.; Thomas Walker, £410:1s.4d.; David Binnie, £90; Issobell Corsbie, £90:10s.4d.; Alexander Whyt, £19; William Lawrie, £1,723; Robert Walker, £119; James Smyth, £135:10s.; James Kellie boatwrycht, £281; Jonett Browne, £1,565:16s.; Viollat Corsbie, £1,926:4s.; Moreise Skead, £287:16s.; William Liddell, £1,548; Marrie Skead, £106:10s.; John Calder, £389:13s.4d.; William Browne weiver, £49:8s.; aires of umquhill Robert Jacksonne, £1,012:13s.4d.; William Wood, £460:6s.8d.; William Smyth, £349:16s.; Andro Smyth, £873:8s.; John Nisbit, £317; George Jacksonne, £75; James Maw, £157:10s.; Thomas Kellie elder, £313:4s.; George Speire, £94; George Robe, £203:19s.8d.; William Weillance, £1,061:10s.; Archbald Crumbie, £41:3s.; Alexander Scheill, £40:10s.; David Craw, £131:6s.8d.; John Smyth fleschore, £48:10s.; Richard Broune, £1,289:6s.8d.; Patricke Hom, £682:10s.; John Skead, £262; Kathriene Bennett, £13:18s.; John Smyth wrycht, £34:16s.; Robert Yownge, £202; William Yownge, £108:6s.; Alexander Cairnes, £103:17s.8d.; James Steivensonne, £136; Issobell Sinckler, £110:5s.4d.; John Smyth younger taylour, £50:10s.8d.; George Lyell, £130:16s.; Agnis Kellie, £186:6s.8d.; Jonett Nisbit, £23:9s.4d.; Cristiane Darlinge, £84:2s.; Joane Kellie, £233:6s.8d.]

P.5.

[Bessie Stevensonne, £30; Adam Tunna, £192:10s.; William Allone, £25:8s.; Patricke Mathie, £161:6s.8d.; James Blake, £45; Robert Pringlle and his mother in law, £1,889:19s.; Jonet Dumbur, £40; Margreat Restoune, £92:4s.; Robert Whyte, £723:12s.; Viollat Lawder, £182:13s.4d.; James Lawder, £1,338:10s.; George Forrest, £347:6s.8d.; Robert Lawder, £2,927:13s.4d.; Issobell Waddell, £351:5s.4d.; Herie Peddine, £252; James Denevell younger, £71; George Fergusonne, £77; George Richesonne, £33:12s.; Thomas Dawsonne, £300; Alexander Young, £273:18s.4d.; Issobell Broune, £115:13s.4d.; Nicoll Kellie younger, £2,431:4s.; James Airthe, £105; John Steivensonne, £206:13s.4d.; Thomas Lyell, £485:13s.4d.; James Hay, £61; James Dischintoune, £24:12s.; James Horne, £112:10s.8d.; Thomas Purves, £12,020; Sir William Dicke, £10,180; George Sincklare, £46:6s.; Alexander Denholme, £129:11s.4d.; John Donaldsonne, £31:16s.; Jonett Yowng, £60:10s.8d.; Margreat Mackrie, £29:10s.; William Denholme, £39:5s.; item lossit out of the mylnes be James Lawder and his conpairtinares victuall estimat to £1,200; Cristiane Foord, £129:15s.; William Cockburne, £3,282:3s.; Thomas Skead, £538; George Sandersonne, £214:13s.4d.; George Lylle, £115:12s.; Robert Home, £31:18s.; Mr George Thomsonne, £909:6s.8d.; George Mernes, £590:16s.8d.; John Gottray, £70.]

P.6.

The haill sowme of thir preceeding losses extends to 115,770 lib. 12s. 4d.

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

P.7.

Accompt of frie quarterings upon the burgh of Dumbar since the comeing of the English army into this nation.

	Lib.	s.	d.
30th November 1650*(2)			
Imprimis quarterit their upon frie quarter for the space of twentie four houres, thrie companies of foottmen consisting of fyve hundreth men commandit be one Captaine Philps, and two other captaines, at 8s. ilk man, inde	200	0	0
Item in coall and candle to their guards	4	0	0
Item for eight baggage horses to Tranent with them, at 2 lib. ilk horse, inde	16	0	0
1 December 1650			
Item quarterit their upon frie quarter, 24 houres space, Collonell Sexbie his regiment consisting of 1,200 men at 8s. ilk man, inde	480	0	0
Item in coall and candle to their guards	8	0	0
Item for sextein baggage horses to Longnidrie with them at 2 lb. ilk horse, inde	32	0	0
11th December 1650			
Item quarterit their upon frie quarter, 24 houres space, recruittes consisting of 140 men, at 8s. ilk man, inde	56	0	0
Item quarterit with them upon frie quarter the said space, sex horsmen of Innerwick garrison, at 1 lib. 6s. ilk horsman	7	16	0
Item in coall and candle to their guard	3	0	0
Item for four baggage horses with them to Haddington, at 16s. ilk horse, inde	3	4	0
1 Januarie 1651			
Item quarterit their upon frie quarter, 24 houres space, ane pairtie of Berwick garrisone consisting of thrie hundreth men going along to the castle of Edinburgh, at 8s. ilk man, inde	120	0	0
Item quarterit with them ten horsmen of Innerwick garrison, at 1 lib. 6s. ilk horse and man the said space, inde	13	0	0
Item in coall and candle to their guards	3	0	0
Item for sex baggage horse with them to the Coattes at 30s. ilk horse, inde	2	0	0

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

	Lib.	s.	d.
3rd Januarie 1651			
Item quarterit their upon frie quarter, 24 houres space, ane pairtie of recruittes consisting of 40 men at 8s., inde	16	0	0
Item for two baggage horses to Hadingtoun with them ...	2	0	0
81st Januarie till the 16th of Apryll, 1651			
Item in meat, drink, coall and candle to the Generalls regiment and Thomlinsones regiment consisting of 1,200 men for the space of ellevin weeks, estimat at the least to	5,000	0	0
P.8.			
7th Februarie 1651			
Quarterit their upon frie quarter, two dayes space, ane troup consisting of 112 horsmen, commandit be one Captaine Seville, at 30s. ilk horse and man per diem, inde	336	0	0
8th Februarie 1651			
Quarterit their upon frie quarter Collonell Syllers regi- ment consisting of 1,100 men, 24 houres space, at 8s. ilk man, inde	440	0	0
Item in coall and candle to their guards	8	0	0
Item for (blank) gallons aill, and (blank) dozens wheat bread, which they took along with them to Tamtallon, inde	(blank)		
Item left be them eightene sick men, for ane nights space therefter, at 8s. ilk man, inde	7	4	0
Item for two carts to Tamtallon with them	6	0	0
12th Maii 1651			
Item in meat and drink to Twisleton his regiment, for 20 dayes space, being sex hundreth hors-men, estimat to	1,000	0	0
Item in meat and drink, coall and candle to Hakers regi- ment, being sex hundreth hors-men 8 dayes space, estimato	500	0	0
21st June 1651			
Quarterit their upon frie quarter, 24 houres space, ane troup of Aldridge his dragounes with 33 waggones, being 208 men, at 8s. ilk man, inde	83	4	0

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

	Lib.	s.	d.
10th July 1651			
Quarterit their upon frie quarter, 24 houres space, 100 footmen and 45 horsmen, at 8s. ilk footman and 1 lib. 10s. ilk hors-man, inde	107	10	0
20th July 1651			
Quarterit their upon frie quarter, 24 houres space, two troupes of horse come from England, consisting of 180 hors-men at 1 lib. 10s. ilk horse and man, inde	270	0	0
26th July 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 houres space, two troupes of horsemen, consisting of 186 horsemen at 1 lib. 10s. ilk hors-man, inde	279	0	0
17th August 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 houres space, the number of 60 horse going to Ingland, at 1 lib. 10s. ilk horse and man, inde	90	0	0
Item ane pairtie of 172 footmen going to Ingland, the said space, at 8s. ilk man, inde	68	16	0
Item furnischit to Captaine Andersone and his companie attending the drave fisching ⁽³⁾ fra the 14th of August till the (<i>blank</i>) of September, in coall, candle and others necessaris conforme to the particular accompt thereof, inde	163	5	0
P.9.			
14th October 1651			
Quarterit their two troupes of Hacker his regiment, consisting of 240 horsmen, 24 houres space, at 1 lib. 10s. ilk horse and man, inde	360	0	0
15th October 1651			
Quarterit their ane other troupe of the samen regiment, for the space of 24 houres, bein 120 hors-men, at 1 lib. 10s. ilk horse and man, inde	180	0	0
19th October 1651			
Quarterit their upon frie quarter thrie companies and ane halfe companie of Collonell Cobbetts regiment, consisting of 354 men at 8s. ilk man, 24 houres space, inde ...	141	12	0

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

	Lib.	s.	d.
8th November 1651			
Quarterit their ane commandit pairtie of Collonell Fitch his regiment for conveying ane wagon with money from England, consisting of 120 men with 7 wagon horses and two horses belonging to the officers, 24 houres space at 8s. ilk man and 1 lib. 6s. (<i>sic</i>) ilk hors, inde	56	2	0
Item in coall and candle to their guard	3	6	8
Item for 4 baggage horses with them to Hadingtoun at 16s. ilk horse	3	4	0
16th November 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 houres space, 36 sick me[n] that cam out of ane schip, at 8s. ilk man, inde	14	8	0
Item ten baggage horses with them to Hadingtoun at 16s. ilk horse	8	0	0
18th November 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 houres space, 24 hors-men that came from England at 1 lib. 6s. ilk horse and man, inde	31	4	0
21st November 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 houres space, 340 footmen commandit be Lieutenant Collonell Cotreill conform to his ticket, at 8s. ilk man, inde	136	0	0
Item sex firlots coalles and 3 pound weicht of candle to their guards, is	5	10	0
Item ten baggage horses to them to Hadingtoun at 16s. ilk horse	8	0	0
24th November 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 houres space, 60 hors-men of Collonell Lilburne his regiment at 1 lib. 6s. ilk hors and man, inde	78	0	0
Item in their returne for ane baggage horse to Duns with them, is	1	16	0
25th November 1651			
Quarterit their, 48 houres space, 200 footmen of Collonell Overtoun his regiment that came out of ane ship, at 8s. ilk man, is	160	0	0
Item for ane cart and thrie horses in it and for 6 other baggage horses to Hadington with them, at 5 lib. for the cart and 16s. ilk baggage horse, inde	9	16	0
Item quarterit their, four dayes space, eight sick men left be them, at 8s. ilk man per diem, inde	12	16	0
Item for two carts to Hadingtoun with them, at 5 lib. ilk cart, inde	10	0	0

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

	Lib.	s.	d.
27th November 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 heures space, 16 hors-men going to Ingland at 1 lib. 6s. ilk horse and man, inde	20	16	0
P.10.			
29th November 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 heures space, 16 footmen going to Leith, at 8s. ilk man, inde	6	8	0
30th November 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 heures space, ane captaine and 20 horse-men of Hackers regiment being come from Ingland, at 1 lib. 6s. ilk horse and man, inde	27	6	0
1 December 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 heures space, 15 men and horse come from Ingland, at 1 lib. 6s. ilk man and horse, inde	19	10	0
Item quarterit their, 16 dayes space viz. fra the 7th November, till the 22 day theirof inclusive, 24 men of Tamtallon garrison conforme to ane testificat subscribeit be Ensigne Otter, at 8s. ilk man per diem, inde	153	12	0
Item for the said ensigne his horse the said space, at 18s. per diem, is	14	8	0
Item furnischt to their guard 18 bolls coalles, at 3 lib. ilk boll, inde	54	0	0
Item 16 pound weight of candle at 6s. 8d. ilk pound weicht, inde	5	6	8
Item for four carts that brought provision from Tamtallon to the said guard, fra the 22 day of November till the 3th of December, at 3 lib. ilk cart ...	12	0	0
Item furnischt to them at their removeall sex baggage horses to Northberwick at 13s. 4d. ilk horse, inde	4	0	0
3rd December 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 heures space, 15 horse of Collonell Murgon his regiment, at 1 lib. 6s. ilk man and horse inde	19	10	0
4th December 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 heures space, 12 footmen at 8s. ilk man, inde	4	16	0

THE LOSSES OF DUNBAR

	Lib.	s.	d.
8th December 1651			
Quarterit their, 24 houres space, 40 men and horse of Collonell Sanders his regiment at 1 lib. 6s. ilk horse and man, inde	52	0	0
Item for ane baggage horse with them to Leith, is	3	0	0
14th December 1651			
Quarterit their Captaine Scrapes company, being 100 men, 24 houres space, at 8s. ilk man, inde	40	0	0
Item 4 baggage horses to them, at 16s. ilk horse, inde	3	4	0
Item quarterit their that same day ane pairtie of Lilburnes regiment, being 60 horse conveying money to Leith, at 1 lib. 6s. ilk man and horse, inde	78	0	0
Item 9 baggage horses to Haddington with them, at 16s. ilk horse, is	7	4	0
P.11.			
Ane accompt of provisioune furnisched be the burgh of Dumbar to garreisonnes as followes:			
Inprimis payit to the garreisonne of Endervicke ⁽⁴⁾ for the spaice of 44 dayes viz. from the 9th of October 1650 till the 18th of November at 56s. per diem, inde	123	4	0
Item for ane feather bed and ane feather boulder	36	0	0
Item for ane calfe ⁽⁵⁾ bed and ane boulder	8	0	0
Item for twa paire of schietts, twa paire of blanketts and ane coveringe to the said garreisonne, inde	26	0	0
Item payed to the garreisonne of Northbervicke the spaice of elieven weikes viz. from the 18th of November 1650 till the 4th of Februarii 1651, weiklie. 38 muttones at 3 lib. the peice is 114 lib. Mair 44 dussonne and 4 bread is 26 lib. 12s. Mair 33 gallones and twa pynts aill is 26 lib. 12s. Mair for transporteing of the said provisioune weiklie from Dumbar to Northbervicke 12 lib. And swa the haill provisioune and the carreiadge thair of per weike is 179 lib. 4s., quhilk forsaid eleiven weikes extendes in the haill to the sowme of	1,971	4	0
Item payit to the garreisonne of Tamtalline from the 9th of Appryll 1651 to the 6th of Maii	60	0	0
Item to the said garreisonne 6 load of coalles	6	12	0
Item for sex horses hyre that carried them	3	10	0
Mor to them sex load of coalles	6	12	0

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	Lib.	s.	d.
Item for sex horses hyre that cairried them	3	10	0
Item furnisched to Lieutennant Sowthwell with ane pairtie of seik men that was left behynd the Generall and Thomlisonne ther regements meat and drinke estimat to	40	0	0
Item the bulwarke of the herbrie and timber thair of pulled doune be Collonell Syllerese regement, worthie	3,000	0	0
Item lost the poors box of our toun in money	2,000	0	0
Item three new velvett mortcloathes*(6), worthie	500	0	0
Item ane eldren velvit mortcloathe, estimat to	100	0	0
Item silver coupes estimat to	400	0	0
Item baissines, stowpes, and taible cloathes estimat to ...	400	0	0

P.12.

The haill sowme of quarterings and cess extendes to ...	18,867	10	4
The haill sowme of losses, quarteringes and cesse sus- teined be t ^e burgh of Dumbar extendes to	134,638	2	8

F. F. ROBERTS,
Scottish Record Office.

NOTES

1. M. Livingstone *Guide to the Public Records of Scotland* (1905), 15.
2. In manuscript the date appears in the margin throughout this account.
3. Herring fishing.
4. Innerwick.
5. Chaff, used as filling for bed-mattresses.
6. Pall carried over coffin at funerals.

THE ARMORIAL PANELS OF DUNBAR TOWN HOUSE

The Royal Burgh of Dunbar is fortunate in possessing civic headquarters of some historic interest. It is odd to find this modest but striking building of the early seventeenth century dismissed by James Miller, in his *History of Dunbar*, as "an old inconvenient edifice," and one wonders what might have been the reaction to this statement of Miller's illustrious contemporary Lord Cockburn. Not least among the Town House's points of mark are two large heraldic panels, each some five or six feet square, which dominate the Council Chamber.

The first, painted on vertical wooden sections, consists of the Royal Arms of the reign of King James VII & II, marshalled à l'*écossaise*, i.e., with the Lion Rampant of Scotland occupying the first and fourth quarters of the nearly-square shield, the second main quarter holding the combined French Fleur-de-Lys and English Lions "passant guardant," and the third carrying the Harp of Ireland. The shield is represented as hanging by a strap, from a silver helmet placed full-face and ornamented with eight gold bars or grilles. Above the helmet appears a large Crown; the circlet is heightened by alternate fleurs-de-lys and crosses, but the fleurs-de-lys have pride of place — which in the Crown of St. Edward used at Coronations is given to the crosses — and the number of the arches is apparently *four*, as distinct from the *two* found on actual British Crowns, and as shown in the Royal Arms of the present day; the Crown is lined with the usual crimson cap, but no ermine edging appears below the circlet. Upon the Crown is the Royal crest of Scotland — a red lion, seated, full-face, crowned and holding a sword and a sceptre. This figure is accompanied by the initials "I R 7," and by a motto-scroll with the words "In Defence"—again differing from modern practice, which is to use the archaic spelling, "In Defens." From the helmet flows the formal "mantling"—cloth of gold, lined with ermine. The Supporters of the Arms are also placed according to Scottish practice; the Unicorn takes the first place (on the

DUNBAR ARMORIAL PANELS

spectator's *left*, which heralds call *dexter* and has a thistle at his feet; on the opposite side is the Lion of England, with a rose springing beside him; both wear crowns similar to that over the helmet, but, strangely, the banners which they should be holding—St. Andrew and St. George respectively—have been omitted. Around the shield are, first, the Collar of the Order of the Thistle, depicted as consisting of thistles displayed with the heads radiating outward and joined by figure-of-eight links, all in gold, painted against a red background; second, the Garter, in its usual colouring and form, save that the pendent end of the strap terminates in a roundle carrying a representation of the St.-George-&-Dragon Jewel of that Order; above the "George" is another roundle, showing the St. Andrew Jewel of the Thistle. Below the shield is a formal compartment carrying the motto "Dieu Et Mon Droit," and the date "1686." The whole panel is vigorously executed, and has been maintained in a good state of preservation.

At the opposite end of the Council Chamber, and situated, like its companion, over a fireplace, is the second panel, this time painted on canvas. Later in date, it has its own intriguing points of interest. The design is obviously intended to represent the Royal Arms of the Hanoverian period between the succession of King George I in 1714 and the Parliamentary Union with Ireland in 1801, viz.—the first quarter of the shield divided vertically, with the English Lions in one half and the Scottish Lion in the other, the second quarter carrying the French Lilies, the third the Irish Harp, and the fourth the arms of Hanover. The last is a rather involved coat of arms, which may be described as follows—the quarter is divided in three, by lines forming an inverted "Y"; the first component is red with two golden lions, one above the other, exactly like those found in the English Royal Arms (they are, in fact, of the same ancestry); the second division is gold, scattered with red hearts, the main figure, or "charge," being a blue lion rampant; the lowest partition is red, like the first, but instead of the lions carries a white horse, in running posture, its mane and hooves gold; in the centre of the whole ensemble, surmounting the conjunction of the three partition-lines, is a small escutcheon of red, bearing a representation of the Crown of Charlemagne, in gold. The golden lions are the arms of *Brunswick*, the blue lion with the hearts stands for *Luneburg*, the horse for *Westphalia*, and the Crown of Charlemagne for the office of *Arch-Treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire*, anciently belong-

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ing to the Elector of Hanover. That, then, is what the shield was originally meant to show, but at some point in its existence the fourth quarter of this panel has undergone an odd transformation. As now appearing, it shows only one golden lion, and beneath (where the other should be), three golden hearts; the line which should divide this component from the third has gone, so that the red fields of both now form a continuous whole, while the white horse has vanished entirely, being replaced by a golden fleur-de-lys; Luneburg's arms are unscathed, but although the central escutcheon is certainly red, and its charge approximately gold, the form of the latter is vagueness itself! Now, it has been already mentioned that this panel stands over a fireplace, and the canvas has been less resistant to the effects of this than has the wood of the first panel, for, though the fire is not now used, the process of warming past generations of Magistrates and Councillors in debate had unhappy results for some of the paint-work! Some fifteen years ago, therefore, the Council entrusted the restoration of both panels to Mr Houston, of Edinburgh Castle — who, unfortunately, died before the delicate task was completed. The present state of the panel is that in which it was received back from the renovators, but here it must at once be said that no record is known to exist of the detail of the fourth quarter of the shield as it was immediately *before* the work was undertaken; the distortion of the charges, therefore, could quite easily be the outcome of some inexpert re-touching carried out at an earlier date, and faithfully reproduced in the recent renovation.

It is not difficult to reconstruct the likely process by which the present design was produced. Clearly, the area which would be worst affected by the heat of the fire would lie in the lowest central portion of the shield. Of the second lion in the Brunswick arms only one or two traces of gold paint can have remained, and the line dividing it from the Westphalian arms must have disappeared entirely; the Luneburger arms would be more or less unaffected, but the Crown of Charlemagne — not, in any case, a "stock pattern" of heraldic art—must have been so blurred as to be unrecognisable; the horse (the so-called "White Horse of Hanover") had presumably vanished, except for the tail, and possibly the hind hooves. The re-toucher would have no trouble in restoring the Harp of Ireland in the third quarter of the shield, but the less familiar Hanoverian charges he seems to have built up by "borrowing" items already appearing in other parts of the shield. Thus, seeing the

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Lion-&-Hearts of Luneburg, he has interpreted the Brunswick arms as yet another Lion-&-Hearts combination, and thus produced the three hearts out of the vestiges of gold we have presumed to have remained visible. Similarly, finding the isolated tail of the horse to bear a resemblance to the leaf of a fleur-de-lys, he has "borrowed" one of the French Lilies from the second quarter. His good intentions seem to have been defeated by Charlemagne's Crown, which he has been content to leave largely to the imagination of the beholder!

This second panel is further distinguished from the first by the fact that precedence is given to the English elements. The shield, which is oval in shape, is contained within the Garter, while the Order of the Thistle does not appear; the Crown over the helmet is of the "St. Edward" pattern, and the crest above gold, so that he might be said to have been given a "Scottish hue"! The the Crown is the English Lion in standing posture, his head turned towards the front—"statant guardant"—but the colour is red instead of the customary helmet is of similar pattern and colour to that in the James VII panel, but the mantling is shown as red-lined-with-ermine, instead of gold-lined-with-ermine, and the turn of the crimson cap inside the Crown appears as plain white fur, and not ermine. The Supporters take their positions *à l'anglaise*, with the Lion on the "dexter," and wear crowns similar to that over the helmet; as before, the Lion has a rose growing beside him, the Unicorn a thistle. It is interesting to see the Unicorn crowned at all, since in the English form of the Royal Arms only the Lion is today so dignified; in the Scottish form, the Unicorn is always crowned. In this design, the Unicorn's mane is silver instead of gold.

This paper sets out what the writer has been able so far to discover or to deduce concerning the history of the panels, and here he must record his indebtedness to Mr S. W. Brown, B.L., Town Clerk of Dunbar, for drawing attention to them, and supplying information as to their recent story. Several questions, however, remain unanswered for the present. What, for example, occasioned the setting-up of these particular Sovereigns' arms? It is natural for a Royal Burgh to mark its position by erecting the Royal Arms as an expression of loyalty to the Crown, and it seems not unlikely that the first panel was commissioned just after the Coronation of King James VII in 1685. One might wish for more specific motives, such as commemorating the granting

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of a Charter, but the Burgh received its last Charter in 1618. The only matter of civic note occurring in 1686 was the issue by the then Lord High Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, of a circular authorising all existing magistrates to remain in office during His Majesty's pleasure, without the tiresome formality of seeking to be re-elected! This stemmed from the troubles of the Test Act, and is noted by Miller (op. cit. p. 155). No less tantalising is the problem of discovering whether both panels have been continuously in their present positions since each was first erected. It seems almost inconceivable that, representing as they do reigns of the House of Stuart and of the House of Hanover, they stood in peaceful co-existence throughout the times of the '15 and the '45. In his very useful article *Dunbar of Old* (*Transactions*, E.L.A.S., Vol. II), Mr T. Wilson Fish asserts the staunchness of the Burgh to the Hanoverian cause during the Risings, and quotes the Burgess Oath of the time, in which the "Person who pretended to be Prince of Wales . . . and since . . . took upon himself the style and title . . . of James VIII . . ." is explicitly abjured. At all events, zeal for the Hanoverian succession seems not to have extended to *destroying* the ensigns of the previous dynasty. The times were troubled; who knew what a few years would bring? One is tempted to ask — Did the Council, on King George I's accession, prudently commission a painting of the re-marshalled Royal Arms, prudently remove the James VII panel, and—as prudently—store the latter discreetly away, intact, just in case . . . ? In the present state of our knowledge we cannot tell, but that they have faced each other across the Council Chamber since at least as early as 1830, is attested by Miller's *History*, published in that year, and it is a matter for satisfaction that they have been preserved to contribute to the dignity and interest of the Chamber which they have graced for so long.

HUGH MACKAY.

CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS TO THE OFFICERS AT DUNBAR, 1765

INTRODUCTION

Among the customs and excise papers deposited at the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh from the Public Record Office in London is a group (C.E. 51-58) of considerable potential interest to local historians. This is the correspondence that passed between the Scottish Board of Customs, meeting at Customhouse in Edinburgh, and their subordinate officials, the Collectors and Comptrollers at the "precincts" who were responsible for seeing that the king's dues were paid at the ports. It seldom happens that both sides of the correspondence have survived, though they have for the precincts of Dumfries and Montrose for the eighteenth century, and for Leith and Bo'ness for the nineteenth century. More usual is the pattern at Dunbar, where the outgoing letters to the local officials remain while the replies to the central authority are lost. Correspondence with the precincts of Perth, Thurso and Kirkwall is also contained in the group at the Scottish Record Office, but this should not be taken as completing the tally of surviving documents of this kind, for letters remain in the custody of local customs and excise offices in other places (for instance at Alloa where they may be consulted with permission from the relevant authorities).

The Dunbar correspondence appears fairly typical of the group as a whole. It is contained in a series of leather bound folios covering the years 1754-1829 (a few precincts have correspondence as early as 1710: in others it goes on until 1914). Each volume embraces at least two years and contains several scores of letters. Many of the letters are no more than routine circulars requesting information or issuing instructions of so general a nature as to be of little interest or relevance to local historians. Others deal with things that appear trivial now, though momentous enough to their first recipients — routine appointments of new officials and permission for the existing ones to go on

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leave, matters reserved for the central authority even though only a humble boatman might be concerned. The remaining letters provide the main excitement: these deal with the actual day-to-day problems that the customs officials met when they were attempting to collect dues and distribute bounties. They deal sometimes with honest men puzzled with complicated government regulations: more often (such is the way of the world) with dishonest men evading officers and red-tape alike by running contraband.

It is a selection of this kind that we publish here. It consists of all the letters specifically concerned with local matters (other than leave and appointments) sent from Customhouse, Edinburgh, to the Collector and Comptroller at the precinct of Dunbar between 8th January 1765 and 7th January 1766, contained in Scottish Record Office document C.E.56/2/3. Since the purpose is merely to illustrate the scope and character of the correspondence, the year was chosen at random: it was, however, one of international peace in which trade patterns were not distorted by abnormal fluctuations. There are doubtless many other years in which the letters are fuller and the incidents more picturesque, but this sample gives a fair idea of how varied and rewarding they can be.

Smuggling dominates the subject-matter of the correspondence. The precinct of Dunbar was, after all, a notorious part of a notorious country. It covered the whole coast of Scotland from North Berwick to the English border, including the Berwickshire headlands grouped around Eyemouth and St. Abbs where stories of eighteenth-century smuggling are still a favourite topic of local lore. The contemporary ill-fame of the precinct was reflected in the size of the official customs establishment. In 1765 this consisted of John Melville, the Collector, Lumley Thorisby, the Comptroller (the two officials to whom the letters were addressed), a surveyor and two land-waiters, a riding surveyor and a riding officer, Daniel Dow the tide-surveyor at Eyemouth (of whom much is heard in the correspondence), ten tide-waiters and six boatmen: 24 officers in all, compared to 13 at Prestonpans and 19 at Kirkcaldy (the nearest precincts to Dunbar). Leith and Port Glasgow, of course, had a bigger staff, but Dundee (with a much larger legal trade than Dunbar) only had 16 officers. Information on the establishment is contained in Scottish Record Office document E.502.62.

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The letters bear out that the customs officers' business was no mere sinecure in the 1760's, despite the habit of eighteenth century governments of using the custom's service as a well of patronage at which to refresh their followers. The officers at Dunbar were strictly kept up to the mark by the Commissioners at Customhouse: nearly half of them earned a reprimand for minor misdemeanours in the course of the year, yet they made a not unimpressive series of seizures of contraband goods including one haul of more than three tons of tobacco worth several hundreds of pounds sterling. They were faced on at least two occasions with violence: on another occasion a case was transferred from Berwickshire to East Lothian because the corruption of local magistrates was feared: the habitual daring of the smugglers is illustrated by the free-trader, who, having had his horse and its load of spirits seized by the riding surveyor, stole his horse back from the stables of the excise office and got away with it.

Such, indeed, is the predominance of smuggling as a topic in these letters that one might be tempted to conclude that the customs officers did nothing else but lie in ambush. We must remember, however, that they only received letters about irregularities and other points which raised particular problems. To counteract the impression of universal dishonesty in the precinct we have printed as appendix to the letters a summary of the port-books of Dunbar for the year 1765 (Scottish Record Office document E.504.10/4). The port-books contain particulars of all the vessels trading legitimately upon the coast: for the precinct of Dunbar they exist for a few years in the seventeenth century, and begin again in 1742 as a connected series that goes on until 1796 and resumes again in 1805. In this context they show the other half of the customs officers' business, the everyday trade that raised no problems.

The contrast between the two pictures the different sources give of the commerce of the precinct is astonishing. According to the Customhouse letters, little was ever done at Dunbar except to attempt to run ashore cargoes of wine, spirits, tea, silk, china and tobacco from French, Dutch, German and Swedish ports. According to the port-books there was practically no foreign trade except with the Baltic, and it consisted almost exclusively of importing wood, iron, flax and naval stores. The letters mention seven ships landing, or believed to be landing, goods at the precinct of Dunbar: the port-books mention nine ships certainly landing goods (exclusive of coasting vessels and whalers). Only

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one boat (the *Jean of Elie* in from Charleston in South Carolina) is common to both lists.

It is almost certainly a fair conclusion from this that a greater value of goods was smuggled into the precinct than was lawfully landed. In the nature of things this cannot be proved, but cargoes of tea or tobacco had a much greater value than cargoes of wood or flax, and if the customs believed they knew of seven boats trying to run goods, the smugglers' business would probably not have been worthwhile unless there had been in reality a good many more. On the other hand, while smuggling was probably carried on by a relatively large number of petty traders, the legal import trade was obviously dominated by the one firm of Charles and Robert Fall of Dunbar which rose on its profits to a position of importance in East Lothian society to which (as far as we know) none of the smugglers could aspire.

The historian may note a general warning. If only the letters had survived, or only the port-books, he would get a completely lop-sided impression: he needs to consult both sources to get a rounded and satisfactory view of the eighteenth-century merchants' business on the East Lothian and Berwickshire coast. The Customhouse letters are at the moment deposited by the London authorities in the Scottish Record Office for an experimental period of five years only, to see whether or not Scottish scholars find them useful. Since we do find them an indispensable crosscheck on the sources of commercial history, we would wish to plead they be allowed to remain in Register House indefinitely.

TEXT

I.

Gentlemen,

We have received your letter of the Fifth of last month inclosing the charge and answers to Andrew Stevenson, Patrick Douglas and John Don, tidesmen, and Thomas Flint and John McCracken, boatmen, with respect to their being either negligent, inactive or inattentive in the execution of their duty, and to their being in general addicted to drinking to excess, and we direct you to admonish the said tidesmen and boatmen to be vigilant and careful in the execution of their duties respectively, taking

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care to report to us any instances to the contrary, or of the incapacity of any officer to do his duty from the effects of liquour. We are

Your loving Friends,

Basil Cochrane, M. Cardonnel, A Legrand.

Customhouse, Edinburgh 9 January 1765.

[Notes:—This was a discouraging start for the New Year at the precinct of Dunbar. It is nice to be able to point out that of the officers reprimanded, Thomas Flint, John Don and John McCracken all distinguished themselves in the service of the revenue before the end of the year. See letters 4, 12 and 14.]

2.

Gentlemen,

We have received the Collectors report of the 23rd instant upon his enquiry, by our order, into a complaint against Mr. Daniel Dow, Commander of the Kings Boat stationed at Eyemouth, and it appearing by the said report that the service of the revenue suffers by the disobedience of the boatmen to the orders of Mr. Dow, you are therefore to call the boatmen before you, and to admonish them to behave with proper deference to the orders of their superior officer in the execution of their duty, and to acquaint Mr. Dow that he is to inform us of any instances of a contrary behaviour immediately, in order that we may punish the transgressors in a suitable manner.

We are

Your loving Friends,

M. Cardonnel.

Basil Cochrane,

A. Legrand.

Customhouse, Edinburgh 26 March 1765.

[Notes:—This second rap over the knuckles also had a happier sequel. See letters 7 and 9 for the successful and commended exploits of the King's Boat under Daniel Dow's command.]

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3.

Gentlemen,

The Commissioners have received information that the ship *Two Brothers of Burntisland*, James Ballantine, master, from Madeira and Lisbon has reported at Hull the following goods for Bergen in Norway:

MB. 6 pipes and 8 hogsheads Madeira wine.

IW. 29 pipes, 14 hogsheads, 16 half-hogsheads of Portugal wine,
12 small boxes and 5 small jars sweet meats.

MB. 21 chests, 3 half chests

IB. 10 casks, 10 trails, oranges, lemons and walnuts.

2 baskets sugar, 6 baskets, 4 boxes artificial flowers.

30 tons of salt, 3 bags of seeds, 6 dozen bottles of wine:

and that there is reason to believe a fraud is intended. They therefore direct you to put all the officers in your district upon their guard to prevent or detect the designed fraud, and for your more particular informations the description of the vessel follows, viz: The ship is "square sterned, burthen about one hundred tons, fresh tared from the waters edge to the paint streak, which is painted black and white, the counter painted red, has a poll main-topmast, and crop trees at the fore-topmast, with the vane spindle now in the fore-topmast head, her sails almost new, as is the hull of the ship."

This is to be communicated to the commanders of the sloops and cutters in the service of the revenue, who are or may arrive at your precinct in order that they may look out for the vessel and in case of her coming upon the coast to attend her into port. I am

Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant

Will Nelthorpe.

Customhouse, Edinburgh 16 April 1765

[Notes:—This letter, like letters 6 and 16 of somewhat similar character, is signed by the Secretary at Customhouse, not by the Commissioners. They demonstrate how the intelligence service of the revenue tried to anticipate a fraud. Note the "four boxes artificial flowers:" they were probably made of sugar. With the rest of the cargo, they would have been equally welcome in Norway, where the skipper said he was going, or in Scotland, where the officials expected he would try to run the goods ashore. Nothing further is heard of the boat.]

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4.

Gentlemen,

We have received the Collectors letters of the 22nd instant acquainting us that Thomas Flint, one of the King's boatmen, lately seized at Eyemouth ten pounds weight of tea together with two horses and the cart in which the tea was found concealed, all which he has brought to Dunbar, and that you propose to condemn the same before the Justices of the Peace for the County of East Lothian, for which purpose it is necessary to make a reseizure, the first seizure being made in the County of Berwick. We approve thereof, and you are accordingly to proceed to the condemnation of the said cart and horses in pursuance of the statutes 8 Ann, Cap. 7 Sec. 30 and 8 Geo. 1st, Cap. 18 Sec. 16. As the cause of forfeiture is clear and the proprietors of the cart and horses, if he was not in the knowledge of the fact, may have his recourse upon the owner of the tea or the person who put it upon the cart, we can have no doubt the Justices of the Peace will in a proper manner enforce the law as an example to deter other persons from aiding, assisting and abetting the illicit practice of smuggling so destructive to the true interest of the country. We are

Your loving Friends

Basil Cochrane, M. Cardonnel, A. Legrand.

Customhouse, Edinburgh 24 April 1765.

[Notes:—Thomas Flint appears to have been hurt about this time, possibly in this encounter — see letter 12. It was presumably necessary to transfer the case from Berwickshire to East Lothian, because the magistrates of the former county could not be trusted to try the case fairly. Perhaps it was the condemnation of the horses and cart along with the contraband in this instance which led to the incident related in letter 13 when the smuggler stole his horse back again.]

5.

Gentlemen,

We have received your letter of the 27th instant accounting for your conduct in omitting to take security for a cargo of barley and wheat carried coastwise from Eyemouth to Hull in the ship *Lively*, James McRitchie master, and are extremely dissatisfied therewith, the same being illegal and contrary to the general practice and your instructions. As the said omission is aggravated by the attempt you make to excuse it and the

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reflection on the Collector of Hull whose proceedings in the matter are strictly agreeable to his duty, we have therefore fined the Collector twenty shillings and the Comptroller ten shillings to be applied to the old superannuation fund, and the same is to be remitted to Mr. George Cleghorn in the Receiver General's Office. We are

Your loving friends

M. Cardonnel, Basil Cochrane, A. Legrand.

Customhouse, Edinburgh, 30 April 1765

[Notes:—It is not altogether clear what offence the Collector and Comptroller had been guilty of, as the *Lively* does not appear in the port-books and grain was not dutiable even if exported: in fact, it carried a bounty. The fine was quite a heavy one: The Collector received £40 a year salary and the Comptroller £30, but (like other officers) they could hope to supplement it by gaining rewards for seizures. See also the note to letter 14.]

6.

Gentlemen,

The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury having transmitted to the board intelligence by them received that the ship *Peggy*, Thomas Brown master, from Bourdeaux but last from Hamburg, laden with wine, brandy and Hungary water, is daily expected on the coast of Scotland in order that the said goods may there be clandestinely and fraudulently landed. The Commissioners direct you to put all the officers in your precinct and particularly the tide surveyor and any of the commanders of the sloops or cutters which are or may be in your district on their guard, so that every legal method may be used to prevent the commission of the intended fraud.

The vessel abovementioned is a snow, about two years old, with a figurehead representing a highlander, heck-boat sterned, 120 tons burthen or there about, without a top-gallant mast, built at Borrowstoness, the present owner is James Begbie of North Berwick, in partnership with a person named Swinton. I am

Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

Will: Nelthorpe.

Customhouse, Edinburgh, 28 May 1765.

[Notes: — The *Peggy* looks an even more certain smuggler than the *Two Brothers* of letter 3, but at least in this precinct the customs officers never found her.]

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7.

Gentlemen,

We have received your letter of the 10th instant inclosing a return of seizure for the sloop *Ann of Dubbyside* and her cargo consisting of tea and Nankeens by Mr. Daniel Dow, commander of the King's Boat, and acquainting us that Mr. Dow has represented to you that he apprehends it would be of considerable service to the revenue if he was provided with a light four-oar boat with which he could proceed at sea at all times, the boat he uses at present being of such a size as not to be kept constantly afloat. You are to procure and lay before us an account of the dimensions, and an estimate of the expence of the boat wanted. We have ordered a spy glass to be provided for the tide surveyor and sent to him without loss of time. We are

Your loving friends

Basil Cochrane,

M. Cardonnel,

George Clerk Maxwell.

Customhouse Edinburgh 11 June 1765

P.S. You are to inform Mr. Dow that we very much commend his vigilance and resolution on the present occasion.

[Notes:—See also letter 12: the sloop was not captured without risk. "Nan-skeens" mentioned in the text were silks. The boat Daniel Dow eventually obtained had six oars: see letter 10.]

8.

Gentlemen,

Having received the Collector's letter of the 17th instant acquainting us that he is advised by his physician to drink goat whey for the recovery of his health and that such whey can be had a little more than three miles from Dunbar, and therefore praying that he may be indulged for two months to ride to the place where the whey can be got, every afternoon, we grant the same on the terms proposed by the Collector in his letter abovementioned. We are

Your loving friends

George Clerk Maxwell

Basil Cochrane.

Customhouse Edinburgh 18 June 1765.

[Notes:—This is the one letter we have included that deals with an officer's leave rather than with trade. There are others of this kind: this one seems worth inserting for its reference to goat's whey, often recommended by eighteenth century doctors as a cure for tuberculosis.]

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9.

Gentlemen,

We have received your letter of the 15th instant inclosing a return of seizure by Mr. Daniel Dow for sixty ankers of Geneva, one anker of brandy and one bag of coffee together with the sloop *George of Sutherland* for importing the same from Campvere, she being under 50 tuns burthen, and we very much approve of Mr. Dow's diligence on this occasion.

You having in your said letter inclosed an estimate of sundry ropes wanted to the Kings Boat under the command of Mr. Dow amounting to two pounds eight shillings and five pence, we direct you to provide the said ropes in the most sufficient and expeditious manner, and to place the expence thereof to incidents, not exceeding the sum above mentioned, referring to the date hereof. We are

Your loving friends
George Clerk Maxwell
Basil Cochrane.

Customhouse, Edinburgh, 18 June 1765.

[Notes:—The second prize of the King's Boat demonstrates that Scotland still had some commercial contact with her old Staple port at Veere in the Netherlands, though in this case of a disreputable nature.]

10.

Gentlemen,

Having received your letter of the 31st of last month inclosing an estimate of the expence of a coble boat for the service of the revenue at Eymouth amounting to eleven pounds ten shillings we direct you to provide the said boat in the most frugal and expeditious manner and to place the expence thereof not exceeding the said sum of eleven pounds ten shillings to account of incidents referring to the state of this order. We are

Your loving friends
George Clerk Maxwell
A. Legrand
Jos: Tuder

Customhouse, Edinburgh 5 August, 1765.

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

[Enclosure:]

Estimate of a coble boat to be built for the service of the revenue at Eymouth of the make and dimention with those commonly used here, all of wainscote board.

To a boat about 24 foot in length five foot four inches broad at midships and two foot 2 inches deep.

£9 - 0 - 0

To six oars, at 4 shillings per oar

1 - 4 - 0

To a mast and sail

1 - 1 - 0

To a rudder and tiller

0 - 5 - 0

£11 - 10 - 0

David Symington

[Notes: This is a fascinating letter. It gives the exact specifications of a coble of the mid-eighteenth century., "of the same make and dimentions with those commonly used" at Eyemouth.]

11.

Gentlemen,

Having taken the opinion of persons of skill upon the five samples of indico imported at Dunbar in the ship *Jean*, John Smith master, from South Carolina and transmitted with your letter of the 29th of last months, they have reported that the samples marked No. 1 and No. 3 are in value when compared with French or other indico as three shillings are to four shillings per pound. You are therefore to make out a certificate of the payment of the bounty at the rate of fourpence per pound upon the indico from which the said two samples were taken in pursuance of the Act 3^d of His present Majesty.

The other three samples being of an inferior quality, no bounty is therefore due upon the same. We are

Your loving friends

Basil Cochrane

Jos: Tudor

George Clerk Maxwell

Customhouse, Edinburgh, 15 August 1765.

[Notes: The *Jean*, mentioned also in the port books, carried indigo and rice, pitch and tar. The rice was all re-exported to Hamburg, the rest retained. The indigo received a bounty on importation from South Carolina providing it was up to certain minimum standards. The Collector at Dunbar did not feel able to judge so fine a matter independently. Among exports to Charleston in this year may be noted 2½ cwt. Parmesan cheese and, less successfully, 7 cwt. books—see Appendix].

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

12.

Gentlemen,

Having received your letter of the 10th instant inclosing one from Mr. Daniel Dow tide surveyor at Eymouth reporting the behaviour of James Moore, who acted as an extraordinary boatman in the room of Thomas Flint, disabled by a hurt he recived in the service, when the ship *Ann of Dubyside* with tea was seized by the said Mr. Dow and the crew of the King's Boat; we have considered the same and direct that a boatman's share of the said seizure be equally divided betwixt James More the extraordinary boatman and Thomas Flint who was disabled from attending his duty by a hurt received in the execution of his office. We are

Your loving friends

Jos: Tudor

M. Cardonnel

Basil Cochrane

Customhouse, Edinburgh 17 September 1765.

[Notes:—This is the pleasant sequel to letter 7.]

13.

Gentlemen,

Having received your letter of the 17th instant enclosing one from Mr. John Johnsten riding surveyor giving an account of his seizing a horse and two ankers of spirits, and that he put the said horse in a stable at the excise office in Eymouth from whence he was stolen and that he has made the strictest enquiry but cannot discover the person or persons concerned in the theft, we direct you to acquaint Mr. Johnsten to continue his endeavours to discover the person or persons who stole the said horse, which we suspect will be successful, being determined to make an example of the offender. We are

Your loving friends

Jos. Tudor

M. Cardonnel

Basil Cochrane

Customhouse Edinburgh 19 September 1765

[Notes:—This is perhaps the less pleasant sequel (at least for the officers' to letter 4. It is also a feat of remarkable bravado on the part of the smuggler, and the Commissioners' wisb "to make an example of the offender" went unfulfilled.)]

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

14.

Gentlemen,

Having received your letter of the 17th of last month inclosing two certificates of the burning the following quantities of tobacco and tobacco stalks, seized pursuant to the Act 24th of His late Majesty and condemned since the passing of the Act 3^d of His present Majesty, VIZ.

227 pounds tobacco stalks, seized by David Denham and John Donn, tidesmen, the allowance for which at 1d. per pound wch. according to the Act 3 Geo: 3d. amounts to £ 0 - 18 - 11

429 pounds tobacco, seized by David Moncur, Alexander Ingram and John McCracken boatmen, the allowance on which at 3d. per lb. according to the said act amounts to £ 5 - 7 - 3

1646 pounds tobacco, seized by Charles Watters, riding officer, and Alexander Mair tidesman, the allowance for which amounts to £20 - 11 - 6

904 pounds tobacco seized by John Johnsten, riding surveyor, Alexander Mair tidesman and John Swainston, extraordinary officer the allowance for which amounts to £11 - 6 - 0

2065 pounds tobacco seized by John Johnsten riding surveyor, and Alexander Mair tidesman, the allowance for which amounts to £32 - 11 - 3

1476 pounds tobacco seized by John Johnsten riding surveyor and Alexander Mair tidesman, the allowance for which amounts to £18 - 9 - 0

907 pounds tobacco seized by William Parcivall extraordinary officer of the customs, the allowance for which amounts to £11 - 6 - 9

£100 - 10 - 8

Which sum making together one hundred pounds ten shillings and eightpence we direct you to pay the seizure makers abovementioned respectively and to place the same to account of incidents referring to the date hereof.

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

You having also laid before us the following accounts of money expended in seizing and securing the tobacco and tobacco stalks above-mentioned VIZ:

By John Johnsten	£ 6 - 14 - 5
By David Moncur	£ 0 - 8 - 0
By William Parcivall	£ 2 - 2 - 10
By Alexander Mair	£ 1 - 15 - 0
	<hr/>
	£11 - 0 - 3

Which accounts amounting together to eleven pounds and three pence, we direct you to pay to the said persons respectively and to place the same to incidents referring to the date hereof.

We direct you to report the weight of the ashes produced from the tobacco abovementioned, and how you have disposed of the said ashes. We are

Your loving friends

M. Cardonnel
Jos: Tudor
Basil Cochrane

Customhouse, Edinburgh, 1st October 1765

[Notes:—This seizure was the triumph of the year for the customs officers: it totalled 8000 lbs. of tobacco, worth perhaps as much as 400 sterling at retail prices. The rewards paid to the officers were handsome supplements to their salaries. John Johnsten, riding surveyor, and Alexander Mair, tidesman, shared over £62 in rewards: Johnsten's salary at the time was £50 a year, and Mair's £20, so this one windfall would have come near to doubling their basic annual income.]

15.

Gentlemen,

Having received your letter of the 4th instant acquainting us that one thousand pounds weight of ashes was produced from the tobacco burnt at Dunbar on the 16 September last and that the same was sold for four pounds five shillings, out of which the Collector paid for a serjent and six dragoons and to others for assisting at the burning the said tobacco, and for their entertainment at watching the same for two nights, cartage etc., two pounds seven shillings, and for the use of a limekiln ten shillings

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

and six pence, and that the remaining one pound seven shillings and six pence was spent in a dinner by the officers at the tavern. We disallow the said one pound seven shilling and six pence being an unprecedented charge, and direct you to transmit to us a particular account of the expenditure of the two pounds seven shillings. The allowance for the kiln appears to us to be very extravagant. We are

Your loving friends

A. Legrand

M. Cardonnel

Basil Cochrane

Customhouse, Edinburgh 7 October 1765

[Notes:—The Commissioners at Edinburgh here seem to betray a cheese-paring mentality. They may, of course, have been taken aback in the first place by having to pay out over £100 in rewards, for there is a regrettable absence even in their previous letter of any congratulations to the officers who made the seizure. Tobacco, unlike tea and other goods, had to be burnt after seizure, and the ashes carefully weighed and sold (as fertiliser). It may seem especially mean to have disallowed expenses for celebratory dinner thrown by the officers for themselves for the modest sum of £1 - 7 - 6d, but the civil service was no doubt bound then, as now, by considerations of precedent].

16.

Gentlemen,

The Commissioners having received an account that the ship *Nymph of Eymouth*, Peter Dalgleish master, is arrived in ballast at the harbour of Ely in Fife, the cargo, as supposed, having been run on the coast about Eymouth, they direct you without loss of time to make the most diligent enquiry in order to ascertain the fact in all its circumstances, and in the mean time the ship will be detained. The master of the ship, or the crew, pretend to have come last from Berwick and to be bound for Newcastle. I am

Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant

Will: Nelthorpe.

Customhouse Edinburgh 30 November 1765.

[Notes: There is again no sequel to this letter].

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

17.

Gentlemen,

We have received your letter of the 5th instant acquainting us that upon making up the account of Mr. Henry Knox, fish curer, of foreign salt, at the 5th of July last there were wanting 34 bushels 73½ pounds to balance the same, and that upon your making inquiry concerned the said deficiency Mr. Knox averred that the same had been wasted from the year 1758 when it was lodged in the cellar (it having been neglected to be weighed even in August 1764 when it was delivered into sole custody) except about three bushels which he acknowledged he had unthinkingly applied to cure some hams, and for which he prayed leave to pay up the duty of excise. You are in regard to the particular circumstances of this case to give the said Mr. Knox credit for thirty one and one half bushels of salt, as wasted on his making oath thereto, and you are also to receive from him the excise at the rate of six shillings and eight pence a bushel for the three bushels used in curing provisions to be brought to account in the quarter book by a feigned entry under the head of "excise on salt imported," particularly narrating the case. But Mr. Knox is to be informed that upon the like occasion he is not to expect the same indulgence. We are

Your loving friends

Jos: Tudor

M. Cardonnel

Basil Cochrane

Customhouse, Edinburgh 17 December 1765.

[Note: This is a technical business, in which the Commissioners show a good deal of common sense. Foreign salt was liable to very heavy exercise, but duty did not have to be paid on importation by fish curers unless they appropriated it to another use. The revenue officers, however, kept a check on their stocks. In this way they discovered this discrepancy which Mr. Knox explained by deterioration].

18.

Gentlemen,

We have received Mr. Read's letter of the 16th instant giving us an account of the boarding and bringing in to the Harbour of Dunbar the sloop *Dispatch of Leith*, loaded with tea and china from Gottenburg, and

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

inclosing the declarations of his mate and boats crew with respect to an attempt made by James Burn the master of the Dispatch and the sailors belonging to that vessell to deforce the officers who boarded her, and having advised with the King's Counsel thereupon, inclosed we send you a copy of their opinion for your government and direction as to the master and sailors committed to prison upon the warrant of a Justice of Peace and you are to acquaint us with what shall be done herein. Mr. Read is without loss of time to seize the ship and cargo and return the same for condemnation. We are

Your loving friends

Jos: Tudor

M. Cardonnel

George Clerk Maxwell

Customhouse, Edinburgh, 18 December 1765.

[Notes: The enclosure referred to in this letter is missing. Brief though it is, the letter demonstrates again the violence which the officers had frequently to face in the execution of their duty.]

19.

Gentlemen,

Having received your letter of the 27th of last month acquainting us that a parcel of tea contained in writ No. 2374 was set up to sale in three lots, and that no person offered the appraized value for the same; but that John Brown of Linton has offered the appraized value for the Congo tea contained in the said writ and five shillings per pound for the Bohea tea which is appraized at five shillings and three pence per pound, We direct you to set up the said tea to sale at the price offered by the said John Brown and to dispence of the same to the highest bidder, taking care to give due advertisement of the said sale. The boat mentioned in your said letter not being condemned cannot be parted with. We are

Your loving friends

M. Cardonnel

Jos: Tudor

George Clerk Maxwell

Customhouse, Edinburgh, 7 January 1766

[Notes: The contraband tea being sold off here was probably part of the cargo mentioned as seized in the previous letter. It was a fair end to a full year].

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

Appendix. The Port-books of Dunbar, 1765.

Departures.

- 22/3 *Anne and Mary of Airth*, John Adams master, bound for *Tronahjem*¹ for Charles and Robert Fall: 434 qtrs. malt, 30 qtrs. barley and 19 qtrs. rye.
- 26/3 *North Star of Dunbar*, 295 tons burden, Thomas Dawson master, with 41 crew and a surgeon, bound *whaling* for the Greenland company, carrying only victuals.
- 26/3 *Endeavour of Dunbar* 316 tons burden, Alexander Roxburgh master, with 40 crew and a surgeon, bound *whaling* for the Greenland company, carrying only victuals.
- 26/3 *Princess of Wales of Dunbar*, 344 tons burden, Robert Beattie master, with 42 crew and a surgeon, bound *whaling* for the Greenland company, carrying only victuals.
- 1/6 *Submission of Dunbar*, Adam Lowrie master, bound for *St. Petersburg* for Thomas Fergusson: ballast, with 253 gallons of Spanish wine.
- 1/8 *Jean of Elie*, John Smith master, bound for *Bremen* for Charles and Robert Fall: 108 tons Carolina rice.
- 31/8 *Magdalen of Dunbar*, 110 tons burden, Robert Beattie master, with ten crew, bound for *Charleston* in South Carolina, for Charles and Robert Fall: 112½ tons great coal, 180 gallons of French wine, 15¼ cwt. cast metal, 12 qtrs. barley, 3½ firkins of butter, 309 lbs. weight Parmesan cheese, 1356 ells British-made sailcloth 5879 yards of linen; 41 barrels of British ale.

Arrivals.

- 14/5 *Anne and Mary of Airth*, John Adams master, in from *Trondhjem*¹ for Charles and Robert Fall: 5 tons of iron, 14½ hundred deals and 2½ hundred cuts of deals.
- 21/5 *Friends Goodwill of Leith*, Alexander Mitchell master, in from *Gothenburg* for David Nisbet: 15 tons of iron, 8 hundred deals, 1 hundred cuts of deals, 4 hundred battens.
- 6/7 *Endeavour of Whitby*, John Holder master, in from *Ostervik* near Bergen,² for James Henderson, 2 hundred deals, 1 hundred great baulks, 4 hundred small baulks, 1½ hundred handspikes, ½ hundred pailing boards, 1 hundred harrow bills, 6½ loads fir timber.

DUNBAR CUSTOMHOUSE LETTERS

- 24/7 *Jean of Elie*, John Smith master, in from *Charleston* in South Carolina for Charles and Robert Falls: 108 tons rice, 111 barrels pitch, 269 barrels tar, 1671 lbs. indigo, 670 gallons rum, 109 pieces of mahogany, 60 lbs. cotton wool.
- 24/7 *Endeavour of Dunbar*, Alexander Roxburgh master, for the Greenland company in from *whaling*, with whale blubber and fin.
- 24/7 *North Star of Dunbar*, Thomas Dawson master, for the Greenland company, in from *whaling*, with whale blubber and fin.
- 27/7 *Anne and Mary of Airth*, John Adams master, in from *Gothenburg* for Charles and Robert Fall: 18½ tons iron, 17½ hundreds deals, 6 hundreds battens, 3 hundreds cuts of deals.
- 10/8 *Picktern Castle of Sunderland*, Thomas Foster master in from *Ostervik* near Bergen² for Thomas French: 4 tons iron, 1 hundred deals, 2 hundred battens, 4 hundred small spars, 1½ hundred handspikes, 12½ loads fir timber.
- 12/8 *Princess of Wales of Dunbar*, Robert Beattie master, for the Greenland company, in from *whaling*: almost empty, but with 3½ barrels seal blubber.
- 28/9 *Submission of Dunbar*, Adam Lowrie master, in from *St. Petersburg*, for Charles and Robert Fall: 19 tons iron, 28 tons hemp, 17¾ tons flax (with 85 ells of made sails and 5 bolls spruce canvas for the master).
- 5/10 *Lively of Eyemouth*, James Macritchie master, in from *Gothenburg*, for Thomas French: 9½ tons iron, 10 hundred deals, 2 hundred battens.
- 23/12 *Experiment of Eyemouth*, James Lyall master, in from *Gothenburg*, for James Henderson: 12 tons iron, 4 hundred deals, 2 hundred cuts of deals.

Miscellaneous information.

34 cargoes of coal were imported coastwise during the year, 17 from Alloa, 5 from Bo'ness, 3 from Prestonpans, 7 from Newcastle and one from Sunderland. These comprised in all roughly 365 tons of coal and 150 tons of cinders.

One boat, the *Farmer of Dunbar* was mentioned going to London and carrying 10 gallons of Spanish wine previously imported into Prestonpans from Gibraltar.

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The warehouse was noted as containing a piece of Madeira wine containing 211 gallons exported to Charleston and returned without sale, and four boxes and 3 trunks of books weighing over 7 cwt. also originally shipped to Charleston and "returned for want of sale."

The books were countersigned by "Charles Fall, J.P." It was perhaps unfortunate that the biggest merchant was also the magistrate responsible for this duty, but there is no evidence that he misused his position.

1. "Drunton" in the original.
2. "Easterike" in the original.

T. C. SMOUT,
University of Edinburgh.

THE CONSERVATIVES IN THE HADDINGTON DISTRICT OF BURGHS 1832-1852

It is a commonplace that after the Reform Act of 1832 the record of the Conservatives in Scottish urban constituencies was a dismal one. Until the Liberal party split over the Irish Home Rule issue in 1886 the Conservatives won only fourteen contests in Scottish cities or burghs.¹ Their successes were seldom obtained in the large commercial and industrial constituencies, where the various shades of Liberal and Radical belief predominated, but in the smaller districts, or groups, of burghs: Inverness, Wigton, Ayr and Haddington.² It may be asked to what extent such Conservative victories were due to the survival in these constituencies of that social and political influence which before 1832 had enabled the leading gentlemen of the counties to control burgh representation. Then, the franchise had been confined to the members of the self-electing burgh councils, men who were often corrupt and irresponsible, both in their management of burgh affairs, and in the use they made of their electoral privileges. Consequently, by means of personal influence and frequently the distribution of government patronage, it was possible for the gentlemen who had an interest in the several burghs to determine which of themselves, their relations or friends was to be returned for the district.³

The changes made in 1832 certainly went a long way towards breaking down this kind of political control. The restricted franchise was abolished, and a rather more popular, if not always a large, electorate was created by enfranchising the owners, tenants and life-renters of property within the burgh of an annual value of at least £10. In the following year the councils themselves were reformed and opened to more popular elections and membership. In the smaller burghs, where there were seldom any large-scale manufactures, the electorate was composed of the local merchants, the more substantial shopkeepers and tradesmen, and the few professional men. Many of the new electors were enthusiastic supporters of reform, partly it may be assumed because they had been excluded from political life under the unreformed system, which they had often seen corrupted to serve the interests of a tiny burgh oligarchy, and partly because they resented the proprietary attitude of the county families to the burgh and its representation. In most burghs such attitudes were shared by a large number of the townspeople, electors and non-electors alike. Reform ideas were in the ascendant and were frequently reinforced by religious conviction, for many of the reformers were members of

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dissenting congregations, such as the Relief or Secession Churches, opposed to the claims of the Established Church, and to the Episcopalian Church to which many of the county families belonged. It is therefore not surprising that the Conservatives, in a minority in most burghs and with the popular forces aligned against them, had so few successes in these constituencies. At each of the first three general elections held after the passing of the Reform Act they were successful in only one out of the twenty-three burgh seats: the Inverness burghs in 1832 and 1835, and the Kilmarnock burghs in 1837. Even in 1841, when the Conservatives showed how far they had recovered since 1832 by winning two-thirds of the Scottish counties, the strength of the Whigs and Radicals in the towns was so considerable that the Conservatives were unable to win more than two urban seats: the Falkirk burghs and the Haddington burghs.

These results are a measure of the political changes which occurred in the Scottish burghs after 1832, but it would be a mistake to assume that the landed proprietors had lost all their influence in the small burghs. It was still possible for a country gentleman to exercise a considerable amount of influence as a landowner and as a member of the community. How effective this was would often depend upon his political principles: to be known as an ardent supporter of reform would consolidate a traditional association with the burgh and interest in its people; to be known as a supporter of Conservative principles was a guarantee of rowdy opposition in many burghs. Nevertheless, there were always a number of electors who would support a Conservative candidate, generally a nominee of the leading Conservative families in the county: some from political conviction, some from a deeply ingrained attitude of deference, some in hope of obtaining patronage or custom, others no doubt under pressure—from landlords, lawyers, factors or creditors. Attitudes of respect for, and deference to, the greater landed families, often but not invariably Conservative, must be taken into account in any examination of politics in the small burghs. But the evidence of the election results indicates that there can have been few instances when the amount of Conservative influence was great enough in itself to win a contest. In fact as we shall see the 1832 Reform Act itself provided means by which the older forms of influence could be augmented. In this paper it is my intention to discuss one instance in which this was done. Among the Buccleuch muniments at Dalkeith House there are

CONSERVATIVES IN THE HADDINGTON BURGHS

a number of papers relating to the Haddington district of burghs, one of the two burgh seats won by the Conservatives in 1841. From 1832 until the Haddington burghs were suppressed by the Redistribution Act of 1885 this was the only occasion on which the Conservatives won the seat. The value of the Buccleuch papers is that they throw light on the Conservatives' efforts to gain the seat in the 1830s, and indicate how success was achieved in 1841.*

I

The Haddington district of burghs had been established at the Union in 1707. Five royal burghs in three counties—Haddington, North Berwick and Dunbar in East Lothian, Lauder in Berwickshire, and Jedburgh in Roxburghshire—were linked to form a joint constituency which returned one member to the House of Commons. Before 1832 considerable influence had been exercised in the burghs by several of the leading families in the three counties, and it is evident that a good deal of this influence survived the passage of the Reform Act. A general appraisal of the size, situation and economic development of the burghs suggests that circumstances to some extent favoured the continuance of such influence. The total population of the five burghs was very small, less than 13,000 in 1831, and during the remainder of the century showed only slight signs of growth. When the first elections were held for the reformed House of Commons, Haddington and Jedburgh each had approximately 3,700 inhabitants; Dunbar had about 3,200, and North Berwick and Lauder just over 1,000 each.⁴ The electorate was small, divided between the five burghs, and so widely dispersed. In December 1832 there were only 545 registered electors, one of the smallest burgh electorates in Scotland: 184 of the electors were registered in Haddington and 169 in Jedburgh; Dunbar had 129, while North Berwick had 32 and Lauder 31, fewer than many English rotten burghs disfranchised by the Reform Act.⁵ Of course, it was because the burghs were small and could not be given individual representation that they were linked into such a district, but because the Haddington burghs were scattered over a wide area—from North Berwick to Jedburgh was a distance of over fifty miles—the influence of several important landowning families, frequently bound by ties of marriage and kinship, could be brought to bear on

* I wish to acknowledge the kindness of his grace the Duke of Buccleuch in allowing me to publish papers from the Buccleuch Manuscripts at Dalkeith House, Midlothian.

CONSERVATIVES IN THE HADDINGTON BURGHS

the separate, and often small, groups of electors. Furthermore, each of the burghs was primarily a market town where produce from the surrounding countryside was sold, and the essential needs of the rural community were supplied. With the exception of Jedburgh, where three to four hundred people were employed in the woollen mills,⁶ there were few manufactures, so that the economic life of the towns was essentially involved with that of the countryside. The prosperity of the burghs depended on the richness of the harvest and the value of the woolclip, and the shopkeepers and tradesmen numbered among their most important customers the substantial farmers and landed gentry of the district.

From such a general account it might be inferred that the district was highly susceptible to the influence of landed proprietors. With respect to some of the burghs the inference would be correct, but the generalised description, which conveys something of the character of the constituency, conceals other circumstances which modified the extent to which the influence of the county families was effective in each of the burghs.

Of the several families who claimed an interest in the Haddington burghs the Maitlands, Earls of Lauderdale, were said to have the greatest influence.⁷ James, 8th Earl of Lauderdale (1759-1839) was described by Henry Cockburn in 1832 as "that cunning old recreant."⁸ He was then an extreme Tory marshalling the Scottish peers against the Reform Bill, a far cry from the 1790s when he had been a supporter of Fox and a member of the Society of the Friends of the People.⁹ By 1832 he was a stern opponent of Reform and a notable figure in at least two of the Haddington burghs. His castle of Thirlestane, where he occasionally lived and where he was to die, dominated Lauder, one of the smallest and quietest of the five burghs. In 1832 the commissioners appointed to determine the boundaries of the various Scottish constituencies described it as follows:

Lauder is a very inconsiderable Burgh, situated in a thinly peopled part of the Country. It is a place of no Trade, and seems in every respect stationary. There has been no extension of the Buildings of the Town for a great period of years, and there seems no reason to anticipate any such extension.¹⁰

Lauderdale and his nephew George, 8th Marquis of Tweeddale, were the leading Conservative landowners around Lauder, where they were respected as improving landlords, and the Earl was patron and chief financial supporter

CONSERVATIVES IN THE HADDINGTON BURGHS

of the Lauderdale Agricultural Society founded in 1830.¹¹ That the Earls of Lauderdale had a real influence among the electors of Lauder is suggested by the increasing Conservative majority in the burgh at the three contested elections, in 1837, 1841 and 1852. However, it is possible that an additional explanation of this majority, and perhaps of the survival of Lauderdale influence, would be revealed by a close study of the composition of the Lauder electorate (see Appendix). The other burgh in which the 8th Earl of Lauderdale appears to have had some influence was Dunbar. After his retirement from active political life he generally resided in Dunbar House, conveniently situated at the north end of the High Street, from where he was able to keep a watchful eye on the affairs of the burgh.¹² Dunbar was a small town on the East Lothian coast; it had some importance as a market, especially for grain brought up from Berwickshire, and as a port: in 1830 six Dunbar ships were engaged in trade with the Baltic and 39 in coastal trade.¹³ But although it was larger than Lauder and economically more active, Dunbar was another quiet country town. According to the parish minister the people were "quiet, peaceable, and industrious."¹⁴ Politically they were quiescent: "When the Reform Bill agitated the country, their voice was unheard," and at the elections of 1837 and 1841 there was a clear majority for the Conservative candidate, on each occasion a connection of the Lauderdale family.

Influence of the kind attributed here to Lauderdale was essentially social in origin. It derived from the rank, landed possessions, and traditional association with the district of a landowner and his family. In this sense it was based on attitudes of respect and deference among the people, though obviously a landowner had considerable economic powers in reserve, especially if he was the owner of much property in the town itself. Social and personal influence had to be cultivated and maintained. In general this required the landowner to be resident for a portion of the year and to participate in the life of the community as a heritor, an employer, a magistrate, perhaps as patron of the parish church, as a benefactor, or as a highly desired customer. No factor, however energetic, could be an adequate substitute for the landowner himself, and it is certain that one of the main causes of diminishing influence among the chief proprietors of a district, apart from opposition to Reform, was absenteeism. The importance of residence and some participation in local life is borne out by the apparent influence of Lauderdale in Lauder and Dunbar.

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An interesting contrast is provided by North Berwick.

North Berwick was described in 1832 as "a small and decayed Burgh, with little or no Trade, situated on the Firth of Forth."¹⁵ The town was approximately the same size as Lauder, and it was not until later in the century, when it became popular as a holiday resort and golfing centre, that there was any considerable increase in the population. The main landowning families in the district, the Grant-Sutties and the Hamilton-Dalrymples, were both Conservative in politics.¹⁶ On several occasions before 1832 a member of one of these families had represented the burghs in Parliament. Sir Hew Dalrymple-Hamilton was the member from 1820 until 1826, when he was succeeded at Westminster by his kinsman, Lt. Col. (from April 1830 Sir) Adolphus John Dalrymple, who held the seat, not without some difficulty, until 1832. The family had long claimed a proprietary interest in the representation of the burghs.¹⁷ But after 1832 the small group of electors in North Berwick always gave a large vote for the Whig candidate; in 1837 the Conservative candidate did not obtain a single vote in the burgh. This may partly be explained as a reaction against the families which had predominated in local affairs for so many years, but that this opposition was shown in such a marked and open manner was probably due to the fact that by the later 1830s all the chief landowners were absentees. In April 1839 the parish minister, who was evidently well-known for his obsequious attitude to his superiors, commented that "this universal absenteeism is universally felt as a severe bereavement," but it certainly seems to have had the effect of freeing the burgh from the political influence of the Conservative landowners.¹⁸ On the other hand there were considerable pressures towards Whig conformity as is shown by the strength of popular feeling against the few local Tories.¹⁹

Jedburgh, the county town of Roxburghshire, was a more thriving burgh than any of the three discussed so far. Situated in a predominantly pastoral region, it was noted for its wool market and for the manufacture of woollen goods; and as the seat of county administration and of the Circuit Court of Justiciary it saw the transaction of much local business.²⁰ In 1832 the boundary commissioners found Jedburgh an attractive town, compactly built, with many good houses in the main streets, and some fine public buildings. Nevertheless, they reported, "Jedburgh presents the appearance of a retired inland Town, and there does not seem to be much reason to anticipate any con-

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siderable change or increase."²¹ Politically Jedburgh was extremely interesting, for it was the only burgh in the group where the two bodies of supporters were more or less evenly balanced. Here in 1837, 1841 and in 1852, the largest number of Conservative votes were cast, and in 1841, as will be seen, success in Jedburgh was the key to the Conservatives' victory in the burghs. Apparent differences between the composition of the Jedburgh electorate and those of Lauder and the East Lothian burghs are probably worth closer examination (see Appendix). The chief political influence in the town was attributed to the representatives of two families who had been associated with the district for several centuries, the families of Kerr and Douglas. John William Robert Kerr, 7th Marquis of Lothian, whose mansion Monteviot lay three miles from Jedburgh, was the leading landowner in the immediate vicinity of the town and Lord Lieutenant of the county, while to the south, in the parish of Southdean, the largest proprietor was Archibald, 2nd Lord Douglas, whose father had been the successful claimant in the "Douglas Cause" of the 1760s.²² Both men were generally represented by their resident factors, but there is evidence that the Lothian family, at least, took a continuing interest in the welfare of the people of Jedburgh. They had endowed a school in the parish, and in 1807 a dispensary was established, mainly from their donations.²³ In 1822 the 6th Marquis built "a commodious house with baths and other accommodations," and later in the century, in 1875, a new parish church was opened, built by the 9th Marquis at a cost of £11,000.²⁴ Such benefactions would tend to promote the survival of a measure of natural influence for the Lothian family.

In addition to the particular interest of Lords Lothian and Douglas, a general interest was taken in the affairs of Jedburgh by the Duke of Buccleuch, who owned a quarter of the landed property in Roxburghshire. Several of the Jedburgh lawyers acted as political agents for the Duke in the county, so it is possible that the Duke's influence was also felt in the burgh. Certainly, William Ogilvie, the Duke's Chamberlain at Branxholm, took a considerable interest in Jedburgh politics. What I have not been able to establish is how far there was some counter-influence from the Earl of Minto, who was the chief opponent of the Buccleuch interest in the struggle for control of the county representation.²⁵

Haddington, the last of the burghs, was the county town of East Lothian and the chief market for one of the richest and most highly-developed areas of

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arable agriculture in the United Kingdom. In 1832 the boundary commissioners considered Haddington a most attractive town and "in every respect a thriving and increasing Burgh."²⁶ The town's prosperity was a measure of its importance as a market. Until the development of the railway, Haddington's weekly grain market was the largest in Scotland. The town was also important as the supplier of a wide range of commodities and services to the agricultural community, while the market town economy was diversified with other activities such as iron-founding, brewing, distilling and the tanning of leather.²⁷ At the three contested elections in 1837, 1841 and 1852 the electors gave strong support to the Whig candidate, but even here, in the largest and most prosperous of the burghs, there was a considerable Conservative minority. In 1837 and 1841 the Lauderdale nominee received 40% of the votes given in the town. Furthermore, the Conservative proprietors held such a dominant position in the county that the Whigs and reformers in Haddington must often have felt like a beleaguered garrison. Among the Conservative landowners, the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earl of Wemyss, the Earl of Haddington, the Earl of Hopetoun, and the Balfours of Whittingham all claimed some interest in the representation of the burghs.²⁸ However, there were so many estates near Haddington itself, some belonging to supporters and some to opponents of reform, that it is unlikely that any one family could have exercised a great deal of influence in the burgh. Indeed it is possible that in this complex of potential influences there was considerable freedom: a shopkeeper or tradesman would be less concerned at losing the custom of a Tory landowner if he had hopes of obtaining the patronage of a more liberal gentleman.

II

It would be a mistake to infer from this account of the five burghs that their politics can be interpreted simply in terms of conflict between the townspeople and the landed proprietors. It was still considered that the natural representative for the burghs was one of the county landowners. Whether a burgh elector was for or against reform principles the candidate for whom he voted in 1837 or 1841 was a local landowner associated with one group of general based on differing attitudes to certain landed families and their political principles. The strength of support for the Whigs in the early 1830s was

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landed families or another. The political divisions in the burghs were in derived partly from the widespread desire for municipal and parliamentary reform, and partly from opposition to the old Tory cliques in the burghs and their landed allies and patrons. The main cause of opposition to Conservative candidates after 1832 was that they were nominees of those families which had been most closely associated with the old system of burgh politics. The unpopularity of those families, no doubt heightened by their attempts to regain control of the burgh representation and their success in the surrounding counties, was a political fact of considerable importance after 1832. At a time when there was no clearly defined two-party system in national politics, it does seem as though there were two sides in the Haddington burghs. A vote in 1837 for the Whig candidate, Robert Steuart, may have been a vote for Lord Melbourne and his administration, it was certainly a vote against the Lauderdale interest and all that it stood for past and present.

The nature of the political contest in the burghs is well illustrated by the election which occurred in May 1831. Parliament was dissolved when, during the reform debates, the Grey government was defeated on General Gascoyne's motion that the number of representatives for England and Wales should not be reduced. Amid great excitement, but under the unreformed system of representation, Robert Steuart, an enthusiastic supporter of the Reform Bill and a landowner near Haddington, was returned. On 23 May the delegates from the five burghs met in Jedburgh to elect the member. Steuart received three votes, from the delegates for Jedburgh, Lauder and Haddington (himself), while his opponent, Sir Adolphus John Dalrymple the sitting member, received two votes, one from the delegate for Dunbar, the other from the delegate for North Berwick (his kinsman, Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple).²⁹ *The Times* published an account of the election by a correspondent of decided reform sympathies, who described how an excited but orderly crowd thronged the streets of Jedburgh to hear the popular candidate's victory announced. "The Lauderdale party" arrived led by Lord Maitland, Lauderdale's eldest son, who was accompanied by the anti-reform candidate Dalrymple, "whose face is as strange to us as his sentiments are hostile to ours." In spite of the unpopularity of the Lauderdale party they were received without any hostile demonstration. The reformers reserved their energies to acclaim Steuart's success. The correspondent shared their enthusiasm. "I do not believe there is

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another man in Scotland could have ousted the old borough-bartering peer from his inheritance, for such he has long considered it."³⁰

Steuart's success was short-lived. In August the return was amended by order of the House of Commons after consideration of a petition from Dalrymple, who was then declared to be elected.³¹ The main charge that the election of the Lauder delegate had been obtained by improper means was admitted by Steuart. The Lauder election had taken place on 4 May.³² For some days before this it was widely known that the sixteen members of the Lauder Council were evenly divided between the two candidates, but that the Provost, who had a casting vote, was a supporter of Dalrymple. On the day of the election "a lawless mob" wearing Steuart's colours assembled in Lauder where they blockaded the Council Chambers to prevent any of Steuart's opponents from entering. Then one of the eight Dalrymple supporters was abducted by some of the mob and carried off in a post-chaise.* Some time later in a room at the Black Bull those Councillors who supported Steuart joined the remnant of their opponents, and went through a form of election in which a Steuart delegate was appointed. In his petition Dalrymple also alleged that Steuart's own election as the Haddington delegate had been procured by bribery and other corrupt means, and implied that the same was true of the election in the Jedburgh Council. Steuart submitted a declaration that he did not intend to defend his return, though it is not clear that by doing so he admitted the truth of any allegations other than those relating to Lauder.³³ Two points emerge from this episode: first it provides evidence of the enthusiasm for reform and the antipathy to the Lauderdale interest; and secondly it illustrates an important fact about the politics of this period, that in their methods the reformers were no more scrupulous than their opponents.

III

In December 1832, at the first general election held after the passing of the Reform Act, Robert Steuart was elected without opposition. The few papers at Dalkeith that relate to this election reveal that Lord Maitland was to have contested the seat in the Lauderdale interest, but that he withdrew on the ground that Steuart's supporters in Haddington were too numerous.³⁴ His

* Editor's Note: This incident is discussed in Volume X of the *Transactions* in the paper "The Employment of the Military in Haddington in 1831" by G. B. A. M. Finlayson.

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withdrawal angered many Conservatives who thought that failure to defend the burghs must weaken their chances in any future contest. Two years later, however, shortly before the general election of January 1835, there were signs of optimism among the Conservatives. In November 1834, Donald Horne, political agent for the Duke of Buccleuch, considered that opinion in the constituency was turning against Steuart:

Mr Stewart, a Whig-Radical could hardly stand a contest, and there is a considerable reaction in this district. It is very assailable.³⁵

Encouraged by this the Duke of Buccleuch invited Sir Peter Laurie, a prominent London merchant whose father had been a farmer at Stichell in Roxburghshire, to come forward as the Conservative candidate. Laurie was a wealthy man, having made his fortune as a contractor to the Indian army, and for some years he had taken a leading part in the affairs of the City of London, where he had been Lord Mayor in 1832.³⁶ In his favour Laurie had local associations, wealth and experience of public life. In this last respect he was certainly a better candidate than the Conservatives who stood in 1837 and 1841, men whose sole qualification would seem to have been that they were relatives of the Earl of Lauderdale. The Conservatives were hopeful of Laurie's chances. Their chief problem was that in Haddington there was "a decided majority" in favour of Steuart. However it was claimed that this could "be very much reduced by good management and some Cash."³⁷ Laurie being a shrewd man of business was not convinced by the assurances he received, so he sent his "clever nephew" to the burghs to appraise the situation.³⁸ When it was established that the Whigs had a certain majority of at least 40 votes, Laurie withdrew and even one of the more optimistic Conservatives was forced to admit "there is no use of anyone else trying it at present."³⁹ Consequently Steuart was returned unopposed. In April 1835 his position was further strengthened when he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury in the Melbourne administration. With greater access to government patronage Steuart would be able to direct more of the loaves and fishes to his supporters, so that as long as he remained in office his hold on the representation of the burghs seemed assured. This made his opponents still more determined to put him out.

In early May, when Steuart was re-elected after accepting office, Donald Horne urged that the Conservatives must contest the seat at the next election, but this raised the problem of finding a candidate who would be acceptable to the leading Conservatives with an interest in the burghs.

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They must be contested. Lord Ramsay is too good a candidate for them, and if he is otherwise provided, I really think young Walker Drummond if he gets the support of Lords Lothian, Lauderdale and Tweeddale should be encouraged to contest them. He has many personal friends in and about Haddington.⁴⁰

Lord Ramsay, later Earl and then Marquis of Dalhousie and Governor-General of India, was to be kept for better things, in fact to contest East Lothian in 1837.⁴¹ The other candidate suggested by Horne was Captain James Walker Drummond of the Grenadier Guards. He was the eldest son of Sir Francis Walker Drummond Bart. of Hawthornden in Midlothian, Sir Francis was a cousin of the Marquis of Tweeddale and could claim kinship with the Earl of Lauderdale, but he had been born plain Francis Walker, son of a Writer to the Signet, and had acquired the baronetcy through his marriage in 1810 to Margaret, the only child of Sir John Forbes Drummond, Bart. Like his father Sir Francis was a Writer.⁴² He took an active part in the politics of Midlothian as well as of the Haddington burghs, and was a close friend of his fellow Writer, Donald Horne, who seems to have taken every opportunity to press Captain Drummond's claim to be the candidate for the burghs. James Walker Drummond's fitness to be the candidate was evidently recognised by his relation the Marquis of Tweeddale, who wrote of him to the Duke of Buccleuch in April 1835: 'he has head, address, manliness and (is) a well bred fellow, and I think is not afraid of a mob, otherwise I have mistaken him.'⁴³ Another connection frequently referred to in the 'correspondence as in Captain's Drummond's favour was that between Sir Francis and Lord Douglas, who was said to be influential in Jedburgh. Since there is no evidence of any family relationship between the two men, it is possible that the connection was in some way associated with Sir Francis Drummond's profession. In addition to the possibility that he would have the support of these influential landowners, Drummond had the advantage that he would come of age in August 1835, whereas the probable candidates of the houses of Tweeddale (Lord Gifford, born 1822), of Wemyss (Francis Charteris, born 1818) and of Lauderdale (James Maitland Balfour, born 1820), though their family interest in the burghs was stronger than Drummond's, would not be old enough to stand for Parliament for several years. On the other hand one suspects that the Earl of Lauderdale was not convinced of Drummond's suitability, and as subsequent events show he could not be persuaded to regard Sir Francis's son as

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more than a possible *locum tenens*. When the next general election was held in 1837 the Conservative candidate for the burghs was not Captain Drummond, in spite of Horne's recommendations and Tweeddale's good opinion, but Sir Thomas Hepburn of Smeaton, a connection of the Lauderdale family.⁴⁴

The contest was keenly fought, but it is difficult to establish what issues were of most concern to the electors. The Conservatives were said to have gained some supporters on account of the apparent indifference of Melbourne's government to the problems of the Church of Scotland, and also because some electors who had previously supported reform candidates had doubts about the government's association with O'Connell and the Irish Radicals.⁴⁵ Yet, it is doubtful whether such questions counted for much beside the local issue of opposing or supporting the nominee of the Conservative landowners. When the poll was declared Steuart had a majority of 31 in a total vote of 505. In *The Times*, which had lost its sympathy for reformers, Steuart's success was attributed "almost exclusively to the profligate use he has made of his Treasury patronage in the bestowal and promise of Government situations."⁴⁶ The following table indicates how the votes were cast in each of the burghs:⁴⁷

	<i>Steuart</i>	<i>Hepburn</i>
Haddington	103	69
Dunbar	43	62
North Berwick	25	0
Lauder	12	24
Jedburgh	85	82
	<hr/> 268	<hr/> 237

The Liberals had sound majorities in Haddington, and in North Berwick, which was the only Scottish burgh to give a unanimous vote, whereas the Conservatives had majorities in Dunbar and Lauder which suggest the continuing importance of the Lauderdale influence. It was, however, in Jedburgh that the contest was most keenly fought. So close was the struggle that when the poll closed 90% of the registered electors in the burgh had declared their votes, a much higher proportion than in the other towns. The size of the Conservative vote and the slightness of the Whig majority explains why in sub-

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sequent years the Conservatives were so actively building up their strength in Jedburgh. With the exception of North Berwick the Conservatives had done well; the Whig victory had been a narrow one, and the Conservatives were encouraged to believe that with proper management they could have a majority at the next election.

Before long the question of finding a candidate was raised once more. When Lord Ramsay succeeded as Earl of Dalhousie in March 1838, Sir Thomas Hepburn was elected in his place for East Lothian without opposition. As the Earl of Haddington commented in a letter to the Duke of Buccleuch, "We have returned our County Member at an easy canter" but, he went on, "the Burghs are the devil." His concern was due to rumours that Steuart was about to be given an appointment on the Board of Excise which would require him to vacate his seat, and the Conservatives were having great difficulty in finding a candidate to replace Hepburn:

We have beat every bush in these parts—or connected with them—which we thought might harbour a candidate but alas in vain. They will not and we cannot help it.⁴⁸

Lord Haddington then gave an account of his correspondence with the party managers at the Carlton Club in London. Among those whose names had been mentioned were Edward Stewart, a nephew of the Earl of Wemyss; James Bruce, presumably the later 8th Earl of Elgin; and James St. Clair, eldest son of Lord Sinclair, who had an estate near Haddington; but there was no mention of Captain James Walker Drummond. According to Lord Haddington, anxious above all to obtain a candidate quickly, any of these men would do, and he had urged his correspondents at the Carlton "to send us down one without delay."⁴⁹ Then early in May the Duke of Buccleuch received from Alexander Pringle, member of Parliament for the county of Selkirk, a letter which seemed to indicate that the matter was coming to a head:

It is now believed that Ministers consider themselves strong enough in the Haddington Boroughs to give Steuart the Excise appointment; and this forenoon it has been settled betwixt Forbes and Edward Stewart that the former is to be our Candidate for the Boroughs.⁵⁰

The candidate, therefore, was to be William Forbes of Callendar. At the general election in 1837 he had been elected to Parliament for Stirlingshire, but only three days before Pringle wrote, his return had been declared void by order of the House of Commons.⁵¹ Immediately he had found a possible

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means of re-entering Parliament, and he owed this chiefly to the fact that he was a son-in-law of the Earl of Wemyss, who had considerable influence in East Lothian. As events turned out, however, Steuart received no appointment in the Excise and there was no contest in the Haddington burghs until the general election in July 1841. Nevertheless, this rather inconclusive episode does indicate that no matter how difficult it might be to find a suitable candidate the Conservatives were still determined to put up a fight in the burghs.

IV

Meanwhile the struggle between the Whigs and the Conservatives was concentrated in the registration court held annually in September, when each party endeavoured to increase the number of its supporters on the electoral register, and to have its opponents struck off and their new claims rejected. The intensity of this struggle grew during the 1830s as candidates and political agents realised the importance of keeping up the register. In many constituencies, as the contest over registrations became more keen, both parties resorted to the manufacture of votes. At first this was practised most commonly in the counties, for the Scottish Reform Act did not require a person who held the necessary property qualifications also to be resident in the county in order to be registered as an elector.⁵² Consequently it was possible, and not uncommon, for a man to be enrolled in several counties at one time, and since the polls might be held on different days he could travel round to exercise his electoral privilege at each turn. However, to be qualified as a burgh elector it was necessary, in addition to fulfilling the property qualification, to be resident either in the burgh or within seven miles of it.⁵³ This provision ensured that all voters would have some local connections and interest—unlike most of the "mushroom" voters in the counties—but although the area in which party agents could recruit electors was limited, it was still possible to make a large number of votes without contravening the Act. In towns such as those which composed the Haddington district there was always property available for purchase, and the Act permitted the qualification of several men on a single property if the annual value was sufficient to give each man a £10 qualification.⁵⁴ The main objection to the registration of electors qualified in this manner was not legal but political, for Conservatives were generally more numerous than Whigs in the countryside round a Scottish burgh. However,

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the Conservatives seem to have been slow to take advantage of this opportunity. Shortly before the general election in 1837 *The Times* claimed that a main cause of the Conservatives' weakness in the Scottish burghs was their failure to enrol the potential Conservative voters who were resident within the statutory seven mile limit.⁵⁵

It is not the purpose of this paper to determine which party first made votes in the Haddington burghs; it is clear that after Steuart's narrow victory in 1837 both parties were doing so. Soon after the election the well-known East Lothian farmers, George Hope and his father, both staunch reformers, purchased a property in Haddington which would give them each a qualification to be placed on the register in 1838.⁵⁶ The acquisition of such votes was justified by liberals as a necessary measure of self-defence against the manufacture of votes by their opponents. During 1837, 1838 and 1839 the two parties maintained a brisk struggle over the register, as a result of which there were notable increases in the number of registered electors in Lauder and Jedburgh: whereas in 1832 there had been 169 electors on the Jedburgh roll, in 1837 there were 194, and two years later 249. On the other hand the numbers in Haddington, which had risen steadily until 1836, fell between 1836 and 1839 until they reached the level of 1832, while in Dunbar and North Berwick there was little change.⁵⁷ However, for all their efforts neither side gained a commanding lead. In November 1838 Donald Horne reported to the Duke of Buccleuch:

The constituency very nearly balanced. Last year's Regtn. made little change. If Mr. Stewart were out of the Treasury he or any other Whig candidate would be beaten. These Burghs should be soon looked after. There is no Conservative candidate in the field at present.⁵⁸

A year later, it seems, the situation was largely unchanged:

The Registrations very keenly fought & parties are as nearly equal as possible on the Register; I think Mr Stewart in office would keep the seat, but that out of office he or indeed any other radical candidate would be beaten.⁵⁹

The evenness of this struggle persuaded Sir Francis Drummond and several other gentlemen that a more extensive manufacture of votes was required if the burghs were to be taken. This was the plan being pursued on a large scale from 1838 by the Conservatives in the county of Midlothian, among whom

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the Duke of Buccleuch and Drummond were prominent. By making full use of the more open provisions regulating electoral qualifications in Scottish counties they succeeded in placing such a large number of Conservative voters on the register that at the general election in 1841 the Whig sitting member, William Gibson-Craig, gave up the seat without a contest.⁶⁰ Drummond later claimed that in the course of that operation he had made about eighty votes on the unentailed portions of his estate.⁶¹ Concurrently, he was organising the manufacture of a number of votes in Jedburgh. He was assisted by William Ogilvie, the Duke of Buccleuch's Chamberlain at Branksholm (and Donald Horne's brother-in-law), together with John Grainger and John Scotland, who were the factors for the Marquis of Lothian and Lord Douglas. Drummond could see that if the Conservatives gained control of Jedburgh with a sufficiently large majority this could decide the fate of the burghs. A Conservative candidate must expect to be in a minority in Haddington and North Berwick, but Conservative predominance in Dunbar, Lauder and Jedburgh might compensate for weakness in the other two burghs. The influence of the Lauderdale family seemed still to carry some weight in Dunbar and Lauder, but clearly the influence of Lords Lothian and Douglas in Jedburgh required to be augmented in some way if the deadlock between the two parties was to be broken. This was the main objective of the policy followed in Jedburgh between 1837 and the general election of 1841. Over £7,600 was laid out on the purchase of properties in the town, while the associated legal and registration expenses amounted to more than £2,000.⁶² After the election, it was claimed that the various transactions had "influenced in one way or another no less than upwards of 80 votes . . .",⁶³ which suggests that the business did not consist merely in acquiring properties on which new qualifications were made. This was probably the most important activity since it was necessary not only to increase the number of Conservative supporters on the register by making new votes, but to fill gaps left by electors who had died or been disqualified. But it is probable that the problem of consolidating the Conservative position in Jedburgh was approached in a number of ways. There is evidence from other constituencies that properties were occasionally purchased for more than the market price, in order to take them out of the hands of opponents.⁶⁴ New qualifications could then be made on the property, or if there was a tenant qualified on the property already pressure could be used

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to persuade him to change his vote or at least to stay away from the polls. It appears also that in Jedburgh certain sums of money were used to aid "voters in poor circumstances," presumably to save them from being disqualified for failure to pay rates and taxes. In such ways Drummond and his associates worked to prepare the burgh for the next contest. By the end of 1840 there were clear indications of how successful their work had been. At the 1840 registration in Jedburgh the Conservatives made an overall gain of 25 votes: 12 Whigs were struck off the roll, but only 2 Conservatives, a gain of 10; 25 new Conservative claims were admitted, but only 10 for the Whigs, a further gain of 15.⁶⁵ Donald Horne reported to the Duke of Buccleuch in December:

The registrations very keenly fought last year and parties were then as nearly equal as possible on the register; the gain on the registration of this year, particularly in Jedburgh, has been considerable & by a proper arrangement the seat should be safe for a conservative candidate.⁶⁶

It was Sir Francis Drummond who took the initiative in these proceedings, and there can be little doubt that in doing so he considered that he was serving the political interests of his son. In 1839 Captain Drummond was the only one among the probable candidates who was both of age and willing to stand. Lord Gifford and James Maitland Balfour were still under age, and Francis Charteris, who attained his majority in August 1839, was not yet prepared to be the candidate, though he was being encouraged to come forward by Sir James Graham.⁶⁷ But, when Drummond was proposed, the old Earl of Lauderdale objected to his being allowed the candidacy beyond 1839. If there was an election that year, it was agreed, Drummond could stand, but Lauderdale insisted that this was not to prevent Balfour, Charteris or Gifford coming forward later.⁶⁸ The Earl's object presumably was to keep the course clear for his grandson, James Maitland Balfour, who would come of age in January 1841, but the effect of this arrangement was that at the end of 1839, by which time Lauderdale had died, there was no candidate agreed on. Donald Horne pressed for this question to be settled and made it clear to the Duke of Buccleuch that he thought his friend's son would be a sound choice:

I find that it was proposed to set up Capt Walker Drummond, but that the late Lord Lauderdale demurred. He should do well at Jedburgh on account of his fathers connection with Lord Douglas and as it is of great importance to have the Candidate fixed, I hope

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some plan will be fallen on to get the present Lord Lauderdale's answer. Without the cordial support of the leading influence in all the Burghs Capt Drummond will of course never think of coming forward. With it I understand he is quite ready to enter the lists and fight.⁶⁹

Sir Francis Drummond meanwhile was acting upon a quite different view of the arrangement agreed to by Lauderdale, for he later claimed that, as he understood it, the old Earl had been prepared to allow Captain Drummond to represent the Conservative interest at "the first election," but that after that he was not to stand in the way of whichever of the three younger men wished to contest the seat.⁷⁰ Taking this view Sir Francis expected that the chief beneficiary from his exertions in Jedburgh would be his son. However, early in 1841 it was discovered that there was not one Conservative candidate but two, for James Maitland Balfour had taken the field and wanted no interference from Captain Drummond. The Duke of Buccleuch told Sir Francis that this was in accordance with the arrangement agreed to in 1839, and advised him that if his son should decide to contest the burghs on his own resources he could not expect to obtain the active support of those who were connected with the Balfours.⁷¹ There followed a short correspondence in which Sir Francis explained his view of the 1839 arrangement, but since Captain Drummond could not hope to succeed without influential support he was compelled to withdraw. Sir Francis's letters show that he was anxious not to displease the Duke, but that he was extremely indignant that after all his political services he should be so ill-used.

This sort of treatment is well calculated to cool a man's ardour in the Cause of his Party. Indeed some think that it is a pretty sure indication of the estimation in which some of the aristocracy at least view the influence or services of us Edinburgh folk.⁷²

In his mood of disappointment and annoyance Drummond expressed misgivings about Conservative prospects in the burghs. The Lauderdale family, he said, had been very unpopular in the burghs in 1832 because of the influence they had exercised. Might not this unpopularity rebound on Balfour, who was both extremely young and unknown to the public? Without much conviction Drummond disclaimed any intention of making invidious comparisons; his only concern, he said, was that the Conservatives should have the best candidate, but he concluded a little smugly ". . . if the seat be lost I at least have done my duty to my Party, & told my mind a little more

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freely perhaps than may be agreeable in some quarters."73

Although there was much truth in Drummond's comments about the candidate and the unpopularity of his family with many of the electors, his prediction proved to be incorrect, largely as a result of his own exertions in Jeuburgh. The contest held in June and early July 1841 was strenuous and exciting. "We are at present" George Hope wrote "in the midst of the din and turmoil of a general election. The excitement is as great as during the passing of the Reform Bill. The contest in Haddington burghs is most severe . . . It is hard to say who will win; the Tories are so unscrupulous of their cash. I think Steuart has the majority, but it will be a small one."74 However, at the close of the poll it was Balfour who was declared elected, by a majority of nine votes. The analysis of voting in each of the burghs shows how effective the Conservatives' work on the Jedburgh register had been, and how much this influenced the result.75

	<i>Steuart</i>	<i>Balfour</i>
Haddington	97	66
Dunbar	44	60
North Berwick	26	6
Lauder	15	29
Jedburgh	82	112
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	264	273

A comparison of these figures with those for 1837 indicates that, apart from Jedburgh, there were only slight changes in the number of votes received by the two parties. In Haddington and Dunbar the situation was almost unchanged: the Whigs and Radicals had a clear majority in the first and the Conservatives in the second. In North Berwick the Conservatives broke their duck, and they increased their vote in Lauder. But it was in Jedburgh that the contest was decided. The total vote for Steuart was only four less than in 1837, but the Conservative total increased by 36 votes, most of which were gained in Jedburgh. Undoubtedly a very large share in the Conservative victory can be attributed to the electoral manipulations of Sir Francis Drummond and the gentlemen who assisted him.

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V

Though the seat had been taken the costs had been very considerable. In Jedburgh alone almost £10,000 had been spent in order to re-inforce the natural influence of the landed proprietors. Balfour had been a member of Parliament for several months when the question of settling the bills was raised. Early in 1842 Sir Francis Drummond received a request for payment of the legal expenses from Messrs. Rutherford and Laing, lawyers in Jedburgh, who managed the Conservatives' legal business in the burgh, and acted as political agents for the Duke of Buccleuch in the county of Roxburgh. Drummond advised them that since Balfour held his seat in consequence of this expenditure they should put their request to him. There is a copy of their letter to Balfour, dated 2 February 1842, among the Buccleuch papers.

Sir, we take the liberty of requesting your favourable consideration of the communication which we have now to make.

At the last general election in 1837 the conservative party in the burghs were in a minority of Thirty one. It was considered that by some exertions this state of matters could be much improved. We accordingly were authorized to make purchases of properties within this burgh, and in the transactions which followed we had the assistance of Mr. Ogilvie of Chesters, Chamberlain at Branxholm, Mr. Grainger factor for the Marquess of Lothian and Mr. Scotland factor for Lord Douglas, who in many instances interposed their own security for the prices of the properties or for money borrowed to pay the same. The result of these operations, as we believe you are perfectly aware, was very successful. They influenced one way or another no less than upwards of 80 votes at last election. You will readily suppose however that these operations were attended with considerable expence. In the course of the 4 years the accounts incurred by us comprehending transfers of properties, stamps & general business amount

to	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£1426	1	9
Obligations come under to prevent the loss of some voters in										
poor circumstances	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£	256	14 0
Current bills for advances in the business	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£	340	0 0
								£2022	15	9

This large sum is still due, & it is inconvenient that we should be kept out of it. The Gentlemen whom we have mentioned say that they stepped forward to take this burgh out of the thralldom of the whig party expecting that the party receiving the benefit of their exertions would pay the expence & it was generally understood that Captain Drummond was the individual whom it had been fixed the leading Conservatives were to support, & if he had continued to receive the support of the party it is believed Sir Francis Drummond would have provided

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for payment of the expences in question. In these circumstances we have been requested to lay the matter before you.

It is undoubtedly true that but for these exertions & the consequent expenditure the Burghs would not have been carried by you at the last election. It is hoped therefore, that you will think this is a just and reasonable call upon you to pay the expences.

Mr. Scotland mentioned this matter to Sir George Warrender who said he would recommend you to pay £1000 towards the expences. Sir George was asked to reconsider the view which he had taken, but he declined to do so, saying he had acted as an Umpire in the matter, & of course expected that his award would be conclusive. But there was no arbitration to Sir George Warrender & therefore there would be no award. We have no right to apply to Sir George on the subject & have therefore taken the liberty to apply direct to yourself. And we do trust that in the circumstances of the case you will not limit your contribution to the sum suggested by Sir George, but will, as you are now enjoying all the benefit of the expenditure, pay the full amount.

We are Sir etc.

(Signed) Rutherford & Laing.

James M. Balfour Esq., M.P.

Quite apart from the legal expenses which Balfour was being asked to pay, there was the matter of the properties which had been purchased in Jedburgh at a cost of £7,606. 11. 2d., for various portions of which Ogilvie, Grainger, Scotland, and perhaps Drummond himself, had accepted responsibility. On 23 February 1842 Drummond wrote to Ogilvie with a request that he put the problem before the Duke of Buccleuch.

... I should have had no hesitation in addressing myself directly to his Grace had it not been for the personal interest which I may be supposed to have in this matter in consequence of my son having been at one time proposed as the Candidate for the representation of the Burghs.

Drummond considered that Ogilvie and the other gentlemen should be relieved of the financial obligations which they had incurred in the interest of the party. The properties could be re-sold, but that would be to lose the advantages which had been gained by purchasing them. However, if the Duke of Buccleuch would take a portion of the property, even to the value of £3,000, Drummond understood that Lord Douglas was willing to take the remainder. The properties, Drummond was informed, "will yield a fair return," but the important object was for the Conservatives to retain the advantage they held in the burgh:

At last Election the principal Battle of the Conservatives was fought at Jedburgh & nobly won for the District & with proper attention &

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management the advantages already gained might be steadily advanced so as to give that Burgh a great command in the return of the member.

Unfortunately, as often happens with such private political transactions, the correspondence among the Buccleuch papers does not reveal what became of the Jedburgh properties. What little evidence there is suggests that the Duke turned down Drummond's suggestion. Ten years later when he received a request to support the candidature of another Conservative in the burghs, Archibald Campbell Swinton, the Duke replied that he had no "interest" in Jedburgh, which would scarcely have been the case if he had acquired some portion of the property offered in 1842.⁷⁶

Similarly it is not clear who eventually settled the election account with Rutherford and Laing, but there can be no doubt of the ill-feeling caused within the Conservative interest by the dispute. Sir Francis Drummond was far from satisfied with Sir George Warrender's proposal that Balfour should pay only £1,000; perhaps he was a little suspicious of Warrender, who was related to the Lauderdale family, but had Whig sympathies.⁷⁷ Drummond could see no reason why Balfour should not pay the full amount:

... surely Mr. Balfour is in such circumstances as to be well able to pay the expences by which he is enjoying his Seat. I have heard other complaints too about the Tavern bills at the Election being left for some time unpaid. If matters are so to be conducted, it should be well considered whether or not Mr. Balfour ought to be allowed to acquire any permanent influence in Jedburgh.⁷⁸

Drummond of course had a deep personal interest in the affair, for not only did he believe that Balfour had pushed his son out of the candidature, but if Balfour could not be persuaded to pay the whole account, the duty of settling the balance would certainly fall on Drummond. On the other hand Warrender's proposal was not an unreasonable one. In the county of Midlothian, on the several occasions on which the question of apportioning election expenses had arisen, the principle had been accepted that the candidate should not be expected to pay more than half the cost; the remainder would be raised by subscriptions from his supporters.⁷⁹ As a member of the inner circle of the Conservative Committee in Midlothian Sir Francis was fully acquainted with such arrangements, but there is no evidence that they influenced his view of the Jedburgh dispute.

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Three months later, in May 1842, Balfour was still refusing to pay more than £1,000. Archibald Hope, son of Sir John Hope, Bart., of Craighall, chairman of the Conservative Committee in Midlothian, wrote to the Duke of Buccleuch about the animosity which had been caused by the election and its aftermath.⁸⁰ From the tenor of his letter he was acting as an intermediary for Drummond. Sir Francis was a close friend of his father, and his younger brother Hugh had served his apprenticeship as a Writer in Drummond's chambers.⁸¹ No doubt he hoped that the Duke would use his great personal influence and prestige to bring about a settlement favourable to Drummond. Certainly Hope's letter, though not altogether accurate in its details, expresses the Drummond view of the dispute, even to the extent of giving Sir Francis the entire credit for the Conservative victory in the burghs:

... at the expence of £2,200 Sir F. had brought on the roll of Jedburgh about 80 votes; the Balfours declined to pay more than £1000 of this although without Sir F. interference no Tory had a chance; the election was only gained by 9.

Hope had heard that a correspondence was going on with Lord Haddington which might lead to unpleasant consequences if an amicable arrangement was not reached:

Possibly I have no right to mention all this to you, still I think it right that you should be aware of it, leaving you to judge what is best to be done. The Balfours are not easily managed in money matters, but I am satisfied that they will not find a re-election so easy if this affair is not arranged, and it is a pity that these Burghs should be lost to us on their account.

VI

It is ironic that the Conservatives, having gained the seat at such considerable expense, could not hold it beyond the next election, in 1847, when they gave it up without a fight. Some local circumstances could be said to have contributed to the weakening of the Conservative position in the burghs. A number of those whose efforts had made possible the success of 1841 died shortly afterwards: the Marquis of Lothian in November 1841 (leaving a nine-year-old son to succeed him), and Lord Douglas and Sir Francis Drummond within weeks of each other early in 1844. Yet another prominent Conservative, the Marquis of Tweeddale, was absent from 1842 to 1848 as Governor of Madras. More significant perhaps was the continuation of the

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registration contest, which caused a further expansion of the electorate until in 1846 there were 775 electors compared with 650 in 1839 and 545 in 1832. The most notable changes occurred in Jedburgh, where there were 270 electors in 1841; by the end of 1842 50 of these had been struck off the roll, but by 1846 the number had increased to 293, clear evidence that more votes were being manufactured, probably in a Whig counter-attack.⁸² By 1847 it seems that the Whigs had achieved a commanding position in the burghs, but the main reason for the Conservatives' losing the Haddington district was that events of national significance had put an end for the time being to any prospects the Conservatives might have had in Scottish burghs. Two events stand out: the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. There is no study of the influence upon the development of Scottish politics of either of these events, or the movements with which they were associated. Yet it is certain that the foundation of the Free Church, and the movement in favour of Free Trade gave a great stimulus to the liberal cause. So strong were the Whigs, Liberals and Radicals in Scottish towns after 1846 that for many years scarcely a Conservative dared to contest a burgh seat. In 1847 James Maitland Balfour gave up the Haddington burghs without a struggle.

His successor was General Sir Robert Henry Ferguson-Davie, the son of Robert Ferguson of Raith, a popular and Liberal landowner who had represented East Lothian from 1835 to 1837.⁸³ Except for one contest, in 1852, Ferguson-Davie retained the seat without opposition until his retirement in 1878. In 1852 his opponent was Archibald Campbell Swinton, Professor of Civil Law in the University of Edinburgh. Charles Baillie, a relative of the Earl of Haddington, and later Lord Jerviswood of Session, presented Swinton's credentials to the Duke of Buccleuch with a request for his general support in the burghs.⁸⁴ Neither the Duke, nor William Ogilvie to whom he wrote about the situation in Jedburgh, considered that Swinton had much chance of defeating Ferguson-Davie.⁸⁵ Only a week or two earlier the Duke had received an estimate of Conservative strength in the burghs which showed that the Whigs had a probable majority of 86.⁸⁶ Nevertheless the Duke endorsed a request for a subscription, "would assist Mr. S. with £100."⁸⁷ The election was held in mid-July, and Ferguson-Davie scored a comfortable victory with a majority of 127.⁸⁸

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	<i>Ferguson-Davie</i>	<i>Swinton</i>
Haddington	113	32
Dunbar	65	26
North Berwick	31	9
Lauder	14	34
Jedburgh	89	84
	<hr/> 312	<hr/> 185

These figures reveal how far the reaction from the Conservatives had gone. Only in Lauder had the number of Conservative votes increased, which suggests that in the small, quiet country town dominated by Thirlestane Castle the Lauderdale influence was still effective. By contrast the Conservative vote in Dunbar had collapsed, and in the three East Lothian burghs taken together the Conservative vote had fallen from 132 in 1841 to 67. Again Jedburgh was the main centre of Conservative support; in fact the distribution of votes in the town in 1852 was remarkably, and no doubt deceptively, similar to that in 1837. The majority of 1841 had disappeared, and there had undoubtedly been many changes in the register over the intervening years; the number of electors which had been swollen to artificially high proportions by 1846 had fallen again to 200.⁸⁹ In the circumstances one can only conjecture why the Conservatives continued to do well in Jedburgh. It may be that because Jedburgh was the centre of a pastoral area, where sheep and wool were the main interests, the Conservatives of the town were much less affected by the split over Corn Law repeal than those in the East Lothian burghs. In 1846 when the Duke of Buccleuch received a report on the attitude of his tenants in Roxburghshire to the abolition of the Corn Laws, it appeared that only a few of the arable farmers were at all concerned over the question; those with sheep and cattle interests "don't seem to care *one farthing* about it."⁹⁰

The central problem that is illuminated by the papers from Dalkeith House is that of how the Conservative landed proprietors adapted themselves to the changed electoral conditions after 1832. Compared with the electorates of 12 to 18 burgh councillors under the unreformed system, even the limited numbers of burgh voters in the 1830s posed serious problems, especially as so many of the new electors were hostile to the old burgh patrons. In some towns

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it is probable that a considerable measure of effective influence survived, but certainly not enough to carry the entire district. The Reform Act provided an opportunity for the Conservatives in particular by permitting the recruitment of burgh voters from the countryside within the statutory limits. As *The Times* had urged in 1837 this provision should have been exploited to the full. In fact, in most places it seems nothing was ever done. Yet in Jedburgh it can be seen how the profits of landownership could be employed to build up such a numerous body of Conservative supporters that they had a decisive influence in the 1841 election. The Buccleuch papers reveal what an expensive operation this was but it is clear that it was only by such an outlay that the Conservative proprietors could hope to regain even a fraction of their old ascendancy in the Scottish burghs. By 1847 in the Haddington district of burghs even this method of augmenting the influence of the Conservative landowners was shown to be inadequate.

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APPENDIX

The statistical material presented in this appendix has been separated from the text of the paper for two reasons: firstly to avoid undue congestion, and secondly because it is impossible to comment satisfactorily on the significance of the statistics without the study of other materials to which at present I do not have access. From parliamentary returns of electors and from occasional newspaper reports of gains and losses in the registration court it is possible to trace the contraction and expansion of the burgh electorates. The returns also provide information on the differing proportions of electors qualified as tenants or proprietors, and one return for 1846 classifies the electors in each burgh according to the value of the property on which they were qualified. From such materials one can form general impressions of the structure of the electorate and even detect broad differences between the various burghs, in particular between the three East Lothian burghs and Lauder and Jedburgh. But to understand these differences, and to elucidate whatever connection there may be between them and the politics of the burghs, closer identification of individuals, their properties and their votes is required, and this can be achieved only by a close examination of local electoral and administrative records where these have survived.

Much of the material drawn from the parliamentary returns is summarised in tables I and II. Table I shows the number of electors at various dates in each of the burghs; they are classified as (a) proprietors, and (b) tenants and life-renters.

TABLE I

Year	Haddington		Dunbar		N. Berwick		Lauder		Jedburgh		Total
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	
1832	[184]		[129]		[32]		[31]		[169]		545
1836	[225]		[141]		16	19	34	13	123	64	635
1839	82	105	61	59	19	14	38	14	173	76	650
1842	117	116	53	78	20	16	39	17	157	69	676
1846	109	127	70	74	21	21	40	20	201	92	775
1859	94	109	56	66	40	39	42	12	126	73	657

Sources: The 1832 figures are taken from "Report from Select Committee on Election Expenses," Appendix E, pp. 193-194, Parliamentary Papers (P.P.) 1834 (591) ix; this return does not distinguish the different classes of electors. The figures for later years are taken from the following returns of registered electors: P.P. 1837-38 (329) xlv; 1844 (11) xxxviii; 1847 (751) xlv; 1859 (141) xxiii. The Haddington figures for 1836 were compiled by the Town Clerk on a different principle from those in the other burghs. There was an incomplete return from Dunbar; the figure given has been calculated by subtracting the known figures from the total of 635 given in "The Times," 10 July 1837.

One difference which can be clearly seen in this table is the preponderance of proprietors over tenants in Lauder and Jedburgh, the two burghs in which the Conservatives were strongest. In the East Lothian burghs tenants generally

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formed the majority of the electors, whereas in Lauder and Jedburgh there were generally at least twice as many proprietors as tenants. Apart from the considerable development of the North Berwick electorate during the 1850s, which I am unable to explain at present, the other striking feature of table I is the fluctuation in the number of Jedburgh proprietors. The number of tenants also rose and fell, but to a lesser degree: in 1839 there were 50 proprietors more on the register than in 1836, but only 12 tenants more; in 1846 there were 44 proprietors and 23 tenants more than in 1842. These changes must be connected with the vote-making contest in the burgh.

There is also some reason to think that considerable changes in the Jedburgh electorate followed Balfour's victory in 1841 and Ferguson-Davie's in 1847. At the time of the 1841 election there were 270 electors enrolled in Jedburgh, in 1847 there were 293; in each case the year following the election was marked by a purge of the register that reduced the number of electors by 50. After 1842 there was a period of recovery, but in the quiet years after 1847 the Jedburgh electorate gradually contracted until by 1862 it had returned to approximately the 1832 figure. This too suggests that the electorate had been artificially inflated at various times between 1832 and 1847.

Table II shows the Haddington district electors in 1846 classified according to the rateable value of the property on which they were qualified, but shown here in percentages.

TABLE II

	£10-15 %	£15-25 %	£25-40 %	£40-100 %	£100+ %	No. of Electors
Haddington	49.0	20.6	12.5	12.1	5.1	232*
Dunbar	42.4	31.4	10.0	12.5	4.0	144
N. Berwick	47.3	10.5	26.3	10.6	5.3	38*
Lauder	20.0	16.7	36.6	14.9	11.7	60
Jedburgh	58.3	22.8	12.6	5.8	0.35	293
Overall %	49.0	22.6	14.5	10.1	3.6	767*

* The discrepancies between these figures and those given in Table I are due to slight differences between the two parts of this return.

Source: This table is based on figures presented in "Return of £10 Voters according to the annual value at which they are rated," P.P. 1847 (751) xlv.

In this table also the East Lothian burghs show basic similarities while the Lauder and Jedburgh figures suggest different local characteristics. In Lauder there appears to have been a much smaller proportion of voters on the minimum qualification than in the other burghs, and an unusually large proportion qualified on more valuable properties. This evidence taken with the large Conservative vote in the town at each of the three contested elections may indicate the existence in Lauder of a small Conservative oligarchy that helped to preserve the Lauderdale influence. Jedburgh provides a contrast, for it appears that the electorate was composed largely of small proprietors. Of 293 electors only 3 were qualified on property valued at more than £70 a year; in Lauder the number

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was 10 out of 60. The return shows that in 1846 81% of the Jedburgh electors owned, leased or rented property in the £10-£25 range. This may of course be due to some non-political characteristic of Jedburgh society; the return does include other burghs with a comparable number of electors and a similar distribution of property, for example Cupar and Hamilton. However, it is conceivable that the large number of small proprietors and the absence of more than a handful of larger properties is due to the registration contest: that is that a number of larger properties had been subdivided to provide minimal £10 qualifications. There is some support for this conjecture with respect to the period after 1841 in the fact that in 1846 there were 39 joint qualifications in Jedburgh, where there had been only 4 in 1842. In Haddington in 1846 there were only 10.

Finally there is a problem related to the qualifications of the electors brought on to the register by the efforts of Drummond and his associates. Table I shows that the number of proprietors in Jedburgh increased considerably more than the number of tenants. This suggests that most of the voters brought on to the register before and after the 1841 election were qualified as proprietors. Yet from Rutherford & Laing's letter to Balfour (2 February 1842) and from Sir Francis Drummond's letter to Ogilvie (23 February 1842) it is clear that the properties purchased by Scotland, Grainger and Ogilvie were still held by them. From this one would conclude that any new elector qualified on these properties must have been enrolled as a tenant, leaseholder or life-renter, and probably this is what happened in some instances, but there is still a conflict with the evidence of the parliamentary returns that most new electors were qualified as proprietors. One possible explanation is that merely nominal proprietary qualifications had been created by means of fictitious transactions similar to those which by this time had become common in Scottish counties. By payment of a portion of the purchase price, or sometimes by giving a promissory note for the sum due, the purchaser was given nominal ownership but not legal possession of the property. The lawyers working in an old tradition of devious electoral and conveyancing practice had conceived means of accomplishing this in the counties and it may be that here we have evidence of these techniques being extended to the burghs.

However, as I have suggested in the paper there is no reason to believe that all the purchases were made for the purpose of adding new Conservative electors to the register. If premises were already occupied by a tenant-electors, the new owner could use pressure to persuade him either to change his vote, to abstain from voting, or to vacate the premises for a more amenable tenant. The use of this kind of "influence" in Jedburgh may be an explanation of the larger number of abstentions in 1841 compared with 1837: at the earlier election there was a 90% poll but only 79% at the later.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to say with certainty that such methods were used in Jedburgh, or in the other burghs. We would need to know more about the electors added to the Jedburgh roll after the 1837 election: who they were, what property they held, how it was acquired and for how long it was retained. If it were possible a detailed study of this kind would provide us with much deeper understanding of burgh politics in the period of adjustment and development after 1832.

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1. These were as follows: Inverness burghs 1832, 1835; Kilmarnock burghs 1837, 1885; Falkirk burghs 1841, 1846, 1847, 1851, 1852; Haddington burghs 1841; Ayr burghs 187-, Wigton burghs 1874, 1880; Glasgow (1 seat) 1874. F. H. McCalmont, "The Parliamentary Poll Book" (7th ed. London, 1910).
2. The notable exception was the Falkirk district, which was held by Conservatives of various shades (e.g. Lord Lincoln, who was a Peelite) from 1841 to 1857. In this district the influence of Tory aristocrats such as the Duke of Buccleuch and the Earl of Dunmore was powerfully augmented by that of the great ironmasters. See Andrew MacGeorge, "The Bairds of Gartsherrie" (private Glasgow, 1875) pp. 72-3, 81, 87-8.
3. On Scottish burgh representation in the eighteenth century see E. and A. G. Porritt, "The Unreformed House of Commons" (Cambridge, 1903) Vol. II, chapter xxxviii. Dr W. Ferguson has discussed the problems of managing a group of burghs in his article, 'Dingwall Burgh Politics and the Parliamentary franchise in the eighteenth century,' "Scottish Historical Review," Vol. xxxviii (1959) pp. 89-108. See also Theodora Keith, 'Municipal Elections in the Royal Burghs of Scotland,' Part II, "Scottish Historical Review," Vol. xiii (1916) pp. 266-78.
4. These population estimates are derived from the figures given for the various burghs in "The New Statistical Account of Scotland" 15 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1845), (hereafter cited as N.S.A.). The higher totals, ranging between 17,000 and 18,000, in for example McCalmont, op. cit., p. 129, or "Scotsman," 29 July 1837, are based on a mixture of burgh and parish figures. At the censuses of 1841 and 1851 the total population of the five burghs was still less than 13,000. See the following returns of registered electors. Parliamentary Papers (hereafter cited as P.P.) 1849 (16) xlv; 1859 (141) xxiii.
5. "Report from Select Committee on Election Expenses," Appendix E, pp. 193-4, P.P. 1834 (591) ix.
6. N.S.A. Roxburgh, p. 17.
7. C. R. Dod, "Electoral Facts from 1832 to 1852 Impartially Stated" (London, 1852) p. 129; throughout the Buccleuch correspondence on the Haddington burghs Lauderdale's predominant interest is recognised.
8. Henry Cockburn, "Journal" (Edinburgh, 1874), Vol. I, p. 17.
9. Sidney Lee (ed.) "Dictionary of National Biography" (London, 1909) Vol. XII, pp. 799-801.
10. "Reports Upon the Boundaries of the Several Cities, Burghs and Towns in Scotland in respect to the Election of Members to sit in Parliament," p. 113, P.P. 1831-32 (408) xlii.
11. N.S.A. Berwickshire, pp. 6-7, 10-11, 16.
12. F. H. Groome, "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland" 6 vols. (new; ed. London, 1894-5) Vol. II, p. 402; N.S.A. Haddington, p. 80.
13. N.S.A. Haddington, pp. 82-3, 87-8; Groome, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 403.
14. N.S.A. Haddington, p. 81.
15. "Reports Upon the Boundaries . . ." p. 105.
16. This would appear to be a correct statement even though "The Times," 2 August 1837, attributed the strength of the Whigs in North Berwick to the fact that "the parish clergyman of that town [Rev. R. Balfour Graham, D.D.] is a fawning toady to the Whig families of Dalrymple and Beal." In 1831-32 Sir Hew Dalrymple-Hamilton was certainly opposed to reform; see the account of the 1831 election given in this paper. His brother Sir John, who held the baronetcy from February 1834 until his death in May 1835, was considered to be a Tory by the Marquis of Tweeddale, who mentioned him in April 1835 as a possible candidate for the burghs, Buccleuch MSS, Tweeddale to Buccleuch, 28 April 1835. His son, Sir Hew, was a soldier, absent on service in India and Canada during the 1830s; but at the general election of 1841 he spoke from the hustings in support of the Conservative candidate for the burghs, "Scotsman," 3 July 1841.
17. See the claim made by Sir Hew Dalrymple, 2nd Bart., in 1760, that he held North Berwick and had an interest of long standing in Haddington; and Lauder, quoted J. Fergusson, 'Making Interest in Scottish County Elections,' "Scottish Historical Review," Vol. xxvi (1947) p. 121.

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18. N.S.A. Haddington, p. 334. On the parish minister see the reference in note 16, and C. E. Sayers, "David Syme" (Melbourne, 1965) p. 5.
19. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 5-6. David Syme's father was the parish schoolmaster in North Berwick from 1822 until 1845. He is described as having been a man of strong convictions, and his support for the Conservative candidate in, it seems, 1841 aroused much local hostility and had a disastrous effect on the school attendance figures. David Syme recorded that for more than a week after the election his father kept the whole family confined to the house.
20. "Reports Upon the Boundaries . . .," p. 111; N.S.A. Roxburgh, p. 17.
21. "Reports Upon the Boundaries . . .," p. 111.
22. N.S.A. Roxburgh, p. 100; Alexander Jeffrey, "The History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire and Adjacent Districts" Vol. II (London, 1857) pp. 250-51.
23. N.S.A. Roxburgh, pp. 19-20.
24. Ibid., p. 20. Groome, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 330.
25. Dod, op. cit., p. 259.
26. "Reports Upon the Boundaries . . .," p. 109.
27. Ibid. N.S.A. Haddington, pp. 13-14. Groome, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 232.
28. Dod, op. cit., p. 129; Buccleuch correspondence, passim.
29. These details are taken from the petition presented to the House of Commons by Sir Adolphus John Dalrymple, "Journal of the House of Commons," 23 June 1831.
30. "The Times," 31 May 1831.
31. "Journal of the House of Commons," 10 August 1831.
32. Ibid., 23 June 1831. Again the details come from Dalrymple's petition.
33. Ibid., 7 July 1831.
34. Buccleuch MSS. Most of the material cited in this paper is to be found in a bundle of correspondence labelled "Haddington Burghs 1832-42" (various dates). On Lord Maitland's decision to withdraw there is correspondence from Lord John Scott to the Earl of Lauderdale, and from the Tory Committee in Jedburgh to Lord Maitland, December 1832.
35. Buccleuch MSS, memorandum, Donald Horne to Buccleuch, November 1834.
36. Buccleuch MSS, Buccleuch to Sir Peter Laurie, 3 December 1834 (Copy). F. Boase, "Modern English Biography" (1st pub. London, 1897, reprinted 1965) Vol. II, col. 319.
37. Buccleuch MSS, Sir Francis Drummond of Buccleuch, 11 December 1834.
38. Buccleuch MSS, Laurie to Buccleuch, 22 December 1834.
39. Buccleuch MSS, Sir Francis Drummond to Buccleuch, 24 December 1834.
40. Buccleuch MSS, memorandum, Horne to Buccleuch, 1 May 1835.
41. E. C. B. Lindsay, 'Electioneering in East Lothian, 1836-37,' "Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian Society," Vol. viii (1960) pp. 46-60.
42. "History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet" (Edinburgh, 1890) pp. 58, 208.
43. Buccleuch MSS, Marquis of Tweeddale to Buccleuch, 28 April 1835.
44. Hepburn's mother was a niece of the 8th Earl of Lauderdale. Burke's "Peerage and Baronetage" (62nd ed. 1900) p. 762.
45. See the speeches given at the nomination of 24 July. On this occasion Hepburn admitted that his interest in politics was very recent and apologised for his speech as the first he had ever delivered. When questioned he declared his opposition to the ballot and refused to pledge himself to support legislation to prevent the making of fictitious votes. "Scotsman," 26 July 1837.
46. "The Times," 2 August 1837.
47. "Scotsman," 29 July 1837.
48. Buccleuch MSS, Earl of Haddington to Buccleuch, 25 April 1838.
49. Ibid.
50. Buccleuch MSS, Alexander Pringle of Whytbank to Buccleuch, 2 May 1838.
51. "Journal of the House of Commons," 30 April 1838.
52. "Public and General Statutes" (1832), 2 & 3 William IV, c. 65 sections VII, VIII, IX. For a discussion of defects in the framing of the Scottish Reform Act see W. Ferguson, "The Reform Act (Scotland) of 1832: intention and effect," "Scottish Historical Review," Vol. xlv (1966) pp. 105-14.
53. 2 & 3 William IV, c. 65 section XI.
54. Ibid., section XII.
55. "The Times," 6 July 1837.

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56. "A Sketch of the Life of George Hope compiled by his Daughter" [C. Hope] (private edition, 1879) pp. 53-4.
57. See the following returns of registered electors: P.P. 1837-38 (329) xlv; 1844 (11) xxxviii.
58. Buccleuch MSS, memorandum, Horne to Buccleuch, 1 Nov. 1838.
59. Buccleuch MSS, memorandum, Horne to Buccleuch, 1 Nov. 1839.
60. There is material relating to this activity in Midlothian among the Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, Scottish Record Office [S.R.O.], for example GD 18/3380 and 3381. The results of this activity received publicity during the general election of 1841. See the following items in the "Scotsman," a letter from William Gibson-Craig, the retiring Whig member for the county, 23 June 1841; a letter from H. M. Inglis, the Conservative party agent in Midlothian, 26 June 1841; a letter (Maurice Lothian) and an article on fictitious votes, 30 June 1841.
61. Buccleuch MSS, Drummond to Buccleuch, 22 May 1841.
62. Buccleuch MSS, Rutherford & Laing to James Maitland Balfour, M.P., 2 Feb. 1842 (copy). Drummond to William Ogilvie, 23 Feb. 1842 (copy).
63. Buccleuch MSS, Rutherford & Laing to Balfour, 2 Feb. 1842 (copy).
64. "Scotsman," 12 July 1837, carried a warning that the Tories were using this method of bribery in Midlothian.
65. "Kelso Mail," 15 Sept. 1840.
66. Buccleuch MSS, memorandum, Horne to Buccleuch, 9 Dec. 1840.
67. N. Gash, "Politics in the Age of Peel" (London, 1953) p. 188.
68. Buccleuch MSS, Buccleuch to Drummond, 14 May 1841 (copy).
69. Buccleuch MSS, memorandum, Horne to Buccleuch, 5 Nov. 1839.
70. Buccleuch MSS, Drummond to Buccleuch, 19 May 1841.
71. Buccleuch MSS, Buccleuch to Drummond, 14 May 1841, and 25 May 1841 (copies).
72. Buccleuch MSS, Drummond to Buccleuch, 19 May 1841, and 22 May 1841.
73. Buccleuch MSS, Drummond to Buccleuch, 19 May 1841.
74. "A Sketch of the Life of George Hope . . ." pp. 76-7.
75. "Edinburgh Evening Courant," 5 July 1841.
76. Buccleuch MSS, Buccleuch to Charles Baillie, 27 April 1852 (copy).
77. See Warrender's polite refusal to support Sir George Clerk in Midlothian at the 1837 election; he felt it to be his duty to support men who would act with Melbourne and Palmerston. S.R.O. Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, GD 18/3378, Warrender to Clerk, 7 July 1837. At the election Warrender appeared on the hustings to support Robert Ferguson of Raith the liberal candidate in East Lothian, "Scotsman," 2 Aug. 1837. However by 1842 he may have been more in favour with the local Tories; in March 1842 he presided over two meetings in Haddington in support of the Corn Laws, "A Sketch of Life of George Hope . . ." p. 87.
78. Buccleuch MSS, Drummond to Ogilvie, 23 Feb. 1842.
79. S.R.O. Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, GD 18/3374, Clerk to Lord Melville, 14 May 1836 (copy); Buccleuch to Clerk, 1 Dec. 1836. Buccleuch MSS, Buccleuch to Drummond (letter on Midlothian election expenses) 20 May 1836.
80. Buccleuch MSS, Archibald Hope to Buccleuch, 16 May 1842.
81. "History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet" (Edinburgh, 1890) p. 102.
82. "Return of Registered Electors," P.P. 1844 (11) xxxviii 1847 (751, xlv).
83. Dod, "Parliamentary Companion" (1865) p. 173 states that Robert Ferguson of Raith, M.P., was his father. This information is omitted from other references including Ferguson-Davie's obituary, "The Times," 2 Dec. 1885. The reason for this general reticence is clear: Joseph Foster, "Members of Parliament Scotland 1357-1882" (2nd ed. private Aylesbury, 1882) p. 134 records that Robert Ferguson left no legal offspring.
84. Buccleuch MSS, Baillie to Buccleuch, 24 April 1852.
85. Buccleuch MSS, Ogilvie to Buccleuch, 29 April 1852; "I doubt much Mr C. Swinton's success."

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86. Buccleuch MSS, Ogilvie to Buccleuch, 9 April 1852, enclosing notes from Mr Scotland on the Haddington burghs; the figures in brackets show the actual votes in 1852.

Haddington	Whigs	122	(113)	Cons.	56	(32)	Whig majority	66	(81)
Dunbar	Whigs	—	(65)	Cons.	—	(26)	Whig majority	20	(39)
N. Berwick	Whigs	—	(31)	Cons.	—	(9)	Whig majority	45	(22)
Lauder	Whigs	—	(14)	Cons.	—	(34)	Cons. majority	12	(20)
Jedburgh	Whigs	80	(89)	Cons.	*113	(84)	Cons. majority	33	(-5)

*Includes 7 Doubtfuls.

Overall Whig majority 86 (127)

87. Buccleuch MSSS, endorsement on a letter from William Ogilvie dated 28 May 1852.
 88. "Edinburgh Evening Courant," 15 July 1852.
 89. See note 86; also the anticipated registration for 1851-52, P.P. 1852 (8) xlii.
 90. Buccleuch MSS, Ogilvie to Buccleuch, 26 May 1846.

THE MEIKLE THRESHING MILL AT BELTONDOD

A horse driven threshing mill recently discovered at Beltondod, Dunbar Common, might well be, it is suggested, one manufactured by Andrew Meikle himself. This submission is based, not only on its construction—it is in spite of its age in a remarkable state of preservation—but also on Meikle's patent specification A.D. 1788 No. 1645 (Appendix I) and some papers of Thomas Telford ("On Mills:" manuscript from Telford Papers in Institute of Civil Engineers, London, printed in Transactions of Newcomers Society: 1936-37: Vol. XVII). Appendix II — the latter would appear to settle the doubt sometimes expressed as to Meikles use of Rakers.

Beltondod is an uninhabited farm on Dunbar Common about 4 miles south of Halls in the parish of Spott and is in the ownership of Mrs Jeffrey of Halls. Alongside the steading is the remains of the horse turning gear (see illustration) on ground made up for the walkway. It is entirely in the open air and there is no sign of there ever having been a gin-house. It will be seen from the photograph that the bearing for the vertical shaft, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " diameter, and the shaft itself are still intact. The shaft has a collar as part of the forging, some 12" diameter at a distance of 11" from the top, to form the lower half of a 2" deep dog clutch against which the upper half mounted on the turning gear would transmit the motive power. Most of the latter as might be expected, being largely of wooden construction, has disappeared, but the metal portion on which it had been mounted was found in the steading and is a piece of cast iron of channel section $10\frac{1}{4}$ " wide by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " deep 3' long and $\frac{3}{4}$ " in section. In it are three $\frac{3}{4}$ " square holes through which the bolts would be passed for securing to it the wooden turning pole. The bearing supporting the shaft comprises two 20" x $4\frac{1}{2}$ " plates bolted together with 1" diameter square headed bolts at $8\frac{1}{2}$ " centres. These plates are each recessed to take half of the shaft which is 5" diameter at that point. The plates themselves form an integral casting with two 4" by 3" supporting members being of roughly a quarter circle extending from the bearing plate to the ground where they are in turn bolted to a base plate. The height from the ground to the top of the casting is some 2' 6". Mounted on the bottom of the shaft is the segmental crown wheel 4' in diameter, the power being transmitted from it by means, presumably, of

THE MEIKLE THRESHING MILL AT BELTONDOD

a pinion (now disappeared) mounted on the end of the main driving shaft which comprised an octagonal wooden shaft 8" in width — the driven end of which, inside the building, still be ing intact.

The mill itself, inside the steading, was found to be in a remarkably good state of preservation. No doubt due to its very isolated position, it has been free from vandals and is clearly shown in the illustrations. The wooden framework is approximately 6' by 6' by 4', the main driving shaft being octagonal 8" diameter and made of wood in a good state of preservation. On this shaft are mounted the main gear wheel 5' 8" diameter and an interesting sprocket driving a chain obviously hand made. This sprocket wheel of 13" diameter and $1\frac{3}{4}$ " width is of wood and in it are inserted wooden pegs 1" long tapered to $\frac{1}{4}$ " square at the top and $\frac{3}{4}$ " at their base and around the periphery of the boss hoop-iron can still be seen kept in place by the wooden pegs previously referred to at 3" centres, these driving the hand made chain. The chain (see sketch) is constructed of wire and sheet iron in a similar design to that known to day as *Leys chain*, the type commonly used on agricultural machinery, and drives the rakers. The cast iron gear wheel on the main shaft transmits the power to the threshing drum by means of a further cast iron gear wheel 10" diameter mounted on the drum shaft. The drum is 3' square and runs in a concave some 4' long. The two fluted cast iron feed rollers 3" in diameter remain and each have 14 teeth, or indentations.

This would appear to be a machine of the type described in *A General View of the Agriculture of East Lothian* (1805) where at page 75 the writer states "Sir Francis Kinloch; Baronet of Gilmerton saw a machine in an imperfect state and sent it to Mr. Meikle of Know Mill in his neighbourhood (a millwright by profession) who had for a considerable time employed his thoughts upon the same subject. After much consideration and several trials it appeared to Mr. Meikle that the purpose of separating the grain from the straw might be accomplished upon a principle different from any that had hitherto been attempted, namely, by skutches acting upon the sheaves by their velocity, and by beating out the grain, in place of pressing, or rubbing it out; accordingly a model was constructed at Know Mill, in which the grain was beat out by the drum, to which it was presented through two plain feeding rollers which were afterwards altered to fluted ones.

THE MEIKLE THRESHING MILL AT BELTONDOD

"The first machine on a large scale executed upon this principle was done by a son of Mr. Meikle for a Mr. Stein of Kilbagie in the year 1786 which when finished performed the work to the satisfaction of all parties. A patent was afterwards applied for and obtained in 1788.

"These machines are now used upon most of the principal farms in the county and are wrought in different ways, by steam, by wind, by water and by the strength of horses.

"The number of hands required for working one of these machines is from five to six. The grain is commonly carried into the barn in a cart, from which it is handed up to a person who again hands it to a man who feeds the machine They have been introduced upon a reduced scale, at a price as low as £40 It will not perhaps be improper to call the attention of the public to the modest merits of the man whose labours have been, in so remarkable degree, useful to society without any material advantages either to himself or his family.

"The present Mr. Andrew Meikle in full possession of his faculties is in his 86th year. He is the only surviving son of James Meikle who went to Holland in 1710 in consequence of an agreement with Henry Fletcher of Saltoun which resulted in the building of the barley mill at West Saltoun, the first in this country for the manufacture of pearl barley."

It is indeed remarkable that this method of threshing still persists and the most modern combine harvester is still constructed on these principles, devised by the Meikles of East Lothian. Andrew Meikle is buried at Prestonkirk and the following is the inscription on the headstone:—

"Beneath this Stone are deposited
The Mortal Remains of the late Andrew Meikle
Civil Engineer at Houston Mill
who died in the year 1811
Aged 92 years

Descended from a race of Ingenious Mechanics
To whom the Country for ages had been greatly indebted
He Steadily followed the Example of his Ancestors
and
By Ingenuity and bringing to Perfection

THE MEIKLE THRESHING MILL AT BELTONDOD

A MACHINE

For separating Corn from the Straw
(Constructed upon the Principles of Velocity
and furnished with fixed Beaters or Scutchers)

Rendered to the Agriculturists of Britain
And of Other Nations

A more Beneficial Service than any hitherto
Recorded in the Annals of Ancient or Modern Science."

J. NORMAN CARTWRIGHT.

APPENDIX — MEIKLE'S PATENT SPECIFICATION

A.D. 1788 No. 1645.

Machine for Separating Corn from Straw.

MEIKLE'S SPECIFICATION.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN, I, ANDREW MEIKLE, of Knowsmill, in the Parish of Whitekirk, in the County of East Lothian, North Britain, Engineer and Machinist.

WHEREAS I did by my Petition humbly represent unto His Majesty that I had invented " A MILL OR MACHINE FOR SEPARATING CORN OF ALL KINDS FROM THE STRAW, WHICH MACHINE IS CAPABLE OF BEING WORKED EITHER BY CATTLE, WIND, WATER, OR ANY OTHER POWER, WHEREBY THE CORN MAY BE SEPARATED IN A LESS TIME AND IN A MORE EFFECTUAL MANNER THAN BY THRESHING," and therefore praying His Majesty to grant to me, my exors, admors, and assigns, His Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, for the sale advantage of my Invention within England, the Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for the term of fourteen years pursuant to the Statute in that case made: And whereas by Letters Patent granted to me under the Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date the Ninth day of April, in the twenty-eighth year of His Majesty's reign,

THE MEIKLE THRESHING MILL AT BELTONDOD

His Majesty, in consequence of my humble request, did, for the reasons and motives set forth in the said Patent, give and grant unto me, my exors, admors, and assigns, full licence and authority, that I, the said Andrew Meikle, and my aforesaid, by myself or themselves, during the term of years therein expressed, should make and vend the said Invention within England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, in such manner as to us in our discretion should seem meet, and that I and my aforesaid should enjoy the whole advantages arising from the said Invention, to have, hold, and enjoy the full powers and privileges granted to me and my aforesaid during the term aforesaid, and according to the Statutes in such cases made and provided; but under several conditions and provisions therein expressed and especially provided that if I, the said Andrew Meikle, shall not particularly describe and ascertain the nature of the said Invention, and in what manner the same is to be performed, by an instrument in writing under my hand and seal, and cause the same to be inrolled in the High Court of Chancery within one calendar month next and immediately after the date of the said Letters Patent, that then the said Letters Patent, and all liberties and advantages whatsoever thereby granted, should utterly cease and become void.

NOW KNOW YE, that I, the said Andrew Meikle, in compliance with the said proviso, do hereby ascertain and describe the nature and manner of my said Invention, in manner following, that is to say:—

The several Drawings hereunder delineated, marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, are so many sections or representations in which are displayed the nature and use of the machinery in my method of separating corn from the straw, the particulars of which the machine and Invention consists being as follows:— A, A, A, are wheels for working the machine; B is the lying shaft upon which the machine is fixed; C is the machine upon which the scutchers are fixed; D is the breast moveable backwards and forwards upon a center to keep the corn close to the scutchers; E, a weight over a pulley to keep the breast close up to the scutchers, this may be also done by a weight upon the end of a laver; F, a weight over a pulley to keep one of the rollers that feeds in the corn close up to the scutchers; G, lavers to which weights are hung to press down the upper roller that feeds in the corn so as to press the straw close together for scutching; H, two fluted rollers for feeding in the corn, and pressed down by weights and levers so as to keep a firm hold of

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the corn as it is feeding; I, are wheels for driving rollers for feeding in the corn, and may be varied in a different position; K, are two small wheels for driving both the feeding rollers; L, ironwork for moving a harp; M, harp for separating the straw from the corn; N is a board for spreading the corn on where it is fed in by the two rollers to be scutched.

Fig. Est is an elevation of the whole machine calculated for being worked by cattle.

Fig. 2nd is a section exhibiting the right-hand side of the machine.

Fig. 3rd is a section exhibiting the left-hand of the same.

Fig. 4th, end view of the scutchers, breast, and rollers.

Fig. 5th is a side view of the scutchers.

Which several parts work and operate by any power such as that of cattle, wind, or water, and produce the effect of the separation of corn from straw in manner following, viz^t:—

When the mill is set a-going, the sheaf of corn is taken up and spread upon the board marked (N), when the two fluted rollers marked (H) take hold of it and feed it on gradually, so that the scutchers marked (C) coming round scutches the corn off from the straw, and the breast marked (D), moveable upon a center below, moves back and forward when the corn is put in thick or thin. When the corn comes from the scutchers, it falls into the harp marked (M), by which the corn is separated from the straw, and below the harp a pair of fawners may be placed so as to separate the corn from the chaff.

In witness whereof, I, the said Andrew Meikle, have hereunto put my hand and seal, the Twenty-ninth day of April, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c., and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

ANDREW (L.S.) MEIKLE.

Sealed and delivered, being first duly stamped, by the above-named Andrew Meikle, in the presence of

DAVID HENDERSON.

JOHN ROSS.

THE MEIKLE THRESHING MILL AT BELTONDOD

AND BE IT REMEMBERED, that in the First day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, the aforesaid Andrew Meikle came before our said Lord the King in His Chancery, and acknowledged the Specification aforesaid, and all and every thing therein contained and specified, in form above written. And also the Specification aforesaid was stampd according to the tenor of the Statutes made for that purpose.

Inrolled the Seventh day of May, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

APPENDIX II

ON MILLS

By THOMAS TELFORD

EDITED BY E. LANCASTER BURNE, ASSOC. M.INST., C.E.,
MEMBER OF COUNCIL

Introduction

This treatise by Thomas Telford, F.R.S. (1757-1834) was written in 1796-98, when he was in Shrewsbury at the outset of his career in civil engineering,¹ at the instance of Sir John Sinclair, President of the Board of Agriculture, obviously for publication in the series of enlightened monographs then being issued by that Department. The MS. is in the possession of the Institute of Civil Engineers, but it does not appear to have been received along with the large number of books and papers presented by Telford² to the Institution in 1820; it is an acquisition of later date.

The treatise is a comprehensive one since it deals with the historical development, descriptions and uses of hand, horse, water and wind mills for grinding different kinds of grain, besides mills for thrashing corn. The work

1. Gibb, Sir Alenxander, *The Story of Telford*, 1935.

2. On the occasion of the opening of the extension to the Institution's Library, June 2nd, 1937, the extension was gracefully dedicated by a tablet to the memory of Telford, and these books and documents are now housed there.

THE MEIKLE THRESHING MILL AT BELTONDOD

is largely a compilation containing as it does quotations and illustrations from published works, duly acknowledged; notably among sources cited are Smeaton's papers read before the Royal Society. There is also a dissertation on the horizontal windmill, a subject which has always received an amount of attention disproportionate to its importance. The treatise is illustrated with drawings by Telford himself, William Jones, his assistant and others.

Such parts of the treatise as are original and have remained unpublished are still of value as a record of contemporary millwrighting practice; the Council of the Society, realising this, expressed the wish that these parts might be published and the Institution has obligingly given its consent. The Council hereby records its thanks for this favour.

THRASHING MACHINES⁶

I have inserted two drawings⁷ of the improved thrashing machine, which Sir John Sinclair procured from Mr Meikle, and shall here give a fuller description than the reference on the Plates. Plate XXIII contains a horizontal section, showing how the machinery may be connected to a cog-wheel for a horse to be yoked to, also how it may be worked by means of a windmill. This plate also contains a plan of one of the windmill vanes.

Plate XXIII contains an elevation of the machinery shewing also the upright parts of the cog-wheel and windmill. In this Plate is also a cross section of the machinery.

In Plate XXIII, Fig. 2, the large spur wheel A which has 276 cogs is horizontal, and moves the pinion B which has 14 teeth. The pinion B moves the crown wheel C which has 84 teeth. The wheel C moves a second pinion D which has 16 teeth; and the pinion D moves the drum F. The drum is a hollow cylinder three feet and a half diameter and placed horizontally; on the outside of which the scutchers are fixed by strong screw bolts. The scutchers consist of four pieces of wood, faced on one side with a thin plate of iron, placed at an equal distance from each other, and at right angles with the axis of the drum.

6. Begins p. 160 in MS.

7. These drawings are signed "D. Meikle," presumably one of the six sons of Andrew Meikle.

THE MEIKLE THRESHING MILL AT BELTONDOD

The sheaves are spread upon an inclined board T (Fig. 2), from which they are introduced between two fluted rollers G G made of cast iron about three inches and a half in diameter, and making about 35 revolutions in a minute. As these rollers are only $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch distant from the scutchers or leaves of the drum F, they serve to hold the straw fast while the scutchers a b c d, moving with prodigious velocity, separate the grain completely from the straw, and at the same time throw out both the grain and the straw upon the concave rick I, lying horizontally with slender parallel ribs, so that the corn passes through them into the hopper V placed below. From the hopper it passes through a harp or riddle K into a pair of fanners L from which in the most improved machines it comes clean and fit for the market. The straw after being thrown by the scutchers a b c d into the rack is removed by the rakes I I.

The rake consists of four thin pieces of wood or leaves; on the end of each of these leaves is ranged a row of teeth e f g h i k l m five inches long. The rakes move in a circular manner in the concave racks while the teeth catch hold of the straw and throw it out. At G there is a covering (of) wood placed at a small distance from the drum, for the purpose of keeping the sheaves close to the scutchers.

The advantages of this machine are many. As the drum makes 300 revolutions in a minute, the four scutchers make together 1200 strokes in the same space of time. For such a power and velocity it is evident that much work must be performed. When the horses go at the rate of two and one-third miles per hour, from three to six bolls will be thrashed; but as the quantity thrashed will be less when the straw is long than when it is short, we shall take the average at four bolls. One gentleman whose veracity and accuracy may be relied on, assures us that his mill thrashes 63 bolls in a day; by which we suppose he meant 10 hours. To prove the superior advantage of this machine, to the common method of thrashing with flails, a gentleman ordered two equal quantities of oats to be thrashed by the mill and by the flails. When the corn was cleaned and measured, he obtained (? $\frac{1}{10}$ th) more from the sheaves thrashed by the mill than from those thrashed by the flails. Another gentleman who studied the machine with much attention, and calculated its advantages with care, says that independently of having the corn much cleaner

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separated from the straw than is usually done by the flails, there is a saving of from 30 to 40 per cent in the expense of thrashing.

The number of persons requisite for attending the mill when working is six; one person drives the horses; a second hands the sheaves to a third who unties them, while a fourth spreads them on the inclined boards and presses them gently between the rollers; a fifth person is necessary to riddle the corn as it falls from the fanners, and a sixth to remove the straw.

This machine can be moved equally well by water, wind, or horses. Mr Meikle has had such improvements on the windmill as to render it much more manageable and convenient than formerly. As to the comparatively expense of these different machines, the erection of the horse machine is the least, but the expense of employing horses must be taken into consideration. One of its kind may be erected for about £70, a water-mill will cost somewhat more on account of the water-wheel; a windmill will cost from £200 to £300.

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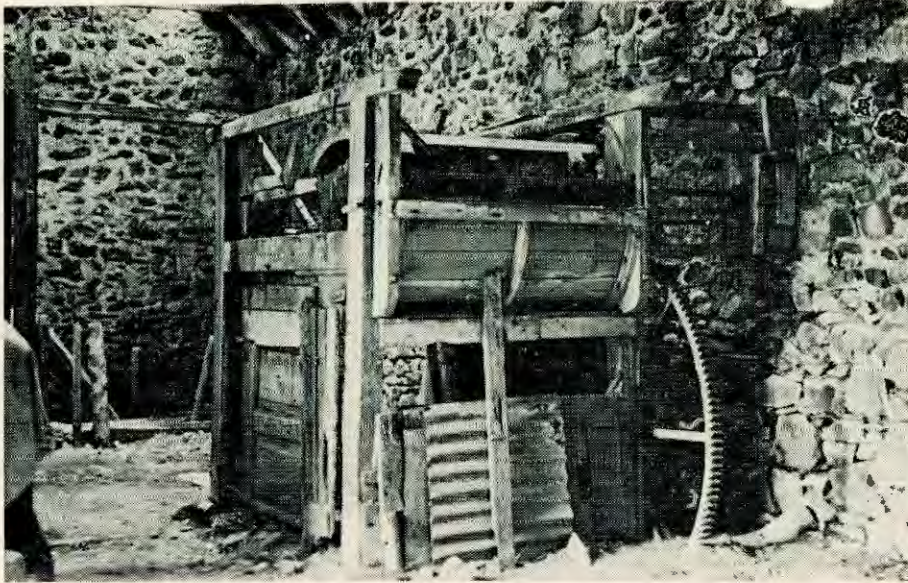
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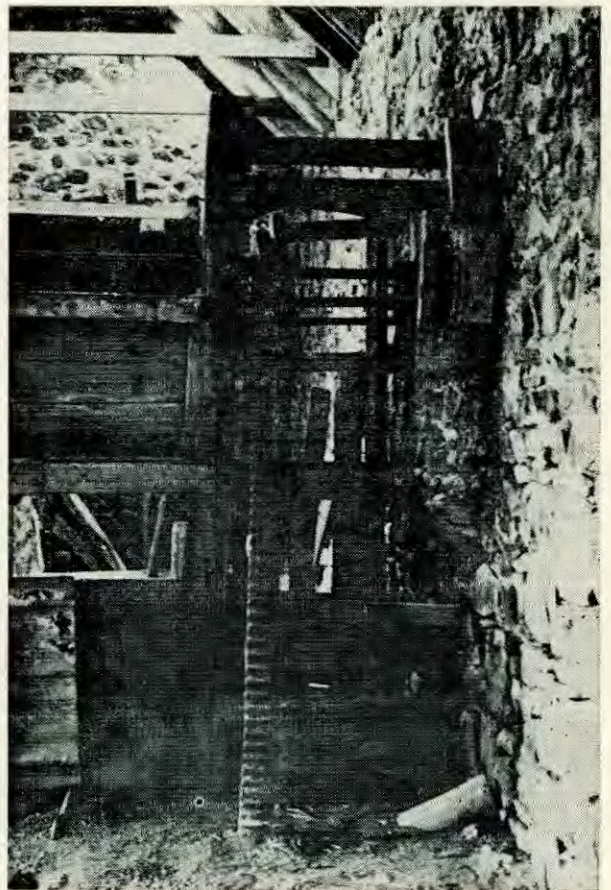
MILL — FEED END



MILL — REAR showing remnant of Raker



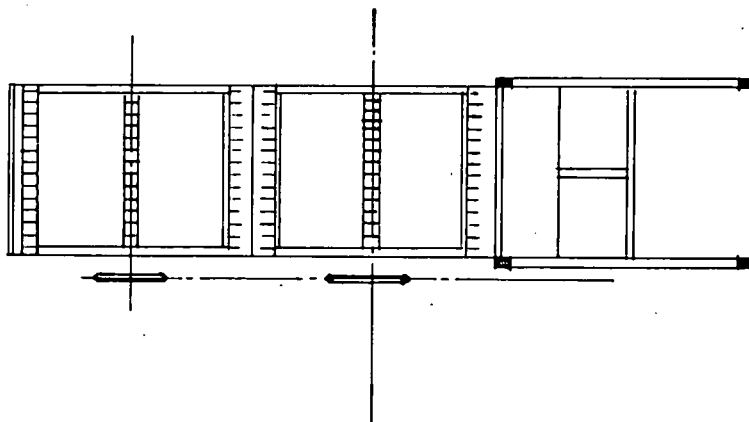
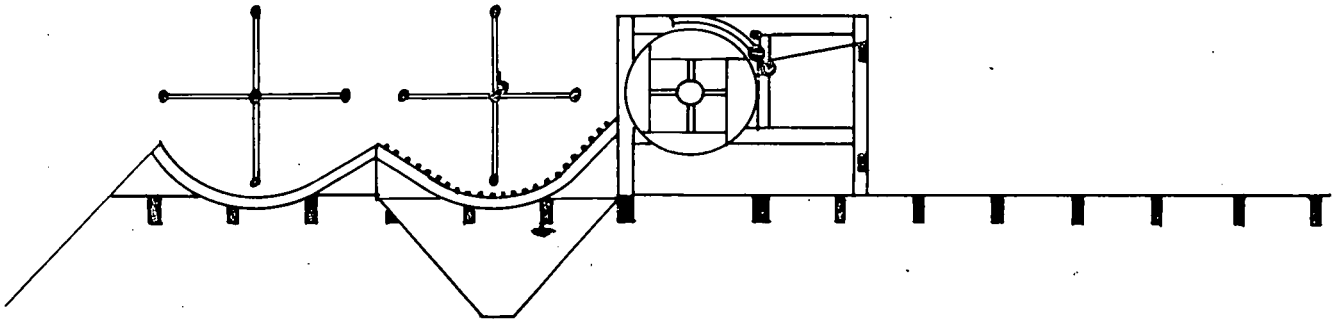
MILL — wooden shaft on right



MILL — C.I. Gearwheel in centre

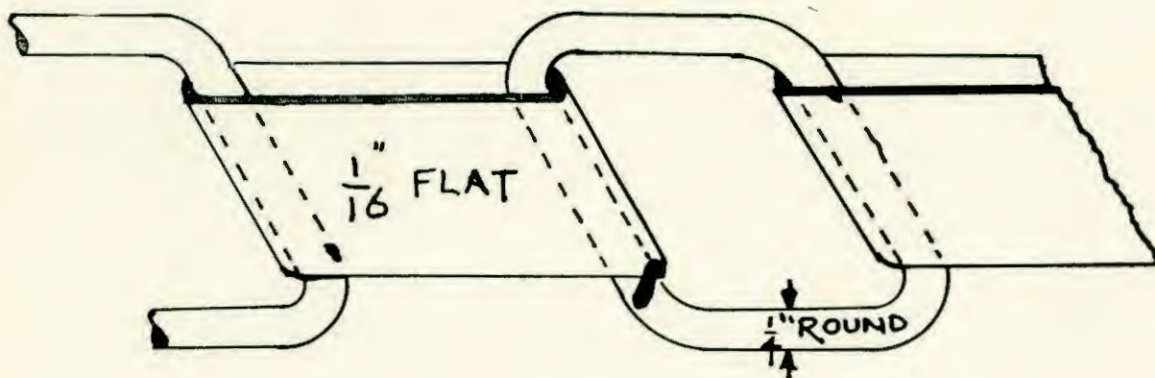
APPENDIX 2

RAKERS



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

PART OF D. MEIKLE DRAWING
APPENDIX II

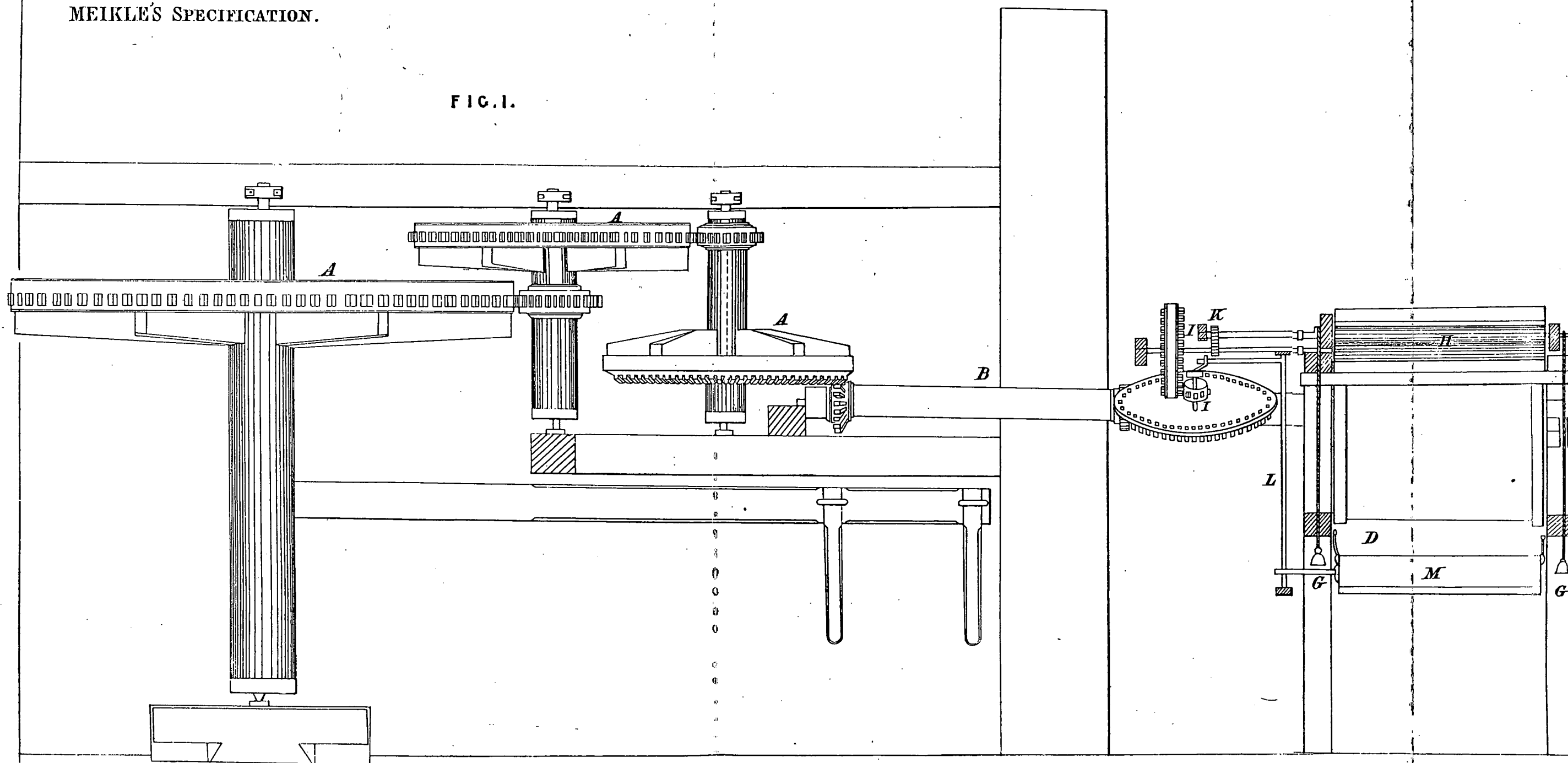


DETAIL OF CHAIN-W.I.
-FULL SIZE



HORSE-TURNING GEAR OR GIN

FIG. 1.



The enrolled drawing is partly colored.

FIG. 5.

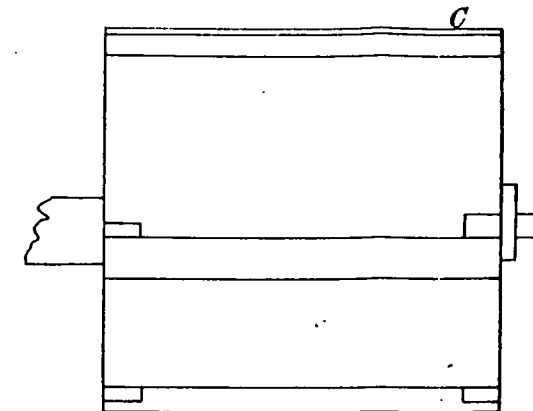


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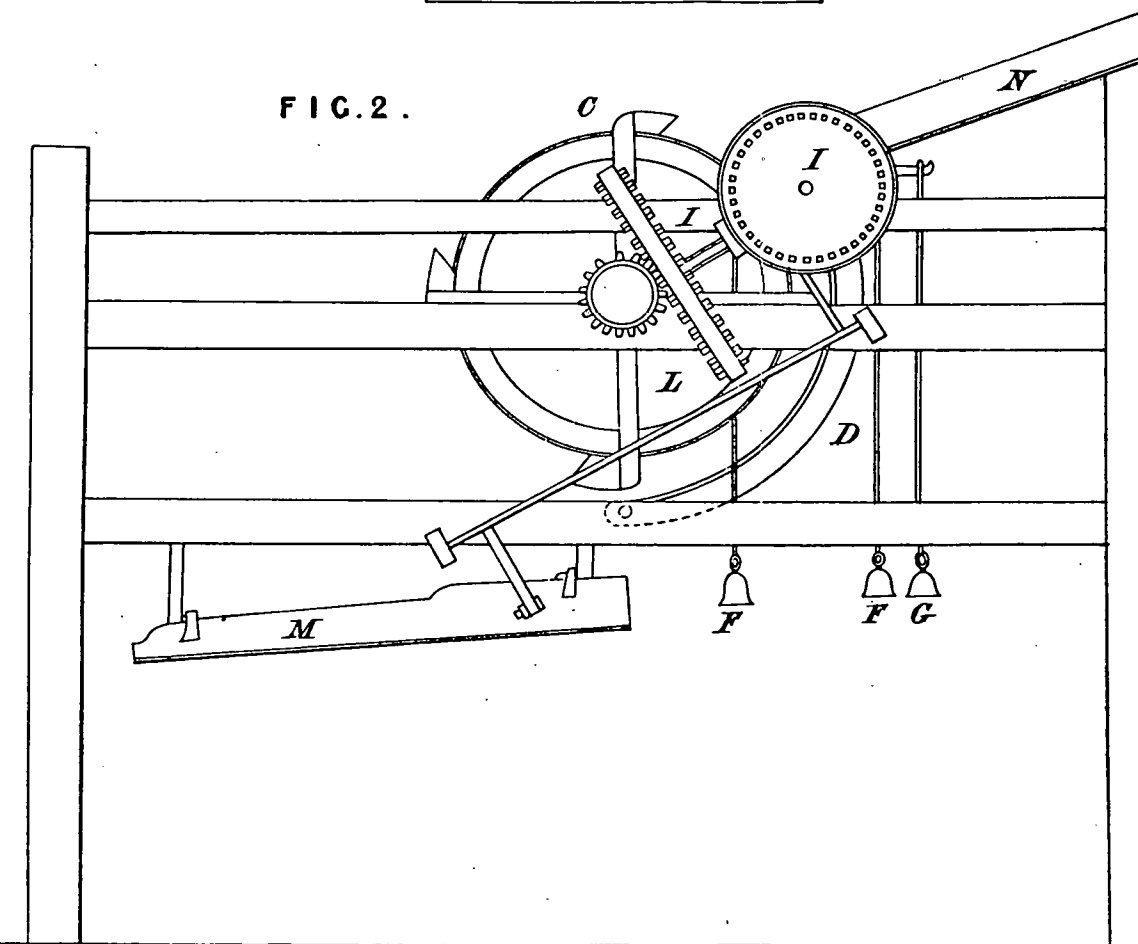


FIG. 4.

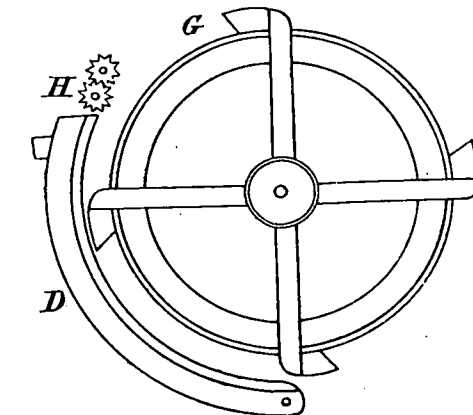
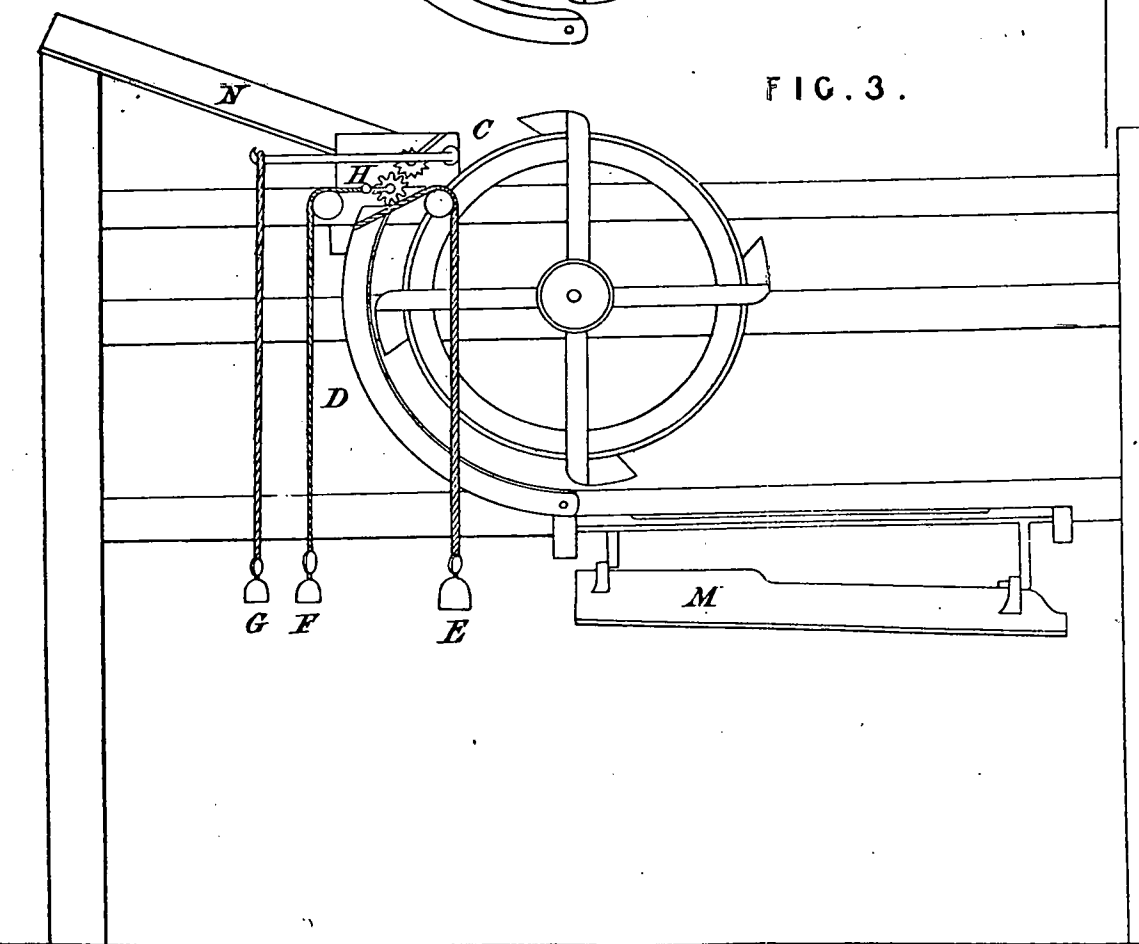


FIG. 3.



Drawn on Stone by Malby & Sons