THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCES OF
THE EDINBURGH MERCHANT ELITE, 1600-1638

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CHAPTER SEVEN

RURAL LANDHOLDING

It has been argued that early modern Scotland was a society concerned with the idea of land holding as one of the most important symbols of social status and power. It would have been unusual indeed for the entrepreneurial elements in that society to have ignored this outlet for their economic and social advancement. Wealthy urban merchants as a group had shown interest in acquiring rural property throughout Scotland from at least the fourteenth century. Their motives combined not only the undoubted social benefits which ownership of such property bestowed but also interest in the substantial monetary profits to be gained from rural holdings. These ideas certainly appealed to Edinburgh's merchant princes between 1600 and 1638. Much attention has been focused upon the extensive rural holdings of the wealthiest of the Edinburgh merchants, such as Dick of Braid, Inglis of Cramond, Cant of Lauriston and Little of Liberton; discussion of mercantile land investment has ignored the landholdings of the other merchants in the burgh establishment. From the surviving evidence it would appear that almost forty-three percent of the Edinburgh elite had some form of investment


2. Ewan, The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland, 170-182, argues that rural landholding was prevalent on the part of the merchants of larger burghs including Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Elgin, Inverness and Ayr.
in rural property during these years. The properties involved also seem to have been normally held in wadset rather than as outright and direct purchases of estates. The elite's interests may have consisted of nothing more than receiving an annual monetary payment out of a landed estate in order to satisfy a debt rather than the actual, physical possession of the property.

It may be surmised that in the early years of the seventeenth century investment in rural property was becoming another important facet of the elite's portfolio of economic interests. Certainly this again echoed the trends of both Continental and English urban elites. The Edinburgh elite rarely totally abandoned their urban environment: their main domicile continued to be within the burgh; they still held burgh office and paid burgh taxes; and still relied on merchandising as their main source of income. Investment in rural property was increasingly regarded as a sound practice but few attempts were made to consolidate such holdings into large estates. It generally took a further generation to do so. The rural interests of Edinburgh's elite extended throughout Scotland, although they tended to be concentrated in lands south of the Forth within easy reach of the capital. It is significant that the elite invested in rural areas such as Lothian, Berwickshire or Ayrshire where most of the better agricultural farmland was to be found and which were amongst the first to benefit from the improved agricultural methods of the seventeenth century. It is likely that the urge felt
by the elite to maximize profits from these properties may have had a profound influence upon local agricultural improvements.

The acquisition of rural property by members of urban elites had long been a common enough practice. Few of the hinterlands of the larger burghs of Scotland were not dominated by their merchant entrepreneurs. It was, however, the dispositions of both church and crown lands in the sixteenth century which greatly prompted substantial mercantile investment in rural property for the first time. It has been argued that the feuing of the kirklands... was a golden opportunity to acquire land for those with capital behind them, such as burgesses [and] merchants... The disposition of the crown lands in Fife at this time and their erection into free baronies certainly prompted an interest in the area on the part of the wealthiest merchants. An examination of all the land transactions in the Register of the Great Seal between 1593 and 1660 has revealed that sixty percent involved merchants. Of this total some fifty percent, or 296 transactions, directly involved Edinburgh merchants; Aberdeen merchants were concerned with eleven percent of all transactions, Perth merchants with four percent and Dundee merchants with three percent. The Aberdeen figure must be qualified somewhat by the findings that relatively few prominent Aberdeen merchants were active


in the land market in the area—only eight of the twenty leading merchants of the 1620s appeared in the index of local sasines. However, the interest in land transactions in the early years of the century does contrast markedly with the findings provided from the *Great Seal* for 1660–68, which revealed that merchants accounted for less than six percent of all land transactions, and with the evidence of the valuation rolls for five lowland counties of the early eighteenth century which clearly demonstrated that a limited impact was caused on rural landholding patterns by mercantile investment prior to 1740. It would appear that the main thrust of investment in rural property on the part of Scotland's merchandising community during the early modern period took place in the early years of the seventeenth century and was spearheaded by the capital's merchants.

The tendency on the part of Scottish merchants to invest in rural property reflected the trends and patterns of investment experienced by both Continental and English merchants of the same period. Almost sixty percent of those men considered to be among the wealthiest merchants of Leiden held property without the town, ranging in size from mere garden plots to meadows and grazing land leased out to tenants. The dominant merchants of Lille acquired extensive rural landholdings as did those of

5. J. di Folco, 'The Hopes of Craighall and land investment in the seventeenth century' in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment*, 3; McNiven, *Merchant and Trader*, 283. The Aberdeen figures are only for those actively trading overseas while di Folco's figures include all of those termed as merchant or craftsman.


The merchants of seventeenth-century Nördlingen must have invested considerably in rural property at this period for a civic tax of 1651 was assessed for the first time on a basis of both urban and agricultural properties. Clearly these investment trends were also an integral part of English urban society, for the merchants of late sixteenth-century Exeter were involved in land purchases outwith the town and merchants in seventeenth-century Ipswich held rural properties at the time of their death although few of these properties were more than fifteen miles from their urban base. Several studies have indicated that both a substantial interest and an increasing level of investment in rural holdings was shown on the part of the merchants of Tudor and Stuart Gloucester and York, indicating the belief held by these men in the economic soundness of rural acquisition. However, in all of these cases, excepting Venice, Amsterdam and Lille, it must be remembered that not only were the towns involved substantially smaller and less affluent than Edinburgh but also that the scale of rural landholdings was limited to areas of close proximity to the merchant's home town. Certainly the merchants involved never approached the level of investment shown by Edinburgh's mercantile princes.

During the first forty years of the seventeenth century

8. Duplessis and Howell, 'Reconsidering the early modern urban economy', 74; Burke, Venice and Amsterdam, 52-4.


Edinburgh's wealthiest merchants acquired substantial interests in rural properties throughout Scotland. Evidence survives of the direct involvement of 152, over forty-two percent, of those considered as elite merchants in transactions in land. This was in addition to whatever property they possessed in the burgh, its suburbs and Leith. The evidence of this involvement in rural property on the part of these 152 entrepreneurs survives in a number of forms. The Register of the Great Seal, involving the confirmation by the crown of land grants and transfers, provides perhaps one of the better views of the elite's land transactions. The very importance of land as a symbol of social status would have guaranteed that the legal documentation and registration necessary to prove ownership would have been completed to the satisfaction of all the parties involved. Certainly the registers of sasines provide ample and indeed unique evidence of land transfers. It must be remembered that it was the instrument of sasine which was necessary, rather than a charter between the parties involved, in order to legally convey any particular piece of property. Although various attempts were made to establish a national register of sasines during the sixteenth century it was not until 1617 that the registration was placed under the supervision of the Clerk Register and an unbroken series of registrations of land transactions throughout Scotland exists. There are, however, stray survivals of sasines registered in the early years of the seventeenth century.


13. RS 1/1-15, 17-47 which cover 19 Aug. 1617 to 4 Apr. 1639.
but these are in no way complete. 14 A series of registers of local Edinburgh assizes also exists from 1617 although these are in fact nothing more than an amplification of land transfers mentioned in the Burgh Register of Deeds. 15 These sources do provide a very good and unparalleled basis for the study of land transfers involving the burgh elite. Surviving private papers, the charters, land grants, estate papers and business documents dealing with land transactions between Edinburgh merchants and private persons as well as testamentary evidence also indicate or confirm the scale of the rural holdings of the elite. The private papers which survive deal mainly with particular families and their relations with the burgh's merchants and may as such provide a somewhat distorted image of the importance of certain rural areas with which the land grants dealt as against the elite's interests as a whole. However, when all the various sources are combined it is possible to see that rural landholding was becoming of ever-increasing importance to the capital's wealthiest merchants.

It would appear to have been somewhat unusual, although not unknown, for the merchant elite of sixteenth-century Edinburgh to have been involved in the possession of rural property to any significant extent. A recent study of 205 Edinburgh merchants' testaments between 1570 and 1603 revealed only twenty showing a clear indication of landed interests,

14. RS 24/2-5, 9-12.
15. RS 25/1-27 which cover Aug. 1617 to Feb. 1639.
whether as mentions of stock, crops or rents.\textsuperscript{16} Except for interests shown in certain properties in Lanarkshire, Fife and Morayshire all land involved was within easy distance of the capital - in suburban areas such as Broughton and Restalrig or merely as far afield as Currie, Tranent and North Berwick. It is argued that income from rural property was not regarded at this time as essential to Edinburgh's wealthiest overseas trading merchants. Any attempt made at serious farming would have been both far too time-consuming and the profits so minimal as to have made the effort not worth while.\textsuperscript{17} Even the wealthiest merchant of the second half of the sixteenth century, William Birny, received an income of only £346 per annum from his rural tenants in Fife, as well as half of the fermes of Tranent, Seton and Upcragy in payment of a debt owed to him by Lord Seton.\textsuperscript{18} Admittedly, the lack of evidence provided from testaments of rural landholding is not a good indicator that investment was not taking place in this area due to the very nature of the documents. Any landed interests may simply not have been inscribed. However, the substantial interest in rural possessions evinced by the mercantile elite from about 1600 must be regarded as a departure from the usual investment practices of this group. It has been shown that it was only from 1594 that substantial areas of rural Fife were acquired for the first time by Edinburgh merchants.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{16} Sandersont, 'Edinburgh merchants in society', 185-7.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, 186.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 187; Edin. Tests., 9 Mar. 1568/9, 24 Nov. 1582.
\textsuperscript{19} di Folco, Aspects of Seventeenth-Century Social Life, 17.
It may also be argued that this was true for the rest of Scotland. Among the factors which may have prompted this increase in rural holdings on the part of the elite was the fact that, as a group, it was at this time that they were for the first time becoming involved in large scale money-lending operations and were thus acquiring rents, incomes and use of land as collateral.  

There were three principal means by which it was possible for any merchant to acquire an interest in rural property: by outright purchase of the estate; by direct gift of land from the crown, nobility or even burgh councils; or as a result of an appraisal of the land caused by debts or unfulfilled contracts. It is the last named method which dominated the Edinburgh merchant elite's transactions. While it was not unknown for a merchant either to purchase or to be gifted rural property such transactions, due both to their relative rarity and legal complexity can be ignored as a major method of land acquisition. Any conveyance described as an outright purchase of land may be complicated by the statement that the land involved was redeemable, or that the purchase was merely a completion of an unrecorded business contract. This could imply that it was nothing more than in return for borrowed money. What may for all intents and purposes appear to be an outright purchase of an estate on the part of a wealthy merchant may, therefore, be nothing more than an appraising of the land for outstanding, unpaid debts. Certainly, of all the land transactions recorded in the Great Seal between 1593 and 1660 some thirty percent were

20. For a discussion of the elite's money-lending activities, see chapter five.
explicitly stated to be a result of appraisals on estates for debts. Further to this, merchants as a group account for sixty-eight percent of such actions. In the event of this action the merchant suing for repayment of the debt owed would enjoy full rights over the property in question, and would collect its rents and profits until such time as the property was redeemed by the debtor repaying the principal sum owed. This was usually after a stated period of time, seven or nineteen years being the most usual times mentioned. While it is not possible to determine the exact reasons behind all of the transfers of properties into the hands of members of the merchant elite of Edinburgh it is probably of some significance that of those involved in the acquisition of rural properties some sixty-nine percent were at the same time actively involved as money-lenders, collecting profits in cash in return for lent money. It would have been only a short step for them to gain wadset of the property. It may also be deduced that the elite were more interested in the monetary profits which could be made from rural properties rather than in establishing economically productive, large-scale farms and estates. This idea is strengthened by the very geographical spread of their interests. The location of the properties throughout Scotland seems to reflect an incidental economic, trading or familial relationship between those involved rather than a coherent planned pattern of investments on the part of the merchants. Most of the properties were in areas of Scotland with which the burgh elite either traditionally

traded or were drawn from: Lothian and the Borders; along the trading routes to the west coast, Dumfriesshire and Ayrshire; as well as Fife and the eastern seaboard of Scotland.

The general areas of the country in which the elite held property interests reflect as might be expected the traditional areas of involvement. From the rural lands, estates and properties mentioned as having been held by Edinburgh's wealthiest merchants at any time between 1600 and 1638 which it has been possible to identity it would appear that the elite were investing in areas in which much of the better farmland throughout Scotland was found. While a totally accurate statistical survey of properties is not possible, due to many causes including the change of the name of the property or its disappearance due to amalgamation into other farms, it is, however, possible to indicate six areas of the country in which the burgh elite were most likely to invest. 22 About thirty-six percent of the rural property held by the elite was in the immediate vicinity of the burgh, in Lothian, around Haddington and Dunbar or in the north of Berwickshire.

Fourteen percent of the properties were situated to the north of the Tay: in Perthshire, Angus, Aberdeenshire and Caithness. About a further fourteen percent of rural investment took place in properties situated in the south-west, in Ayrshire, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright and Dumfriesshire. Thirteen percent of the properties were located in central Scotland, around Glasgow.

22. It must be noted that this is only a rough indication of areas of interest. If several merchants invested in properties in the same area their investment has been noted once for the general area rather than separately. See Map 2.
Distribution of Rural Property Interests of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite 1600-1638

N.B. ORKNEY IS ALSO INCLUDED.
and Dumbarton, in Lanarkshire and in the Stirling and Linlithgow area. A further thirteen percent were in Fife, while only about ten percent of the rural properties involved were located in the Borders, mostly around Roxburgh, Berwick, Kelso and Jedburgh. In all, while the elite were most likely to invest in areas close to the capital, their financial interests were spread throughout Scotland, although no investment in the western Highlands and islands has been discovered. The areas involved probably in turn reflect the tendency of landowners in these areas to resort to the capital's entrepreneurs for additional income and their use of their properties as collateral.

Only about ten percent of the elite's rural property investment involved property in the Borders, and in most cases was a result of money lent to the powerful Border families such as the Homes, Kers and Maitlands. The earliest mention found of elite interest in the area was the purchase of a wadset by James Ainslie in June 1607 when he lent James Maitland of Lethington 12,000 merks in return for a two-year wadset of the lands of Darnick and Bridgend near Melrose. It is probable that the contract was successfully redeemed in 1609 as there is no further mention of any interest in these lands on the part of Ainslie. Ainslie's interest in this area may, indeed, have been as a result of family connections in the Borders, for upon his death in 1623 he left several legacies to people in Melrose and Jedburgh — including 100 merks to poor

householders in Jedburgh. Similarly, Andrew Purves's involvement in the lands of Earlston in Berwickshire in 1623 may have been due to a loan to his extended family for the lands were purchased from John Purves of Purveshaugh, and Andrew showed no other interest in this area. Mr. John Cant, however, was involved in the area due to his connections with the Ker family. In January 1616 Cant purchased an interest in the lands of 'Mylnrigg' and Morebattle in Roxburghshire worth £5,000 from Andrew Ker of 'Mylnrigg' although his involvement lasted only for two months by which time he sold this contract to Mr. William Ker, son of Sir John Ker of Jedburgh. Cant was also a member of a consortium of five merchants who lent £20,000 to Sir John Ker in June 1619 for which they were equally granted Ker's barony of Maxton and Littledean in Roxburghshire, as well as ten percent annual interest on the principal sum. John Adinston appraised the lands of Nisbet and Ancrum near Jedburgh as well as lands near Roxburgh and in Lauderdale in 1627 for a debt of 12,425 merks owed to him by another member of the Ker family — Robert, second earl of Lothian. The Homes also turned to Edinburgh merchants for capital, using their land as collateral. In 1629 Mr. Joseph Johnston purchased for 44,700 merks the wadset of the lands of Wedderburn in Duns, Berwickshire from Sir David

25. RMS, viii, 526; RS 1/14, 19 Sept. 1623. His interest continued until at least as late as 1629 when he purchased further lands of Earlston (RS 1/27, 18 Sept. 1629).
27. RS 1/6, 24 July 1620. Ker repaid the debt within a year. Cant was also involved with Ker's property in Dumfriesshire. See RMS, viii, 145.
28. RMS, viii, 1468. These lands were returned to the Kers in 1631. (ibid., viii, 1722).
Home of Wedderburn, which he held for at least two years. 29 His connection with the Homes continued beyond this; he also witnessed a charter in 1636 of Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth concerning other lands in Berwickshire. 30 James Rocheid was also involved with land in Duns belonging to the Homes. In 1634 he was described as a partner in those lands with James, second earl of Home and William Home of Ayton. 31 James Trotter was involved in financial transactions in the Borders with the Kers, Homes and Maitlands. In 1627 Trotter was granted the barony of Duns, under contract of reversion upon the repayment of 50,000 merks, by John Maitland, first earl of Lauderdale. 32 In 1630 James Home of Castlelaw granted Trotter an annual payment of £100 out of the lands of Darnchester in Berwickshire in return for a loan of £1,000. 33 In 1632 Trotter purchased an annual rent of 1,000 merks out of Sir John Home of Blackadder's lands in Wedderburn from Mr. Joseph Johnston. 34 Trotter was also involved with the Home lands in Duns from at least 1624, and in 1638 was granted half of the barony by James Rocheid. 35 His financial involvement with the Kers included his claim in 1634 for possession of five husbandlands of Robert and John Ker of Farmington's land of

29. RMS, viii, 1539; ix, 481.
30. Ibid., ix, 1613.
31. Ibid., ix, 755.
32. RS 1/21, 18 July 1627; RS 1/22, 29 Nov. 1627.
33. RS 1/28, 26 June 1630.
34. RS 1/33, 21 May 1632. There is no surviving record of Johnston's purchase of this property.
35. RS 1/41, 9 Oct. 1634; RS 1/47, 8 Sept. 1638.
Wideopen in Roxburghshire worth 3,000 marks. He was also granted the wesest of the lands of William Ker, third earl of Lothian, in Longnewton and Nisbat in Roxburghshire for a loan of 32,000 marks in 1638. Only a small minority of the Edinburgh elite seem to have had an interest in land in the Borders and the bulk of their dealings were with a handful of the most influential local landed families.

Investment in the central region of Scotland - the areas around Linlithgow, Stirling, Lanark, Glasgow and Dumbarton - also seems to have stemmed from borrowing of money by local prominent families such as the Erskines and the Hamiltons. In February 1603 James Cochrane was granted the fivemerk lands of Ruchsoles in the barony of Monkland, Lanarkshire by Mr. Thomas Hamilton of Monkland, presumably in return for borrowed money although this is not explicitly stated. At the same time Hamilton also resigned various lands in Lanarkshire to James Forsyth although again no contractual reasons are stated. Cochrane's interest in Ruchsoles continued and he was granted further land there in 1622. In 1608 John Hamilton, a member of the burgh elite, purchased 41s 8d land of old extent of Glandorch in Lanarkshire which had been owned by James Hamilton of Evandale and Crawfordjohn. This may have been as a result

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36. SRO, GD 6/815.
37. RS 1/47, 10 Aug. 1638.
38. RMS, vi, 1415; RS 1/10, 26 June 1610.
39. RMS, vi, 2172.
of family obligations. In December 1620 four Edinburgh merchants, including John Sinclair and Andrew Purves, were granted various lands in Stirlingshire by James Hamilton, son of James Hamilton of 'Wikitjohn', along with a charter of precept of sasine granted by John, marquis of Hamilton.

On 30 June 1627 James Inglis renounced an annual payment of 300 merks from the lands of 'Cauldcowis' in Linlithgowshire which had been granted in return for 3,000 merks lent by Inglis' late father to Sir John Hamilton of Grange which was then repaid. The following day, however, this transaction was re-negotiated and Inglis was re-granted this wadset by Hamilton at the same terms.

In 1636, another Hamilton turned to a member of the burgh elite for capital. William Rig was granted various lands by Robert Hamilton of 'Strawethis' which were incorporated into the barony of Manuel in Linlithgowshire.

Another family which was using their land in central Scotland as collateral during the early years of the seventeenth-century was the Erskines. George Todrig was involved with branches of that family. He had held various lands in the barony of Carnwath in east Lanarkshire which he had resigned in favour of John Erskine of Balgony sometime before February 1610. Five years later Todrig also sued the earl of Mar for an unpaid debt.

40. Certainly John Hamilton had financial dealings with other members of the Hamilton family. In 1630 he was owed substantial sums by Archibald Hamilton, commissar of Lanark, James Hamilton of Priestfield and Thomas Hamilton, son of Sir Alexander Hamilton. See Edin. Tests., Katherine Brown, 4 Sept. 1632. He was also connected with Sir John Hamilton of Preston (RMS, vii, 507, 537).

41. RS 1/7, 8 Feb. 1621.
42. RS 25/9, 30 June, 2 July 1624.
43. RMS, vii, 620.
44. Ibid., vii, 242.
45. Ibid., vii, 1612.
In December 1622 Sir James Erskine of Tullibody borrowed a total of 8,410 merks, and entered into an obligation for payment of annual interest of ten percent on this sum, from William Dick. The money was to be repaid by May 1623. Erskine granted Dick the 841 merks annual interest out of his lands of Tullibody in Clackmannan. Dick retained his interest in these lands until December 1626 when the principal as well as all outstanding interest charges were finally repaid. 46

John Trotter was also involved in financial transactions concerning rural property belonging to the earl of Mar. In December 1625 and April 1626 Trotter lent 20,000 marks in gold and silver to the earl and was in return infeft in an annual payment of 2,000 marks out of Mar's lands of Cambuskenneth and Craig in the lordship of Cardross in Clackmannan. 47 In 1634, having collected eight years interest payments, Trotter sold the annual rent from Cambuskenneth to Mr. John Cant for '... certain great sums of money'. 48 In 1638 Cant sued Mar for non-payment of the interest from 1635 to 1638. An amicable settlement to this dispute must have been reached for in April 1639 both Trotter and Cant renounced their interests in these lands. 49 In 1617 Mar had granted James Rae the lands of 'Cultinshaws' and 'Touchgarvie' in Stirlingshire for an unnamed sum. 50 In 1635 Mar again granted Rae these lands in return for 40,000 merks. 51 Rae was certainly collecting money from the

46. RS 1/20, 7 Dec. 1626.
47. RS 1/19, 19 June 1626; SRO, GD 124/17/6/1; NLS, Charters, 4061.
48. NLS, Charters, 5670.
49. NLS, Charters, 4093, 5673.
50. SRO, GD 124/1/729.
crops of these lands at the time of his death in 1641.52

The Hamiltons and Erskines were not the only lairdly families of this area involved in transferring land to Edinburgh merchants in return for money. In completion of a contract Sir William Lawson of Boghall granted Robert Smith in 1610 life interest in the Maine of Boghall outside of Bathgate.53 James Inglis, in addition to his connections with the Hamiltons, had also been infeft in a payment of 500 merks annually out of Sir Walter Dundas' lands of Dundas in Linlithgowshire in return for a loan of 5,000 merks. He held this land from 1599 to 1603.54 William Dick was granted land in Clackmannan worth 880 merks annually by James, Lord Colville in 1618 which he held until repayment of the principal sum was made in 1631.55 Robert, first earl of Nithsdale settled debts owed to George Heriot by selling him an annual payment of £2,400 out of land in the barony of Mearns and Nether Pollock in Renfrewshire in 1623.56 In 1633 George Buchanan of that Ilk was sued for a debt of over £2,000 by John Adinston who was granted the land of 'Bandalloch' and Buchanan on Loch Lomond as well as the rights of fishing in the loch.57 James Nasmith also lent Buchanan money in 1634, and was granted in return an interest in the same properties.58 Nasmith was also owed over £8,000 by the

53. RMS, viii, 384.
54. NLS, Charters, B, 365. Rae also held thirty-four acres of land in Winchburgh near Linlithgow in 1613 (CS7/287, 8 Dec. 1613).
55. RS 1/1, 12 Mar. 1618; RS 1/30, 18 Feb. 1631. Lord Colville used Edinburgh merchants as a regular source of money. He was put to the horn in 1617 by James Leslie for non-payment of a debt of 2,120 merks (RPC, xi, 274).
56. RMS, viii, 770.
57. Ibid., viii, 2259. Adinston resigned these lands in 1647, ibid., ix, 1864. In 1850 the lands of Buchanan stretched to over 103,000 acres. See F. Groome, Ordinance Gazetteer of Scotland, 1 (1885), 197
58. RMS, ix, 274.
earl of Linlithgow in 1635 and was duly infeft in property near Linlithgow and Falkirk.59 Between 1622 and 1629 George Baillie was involved in lending money to the Symington family in return for an interest in their properties in Lanarkshire.60 The surviving evidence would then appear to support the idea that investment in property made by Edinburgh's elite in central Scotland was the result of their involvement in lending money to rural landed families. Usually these families were of the status of greater lairds, as evidenced by the regular appearances of the Hamiltons and Erskines in the records, but there were also occasional instances of small property holders putting their land in wadset for a loan of money.

The elite's interest in the rural properties of Fife confirms a growing tendency on the part of local lairds to turn to the capital's wealthiest merchants for additional capital. These influential families included the Wardlaws and Bruces as well as the earl of Morton. The Edinburgh elite were not slow to realize that investment in the rich farmlands of Fife was an economically sound proposition. As previously indicated Edinburgh merchants had begun to invest in a major way in rural Fife from about 1594.61 In September of that year William Turnbull in completion of a contract purchased as well as those of the lands of Wormiston, / Pittencrief near Cupar and certain tenements in that burgh from James Spence of Wormiston.62 Turnbull was also granted, probably for debt, land in the burgh of Crail in 1598 by Robert Lumsden of Airdrie.63 Lumsden

59. RMS, iix, 545.
60. RS 1/12, 6 Dec. 1622; RS 1/14, 26 Nov. 1623; RS 1/25, 17 Jan. 1629.
61. See above, p. 310.
62. RMS, vi, 338.
63. Ibid., vi, 898, 1809.
further granted Turnbull all of the lands and barony of Airdrie in Fife in 1605. It is not possible to determine whether this was for a debt or if Turnbull was actively consolidating his rural holdings since he had also held the lands of Balgarvis near Cupar since 1599. Similarly, John Robertson steadily gained control of substantial amounts of rural land around Auchtermuchty between 1596 and 1606 even being described as one of the portioners of Auchtermuchty in 1600. David Alexander was granted in completion of a contract in 1598 the mill of Anstruther and its multures by Sir James Anstruther. Alexander's interest in that area continued until at least 1611 when he was one of the witnesses to the sale of the barony of Anstruther by Sir William Anstruther. James Inglis, in return for a loan of 5,000 merks, was infeft in an annual payment of 500 merks by George Bruce of Carnok out of the lands of 'West Gewites, Easter Seaton' and one-quarter of the lands of Craig near Dunfermline in November 1602. It was only in 1624 that Bruce redeemed the property. Inglis had already been granted an annual payment of £100 out of the lands of 'Banklawmyer' in Fife in 1594 by James McGill of Pinky which was not redeemed until 1611. Edward Edgar was amongst the members of the elite

64. RMS, v, 1611.
65. Ibid., v, 1809.
66. Ibid., v, 693, 1786, 1787; APS, iv, 242; SRO, GD 172/1633.
67. RMS, v, 783; vii, 555.
68. RS 1/15, 18 June 1624. John Porterfield had stood cautioner to Bruce and had purchased property in Culross from the Bruce family in 1600 (RMS, v, 1280).
69. SRO, GD 28/1061.
involved in transactions with the family of Wardlaw of Torryburn. In 1604 he was granted the lands of 'Inchegaw' in Fife in feu for 12,500 merks by Andrew Wardlaw of Torryburn. 70 In 1609 this property, together with the barony of Torryburn and the lands of 'Dalginieche and Thomastown', were sold by Wardlaw to Richard Dobie for £10,000. 71 Dobie had already been infeft in an annual payment of 1,000 merks out of these lands by Wardlaw from June 1605 until July 1608. 72 The Wardlaws must have managed to successfully repay this debt for in 1629 William Gray and Patrick Wood were infeft in the lands of Torryburn by James Wardlaw. 73

In 1610 William Rig purchased the lands of 'Balbrekie' in the parish of Kennoway and the Mains of Largo for £6,000 from Andrew Wood of Largo. 74 Some time prior to 1623 Rig must have sold an interest in the Mains of Largo to James Ainslie for his heirs were granted sasine of an annual payment of fifty merks from this property. 75 William Dick also invested in Fife property. His involvement there was a result of his financial transactions with Lord Colville of Culross. From 1617 until 1620 Dick received a payment of 880 merks out of the barony of East Wemyss in Fife. In 1621 he was granted another payment of 900 merks a year out of this barony by James, Lord Colville; the principal loan was not repaid until 1631. 76

James Leslie

70. RMS, vii, 1.
71. Ibid., vi, 98.
72. SR0, GD 15/427.
73. RS 1/27, 11 Jan. 1630; SR0, GD 15/475. Wood, at least, collected payment from the property until at least 1634 (Ibid., 491, 498.)
74. RMS, vii, 538.
75. RS 1/17, 4 Mar. 1625. Ainslie had no other property in Fife.
76. RS 1/5, 25 Feb. 1620; RS 1/8, 3 Sept. 1621; RS 1/30, 18 Feb. 1631. Dick was also involved in Colville's land in Clackmannan. He also held feu of the lands of Pittencriff in Fife from the earl of Dunfermline in 1637 (SR0, GD 28/1467).
also invested heavily in Fife from the late 1610s. He was granted all the lands of Lindores in Fife in 1617 by Patrick, Lord Lindores for money owed to him. Leslie also in 1624 purchased lands around Pitliver near Dunfermline, including the grain mill, and in 1634 was granted a substantial amount of land around Dunfermline which the earl of Elgin had resigned. In July 1620 Mr. John Cant was infest in an annual rent of 2,000 merks out of Archibald Primrose's land of Wormiston near Crail. This was obviously a short-term loan for Cant gave up the land the following February.

John Sinclair of Pitteuchar, due to a debt owed to Alexander Clerk, sold to Clerk the lands, manor and town of Pitteuchar near Dunfermline in 1629. In 1635 Clerk was granted further lands in this area by the earl of Elgin, perhaps revealing an attempt by Clerk to consolidate his holdings.

In 1634 a group of elite merchants, Thomas Charters, John Rhind, James Loch, James Nairn, Robert Inglis, Patrick Wood, John Hilston and Thomas Leishman were jointly granted the lands and barony of Tulliallan in south-west Fife by Sir John Blackadder. No reason is given why eight of the country's wealthiest men should be involved in this area, but by 1642 John Rhind was in sole possession of this property.

Certainly, when Blackadder granted Peter Blackburn a liferent of 500 merks out of Tulliallan in 1632 specific mention of rights to coal and salt were made which is what perhaps

77. RMS, vii, 1754. He resigned portions of this property in 1623 and 1631. Ibid., vii, 418, 1707.
78. Ibid., viii, 669; ix, 184. Leslie resigned Pitliver in 1649.
79. RS 1/6, 15 Aug. 1620; RMS, viii, 175.
80. Ibid., viii, 1615; RS 1/26, 2 June 1629; RMS, ix, 1507; RS 1/43, 22 Oct. 1635.
81. RMS, ix, 68; SRO, GD 22/3/16.
attracted these other entrepreneurs to this investment. 82

The elite's substantial interest in Fife property appears otherwise to have been the result of debts owed to them by Fife landowners. Only the McMorrane's property of Kingsbarns in Fife seems to have been inherited rather than having been obtained as a purchase or appraisal. 83

Although the elite appear to have made some attempt to consolidate their rural landholdings in certain areas, particularly around Dunfermline, this practice was limited and unusual.

The elite's involvement in property north of the Tay - in Perthshire, Angus, Aberdeenshire, Caithness and the Northern Isles - further emphasises their entrepreneurial role as one of the nation's important sources of capital. It has been proved that, to a limited extent, northern lairds in Aberdeenshire turned to Aberdeen for extra capital using their land as collateral. 84 Yet, a number of Edinburgh merchants were approached as well. It was probably the existing ties with these areas north of the Tay - familial or due to the elite's involvement in the grain trade - which prompted this connection in the seventeenth century as money lenders. The elite were involved in the property market in the north as early as 1591. In that year Hercules Cramond was granted liferent in the lands of 'Balhelwell' and Menmure as well as having the right of advowson to that

82. RMS, viii, 2198. Blackadder must have owed Edinburgh merchants substantial sums of money for in 1634 he also granted land to John Winram. Ibid., ix, 235.
83. Ibid., vi, 294; vii, 999, 1442.
84. MacNiven, Merchant and Trader, 283. Although only eight of the leading merchants of Aberdeen appear in the index of the sasines he argues that they were an important source of local capital.
parish church in Forfar by David Collace of Birkhill and David Lindsay of Edzell. Cramond still held this interest in 1632 when he witnessed the transfer of land in Menmure. 85

In 1592 William Mauld returned the lands of Carcary in Forfar to James, Lord Ogilvie upon repayment of a loan of £827. 86 Three years later, in return for 250 merks, Mauld was granted the rents of 'Ballisken' in the barony of Panmure in Forfar from his brother Thomas, which William held until 1600. 87 Mauld also purchased the lands of 'Cookston' in the barony of Brechin from John Guthrie of Colliston for 6,000 merks in 1595. Fifteen years later he sold these lands in completion of a contract and for 5,000 merks. 88

Alexander Vaus was also granted land in Inverness-shire by his brother, John Vaus of 'Lochslyne'. Not only was he granted 'Lochslyne' in 1600 but in 1605 was infeft in lands in Ross for a debt of almost £3,000 owed to him by his brother. 89

Sir Robert Chrichton of Cluny, in return for 11,900 merks, infeft James Curl in the taind lands of 'Lowname' and the barony of Gardyne in Forfar in August 1607. Curl sold Gardyne three years later to his niece, although this sale was disputed, it being alleged that Curl had no right to sell the barony as the property had been redeemed in 1609 for 23,400 merks. 90

In 1611 Adam Rae was granted the baronies of Kellie and Auchterlony in Forfar, probably for debts of the late Sir

85. RMS, vii, 435, 2257.
86. SRO, GD 16/22/15.
87. SRO, GD 45/16/770, 852.
88. RMS, vi, 514; vii, 356.
89. Ibid., vi, 1140, 1597.
90. Ibid., vi, 1965; vii, 471; SRO, CS7/283, 6 July 1613.
William Auchterlonny. He obviously faced opposition from Auchterlonny's heirs to this arrangement as two years later Rae was obliged to sue for the production of the charters and instruments of sasine as well as the annual rents owed to him. The land and pertinences must have been transferred to him as he resigned it in 1614. From 1612 to 1620 Rae also held the lands of 'Pitsindie' in Perthshire and 'Furton' in Forfar from Sir Henry Lindsay of Careston. In 1613 Francis Kinloch's heirs were placed in possession of certain properties in Nairn in payment of a debt of 1,086 merks owed to Kinloch by Robert Dunbar of Moynes. That same year Alexander Monteath was granted the lands of 'Cammuslittie and Cammusbeg' as well as the rights to salmon fishing all within the lordship of Menteith by Archibald Edminston of Bellintone. William Rig was granted certain properties in the barony of Balnagowan within the earldom of Ross by David Ross of Balnagowan in 1615. Two years later Ross along with Sir William Sinclair of Catboll granted Rig other lands within the earldom. Rig's son, William, continued the family's connection with northern property and in 1636 purchased for £20,000 a five year wadset of the barony.

91. RMS, vii, 453, 1147; CS7/275, 17 Feb. 1613.
92. RMS, vii, 453; vii, 53. Rae also held Lindsay lands in Stirlingshire. See above, p.320.
93. RMS, vii, 811. Kinloch was connected to Alexander Vaus as he sat on an assize dealing with debts owed to Vaus by his brother, John Vaus, in 1605. (ibid., vi, 1597).
94. Ibid., vii, 797.
of Cromarty from Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty. Sir William Sinclair of Catboll also granted to John Sinclair in November 1617 property in the same area of Ross as the land granted to Rig that year. Sinclair was also granted the lands of Over Bulbster in the barony of Berridale in Caithness by James Sinclair of Longformacus in 1625 which he still held in 1636. In addition to the lands which James Leslie had been granted in Fife for money owed by Patrick, Lord Lindores in 1618 he was also granted property in Perthshire, Forfar and Aberdeenshire. In 1620 Mr. James Nicol used his property in Elgin and Forres to pay a debt of £1,000 which he owed to David Aikinhead. Both men were members of the burgh elite. David Mitchell held land in Ballesk in Forfar, which he resigned in 1621 to Alexander, Lord Spynie. In 1621 David Williamson was granted the barony of Aberdalgie in Perthshire in payment of a debt of 500 merks owed by Lawrence, Lord Oliphant. Williamson held the property until at least December 1625 when it was granted to William, earl of Morton. William Dick was

95. RMS, vii, 1525, 1698; ix, 534. When Rig died in 1619 he was owed a considerable amount of money by the Ross family (Edin. Tests., 18 Aug. 1620). Certainly the Urquharts were ruined by borrowing money in the 1630s using their estates as collateral. Urquhart's son, Sir Thomas, condemned merchant-moneylenders strongly in the 1650s. See R.D.S. Jack and R.J. Lyall edd. The Jewel, (Edinburgh, 1983), 3, 90-1.

96. RMS, vii, 1703. He resigned this property in 1647 (ibid., ix, 1752).

97. SR0, GD 139/91/1-5.

98. RMS, vii, 1754 and above, pp. 324-5.

99. RMS, vii, 2088; viii, 74.

100. Ibid., vii, 436; viii, 205.

101. Ibid., viii, 189, 911.
perhaps representative of the interest shown in the north by members of the elite. He held property in Caithness, Aberdeenshire, Morayshire, near Elgin and in Orkney.

In 1633 Lord George Hamilton granted Dick an annual payment of over £2,000 out of his lands in Caithness; in 1633 Dick purchased wadset of the barony of Forbes, Alford and Craigtown in Aberdeenshire from Alexander, Master of Forbes and in 1638 Dick was granted the east half of the lands of Loch in the lordship of Urquhart in Elgin and Forres. Dick's interest in Elgin and Forres continued and the next year he was granted an annual rent out of the barony of Urquhart, Fotherberry and Ardildornoch by the earl of Dunfermline in exchange for a loan of 117,000 merks lent by Dick in 1637. From 1636 Dick was also in possession of a six-year tack of the whole of Orkney and Shetland, for which he paid the crown a staggering £35,730 per annum.

The greater nobility of the north as well as the lairds turned to the capital's elite for loans using their property as acceptable collateral. From 1611 Ronald Murray had been involved in lending substantial sums of money to George, fifth earl of Caithness and William, Lord Berridale, his son. By 1616 he was owed almost £11,000 plus interest and assigned the debt to John Murray of 'Trawin'. In 1624 John Murray granted Ronald Murray the lands of Berridale in Caithness and Inverness which had been the earl of Caithness'. Ronald Murray held this property until

103. SRO, GD 28/1467.
104. SRO, GD 29/165.
In 1632 John Rae was granted an annual rent of £250 out of Sir George Hamilton of Blackburn's land in the barony of Clyth and Greenland in Caithness. John Rhind held the property in Aberlemno parish in Forfar for ten years which he had appraised for a debt of £2,846 from Captain John Lindsay of 'Ballinshaw' in 1628. William Gray had a special financial relationship with one of the greatest of the northern nobles, William, Earl Marischal. This resulted in substantial amounts of the Keith lands in the north passing into Gray's control. As early as 1609 the earl had infeft Gray in a nineteen-year tack of his lands of Clerkhill in Peterhead parish in return for 4,000 merks. In May 1635 the earl borrowed 100,000 merks from Gray and infeft him in payments equalling 10,000 merks a year from his lands in Buchan, Aberdeen and Banff, as well as eight percent interest annually on the principal sum. Gray's northern interests also connected him with other lairds. In 1635 William Keith of 'Ludgru' granted Gray the lands of Fetterangus in Aberdeenshire and other property in the parish of Peterhead. Gray had also been sold the baronies of Logiefintry and Craigievar in 1633 by Sir William Forbes of Craigievar in return for

105. RMS, vii, 1508; viii, 1917, 2207.
106. RS 1/12, 6 Dec. 1622.
107. RMS, viii, 1365; ix, 1413. Rhind also appraised land in Aberdeenshire, Morayshire and Banff for a debt of 23,000 merks owed to him in 1641 by the marquis of Huntly (ibid, vii, 1065).
108. RS 1/22, 20 Aug. 1627. The debt was repaid in 1627.
109. RS 1/47, 3 Sept. 1638. This property was still in Gray's hands in 1638 as were substantial amounts of the earl's lands in Linlithgowshire and Lothian.
110. RS 1/43, 10 Oct. 1635.
In 1639 Gray was granted land in Perthshire, Angus and Kincardinshire which Andrew, Lord Gray resigned, and which were incorporated into the barony of Fowles. Other elite members also held property north of the Tay. Both John Shaw and the heirs of Andrew Hart were granted property in Perthshire by Henry Shaw of Cambusmoor in 1631; Shaw in return for 4,947 merks and Hart's widow for 625 merks. In December of that year John Shaw was also granted a charter by the earl of Morton for lands in the same area in payment of a debt of 1,946 merks. The northern nobles and lairds resorted to the wadsetting of their landed properties on an unprecedented scale in the early seventeenth century. It was to the Edinburgh money market that they turned.

The Edinburgh elite's interest in investment in rural property in the south-west of Scotland was as important as their involvement in Fife or in the north of the country but the number of merchants involved was considerably fewer. The rural property in Ayrshire, Galloway and Dumfries held by elite members was concentrated in the hands of perhaps a dozen of the capital's wealthiest men. Again the involvement was as a direct result of money-lending to local lairds. Although investment in the south-west by Edinburgh merchants was not

111. RMS, ix, 215. This land was redeemable and eventually returned to the Forbes family.
112. Ibid., ix, 899. This included the office of constable of Montrose. This grant was a result of Gray's son being chosen by Lord Gray as his heir. (Ibid., ix, 788).
113. Ibid., viii, 1809, 1861. Hart's widow sued Henry Shaw as cautioner to James Shaw of Broiche.
114. RS 1/32, 3 Jan. 1632.
unknown in the sixteenth century the earliest evidence of a member of the elite's involvement in the seventeenth century was that of William Reid in 1610.¹¹⁵ That year Reid was granted land in the barony of Auchinleck in Ayrshire by George Douglas of Pennyland in completion of a contract. Reid's involvement with Douglas lasted until at least 1631 when he was further infefted in Douglas's Ayrshire property for a debt owed to him of 1,730 merks.¹¹⁶ In October 1613 William McMath was granted a royal charter for the lands of Glandure and others in Carrick although who the original holders were is not stated.¹¹⁷ In 1614 Thomas Adinston was granted the lands of 'Little Lauchtis' in Ardrossan in payment of a sum of £2,720 owed to him by Alexander, sixth earl of Eglington. Adinston resigned this property the following year.¹¹⁸ His son, John, also possessed a considerable amount of land in Annandale and near Ecclefechan in Dumfries from 1629 which had been appraised from John, Lord Harries for a debt owed to another member of the Edinburgh merchant elite of some 17,000 merks and which had been passed to him in 1627.¹¹⁹ In 1632 Adinston was also granted land outside of Prestwick and

¹¹⁵ Coutts, Social and Economic History of Dumfries 1600-1665, 95, 109, 142; RMS, vii, 793.
¹¹⁶ Ibid., vii, 1891. Reid's involvement in the south-west was his only interest in rural property.
¹¹⁷ SRO, GD 109/1081-3. He was granted the lands in Jan. 1614.
¹¹⁸ SRO, GD 21/8.
¹¹⁹ RMS, viii, 1403. The other Edinburgh merchant was David Mitchell. Harries had owed the Adinston family money from at least 1613 (CS7/279, 18 May 1613).
Newton-upon-Ayr for a debt of £2,633 owed by Sir Hugh Wallace of Craigie. In 1622 Mr. Nicol Brown resigned his interest in the lands and barony of Mertonhall near Newton-Stewart to Dr. John McCulloch. The greatest interest in land in the south-west, however, was shown by members of the Inglis family.

In 1622 John Inglis was granted a seven-year wadset of the lands of Largs in Ayrshire and the barony of Minnigaff in Galloway, which had been appraised as a result of a debt owed by James, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree of almost £6,000.

In 1621 Inglis was also granted land in Ayrshire for an unspecified sum owed by Mr. John Findlayson; in 1629 he had a seven-year wadset of the lands of Girvan, Ayrshire and Clachan of Myrton in Wigtownshire for a debt of 5,200 merks; in 1631 he held certain lands in Wigtownshire of Mr. Andrew Stewart; in 1633 he was granted four acres of the meadowland of the burgh of Maybole and in 1637 was granted the forty-merk lands in Carrick. James Inglis was granted parts of the lands of Twynholm and 'Remiston' and Clachan of Myrton in Wigtownshire

120. RMS, ix, 942. Adinston resigned this land in Ayrshire in 1644 (ibid, ix, 1539).

121. Ibid., vii, 315. The barony was worth £10,000.

122. Ibid., vii, 365. The debt was one of Stewarts which Inglis, as his cautioner, had paid. This grant was confirmed by the earl of Mar the following year. RS 1/12, 17 Dec. 1622. Largs was returned in 1630. RS 1/27, 9 Feb. 1630.

in 1622 for a debt of £13,724 owed by Josie Stewart of Bonytown and Hugh Kennedy of Girvan. Other elite members involved in the south-west included Charles Hamilton who purchased various amounts of Sir William Cunningham of Caprington's lands in the barony of Cumnock, in the east of Kyle district, Ayrshire, for 12,500 merks in 1625. In 1626 Edward Edgar was granted the lands of Preston amongst others in Dumfriesshire for a debt owed to him by another Edinburgh merchant. In 1629 Archibald Todd held the fourmark lands of 'Gainshill' in Ayrshire from William Muir of Rowalkin. That same year William Dick was granted land and an annual rent of ten bolls of grain out of land in the parish of Kirktown in Wigtownshire; in 1634 Robert, Lord Kirkcudbright granted him the eightmark lands in Kirkchrist parish worth 24,000 merks and the following year the earl of Morton infeft him in land in the barony of Twynholm in Kirkcudbright. In 1638 both Thomas Charters and James MacMorrane appraised land in Dumfriesshire for money owed to them by Sir John Charters of Amisfield. Sir John owed Charters £4,960 and MacMorrane £2,380 and both were granted property in the barony of Amisfield in Dumfriesshire.

The effects of the acquiring of rural property by the Edinburgh elite as collateral for loans extended from the far

124. RS 1/11, 18 Sept. 1622; RMS, viii, 354. Both of these men were also involved with John Inglis.

125. Ibid., viii, 1475. These lands are not mentioned in his testament in 1640 (Edin. Tests., 27 Mar. 1640).

126. RS 1/20, 26 Sept. 1626. David Johnston was the other merchant. He was not a member of the elite.

127. RMS, viii, 1419.


129. RMS, ix, 846, 849. Both still held this land in 1648 (Ibid., ix, 2102.)
north to the south-west of Scotland. It was, however, in Lothian and around Edinburgh itself that the impact of this kind of entrepreneurial activity was most felt. Of the 152 members of the burgh elite for whom evidence survives of involvement in transactions concerning rural property seventy-five, or almost fifty percent of them, held property in close proximity to the capital or within its banlieu in addition to whatever land they held elsewhere in the country. Again, this property was, for the most part, held in wadset as a result of money lent to local lairds or nobles. The Sinclairs, Homes, Lauders and the earl of Morton were prominent amongst the debtors. The elite must have been eager to gain control of the rural land around the capital. During the first thirty years of the seventeenth century much of the farmland which was to later become Edinburgh's suburbs, Cramond, Liberton, Colinton, Restalrig, Craiglockhart and Ravelston, was set in feu to them. It was in these areas that certain of the elite families, most notably the Inglis, were eventually to build up lairdly estates later in the century. The domain of the elite extended from the areas directly around Edinburgh to Dalkieth in the south, Livingston in the west and eastward along the coast as far as North Berwick, encompassing some of the richest farmland in Lothian.

From 1600 the Edinburgh mercantile elite were heavily involved in the wadsetting of property in Lothian. In June 1600 William Sinclair of Roslin granted sasine to Mungo McCall of all of the lands of Hillend in the Pentlands to the south
The following year Sir Hugh Carmichael of Carmichael granted Alexander Miller an interest in the lands of Herdmaston and Currie, with its mill, for payment of his debts. In 1602 William Paterson was granted fifty-two acres and three cottages in Currie by James Whitehead portioner of Currie. From 1622 Gilbert Kirkwood also invested in land in Currie and remained involved there until at least 1636. In 1603 Alexander Pierson was granted an annual payment of 400 merks or four chalders of grain out of John, Lord Saltoun's land of West Salton in exchange for 4,000 merks. This payment was to continue while the principal was unpaid and lasted until at least 1611 when Pierson sued eleven of his tenants on the land for non-payment of their rent. In 1611 the Sinclairs were again involved with the elite when William Sinclair of 'Blans' sold the east tenth of the lands of 'Blans' near Haddington to Alexander Vaus. That same year Roger Duncanson was granted in wadset by William Sinclair of Roslin and his son, Sir William Sinclair of Pentland, portions of their lands of Hillend and pasture land in the Pentlands for an unnamed sum. William Rig

130. RS 24/1, 24 June 1600. No price is mentioned.
131. RMS, vi, 1241. Miller passed this land to his daughter in 1628. Ibid, vii, 1275.
132. RS 24/2, 24 Sept. 1602.
133. SRO, GD 41/9/5/3-6; GD 41/91-9.
134. RS 24/3, 30 June 1603; CS7/279, 12 Feb. 1613, 29 July 1613; CS7/282, 13 March 1613. John Dougal also received a payment out of West Salton in 1604. (SRO, GD 98 Box 3, 94-10).
135. RMS, vii, 998. The lands were resigned in 1628. Ibid, vii, 1706.
136. Ibid., vii, 468.
had also been involved with this branch of the Sinclair family for upon his death in 1619 he possessed pasture land near Roslin which Sir William re-granted to Rig's son. In 1616 David Alexander was granted an annual payment of 1,000 merks out of the lands of 'Wester Spott' near Haddington by George Lauder of Bas. In 1628 James Cochrane was also granted an annual rent out of these lands. The earl of Morton used his property in Lothian extensively in order to secure loans from the Edinburgh elite. His involvement with the capital's moneylenders, perhaps, illustrates best the dangers into which this activity could bring members of the nobility. In 1620 James Ainslie was granted annual payments of 2,000 merks out of Morton's lands near Dalkeith in exchange for a loan of 20,000 merks. Morton mortgaged substantial amounts of his property to other members of the burgh elite and to John Rhind in particular. Rhind by 1636 was owed a total of 19,000 merks by the earl both through direct loans and purchases of Morton's bonds from other merchants. When that year Rhind pressed for repayment of these considerable sums, with '... such grief and tears...' that he could scarcely write, he was only partially reimbursed by a grant of an annual payment of 640 merks out of Morton's

137. Edin. Tests., 18 Aug. 1620. Rig was actively farming. He had six horses and 25 oxen as well as lambs, cows and wheat sown on the land (RS 25/4, 20 Feb., 1621).
138. RMS, viii, 702.
139. RS 25/4, 3 Dec. 1628. Cochrane was granted this by James Livingston.
140. SRO, GD 150/671/A-C, 674/A-8; RS 25/2, 26 June 1620; RS 25/3, 26 June 1620. This debt was still owed in 1630. RS 25/15, 30 Nov. 1630; RS 25/17, 8 Dec. 1630. The Ainslies also held land in Laven from Morton (GD 150/674/A).
141. SRO, GD 29/1246/3, 1261/7-8, 1274; NLS, MS 84, nos. 54-6.
lands of Lugton near Dalkeith. These monetary transactions with Edinburgh financiers aided Morton’s financial collapse. By the early 1640s he was virtually bankrupt.

Other members of the burgh elite holding rural property in Lothian included Alexander Telfer who held land in the barony of Carrington, Midlothian worth 6,300 merks for a year from 1622 for a debt owed by William Ramsay of Whitehill; John Sinclair was granted the lands of Stevenson in East Lothian by Sir Walter Ker of Faldonside in 1624 as well as land in the barony of Wester Pencaitland from both John Sinclair of Herdmaston and the earl of Mar in 1629 and 1630 respectively. In 1624 Robert Baillie was granted an annual rent of 1,200 merks out of the Mains of North Berwick by Sir John Home. In 1630 he was further involved in that area having been granted the lands of Hoprig, Penstoun, 'Whiterig and Templehouse' in East Lothian for a debt owed by Sir William Baillie of Lamington. George Baillie was granted the lands of Hoprig and Penstoun in 1632 by Sir William in return for 14,000 merks which lands George held until 1636. In return for a debt of 600 merks owed by William Maw John Shaw purchased the wadset of two and a half acres of land near Dalkeith in 1626. In 1629 James,

142. Ibid., no. 54; RS 25/25, 15 Oct. 1636; SRO, GD 29/838. In 1642 he was also granted Morton’s barony of Aberdour in Fife. Rhind also held Morton’s lands of Sheriffhall in Lothian (RS 25/22, 28 Feb. 1634).
143. RS 25/6, 29 July 1622; RS 25/8, 1 July 1623; RMS, vii, 624, 1677, 1640, 1791. Sinclair resigned this property to his son in 1638 (Ibid., ix, 834). The family still held Stevenson in 1863. (Gromme, Ordnance Gazetteer, vi, 379).
144. RS 25/9, 3 June 1624; RS 25/16, 13 July 1630.
146. RS 25/11, 7, 15 Aug. 1626.
Lord Livingston granted David Jenkin an annual payment of 900 merks out of the lands of Livingston to the west of the capital which Jenkin renounced in 1632.\textsuperscript{147} The lands of Newmills in East Lothian were granted to James Dalgleish by Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie in 1631.\textsuperscript{148} Sir John Seton of St. Germanes granted James Naismith his lands of St. Germanes near Tranent in return for 2,500 merks in 1635. The following year Naismith was also granted lands near Newbattle which were worth 5,950 merks owed to him by another debtor.\textsuperscript{149} John Winram appraised the lands of 'Couthrapple' in East Lothian from John Ker for a debt of 2,715 merks in 1636.\textsuperscript{150} That same year Robert Acheson granted his son the lands of Sydserf in East Lothian.\textsuperscript{151} William Dick although involved in the land market in Lothian on a far greater scale was perhaps not untypical of the elite's interest in this form of profit making. In 1633 he was granted all of Sir John Home's barony of North Berwick in return for a debt of approximately £158,000. Dick still held this property in 1642 for in an assessment of the value of his estate made for that year his lands of North Berwick were alone worth 240,000 merks.\textsuperscript{152}

About half of the elite were involved in the wadsetting of property throughout Scotland but the land around the capital

\textsuperscript{147} RS 25/5, 12 Nov. 1629; RS 25/19, 29 June 1632. He also had dealings with Lord Livingston in 1634 about land in Stirlingshire. RS 1/39, 26 May 1634.

\textsuperscript{148} RMS, ix, 1216. In 1639 Dalgleish was owed money in Newmills (Edin. Tests., Euphame Naismith, 6 Aug. 1639).

\textsuperscript{149} RMS, ix, 294, 608, 1241.

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., ix, 509.

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., ix, 507.

\textsuperscript{152} SRO, GD 110/49-52, 54; GD 331/28/31.
itself was firmly in the hands of no more than twenty different mercantile elite families. These included the Ellis, Somervilles, Edgers, Morisons, Nisbets, Inglis, Cants as well as that of William Dick. Through careful loans, transfers and manipulations of the property market around the burgh amongst themselves these men were able by 1640 to be in control of most of the farmland adjoining the burgh itself. The lands of Cramond were controlled by three of the leading elite families - the McMorranes, Smiths and Inglis. In 1596 Ninian McMorran had purchased the 'Ewarland' in Over Cramond from Robert Newlands; in 1608 he was granted a further ten acres of land in Over Cramond in return for a loan of £1,000 made to John Thompson in the Canongate and in 1620 he was granted a further acre of the Templelands of Cramond. He, himself, granted Patrick Hamilton of Preston a tenement in the village and the mill although reserving a liferent interest for himself. Patrick Ellis was granted an annual payment of 300 merks out of Nether Cramond in 1602 from Alexander Douglas. This interest in Cramond passed to Ellis' grandson, Patrick, in 1623 and was renounced the following year upon repayment of the original loan of 3,000 merks. From 1610 to 1614 Robert Smith held part of the Templelands of Cramond which were then granted to Thomas, Lord Binning. In 1615 Smith was granted...
the ten merklands in Over Cramond by John Mowbray which he held until 1620 when it passed to his son, John.\textsuperscript{156} The Inglis family were the most involved of the mercantile elite in lands in Cramond. Thomas and Patrick Inglis were together granted an annual rent of 200 merks out of Nether Cramond in 1602 by Alexander Douglas, although it was not until 1624 that the family held a major portion of the area.\textsuperscript{157} In that year James Inglis was granted the lands of Nether Cramond in return for 50,000 merks by Alexander Douglas.\textsuperscript{158} Inglis was thereafter known as 'of Nether Cramond'. He passed this property to his son, Mr. John Inglis, in 1632 upon the occasion of John's marriage to Janet Ellis.\textsuperscript{159} In 1631 James Inglis was also granted the barony of Ingliston, west of the burgh, although the family had had interests there from 1607 or before.\textsuperscript{160}

The lands of Restalrig were also controlled by a small number of the burgh elite. In 1597 William Mauld purchased the lands of Craig in Restalrig from Alexander Lawson redeemable on repayment by Lawson of 3,000 merks as well as the annual

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{156} RMS, vii, 340, 1100, 1271; vii, 114. At the time of his death he was owed for grain in Cramond (Edin. Tests., 26 Feb. 1636; SRO, GD 243/7/4, 24/5/1, 4).
\item \textsuperscript{157} RS 24/2, 28 Oct. 1602.
\item \textsuperscript{158} RMS, viii, 2247; RS 25/9, 27 May, 22 June 1624; SRO, GD 243/25/1/1-15.
\item \textsuperscript{159} RS 25/18, 7 Feb. 1632; RS 25/19, 27 July 1632. It was upon this property that the family were to build Cramond House in the 1680s.
\item \textsuperscript{160} RS 25/18, 2 Jan 1632; Edin. Tests., Janet Morison, 14 Feb. 1609. She had stock on the lands of Atherny which were part of the barony of Ingliston.
\end{itemize}
payment of sixty balls of oatmeal or twelve merks per boll. Mauld still held this interest in 1602. Richard Dobie purchased the wadset of the lands of Nether Gogar in Restalrig in 1600 from Andrew Logan, redeemable for £9,000, and with an annual due out of the property of £41 and sixteen chalders of grain. Archibald Johnston purchased property in Restalrig in 1603 from Ninian McMorrane and by 1613 was in possession of eighty acres of land there which he still held when he died in 1619. McMorrane was also granted life interest in fifty-two acres of Restalrig when John, Lord Balmerino sold 156 acres there to Henry Nisbet in 1619. This purchase confirmed the interest which the Nisbets had held in the area since 1617 when James Nisbet, Henry's father, paid six chalders of grain as the dues of his property there to Sir John Morison. Two years later Nisbet granted Mr. Thomas Hope an annual rent of 1,000 merks out of this property in Restalrig. Henry Nisbet, known as 'of Restalrig', consolidated the family's property in the area after his father's death. He was involved in a bitter dispute in 1630 with his superior, Lord Balmerino, over the value of the teinds owed to Balmerino which were valued by a commission at either ninety balls of victuals or 6,000 merks. Balmerino refused to accept this as payment and the dispute was eventually brought before parliament in 1633 which ratified Nisbet's teinds and granted him a nineteen-year

161. RS 24/2, 26 Dec. 1602.
162. RS 24/1, 1 June, 4 Dec. 1600.
163. RMS, vi, 2078; vii, 910; Edin. Tests. 28 Apr. 1619.
165. Ibid., 940/8.
166. RS 25/2, 6 Oct. 1619.
tack of the property. The Ainslies were also briefly involved with land in Restalrig. In 1620 James Ainslie was granted an annual rent of 300 merks out of the lands of 'Quarrelhollis', which extended to some thirty-one acres north of Holyroodhouse, by Edward Marshall. In 1621 the principal sum was repaid and the Ainslies quit the property.

Most of the rural land immediately to the south of Edinburgh was also wadset or purchased by members of the burgh elite. These areas included Craiglockhart, Comiston, Mortonhall, Liberton, Peffermill, Sciennes and Braid. Interest in the lands of Craiglockhart and Comiston was shown by James Winram who held an annual payment out of Craiglockhart from James Kincaid from 1606 and in Comiston by Andrew Creich who held the lands of Comiston from John Fairlie from 1608 until his death in 1631. The lands of Liberton, which included Mortonhall, were also controlled by members of the elite. James Winram was granted the lands of Nether and Over Liberton in 1615 which he held until his death in 1632 when the property passed to his widow. Sir William Sinclair of Pentland sold part of Mortonhall to Patrick Ellis in 1618. This land was inherited by Mr. Alexander Ellis in 1629 and in 1631 he purchased more property there, all of

167. SRO, GD 947/1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10.
168. RS 25/3, 7 July 1620; RS 25/5, 13 Oct, 8 Nov. 1621.
169. RS 24/7, 18 June 1606; RS 24/10, 8 June 1608; RMS, vi, 2105; vii, 110, 369; RS 25/12, 7 May 1621. Some portions of Comiston then passed to his son-in-law, Mr. John Cant.
170. RMS, vii, 433, 589, 1260, 1972; SRO, GD 6/948; GD 122/22/2/73; Edin. Tests., Jean Swinton, 13 Nov. 1635.
which he still held at the time of his wife's death in 1641.\textsuperscript{171}

Although Mr. William Little had purchased land north of Over Liberton from Lord Holyroodhouse in 1631 he had been farming in the area since at least 1626 for he was then owed substantial sums of rent from his tenant farmers in Over Liberton.\textsuperscript{172}

Patrick Edgar inherited ten acres of the lands of Peffermill near Craigmillar in 1604 and granted Edward Edgar an annual payment of 800 merks out of these lands in 1619. By 1631 Edward alone held Peffermill, which he granted to his wife in 1638.\textsuperscript{173}

In 1610 Sir Robert Fairlie of Braid sold to Patrick Ellis fourteen acres of the lands of Braid south of the burgh. Ellis held this interest until 1627 when it passed to his grandson, Patrick.\textsuperscript{174} The lands passed later that same year from Ellis to David McCall who was granted a nineteen-year tack by Sir Robert Fairlie in exchange for £20,000.\textsuperscript{175} William Dick purchased the lands of Braid at the same price from McCall in 1632 and ten years later the estate was valued as worth over £73,000.\textsuperscript{176} Dick also purchased in 1631 the lands of Grange from Mr. John Cant which Cant had possessed since 1612. Cant also held eighteen

\textsuperscript{171} RMS, vii, 1825, ix, 30; RS 25/1, 22 June 1618; RS 25/4, 18 June 1621; RS 25/15, 20 Feb 1630; Edin. Tests., 24 Apr. 1641.

\textsuperscript{172} RMS, ix, 1071; Edin. Tests., Isabelle Speir, 26 June 1627. He purchased land there in 1604 (SRO, GD 122/400, 402A).

\textsuperscript{173} RS 24/5, 5 Nov. 1604; RS 25/2, 2 July 1619; RS 25/27, 22 Oct. 1638. RMS, ix, 35.

\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., vii, 293; RS 25/12, 24 March 1627.

\textsuperscript{175} RMS, viii, 1090; RS 25/12, 12 Aug, 5 Sept. 1627.

\textsuperscript{176} RS 25/20, 27 Sept. 1632; SRO, GD 331/26/31.
acres of land in Sciennes from 1622 as well as the lands of Lauriston from the same year. 177

A considerable amount of the other estates to the north, west and east of the burgh were also wadset to members of the elite. William Nisbet had been granted the lands of Dean to the north of the city in 1609 and as superior fayed these lands to various tenants. 178 Gilbert Kirkwood purchased the lands of Pilrig in the barony of Broughton situated between the burgh and Leith in 1623 from Sir Patrick Moneypenny, which property Kirkwood resigned to his son in 1639. 179 Patrick Ellis held the lands and mills of Sauchton from Sir George Forrester in 1625, more property there in 1629, and James Ellis was granted land in Sighthill in 1631. 180 Peter Somerville had been infeft in an annual rent of 360 merks from land in Broughton in 1627 although he held this for only two months. In 1631 he was also granted liferent in one-fourth of the lands of Sauchtonhall by James Winram of 'Wooston'. Somerville's son, Bertilmo, was owed rent from his tenants in Sauchtonhall at the time of his wife's death in 1638. 181 John Morison held fifty-eight areas of land in Sauchtonhall which his son, George, resigned to Thomas Moodie in March 1639. 182 Thomas Moodie had been granted portions of Sauchtonhall from 1636 and in 1642 was also in

177. RMS, viii, 651; viii, 381, 1843; ix, 1422; RS 25/6, 3 July 1622; RS 25/7, 5 Oct. 1622; RS 25/18, 21 Nov. 1631. He resigned Lauriston in 1643.


179. SRQ, GD 69/20, 30-1. He built a substantial mansion there in the 1620s.

180. RMS, viii, 850; RS 25/15, 27 Nov. 1629; RS 25/17, 29 Jan. 1631.

181. RS 25/12, 2 June, 16 July 1627; RS 25/18, 14 Nov. 1631; RMS, viii, 1848; Edin. Tests, Marion Telfer, 17 Dec. 1638.

182. RMS, ix, 900.
control of the lands of Dalry outside of the West Port. 183

By holding so much of the land around the burgh either by wadsetting or direct purchase the Edinburgh merchant elite firmly planted themselves as the dominant landholders in the area. Skilful manipulation of their role as the nation's money-lenders, by accepting the rural property which was offered to them as collateral by landowners, both lairdly and noble, throughout Scotland, had resulted in Edinburgh's wealthiest entrepreneurs being able to diversify their income into rural holdings during the first forty years of the seventeenth century. The profits to be made from these properties were considered to be a secure form of investment. The use of the land offered as collateral gave the elite both a long-term security and an assured income, in a period of rising grain prices, from the profits of agricultural labour which lending money for interest in cash alone could not. 184 Yet it also left the elite vulnerable, as never before, to the crown's inopportune levying of new taxes in 1621, 1625, 1630 and 1633, on rural land or the profits of annual rents - which were to be paid by the wadsetters. Their combined weight was regarded as extortionate and would cause future disaffection from the crown on the part of the nation's wealthiest entrepreneurs. 185

It is difficult to prove that any of the investment made by the elite in rural property throughout Scotland in the early years of the seventeenth century had any profound effects upon

183. RMS, ix, 538, 729, 900, 1062, 1687; RS 25/25, 10 Oct. 1636.
184. Mitchison, Lordship to Patronage, 49.
185. Rait, The Parliaments of Scotland, 494-5. According to 'The Book of the Annualrentaris and Wedsettaris within the Shirrfdome of Abirdain, 1633', Spalding Miscellany, iii (1846) the wadsetters were assessed for the tax and responsible for payment. These included the Edinburgh elite merchants George Leslie, assessed on 800 merks and William Gray assessed on Aberdeen land valued at 13,000 merks; see 97, 103, 133.
the local communities. The surviving evidence does not reveal this. It is only possible to indicate certain aspects of the elite's involvement in the rural property market which may have had an influence on agricultural practices. Not only were most of the investments of the elite in areas of the country which contained the most arable and productive land but they were also in areas which were benefiting from the earliest attempts at agricultural improvement. It is doubtful that many of the elite were personally and actively pursuing agricultural ventures upon the lands which they held, although there is some evidence that a few were indeed producing cash crops from their lands. The majority, however, were absentee landlords, interested mainly in collecting their rentals or teinds due to them by the people living in the area. The coincidental settling of the problem of teind payments in 1633 may have encouraged the elite's investment in rural property but their influence on any rural area must have been somewhat indirect. 186

The rural areas in which the capital's mercantile elite held their interests were the most fertile areas of the country. A recent examination of seventeenth-century Scottish agriculture has divided the country into three types of farming regions. 187 There were arable lands where emphasis was placed on the growing of cereals and which in most years usually managed to produce a grain surplus which could be marketed; these areas included coastal Berwickshire, Lothian, Fife, most of the coastal land


north of the Tay, and a small belt in the south-west around Ayr. The second type was of mixed land with a balance between arable and pastoral land. These areas would normally have been self-sufficient and in a favourable year would have produced a marketable surplus; they included the south-west coast, much of the Clyde valley and the south of the Lothians. The third was mainly of pastoral land, where climate and topography severely limited grain production, and was therefore used for livestock rearing; this was found in the Borders, the central highlands of Perthshire and in the west – areas in which the elite had little to no commercial interest. It is evident that most of the elite were involved with arable land which was able to produce surplus, marketable crops. The right to the surplus crops of the land which they held in wadset would certainly have aided the elite’s economic activities dealing with the sale and exporting of grain. Although the exporting of grain was a government controlled affair requiring special licences, and therefore severely limited, the elite were involved in this trade. In 1611-2 sixty percent of the elite merchants involved in the exporting of grain were also rural landowners; in 1624-5 the figure was fifty percent; in 1626-7 sixty percent and in 1627-8 fifty percent. Although it is impossible to tell which merchants were involved with the shipping of grain from Scottish ports to Edinburgh in 1638-9 the grain was being brought from areas where the elite held their rural properties.

188. Whyte, Agriculture and Society, 20. Compare with map of elite’s interests above, p. 314.

189. For a discussion of trade see chapter three. This statement must be qualified by stating that in 1611-12 only ten elite merchants exported grain, in 1624-5 only seven, in 1626-7 only five and in 1627-8 only four.
These included the Fife ports of Aberdour, Tayport, Limekilns, Burntisland, Inverkeithing, Largo and Culross, as well as North Berwick, Dunbar, Montrose, and in Caithness and Orkney, all from ports close to the elite's own holdings. The properties held by the elite also correspond to the areas of the country which were producing wheat and it has been argued that there was a definite link between the distribution of wheat cultivation and commercial grain farming. This is not, however, to suggest that in most cases the elite's involvement with their rural property was anything more than peripheral. Direct participation in agriculture on the part of the capital's entrepreneurs was relatively rare. The testaments of only eighteen of those men, or their spouses, with rural holdings reveal the existence of active farming at the time of their deaths whether in the form of a house on the property, farm buildings, fodder, stock or grain sown on their property.

It has been argued that the origins of the agricultural improvements of the late seventeenth century can be traced to the early years of the century and that the increase in the amount of agricultural goods produced was due to the improvement in marketing, shipping and land fertilization during these years. The Edinburgh elite were certainly prime

190. ECA, Share Dues.
191. Whyte, Agriculture and Society, 63-4.
movers behind these events and this was probably their most profound effect upon Scottish agriculture. While the early attempts at agricultural improvement in the seventeenth century were for the most part limited to parliamentary acts regulating the import and export of grain and dealing with the valuation and methods of payment of taeinds, the 1620s did witness the growth of crop improvement and productivity through the use of artificial methods of fertilizers in certain areas. It is significant that a correlation can be shown between some of those rural areas which were improved through liming after 1627 and the rural property from which the Edinburgh elite drew its profits. The use of lime as a fertilizer seems to have begun only as early as 1616 in Ayrshire and had significantly improved the productivity of certain parishes in Lothian by 1627. The Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland in 1627 sheds light on the condition of agriculture, particularly when the value of the produce of a property and the resultant taeinds had been greatly increased by liming. Of the properties in Lothian which the report states were receiving lime Voigrie, Temple, Sheriffhall, Woolmet, Nisbet

194. T.C. Smout & A. Fenton, 'Scottish agriculture before the Improvers - an exploration', 82-4; Whyte, Agrarian Change in Lowland Scotland', 78-80, 118-40; APS, v, 31. The first parliamentary improving act was not until 1647. Fertilizers had been used in Orkney since the 1590s but they were natural fertilizers - seaweed.

195. Smout & Fenton, 'Scottish agriculture before the Improvers - an exploration', 83.

196. Reports.
and Salton, or a payment from their produce, were at some point between 1600 and 1638 directly under the control of members of the burgh elite. Stephen Boyd had been granted the town and lands of Voigrie in 1618 and the report stated that although there was no natural occurrence of limestone within the area the land had been ‘... helped by guidding of lime which the tenants brig be their industry and expenses from other parts’. 197 Boyd was also granted the lands of Temple in 1624 which became his main property; these were also substantially improved by liming. 198 The lands of Sheriffhall which were also limed and the yield improved by 1627 were granted to John Rhind in 1634. 199 The lands of Redhall near Dalkeith which were purchased in 1618 by Andrew Creich also benefited from the use of lime by 1627. 200 The heirs of Richard Dobie improved the lands of 'Stainyhill' which had been purchased by Dobie in 1600 and from which the family had derived substantial income. 201 The lands of Ruchsoles in Lanarkshire also benefited from the use of lime during the early years of the seventeenth century. James Cochrane had been infeft

197. Reports, 38; RMS, vii, 382.
198. Reports, 95; RS 25/9, 3 Nov. 1624.
199. RS 25/22, 28 Feb. 1634; Reports, 66.
200. Ibid., 66; RMS, vii, 341.
201. RS 24/1, 2 July 1600; Edin. Tests., 17 Mar. 1613; Reports, 50. Liming is not mentioned as the means of fertilization.
in these lands in 1622. While there is no direct evidence that the elite were actively encouraging the use of fertilizers on their properties in order to improve the crop yields, their investment in areas which were already receiving such treatment must indicate their general desire to achieve maximum profit from rural holdings. The better the land the more likely the elite were to accept it as collateral for loans. There were thus a number of ways in which the interests and investments in rural land made by the burgh elite helped to stimulate the first stirrings of the agricultural improvements which would increase in the later years of the seventeenth century.

A recent study of late seventeenth-century merchants has shown that successful traders after 1660 were purchasing land both as a sound economic proposition and as a means of enhancing their social status. Yet, this investment must be viewed as an adjunct to their role as merchants rather than as a retreat from trading to the countryside.

Both of these findings certainly applied to Edinburgh's merchant princes in the first half of the century. Almost half of those considered to be the wealthiest men in the burgh invested in rural property although never abandoning the mercantile world for the rural estate. They generally held the land in wadset in return for loans granted by them to both lairds and nobles. The rural property accepted as

202. Whyte, Agrarian Change in Lowland Scotland, 132, 136; RS 1/10, 26 June 1622.

collateral stretched from the far north to the south-west of the country but it was commonest in the most productive agricultural areas. This gave the elite an incidental interest in those areas selling surplus crops and attempting to maximise yield by such techniques as liming. This new corps of merchant wadsetters was, however, subject to some of the pressures inflicted by the crown on landowners in the 1620s and 1630s in the form of more regular and greater taxation on rural land and its profits. The burden of taxation, both rural and urban, placed upon Edinburgh's merchant elite in the twenty years before the Scottish Revolution strained their loyalties as never before. The elite suffered a double burden as subjects of Charles I: being landholders as well as burgesses of the capital.
CHAPTER EIGHT

RELIGION AND POLITICS

It is not possible to examine the economic tensions experienced by Scotland's wealthiest merchant community in the first four decades of the seventeenth century in isolation from the political and religious struggles of the time. Indeed, the economic, political and religious strands of early seventeenth century Scottish life were inextricably woven together. Certainly, as inhabitants of the capital the burgh elite must have been aware of the political and religious problems bubbling beneath the surface of their everyday life. The combined effect of the purely political problems faced by Scotland in the first forty years of the century - the subjection of the Highlands and Isles; the involvement of Scotland in European disputes and the disruption caused to trade by the wars of the 1620s and 1630s with Spain, France and in Germany due to English foreign policy, as well as the increasingly regular and burdensome taxation imposed upon the nation by an absentee monarchy - must have influenced the economic fortunes of Edinburgh's wealthiest merchants. The religious questions affected them in a different fashion. In most matters concerning both James VI's and Charles I's attempts to align the Scottish church more closely with that of England the elite, as the capital's magistrates, demonstrated a remarkable habit of Erastianism; and a subservience to the royal will. They gave in to James's threats after the religious riots of 1596, accepted almost without question the banishment of the town's ministers in 1600, strove as best they could to limit the effects
of the open split between the burgh ministers and certain members of their congregation between 1619 and 1624, while at the same time apparently bowing to the king's anger at the matter. The burgh's commissioners voted in accordance with royal policy over the Articles of Perth at parliament in 1621.

In most matters concerning church policy from 1625 to 1637 the town magistrates submitted to Charles's will.

However potentially divisive these issues may have been within Edinburgh's society there is little evidence that more than a handful of the town's wealthiest merchants were directly involved in them. Nor is there much evidence to support the idea that as a group they marched towards revolution according to a coherent and well thought-out plan. A recent study of the reactions of various English boroughs, including Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, Exeter, Bristol and Worcester, to the various tensions building up to the civil war of the 1640s argues, convincingly, that the response of each of the town's magistrates was essentially conservative, dominated by their local interests, neutralism, and an overwhelming desire to preserve the established order and civic liberties.¹

The Edinburgh magistrates' response to the political and religious troubles was similar. While certain divisions along party lines within the burgh elite may have developed from as early as 1619 and endured into the late 1630s for the most part those in control of the burgh reacted cautiously to the political and religious demands made upon them. Despite some covert sympathy with those men - both noble and burgess - opposed to the crown's religious

¹ Howell, 'Neutralism, conservatism and political alignment', 71, 74, 87.
policies the elite ostensibly tolerated a considerable amount of royal interference with their liberties in the 1620s and 1630s. It was only when they were left with no other options whatsoever that they openly declared themselves in September 1637 for the Covenanting cause. Even then, it took over twenty years of taxation, an economic slump, a totally unsympathetic monarchy, street violence, and the abandonment of the town by the privy council to bring the town's magistrates to this decision.

Within Edinburgh, between 1600 and 1640, control of the effective political and religious institutions had become the almost exclusive concern of members of the burgh elite. Over the forty year period the elite held an average of thirteen of the seventeen positions open to them in any single year on the town council. They completely dominated the important administrative positions of bailie, dean of guild and treasurer. In addition the elite monopolised representation at the few opportunities to put the burghs' or merchants' case - the meetings of the Convention of Royal Burghs, at the infrequently called parliaments and at the more regularly held Conventions of Estates. Social control over the burgh by its wealthiest members was extended through their service as town constables and as military commanders. They dominated the burgh's churches by commanding their purse-strings through service on the kirk council. While the elite seemed to show little interest in serving as either kirk elders or deacons they carefully supervised the elections of members to them and an elite member represented the burgh at most of the nine General

2. See above, chapter 2.
Assemblies of the church held between 1600 and 1618 and at the Glasgow Assembly in 1638. By the late 1630s Edinburgh, the most important town in Scotland, was controlled by a clique of wealthy merchants. It was their attitudes, fears and convictions which, in 1637 and 1638, were to decide the town's ultimate fate. And, as in matters economic, where the capital led politically the rest of the burghs were bound eventually to follow.

Between 1600 and 1625, in political matters at least, relations between James VI, his privy council and the wealthiest merchants of the capital were fairly amicable. The riot in the burgh in December 1596, apparently directed against the Octavians and their influence with the king, had resulted in the threat by James to remove the seat of government from the town and the rapid abasement before him of the town's magistrates. After, as far as members of the elite were concerned, there was little overt or organized opposition to any of the king's policies on their part. This political caution was to last throughout James's reign. Certainly, Edinburgh celebrated lavishly any royal occasion or festivity, including the king's escape from an assassination attempt at the hands of Gowrie in 1600; his elevation to the throne of England in 1603; his daughter's marriage in 1613; Prince Charles's engagement to Henrietta Maria; and the wealthiest men of the town substantially financed both the king's trip to England in 1603 and his visit to Edinburgh in 1617. It has

3. Edin. Recs, 1589-1603, pp. xi, xii, xiii, 172, 173-6, 179, 180, 184; Makey, The Church of the Covenant, 156; M. Lee, Government By Pen (Urbana, 1980), 19; W. R. Foster, The Church Before the Covenants (Edinburgh, 1975), 12-3; Spottiswood, History of the Church of Scotland, iii, 37. The town council of 1596-7 included seven members of the elite (Edin. Recs, 1589-1603, 163).

4. Edin. Recs, 1589-1603, 269; 1604-26, 94, 97, 156, 157, 259; RPC, vi, 554-5; Spottiswood, History of the Church of Scotland, iii, 89, 90, 98; ECA, MSS, ETCR, xi, 2 May 1604.
been stated that after James's departure for England the privy council and the Edinburgh merchant establishment worked in close partnership, one providing legislative stimulus to the trading, producing and industrial elements in society and the other the necessary capital investment. Working together, they managed to improve the economy substantially so that after 1610 the people who counted in Scotland were not only those traditionally in control of land but also those in control of commerce. However, little evidence survives indicating that any of the Edinburgh elite did indeed have a particularly close relationship with any of the members of the privy council. An economic link between members of both groups did develop – the Edinburgh elite were lending money to privy councillors. None of the burgh's wealthiest merchants married into the great, political families, nor, to any great extent, did their children. Certainly, as the most influential merchandising group in Scotland, and as the capital's magistrates, the elite must have been consulted by the privy council but to what extent is a matter of speculation.

Despite the royal removal to England in 1603, James retained an active interest in the affairs of his Scottish capital. In turn, the burgh's magistrates, and through them the burgh elite, kept up a personal relationship with the king, dispatching both merchant-envoys to England and working there through the town's clerk depute, Mr. John Hay, in order to gain access to the king's ear. As early as March 1604 the town council sent William Nisbet to London

6. Ibid., 123, 132.
7. See chapter 5 and below, pp. 406-08.
in order to plead with the king on the town's behalf. In August Henry Nisbet was selected as one of the commissioners to travel to England to negotiate about a possible union of the two countries, although he proved too ill to do so and was replaced by John Arnot who was '... presentlie at courtes and in gude favor with his majestie...'. Mr. John Hay journeyed to London that same month to present to the king the town's case regarding their rights to the superiority of Leith. In August 1605 Thomas Fisher and William Spier were appointed commissioners to England and France on the burgh's affairs. In 1608, at the considerable expense to the town of £1,361 lls., James Nisbet and William Rig were sent to the king to explain the reasoning behind the election of the chancellor, the earl of Dunfermline, as the town's provost which contradicted James's prohibiting the election of nobles and non-merchants to the council. At the time, both Nisbet and Rig were described as being 'both well affected to your majesties service'. This same deputation also approached the king in the matter of his possible repayment of the considerable debts he owed to the town, but received no satisfaction.

8. ECA, MSS, ETCR, xi, 14 Mar. 1604. The town had been using Mr. Robert Johnston as their agent up until then. See ibid., xi, 21 Mar. 1604. At that time the town was negotiating over the question of the superiority of Leith.

9. Ibid., xi, 1, 29 Aug, 12 Oct. 1604; Calderwood, History, vi, 264.


11. Ibid., 1604-26, 13. James Nisbet supplied the money needed, 2,000 merks. He was granted annual interest on the sum as long as it was outstanding.


13. Ibid., no. 87.

14. Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 49 n.4. Satisfaction was not received until 1616 (ibid., 1604-26, 144-6).
1612, William Rig, James Nisbet and James Ainslie were amongst the five men selected by the town council to appeal to the king in the matter of the newly-revised customs rates. In February of the following year James Nisbet again visited London on the town's behalf, ostensibly to deliver the town's wedding present to Princess Elizabeth although he was also involved in negotiations with the king over the matter of an impost levied on certain tavern keepers in Leith. Hay was dispatched to the king in October 1615 on the town's behalf, and again the next month.

The Edinburgh elite must have reacted favourably to the privy council's plans in 1614 for the pacification of the north and would have supplied vessels, gunpowder and money for the project.

Certainly relations between the king and Edinburgh were sufficiently affectionate in 1617 for the town to lavishly welcome his return in May of that year. Due to English foreign relations in 1621 with France, Scottish merchants were, in effect, banned from their traditional trading centres there, causing much protest, and hardly calculated to endear the king to the merchants of his northern kingdom.

Although Hay approached the king in England on the town's behalf a further seven times between June 1619 and James's death in 1625, there appears to have been almost no direct contact between members of the elite and their sovereign after

15. Ibid., 1604-26, 84-5. The other men were Mr. John Hay and Edward Ker.
17. Ibid., 1604-26, 133, 150. By this time the town employed an agent in London, Mr. Patrick Hamilton (ibid., 1604-26, 157).
19. Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 156-7, 158-9, 163; Calderwood, History, vii, 211, 245-6, 257. William Nisbet, then provost, was knighted during the visit.
20. Maidment, Melros Papers, ii, 406-7; see also above, pp. 135, 143.
the royal visit. The town council received the news of his death somewhat phlegmatically and, apart from directing the treasurer to drape the king's loft in St. Giles in black cloth, made little comment on the event.  

The combination of James's taxation and the religious policies which he demanded be carried out caused a certain disaffection for the man within Edinburgh by the time of his death. For certainly it was both of these policies, almost to the exclusion of any other factors, which were to dominate the relationship between Edinburgh and Charles I.

As far as most members of Edinburgh's merchant elite were concerned the financial demands made upon them between 1600 and 1625 by the king, the Convention of Royal Burghs and the town itself in the form of regular taxation would have provided reason enough for feeling dissatisfied with the authorities. For if anything was ever likely to bring the burgh inhabitants together in protest it was demands made upon their pockets. From 1581 Edinburgh's inhabitants experienced taxation on both a regular and unprecedented scale. Between February 1601 and August 1624 Edinburgh's inhabitants were assessed for taxation a total of twenty-three times. In all, those people within the burgh liable to pay were charged over £154,000 in tax, although it is by no means certain that all of these funds were ultimately collected.

The taxes were levied for a combination of reasons. The collections of 1601, 1606, 1607 and 1613 were levied as Edinburgh's share of taxes levied by the Convention of Royal Burghs. The others were

22. Ibid., 1604-26, 267.
23. See table nine.
24. Certainly the taxable population was being widened over these years to help cope with the payments. See above, pp. 10-12.
either as partial payment of taxes granted to the king by parliament as in 1616 and 1621; or were for purely burghal purposes, as in the taxes for the payment of the nightwatch in 1610, 1614, 1617, 1620 and 1623. However, the town council often added certain extra amounts to the actual totals required to be collected, in effect levying a local taxation within the national taxation. In 1610 600 merks was added to the £3,194 8s. 10d. needed for payment of the last term of the great extent in order for the town to repay a sum borrowed from the kirk session. In both of the extent rolls of 1615 the town council levied additional capital for the town's common affairs. In November 1621, in addition to the 15,000 merks needed for the first term's payment of the money promised to the king, a further 8,000 merks was charged for the relief of the common good and 1,000 merks for expenses. The same applied to each of the tax rolls between 1622 and 1624. It is not possible to tell if the taxable population were informed of these extra charges levied on them for burghal purposes. But in each stent roll between 1601 and 1624 the sum collected was always greater than the sum required by the original tax.

Certainly, problems and complaints about these various taxes existed within the burgh almost from their inception. Five days after Edinburgh had been taxed by the Convention of Royal Burghs in February 1601, for only just over £3,000, the town council was forced to borrow the money from surpluses left by both the last treasurer and dean of guild

25. See table nine. The tax of 1613 was for Princess Elizabeth's wedding, that of 1617 to help pay for the king's visit and those in 1621-4 for the wars in the Palatinate. See Edin. Recs, 1604-26, p. xli.

26. Sums were also collected to ease the burdens of the monthly contributions to the poor and for the payment of the ministers' stipends. See ibid., 1604-26, p. xliii.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sum Assessed</th>
<th>Source as well as ECA, SR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>July 1606</td>
<td>£12,777 15s. 6d.</td>
<td>RCRB, ii, 564.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>- 1616</td>
<td>£13,816 18s.</td>
<td>after October 1616 council election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>- 1617</td>
<td>£ 890 2s.</td>
<td>nightwatch tax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Apr. 1618</td>
<td>£ 8,490 14s. 8d.</td>
<td>Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 175.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>- 1620</td>
<td>No total given</td>
<td>nightwatch tax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>- 1623</td>
<td>No total given</td>
<td>nightwatch tax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Oct. 1637</td>
<td>£27,396 7s. 4d.</td>
<td>No record of collection.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No further collections until 1642.

Source: ECA, SR, 1601-37; Edin. Recs, 1589-1641, RCRB, ii.
to pay the tax, due to "... the present universall povertie of the inhabitantis of this burgh...". 27 The tax imposed in July 1606 of almost £13,000, also caused complaint not only within the burgh but throughout the country. In December 1606, the privy council replied to an inquiry of the king that although he may have heard rumours of discontent in Scotland at the tax it was most freely given "... with the generall applause and hearty consent of all the estaitis...". 28 Despite this assurance on the part of the privy council of whole-hearted acceptance of the tax, Edinburgh town council wrote to James in February 1607 informing him that "... this present taxation grat upon this realm...". 29 In May 1613 the town council directed the treasurer to borrow the £3,000 required for the first term payment of the tax granted to the king. 30 A roll of taxable inhabitants had been drawn up, so this need to resort to borrowing is perhaps indicative of an initial reluctance on the part of those taxed to make payment. The hospitality lavished by the town in 1617 on the king's visit also caused financial difficulties. It resulted in the burgh being taxed for over £8,000 in April 1618, most of which was raised to pay for this entertainment. Of more direct consequence to members of the elite, the visit required the town treasurer at the time of the visit, John Byres, to borrow 5,000 merks from William Rae. Byres had also used his own money to cover an overspending of almost £9,000 by the town, and Rae, treasurer in 1618, was directed by the council to borrow this sum in order to make restitution to Byres. 31

27. Ibid., 1589-1603, 282.
29. NLS, Denmilne MSS, 33.1.1, vol. 2, no. 10.
31. Ibid., 1604-26, 175. Byres was to pay Rae interest on the 5,000 marks. See also Balfour, Historical Works, ii, '64.
However, it was the proposed taxation of the profits of annual rents in 1621 which was to cause the first truly serious protest of James's policy of continual, and almost punitive, taxation of the wealth-makers in his northern realm. It has been stated that the most important question set before the parliament of 1621 was not the vexed problem of the Five Articles of Perth and adherence to the royal religious policies, but that of the tax on annual rents proposed to finance James's involvement in the Palatinate wars. The tax, of five percent of the annual interest earned on lent money, was expected to raise at least £230,000 a year throughout the country. It was also a direct threat to a form of moneymaking which had become an important and profitable source of income for the burgh elite. It was recognised by the privy council, and in particular by the earl of Melrose, the Secretary of State, as a matter which needed careful supervision in order to be passed. In November 1620 Melrose had warned the king that the proposed taxation could cause serious trouble within Scotland. The following month he needed to order the Edinburgh town council to submit to the tax; although by March 1621 he seemed sure that the tax would be passed in parliament without trouble.

Indeed almost all of the letters sent to the king from Melrose dealing with the forthcoming parliament make mention only of the tax and not religious problems.  

32. See table 9.
34. APS, iv, 597-600, 693-4; v, 13-16, 39-40.
35. See chapter five. Lee, Government By Pen, 207 states that this was a tax on the middle classes.
37. Ibid. There is only one mention made of the Five Articles by Melrose (ibid., ii, 411-6). Calderwood complained that the parliament put the tax before the matters of the church (Calderwood, History, vii, 490).
Nevertheless, Melrose's carefully planned parliament of 1621 almost failed to agree to the tax on annual rents, due to the intransigence on the part of some representatives of the burghs and barons, and it was with some obvious relief that Melrose reported to the king in August that the tax had been accepted. 38 Alexander Clark, at the time a town councillor and the Edinburgh representative to parliament, voted in favour of the tax, at a parliament which had also passed several acts in favour of the burgh — although these two events are not necessarily connected. 39 The burgh showed little immediate gratitude; for within days of the passing of the tax the town council appealed to the king for remission of the tax as it was '... verie prejudiciall and seemes to import ane grit divisio[n] within [the] burgh...'. 40 By November 1621 the burgh magistrates came to what they viewed as a satisfactory agreement with the crown, commuting the tax to a payment of £40,000 spread over four years. 41 Obviously it was felt that a voluntary payment of £10,000 a year spread amongst the taxable population would, in the long run, prove less expensive to those people involved in money-lending than having to declare their actual income from these activities. The burgh elite, the group most involved in money-lending as a form of income-making and as the burgh's magistrates involved in the negotiations, managed to make the burgh as a whole agree to meet a sizeable tax bill for what after

39. Calderwood, History, vii, 500; APS, iv, 632, 667, 669, 671. The most important was the ratification of the charters of 1609. James also interceded with the French king on the behalf of Scottish merchants in June 1621 (Maidment, Melros Papers, ii, 406-7).
41. Ibid., 1604-26, 228; Maidment, Melros Papers, ii, 434-7. Melrose stated that Edinburgh reaching an agreement was likely to prompt Glasgow to follow suit (ibid., ii, 436).
all was a sort of business transaction which affected them
more than the ordinary tax payer. It is to the credit of
James’s political acumen that he knew to agree to this bargain,
and a testimony to the influence which the burgh’s wealthiest
merchants had over the burgh that, in spite of the size of the
tax, it was collected with little trouble over the next three
years. However, the combination of almost constant taxation,
the threats made to Scottish overseas trade due to the
entanglement of Scotland in England’s foreign policy and the
various attempts made to interfere in the burgh’s religious
affairs from 1600 to 1625 did, ultimately, divide the burgh
elite amongst itself by the end of James’s reign. This division
was, in the long run, to have dire consequences for both rulers
and ruled by the late 1630s.

It was Edinburgh’s particular misfortune to be the cockpit
in which many of the religious squabbles of the early seventeenth
century were fought. The Five Articles of Perth may have posed
a crisis of conscience for certain individuals amongst the burgh
elite but, more seriously, they posed a crisis of authority for
the elite as a whole – which emerged in sharp form at meetings
of the burgh’s general session in the late 1610s. Despite
constant disputes and bickering between the church’s ministers,
their flock and the crown in the first decade of the seventeenth
century throughout Scotland it was possible for the privy council
to write to James in January 1609 that, in general, the kirk was
at peace and was an institution in great and happy tranquility.

42. The Five Articles of Perth dealt with the restoration of the
episcopacy, private baptism and communion, kneeling at communion
and the strict observance of certain holy days. See I Cowan,
‘The Five Articles of Perth’ in D. Shaw (ed.), Reformation and

43. Maidment, Melros Papers, i, 64.
As far as Edinburgh was concerned, this was not wholly correct.
The burgh's ministers had been banished from the town in
September 1600 for their failure to commemorate properly the
king's escape from assassination at the hands of the earl of
Gowrie, although the town itself celebrated fulsomely. While
the town council protested to the king at the removal of these
clerics, they took no action contrary to the king's commands.
Indeed, the council repudiated having to pay the ministers while
they were banished, and in 1602 refused permission for one of the
disgraced men either to lodge or preach in the town while he was
under interdict. Upon the king's accession to the throne of
England in 1603 the presbytery of Edinburgh sent their congratulations
and thereafter until the troubles of 1619 neither the town's inhabi-
tants nor their magistrates appear to have much interest in
opposing any of the proposed changes in the order of the kirk,
such as the establishment of bishops in 1610. Indeed, in
religious matters the burgh's magistrates were totally subservient
during the 1600s and 1610s to the king and the Archbishop of St.
Andrews; they entertained English clergy; allowed bishops to preach
in the burgh; and chose as the town's ministers men who not only
actively supported the king's policies, but were also closely
related to members of their circles. Mr. Thomas Sydserf,
chosen as minister in 1611, was from a well established Edinburgh

44. Calderwood, History, vii, 45, 46, 50, 59, 82-3, 98; Spottiswood,
History of the Church of Scotland, iii, 89, 90, 98; RPC, vi, 148-9,
158, 162. The ministers returned eventually, although there were
no ministers in the burgh in 1602, except for Mr. Robert Bruce
who remained in dispute with the king for years.
45. Calderwood, History, vii, 121, 189, 198, 205. Mr. Robert Bruce,
the minister in question, was visited by Ninian McMorrane and
Joseph Marjoribanks who attempted to get him to submit (ibid., vi, 193).
46. Ibid., vii, 107. Christmas had been kept in 1609-10 for the first
time in thirty years (ibid., vii, 53).
47. Edin. Recs, 1604-26, pp. xxiii-iv, 59, 64, 152; Maidment, Melros
Papers, i, 234.
merchant family and was to marry John Byres's daughter in 1615. During the king's visit to Scotland in 1617, the town's ministers refused to involve themselves in the protests against the Five Articles of Perth directed at the king. Certain divisions amongst the elite over this matter had already developed, for Sir William Nisbet, then provost, and newly knighted by the king, openly supported a dissenting minister who was in gaol and worked for his release. The town bailies attempted to enforce adherence by the populace to the king's commands to treat Good Friday as a holy day in 1618, the town representatives voted in favour of the Five Articles of Perth at the General Assembly in Perth in August of that year, and by 1619 the town's magistrates celebrated communion on their knees. However between that date and 1624 the town was split by religious factions, which also revealed the divisions within the elite. This religious disruption was the most serious faced by the town during James's reign and its repercussions were to be reflected in the general attitude of the town when it faced open rebellion in the late 1630s.

The first member of the Edinburgh elite to openly oppose the statutes of the Five Articles was William Rig in March 1619. In a meeting held at St. Giles Rig urged Edinburgh's ministers to follow the example of Christ and to reject kneeling at communion. Rig was an unlikely candidate to join those opposing the royal will.

48. *Edin. Recq*, 1604–26, 68, 73. See also entry on Byres in appendix VII. Byres was a prominent councillor.
His father, William, had sat on the town council from 1588—
six times alone between 1604 and 1619, three times as a bailie—
and was a councillor in March 1619. Rig, elder, had been sent as
an envoy for the town to the king in 1608 and was a wealthy overseas
trader leaving over £80,000 when he died in July 1619. 53 Rig,
younger, had married into the wealthy Inglis family in 1612, had
been elected for the first time to the town council in 1616 and
had obviously been groomed for town service by his father. 54
Three days after Rig's protest Sir William Nisbet, the provost,
refused to kneel at communion and absented himself from the Easter
services. The other burgh-magistrates appear to have conformed
to the Five Articles but a general protest seemed imminent. 55

The divisions within the town flared up again at a meeting
of the kirk session on 1 April 1619 in which a leading and vocal
opponent of the Five Articles, John Mean, was censured and told
to be quiet by both Mr. Thomas Sydserf, the minister, and his
father-in-law, John Byres. Alexander Clerk, then a bailie,
stood with Byres against those protesting at the articles and
complained that the various deacons were not performing their
duties strictly in regard to the proper form of holding communion.
Two days later the division within the elite caused by the issue
were made evident. Clerk renewed his complaint about the deacons
only to be told by another member of the elite, John Inglis, a skinner,
that men should not be forced into serving at a form of service
to which they were opposed. John Mean agreed with this point,
was promptly condemned as an Anabaptist and was commanded by Clerk

53. See appendix VII.
54. Ibid.
to be quiet. In an unprecedented attack on a man not only his social superior but also a representative of the burgh's magistrates, Mean rounded on Clark informing him he was only a sessioner at the meeting and not entitled to rule over the rest. Obviously enraged at this attack Clark threatened Mean with the full force of his magisterial powers informing him that he would soon let Mean know that he was more than a mere sessioner. 56

The contention continued throughout 1619. In June the town council was ordered by the king to obey the Five Articles 57. They promptly sent Mr. John Hay, a well known conformist, to placate the king and ordered that three booksellers' premises — including that of Andrew Hart, a member of the elite — were to be searched for subversive religious literature. 58

In August the town council was instructed by the privy council to ensure that the town as a whole, conformed to the articles, to which Sir William Nisbet, himself somewhat suspect as far as religious matters were concerned, as provost replied that it was not the town's magistrates' duty to inform the populace on religious matters. 59

In response to this rather belligerent attitude, the king wrote to the town council that none but those who conformed to the Five Articles were to be elected in the forthcoming council elections as the burgh magistrates. 60

The election of October 1619 barely reflected this. 61

56. Ibid., vii, 361-4. Surprisingly Rig was not involved in any of these disputes.
57. Ibid., vii, 380-81.
58. Ibid., vii, 382.
59. Ibid., vii, 391.
60. Ibid., vii, 394. This states that the letter was written in December but it must have arrived before the election in October.
61. Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 197. Calderwood is particularly dismissive of Clark, stating that he kneeled, conformed and threatened honest men (Calderwood, History, vii, 394).
Clerk, perhaps in fulfillment of his threat to Mean in April, was, indeed, elected provost, but there was little change in the rest of the council. Nisbet was elected an ordinary councillor, as was John Byres, and John Inglis, the skinner, was elected a deacon of that craft. However, from the time of the election until Easter 1620 there was little disruption caused within the burgh by religious matters.

At the end of March 1620, in order to keep the forthcoming Easter services as quiet as possible, the king ordered the arrest and banishment from the town of certain leading non-conformists; including William Rig and John Inglis, skinner. Seven days after this Rig demanded that separate Easter services be conducted without kneeling, and was denounced by the ministers as a schismatic. Easter observance that year revealed more opposition by the elite to the new forms of worship. Thomas Adinston's wife shared out her piece of bread at communion, only to have it pulled out of her hand by the minister. Rig was put in ward on 25 April, and a deputation was sent by the town council to the archbishop of St. Andrews to plead for him. Surprisingly, this deputation included John Byres and Mr. John Hay. The archbishop interceded on their behalf, and in May the privy council suspended the sentence against Rig. Although Rig was ordered de novo to be banished to Caithness in July, the

62. Ibid., vii, 434; RPC, xii, 249-50. This incorrectly names John Inglis as Thomas Inglis, a wealthy merchant.
64. Ibid., vii, 438.
65. Ibid., vii, 441; Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 208-9.
66. RPC, xii, 264.
matter was not pursued. Obviously the town magistrates were reluctant to act against one whom they regarded as their economic, if not political, equal.

Rig was in Edinburgh in October 1620 at the time the new ministers were to be selected, and protested that the elections were not free, only conformists being chosen. The elections in December 1620 of elders and deacons to the kirk sessions were also carefully supervised by the town council, with only conformists chosen. In April 1621, another member of the elite revealed his religious persuasions. John Fleming refused to attend the Easter communion despite the fact that as an elder he had sworn adherence to the Five Articles. Although the provost, David Aikenhead, knelt at communion that Easter, the bailies, including Robert Dougal, John Fairlie and William Dick, refused to take communion. It was against this background of division between members of the elite that Alexander Clerk, as the burgh's representative, voted in favour of the Five Articles at the parliament held in August 1621. A deceptive calm ensued. The elite did not protest openly at the choice of Mr. William Forbes, a conformist, as the town's new minister in December 1621, at the exclusion of the 'better sort' from the kirk session that same month, or make any comment on the apparent

68. Ibid., vii, 448-9.
69. Ibid., vii, 454.
70. Ibid., vii, 456-7. Fleming's brother was married to the sister of the wife of John Mean (Stevenson, 'Conventicles and the Kirk', 104, 108).
72. Ibid., vii, 488, 490, 493, 500.
schism in the burgh in 1622 when few communicants attended services at the burgh's churches.\textsuperscript{73} The council willingly removed the principal of the college in January 1623 at James's orders.\textsuperscript{74} However, two opposing factions had clearly developed on the town council, for the council elected in October 1623 included William Rig as one of the bailies, Sir William Nisbet and John Fleming as councillors, as well as Alexander Clerk as provost and John Byres as dean of guild.\textsuperscript{75} It was not until March 1624 that the divisions surfaced.

On 23 March 1624 the town council assembled for the traditional Tuesday meeting at which the people had the right to criticize their ministers.\textsuperscript{76} Unfortunately for Clerk the meeting proved a disaster. Forbes was criticized for preaching conciliation with Papists by a group of men led by Meang, and which included John Fleming.\textsuperscript{77} Forbes took exception and on 25 March denounced the elders and deacons who did not attend his services. He ended his sermon with a violent attack on certain members of his congregation, including the wealthy merchants James Nairn, John Smith and William Rig, all of whom he dismissed as recusants and ignorant children.\textsuperscript{78} By 30 April the privy council brought charges against a group of men accused by the ministers of refusing

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., vii, 516, 518, 519, 546, 547, 562. Forbes was to prove a very unpopular minister.

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., vii, 569-70. The college was a hot bed of anti-conformism (Edin. Recs, 1604-26, pp. xxxi-ii).

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 1604-26, 245. The council also included John Sinclair who was to be regarded as a Royalist in 1637. See below, p. 389.

\textsuperscript{76} The right to hold this meeting was cancelled after this trouble (ibid., 1604-26, p. xxvi, 264, 285).

\textsuperscript{77} Calderwood, History, vii, 596.

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., vii, 599.
to conform to the Five Articles. 79 These included William Rig, William Simpson and John Hamilton, apothecary, members of the elite, as well as John Mean, John Dickson and Joseph Miller, an advocate. 80 John Fleming escaped prosecution at the time, only by being out of the burgh. 81

The examination of these men before the privy council on 30 April was to divide the burgh further, and unite those opposed to the Articles as never before. 82 Rather than merely inquiring into the events of 23 March Rig, who appeared to have played no role in the matter, was asked if he wished a return to communion in the old manner, to which he replied in the affirmative. 83 John Hamilton was similarly questioned, but denied that he had said anything about communion. Simpson denied stating any opinion on the matter of communion, although he admitted that he had refused to serve at the communion table. Only John Mean admitted having openly desired a return to the old form of worship and was accused of favouring private conventicles, although this was denied. Alexander Clerk, as provost, spoke in favour of the men, and tried to establish that the criticism of Forbes was over his attitude to conciliation with Papists, and not over forms of receiving communion. Although Clerk admitted having heard a call from the crowd for a return to the old ways of worship, he claimed he could not identify the voice. The other three bailies, all

79. Ibid., vii, 601; RPC, xiii, 490-93.
80. Rig and Hamilton had not always been in agreement. Rig had sued Hamilton in 1613 for £180 (SR0, CS7/275, 30 Jan. 1613).
82. For a description of the examination and its results see NLS, Adv. Lib. Denmilne MSS, 33.3.12, vol. 15, no. 34; Calderwood, History, vii, 601-6; Maidment, Melrose Papers, ii, 641-4; RPC, xiii, 503-4; Salfour, Historical Works, ii, 99-100; Stevenson, 'Conventicles and the kirk', 103.
83. Stevenson states that Rig publicly challenged the doctrine (ibid.). The minutes of the examination do not bear this out (Maidment, Melrose Papers, ii, 641-4); he merely responded to questioning.
wealthy merchants, the dean of guild, John Byres, and the 
treasurer confirmed Clerk's statement. Obviously, the burgh 
elite was rallying to protect its own. 
Clark and Byres 
were outspoken conformists, and yet tried to limit the damage 
done by the ministers having brought the charges against the 
men.

The king and privy council proved intransigent, however, and 
found these burgesses guilty. 
By early June Rig had acknowledged 
his error and promised future conformity. 
He was nevertheless 
deprived of his office as bailie, declared ineligible for future 
town service, sentenced to be warded in Blackness and, it was 
rumoured, fined a massive £50,000. Melrose, obviously concerned, 
wrote to the king on 1 July of the rumours circulating in the town 
of this fine, and asked the king to reconsider it, as the fine was 
unprecedented, unwarranted and would completely ruin Rig. He 
added that Rig had acknowledged his errors, had been removed from 
public office and was in prison. 
The other men were eventually 
also gaol ed and Hamilton was further accused of attending private 
conventicles, an accusation which he denied. 
An act was passed 
by the privy council on 24 June to stamp out conventicles in the 
burgh, and the town council, three weeks later, pledged themselves 
to this. 
Despite a month of delay and pleas for mercy by privy

84. They were rebuked by the privy council for this in November 
1624 (RPC, xiii, 618-9).
85. Ibid., xiii, 521-2; Calderwood, History, vii, 607.
86. Maidment, Melros Papers, ii, 572-6; RPC, xiii, 523-4.
87. Calderwood, History, vii, 609, 611.
88. Ibid., vii, 611; RPC, xiii, 612-3; Maidment, Melros Papers, 
i, 584-5, 639-41, 645; Stevenson, 'Conventicles and the kirk', 
104.
and town councils, Rig was sent to Blackness on 6 July and James insisted on his paying the £50,000. Simpson was warded in the Tolbooth. Mean was to be sent to Elgin. John Fleming, on his return to the burgh in July, was questioned on his attitudes to private conventicles, and despite admitting to attending private suppers at which prayers were said, was cleared of all charges by the privy council. The news, in August, confirming Rig's fine of £50,000, and fining Hamilton 20,000 merks, as well as commanding the burgh's inhabitants to attend Christmas services at which kneeling for communion would be compulsory further angered the town. By this time, Simpson had agreed to take communion in any fashion required. In November 1624 the town council, which included seventeen members of the elite, were required to subscribe to obedience to the Five Articles of Perth, although Sir William Nisbet refused. An outbreak of plague in the town that month resulted in the release of Hamilton from prison in the town, and Rig was removed to his estates in Fife from Blackness in January 1625 for the same reason. The plague also cancelled the proposed Christmas communion. By the time of James's death in March 1625, the burgh was still in dispute over the issue. Rig was in ward in Fife, Hamilton was ordered to re-enter gaol, and the town ministers were demanding that their stipends be augmented

89. Calderwood, *History*, vii, 615; RPC, xiii, 538.
90. Ibid., vii, 619.
91. Ibid., vii, 620-21; Stevenson, 'Conventicles and the kirk', 104.
93. Ibid., vii, 620; RPC, xiii, 596, 627, 648.
94. Calderwood, *History*, vii, 628. The town council included William Rig, who was elected despite his being in prison (*Edin. Recs*, 1604-26, 256).
96. Calderwood, *History*, vii, 628. Rig was not released from Fife until 20 Sept. 1626 (RPC, i, 1625-27, 410-11).
a payment which the town's inhabitants could ill afford.\textsuperscript{97}

It has been stated that James '... lived in peace, deyed in peace, and left all his Kingdomes in a peaceable conditions'.\textsuperscript{98}

As far as his Scottish capital was concerned this tribute was hardly true. The burgh showed little sign of regret at his passing. Its inhabitants were busy handing to tax collectors over £10,000 in payment of a tax on their profits in money-lending, for the third year consecutively. As far as religious matters were concerned the town council had been divided and then forced to act in defence of one of its own in direct opposition to the king's will. Tensions within the burgh over religious policy were at a breaking point by late 1624 and it is probable that both the town and privy council were only too glad to use the excuse of plague in the town in order to postpone the Christmas services. While James had interfered in the town's election of the provost in 1608 and 1609, his involvement and demands were seen then as both minimal and acceptable. However, the royal commands in 1621 and 1624 that the town council subscribe the Five Articles of Perth, when added to the severe taxation, proved almost too much for the town to bear. It was unfortunate that James, at the end of a lengthy and mostly amicable relationship with Edinburgh, should have demanded adherence to religious policies which had for the most part not been put into effect during his reign. It was also unfortunate that, at this time of crisis, the burgh should be forced to deal with a man whose understanding and sympathy to Scottish affairs was almost non-existent -

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{97} Calderwood, History, vii, 631. \\
\textsuperscript{98} Balfour, Historical Works, ii, 115.
\end{flushleft}
Charles. Under James's reign the burgh had never blatantly defied their monarch. Yet, the intolerance in religious affairs shown by the crown in 1624 and 1625, and the excessive taxation, raised a banner around which a potential revolt could be rallied. Certainly, the burgh faced Charles's rule somewhat disaffected with the crown and those in charge of implementing its policies.

Charles and Edinburgh were almost immediately involved in conflict. Between the two grew a gulf which by 1637 was to prove uncrossable. Until the last seven years of his reign James had regularly received embassies from his capital, and had worked in close consultation with his Scottish privy council. Charles, on the other hand, directed his privy council from England with little direct consultation. The Scottish government was often forced to implement policies without fully understanding the reasoning behind them. Charles had few personal relationships with any of the burgh magistrates, and the town's case was usually presented to him by one of the burgh's leading conformists, Mr. John Hay. As far as the town council was concerned, Charles's letter of September 1625, ordering that only those men of proven conformity to the established order of the church were to be elected to the council, did little to calm the troubles caused by the arrest and fining of Rig earlier that year. The council elected that year reflected the fact that the magistrates

99. Lee, *Government By Pen*, 188, states that disaffection with an unpopular policy was transferred to the system as a whole. See also *Edin. Recs*, 1604-26, p. xlvi.


were still divided amongst themselves on the issue of religion. It included David Aikenhead as provost, John Byres as dean of guild, and Alexander Clerk as an ordinary councillor, all leading supporters of the royal religious policy. However, it also included William Dick, who had refused to take communion at the Easter service in 1621, and James Nairn, who had been denounced from the pulpit as a recusant in 1624. Indeed, Sir William Nisbet, noted as an opponent of the Five Articles, had been included in the list for provost. The tax, promised in October 1625 by the convention of estates, of £40,000 for Charles's expenses in his wars with France and Spain, which also interrupted trade, could hardly have proven popular in the burgh. Over £17,000 was assessed against the taxpayers in April and October, 1626; over £16,000 in October 1627; and more than £17,000 in October 1628. In just over two years the burgh magistrates collected almost £85,000 in taxation.

Although Charles's Act of Revocation in 1626 did not affect the burgh itself, it was an unpopular proposal, and until the issue was settled in 1633, the burgh elite, as substantial wadsetters, must have resented its implications. The burgh showed little official support for the king's attempts to recruit troops to fight in France in 1627. This was despite the fact that recruitment of the poor was regarded as a traditional means of ridding a town of having to support its indigent.  

103. *ECA*, MSS, ETCR, xiii, 30 Sept. 1625.  
104. See table 9. In 1628 Edinburgh town council was forced to borrow money in order to pay the tax (*Edin. Recs*, 1625-41, 79). The money was borrowed from John Sinclair, Archibald Tod and Alexander Heriot, all members of the elite.  
107. Three years later the burgh magistrates were to complain of the growth in numbers of the poor over the years (*Edin. Recs*, 1626-41, 73).
elite's trade with France must have been adversely affected by
the dispute between France and England in 1627, for no vessels
left Leith in 1627-8 for France, still an important trading partner
for the elite.\textsuperscript{108} The burgh entered into negotiations with the
king in 1630 for confirmation of the town charter granted by
Charles's father in 1603. The town agreed to certain
restrictions in the jurisdiction of the burgh's courts, but
generally hoped that as the capital, and largest taxpayer in
the country, it would be granted the confirmation.\textsuperscript{109} The
charter, and the matter of superiority over Leith, was not,
however, confirmed until 1636, after the burgh had agreed to
the tax of 1634.\textsuperscript{110} Charles interfered in a minor fashion in
the town election of 1632, in effect censuring craftsmen who had
turned merchants, for he demanded that only those men actively
employed in a craft trade should be elected as a deacon of craft.\textsuperscript{111}
Despite these problems, on 11 January 1633 a committee of the town
council and a number of the burgh inhabitants, met to discuss the
plans for the king's reception in the burgh.\textsuperscript{112} The council for
that year contained eighteen members of the elite, and of the
extra seventeen neighbours consulted, fourteen were of the elite.
The committee appointed the next day to see to the details of the
reception, a group of seventeen men, consisted of thirteen members
of the burgh elite.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{108} The importing of wine from France - an important source of
revenue for Edinburgh's merchants - was forbidden on 12 Dec.
1626. See Balfour, \textit{Historical Works}, ii, 153-8, and also
appendix V.


\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Ibid.}, 1626-41, p. xlii.

\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Ibid.}, 1626-41, pp. xi-xii, 149. This would have had little effect
on any of the elite. Wealthy craftsmen rarely became craft-deacons.
Gilbert Kirkwood, a goldsmith, was elected to the council of 1632
(\textit{ibid.}, 1626-41, 114).

\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Ibid.}, 1626-41, 117; ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiv, 11 Jan. 1633.

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Ibid.}, xiv, 12 Jan. 1633.
The reception committee were faced with a difficult financial situation. By 1633 the burgh had been committed to a programme of heavy expenditure on civic buildings. The town had rebuilt the Netherbow and the prison, constructed a new weighhouse in 1617, built Greyfriars Kirk between 1612 and 1620, started building Heriot's Hospital in 1628, as well as its surrounding wall, and, in 1632, construction of a new parliament house was proposed. While funds were available from the common good, the town relied heavily on voluntary contributions for these civic efforts, which in a time of economic uncertainty were not forthcoming. The king's visit resulted for the town only in debt, the proposal of a new tax in order to pay the ministers' stipends, as well as Charles's announcement that St. Giles was to be erected into a cathedral, which would require extensive refurbishment as well as the building of a new parish church - the Tron. In addition to this, in June 1633, the convention of estates granted the king an extraordinary tax, which included the right to two percent of the profits made on lent money, for the interest rates were to be lowered from ten to eight percent, but this was to be delayed for three years with the king being paid the two percent difference in the interim. It was also proposed that an extra tax of sixteen pennies upon annual rents be introduced. The burgh was sufficiently alarmed

114. A new college library was also built. This was in addition to the conversion of the Magdalen Chapel into the Hammerman's Hall in 1614–5 and the building of a Tailor's Hall in 1620–21 which were funded in the most part by those crafts. See Edin. Recs, 1604–26, pp. xxxii–xxxiii; 1626–41, pp. xlvi–lxi; R.K. Hannay and C.P.H. Watson, 'The building of the parliament house', BOEC, xiii (Edinburgh, 1924), 23, 30–32, 42, 52; ECA, Accounts for the Building and Repairing of Churches, 1635–47.

115. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 40, states that the 1630s witnessed an economic slump. See also appendices II, IV.

116. ECA, Accounts for the Building and Repairs of Churches, 1635–47.

117. APS, v, 39.

by these proposed taxes to delegate a committee, of which William Dick was a member, to approach the king and, in return for the burgh submitting to the tax, get his guarantee that the privy council, Exchequer and Court of Session would settle permanently in the burgh, and that the long awaited confirmation of the town charter would be granted. 119 It was expected that the taxation of 1633 would raise about £1,300,000 throughout the country between 1634 and 1637. 120 Of this Edinburgh was expected to pay £100,000. 121 Certainly over the next four years Edinburgh's tax paying inhabitants paid over £150,000, almost twelve percent of the expected total from the tax. 122 To add to this a new annuity tax for the payment of ministers' stipends and the burden of constructing a new church was to prove an almost intolerable strain on the burgh. 123

Charles showed little consideration of the feelings of his town magistrates, already duty bound to impose the various taxes on the burgh, when he interfered in a manner which his father never dared, in the burgh election of 1634. On 24 September 1634 the town council received a letter from the king instructing them, in no uncertain terms, to elect David Aikenhead as provost; Alexander Spier, Archibald Todt, Edward Edgar and Alexander Dennistoun as bailies; John Sinclair as dean of guild; and David McCall as treasurer. 124 While the council protested at this interference,

119. Edin. Recs, 1626-41, 129, RPC iv, 1630-32, 596; Balfour, Historical Works, II, 199-200. This states that the tax was generally unpopular.
120. See D. Stevenson, 'The Burghs and the Scottish Revolution,' unpublished article in M. Lynch (ed.), The Early Modern Town in Scotland (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr. Lynch for allowing me to see this article.
121. ECA, SR, 27 Jan. 1634, from preamble to roll.
122. See table 9. A small proportion of each tax, 1,000 merks, was marked for burgh purposes.
123. ECA, AT (1635). This was never collected.
these men, all except Aikenhead, members of the burgh elite, were elected. All had served on the town council prior to 1634: Spier nine times from 1613; Tod six times from 1622; Edgar three times from 1625; Dennistoun only once before in 1624, Sinclair seven times from 1610; and McCall five times from 1624 including serving as a bailie in 1633; so it was not a case of placing completely inexperienced yes-men on the council over better-qualified candidates. Aikenhead had served as provost seven times from 1620, had been a regular member of the council, and was a noted conformist to the Five Articles of Perth. However, there is little evidence to suggest that any of the others were particularly fervent in their support of the king's religious policies at that time, and only Sinclair was to emerge as so in 1637 and 1638. Other than the fact that, apart from Tod and Spier, they had all served as town constables, there is little to connect the men. Those they replaced as burgh magistrates, except for William Dick, were not notable as opponents of the crown. Sir Alexander Clerk, replaced as provost in 1634, served as a councillor that year and had always conformed to the king's religious changes. Also on the council of 1634 were William Reid, Edward Farquhar and Robert Fleming, who had been the bailies in 1633. James Loch, the treasurer, in 1633, was also elected a councillor; and David McCall, a bailie in 1633, was elected as town treasurer in 1634. Only William Dick, the dean of guild, failed to be elected to the council of 1634, although he was to be re-elected to the council in 1635. The king must have realised that he would need support on the town

125. Ibid., 1626-41, 149-50, 152.
126. See appendix VII for the town service of each of these men.
council for his taxation and planned religious changes, but
the effects of the alteration of the council in 1634 were not
profound. These men traditionally involved in town government
due to their position as members of the burgh hierarchy remained
so. However, the council elected in 1635 reflected a greater
change. It contained only four men who had served on the one
of 1633. Sir William Nisbet, an outspoken opponent of the
Five Articles, was not elected even as a councillor. John
Sinclair was confirmed as dean of guild, and Aikenhead as
provost, both of whom were bound to support the crown. The
king's letter, the most obvious royal interference in the burgh's
elections since the 1580s must have been resented by those men
traditionally in charge of the town. It also placed men in charge
in 1635 who were out of step with the general mood of unrest in the
burgh.

From the time of the election of 1634 until the riot in St. Giles
in 1637 the burgh magistrates presided over a town suffering from
the combined effects of over-taxation, general economic slump, and
forced adherence to an unpopular religious policy. The accounts
for the building of the new church made necessary by the trans-
forming of St. Giles into a cathedral reflect the lack of capital
in the town. Obviously the expected voluntary contributions were
proving insufficient to the task. The council was forced, in
October 1635, to tax the inhabitants of the burgh for the building
of the new church as well as for the improvement of St. Giles.128
This tax was in addition to the levy of March 1635 to pay for the

128. Ibid., 1626-41, 168.
However, the tax for the construction of the new church never accomplished its aim. Although £14,000 was collected for it in 1635, by March 1639 the treasurer for the building of the Tron, David McCall, had overspent his income by more than £1,500. Certainly, the town never managed to collect solely from voluntary contributions sufficient capital for the construction of the parliament building.

Edinburgh found it almost impossible from the mid-1620s either to fill its quota of ministers or to pay those they had. Forbes, whose attitudes had caused so much trouble in 1624, resigned in August 1626, complaining of the strain of his charge. From then on the burgh was to employ a series of temporary preachers, hardly a satisfactory situation during a period of attempted church reform.

In January 1628 Mr. Henry Rollock replaced Forbes, and in August 1630 Mr. John Sharp joined him as one of the town's ministers.

In 1634 the town was obliged to hire a temporary preacher to fill vacancies and the town lost two of its longest serving ministers. Mr. William Struthers died that year, and was replaced by Mr. Thomas Sydserf, Byres's son-in-law, who was also elected as Dean of the cathedral. Sydserf resigned his posts within five months, as he

129. Ibid., 1626-41, 156; ECA, AT (1635).
131. Hannay and Watson, 'The Building of the Parliament House', 42, 45, 52; ECA, MSS, ETCR, xv, 15 Feb. 1637; the council was forced to borrow 5,000 marks from Thomas Moodie for the construction of the parliament house.
132. Balfour, Historical Works, ii, 152, 158. In 1626 the burgh was divided into four parishes which were supposed to have two ministers each. In 1626 the burgh had only five ministers.
133. Ibid., 1626-41, pp. x1, 8.
134. Ibid., 1626-41, 39, 78-9.
135. Ibid., 1626-41, 137.
136. Ibid., 1626-41, pp. xli, 139.
was promoted to the bishopric of Brechin. It was not until March 1635 that the burgh managed to fill the vacant posts.  

By July 1637 Edinburgh had filled one more of the vacant positions of minister, and had suffered the humiliation of having had the minister of Cramond, Mr. William Colvin, refuse their offer of employment. By the time the privy council issued the act of December 1636 to establish the new service book in every parish many of Edinburgh's inhabitants were obviously unhappy with their ministers. Some travelled to Cramond to hear Colvin's services, certainly Ninian McMorrane attended services there, and John Smith, a leading anti-conformist, was a major landholder in the area. In 1635, Robert Blair, a dissenting minister at Carnock, Fife, was, in fact, preaching and offering communion to a great number of Edinburgh people disaffected with the burgh ministers. The decision made to enforce the new service book in a burgh already taxed to its economic limits emphasises the general impression that by 1637 the king, and the privy council were totally out of touch with the mood of the country and were, in fact, incapable of realizing the effect that enforcing adherence to these policies would have.

137. Ibid., 1626-41, 146, 157.  
139. Ibid., 1626-41, 162, 203.  
140. Johnston, Diary ... 1632-9, p. xviii; RPC, vi, 1635-7, 352-3.  
141. SR0, GD 90/2/71, McMorrane left a silver cup to Cramond church in 1640; Johnston, Diary ... 1632-9, 255, 256, 257. Archibald Johnston attended services in Cramond in 1637.  
142. Bensen, South-west Fife and the Scottish Revolution, 69.  
143. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 55.
It was, again, Edinburgh, which, from July 1637, was to serve as the arena in which those men fomenting rebellion were to fight their battles. Although the synod of Edinburgh had objected to the proposed new prayer book as 'Popish' in late 1636, it was not until the book was used in service at St. Giles and the other churches in the burgh in July 1637 that open rebellion broke out.  

Although there is little doubt that the riot of 23 July in St. Giles as well as the halting of the services in Grayfriars and the Tolbooth church and the physical attack on the bishop of Edinburgh were part of a carefully planned campaign rather than a spontaneous outburst of anger, it is difficult to connect any member of the merchant elite with these events. The council of 1636-7 contained a corps of men who either were, or were to become, noted for their opposition to the religious changes, including William Dick, John Smith and James Cochrane, but it was in 1637 headed by such conformists as David Aikenhead, the dean of guild, John Sinclair - who had been knighted in June 1636 - and, as a councillor, Sir Alexander Clark, who had voted in favour of the Five Articles of Perth in 1621. It may have been the case that these men were losing their grip on the council. By 1637 Clark was an old man who had served on the council regularly since 1575 and Aikenhead was not well. Indeed, Aikenhead's death in August 1637 was to trigger another

144. Ibid., 58, 60-61; Johnston, Diary ... 1632-9, 265.
145. It is surprising that the magistrates did nothing to halt the protests as it had been widely known from at least 6 July 1637 that the new prayer book was to be used on 23 July 1637. See J.M. Henderson, 'An 'advertisement' about the service book, 1637', SHR, xxiii (1926), 199-204; Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 59-63.
146. Edin. Recs, 1626-41, 182; appendix VII.
147. John Byres, another leading conformist, died in 1630. See appendix VII.
crisis for the burgh magistrates. However, the council, apart from promising to punish the rioters, took no action against those involved in either the riots or the attack upon the bishop of Edinburgh, perhaps indicating the influence had by those men on the council who were opposed to the king’s religious policies. The privy council was itself divided in its response to the events. The only action which it took, may indeed have been a victory for those opposed to the new prayer book, for it cancelled all but the Sunday services in the burgh for the next few weeks.

An unfortunate string of coincidental events in August and September 1637 served to turn the burgh elite into revolutionaries. Aikenhead, the conformist provost, died on 14 August 1637. Two weeks after his death, Sir John Hay, the town’s intermediary with the king, a leading advocate of royal policy, and then Clerk Register, presented the town magistrates with a letter postponing the election of a new provost. Hay informed the council on 18 September that it was the king’s wish that he be elected as provost. Since Hay was not a merchant his election would be contrary to the royal commands of 1608 and 1636 requiring that only merchants be considered as potential burgh magistrates. The order of 18 September must have been unpopular for the council minutes record that the bailies and councillors who had been absent were to be warned of the meeting of the following day to place Hay

149. RPC, vi, 1635-7, 510-11; Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 70.
150. RPC, vi, 1635-7, 514-16.
152. Ibid., 1626-41, 194.
153. Ibid., 1604-26, 45; 1626-41, 179.
on the last and that their attendance was compulsory. 154

There may have been some danger that William Dick would have been elected as provost if the king had not interfered. Certainly his name was placed on a list for provost on the 29 September, although the royal will was adhered to and Hay was duly elected. 155 Hay was unable to control either his council or the events within his town. On 20 September the first public meeting against the service book was held. A group of nobles met in Edinburgh to draw up a supplication against the new service book. 156 These men included the earls of Sutherland, Rothes, Home, Lothian and the Lords Fleming, Lindsay, Yester and Balmerino, as well as many lairds. 157 If these men brought with them their retainers the atmosphere within the town must have been charged with anti-royal feeling. The council, probably in response to the mood within the burgh, and in reaction against Hay, who was absent, wrote to the king on 22 September requesting that the new service book be withdrawn. 158 Their reasons for this were not, however, due to its religious contents but in order to keep order, peace and quietness in a burgh already disrupted by the influx of supplicating nobles and lairds. 159 From the date of sending the letter, however, the town council tacitly supported those in favour of actively opposing the king, and Hay's position as provost

154. Ibid., 1626-41, 194. Hay was a much despised character, despite his service to the town from the 1610s. See Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 66.

155. ECA, MSS, 6ETCR, xv, 29 Sept. 1637; Edin. Recs, 1626-41, 196; Makey, The Church of the Covenant, 160.

156. Leslie, Relation, 8.

157. Ibid; Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 66, 69. This meeting involved one-fifth of the nobles of Scotland.


159. Ibid., 1626-41, 195. Rothes dismissed the Edinburgh town council as the king's obsequious rascals (Leslie, Relation, 12).
was, in effect, ignored. It has been stated that by this act Edinburgh’s magistrates, perhaps inadvertently, encouraged the rest of the Scottish burghs to join in the protests.\footnote{Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 72.}

The king’s response to the troubles over the months had been to ignore the reasons behind them and merely to chastise Edinburgh for its failure to punish the troublemakers.\footnote{Edin. Recs, 1626-41, 194-5; RPC, vi, 1635-7, 532; Leslie, Relation, 14; Balfour, Historical Works, ii, 232-3; Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 69-70.}

Charles failed to see that his northern realm was on the verge of civil war, although others did.\footnote{R. Baillie, The Letters and Journals, D. Laing (ed.), 3 vols. Bannatyne Club (1841-2), i, 23; Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 71.}

The king’s response to the supplication of 20 September was expected by the privy council on 17 October.\footnote{Ibid.}

It arrived in a burgh packed with petitioners summoned by those organizing the opposition, most notably Archibald Johnston of Wariston.\footnote{Ibid.}

The king instructed the privy council to remove the petitioners from the burgh within twenty-four hours, and to halt all discussion of religious affairs. In an attempt to emulate his father’s threats of 1596 which had successfully curbed the burgh, Charles ordered both the privy council and the Court of Session to adjourn to Linlithgow - breaking the agreement he had made with the burgh in 1636.\footnote{RPC, vi, 1635-7, 536-8, 541.}

Far from cowing the burgh magistrates this action merely infuriated them. On the 18 September, three of the longest serving bailies, including Gilbert Acheson, were sent by the townspeople to the meeting of the
town council with a petition signed by '... most of the honest men of the town...' desiring the burgh magistrates to find a way of supplicating against the prayer book. Hay merely fobbed them off, although he must have been aware that the king's threats had angered the town, for he wrote that same day asking the king to reconsider the removal of the privy council and Court of Session from the burgh. The only response made to the order for the supplicants to remove themselves from the town was to resolve to draw up a new petition and several hours of street rioting, during which the earl of Traquair, the bishop of Galloway and Sir John Hay were stoned. Despite Hay's presence, the town council, powerless to restore civic order, declared for the petition. James Cochrane, John Smith and Thomas Paterson, all councillors, were chosen to meet with the nobles despite the active opposition of Sir John Sinclair, dean of guild. By the evening of the 18 September a National Petition, attacking the prayer book, the Book of Canons and the bishops was signed by almost 500 supplicants. These included John Smith, who signed for the burgh, but also the principal and regent of the College, two of the town's ministers, and Henry Nisbet, a member of the burgh elite. It has been stated that the petition was in fact a conservative complaint and '... of those

166. Leslie, Relation, 14.
168. Balfour, Historical Works, ii, 238; Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 73. The bishop of Galloway at that time was Mr. Thomas Sydserf, the ex-minister of Edinburgh.
169. Leslie, Relation, 32, 33; Edin. Recs, 1626-41, 197.
who subscribed the National Petition ... less than half could be described as single-minded opponents of kirk innovations... 171
Satisfied with what they viewed as an expression of their legitimate complaints the supplicants agreed to disperse and to reconvene on 15 November. 172 For the first time in a month, the burgh was free of the threat of riot, although many supplicants refused to leave the burgh. However, the burgh was now committed openly to opposing the royal will.

The events of the summer and autumn of 1637 have been described as a '... crisis by monthly instalment'. 173 From 18 October until the signing of the Covenant in February 1638 Edinburgh counted the cost of the troubles. The capital of Scotland had been abandoned by the institutions of government - leaving a power vacuum into which the more radical supplicants were only too eager to step. There developed in the burgh what amounted to an alternative government controlled by the supplicants, known as the Tables, whose members held regular meetings and had appointed commissioners. While Edinburgh may have been represented at these meetings, the town council minutes make no mention of them. It is possible that Hay had left the burgh, for he is not mentioned as being in attendance at any council meeting in November and December, and it was recorded that when Hay met with the town council on 29 December he had not been in touch with the council for a long time. 174 Control of the burgh appears to have devolved

173. Ibid.
174. Leslie, Relation, 52.
upon John Smith, James Cochrane and Thomas Paterson, who met with the commissioners of the Tables on the town's behalf. 175

The king's response was one of prevaricating. In December, he summoned Traquair to England in order to explain the events. 176 Hay attempted to persuade the town council on the 29 December that if legal action was taken by them against the nobles for riot, the supplicants would leave the burgh. This speech revealed the extent to which the burgh magistrates had been alienated from their provost. 177 Not only did Cochrane, Smith and Paterson persuade the town council to believe the contrary, but the burgh sent William Gray, William Dick and Sir John Smith to assure the supplicants that the provost had not been speaking on the town's behalf. 178 Traquair returned to Scotland with no concessions from the king, but a series of demands which he was to convey to a meeting of the privy council at Stirling on 20 February 1638. 179 The supplicants, suspecting the king's intransigence, began to gather in Edinburgh, and there, on the 21 and 22 February, received the king's proclamation stating that the prayer book was to be followed, denouncing the petitioners and forbidding all meetings of the supplicants. 180 Traquair realized this was a mistake for it would drive the supplicants to protest but was helpless to prevent any protest. 181

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175. Ibid., 44; Edin. Recs, 1626-41, 198. Sir John Sinclair was elected as the burgh's representative to the Convention of Royal Burghs (ibid., 1626-41, 198).

176. Rothes states that by this time Traquair had informed him that he disliked the prayer book (Leslie, Relation, 43). Traquair, however, refused to take a petition from the supplicants to the king (Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 79).

177. Makey, The Church of the Covenant, 160. Hay left the burgh shortly after this date, but he did return by 20 June 1638.

178. Leslie, Relation, 52, 53.


180. Ibid., 81.

181. Ibid., 87.
28 February the supplicants gathered in Grayfriars Kirkyard and the National Covenant was signed. 182

Although the Covenant was greeted with enthusiasm throughout the country, the Edinburgh town council minutes made no mention of the events of 28 February. The Covenant had been signed by John Smith for the burgh, and on 24 March the council, without Hay, ratified the signing of the Covenant, together with thirty-one neighbours. 183 The burgh must have been a hive of Covenanting activity at this time as these men were busy constructing an alternative Scottish government in the town. A president was elected daily, and the burdens of government were spread as widely as possible in order to involve as many people in the process. 184 It has been written that within a month of the signing of the Covenant:

'... the fyre ... [of revolution was] ... throughoutie kendied, and the flames thereof bursting fourth in evrey corner of the Kingdome, and with such vnepected furey and impetuosity, as it was past both the skill and powe of his Maiasties privey counsaill to quenche it...' 185

Edinburgh began to prepare for conflict. At the end of May, Robert Fleming was sent by the town council to inform the Covenanters of the burgh's defence plans. On 2 June the town was divided into eight companies, and on 13 June, three members of the town council, Cochrane, Smith and Paterson, were elected on to a provisional Covenanting government. 186

182. Leslie, Relation, 70-3.
185. Balfour, Historical Works, ii, 257.
186. Edin. Recs, 1626-41, 203; Balfour, Historical Works, ii, 131. By 13 June the earl of Hamilton had arrived in Edinburgh and it was obvious that no peaceful settlement would be reached (Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 95-6). John Smith was most active in the Covenanting cause at this time (Balfour, Historical Works, ii, 141, 143, 157).
The trouble began to affect members of the elite. A ship carrying ammunition from London for Edinburgh castle was discovered in Leith harbour at the end of May, and the ammunition was impounded by the Covenanters. Patrick Wood admitted that he had hired the vessel at Traquair's behest, but stated he had not been aware that it carried ammunition. The skipper of the ship backed Wood's story, declaring that the ammunition had been placed aboard eight days after Wood had left London. Nevertheless, the discovery incensed the population and Wood was not safe on the streets of the burgh. His creditors, seemingly all Covenanters, charged him for repayment of loans made to Wood ... 'whereby he was in danger of being broken'. Only the earl of Rothes's intercession saved Wood's financial empire, and in return Wood agreed to declare himself for the supplicants. Apart from William Dick, Wood was perhaps the wealthiest member of the merchant elite. He was a combination of shipowner, overseas trader, moneylender, property speculator, factory owner and entrepreneur. However, he was seldom involved in town politics, apart from serving as a town councillor in 1636-7. Wood died within six months of his enforced adherence to the Covenanting cause. Amongst the men to whom he owed considerable sums was Lord Hay of Yester, who had signed the National Petition in 1637. Wood also owed £24,000

187. Ibid., ii, 113. This ship is not listed in the Mark of the Tun record (ECA, Mark of the Tun).
188. Balfour, Historical Works, ii, 133.
189. See appendix VII.
to Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne. Lorne had inherited the earldom of Argyll in November 1638 and then openly declared himself for the Covenant. Wood had borrowed 13,500 merks from Charles Seton, earl of Dunfermline, an early supporter of the Covenant. He also owed the earl of Montrose's servitor 2,600 merks. Montrose had joined the supplicants in November 1637. Wood also owed several members of the burgh elite considerable sums. He owed John Jassy 12,000 merks, Peter Blackburn £4,000 and James Nasmith 5,000 merks. Jassy was to become involved in the Covenanting government in 1643 and 1648. Blackburn and Nasmith do not appear to have been openly for the Covenant; although Nasmith did lend money to the servants of Lords Balmerino and Lindsay, both noted supporters of the Covenant. However, Wood's misfortune would seem to have been his attempt to play both sides against the middle. The example made of him by the Covenanters, was, perhaps, a warning to other members of the burgh elite, the wealthiest money-lenders in

201. Wood had lent considerable sums to the earl of Traquair, and was owed 9,000 merks by Traquair at the time of his death in 1638 (SRO, GD 22/3/16/3). Many of the elite did lend money to nobles on both sides of the dispute. See below, pp. 405-08.
Scotland, to think twice about acting in a similar fashion.

The summer of 1638 witnessed increased military preparations by both sides. Patrick Ellis purchased forty tons of ammunition 'for the country' in Campvers, which arrived in Leith in December 1638. The town council inspected the burgh armaments and dismissed two of the regents of the college for not supporting the Covenant. The Convention of Royal Burghs ratified the Covenant at Stirling in August, declaring that no burgh was to admit any person as either a burgess, magistrate or commissioner to the Royal Burghs unless they had first signed the Covenant. William Dick had been elected as one of Edinburgh's representatives at the Convention. In an attempt to gain time for his military preparations the king, on the advice of Traquair, Roxburgh and Southesk, proposed in early September to agree to abandon the very articles which had caused the trouble. On 22 September the privy council announced that an assembly was to meet in Glasgow on 21 November to discuss the events. The election of the Edinburgh town council on 2 October 1638 had confirmed the town's loyalty to the Covenant. Although Sir John Hay had once more been leeted he was absent from the election, and William Dick was chosen as provost. James Cochrane was elected as dean of

203. Ibid., 1626-41, 204-05, 207. Sir John Sinclair, Archibald Tod, Charles Hamilton and John Morison were amongst those inspecting the armoury.
204. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 102.
205. Edin. Recs, 1626-41, 204.
207. Ibid., 108-10.
guild, and John Fleming, who had been an early protester at the Five Articles of Perth in both 1621 and 1624, was elected as treasurer. The council included John Smith and Sir John Sinclair. It was not, however, a radically different council to the one imposed by the king in 1637. It has been stated quite correctly that "... the elections of 1637 and 1638 ... produced no startling changes. ... Very few political careers ended with the Liturgy". Despite the troubles of the time the burgh attempted to preserve the traditional hierarchy. Although the burgh selected James Cochrane and Thomas Paterson as the burgh representatives to the Glasgow Assembly, on 13 October and was, thus, apparently irrevocably committed to a course of revolution, the burgh magistrates also proposed on 16 November to borrow £10,000 in order to pay the king's tax. To the end, Edinburgh tried to placate both sides. Only the events of the Glasgow Assembly, over which the burgh had no control, the repudiation of the Five Articles and the deposition of episcopacy swept the town finally into rebellion.

Except in the very few cases already mentioned it is difficult to determine the attitudes felt by the elite to the political and religious problems facing them between 1600 and 1638. Unless they were actively involved in the politics and protests - as

were, amongst others, Sir William Nisbet, William Rig, John Byres, James Cochrane, William Dick, John Smith, Sir John Sinclair and Sir Alexander Clerk – it is only possible to speculate as to their beliefs. Service on the town council cannot be taken as a clear indication of political tendencies. The all-important criterion for being elected on to the town council was to be a member of the burgh oligarchy rather than being a member of any particular political faction. An examination of charitable donations to the town, and in particular to the college, may reveal that the person leaving the money was a supporter of those opposed to the religious alterations embodied in the Five Articles of Perth. The college had been a hotbed of intellectual opposition to the proposed religious reforms. It had been purged of non-conformists by the town council in the 1620s, and when the council was committed to the Covenanting cause in 1638 was cleared of those supporting the king. An examination of testaments or private papers may provide a glimpse of political support shown by a merchant if he had dealings with nobles actively supporting either the Covenant of the king. However, in many cases even such activities do not necessarily demonstrate any clear-cut political preferences. It was possible for a member of the elite to be economically involved with supporters of both sides – despite the lesson learned by Patrick Wood in 1638. Donations to the college may reflect nothing more than the fact that it was considered fashionable to leave money to the king’s college. As in any revolution, that in Scotland of the late 1630s found the majority of the entrepreneurial

elements in the society essentially pragmatic. They were more interested in preserving their capital, than in sacrificing all on the altar of ideology.

David Alexander was, perhaps, representative of those who supported both the college and were opposed to the religious reforms. Alexander died in December 1616, and amongst his bequests was one to his son, Mr. Robert, 'provided that he be of the religion professed in Scotland'. He also left 300 merks to the church for the care of the poor, and 200 merks for the maintenance of the college. Alexander's wife died in 1642, at which time she had lent 8,000 merks to the earl of Cassillis, and 10,000 merks to the earls of Rothes and Lothian, and Lords Lindsay and Balmerino, all noted Covenanters. She also left 500 merks to the town hospital and 1,000 merks to the town college. Both Thomas Spier in 1616, and Hew Wight in 1625 left money to the college; Spier 1,000 merks to employ a professor of divinity, and Wight 500 merks for a bursary, although neither revealed any hostility to the Articles of Perth. William Rig; father of the avowed opponent of the Five Articles in the 1620s; left a legacy in 1619 to maintain a professor within the college, as well as 300 merks to the library to buy books and over 15,000 merks to the poor of the burgh. In 1632 Alan Livingston

214. Ibid. The money went to the college in 1618 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 173).
216. Ibid.
left 1,000 merks to the poor in Heriot's Hospital. He was also owed almost £200 by the earl of Wigtown, who was later to emerge as a Covenanter. \(^{219}\) Charles Hamilton left 1,000 merks to the college in 1640, and he was owed £416 by John Fleming, John Smith and William Dick, three of the burgh's leading exponents of the Covenant. \(^{220}\) In 1641 David Jenkin left £1,000 to maintain a bursery for the study of divinity at the college. \(^{221}\) Jenkin was owed £12,300 by William Dick; £142 by Balmerino and £196 by the earl of Argyll, all Covenanters. \(^{222}\) Jenkin had actively aided those rebelling against the king in 1638 by halting the import of ammunition intended for the king's use. \(^{223}\) John Fleming, a long standing opponent of the Five Articles, left 4,000 merks to the college in 1642, as well as 300 merks for the poor. \(^{224}\) He was also owed £133 by the earl of Galloway, a Covenanter, and £9,400 by the Committee of Estates. \(^{225}\) Gilbert Fraser, in 1645, left 1,000 merks to the poor of the burgh, and was owed almost £7,000 by the Committee of Estates. Being owed money by the Committee of Estates does not necessarily imply support for the Covenant. The Committee was known to force loans from people. James Murray may have been another of the burgh merchants who suffered at its hands. He was owed 11,000 merks by


\(^{220}\) Edin. Tests, 27 Mar. 1640. Hamilton also left 200 merks for the building of the new church.

\(^{221}\) Edin. Tests, 1 Mar. 1643.

\(^{222}\) Ibid. He also owed 20,000 merks to Sir Henry Nisbet, nephew of Sir William Nisbet.

\(^{223}\) Leslie, Relation, 170.

\(^{224}\) Edin. Tests, 15 June 1642.

\(^{225}\) Ibid. Fleming described himself as a friend of Patrick Wood (ibid.).
the 'publick by acts of the great committee' from 1645. 227

He also left a legacy of 8,000 merks to the college. While this might indicate his support for the Covenant, he was also owed £108 as one term's interest on a sum lent to the earl of Roxburgh, a leading Royalist, and £555 as one term's interest on a sum lent to the earl of Home, who was, by 1649, also a royal supporter. 228

Similarly, when Archibald Johnston, grandfather of Archibald Johnston of Wariston, died in 1619 he left 1,000 merks to the college and 500 merks to the hospital. 229

However, he was also owed £1,000 by Mr. John Hay, the leading royal supporter in the town, and hardly a man with whom a member of a confirmed non-conformist family should have been doing business. 230

Andrew Ainslie left £1,250 to the college of Edinburgh to maintain a professor, and £1,250 to employ a minister in the south-east parish in 1643. Yet, he was owed at the same time £107 by the earl of Roxburgh. 231

Almost twenty other members of the elite left legacies to the college, the church, the poor of the hospital without revealing any particular political or religious sympathies. 232 Charity to the poor or donations to the town were not simply the prerogative of those ideologically committed to a cause.

228. Ibid.
230. Ibid; Johnston, Diary ... 1632-9, pp. xi-xii.
The lending of money at interest to the nobility of Scotland was treated in a similar fashion. Certain members of the elite did lend money solely to nobles adhering to the Covenant, but it was the usual practice to lend money to both sides. No member of the elite lent money only to the royal adherents, perhaps indicating an unwillingness to support the king's cause. James Dalgliesh was amongst those owed money by supporters of the Covenant. He was owed 4,000 marks by the earl of Mar in 1639, as well as 1,300 marks by John Fleming. Mar joined the Covenanters just after the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and Fleming was a long time opponent of the king. John Inglis was owed £2,345 by the earl of Cassillis and £769 by the earl of Queensberry in 1640. Both men were supporters of the Covenant. That same year Mr. Bartilmo Somerville was owed 20,000 marks plus interest by the earl of Lothian. He also left a legacy of 10,000 marks to Edinburgh specifically to defray the charges of 'the good cause of the Covenant of God'. Five years later Ronald Murray was owed 1,200 marks by the Committee of Estates. In 1650 Andrew Simpson was owed 7,000 marks by the marquis of Argyll, and Robert Acheson was owed 1,800 marks by the Committee of Estates. However, where it is

234. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 123, and for Fleming, see above.
237. Edin. Tests, 10 Feb. 1642. He also left a legacy to the poor and to the hospital. Lothian was a Covenanter. See Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 69.
possible to determine the political loyalties of the nobles borrowing money from the elite, it would appear to be normal for the elite to have a foot in both camps.

As the wealthiest moneylenders in the country it was natural for the elite to lend sums to any noble with appropriate collateral in the first three decades of the seventeenth century. In 1619 James Rae was owed over £2,000 by the earls of Perth and Roxburgh, both of whom were to emerge as crown supporters in the 1630s and 1640s. He was also owed £2,384 by the earl of Rothes, later a leading Covenanter. Rae owed John Smith, later one of the leading Edinburgh merchant Covenanters, £3,600 and the servants of the earl of Roxburgh £2,000. In 1627, Rae was owed £836 by lord Balmerino, £608 by the earl of Galloway, both crown opponents, and £1,527 by the royalist earl of Roxburgh. At the same time Rae borrowed almost £3,000 from David Aikenhead, the conformist provost, and from the bishop of Caithness. When Rae died in 1641 he was owed money by both the earls of Traquair and Lothian, by that time in opposing camps. In 1631 Thomas Charters lent £6,000 to the earls of Morton and Traquair, later both royal supporters, yet by 1646 Charters had lent William Dick


244. Edin. Tests, Margaret Edgar, 20 Apr. 1628.

250,000 merks and the earl of Queensberry 6,000 merks, both of them Covenanters. 246 In 1634, John Rhind was owed £10,660 by the earl of Morton and £4,575 by Archibald, Lord Lorne, later the earl of Argyll and a leading Covenanter. 247 He also owed William Dick £5,900. 248 In 1642 John Morison had a foot in both royal and Covenanting camps. He was owed £11,886 by William Dick, who acted as one of his executors, but was also owed £1,100 by the earl of Airth, a royalist. 249 Mr. James Scott played the same game that year. He was owed a string of small debts, probably for merchant wares, by such Covenanters as the earls of Lothian, Seaforth, Queensberry, and Kinghorn. He was also owed sums by such crown supporters as the earls of Wemyss, Perth and Dunfermline. 250 Patrick Telfer loaned money in 1642 to both William Dick and the earl of Dalhousie, a royalist. 251 By 1646 George Arnot was owed 3,500 merks by the earl of Morton, and £2,666 13s. 4d. by the late Lord Lauderdale, who had signed the Covenant as early as 1638. 252 James Rocheid was owed 4,000 merks by William Dick in 1652, as well as £5,000 by the earl of Roxburgh. 253 It would not appear that the lesson

248. Ibid.
250. Edin. Tests, 27 Feb. 1643; Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 202, for Seaforth's sympathies; 123, 207 for Kinghorn's; 232 for Wemyss's; 207 for Perth's, although he had signed the Covenant.
taught by the Covenanters in 1638 to Patrick Wood, not to
set up tents in both camps, was one which the members of the
burgh elite learned easily. Whatever their private views may
have been on the religious and political troubles of the 1630s and
1640s the elite were not loath to attempt to earn income from
adherents to either side. Apart from a few men, such as
William Dick who beggared himself in support of the Covenant,
the merchant elite of Edinburgh were first, and foremost, business
men with a pragmatic eye ever to the main chance.

The first forty years of the seventeenth century witnessed
a distinct change in the relationship between the wealthiest
merchants of Scotland's most important burgh and the crown. For
the most part relationships between the burgh and James were
amicable. The burgh magistrates demonstrated their loyalty to
the crown after the riot of 1596 by submitting to the king's
demands. Between 1600 and 1625 the burgh and the crown had
rising expectations of each other. The burgh demanded greater
governmental services than ever before. The Registers of Sasines
were re-established, the Highlands and Isles were pacified, the
borders were subdued and the privy council worked, if not hand-in-
glove then at least economically closely, with Edinburgh's
merchant princes, who benefited financially from the greater
stability within the realm. In return the crown required loyalty
on a scale never before demanded. The king imposed regular
taxation upon the burgh, which was paid with few complaints. In
the matter of religious policy while the king attempted to impose
episcopacy, strict adherence to the Five Articles of Perth was
never required until just before the king's death in 1625. Charles,
however, made demands upon the burgh, both economic and religious, without offering any concessions. He worked without consultation, through a privy council which never fully understood his aims, and never had the personal relationship with the burgh elite which his father had cultivated. The tax on the profits of money-lending in 1633 directly affected the burgh elite, and began their gradual disaffection from the crown. Yet, it was not until the burgh had experienced an economic slump, economic uncertainty and urban unrest that the burgh magistrates committed the burgh to rebellion. Even then, as late as November 1638, they attempted to collect money to pay royal taxation. The merchant oligarchy of London experienced similar economic demands by King Charles in 1634 in his attempts to collect Ship Money. They reacted differently to the Edinburgh magistrates, and refused to pay the taxes as ordered. In the Scottish capital, Charles never faced the opposition to taxation which he did in his English capital. Perhaps Edinburgh's subservience encouraged him to proceed with the demands upon the English boroughs which were eventually to alienate them from him. For the main, Edinburgh's merchant elite attempted to walk a fine line between their expected, traditional loyalty to the crown and their economic relations with nobles and lairds who supported the Covenant. In the end, it was the wealthiest merchants of the burgh who were to lose the most by Edinburgh's adherence to the Covenant. The taxation levied by the Covenanting regime was far more onerous than any imposed by the crown before 1638.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

In the first four decades of the seventeenth century Edinburgh society underwent economic, social and political changes which were, in many respects, unprecedented. These alterations were to have profound consequences upon the entire fabric of burgh life not only during these forty years but throughout the rest of the century. From being described in 1600 as the busiest trading and shipping centre in Scotland the burgh was to decline in prosperity until it had no more than fourteen vessels registered to it in the mid-1650s. Perhaps as no other group within Scotland during the period Edinburgh's wealthiest merchants influenced, and in turn were affected by, these changes. In purely economic terms it was among Edinburgh's mercantile elite — numbering about 300 men — that the true creators of the nation's wealth were to be found in the early seventeenth century. They developed their business patterns beyond domination of the traditional areas of mercantile marketing into investment in urban and rural landholding, moneylanding, and speculative manufacturing endeavours. They profited from the economic stability and boom of the first twenty years of the century and, in turn, it was they who were most affected by the economic contractions of the 1630s. In social terms they presided over a burgh which was emerging

from its medieval mould and was experiencing all the social tensions inherent in that transition. The business practices developed by the elite, the widespread extension of credit, helped break the idea of 'neighbourliness' which had pervaded medieval society. This, when added to the growth in population, the decline in the importance of such other medieval structures as burgess-ship and guildry membership, as well as the enforced widening of the burgh's tax net, served to diminish many of the markers which had heretofore helped delineate burgh society. In political terms members of the burgh elite either themselves dominated or closely supervised the selection of members of both the town's secular and clerical political bodies almost to the total exclusion of any person not a member of their circle. As the burgh's magistrates it behoved the elite to cope with the political issues faced by the nation during the 1620s and 1630s - the increased taxation and the turmoil caused by the crown's intransigent religious policies. The elite dominated a burgh in a nation becoming increasingly alienated from the crown due to these policies. By 1637 the combined economic, social and political tensions placed on burgh life were to rend it asunder and result in open revolution. It was the burgh's wealthiest merchants who were caught in the cross-fire of these events and were, perhaps, to suffer most from them.

It has been written that in Europe generally the 1640s witnessed an outbreak of revolutions which came twenty years after the end

of a period of both sustained economic growth and the secularism of society. 3 Certainly, this agrees with one of the methods used to determine societies which were predisposed to experience revolution. It has been theorised that revolutions were more likely to happen if the ever rising expectations, whether social, economic or political, of a group were to be somehow unsatisfied. 4 If long-term economic growth was met by short-term stagnation or decline there may develop a tendency to revolt by those affected in order to alter the situation. Similarly, if the rising political or social aspirations of a group were to experience any check - whether due to the interference of a central bureaucracy or through a decline in a group's status due to economic conditions - the result could be social frustration which could find voice in eventual revolution. In many respects these conditions have been shown to have applied to Scotland in the 1630s. It has been pointed out that the union of the crowns... raised very high hopes in Scotland which were disappointed. Free trade... had not materialised. Early favour shown to Scots... soon disappeared... [and] generally union was found to bring Scotland not security but alien influences. 5 Instead of becoming equal partners with their English counterparts the Scottish nobility, lairds and burgesses were merely made aware of their own poverty and social

shortcomings. They experienced "... a sense of 'relative deprivation' ... which [tended] to lead through frustration to aggression." Edinburgh's wealthiest merchants also faced these problems. Yet, much as the leaders of the English boroughs were to react in the 1640s, the elite's response to the crises of the late 1630s was not one of wholehearted support for rebellion but was, in essence, one of neutrality, conservatism and defence of what they regarded as their established privileges.

It has been recognized that research to show that the Scottish economy followed the pattern of growth and then decline in the period leading up to the rebellion in late 1637 has been somewhat neglected by historians of early seventeenth-century Scotland. As far as the wealthiest merchants of Edinburgh between 1600 and 1638 were concerned this pattern would seem to be borne out. Scotland in 1600 was riding on the crest of an economic wave, directed by the merchants of Edinburgh. The major part of the customs revenue collected by the crown in the 1590s was engendered by the burgh, whose increasing and almost total dominance of the export trade was at the expense of the smaller burghs. The economic growth was, however, the result of the business acumen of a group of perhaps 200 men.

By the 1620s Edinburgh's elite imported most of the cloth, grain and luxury goods arriving at Leith and were the major

exporters of the traditional Scottish export wares - wool, sheepskins and plaids. The burgh's merchant princes dominated the vital trade routes to and from the most important and lucrative market areas of Europe. They led the expansion of Scottish trade in France - which was to be interrupted by England's foreign policy in the 1620s - the Netherlands and England, leaving, for the most part, the Baltic and Scandinavian trade to less well-off merchants. The elite developed their business connections beyond the traditional Scottish trading areas in Europe of Campvere, Dieppe and Bordeaux into more mainstream European cities such as Paris, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and London. These were cities with which Scots merchants had previously had very little to do. However, by the mid-1630s the economic boom which the elite had managed to create, control and dominate was over. During his visit to Edinburgh in 1633 Charles was informed of the general decay of both the towns and the trade of Scotland.10 This decline is reflected in the customs records of Leith which from 1636 chart a sharp drop in imports to the burgh and is underlined by the numerous complaints made by members of the elite from 1637 of their financial difficulties due to the lack of available capital.

Added to the general economic problems of the 1630s was the fact that the merchant elite relied for a greater part of their income than ever before from purely speculative areas of investment which involved a high risk of failure. Capital was diverted into

the purchase and improvement of urban property - both commercial and residential - from which income was engendered by renting. The growth in the population of the burgh encouraged this form of enterprise. Although few, if any, of the elite totally divested themselves of their mercantile interests in order to live off rent based income it was a form of investment which was becoming, during the 1620s and 1630s, an important source of revenue. In particular it was a means of ensuring a merchant of a livelihood upon his retirement from active trading. Indeed, the attempt made by the town council in 1635 to assess a tax for the payments of the ministers' stipends based on rent payments emphasises its growing importance. The demographic crisis of the 1640s - the decline in population due to both war and plague - was to put this form of investment at risk.

The general availability of readily negotiable capital - in the form of gold and silver - created by the economic boom of the 1610s and 1620s was also diverted by the elite into money-lending, a form of investment which was to play an important role in the general political as well as economic crisis of the period. The elite developed money-lending not only into a lucrative source of income but their involvement in it altered the entire credit structure with which they had traditionally worked. They extended credit, charging interest as well as levying penalties in case of default, throughout the country, as well as abroad, at an unprecedented scale. This helped break down one of the social bonds which had dominated medieval society - that of the idea that credit was not controlled by specialist money-lenders but involved the idea of 'neighbourliness' in which a personal
relationship between borrower and lender was all important. 11 Perhaps for the first time in any significant fashion the burgh's wealthiest men conducted their affairs on paper - making use of letters of credit, bonds of transfer or obligation and offering to all segments of society rudimentary overdraft facilities. In the short term these investments stimulated the economy by making the purchase of commodities and luxury goods easier. In the long run, however, the elite were to find themselves in serious financial straits in the late 1630s when, due to the general economic crisis they became over extended and were forced to make demands upon once privileged customers for payment of outstanding bills.

The extension of the elite's economic interests into rural land ownership was another result of their involvement in the credit market. It has been shown that thirty percent of all of the land transactions registered in the Great Seal from 1593 to 1660 involved Edinburgh merchants. 12 The burgh elite accepted rural land wadsets as a form of collateral as never before. They were, however, quite capable of discriminating which areas of the country were a better investment in terms of agricultural productivity than others. The major part of the land which they purchased in wadset was in the most fertile growing regions of Berwickshire, Lothian, Fife and south-west Ayrshire. They were concerned with assuring maximum profits from their holdings and although few of them were directly involved in active farming it is significant that many of the areas of the country which

first benefited from agricultural improvement in the 1610s and 1620s included those held by the burgh elite. However, as with profits from money-lending, the crown seized upon taxation of the profits made from rural land investments to provide it with income. The attraction of investment in rural property declined and when this was combined with the crop failures of the 1630s, made agricultural involvement somewhat of a risk for the elite. Certainly rural land investment by Scottish merchants was to decline over the century until merchants as a group accounted for less than six percent of all land transactions registered in the Great Seal between 1660 and 1668. The idea that the substantial growth in the Scottish economy in the eighteenth century was a result of the development of a merchant community in the late seventeenth century which was for the first time willing to take advantage of new commercial opportunity [by abandoning] the old institutional structure of controls which had developed to service the needs of a more stagnant economic system must in the light of the elite's business practices be somewhat modified. For the apparent commercial initiatives of the late seventeenth century — land owning, money-lending, provision of credit and industrial investment — were merely a revival of practices common enough to the Edinburgh merchant elite before the Wars of the Covenant.

The frustration felt by the Edinburgh elite at the gradual economic decline of the 1630s was also mirrored in both the national

14. Ibid., 107-08.
and burghal political problems which they faced at that time. There can be little doubt that the burgh's wealthiest merchants welcomed the union of the crowns and expected a swift regularization and improvement in trade between the two countries which would lead to complete commercial union. As early as March 1604 Edinburgh sent commissioners to England to discuss the possibility of economic co-operation between the two countries. The hostility felt by English merchants to Scottish traders and the failure in 1611 of the attempts made to establish a customs union between the two countries must have helped fuel the growing feeling on the part of Scotland's merchants that the hoped-for rewards of the Scottish king mounting the English throne were to be unrealised. It was particularly unfortunate that it was at a time when trade with England was beginning to assume a more important role than ever before to the elite, who were attempting to branch beyond their traditional trading boundaries, that this failure merely pressed home to them their relative economic and social poverty. The statement that the form which the union between Scotland and England took enabled an absentee monarchy to foist foreign influences and policies upon Scotland is borne out by the experience of Edinburgh's wealthiest merchants. As a group which had had close personal links with their monarch they witnessed a gradual dwindling of their influence with James until by the end of his reign they had almost no contact with him. They never built any personal relationships with Charles, who in unprecedented fashion involved

them and their trade in England's European squabbles without offering any concessions in return. The pressing demands made by the central authorities in the form of novel, increased and regular taxation, particularly after 1625, affected the burgh's wealthiest men more than any other group in Scotland, for it was they who had developed rural land investment and money-lending into a lucrative business. It says much of the essential conservatism, caution and loyalty displayed by the elite and of the desire to preserve the status quo that the taxes were collected and delivered, something the English boroughs did not permit. Yet, it is obvious that when these economic demands were combined with the intransigent demands made by the crown for alterations in the forms of worship that the loyalty to the sovereign was diminishing. Whereas James, in 1596, had brought the burgh to its knees by threatening to remove his court from Edinburgh unless obeyed, his son's threats, in 1637, to remove the courts and privy council utterly failed to stem the outbreak of rebellion.

Within the closer confines of burgh life members of the elite presided over a burgh undergoing major social changes. By 1620 the town council was totally dominated by a clique of wealthy merchants who were to remain in the control of the burgh up to the Wars of the Covenant. While the oligarchy provided political stability it meant that the political decisions of a burgh with an expanding population were taken by perhaps no more than sixty individuals. The very wealth and dominance of these men distanced them in many respects not only from the political
opinions and attitudes of the general populace but also divided them from the political attitudes of fellow elite members. Nowhere is this made clearer than in late 1637 when one of the members of the elite was delegated by popular acclaim to petition his wealthy brethren on the town council to declare the burgh in support of the Petition. In a burgh undergoing a transition away from many of the medieval institutions such as the importance of burgess-ship and guildry membership in determining social and economic status the burgh elite displayed the same conservatism and desire to maintain their privileges in the face of political crisis, which was the hallmark of the reactions of the oligarchy of English boroughs to the troubles of the 1640s.16 The elite attempted to steer a middle course during the late 1630s. They bowed to the economic demands made by the crown, collected the taxes without overt protest, even as late as 1637, and attempted to implement the religious alterations demanded by Charles. Although various members of the elite, such as William Rig, William Nisbet and William Dick, were sympathetic to those actively opposed to the Articles of Perth more typical of the general attitude of the burgh elite was that of Patrick Wood whose only concern was to maintain his wealth by paddling in the economic pools of both sides, ultimately without success. In many respects it was a series of unfortunate coincidences which drove the burgh to declare for the Covenanters in November 1637. The lack of

firm leadership due to the almost constant absence and personal unpopularity of the provost, John Hay; the total lack of sympathy displayed by Charles to their grievances; the threat of political vacuum caused by the removal of central authority; as well as the general disruption and lack of order caused by the swamping of the burgh by Covenant supporters and their retainers combined to force the elite's hands in favour of rebellion. It is somewhat ironic that even then it was not the worsening economic condition of the elite which was to be the trigger which drove them to declare the burgh for the Covenant, but a belief that they were acting in a legitimate and legal defence of their traditional religious liberties. 17

In many respects it is perhaps unfair to apply the findings on the Edinburgh merchant elite to the country as a whole. To have been a member of Scotland's wealthiest entrepreneurs was in itself atypical. It would perhaps have been more normal in early seventeenth-century Scotland to have been a member of the merchant community of Dumfries which remained at the time essentially medieval, or of Aberdeen, which stagnated and declined in influence due to the conservative attitudes of its merchants. 18 However, there can be little doubt that the economic, social and political influences and attitudes of the 300 wealthiest Edinburgh merchants pervaded the country between 1600 and 1638. They set the standards by which the


other merchant communities in Scotland at the time may be judged. During a period which witnessed throughout much of Europe a general breakdown of social orders and traditions in which the 'middling-sort' played a crucial role it was Edinburgh's wealthiest merchants who directed the changes in Scotland. Certainly they appear to have been affected as much as English and Continental merchants were by the rising expectations of the early part of the century and frustrated by the diminishing economic and political returns of the 1630s. Yet, the importance of their influence goes beyond this. For it was the Edinburgh burgh elite during the first forty years of the century who first cultivated and set in place most of the economic practices which, although they would remain fallow during the economic and political crisis of the 1640s and 1650s, would tentatively re-blossom in the 1660s and come to fruition in the early years of the eighteenth century. This, perhaps more than anything else, was Edinburgh's merchant princes' ultimate significance.
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<th>Percent by Elite 1622-3</th>
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<th>Total 1622-3</th>
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Source: SRO Leith Customs Books E71/29/7,8

All total figures from McMillan, Edinburgh Burgess Community, pp. 303-5. This is not a comprehensive list of all imports.

N.B. A Scots hundredweight is equal to 112 lbs. McMillan took is as equalling 100 lbs., therefore the figures are inaccurate.
APPENDIX II

IMPORTS: NUMBERS OF TUNS ARRIVING AT LEITH, 1636-39

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Source: ECA, Book of the Mark of the Tun, 1636–39.

I am grateful to Mr. David Oitchburn for his help in identifying place names.
## APPENDIX III

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| Lambskins | 10160     | 1200     | 11.8| 53700       | 8200       | 15.3| 33900       | 4500       | 13.3 | 46500       |              |   |
| Futfells  | 3760       | -        | -   | 7550        | 3100       | 41.0| 6500        | 600        | 9.2  | 6600        | 600          | 9.0 |

Source: SRO Leith Customs Books E71/29/6, 9, 11 and E71/30/30.

All total figures are taken from McMillan, 'Edinburgh Burgess Community', p.297.

1. Customs record reads 506 lasts E71/30/30.
3. Customs record reads 31 lasts 8 barrels E71/30/30.
5. Customs record reads 51 lasts 5 barrels E71/29/11.
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7. Custom record reads 81120 sheepskins £71/30/10.
8. Customs record reads 6776 goatskins ibid.
9. Customs record reads 816 daikers ibid.
10. Customs record reads 8727 stone 4 lbs. ibid.
11. Customs record reads 52.5 shippounds ibid.
12. Actual total of cloth is 35,790 ells, ibid.

N.B. McMillan's figures for 1611-12 are inaccurate for cloth, plaiding, knithose, gloves, brass, sheepskins, goatskins and deerskins as these figures were entered separately at the beginning of the Customs Book and not with the shipping list. (E71/29/6, pp.2-19).
## APPENDIX IV

### IMPORTS: NUMBERS OF SHIPS ARRIVING AT LEITH

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Sources: SRO, Customs Book, Leith, E71/29/7, 8.
ECA, Mark of the Tun, 1636-9

I am grateful to Mr. David Ditchburn for his help in identifying place names.
## APPENDIX V

### EXPORTS: NUMBERS OF SHIPS LEAVING LEITH 1611-28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound for:</th>
<th>Nov 1611 - Nov 1612</th>
<th>Nov 1626 - Nov 1627</th>
<th>Nov 1627 - Nov 1628</th>
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<td>total no. involving elite</td>
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<td>%</td>
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**Netherlands and Flanders:**
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<th>Nov 1627 - Nov 1628</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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Source: SRQ, Leith Customs Books, E71/29/6, q., 11.
APPENDIX VI
ENTRIES OF SHIPS TO LEITH
ARRIVALS FROM SCOTTISH PORTS NOV 1638 - NOV 1639

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Place</th>
<th>No. of Ships</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aberdour</td>
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<td>Kirkwall</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Laxfirth</td>
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<td>Largo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banff</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Limakilns</td>
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<td>Newburgh</td>
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<td>Peterhead</td>
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Source: ECA, Compt Book of Edward Little, 1638-39.
APPENDIX VII

BURGH ELITE 1600-1638
ACHESON, GILBERT, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £12 (ECA, SR)

M. Katherine Mason, 3 Nov. 1607 (Edin. Marriages, 10). Town council
service: C. 1612-3, B 1622-3, C. 1623-4, B 1626-7, C 1627-8, B 1630-1,
C 1631-2, C 1632-3 (Edin. Recs., 1604-26, 1626-41). Cloth merchant
(ECA, DGCR, iii, 5 Apr. 1615). Collected £716 6s. 8d p.a. from
rented property in Edin. ECA, AT (1635). Pleased against prayer

ACHESON, ROBERT, merchant, stent 1630 SE2 £33. 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR)

M. Margaret Blaiburn (sic) 25 Oct. 1610; Anne Keltie, 23 Feb. 1647
(Edin. Marriages, 10). Town council service: C 1623-4, B 1631-2,
Overseas trader, to France (ECA, DGCR, iii, 25 Jan 1615). Business
connections with William Dick, Peter Blackburn, John Fleming (ECA,
DGCR, iii, 20 Feb. 1617). Collected £200 6s. 8d p.a. from rented
property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT 1635. Wife Margaret Fleibairne (sic)
died July 1619 (Edin. Tests, 28 Aug. 1619). Inventory worth £420;
debts owed to her, £2,856 6s; debts owed by her, £1,926; total
Inventory worth £666 13s. 4d, includes a library worth £100; debts owed
to him £2,151 10s. 8d, includes bond for 1,800 merks and interest owed
by the Committee of Estates; total £2,718 4s.

ADAMSON, widow of John, stent 1605, SW £31 5s. (ECA, SR).

Burg. by r. of w. Isabelle Paterson, 5 May 1597 (Edin. Burg, 20).
One of bearers of Queen’s 'paill' on her entry to Edinburgh, Sept. 1589
(Edin. Recs, 1589-1603, 5). Com. to General Assembly, 2 Mar. 1590,
3 May 1594 (ibid., 1589-1603, 15, 113).

ADINSTON, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NW3, £40 (ECA, SR)

1637 NW3, £60 (ECA, SR)

M. Beatrix Suttie, 25 Aug. 1625 (Edin. Marriages, 6). Collected £300
p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Rented house
and cellar from George Suttie, for £150 p.a. (ibid.). From 1629 held
wadset of property in Newbattle, baronies of Moffatdale, Annandale,
lands of Ecclefechan in Dumfriesshire; lands and barony of Kirkcunzeane in Kirkcudbright; lands in Bandalloch and Buchanan, Loch Lomond; lands of Prestwick and Newtown-upon-Ayr, (RMS, viii, 1722, 1403, 1468, 2259; ix, 65, 942, 1538, 1864). Owed £8,000 in 1627 by George Suttie as part of marriage contract with his daughter (Edin. Tests, 20 Feb. 1628). See George Suttie.

ADINSTON, THOMAS, merchant, stent, 1614, NW3 £16 (ECA, SR).

AINSLIE, ANDREW, merchant, stent 1630 SE3 £46 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR).
AINSLIE, JAMES, merchant, stent 1605, NW £50 (ECA SR)
1614, NW £20 (ibid.).

(Edin Tests, 29 Sept. 1623). She later married Archibald Tod
(see below). Father of Andrew, (see above, and ECA, MSS, ETCR, XV, 6
Sept., 1637). Town Council service: C 1605-6, B 1607-8,
C 1608-9, BL 1609-10, B 1611-2, C 1612-3, B 1617-8, C 1618-9,
B 1622-3 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26). Overseas trader. Imported
rye, bear from France 1623 (SRO 71/29/8). Exported grain
to Dieppe 1612 (SRO 71/29/6). Died May 1623 (Edin Tests,
29 Sept. 1623). Inventory worth £7,725 13s. 4d. Included
iron, ready money. Debts owed to him £2,388 3s. 4d. Money
lender. Included bonds owed by Gilbert Kirkwood, John Stewart
of Coldingham. Debts owed by him £6,666 13s. 4d to his son
Andrew. Total £3,446 13s. 4d. Left money to poor and to college.
Owned watset of Dernick, Brigend in Roxburghshire 1607 (RMS,
vi, 1994); Restalrig, (RS/24/1, 7 May 1601); Lugton (RS 25/3,
26 June, 12 Aug. 1620), Largo (RS 1/17, 4 Mar. 1625).

AITKEN, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent, 1630, NW £40 (ECA, SR).
Burg. by r. of w. Katherine Fleming, 21 Dec. 1631 (Edin. Burg,
Died 1645 (Edin Tests, 7 May 1646). Inventory worth £133 6s. 8d.
Consisted of chest of merchant wares and household furnishings.
Owned watset of lands of Baith-Halket, near Dunfermline, 1636
(RMS, ix, 550).

AITKEN, JOHN, merchant, stent 1605, NW £31 10s (ECA, SR).
M. to Janet Wood (Edin Tests, 11 Sept. 1612). Died April 1607
(Edin. Tests, 16 Oct. 1607) missing. Janet Wood died 1612 (Edin. Tests,
11 Sept. 1612). Inventory worth £3,943 10s. 4d. Included Flemish,
Yorkshire, Danzig cloth, ready money. Debts owed to her £7,494 12s.
Moneylender. Debts owed by her £133 6s. 8d. Total £11,304 16s. 8d.

ALDINSTON, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614, SW £30 (ECA, SR).
No information, perhaps John Adinston. See above.
ALESON, JAMES, merchant, stent, 1637, SW2, £55 (ECA, SR).
M. Janet Rank n, 14 Feb. 1622 (Edin. Marriages, 16). Town council
rye, flax, bear from Danzig, beans from Campvere, 1622 (SRQ, E71/29/7, 8).
Goods from Copenhagen 1636-7 (ECA, Merk of the Tun). Exported buthose,
gloves 1624-5 (SRQ, E71/30/30); herring, salt to Stockholm 1626-8
(SRO, E71/29/9, 11). Chartered ship from Sweden with Alexander
Monteath, Alexander Brown and John Hilston (ECA, DGCRq, 9 Sept.,
7, 21 Oct. 1629). Collected £464 p.a. from rented property in
Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1639). Had business connections with Thomas
Watson, Alexander Brown, Andrew Ainslie, John Fullerton and Andrew
Simpson (SRQ, E71/29/9). Deacon of south-west parish 1625 (ECA, MSS,

ALEXANDER, DAVID, merchant, stent 1605, SE, £75 (ECA, SR)
1614, SE2, £24 (ibid.)
widow paid 1630, SE1, £40 (ibid.)
widow paid 1637, SE1, £66 13s. 4d. (ibid.)
Burg. by r. of w. Isabelle Allan, 31 May, 1598 (Edin. Burg, 27).
Died 30 Dec. 1616 (Edin. Tests, 10 Jan 1618). Inventory worth £986
3s 9d. Included jewellery, and silver. Debts owed to him £2,165 6s. 8d.
Moneylender. Total £3,151 10d. Left money to poor, church and college
(See also Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 173). Isabelle Allan died June 1642
(Edin. Tests, 11 July 1642). Inventory worth £1,680 17d. Debts owed
to her, £4,227. Moneylender. Included Earls of Cassillis, Rothes,
Lothian, Dalhousie and Lords Lyndsay, Balmerino, total £5,907 17d.
Left money to college. Owned mill of Anstruther, Fife 1598 (AMS, vi,
483). Wadset of Wester-Spott, East Lothian, before death (AMS, viii,
702). Lent money to King James VI, 1598 (APS; iv, 168). Daughter
married George Sharp (see below).

ARCHIBALD, JOHN, merchant, stent 1605 NW, £75 (ECA, SR)
1614 SW2, £13 6s. 8d. (ibid.)
1622). Inventory £1,271 6s. 8d. Included Dutch cloth. Debts
owed to him £668. 7s. 9d. Total £2,139 15s. Debt owed to him
of £26 13s. 4d. added 9 Nov. 1627. Owned property on north of High
Street, Edinburgh (ECA, DGCRq, ii, 30 July 1602).
ARNOT, GEORGE, merchant, stent 1630 NE3 £36 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).

ARNOT, JAMES, older, merchant, stent, 1614 NW3 £26 13s. 4d (ECA, SR).

ARNOT, JAMES, merchant, stent 1634, NE3, £66 13s. 4d (ECA, SR).

BAILLIE, GEORGE, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £65 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR)
1637 SW2 £60 (ibid.)


BARCLAY, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614, NE3 £20 (ECA, SR). Died 22 Oct. 1615 (Edin. Tests, 21 Dec. 1616). Inventory included cloth, plaiding, linen, gold rings, silverware £1,323. Debts owed to him £21,046 13s. 4d. Owed for grain futures. Debts owed by him £3,466 13s. 4d. Total £18,913. Left money to hospital and to poor. Wife Agnes Harlaw died 26 Apr. 1623 (Edin. Tests, 30 May 1623). Inventory included yarn, thread, jewellery £623 15s. 6d. Debts owed to her £10,100 11s. 8d. Moneylender. Included Earl of Tullibardine. Debts owed by her £533 6s. 8d. Total £10,625 7s. Left money to poor.

BARON, JACOB, merchant, stent 1605 NE £112 10s. (ECA, SR). Com. to CRB 24 Feb. 1563 (RCRB, 1, 28). Owned tenements in Edinburgh and Leith (ECA, DGCR, ii, 18 Apr. 1600; RMS, vi, 1388). Died 1 July 1610 (Edin. Tests, 2 Aug. 1610). Inventory included cloth, silver. £3,159. 4s. 8d. Debts owed to him £16,431 5s. Moneylender. Debts owed by him £936 13s. 4d. Total £10,563 16s. Daughters married to John Fairlie and James McMorran (see below).

BISSET, JOHN, ventner, stent 1637 SW1 £66 13s. 4d (ECA, SR). Burg. by r. of w. Margaret Kniblo, 4 May 1614 (Edin. Burg, 58). Overseas trader. Imported sugar, rice, ginger, raisins, licorice, malt from Amsterdam 1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8); tobacco from Campvere 1627, (SRO, E71/29/10); from Norway and London 1637 (ECA, Merk of the Tun). Owned property in Canongate 1631 (RPC, iv, 1630-2, 283). Collected £110 from rented property in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635). Rented house for £33 6s 8d (ibid). Died 14 June 1638 (Edin Tests,


BROWN, ALEXANDER, younger, merchant, stent 1614 SE3 £10 (ECA, SR) 1630 SE3 £80 (ibid.)

BROWN, ALEXANDER, older, stent 1630 NW3 £33 6s. 8d.

BROWN, ARCHIBALD, embroiderer, stent 1614 SE1 £13 (ECA, SR).
BROWN, MR. NICOL, merchant, stent 1614 SE3 £13 6s. 8d (ECA, SR). Widow and children paid 1630 SE2 £50 (ibid.) Widow and children paid 1637 SE2 £60 (ibid.)


BRYCE, JOHN, merchant, stent 1605 NW £37 10s. (ECA, SR).

No information. Perhaps John Byres. See below.

BYRES, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £24 (ECA, SR).

Included shipshares. Debts owed to her £14,550 12s. Owed for wine, herring. Owed £4,000 by Edinburgh town council. Debts owed by her £10,374 13s. 4d. Total £6,162 5s. 4d. John Byres dead by July 1630 (Edin. Tests, 1 July 1630, missing).

CAIRNE, ADAM, merchant, stent 1614 SW3 £13 (ECA, SR).
No information.

CAM, PATRICK, merchant, stent 1637 NW2 £80 (ECA, SR).
Sold merchandise in Edinburgh in 1612 (ECA, DCCR, iii, 16 Feb. 1614).
Sold merchandise to Mr. Alexander Ellis 1616 (ibid, iii, 2 Oct. 1616).

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, Gentleman, stent, for his money, 1637 NE1 £66. 13s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
Involved in rival herring manufactory to Joseph Marjoribanks and partners (ACRB, iii, 27; see also James Arnot). Died 1645 (Edin. Tests, 26 Feb. 1647). Inventory £600. Debts owed to him £3,140.
Moneymaker to Earls of Roxburgh, Queensferry, Lord Napier. Total £3,740. Witnessed charter of William, earl of Morton 1642 (RMS, ix, 1263).

CANT, MR. JOHN, stent, for his money, 1637 SW1 £100 (ECA, SR).
M. Katherine Criech by 1612 (RMS, vii, 651). Died 27 Apr. 1647 (Edin. Tests, 26 Sept. 1648). Inventory worth £333 6s. 8d. Debts owed to him £18,058 9s. Moneymaker. Grain futures. Total £18,391 15s. 8d.
ECA, AT (1635). Justice of the Peace, Nov. 1624 (Pitcairn, Trials, iii, 575).
CARMICHAEL, JOHN, tailor, stent 1614 NE1 £12 (ECA, SR).
Died 2 Apr. 1623. Inventory worth £2,759 3s. 3d. Mostly wine.
Debts owed by him £2,897 6s. 8d. He owed Alan Livingston for
wine, and owed £44 to his taverner. Total £138 13s. 4d. in debt.
Left £40 to tailor craft for convening house in Cowgate. Son,
Thomas, purchased lands of Little Newton in Berwickshire, 1612
(RMS, vii, 860). Had imported eleven puncheons spoiled wine
in 1614 (Edin. Recs., 1604-26, 116). Cleared of having falsely
accused John Scott of theft, 1600 (RPC, vi, 128).

CARNEGIE, ROBERT, merchant, stent 1637, NE1 £80 (ECA, SR).
Burg. & G. as son of David C. and by r. of w. Barbara Muir,
(Edin. Marriages, 118). Overseas trader. Barbara Muir died
9 June 1636 (Edin. Tests, 5 Jan. 1637). Inventory worth £2,288 13s. 4d.
Included French cloth, velvet, shipshares, silver. Debts owed to
her £3,769. Included goods in hands of factor in Dieppe. Debts
owed by her £472 17s. 8d. Included £200 to town for building of
new church. Total £5,584 10s. 8d. Carnegie died 1648 (Edin. Tests,
11 Jan. 1649). Inventory worth £333 6s. 8d. Debts owed to him
£3,623 6s. 8d. Included £400 owed by public for shipping Scots
arms to Ireland. Total £3,956 13s. 4d. Married to Bessie Nicol
at time of death. Collected £65 p.a. from property rented in
Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635).

CARSTAIRS, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NW1 £50 (ECA, SR).
for money 1637 NW1 £150 (ibid.).
Burg. & G. by r. of w. Anna Rae, 1 Dec. 1630 (Edin. Burg., 100).
Anna Rae died July 1632 (Edin. Tests, 4 Sept. 1634). Inventory
worth £3,333 6s. 8d. Silver and ready money. Debts owed by her
£5,666 13s. 4d. All borrowed money. 6,000 marks from late Mr.
Nicol Brown. Total £3,333 6s. 8d. in debt. Had resigned lands
in Fife and Perthshire 1630 which had been Anna Rae's as daughter
of Adam Rae of Pitsindie (RMS, viii, 1697). Brother-in-law to Mr.
Thomas Hope (ibid.).
CHARTERS, THOMAS, merchant, stent 1637 NW3 £120 (ECA, SR).
M. Agnes Byres, 3 Sept. 1619; Catherine Uduard, 11 Apr. 1632 (Edin.
Marriages, 124). Town council service: C 1622-3, BL 1624-5,
B 1627-8, C 1628-9, BL, WB 1629-30, B 1631-2, C 1632-3, B 1638-9,
Imported oats from Amsterdam 1622 (SR09 E71/29/7), from Amsterdam
1637 (ECA, Merk of the Tun). Imported wine from France 1620 and
1631 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 9 Feb. 1620; ibid., iv, 8 June 1631). Agnes
Byres died Aug. 1631 (Edin. Tests, 4 Feb. 1632). Inventory worth
£5,650. Included cloth, shipshares. Debts owed to her £11,733 6s. 8d.
Moneylender. Included earl of Morton, Lord Traquair. Debts owed by
her £17,609 1s. Borrowed money from George Suttie, William Gray,
Patrick Wood. Total £225 4s. 4d in debt. Thomas Charters died Jan.
1646 (Edin. Tests, 18 Dec. 1649). Inventory worth £666 13s. 4d.
Debts owed to him £7,506 13s. 4d. Moneylender. Included Lord
Abercornes, Sir William Dick, earl of Queensferry. Total £8,173 6s. 8d.
Collected £378 8s. p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635).
Granted wadset of lands, coal and salt from Tulliallan, Fife in
1634 in partnership with John Rhind, James Loch, James Neirn, Robert
Inglis, Patrick Wood, John Hilston, Thomas Leishman (RMS, ix, 68).
Granted wadset of lands in Dumfriesshire 1638 (ibid., ix, 846).
Elder of north-west parish, 1625 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiii, 26 Dec. 1625).

CLERK, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1614 SW2 £13 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
Burg. & G. as second son of Alexander C. of Balbernie, 27 July
Marriages, 132). Town council service: C 1604-5, B 1610-11,
C 1611-2, B 1614-5, C 1615-6, B 1618-9, P 1619-20, C 1620-21,
C 1621-2, P 1623-4, P 1624-5, C 1625-6, C 1629-30, P 1630-1,
P 1631-2, P 1632-3, P 1633-4, C 1634-5, C 1635-6, C 1636-7, C 1639-40
(Edin. Recs., 1604-26, 1626-41). Com. to CRB 1617-30 (RCRB, iii, 35,
Overseas trader. Imported from Middelburg 1639 (ECA, Merk of the Tun).
Collected £553 6s. 8d. from rented property in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635).
Held land in Broughton; Whitehouse; Piteuchar, Fife; Pittencrieff,
Fife (RS 24/9, 12 Mar. 1608; RS 25/12, 14 July 1627; RS 1/26, 2 June 1629;
Early supporter of royal religious policies 1619, 1621, but removed as provost 1624 (Calderwood, History, vii, 361, 378, 394, 458, 500, 580). Knighted during Charles I's visit to Edinburgh 1633.

COCHRANE, PATRICK, merchant, stent 1605 NW £112 10s (ECA, SR).

COCHRANE, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 NW £12 (ECA, SR).

CRAMOND, HERCULES, merchant, stent 1614 NW £10 (ECA, SR).

CREICH, ANDREW, merchant, stent 1605 SW £50 (ECA, SR).
1614 SW £40 (ibid.)
Included Aberdeen merchant account. Total £5,366 13s. 4d. Left money to college, poor. Owned lands of Comiston from 1608 (RMS, vi, 2105; ibid., vii, 341; RS/24/10, 8 June 1608; RS 25/4, 28 June 1621). Daughter, Catherine, married to Mr. John Cant. See Creich's testament and also Mr. John Cant.


CUTHORN, JAMES, merchant, stent, 1630 NW1 £40 (ECA, SR). No information.

DALZELL, JAMES, merchant, stent 1605 NW £37 10s. (ECA, SR).
(Edin. Tests, 31 Dec. 1606, 23 Dec. 1614). Debts owed to
him £2,210 5s. 9d. Owed for goods sold in Shetland. Added
1614 debts owed to him £406 10s. Owed £236 by earl of Caithness.
Held kirk lands of St. Cuthberts (RS 24/1, 4 Feb. 1600).

DAVIDSON, ROBERT, merchant, stent 1637 NW1 £53 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
Burg. by r. of w. Jean Lawrie, 20 Dec. 1626, G. 23 Nov. 1636 (Edin.
Burg, 144). Overseas trader. Imported cloth by land from London
1627 (SRO, E71/29/9). Paid £160 p.a. rent for house in Edinburgh
ECA, AT (1635).

DEANS, THOMAS, ventner, stent 1637 SW2 £60 (ECA, SR).
1614 (Edin. Marriages, 180). Constable 1621, 1631 (ECA, MSS, ETCR,
xiii, xiv). Collected £408 p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh
ECA, AT (1635).

DENNISTOUN, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1630 NE1 £70 (ECA, SR).
1637 NE1 £80 (ibid.).
M. Isabelle Dougal 5 Apr. 1627 (Edin. Marriages, 194), Robert
Dougal's daughter. Town council service: C 1624-5, B 1634-5,
C 1635-6 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 1626-41). Wife Katherine Johnston
died Feb. 1626 (Edin. Tests, 24 Jan. 1627). Inventory worth £20,677
14s. 8d. Included English, French, Dutch cloth, Spanish taffeta,
buttons, ribbons, hats. Debts owed to her £9,855 15s. 2d. All for
accounts. Included earls of Monteith, Kinghorn. Debts owed by her,
£18,364 for merchandise. Bought from George Suttie, Laurence
Henderson, Patrick Wood, James Rocheid. Total £12,169 2s. 4d.
Constable 1614 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii). Overseas trader. Imported
cloth from England by land 1626-7 (SRO, E71/29/9). Had factor in
Dieppe 1610 (SRO, CS7/276, 9 Jan. 1613). Collected £601 6s. 8d.
p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635). Elder of
north-east parish 1626-7, 1633-4, 1637-8 (SRO, CH2/141/1). Elder
of north-east parish 1638 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xv, 13 Oct. 1638).
DICK, JOHN, widow of, stent 1605 NW £50 (ECA, SR).
Margaret Stewart, died 27 Dec., 1622 (Edin. Tests, 18 Sept. 1623).
Inventory worth £1,036. Included cloth, silk, velvet. Debts owed to her £60. Included debt in Orkney. Total £1,096. Left jewellery to daughter, Margaret, and daughter-in-law Elizabeth Morison. Mother of William Dick.

DICK, MR. JOHN, stent, 1630 NW3 £66 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR).
for his money 1637 NW1 £120 (ibid.).
Sheriff Depute of Orkney, 1629 (RPC, ii, 1627-8, 357-8).
Son of William Dick (RMS, viii, 2167).

DICK, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1605 NE £37 10s. (ECA, SR).
1614 NW3 £40 (ibid.).
1630 NW3 £400 (ibid.).
1637 NW3 £1,166 13s. 4d. (ibid.).
M. Elizabeth Morison, 15 June 1603 (Edin. Marriages, 185).
Town council service: C 1611-2, T 1618-9, C 1619-20, B 1620-1, C 1621-2,
B 1624-5, C 1625-6, B 1631-2, C 1632-3, DG 1633-4, C 1634-5, C 1635-6,
Oversea trader. Imported grain from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Campvres, Middelburg 1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8). Exported grain to England 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6); grain, herring, wool, wax 1624-5, (SRO, E71/30/30);
butter, cloth, salmon, grain, hides, herring to Amsterdam, London, Campvres, Leghorn or Venice, Rotterdam, Hamburg 1626-8 (SRO, E71/29/9, 11).
Ship taken by pirates 1626 (SRO, E71/29/9, 10 Nov. 1626). Moneylender.
Warned for usury, 1624 (RPC, xiii, 438). Entrepreneur. Manufacturer.
See SRO, GD 110/49 for details of lands and Barony of North Berwick.
Had factor in Paris 1630s (SRO, GD 7/2/39, GD 7/1/33/7, 8, GD 30/1187, 1189). In 1642 he was worth 3,999,000 marks (SRO, GD 331/28/31).
Com. to CRB, 1631-8 (Edin. Recs, 1626-41).


DOUGAL, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NE3 £40 (ECA, SR).  
1637 NE3 £160 (ibid.)


DOWNIE, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent, 1630 NE3 £36 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR). skipper 1637 NE3 £60 (ibid.)


DURIE, JAMES, merchant, stent 1637 SW3 £60 (ECA, SR).
M. Janet Watson, 28 Jan. 1630 (Edin. Marriages, 210). She was
Imported goods from Stockholm, Campvere, Bordeaux, La Rochelle.
1637-9 (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Dead by 1656 (Edin. Tests, 15 Mar.
1656).

EDGAR, EDWARD, merchant, stent 1614 NW1 £12 (ECA, SR).
M. Margaret Edgar 28 Nov. 1605 (Edin. Marriages, 212). Overseas
trader. Exported cloth, skins, hides to Flanders 1611-2, (SR0,
E71/29/6). Died June 1618 (Edin. Tests, 13 July 1619). Inventory
worth £9,351 10s. 2d. Included Danzig iron, wine, shipshores, goods
in Londonderry, Ireland, Bordeaux wine, salt, flour. Debts owed to
him £10,493 5s. 9d. Included debts from merchants in Danzig, factor
in Dieppe. Debts owed by him £14,652 1s. 2d. Included 10,000 merks
to his nephew Clement. Total £5,092 14s. 9d. Left £100 to Greyfriars
church. Owned tenement in Leith before death (RS 25/4, 25 May 1621;
RMS, viii, 197). Attacked in Kirkcudbright in 1609 by William
McClallan, brother of Sir Robert McClallan of Bombie, provost of
the burgh (RPC, vii, 295-6, 347, 352-3, 362).

EDGAR, EDWARD, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £66 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR).
1637 SW2 £66 13s. 4d. (ibid.)
Probably son of Edward above. Town council service: C-1625-6, B 1629-30,
C 1630-1, B 1634-5, C 1635-6, B 1639-9, C 1639-40 (Edin. Recs, 1626-41).
Overseas trader. Imported grain from Amsterdam 1622 (SR0, E71/29/7).
Held wadset of lands of Kingsmeadows, Peffermill, south of Edinburgh,
from 1622 (RMS, viii, 1427; RS 25/6 19 June 1622; RS 25/15, 4 Aug.
of Preston in Dumfriesshire 1626 (RS 1/20, 26 Sept. 1626). Constable
1617 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiii).

EDGAR, JOHN, ventner, stent 1637 NE1 £70 (ECA, SR).
Burg. as pledge to James Nicoll, 29 Mar. 1620, G. as same, 31 May
Marriages, 213). Overseas Trader. Exported cloth 1624-5 (SR0,
£71/30/30). Collected £312 13s. 4d. **p.a.** from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Rented all of Lyon's Close for himself for £400 **p.a.** (ibid.). Elected deacon of north-east parish 1626-7, 1629-30, (SRO, CH2/141/1). Constable 1627 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiv).

EDGAR N. NICOLL, merchant, stent 1605 NW £31 5s. (ECA, SR).

1614 NW £18 (ibid.)

1630 NW £80 (ibid.)


EDGAR PATRICK, merchant, stent 1614 NW £10 (ECA, SR).


Purchased ship in 1606 with James Nisbet, Andrew Purves, James McMath, Alexander Spair (SRO, B22/8/9, 23 Apr. 1606).

ELLIS MR. ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1614 NW £12 (ECA, SR).

Owned lands of Mortonhall, Midlothian from 1629 as heir of Patrick Ellis (RS 25/15, 20 Feb. 1630; RS 25/20, 6 Nov. 1632; RMS, ix, 30). Paid £50 for a house in Kincaid’s Close, ECA, AT (1635). Owed Society of Brewers in Edinburgh great sums of money (ECA, DGCR, iii, 29 July 1618). Margaret Edward died 16 Dec. 1639 (Edin. Tests, 24 Apr. 1641). Inventory worth £6,101. Included farm animals, implements, £1,000 in house at Mortonhall. Debts owed to her £631, included £300 owed for house rent by tenant. Debts owed by her £8,000. Included £4,333 6s. 8d. in money borrowed by her. Total £1,268 in debt.

ELLIS, DAVID, younger, stent 1614 NW2 £10 (ECA, SR).
No information.

ELLIS, PATRICK, merchant, stent 1605 NW £200 (ECA, SR).
1614 NW2 £40 (ibid.)
Died May 1620 (Edin. Tests, 12 Dec. 1620). Inventory worth £5,048 6s. 8d. Included cloth, cards, paper, bootlaces, wire, pepper, iron, copper, £1,000 in ready money. Debts owed to him £12,153 12s. 9d. Included £1,800 in hands of factor in Campvere. Moneylender. Total £17,202 6s. 8d. Left money to buy land for town college. Money for poor and orphans. Owned lands in Braid, Mortonhall (RMS, vii, 293, 1825; viii, 850). Wadast of lands in Nether Cramond 1602 (RS 24/2, 28 Oct. 1602), lands of Stanton, Preston, Braid (RS 24/7, 24 Aug. 1606, RS 24/9, 24 Sept. 1606, RS 24/10, 3 June 1608).

ELLIS, PATRICK, son of James E., stent 1630 NW1 £40 (ECA, SR).
for money with John Smith 1637 Sw2 £100 (ibid.)
Perhaps grandson of Patrick E. above, who had son James E (RS 24/2, 28 Oct. 1602). Town council service: C 1615-6, B 1620-1, C 1622-3, C 1624-5, B 1625-6, C 1626-7, C 1627-8, WB, BL 1628-9, C 1629-30 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 1626-41). Overseas trader. Imported hemp,
465.

dyesuffs, grain from Campvere, grain from Middelburg 1621-3
(SRO, E71/29/7, 8), armour for country from Campvere, 1638 (ECA, Merk of the Tun). Exported plaiding, herring, sheekskins, hides
1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30); skins, plaiding, hides to Campvere, Calais,
1627-8 (SRO, E71/29/9, 11). Connected in trade with John Smith
in some of these deals. Had goods shipwrecked off Yorkshire
1614 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 6 Apr. 1614). Sold French wine 1628 (RPC,
ii, 1627-8, 461-2). Granted lands of Nether Plewlands, Braid
1623 (RS 25/8, 31 Dec. 1623); Nether Cramond (RS 25/9, 25 June
1624); Sauchtong, (AMS, viii, 850). Collected £210 from rented
property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Tenants included Archibald
Sydesett. Perhaps married Lilias Morison, daughter of John
Morison, 1606 (SRO, GD 150/2895).

ELLIS, SAMUEL, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £15 (ECA, SR).
Burg. before 1598. G. as pledge to late Andrew E. 3 Jan 1597/8
(Edin. Burg., 172). M. Janet Ronald, 6 June 1599, Janet Henderson
22 Dec. 1612 (Edin. Marriages, 218). Ronald died 10 July 1611
(Edin. Tests, 6 Nov. 1611). Inventory worth £7,190 19s. Included
cloth, Spanish taffeta, belts, thread, inkhorns. Debts owed to
her £1,926 12s. All for accounts. Total £9,117 11s. 4d. Acted
as cautioner for Mr. Alexander Ellis in case brought by Society
of Brewers 1618 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 29 July 1618). Had shop in
Luckenbooths ECA, AT (1635).

EWING, widow of Andrew, merchant, stent 1637 SW1 £100 (ECA, SR).
No information.

FAIRHOLM, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NW3 £60 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW3 £110 (ibid.)
Burg. as eldest son of George F., maltman, 8 Jan. 1612, G. by r. of
Exported skins, hides to Flanders 1612 (SRO, E71/29/6). Collected
£575 6s. 8d. from rented property in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635). Owed
£3,088 by earl of Buccleuch, 1635 (AMS, ix, 1898). Dead by February
FAIRLIE, DAVID, merchant, stent 1605 SW. £56 5s. (ECA, SR).
Died 1 Feb. 1606 (Edin. Tests, 1, 17 May 1609). Inventory worth £3,180 10s. 8d. Included cloth, silk. Debts owed to him £14,693 6s. 8d. Moneylender. Included earl of Lothian. Debts owed by him £6,000. Included sums to son John. Total £11,864 16s.
Addition – had gold worth £360, debts owed to him £2,010 10s.
Total £2,370 10s (ibid., 17 May 1609). Com. to CRB 1599 (ACRB, ii, 63).

FAIRLIE, JOHN, merchant, stent 1605 NW £175 (ECA, SR).
Supplied lead for Linlithgow palace 1620 (RPC, xii, 335).

FINLAY[SON], ADAM, merchant, stent 1614 SE2 £12 (ECA, SR).

FINLAY[SON], MICHAEL, merchant, stent 1605 NW £43 15s (ECA, SR), 1614 NW2 £26 13s. 4d. (ibid.)
Burg. by r. of w. Marion Marjoribanks, 11 Jan 1591/2, G as before, 28 Jan. 1591/2 (Edin. Burg, 182). M. to Janet Hunter in 1613 (SRO,
FINLAY[SON], WALTER, merchant, stent 1614 SE2 £15 (ECA, SR). 
Burg. & G. as elder son of late Michael F. 11 Sept. 1616 (Edin. 
Overseas trader. Exported cloth 1611 (SRQ, E71/29/6). Purchased 
wine 1615 (ECA, DGC, iii, 29 Nov. 1615). Connected with Edward 
Edgar (Edin. Tests, 13 July 1619; RPC, xii, 486). Owed him money. 
Resigned tenement in Leith to Edward Edgar’s widow (RMS, viii, 
197). One of Society of Brewers 1618 (ECA, DGC, iii, 29 July 
1618). In 1620 owed John Park £1,200 for repayment of which Park 
seized Finlayson’s herring (RPC, xii, 476-7).

FLEMING, DAVID, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £46 13s. 4d (ECA, SR). 
1607 (Edin. Marriages, 235). Collected £310 13s. 4d. D.d. from 
Edinburgh property, ECA, AT (1635). Owned land, mansion in Todrig, 
Berwickshire 1624 (RMS, viii, 712). Resigned 1634 (ibid, ix, 61, 
151).

FLEMING, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NW1. £50 (ECA, SR). 
1637 NW1 £120 (ibid.) 
service: C 1623-4, BL 1635-6, T 1638-9, T 1639-40 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 
1626-41). Overseas trader. Imported plumdames, belts from Dieppe, 
silk, cloth, cards, honey, pepper from Rouen, Newhaven, grain, wax 
from Danzig, grain from Campvere 1622-3 (SRQ, E71/29/7, 8); goods 
from Bordeaux, La Rochelle (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported hides 
to France 1612 (SRQ, E71/29/6); hides, brass, plaiding, goatskins, 
wool 1624-5; (SRQ, E71/30/30), raisins to Newhaven, herring to 
Bordeaux, skins to Calais, Campvere, Königsberg 1626-8 (SRQ, E71/29/9, 11). 
Connected with Charles Hamilton, James Loch, John Knible, John 
Johnston, Peter Blackburn. Collected £273 6s. 8d p.a. from Edinburgh
property ECA, AT (1635). Opponent of Five Articles of Perth, 1621 (Calderwood, History, vii, 457, 600, 620-1). Died 15 Jan 1642 (Edin. Tests, 15 June 1642). Inventory worth £18,731. Included shipshares, cloth, sugar, ribbons, paper, goods sent to Danzig, Bordeaux, Spain. Debts owed to him £28,135 12s. 8d. Moneylender to leading Covenanting nobles and Committee of Estates. Debts owed by him £266 13s. 4d. Total £46,866 12s. 8d. Left money to college, poor, hospital.


FORSYTH, ROBERT, children of the late, stent 1630 NE1 £40 (ECA, SR). Overseas trader. Imported dye from Campvere; paper, pots from Dieppe 1622-3 (SRO, E71/7, 8). Exported salmon 1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30). Died 19 June 1630 (Edin. Tests, 6 July 1631). Inventory worth £5,349 5s. 6d. Included ships shares, ready money. Debts owed to him £5,787 12s. 8d. Moneylender. Owed for wine, tobacco. Total £11,136 18s. 2d. His heirs collected £338 5s. 6d. from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, ST (1635). Witnessed grant of land in Berwickshire by Rudolph Ker of Redpath, 1629 (AMS, ix, 3).

FOULIS, GEORGE, of Ravelston, for land and money, stent 1637 SW2 £90 (ECA, SR).


470.

(Edin. Marriages, 249). Overseas trader. Imported boards, grain, iron, tar from Denmark, Danzig, grain, salt from Campvere, Vliissingen, Rotterdam, 1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8), goods from Bordeaux, 'Corwell' 1637-9 (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported herring, hides, sheepskins 1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30). Rented booth from Patrick Hepburn, apothecary for £100 p.a. ECA, AT (1635). Died 1644 (Edin. Tests, 12 Oct. 1644). Inventory worth £529 13s. 4d. Included household goods, French wine. He owed £373 6s. 8d. for goods and wine. Patrick Ellis acted as executor. Constable 1633 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiv).

GALLOWAY, JAMES, wright, stent 1614 SE2 £10 (ECA, SR). Burg. as pledge to late Andrew Williamson, 1 Sept. 1587 (Edin. Burg, 199). Overseas trader. Imported pewter from London 1622 (SRO, E71/29/7). Wife, Katherine Henry, died 30 Sept. 1611 (Edin. Tests, 26 Nov. 1611). Inventory worth £135 6s. 8d. Household goods. Debts owed to her £1,638 6s. 8d. Moneylender. Total £1,773 13s. 4d.


HALYBURTON, JAMES, merchant, stent 1605 SW £50 LECA, SR). 1614 NW3 £30 (ibid.) 1630 NW3 £165 13s. 4d (ibid.)

Burg. as eldest son of late Adam H., 12 June 1593, G. as before and by r. of w, Catherine Cullane, 3 Jan. 1597/8 (Edin. Burg, 22). Overseas
Inventory worth £2,266 13s. 4d. Included cloth, stockings, dog collars. Debts owed to her £5,126 13s. 4d. Included bonds. Debts owed by her £5,020. Owed money to Peter Somerville and Sir John Scott of Scottstarvit. Total £1,373 6s. 8d. Halyburton died Aug. 1631. (Edin. Tests, 11 Aug. 1632). Inventory worth £1,533 6s. 8d. Included cloth, spoons, mirrors, spectacles, dog collars. Debts owed to him £1,777 3s. 4d. Moneylender. Owed for rented property. Total £5,310 10s. Brother to Robert H. (see below).

HALYBURTON, ROBERT, merchant stant 1614 NEI £10 (ECA, SR).
1630 NEI £66 13s. 4d (ibid.)
older 1637 NEI £93 6s. 8d (ibid.)

HALYBURTON, ROBERT, younger, merchant, stant 1637 SEI £70 (ECA, SR).
HAMilton, Charles, merchant, stent 1630 NE3 £40 (ECA, SR).
1637 NE3 £80 (ibid.).

Town council service: C 1628-9, BL 1632-3, T 1635-6, 8 1636-7,
C 1637-8, WB, BL 1638-9 (Edin. RRecs. 1626-41). Imported cloves,
 hemp, raisins, onion seed, grain, cloth, sugar, from Campvere,
Middelburg, Vlissingen; wood, grain, wax from Danzig, Königsberg,
1621-3, (SRO, E71/29/7, 8). Exported plaiding, skins, 1611-2
(SRO, E71/29/6); wool, cloth, 1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30); plaiding,
cloth, skins to Campvere 1626-8 (SRO, E71/29/9, 11). Connected
with James Loch, John and Robert Fleming, Laurence Henderson,
Robert Salmond. Part owner of ship seized by Spaniards, 1633,
1640 (Edin. Tests, 27 Mar. 1640). Inventory worth £7,150 7s.
Included shipshare, salt, goods sent to Campvere, iron. Debts
owed to him £4,894 12s. 3d. Owed for rent and duties of rural
Debts owed by him £5,995 19s. 6d, included money owed for building
of churches in burgh, 1,000 merks to college, money to factor in
Campvere. Total £6,049 5d. Left money to north-east kirk session.
Collected rent in Edinburgh as Robert Dobie's tutor, ECA, AT (1635).
Owned land in Ayrshire, 1625 (RMS, viii, 1475). Sister married to
Lawrence Henderson (see below). Had factor in Paris (SRO, GD 18/2361).
Elected deacon of north-east parish 1626-7, elder 1631-2 (SRO, CH2/
141/1).

HamilTon, James, merchant, stent 1605 SW £37 10s. (ECA, SR).
M. Beatrix Young, 16 Feb. 1609 (Edin. Marriages, 301). Overseas
trader. Imported grain from Danzig, cloth from London 1622-3 (SRO,
E71/29/7, 8). Cloth from London by land 1626-7 (SRO, E71/29/9).
Exported skins, grain, to Norway; herring, hides, deals to Dunkirk
1611 (SRO, E71/29/6); knithose 1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30). Imported
stockings from London 1624 (ECA, DGCR, iv, 1 Sept. 1624). Sold
faulty barrels of herring 1613 (SRO, CS7/276, 28 Jan. 1613). Died
in Poland (Edin. Tests, 27 Mar 1641). Debts owed to him £405 10d.
Constable 1632 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiv).
HAMILTON, JOHN, apothecary, stent 1630 SE2 £66 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR).
1637 NE1 £110 (ibid.)

M. Katherine Brown. She died 4 April 1630 (Edin. Tests, 4 Sept. 1632).
Inventory worth £1,837 6s. 8d. Included farm animals, grain, medicines.
Debts owed to her £6,687 6s. 8d. Moneylender. Debts owed by her
£4,738 2s. 4d. Owed rent for land of Muirhouse. Owed £1,800 to
London merchants for drugs. Total £3,785 11d. Involved in disputes
over Five Articles of Perth, 1624. Fined 20,000 marks by Privy Council.
(Calderwood, History, vii, 581, 596, 600, 622). Elected elder of
north-east parish, 1638-9 (SRO, CH2/141/1).

HAMILTON, JOHN, for his land, stent 1630 SE3 £40 (ECA, SR).
Town council service: C 1631-2 (Edin. Recs, 1626-41). Overseas
trader: imported wax, iron, flax, hemp, powder, grain from Danzig
1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8); goods from England by land 1626-7 (SRO,
E71/29/9). Acted as cautioner for John Hamilton, apothecary, in
dispute over Five Articles of Perth, 1624 (RPC, xiii, 658). Owned
land in Lanarkshire 1608 (RMS, vi, 2172).

HART, ANDREW, printer, stent 1605 NW £31 5s (ECA, SR).
1614 NE2 £16 (ibid.)
1597: Janet Kenet, 26 Dec. 1605 (Edin. Marriages, 309). Most important
printer in Edinburgh. For a list of books printed see H.G. Aldis,
A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700 (1970), 114. Imported
foreign books (RPC, x, 252, 827-8). Printed vernacular bible, 1615
(ECA, DCCR, iii, 8 Feb. 1615). Opposed Five Articles of Perth.
His booth was searched for subversive books 1619, (Calderwood,
Inventory worth £18,705 11s. 2d. Books, paper, ready money. Debts
owed to him £893 10s. Mostly accounts. Debts owed by him £60
Total £19,538 12s. Widow, Janet Kenet, owned land in Perthshire
1631 (RMS, viii, 1809).

HAY, GILBERT, widow and children, stent 1630 SW1 £33 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
Wight, 25 May 1602 (Edin. Marriages, 314). Married to Catherine


HENDERSON, LAWRENCE, merchant, stent, 1630 SE2 £40 (ECA, SR). 1637 SE3 £90 (ibid.) 

HEPBURN, PATRICK, apothecary, stent 1630 NE1 £53 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR). 1637 NE1 £80 (ibid.)

Total £10,453 7s. 10d. Hepburn's daughter, Janet, married Mr. Thomas Aikenhead, son of provost of Edinburgh (RMS, viii, 1111). Elected elder of north-east parish 1628-9, 1631-2, 1635-6 (SRQ, CH2/141/1).

HERIOT, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1630 SE1 £45 (ECA, SR).


HERIOT, GEORGE, younger, goldsmith, stent 1605 SE £37 10s. (ECA, SR).

HERIOT, JAMES, merchant stent 1605 SE £31 5s (ECA, SR).
1614 SE £2 2s (ibid.)
Overseas trader: exported wax to Calais, Bordeaux 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6).
Died 27 June 1618 (Edin. Tests, 29 Oct. 1618). Inventory worth £2,279 3s. 8d. Included wine, silverwork. Debts owed to him £8,052 8d. Owed for grain. Moneylender. Total £10,331 11s. 4d.

HERON, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 NW2 £10 (ECA, SR).

HILL, ANDREW, merchant, stent 1630 NW1 £50 (ECA, SR).

HILSTON, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £40 (ECA, SR).
1637 SW £100 (ibid.)
Overseas trader: imported grain, wax, ash, hemp, pitch from Königsberg, grain from Campveere, Rotterdam, Middelburg, wax, copper kettles from Danzig, 1622–3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8). Exported herring, sheepskins, 1624–5 (SRO, E71/30/30), wax to Bordeaux, skins to Campveere, herring to Elsinore 1626–8 (SRO, E71/29/9, 11). Worked with Alexander Brown,

HOME, widow of JOHN, ventner, stent 1637 NW3 £66 13s. 4d (ECA, SR). Died March 1637 (Edin. Tests, 12 Jan. 1638). Inventory worth £1,800 18s. 9d. Included wine, beer, ale. Debts owed by him £205 6s. 8d. Included £50 for building of Tron'church. Total £1,595 12s. 1d. Married to Alison Murray. Sold wine 1616 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 20 Mar. 1616). Constable 1613 (ECA, MSS ETCR, xii).


HOPE, JAMES, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £60 (ECA, SR). Burg. & G. as son of late Harry H. 14 July 1619 (Edin. Burg, 260). Perhaps factor in Dieppe (ibid.).


INGLIS, JOHN, skinner, stent 1614 NE1 £10 (ECA, SR).
Burg. as pledge to Robert Wernour 19 June 1599, G. as above,
Marriages, 351). Town council service: RD 1602-3, DC 1603-4,
DE 1608-9, DC 1609-10, DC 1618-9, DC 1619-20 (Edin. Recs, 1589-1603,
1604-26). Com. to CRB 1604, 1619 (ACRAB, ii, 187, iii, 76, 94).
Involved in disputes against Five Articles of Perth 1619-24 (Calderwood,
History, vii, 363). Held land in Blans (RMS, viii, 779, RS 25/7,
29 Apr. 1623).

INGLIS, JOHN, son of late Thomas, for money, stent 1637 SE2 £66 13s. 4d.
(ECA, SR). Burg. & G. as only son of late Thomas I. 2 Oct. 1644
1627). Granted lands in Fife as heir of late Thomas I. (RS 1/21,
14 Apr. 1627). Elder of south-east parish, 1638 (ECA, MSS, ETCR,

INGLIS, JOHN, merchant, stent 1637, NE1 £90 (ECA, SR).
Burg. & G. as second son of late Cornelius I. 12 Nov. 1623 (Edin.
Burg, 269). Town council service: C.1630-1, C 1638-9 (Edin. Recs,
1626-41). Overseas trader: imported gloves, hats from London 1611
(SRO, E71/29/5); cloth from London by land 1627 (SRO, E71/29/9).
Owned wadset of land in Ayrshire, Kirkcudbright (RMS, viii, 365, RS
1/12, 17 Dec. 1622; RS 1/15, 4 May 1624; RS 1/25, 15 Apr. 1629; RS 1/38,
Inventory worth £7,242 7s. 8d. Included cloth, hats, hose. Debts owed
to him £10,858. Moneylender to Covenanting nobles. Debts owed by him
£526 13s. 4d. Total £17,573 15s. 8d. Collected £701 13s. 4d. p.a.
from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Constable 1613 (ECA,
MSS, ETCR, xii). Leased elder of north-west parish 1625 (ECA, MSS, ETCR,
xiii, 19 Dec. 1625). Elected elder of north-east parish 1635-6 (SRO,
CH2/141/1).

INGLIS, MR. JOHN, OF NETHER CRAMOND, stent 1637 NW1 £200 (ECA, SR).
Son of James I. younger (see above). Lands of Nether Cramond given
to him by his father in 1632, (RS 25/18, 7 Feb. 1632; RS 25/19, 27
July 1632), upon his marriage to Janet Ellis. Owned wadset of land
in Dalry (RS 25/27, 23 July 1638).


1602). Thomas Inglis dead by 1627. Lands passed to son, John Inglis, (RS 25/12, 12 Oct. 1627). See John Inglis, son of Thomas I. Constable 1612 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii).

JACKSON, JOHN, merchant, stent 1605 NE £137 10s (ECA, SR). Burg. & G. by r. of w. Barbara Wilson, 2 Jan. 1578/9 (Edin. Burg., 272). Town council service: C 1600-1, PW 1600-1, T 1605-6 (Edin. Recs, 1589-1603, 1604-26). Died 29 May 1606 (Edin. Tests, 18 Feb. 1607). Inventory worth £5,513 9s. 4d. Included cloth, silk, silverwork. Debts owed to him £66,687 3s. 4d. Moneylender. Accounts. Debts owed by him £10,205 8s. 1d. Included money owed in Flanders. Total £61,395 5s. 1d. Left money to poor, to building of church and to church in Biggar where he was born. Daughters: Helen J., married Archibald Tod (see below); Janet married David Williamson, younger; Rachel married John Arnot of Woodmill; Agnes married James Arnot, younger (see above); Margaret married William Baillie of Carnebraw; Elspeth married William Geichan (SRO, GD 172/2132).


JENKIN, DAVID, merchant, stent 1637 NW2 £220 (ECA, SR).

JOHNSTON, ANDREW, merchant, stent 1630 NW1 £53 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
JOHNSTON, ARCHIBALD, merchant, stent 1605 NW £175 (ECA, SR).


 Owned land in Restalrig (RMS, vi, 2078). Died 1 Mar. 1619 (Edin. Tests, 28 Apr. 1619). Inventory worth £1,366 13s. 4d. Included goods in barnyard, fodder, grain. Debts owed to him £9,918 10s. 5d. Moneylender. Total £11,285 3s. 9d. Left land in Restalrig to wife. Left money to college, poor. Considered to be good presbyterian. Grandfather of Archibald Johnston of Wariston.

Children: 1) James m. Elizabeth Craig, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig of Ricarton. 2) Samuel — advocate 3) Joseph — of Hilton 4) Rachel m. John Jackson (see above) 5) Janet m. Sir James Skene of Curriehill, then James Inglis of Inglinton (see Johnston, Diary 1639, 3-12).

JOHNSTON, EDWARD, elder, merchant, stent 1605 NW £37 10s (ECA, SR).


Owned wadset of land in Aberdeenshire 1626 (RMS, ix, 15), land in Ireland 1624 (SRO, GD'15/451/1), Purchased grain 1617-9 (RPC, xi, 421, 555-6). Out of country 1633 and in debt. Needed to travel to north of Scotland to collect money to pay off debts (ibid., v, 1633-5, 164, 250). Collected £170 p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Wife Janet Gray, died Jan. 1613 (Edin. Tests, 26 Sept. 1618). Inventory £100. Debts owed to her £333 6s. 8d. Total £433 6s. 8d.

JOHNSTON, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 NW £10 (ECA, SR).


JOHNSTON, MR. JOSEPH, for land and money, stent 1630 £133 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR). Heirs for land and money, 1637 £100 (ibid.).


JOLLIE, GEORGE, master of the mint, stent 1630 SE3 £40 (ECA, SR).


JOLLIE, ROBERT, merchant, stent 1605 SW £31 5s (ECA, SR).


JOSS, GEORGE, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £40 (ECA, SR).

No information.

JOSSY, JOHN, merchant, stent 1637 NE3 £100 (ECA, SR).


KEITH, ANDREW, merchant, stent 1630 SWI £180 (ECA, SR). No information.
KING, GRISSEL, widow, stent 1630 NW3 £33 6s. 8d (ECA, SR).

No information.

KINLOCH, FRANCIS, merchant, stent 1605 NE £28 15s. (ECA, SR).

KINLOCH, JAMES, surgeon, stent 1614 NE2 £10 (ECA, SR).

KIRKWOOD, GILBERT, goldsmith, stent 1630 SW2 £80 (ECA, SR).
Burg. as pledge to George Foulis, 13 Sept. 1609 (Edin. Burg, 294).

KNIBLO, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NW2 £50 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW2 £80 (ibid.)


LESLIE, GEORGE, merchant, stent 1637 SE1 £53 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR). 
Burg. & G. as pledge to late Nicol Penstoune, James L., his 
brother, his suretor, 6 Jan. 1619 (Edin. Burs, 306). M. Janet 
Marjoribanks, 8 July 1619 (Edin. Marriages, 405). Overseas trader; 
imported cloth from London by land 1627-8 (SRO, E71/29/11). Rented 
house for £100 p.a. ECA, AT (1635).

LESLIE, JAMES, tailor, stent 1630 SE1 £33 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR). 
Burg. & G. by r. of w. Katherine Elder, 12 Feb. 1612 (Edin. Burs, 
307). Owned wedset of land in Fife, Perthshire, Forfarshire, 
Aberdeenshire (RMS, vii, 1754); Pitlivier, Fife (ibid., viii, 669) 
resigned 1649 (ibid., ix, 2050). Rented house for £160 from widow 
of Sir James Murray, ECA, AT (1635). Brother to George L. (see 

LINDSAY, widow of Alexander, stent 1605 NE £31 5s (ECA, SR). 
Had son James (RPC, viii, 125-6).

LINDSAY, THOMAS, merchant, stent 1614 NW2 £10 (ECA, SR). 
1630 NE1 £46 13s. 4d. (ibid.) 
Burg. as pledge to late Alexander L., 19 Feb. 1606, G. by r. of w. 
Jean Bickartoun, 29 Apr. 1607 (Edin. Burs, 311). M. Jean Bickartoun, 
11 July 1605 (Edin. Marriages, 412). Overseas trader: imported 
hats, cloth, hose from London 1622 (SRO, E71/29/8), cloth from 
London by land 1627 (SRO, E71/29/9), goods from London 1637 (ECA, 
Mark of the Tun). Collected £846 13s. 4d. p.a. from rented property 
in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635). Attacked by debtor at market cross 
in Glasgow 1607 (RPC, vii, 444). Apprentice stole goods from him 
1631 (RPC, iv, 1630-2, 117). Lasted elder of north-west parish 
1625 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiii, 19 Dec. 1625). Elected elder of 
north-east parish 1627-8 (SRO, CH2/141/1).

LITTLE, MR. WILLIAM, heirs of, for their land 1630 SW2 £40 (ECA, SR). 
Speir, Alexander, widow for children of late Mr. William L. 1637 SE2 
£53 6s. 8d. (ibid.) to be asked from William Rig or Patrick Scott,


LOGAN, GEORGE and MAITLAND, MR. RICHARD, for money, stent 1637 NE2 £66 13s. 4d. (ECA,SR).

George Logan imported wood from Norway 1622 (SRO, E71/29/7).

MCCALL, DAVID, merchant, stent 1614 NW1 £20 (ECA, SR).
1630 SE1 £133 6s. 8d. (ibid.)
1637 SE2 £133 6s. 8d. (ibid.)


Inventory worth £4,664. Included lint, iron, grain. Debts owed to her £6,468 18s. 6d. Moneylender. Total £11,132 18s. 6d. Leeted elder
of south-east parish 1625 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiii, 20 Dec. 1625).
Constable 1615, 1619 (ibid., xii).

McCALL, MUNGO, merchant, stent 1605 NW £62 10s. (ECA, SR).
Town council service: C 1602-3, B 1606-7, C 1607-8, B 1610-11,
C 1611-2, B 1614-5, C 1615-6, C 1617-8, B 1619-20, C, WB, BL 1620-1,
WB, BL 1621-2, WB, BL 1622-3, B 1623-4, C 1624-5, C 1631-2 (Edin. Recs.,
1589-1603, 1604-26, 1626-41). Owned lands of Hillend, 1600 (RS
27/1, 27 June 1600), land in Fife, 1620 (RS 1/7, 16 Dec. 1620).
Collected £240 p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635).
Owned tenement in Falconer's Close 1631 (ECA, DGCR, iv, 22 June 1631).
Com. to CRB 1620 (RCRB, iii, 98). On commission to investigate coal
shortages on Forth coast, 1621 (APS, iv, 631).

McMATH, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1614 SE £20 (ECA, SR).
Town council service: T 1606-7, C 1607-8 (Edin. Recs., 1604-26). Overseas
trader: exported coal to Spain with Ninian McMorrane 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6).
Ordered not to export tallow 1607, Ninian McMorrane acted as his
cautioner (RPC, viii, 25). Had son, William (SRO, CS7/28/19, 13 July,
1613). In 1613 had wool and cloth stored in house ruined by neighbour
(ECA, DGCR, iii, 1 Dec. 1613).

McMATH, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 SE £13 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
Overseas trader: exported knapweed to Bordeaux, wax to Dieppe 1611
(SRO, E71/29/6). Imported wine 1615 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 1 Mar. 1615).
One of Society of Brewers 1618 (ibid., iii, 29 July 1618). Owned
tenement on Blackfriars Wynd, 1600, repaired it (ibid., ii, 18 Apr.
1600). Collected £226 p.a. in rent from it. ECA, AT (1635). Had
sons, Edward and William (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiii, 21 Apr. 1624).
Constable 1613 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii). Purchased ship in 1606 with
James Nisbet, Patrick Edgar, Andrew Purves, Alexander Speir (SRO,
822/8/9, 23 Apr. 1606). Elder of south-east parish 1625 (ECA, MSS,
ETCR, xiii, 26 Dec. 1625).
McMATH, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 NE1 £12 (ECA, SR).

McMORRANE, GEORGE, merchant, stent 1630 SE3 £50 (ECA, SR).
1637 SE3 £70 (ibid.)

McMORRANE, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 NE1 £20 (ECA, SR).

McMORRANE, JOHN, merchant, stent 1637 NW1 £100 (ECA, SR).
them 1648 (ibid., ix, 2102). Deacon of north-west parish
1638 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xv, 13 Oct. 1638).

McMORRANE, NINIAN, merchant, stant 1605 SW £187 10s (ECA, SR).
1614 SW £40 (ibid.)
M. Elspeth Purdie, 23 July 1595 (Edin. Marriages, 444). Town
Council service: B 1601-2, C 1602-3, C 1604-5, C 1605-6, B 1606-7,
C 1607-8, C 1610-11 (Edin. Recs., 1589-1603, 1604-26). Overseas trader:
exported coal with Alexander McMath to Spain, 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6).
Imported wine from Spain 1610 (SRO, GD 135/124/3/29). Cautioner
to Alexander McMath 1607 (RPC, viii, 25). Chartered out his ship 1605
(ibid., vii, 36). One of Society of Brewers 1618 (ECA, DGCR, iii,
29 July 1618). Inherited tenement in Edinburgh as heir of John M.,
his brother (IRA, i, 58). Owned wadset of land in Cammo, 1602 (RS
24/2, 1 June 1602); Cramond from 1596 (RMS, vi, 571; viii, 66; ix,
1488; RS 24/9, 26 Jan. 1608, RS 25/3, 14, 19 July, 5 Sept. 1620);
Restalrig (RMS, vi, 2078); Kingsbarns in Fife (ibid., vi, 1905).
Portioner of Kingsbarns with nephew Ninian M. younger, 1613 (RPC,
x, 98-9, see also SRO, GD 81/339). Daughter married son of Sir
Thomas Hamilton of Prestonfield, 1613 (SRO, GD 135/124/1/4). Sold
grain 1603 (SRO, GD 135/124/2/6).

McMORRANE, NINIAN, younger, stant 1605 SW £37 10s. (ECA, SR).
Nephew of Ninian M. (see above and RPC, x, 98-9). Probably lived
at Kingsbarns, Fife (ibid.). Described as member of Kirk session
of Crail 1620 (ibid., xii, 285-6).

McNEISH, ALEXANDER, merchant, stant 1605 SE £125 (ECA, SR).
No information.

MARGORIBANKS, JOSEPH, merchant, stant 1605 NW £75 (ECA, SR).
Town council service: C 1601-2, B 1602-3, C 1603-4, B 1612-3, C 1613-4,
B 1616-7, C 1617-8, B 1621-2, C 1622-3, DG 1629-30, DG 1630-1, DG 1631-2,
C 1632-3; Became DG March 1633, C 1633-4 (Edin. Recs., 1589-1603, 1604-26,
1626-41). Overseas trader: exported herring 1624-6 (SRO, E71/30/30),
herring to Elsinore with Alexander Monteath and John Hilston 1627 (SRO,
Employed factor to sell herring in Bordeaux 1622
(ECA, DGCR, iii, 19 Feb. 1623). Involved in herring factory in
Dunbar with James Arnot, older, and George Todrig 1616
(RCRB, iii, 26-7, 34, 67, 72, 88-9; RPC, x, 436-9). Owned wadset of
land in Prestonpans from 1605 (RS 24/5, 28 Feb. 1605, RS 24/7,
26 Aug. 1606, RS 24/10, 28 July 1608, RMS, ix, 1587, 1637).
Assaulted there 1609 by debtor who had sold him the wadset
(RPC, viii, 340-1, 356). Collected £852 13s. 4d. p.a. from
rented property in Edinburgh. ECA, AT (1635). Tenants included

MASON, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614 NE1 £20 (ECA, SR).
Overseas trader: exported hides to Dieppe 1611-2 (SRO, E71/29/6).
Moneymender. Total £3,094 18a. Widow left money to hospital,
college (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii, 29 Oct. 1623).

MASON, ROBERT, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £41 (ECA, SR).
Burg. Adam Montgomery suretor, 16 June 1601. G. by r. of w. Jean
(Edin. Marriages, 456). Overseas trader. Exported herring to
Danzig, 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6). Collected £376 13s. 4d. p.a. from
rented property in Edinburgh. Tenants included George Jameson,
1639). Inventory worth £50. Debts owed to him £822 8s. Owed
for feu duties of lands of Inveresk. £772 8s. (sic). Debts owed
by him £185 4s. 9d. Owed for tax of 1637. Owed for feu duties of
Inveresk. Total £587 3s. 3d. (sic.).

MASTERTON, ROBERT, stent 1637 SE3 £60 (ECA, SR).
Smith, 28 Oct. 1619 (Edin. Marriages, 457). Town council service:
C 1639-40 (Edin. Recs, 1626-41). Overseas trader: imported goods
from Norway, Gothenburg 1636-7 (ECA, Merk of the Tun). Margaret
Smith died 1638 (Edin. Tests, 19 Feb. 1639). Inventory worth £588. Debts owed to her £4,588 7s. 4d. House rent, accounts. Debts owed by her £6,424 8s. 8d. Owed £250 for building of Tron church. Total £1,247 19s. 8d. in debt. Collected £144 p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh ECA AT (1635).

MAULD, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1605 NE £150 (ECA, SR). 1614 NE £40 (ibid.)


MILLER, ALEXANDER, tailor, stent 1605 NE £37 10s. (ECA, SR).


MITCHELL, David, merchant, stent 1605 NW £31 5s. (ECA, SR).

1614 NW £18 (ibid.)
1630 NW £42 13s. 4d. (ibid.)
1637 NW £70 (ibid.)

MITCHELL, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 SW1 £10 (ECA, SR).

MITCHELL, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1630 NW3 £40 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW3 £66 13s. 4d. (ibid.)


MONTGOMERY, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1605 SW £43 15s (ECA, SR).
Died 10 Mar. 1611 (Edin. Tests, 24 May 1611). Inventory worth £5,192 2s. 4d. Included cloth, canvas, silk, hats, ribbons.
Debts owed to him £3,754 1s. 1d. Accounts. Debts owed by him £2,246 1s. 5d. Owed Thomas Bannatyne, James Somerville, Robert Acheson for merchandise. Total £6,700 1ld. Married to Susanna Lockhart at time of death.

MOODIE, THOMAS, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £140 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW1 £366 13s. 4d. (ibid.)

MORISON, CHRISTIAN, daughter of late Harry M. for land, money, stent 1637 NE3 £80 (ECA, SR).
M. Mr. Andrew Dick of Craighouse, 26 Apr. 1638 (Edin. Marriages, 491).
MORISON, GEORGE, son of late Sir John M., for money, stent 1637
NW1 £80 (ECA, SR).
Inventory worth £219. Debts owed to her £194. Total £413. Morison
dead by this time. Resigned lands of Sauchonhall to Thomas Moodie
(RMS, ix, 900). Held wadset of land in Restalrig 1625 (SRO, GD
6/945/1-2).

MORISON, HENRY (HARRY, HEW), merchant, stent 1605 NE £80 (ECA, SR).
1614 NE3 £16 (ibid.)
M. Christian Dick, 14 June 1606 (Edin. Marriages, 491). Town council
service: C 1615-6, C 1621-2 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26). Overseas trader:
imported Scots plaids from Dieppe, grain from Amsterdam, Danzig
1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8). Exported wax to Calais, herring to
Bordeaux, cloth 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6). Attempted to smuggle tallow
into Leith, 1616, assaulted seracher (RPC, xi, 8-9). Lent money
Christian Dick died Nov. 1617 (Edin. Tests, 30 Mar. 1619). Inventory
worth £13,153 6s. 8d. Included shipshares, goods sent to Spain,
France, goods in hands of factor in Dieppe, wine, hides, sheepskins.
Debts owed to her £21,981 10s. Accounts, owed for grain, salmon,
owed £1,000 by her taevner. Debts owed by her £18,000. Borrowed
money from James Inglis. Owed for wine, wax. Total £17,134 16s. 8d.
Henry Morison died 1 Aug 1623 (Edin. Tests, 19 Feb. 1624). Inventory
worth £10,000 6s. 8d. Included shipshares, wine, salmon, cloth,
herring part owned with Joseph Marjoribanks and Nicol Udart in Dunbar,
ready money. Debts owed to him £30,881. Moneylender. Owed by
Earl of Buchan, Marquis of Hamilton, owed for salmon, owed by
factor in London, Dieppe. Debts owed by him £30,800. Included
money owed for his marriage contract with Janet Spottiswood. Total
£10,083 3s. 10d. Spottiswood died 20 Apr. 1624 (Edin. Tests, 22 July
1624). Inventory worth £747 6s. 8d. Total £747 6s. 8d. Father of
John M. (see below).
MORISON, JOHN, merchant, stent 1605 NE. £200 (ECA, SR).
1614 NE3 £36 (ibid.)
Overseas trader: exported hides to Dieppe 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6).
Owned lands in Corstorphine 1598 (RMS, vi, 966). Died 8 Apr. 1615
(Edin. Tests, 17 July 1615). Inventory worth £2,340. Included
wheat. Debts owed to him £8,716 8d. Moneylender. Owed for grain.
Total £9,056 8d. Married to Catherine Preston. On town council
before 1600.

MORISON, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NE3 £53 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
1637 NE3 £90 (ibid.)
Town council service: C 1637-8 (Edin. Recs, 1626-41). Overseas
trader: imported iron, grain, wax from Danzig, 1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8),
goods from Bordeaux 1636-7 (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Imported wine
from Bordeaux 1626 (ECA, DCCR, iv, 28 June 1627). Collected £184 8s.
from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Died 27 July 1642
(Edin. Tests, 19 Dec. 1642). Inventory worth £2,797 6s. Included
shipshares. Debts owed to him £17,033 10s. 6d. Moneylender. Owed
by Earl of Airth, owed £11,866 3s. 10d. account by Sir William Dick
of Braid. Debts owed by him £233. Total £19,607 16s. 8d. Married
to Margaret Nicolson. Left money to poor. In 1643, son, Henry, granted
house by Earl of Airth to repay debt (RMS, ix, 1369). Elected deacon
of north-east parish, 1630-1 (SRO, CH2/141/2).

MOWBRAY, JAMES, skinner, stent 1630 NW1 £50 (ECA, SR).
Burg. as pledge to Thomas Thompson, 21 Nov. 1592 (Edin. Burg, 362).
Inventory worth £130. Debts owed to her £182. Debts owed by her
£45. Total £268. James Mowbray died June 1632 (Edin. Tests, 17 July
1632). Inventory worth £13 6s. 8d. Debts owed to him £839 8d.
Moneylender. Rented out house. Total £852 7s. 4d. Added 4 Dec.
1632 50 merks owed to him.

MUIR, ALEXANDER, skinner, stent 1630 NW1 £33 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
No information.
MUIRHEAD, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1605 NW £37 10s. (ECA, SR). Older 1614 NW2 £10 (ibid.)


MUNRO, THOMAS, merchant, stent, 1614 NE1 £10 (ECA, SR).

Overseas trader. Imported grain from Amsterdam with David Jenkin 1622 (SRO, E71/29/7).

MUNRO, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 NW1 £85 (ECA, SR).

No information.

MURRAY, DAVID, older, merchant, stent 1630 NW3 £60 (ECA, SR). 1637 NW3 £120 (ibid.)

MURRAY, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 NW2 £12 (ECA, SR).
older 1637 SW2 £280 (ibid.)

M. Bathia Mould 9 Sept. 1601 (Edin. Marriages, 506). Town council
Overseas trader: imported paper from Rouen, wax, grain from Danzig,
grain from Dieppe, Amsterdam 1622-3 (SR0, E71/29/7,8); cloth by
land from England 1624-8 (SR0, E71/30/30, E71/29/9, 11); goods from
Dieppe, Spain, Bordeaux 1637-9 (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported
cloth, plaiding, sheepskins, wool, 1624-5 (SR0, E71/30/30). Kendal
cotton to Holland, Königsberg, Campvere, Stockholm 1626-8 (SR0,
E71/29/9, 11). Purchased wool from Andrew Johnston 1630 (ECA,
DGCRT, iv, 22 Dec. 1630). Purchased gunpowder for Edinburgh and
Dumbarton castles 1619 (RUC, xi, 563). Collected £373 6s. 8d. p.a.
from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Died 1640s (Edin.
Tests, 17 Dec. 1649). Described as of Duchar. Inventory worth
£1,651 6s. 8d. Debts owed to him £13,709 11s. 3d. Moneylender.
Owed by tenants of Duchar. Total £15,360 17s. 1ld. Left money to
college. Wife Bathia Mould, son Sir James Murray. Had factor in
Paris 1635 (GD 7/2/37). Lasted older of south-west parish 1625 (ECA,
MSS, ETCR, xiii, 20 Dec. 1625). Warned for usury, 1624 (RUC, xiii,
438).

MURRAY, JAMES, younger, merchant, stent 1637 SW2 £80 (ECA, SR).
M. Elspeth Hunter, 16 Nov. 1630 (Edin. Marriages, 506). Town
council service: C 1637-8 (Edin. Recs, 1626-41). Died 1642
(Edin. Tests, 28 Mar. 1643). Executor David Hunter. Inventory
worth £1,200 17s. Included knitwares, thread, vinegar, hemp,
sugar. Debts owed to him £2,519 13s. 4d. Moneylender. Accounts.
Debts owed by him £41 6s. 8d. Rent for booth owed to William Salmond,
for house to Thomas Moodie. Total £3,480 3s. 6d. David Hunter
described as Murray's brother-in-law.

MURRAY, SIR JAMES, Master of Work, widow, stent 1637 SE2 £66 13s. 4d.
(ECA, SR).
(RMS, ix, 149). Collected £496 13s. 4d. p.a. from property rented in

MURRAY, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614 SW2 £12 (ECA, SR).
1630 SW3 £100 (ibid.)
M. Sarah Nicolson 21 Apr. 1608 (Edin. Marriages, 507). Overseas trader: imported grain, sugar from Middelburg, wax from Danzig, wood from Norway 1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8); cloth from England by land 1625-7 (SRO, E71/29/9); goods from Bordeaux 1638 (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported salmon to Dieppe, knithose 1611-12 (SRO, E71/29/6), lambskins, herring to Königaberg, 1628 (SRO, E71/29/11).

MURRAY, RONALD, merchant, stent 1614 NE1 £13 (ECA, SR).
1630 SE2 £46 13s. 4d. (ibid.)
1637 SE2 £130 (ibid.)
NAIRN, JAMES, merchant, stent 1630 NW1 £36 (ECA, SR).
Burg. & G. by r. of w. Elizabeth Tod, 1 July 1607 (Edin. Burg, 375).
M. Elizabeth Tod 27 Jan 1607 (Edin. Marriages, 510). Town council
service: C 1625-6 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26). Overseas trader: imported
grain from Greifswald 1623 (SR0, E71/29/8). Exported salt to
Königsberg, plaiding to Campvere, Rotterdam 1627-8 (SR0, E71/29/11).
Owner of ship which imported goods from Campvere 1630 (ECA, DGCR,
iv, 16 Feb. 1631). One of partnership involved in Tulliallan,
salt and coal 1634 (RMS, ix, 68). See Thomas Charters. Owned
lands in Stirlingshire 1634 (ibid., ix, 293). Collected £166 13s. 4d.
p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635). Denounced
by Mr. William Forbes, minister, as against Five Articles of Perth,
1624 (Calderwood, History, vii, 599). Dead by 1656 (Edin. Tests,
7 May 1656). Constable 16139 1618 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii, xiii).

NASMITH, JAMES, merchant, for his land, stent 1630 SE3 £40 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW3 £150 (ibid.)
Burg. Alexander Brown acted suretor, 23 Nov. 1614, G. as pledge to
Jan. 1615 (Edin. Marriages, 510). Town council service: C 1633-4
(Edin. Recs, 1626-41). Overseas trader: imported grain, wax from
Danzig, Königsberg, grain from Rotterdam 1622-3 (SR0, E71/29/7, 8),
— cloth by land from London 1626-8 (SR0, E71/29/9, 11); goods from
Bordeaux, Holland, La Rochelle 1637 (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported
wool 1624-5 (SR0, E71/30/30), linen yarn to London 1628 (SR0, E71/29/11).
Purchased cloth in London from 1611 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 4 Apr. 1621).
Purchased cloth there 1634 (SR0, GD 17/2360). Collected £100 p.a.
from rented property in Edinburgh. Rented booths for £170 p.a.
ECA, AT (1635). Owned wadset of St. Germanes (RMS, ix, 294).
Buchanan, Stirlingshire (ibid., ix, 274), land in Linlithgowshire
(ibid., ix, 545), Cowdenknowes (RPC, iv, 1630-2, 512-3). Died
18 March 1643 (Edin. Tests, 5 Apr., 10 June, 7 Sept. 1643).
5 Apr.—Inventory worth £333 6s. 8d. He owed 2,000 marks. 10 June—
Debts owed to him £3,479 16s. 8d. He owed £2,333 6s. 8d. and interest.
7 Sept.—Debts owed to him £841 16s. Total £988 5s. Had factor in
Paris (SR0, GD 18/2361).
NEILL, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £10 (ECA, SR).

NICOLL, MR. JAMES, stent 1614 NW2 £12 (ECA, SR).

NISBET, HENRY, merchant, stent 1605 NE £125 (ECA, SR).

NISBET, HENRY, in Restalrig, for money, stent 1637 NW3 £53 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR)
NISBET, JAMES, merchant, stent 1605 SE £40 (ECA, SR).
1614 NE2 £20 (ibid.)


Town council service: B 1606-7, C 1607-8, C 1611-2, B 1612-3,
C 1613-4, C 1614-5, C 1615-6, B 1616-7, C 1617-8, C 1618-9,
C 1619-20 (Edin. Recs., 1604-26). Overseas trader: exported wine
to Ireland 1611 (SRQ, E71/29/6). Purchased grain 1612 (ECA, DGCR,
iii, 20 Sept. 1615). Com. to CRB 1612, 1613, 1617 (RCRB, ii, 360,
377-8, 381, 431, 432; iii, 33). Represented Edinburgh at Parliament
1612, 1617 (APS, iv, 465-8, 523-8). Due to influence in Edinburgh
allowed to remain free despite having been sentenced to be warded in
Tolbooth for non-payment of debt, 1620 (RPC, xii, 128, 132-3, 197,
200-1). One of partnership of Society of Brewers 1612 (SRQ, CS7/2771
Died June 1621 (Edin. Tests, 9 Jan. 1622, 31 Jan. 1631). Inventory
worth £728 16s. 8d. Farm goods, lambskins. Debts owed to him
£97 3d. Owed for house rent. Debts owed by him £581 5s. Owed feu-
duties of Restalrig. Total £224 14s. 8d. Addition: he owed £1,000
and was owed £666 13s. 4d. Married to Marion Arnot at time of death.
Marion Arnot later married Sir Ludovic Stewart (RMS, ix, 540).

Constable 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620 (ECA, MSS, ETCR,
xii, xiii). Purchased ship 1606 with Patrick Edgar, Andrew Purves,

NISBET, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 NE1 £20 (ECA, SR).


Town council service: C 1600-1, B 1604-5, C 1605-6, B 1608-9,
C 1609-10, B 1614-5, 1615-6, replaced Sir John Arnot as provost
Jan. 1616 P 1616-7, P 1617-8, P 1618-9, C 1619-20, P 1622-3, C 1623-4,
C 1624-5, C 1631-2, C 1632-3, C 1633-4 (Edin. Recs., 1589-1603, 1604-26,
1626-41). On commission to France about trading privileges 1612
(RCRB, ii, 337-9). Held lands of Dean from 1609 (SRQ, GD 6/473, GD 98,
vol. 17 (16)). See also SRQ, GD 90/232. Wife, Janet Williamson, died
May 1622 (Edin. Tests, 28 Feb. 1624). Inventory worth £5,333 6s. 8d.
Debts owed to her £4,000. Debts owed by her £8,333 6s. 8d. Owed money
to late David Williamson, her father. Total £1,000 in debt. Wife,
Katherine Dick, died 13 May 1630 (Edin. Tests, 26 Sept. 1631).
Inventory worth £1,333 6s. 8d. Debts owed by her £1,533 6s. 8d.
Total £200 in debt. Collected £720 p.a. from rented property in

Noble, Archibald, merchant, stent 1630 NW2 £50 (ECA, SR).

Oswald, Andrew, merchant, stent 1637 NW3 £60 (ECA, SR).
Andrew Oswald died Nov. 1649 (Edin. Tests, 12 Apr. 1650). Inventory worth £233 6s. 8d. Debts owed to him £1,838 9s. Included feu duty of land of Spittle, house rent. Debts owed by him £502 15s. 8d. Included stipend owed out of lands of Letham to minister. Total £1,569. Married to Margaret Cumming at time of death. Collected £134 p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635).
PARK, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NW2 £66 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR).  
1637 NW1 £66 13s. 4d. (ibid.)


Exported cloth to Königsberg 1626-7 (SRO, E71/29/9). Died 1640 (Edin. Tests, 2 Sept. 1640). Inventory worth £1,300. Included £1,200 in ready money. Debts owed to him £213 6s. 8d. All money lent to Earl of Home. Total £1,513 6s. 8d. Left money to poor.

PATERNSON, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1605 NW £43 15s. (ECA, SR).  
1614 NW3 £12 (ibid.)


Owned tenements in Leith (RS 24/1, 8 Feb. 1600), land in Currie (RS 24/2, 24 Sept. 1602). Died Feb. 1618 (Edin. Tests, 1 Jan. 1619). Inventory £6,060 3s. 2d. Included shipshares, cloth. Debts owed to him £13,608 5s. 3d. Included accounts, money owed by factor in Dieppe, moneylender. Total £19,668 8s. 5d. Left money to poor. 

Travelled to Flanders in April 1617.

PATON, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614 NW2 £10 (ECA, SR).  

Dead by 1629 (Edin. Tests, 2 July 1629 – missing).

PENMAN, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £10 (ECA, SR).  
him £9,130 12s. 9d. Accounts. Moneylender. Bonds in Orkney.
Debts owed by him £10,962 2d. For merchandise. Total £3,224 6s. 5d.
Added 1628 £5,960 3s owed to him in lent money.

PIERSON, MR. ADAM, merchant, stent 1630 NW2 £40 (ECA, SR).
Pierson was son of Alexander P. (RMS, vii, 310). See below. Overseas trader: exported salmon 1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30), salmon to Dieppe 1626 (SRO, E71/29/9).

PIERSON, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1605 NE £43 15s. (ECA, SR).

PORTERFIELD, JOHN, older, stent 1605 NE £150 (ECA, SR).
Family from Culross. Owned land and crafts in Culross (RMS, vi, 1280).
Died Nov. 1608 (Edin. Tests, 31 Aug. 1609). Inventory worth £5,130 15s. Included cloth, English stockings, shipshares, salt in ship, goods in

PORTHE, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1630 NW1 £40 (ECA, SR).

PRINGLE, JAMES, fishman, stent 1614 SW1 £10 (ECA, SR).

PRINGLE, WILLIAM, lister, stent 1605 SE £37 10s (ECA, SR).
One of creditors of Thomas Foulis, goldsmith and Robert Josie 1598, owed £2,000 (APS, iv, 168). Wife, Alison Wallace, died 3 Nov. 1611. Pringle died 6 Nov. 1611. Testaments combined (Edin. Tests, 10 Mar. 1612, 13 Sept. 1614). Inventory £265 13s. 4d. Debts owed to them £1,442 2s. 8d. Accounts Total £1,708 16s. 8d. Added 1614. Inventory £736 13s. 4d. Included silver, wine, wheat. Debts owed to them £13,400 in money lent by them. Total £13,400. Total of both testaments £14,133 13s. 4d.

PURVES, ANDREW, merchant, stent 1614 NE3 £12 (ECA, SR).
512.


RAE, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £13 6s. (ECA, SR).
       1630 NW3 £120 (ibid.)
       older 1637 NW3 £180 (ibid.)

Burg. as pledge to Hector Rae, 18 Dec. 1605, G. as above, 27 Dec.
1609 (Edin. Burg. 410). M. Isabelle Davidson, 4 Feb. 1606,
Margaret Edgar, 26 Dec. 1622 (Edin. Marriages, 176, 559). Town
Council service: C 1619-20, T 1626-7, T 1627-8, C 1628-9 (Edin.
Recs, 1604-26, 1626-41). Overseas trader: imported cloth from
London, 1611 (SR0, E71/29/5), cloth, hats from London 1622-3 (SR0,
E71/29/7, 8), cloth from London by land 1626-8 (SR0, E71/29/9, 11),
goods from Bordeaux and Greifswald 1636-7 (ECA, Mark of the Tun).
Exported feathers to London 1611-2 (SR0, E71/29/6). Advanced
2,000 merks to pay expenses of commissioners sent to King to deal
with Dunkirk pirates 1627 (RC8, iii, 242, 251, 253). Owned land
of King's Wark Leith 1635, resigned to William Dick (RNS, ix, 279,
335), land in Stirlingsh. 1635 (ibid., ix, 456). Rented house
and celler for £400 p.a. in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635). Isabelle
Davidson died 22 Aug. 1619 (Edin. Tests, 5 Nov. 1620). Inventory
worth £36,412 7s. 11d. Cloth, silk, velvet, hats, garters. Debts
owed to her £73,441 17s. 10d. Money lender. Included Earls of
Roxburgh, Perth, Rothes. Debts owed by her £60,387. A lot owed
in London for merchandise. Also borrowed money from Gilbert Kirkwood.
Owed money to John Veitch, John Park, James Rocheid, Patrick Ellis.
1628). Inventory worth £22,119 9s. 4d. Included cloth, silk, buttons,
ribbons. Debts owed to her £54,343 17s. 8d. Money lender. Included
Earls of Roxburgh, Galloway, Dunfermline, Lord Balmerino. Owed £3,600
by Edinburgh town council and £4,766 by CR8. Debts owed by her
£63,310 8s. 8d. Borrowed money. Owed Andrew Ainslie, John Rhind,
David Mitchell, Archibald Sydserf, Patrick Ellis for merchandise.
Total £13,152 18s. 4d. James Rae dead by 1641 (Edin. Tests, 30 Mar.
1641). Inventory worth £2,691 1s. 8d. Cloth, ready money. Debts
owed to him £4,482 8s. 7d. Money lender. Owed feu-duty of lands
and for grain. Owed money by Lord Traquair, Archibald Sydserf.
Debts owed by him £1,788 13s. 4d. Borrowed money. Owed £266 13s. 4d. for
building of Tron church. Total £5,384 16s. 11d. Married to Christian
Morton at time of death.
RAE, JAMES, younger, merchant stent 1637 SE3 £80 (ECA, SR).
Town council service: C 1637-8 (Edin. Recs, 1626-41). Granted
lands in Stirlingshire as heir of James R., his father, 1638
(RS 1/46, 7 May 1638). Rented house for £10 p.a. in Edinburgh
ECA, AT (1635).

RAE, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £10 (ECA, SR).
Burg. & G. as third son of Hector Rae, 4 Apr. 1610 (Edin. Burg, 410).
Owned wadset of land in Caithness, 1622 (RS 1/12, 6 Dec. 1622).
Wife, Helen Gourlay, died 24 May 1611 (Edin. Tests, 30 July 1611).
Inventory worth £4,341 6s. 8d. Included cloth, silk, velvet.
Debts owed to her £5,682 10s. 9d. Moneylender. Owed £2,000 by
Mungo McCall. Debts owed by her £3,005. Borrowed money from
Adam Rae. Owed John Fairlie, William Rae for merchandise. Total
Inventory worth £644 15s. 10d. Silverwork. Debts owed to him
£433 6s. 8d. Owed money by William Dick and George McMorrane.
Debts owed by him £12. Total £1,066 2s. 6d.

RAE, JOHN, son to Mr. John R., stent 1630 SE3 £33 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
Collected £100 p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635).

RAE, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 NE1 £20 (ECA, SR).
Town council service: C 1616-7, T 1617-8 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26).
Overseas trader: exported plaiding 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6), sheepskins
1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30). Had goods shipwrecked off Yorkshire, 1614
(ECA, DGCR, iii, 23 Mar. 1614). Sold cloth 1613 (ibid., iii, 22 Nov.
1615). Sold his part of ship 1614 (ibid., iii, 16 Oct. 1616).
Witnessed charter in Antwerp 1613 (RMS, vii, 897). Died 22 Aug.
1619 (Edin. Tests, 28 Oct. 1619). Inventory worth £10,321 13s. 4d.
Included shipshares, goods in Campvere. Debts owed to him £23,755
12s. 9d. Owed money in Flanders, moneylender. Owed by Alexander
Dennistoun, James Rae for merchandise. Owed £11,333 6s. 8d. by
Edinburgh town council. Total £34,077 13s. 8d. Left money to poor.
Constable 1611 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii).
RAMSAY, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614 SW3 £10 (ECA, SR).

RAMSAY, PATRICK, merchant, stent 1614 NE1 £18 (ECA, SR).

RANKEN, GABRIEL, merchant, stent 1614 NW1 £10 (ECA, SR).
REID, WILLIAM merchant stent 1630 NW2 £40 (ECA, SR).  
Burg. as pledge to Patrick Cochrane, 23 Dec. 1600, G. as above,  
(Edin. Marriages, 573). Town council service: C 1612-3, B 1625-6  
C 1626-7, B 1629-30, C 1630-1, B 1633-4, C 1634-5, WB, BL 1637-8  
(Edin. Recs. 1604-26, 1626-41).  Overseas trader: imported cards,  
onion seed, sugar candies, frying pans, candlesticks, kettles,  
grain from Campvere, Amsterdam, Middelburg, pots, cards, paper from  
Rouen 1622-3 (SR0, E71/29/7, 8), goods from Campvere, Lübeck, London  
1636-9 (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported skins to Campvere 1626-8  
(SR0, E71/29/9, 11). Exported goods to Calais, 1629 (ECA, Dgccr, iv,  
4 Feb. 1629). Owned land in Ayrshire from 1610 (RMS, vii, 793; viii,  
1891). Collected £94 p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh ECA,  
AT (1635).

RHIND, JOHN, merchant, stent 1637 SW2 £200 (ECA, SR).  
M. Bessie Seton, 16 Feb. 1614, Janet McCall 10 Dec. 1634 (Edin.  
Marriages, 575). Town council service: C 1626-7, B 1630-1, C 1631-2,  
B 1635-6, C 1636-7 (Edin. Recs. 1626-41). Overseas trader: imported  
cloth, hats, hose, from London, cloth from Rouen 1622-3 (SR0, E71/29/7, 8),  
cloth by land from England 1624-8 (SR0, E71/30/30, E71/29/9, 11), goods  
in 1637 (ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported skins 1611 (SR0, E71/29/6).  
Rhind owed money to London merchant 1620 (RPC, xiii, 3). Owned land  
in Forfarshire 1628-38 (RMS, viii, 1365, ix, 1413), Sherrifhall, 1634  
(RS 25/22, 28 Feb. 1634), Inveresk 1637 (RMS, ix, 644, RS 25/26, 18  
Apr. 1637). One of partnership dealing with Tulliallan salt and  
coal 1634 (RMS, ix, 68). See Thomas Charters. See also RPC, viii,  
1635). Inventory worth £70,296. Included cloth, satin, lace, silk,  
hats, hose. Debts owed to her £173,561. Moneylender. Included money  
to earls of Morton, Dunfermline, Perth, Sutherland, Moray, Winton,  
Traquair. Debts owed by her £241,108. Owed Patrick Wood £33,000 for  
merchandise, William Dick £5,900. Owed William Paterson, George  
Suttie, Thomas Moodie, Peter Blackburn, David Jenkin. Also owed sums  
as borrowed money. Total £2,749. Janet McCall died 1640s (Edin. Tests,  
24 July 1649). Inventory worth £547 9s. 3d. Total £547 9s. 3d. Rhind  
rented booth for £200 p.a. ECA, AT (1635). In Rotterdam 1642 (SR0, GD  
29/1246/1). Purchased bonds of Earl of Morton 1636-49 (SR0, GD 29/1274,  
1261).
RICHARDSON, JAMES, merchant, stent 1605 NE £30 (ECA, SR).
M. Helen Lawson, 27 June 1604 (Edin. Marriages, 576). Dead by
1607 (Edin. Tests, 24 Dec. 1607, missing). Witnessed sale of
land to Ninian McMorrane 1602 (RMS, vi, 1356).

RICHARDSON, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 SE3 £10 (ECA, SR).

RIG, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 SE3 £25 (ECA, SR).
M. Margaret Donaldson, 12 Feb. 1618 (Edin. Marriages, 579). Town
council service: B 1604-5, C 1605-6, B 1611-2, C 1612-3, C 1614-5,
B 1615-6, C 1616-7, C 1618-9 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26). Overseas trader:
exported salmon to Dieppe, Bordeaux, hides to France, grain to
Inverness-shire 1615 (ibid., vii, 1525, 1698). Sued Archbishop
of St. Andrews for non-payment of rent 1613 (SRO, C57/282, 25 June,
Inventory worth £609 12s. 4d. Included lands of Morton, oxen, cows,
lambs, grain, wine, cloth, plaing. Debts owed to him £78,913 4s. 1d.
Moneylender. Owed £833 6s. 8d. by Edinburgh town council. Owed
£1,700 by factor in Dieppe. Debts owed by him £5,323 6s. 8d. Total
£80,480 10s. 9d. Left money to buy books for college, to hospital,
to poor. Father of William R. (see below).

RIG, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £100 (ECA, SR).
M. Sara Inglis, 9 Jan. 1612 (Edin. Marriages, 579). Town council
service: C 1616-7, B 1623-4, C 1624-5 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26). Owned
land in Cromarty 1636-41 (RMS, ix, 534), Stirlingshire 1636 (ibid.,
ix, 620), Athernie, Fife, from wife Sara Inglis. Collected
£1,155 13s. 4d. p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635).
Involved in church disputes 1619-24. Opposed to Five Articles of
Perth. Arrested, banished from burgh 1624, fined £50,000 (Calderwood,
History, vii, 356, 434, 599, 600-2, 607; RPC, xi, 249-50, 264, 299;

**RITCHIE, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NW £50 (ECA, SR).**


**ROBERTSON, JOHN, older, merchant, stent 1605 NW £150 (ECA, SR).**


**ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1630 NE3 £36 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).**


ROCHEID, JAMES, merchant, stent 1630 NE3 £26 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR). 1637 SE1 £90 (ibid.)

RONALD, JOHN, merchant, stent 1637 NW1 £66 13s. (ECA, SR).
ROXBURGH, JOHN, cook, stent 1637 NW3 £70 (ECA, SR).
Burg. 20 Mar. 1605 (Edin. Burg., 433). M. Agnes Sandilands,
19 Oct. 1630 (Edin. Marriages, 596). Wife Janet Wylie died 26
Apr. 1618 (Edin. Tests, 25 July 1618). Inventory worth £133 6s. 8d.
Debts owed to her £1,400. Moneylender. Debts owed by her £544 6s. 8d.
Total £989. Roxburgh died 3 July 1640 (Edin. Tests, 23 Nov. 1640).
Inventory worth £100. Debts owed to him £447. Moneylender. Debts
owed by him £27. Total £320. Added 1641 (Edin. Tests, 18 Mar. 1641)
£466. Inventory included pots, pans, blankets, sheets. Collected
£556 p.a. from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635).

RUSSEL, ANDREW, poultryman, stent 1637 SEI £66 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR).
1648 (Edin. Marriages, 597). Rented house and booth for £126 13s. 4d.
p.a. in Edinburgh, ECA AT (1635).

SALMOND, WILLIAM, stent, 1630 NW1 £113 6s. 8d (ECA, SR).
1637 NW1 £80 (ibid.)
Burg. by r. of w. Janet Meikeljohn, 6 June 1604, G. as above, 8 Feb.
dyestuff, linseed, hops. from Campvere, Middelburg, iron from Danzig
1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8), goods from Rotterdam, Campvere 1636-8
(ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported hides to Flanders, skins, brass, hose
1611-2 (SRO, E71/29/6), hides, footfells, sheepskins, wool 1624-5
(SRO, E71/30/30), skins to Campvere, Königsberg, 1626-8 (SRO, E71/29/9, 11).
Exported beans to Campvere 1615 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 9 Aug. 1615). Owned
tenements in Overbow of Edinburgh and on High Street (RS 24/8, 14 June
1607, RMS, vii, 1100, ix, 1786). Died 8 Dec. 1645 (Edin. Tests, 7
Feb. 1646). Inventory worth £2,633 6s. 8d. Included £2,133 6s. 8d.
for shipshares. Debts owed to him £896 5s. 2d. Accounts. Total
£3,121 11s. 10d. Constable 1612, 1620 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii, xiii).

SCARLETT, HELEN, widow, stent 1630 SW1 £66 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR).
James Fisher died 20 Dec. 1611 (Edin. Tests, 1 July 1615). Inventory
worth £245 18s. 2d. Included ginger, almonds, paper, beer, glasses.
Debts owed to him £2,227 6s. 8d. Moneylender. Total £2,473 4s. 10d.
Helen Scarlett died 21 Jan 1632 (Edin. Tests, 16 June 1632). Inventory
worth £6,804 1s. 8d. Included paper, beer glasses, wine glasses, sugar, wax, thread, saffron, raisins, thread, cloves, tobacco, tobacco pipes, ginger, honey, vinegar. Debts owed to her £7,840 7s. 2d. Moneylender. Total £14,644 8s. 10d. Prosecuted for selling tobacco 1617 (RPC, xi, 8, 247, 357). Owned tenement on Peabess Wynd (ECA, DGCR, iii, 17 Aug. 1621). Lent money in 1630 (SRO, GD 34/469).


Inventory worth £2,720. Included cloth, ready money. Debts owed to her £1,608. Moneylender. Debts owed by her £933 6s. 8d. Total £3,394 13s. 4d. Added in October. Inventory £113 6s. 8d. Debts owed to her £666 13s. 4d. as legacy from her father David Alexander (see above). Total £780.

SHAW, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £33 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).

SIMPSON, ANDREW, merchant, stent 1614 NW1 £18 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW1 £110 (ibid.).
SIMPSON, WILLIAM, ventner, stent 1637 NE1 £70 (ECA, SR).
Perhaps involved in dispute over Five Articles of Perth, 1624
(RPC, xiii, 503, 521, 522, 525, 541, 596, 618, 619, 648).

SINCLAIR, JOHN, merchant, stent 1614 SE3 £18 (ECA, SR).
1630 SE3 £100 (ibid.)
Sir John 1637 SE3 £200 (ibid.)


SLOAN, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 NW2 £40 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW2 £66, 13s. 4d. (ibid.)

Burg. as pledge to William Turnbull, 2 Dec. 1607, G. as above, 13 Oct. 1613 (Edin. Burg, 38). Overseas trader: imported onions, salt, raisins, dyestuff, sugar from Campvere, salt from Calais, grain, wax, iron, from Danzig 1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8), cotton from England by land 1627 (SRO, E71/29/9). Exported hides to Flanders, 1612 (SRO, E71/29/6), herring, tar, sheepskins, wool 1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30), skins, cotton to Campvere, grain to Amsterdam, skins to Calais 1626-7 (SRO, E71/29/9). Purchased tobacco 1617-19.Prosecuted for selling it (RPC, xi, 247,

SMITH, AGNES, her three children for land, money stent 1637 NWJ £53 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).

Perhaps married to Thomas Aikenhead, 1 Jan. 1600 (Edin. Marriages, 635). Agnes Smith, daughter of late Henry Smith, died in 1637 (Edin. Tests, 20 Jan. 1637). Inventory worth £16 13s. 4d. Total £16 13s. 4d.

An Agnes Smith committed incest with John Kennedy, her mother’s brother, prior to June 1619 (RMS, vii, 2040).

SMITH, GEORGE, younger, stent, 1614 NE3 £10 (ECA, SR).


Overseas trader: imported belts from London 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6), glasses, grain from Danzig 1622 (SRO, E71/29/7). Repaired tenement in Edinburgh 1613, 1621 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 12 Nov. 1613, 14 Nov. 1621). Died 23 Feb. 1632 (Edin. Tests, 29 Mar. 1632). Inventory worth £1,084 9s. 8d. Debts owed to him £7,797 5s. 8d. Moneylender. Total £8,881 15s. 4d. He owed various bonds and annual interest to John Spence & Geilles Smith amounting to £6,700 plus expenses and interest. Perhaps son of John Smith poultryman (SRO, CS7/282, 12 June 1613). See below.

SMITH, JOHN, poultryman, stent SW 1605 £30 (ECA, SR).

SMITH, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £133 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
1637 SW2 £150 (ibid.)

M. Janet Ellis, 18 Jan. 1616 (Edin. Marriages, 639). Town council
service: C 1626-7, C 1631-2, C 1632-3, B 1636-7, C 1637-8, C 1638-9,
C 1639-40 (Edin. Recs., 1626-41). Overseas trader: imported cloth
from Dieppe, cloth, grain, sugar, from Campvere 1622-3 (SRO, E71/
29/7, 8), cloth from England by land 1625 (SRO, E71/30/30), goods from
Bergen, Kings Lynn, armour for country from Amsterdam 1636-9 (ECA,
Merk of the Tun). Exported brass, cloth, plaiding, wool, sheeptkins,
hides, 1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30), hides to Calais, sheeptkins, plaiding
to Campvere 1627-8 (SRO, E71/29/9, 11). Held land in Cramond 1625,
from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Opposed to Five Article
of Perth 1624 (Calderwood, History, vii, 599). Supporter of Covenant in
late 1630s and 1640s (Stevenson, Government of Scotland under the
Covenanters, 193, 172-3). Constable 1634 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiv).
Had factor in Paris 1634 (SRO, GD 7/2/34, GD 18/2361). At parliament
1639 (APS, v, 252).

SMITH, ROBERT, merchant, stent 1605 NW £61 5s. (ECA, SR).
1614 NW3 £20 (ibid.)
older 1630 NW2 £70 (ibid.)

Overseas trader: exported plaiding 1611 (SRO, E71/29/6). Owned land
in Cramond, 1610-20 (RMS, vii, 340, 1100, viii, 114), land of Boghall
1636). Inventory worth £2,221 13s. Included £1,514 13s. in ready
money. Debts owed to him £769 9d. Moneylender. Owed money by
people in Cramond. Houserents. Total £3,089 14s. 9d. Father of
John Smith (RMS, viii, 114). See above. Daughter Agnes S., married
to John Byres (Edin. Tests, 26 Feb. 1636). See above. Daughter
above.

SOMERVILLE, MR. BARTILM0, for land, money, stent 1637 NW2 £80 (ECA, SR).
life rent of Sauchtionhall with father, Peter S., 1631 (RMS, viii,
Inventory worth £2,284. Included ready money, library worth 300 merks. Debts owed to her £638. Moneylender. Owed 600 marks for rent of Sauchtonhall lands. Total £2,922. Mr. Bartilmo Somerville died 8 Jan. 1640 (Edin. Tests, 10 Feb., 22 Nov. 1642). Inventory worth £9,050 13s. 4d. Included £8,850 in ready money. Debts owed to him £15,651 13s. 4d. Moneylender. Included Earl of Lothian. Owed for house rent. Total £4,802 6s. 8d. Left 10,000 merks to the 'good cause of the Covenant'. Left money for church, poor. Addition in November £2,398 6s. 8d. owed to him. Brothers-in-law were Alexander, Patrick and Mr. Samuel Telfer (ibid.).

SOMERVILLE, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 NW1 £12 (ECA, SR).
Died 27 Aug. 1616 (Edin. Tests, 11 Oct. 1616). Inventory worth £2,171 10s. 8d. Included paper, ginger, cloves, almonds, knittings, sugar, dates, raisins. Debts owed to him £80 9s. All accounts. Debts owed by him £106. For rent of house and booth. Total £2,155 19s. 8d.

SOMERVILLE, PETER, merchant, stent 1605 NW £31 5s. (ECA, SR).
1614 NW1 £18 (ibid.)
1630 NW1 £133 6s. 8d. (ibid.)
1637 NW1 £250 (ibid.)

council, £400 by the burgh of Selkirk, owed £750 by Charles Hamilton, £5,720 by William Dick. Total £36,793 6s. 8d. Peter Somerville died 17 Mar. 1638 (Edin. Tests, 4 Apr. 1638). Inventory worth £862. Debts owed to him £125 6s. 8d. All owed as house rent. Total £997 6s. 8d. Later addition of £24 house rent owed to him. Left money to poor, hospital. Collected £780 p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh. Tenants included son, Mr. Bartilmo S., ECA, AT (1635). Elder of north-west parish 1625 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiii, 26 Dec. 1625).

SOMERVILLE, SAMUEL, merchant, 1614 SW2 £10 (ECA, SR).

SPEIR, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £13 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
1630 SE2 £40 (ibid.)
SPEIR, JAMES, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £15 (ECA, SR).
Inventory worth £10,142 5s. 10d. Included cloth, velvet, silk, Naples satin, shipshares. Debts owed to him £1,298 13s. 8d. Accounts. Debts owed by him £8,783 8s. 8d. Owed £1,000 to merchants in Middelburg. Owed Rachel Spier, daughter of his late brother, Thomas S. £3,333 6s. 8d. Total £2,707 13s. 8d. His daughter, Isabelle S., married Patrick Wood. See below.

SPEIR, THOMAS, older, merchant, stent 1614 NW3 £24 (ECA, SR).

SPEIR, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1605 NW £43 15s. (ECA, SR).


STEWMAN, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1605 NE £43 15s (ECA, SR). No information.

Owed for house rent. Total £2,469 6s. 8d. George Stirling died 1649 (Edin. Tests, 2 June 1649, 22 July 1652). Inventory worth £6,510 16s. 8d. Included £5,833 6s. 8d. in shipshares. Debts owed to him £12,085 8s. 2d. Accounts. Debts owed by him £612 13s. 4d. Total £17,973 1ls. 6d. Addition 1652, £595 in bonds owed to him. Elected deacon of north-east parish 1633-4 (SR09, CH2/141/1).

STRACHAN, MR. JAMES, merchant, stent 1630 SE3 £100 (ECA, SR).
1637 SE3 £100 (ibid.)


SUTTIE, GEORGE, merchant, stent 1630 NW3 £40 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW3 £80 (ibid.)

Inventory worth £9,266 4s. Included shipshares, goods in Rouen, cloth. Debts owed to her £49,514 8s. 10d. Included £3,400 owed by burgha, £6,323 2s. 4d. owed by Edinburgh town council. Moneylender, money owed in Campvere, Berwick, Calais. Debts owed by her £38,610 4s. Owed £8,000 to son-in-law John Adinston, borrowed money. Borrowed from Gilbert Kirkwood, Peter Blackburn, owed money to merchants in Middelburg. Total £20,130 8s. 10d. Suttis was owed £19,898 by factor in Campvere 1626 (SRO, B22/8/26, 14 Apr. 1630).


TAIN, PATRICK, merchant, 1630 NW2 £33 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR). Dead by 1643 (Edin. Burq, 484).

TELFR, PATRICK, stent for his money 1637 NW3 £80 (ECA, SR).
Collected £432 6s. 8d. p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh,
ECA, AT (1635). Bathia Oliphant died 13 Mar. 1642 (Edin. Tests,
15 Nov. 1642). Inventory worth £1,200. Debts owed to her
£6,953 6s. 8d. Moneylender. Owed £4,000 by William Dick of
Braid. Total £8,153 6s. 8d. Wife, Margaret Dundas, died by
1649 (Edin. Tests, 1 Aug. 1649). Inventory worth £2,040. Total
£2,040. Son of Alexander Telfer, see above.

THOMPSON, ALEXANDER, cutler, stent 1630 NE3 £33 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
1637 NE3 £66 13s. 4d. (ibid.)
Accused of usury in Canongate 1617 (RPC, xi, 44). Collected £267 p.a.
from property rented in Canongate, ECA, AT (1635).

THOMPSON, ARCHIBALD, tailor, stent 1630 NW3 £40 (ECA, SR).
Burg. as pledge to David Smith, tailor, 16 Apr. 1617 (Edin. Burg., 488).
Owned land in Aberdeenshire 1634 (RMS, ix, 384, 1716), near Coldingham,
1633 (ibid., ix, 1050, 1275, 1716). Collected £260 13s. 4d. p.a.
from rented property in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635).

THOMPSON, WALTER, merchant, stent 1630 NW1 £45 (ECA, SR).
Burg. as son of late Patrick T., 28 Dec. 1614, G. by r. of w. Margaret
1608, Margaret Charters, 20 Oct. 1619, Barbara Gilchrist, 30 Apr.
1628 (Edin. Marriages, 692). Overseas trader: imported grain, hemp,
iron, from Danzig 1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8), goods from Danzig 1636
(ECA, Mark of the Tun). Margaret Charters died April 1627 (Edin.
Tests, 18 July 1627). Inventory worth £300. Debts owed to her
£690. All owed as interest on money lent by her. Does not give
principal sums. Debts owed by her £60 for house rent, servant's
1646, 19 Dec. 1649). Inventory worth £757 12s. 8d. Debts owed by
him £666 13s. 4d. Owed to David Murray his executor. Addition 1649
Debts owed to him £3,973 6s. 8d. In 1630 Barbara Gilchrist complained
that Thompson assaulted, mistreated her, stole her goods, marriage
portion, called her a harlot. She appealed to her special friend Gilbert Acheson for advice. Thompson turned her out of house. Thompson's estate was estimated as worth £17,333 6s. 8d in free money at that time. Couple separated (RPC, iii, 1629-30, 464-6).

THORNTON, DONALD, merchant, stent 1605 SW £62 10s. (ECA, SR).

TOD, ARCHIBALD, merchant, stent 1630 SE2 £40 (ECA, SR).
1637 SE2 £60 (ibid.)

TOORIG, GEORGE, merchant, stent 1605 NE £43 15s. (ECA, SR).
Wife, Margaret Hay, died 11 Aug. 1607 (Edin. Tests, 13 July 1609). Inventory worth £1,686 13s. 4d. Included grain on land of West Niddry. Debts owed to her £1,218 13s. 4d. For house rent. Debts owed by her £3,721 6s. 2d. For grain. Owed Ninian McMorran £1,333 6s. 8d. Total £815 18s. 5d. in debt. Left diamond ring to George Todrig. Todrig sued Earl of Mar for debt 1615 (RMS, vii, 1612).

TROLD, JOHN, merchant stent 1605 SE £31 5s. (ECA, SR). No information.

TROTTER, JOHN, merchant stent 1614 NE3 £18 (ECA, SR). older 1630 NE3 £100 (ibid.) older 1637 NE3 £100 (ibid.)

Owed Alexander Speir, James Rae, Thomas Moodie for merchandise.

TROTTER, JOHN, younger, merchant, stent 1630 NE3 £50 (ECA, SR).

TROTTER, ROBERT, merchant, stent 1614 SE1 £10 (ECA, SR).
Dennistoun, John Park for merchandise. Total £5,949 18s. 10d.
Collected £216 13s. 4d. p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh
ECA, AT (1635). Constable, 1612 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii).

TROUP, JAMES, merchant, stent 1637 SW2 £66 13s. 4d. (ECA, SR).
M. Isabelle Wilkie, 4 Aug. 1629 (Edin. Marriages, 699). Overseas trader: imported wax from Danzig, pitch, hemp, knappalds from Königberg 1622–3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8), goods from Bordeaux 1637
(ECA, Mark of the Tun). Exported knithose to Elsinore, herring to Königberg 1626–8 (SRO, E71/29/9, 11). Traded with John Trotter.
Sold iron 1629 (ECA, DCCR, iv, 1 Apr. 1629). Isabelle Wilkie died 31 Mar. 1637 (Edin. Tests, 20 Apr. 1637). Inventory worth £10,428 13s. 4d.
Included shipshares, wax sent to Bordeaux, goods sent to Baltic. Debts owed to her £2,294 18s. Owed money to Patrick Wood. Moneylender.
Debts owed by her £2,376. Owed 500 merks out of 1,000 merks pledged to church of Edinburgh. Total £10,976 18s. 4d. James Troup died Apr. 1643 (Edin. Tests, 12 Sept. 1643). Inventory worth £6,566 13s. 4d.
Included shipshares. Debts owed to him £16,944 6s. 8d. Moneylender.
Owed by late Patrick Wood, late James Nasmyth. Total £23,511.

TURBULL, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 NWI £10 (ECA, SR).
Charged with smuggling goods into Gullane, 1603 (RPC, vi, 572-4).
No record of any William Turnbull other than one who died in 1613.
Perhaps widow was assessed in 1614.

UDARD, NICOL, merchant, stent 1614 SE2 £13 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR).
M. Katherine Balcanquie, 30 Sept. 1601, Isabelle Baron, 21 Nov. 1622 (Edin. Marriages, 704). Town council service: C 1608-9, B 1615-6, C 1616-7, E 1618-9, W 1618-9, replaced late James
Forman, June 1619, 8 1619-20, 8 1622-3, 8 1624-5, 8 1625-6, 8 1626-7, 8 1630-1, 8 1631-2, 8 1632-3, replaced on death in Mar. 1633 by Joseph Marjoribanks (Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 1626-41). Traded to Sutherland 1614 (ECA, DGCR, iii, 17 Aug. 1614). Widow collected £383 13s. 4d. p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh ECA, AT (1635). Father of Mr. Nicol U. (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiv, 20 Feb. 1633). See below. Constable, 1612 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii).


VEITCH, JOHN, merchant, stent 1630 SW2 £50 (ECA, SR).
1637 NW2 £80 (ibid.)

G. by r. of w. Elizabeth Hope, daughter of Harry H. 11 Aug. 1601
(Edin. Burq, 504). M. Janet Finlayson, 1 Feb. 1616, Catherine Hope,
29 June 1620 (Edin. Marriages, 706). Overseas trader: imported iron,
almonds, licorice, pepper, cloth, onion seed, grain from Middelburg,
Campvere 1622-3 (SRO, E71/29/7, 8). Exported knithose 1624-5 (SRO,
E71/30/30), knithose, plaидing to Campvere 1627-8 (SRO, E71/29/9, 11).
Had factor in Rotterdam in 1626 (ECA, DOCR, iv, 21 June 1626).
Elizabeth Hope died 26 Nov. 1609 (Edin. Tests, 10 May 1610). Inventory
worth £5,011 11s. 4d. Included vinegar, ginger, sugar, pepper, candy,
knitware, figs, cloves, almonds. Debts owed to her £3,396 15s. 2d.
Accounts. Debts owed by her £1,929 12s. 4d. Included £635 owed to
Dutch merchants, £1,000 owed to James Somerville. Janet Finlayson
died 31 Aug. 1619 (Edin. Tests, 4 Nov. 1619, 15 June 1621). Inventory
worth £2,158. Included raisins, ginger, almonds, sugar, cloth.
Debts owed to her £5,300 7s. 4d. Accounts. Owed £1,600 by James
Speir. Moneylender. Total £17,161 7s. 4d. Addition 1621, £1,923 owed
to her for her marriage contract by her late father. Catherine Hope
died 30 Sept. 1627 (Edin. Tests, 11 Dec. 1628). Inventory worth
£3,440 1s. 4d. Included dyestuff, pots, peper, wire, knitware, cloth,
vinegar, sugar, pepper, wax, cloves. Debts owed to her £1,712 6s.
Moneylender. Included Earl of Roxburgh. Debts owed by her £6,465
15s. 8d. Borrowed money. Owed £2,552 to merchants in Haarlem,
Amsterdam, Middelburg. Total £1,313 8s. 4d in debt. John Veitch
dead by July 1628 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiv, 2 July 1628). Elected deacon
of south-west parish 1625 (ibid., xiii, 20 Dec. 1625). Prosecuted
for selling tobacco 1617 (RPC, xi, 8, 235-6, 357).

WATSON, THOMAS, merchant, stent 1614 SW3 £10 (ECA, SR).
Burg. by r. of w. Hester Barbour, 6 Apr. 1608, G. as above, 14 Apr.
721). Overseas trader: imported iron from Stockholm, Nylöse 1622-3
(SRO, E71/29/7, 8). Exported coal, tar, nails to Bordeaux, cloth
1611-2 (SRO, E71/29/5), herring 1624-5 (SRO, E71/30/30), herring,
gloves, salt to Stockholm 1627-8 (SRO, E71/29/11). Traded with James
Aleson, Alexander Brown, Thomas Winram, John Vaus. Described in 1611
as a habitual traveller with Sweden when ships taken by Danes
(RPC, ix, 620, xi, 629-30; also NLS, Denmilne Ms 33.3.1 vol. viii,
o. 24). Exported herring to Elsinore, Königberg 1613 with James
Loch, Gabriel Ranken (ECA, DGCR, iii, 5 Jan. 1614). Freighted ship
to Sweden 1617 (ibid., iii, 28 Jan. 1618). Dead by 20 July 1629
(Edin. Tests, 20 July 1629 — missing).

WAUCHOPE, GEORGE, merchant, stent 1605 NE £37 10s. (ECA, SR).
M. Isabelle Brown, 20 Nov. 1628 (Edin. Marriages, 724). Oversea
trader: imported goods from Königberg 1637 (ECA, Merk of the Tun).
Demolished tenement in Edinburgh 1635 (ECA, DGCR, iv, 20 May 1635).
Collected £373 6s. 8d. p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh ECA, AT
(1635). Constable 1633 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xiv). Made money by chartering
out his ship 1636 (SRO, GD 172/17529 1755). Elected deacon of north-
east parish 1631-2, elder 1636-7 (SRO, CH2/141/1).

WHITELOW, PATRICK, merchant, stent 1605 SW £31 5s. (ECA, SR).
1614 SW2 £16 (ibid.)
(Edin. Recs, 1604-26). Owned property in Dunbar 1600 (RMS, vi, 1004, RS 24/1,
28 Jan. 1602), lands of Whitelaw, Lothian, 1618 (RS 25/1, 3 Mar.
1618, RS 24/4, 17 Oct. 1620, RS 25/5, 16 Mar. 1622); see also SRO,
GD 6/1461. Wife, Helen McMorrane, died 13 Nov. 1629 (Edin. Tests,
24 Dec. 1630). Inventory worth £5,249 9s. 2d. Included animals,
grain on lands of Whitelaw. Debts owed to her £23,441 2s. 2d.
Moneylender. Shipshares. Debts owed by her £401. Owed for grain
in Whitelaw. Total £28,290 4d. Owed money by Earl of Crawford
1609 (RPC, viii, 368, 386, 392). Constable 1611 (ECA, MSS, ETCR, xii).

WIGHT, HEW, merchant, stent 1605 NW £31 5s. (ECA, SR).
1614 SW2 £18 (ibid.)
Burg. by r. of w. Elspeth Hope, 19 Sept. 1592, G. as above 21 Sept.
Marriages, 737). Elspeth Hope died 10 Dec. 1610 (Edin. Tests, 21 May
1611). Inventory worth £384 18s. Debts owed to her £11,134 18s.
Moneylender. Total £11,519 16s. Daughter, Christian W., married

WILKIE, JOHN, merchant, stent 1605 NW £57 10s. (ECA, SR). 1614 NW £24 (ibid.) 1630 NW £46 13s. 4d. (ibid.)


WILKIE, WILLIAM, merchant, stent 1614 SW £12 (ECA, SR). 1630 SW £33 6s. 8d. (ibid.)

WILLIAMSON, DAVID, merchant, stent 1605 NE £137 10s. (ECA, SR).
Elder 1614 NE £24 (ibid.).

M. Janet Jackson, 5 Nov. 1606 (Edin. Marriages, 740). Town
council service: C 1600-1, C 1601-2, C 1608-9 (Edin. Recs, 1589-1603,
1604-26). Owned land in Perthshire 1621 (RMS, viii, 189, 911).
Had tenement in Halkerstons Wynd 1615-21 (ECA, DGCR iii 5 July
Tests, 16 Dec. 1623). Inventory worth £200. Debts owed to him
Left money to poor, hospital.

WILLIAMSON, GILBERT, merchant, stent 1637 NE £60 (ECA, SR).
Burg. & G. by r. of w. Helen Tod, 30 May 1610 (Edin. Burg, 530).
M. Helen Tod, 7 Feb. 1609, Janet Jackson (sic), 30 May 1616,
Barbara Park 20 Apr. 1626 (Edin. Marriages, 740.) Town council
service: C 1623-4, B 1627-8, C 1628-9, WB, BL 1630-1, WB, BL 1633-4,
B 1635-6, C 1636-7 (Edin. Recs, 1604-26, 1626-41). Overseas trader:
imported iron, grain, wax, wool from Danzig 1622-3 (SRO E71/29/7, 8),
cloth by land 1624-7 (SRO, E71/30/30, E71/29/9). Exported English
Kendal cotton to Newhaven 1626 (SRO, E71/29/9). Traded with Robert
Murray. Sold wool 1635-6 (SRO, GD 34/482). Owned land in Peeblesshire
from rented property in Edinburgh, ECA, AT (1635). Helen Tod died
Included goods sent to Danzig, Königsberg, cloth. Debts owed to her
£5,252 13s. 4d. Debts owed by her £4,072. Borrowed money. Total £4,737
1625). Inventory worth £2,572 3s. 4d. Included goods sent to Danzig,
Bordeaux, wax, cloth. Debts owed to her £2,626 9s. 4d. Included for
goods sold in Ireland, Sweden. Debts owed by her £4,200. All
borrowed money. Total £998 12s. 8d. Gilbert Williamson died Apr.
1638 (Edin. Tests, 9 Mar. 1639). Inventory worth £2,049 7s. 2d.
Included cloth, library of Dutch, French, Scots books worth £40.
Debts owed to him £4,456 5s. Accounts. Debts owed by him £229 19s.
Total £2,052 1s. 3d. Left land near Peebles to Barbara Park, left
Inventory worth £2,434. Included wine in her tavern. Debts owed to her £202 13s. 4d. Debts owed by her £5,030. Owed Archibald Tod, George McMorran for wine. Total £2,393 6s. 8d. in debt.

Elder of north-east parish 1626-7, 1629-30, 1632-3 (SRO, CH2/141/1).


WILSON, JOHN, younger, merchant, stent 1614 NW1 £10 (ECA, SR). Perhaps died Feb. 1622 (Edin. Tests, 9 Nov. 1622). Inventory worth £31 6s. 8d. Included wool. Debts owed to him £392. Debts owed by him £26 13s. 4d. For house rent. Total £397 6s. 8d. Perhaps owned property at Greyfriars port 1612 (RMS, vii, 621).


WINRAM, JOHN, stent 1630 NW1 £73 6s. 8d. (ECA, SR). Widow for children's money 1637 NW1 £100 (ibid.)

£200. Debts owed to him £4,733 6s. 8d. Moneylender. Debts owed by him £125. Total £4,808. Left money to buy land for profit of his son.


WOOD, PATRICK, merchant, stent 1630 NW3 £40 (ECA, SR). 1637 NW2 £570 (ibid.)
Included shipshares, ropeworks, coal, herring, salt, goods sent to Spain, Canaries, Danzig. Debts owed to him £28,434 12s. Moneylender. Debts owed by him £127,800 19s. 10d. Borrowed money. Total £1,245 4s. 8d. Left money to hospital. 6 Mar. 1640 – inventory £7,200, goods in venture to Spain. Wood owed £15,656 15s. and interest. 25 May 1640 – inventory £2,200. Goods in Paris, north Spain, Wood owed £4,320 to Peter Blackburn and interest. 10 Sept. 1640 – inventory £3,826 16s. Goods in France, Spain. Wood owed 4,000 merks and interest. 30 Dec. 1640 – inventory £11,698 13s. 4d. All for shipshares. Wood owed £20,683 6s. 8d. and interest. 19 Mar. 1641 – inventory £1,000 for shipshares. Debts owed to him £13,300. Total £14,300. 27 May, 1642 – inventory £4,490 13s. 4d. For shipshares. Wood owed 2,600 merks and interest. 22 July 1642 – debts owed to him £4,306 13s. 4d. He owed 6,000 merks and interest. 29 Apr. 1643 – debts owed to him £2,560. 29 June 1647 – inventory worth £3,482 goods in ropeworks in Newhaven. Wood owed 8,500 merks and interest. 27 July 1647 – debts owed to him £3,000. He owed 5,000 merks and interest. 10 Dec. 1647 – debts owed to him £3,819 6s. 8d. He owed £1,000. 8 Dec. 1655 – debts owed to him £289. He owed 2,700 merks and interest. Agreed to support Covenant only after his creditors threatened to ruin him by calling in loans after Wood was caught importing ammunition into Leith from London, 1638 (Leslie, Relation, 133). Had factor in Paris (SRO, GD 18/2361, 2368, 2372). Acted as cautioner for an English merchant of the Guinea Company 1638 (SRO, B22/8/30, 24 Feb. 1638).

WRIGHT, ALEXANDER, merchant, stent 1630 SW1 £33 8s. 8d. (ECA, SR). 1637 SW1 £60 (ibid.)
Where appropriate the abbreviations used are indicated by square brackets. Unless otherwise stated all books are published in London.

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  Compt of Edward Little of Shore Dues Collected at Leith, 1638-9 (within Impost of Wine, vol. i) [Shore Dues]
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E75, Wine Purchased from Edinburgh Merchants, 1628-36, vols. 30-32.

Gifts and Deposits:

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GD7 Inventory of Blebo Writs
GD15 Cardross Writs
GD16 Airlie Muniments
GD18 Clerk of Penicuik Muniments
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