

SCOTTISH
ELECTORAL
POLITICS

1832-1854

SCOTTISH
HISTORY
SOCIETY

1974

~~Ref. S~~

SCS. SHS 147



SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

FOURTH SERIES

VOLUME II



Papers on
Scottish Electoral Politics

PAPERS ON
SCOTTISH
ELECTORAL POLITICS
1832-1854

edited by J. I. Brash, MA



EDINBURGH
printed for the Scottish History Society by
T. AND A. CONSTABLE LTD.

1974

©
Scottish History Society
1974



SBN 9500260 7 7
Printed in Great Britain

PREFACE

I should like to express my gratitude to the many people who have helped me in the preparation of this volume. I am especially grateful to his Grace the 8th Duke of Buccleuch firstly for allowing me several years ago to examine the Buccleuch Manuscripts, then at Dalkeith House and since deposited in the Scottish Record Office, and secondly for permitting me to publish a selection of these papers. I regret that the death of the Duke occurred in October 1973 shortly before my work was completed. My thanks are due also to the Right Honourable the 16th Earl of Dalhousie for permission to print some letters from the Dalhousie Manuscripts, and to Sir Archibald Hope, 17th Baronet of Craighall, for his hospitality and for allowing me to examine the papers of his great-grandfather Sir John Hope the 11th Baronet. I am also grateful to the proprietors of the *Scotsman* for permission to reprint two letters which appeared in that newspaper in 1841.

Through the generosity of the Right Honourable the Earl of Crawford by a donation to the Scottish History Society from the Lindsay Trust, it was possible to provide the map which illustrates this volume. I am grateful to Lord Crawford, and to Mr Ian Scott who transformed my notes into such an elegant map.

I am indebted to the University of Western Australia which has supported my research for several years and enabled me to spend a sabbatical year in Scotland in 1971 when most of the work for this volume was carried out. As much of my research has been conducted out of Scotland I have incurred a considerable debt to the staffs of the National Library of Scotland, the Scottish Record Office and the British Museum Library for the assistance they have given me with the provision of research material and information. I am also pleased to acknowledge the generous support I have received from Mr Leonard Jolley, Librarian in my university.

Finally I should like to record my gratitude to the Scottish History Society for giving me the opportunity to make a small contribution to the study of a period of Scottish history undeservedly neglected by students of political and electoral development, the years between the first and second reform acts. My thanks are due in particular to

Dr T. I. Rae, Secretary of the Society, for his advice and encouragement and for his considerable labours in seeing my manuscript through the press.

Perth, Western Australia

J. I. BRASH

January, 1974

CONTENTS

Preface v

Introduction ix

Map lxvi

MIDLOTHIAN POLITICS 1832-1854 I

DONALD HORNE'S ELECTION SURVEYS 220

Index 279

*A generous contribution from the
Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland
towards the cost of producing this volume
is gratefully acknowledged by the
Council of the Society*

Introduction

THE PAPERS presented in this volume illustrate the electoral organisation and activities of Scottish Conservatives during the twenty years after their almost total defeat at the general election in December 1832. The passing of the Scottish Reform Act in the summer of 1832 had been a severe blow for those groups of individuals and families predominantly Tory which for years had dominated the politics of most Scottish counties and burghs; and the extent of their defeat seemed clearly demonstrated at the general election, when in the opinion of one Conservative agent only eight of the fifty-three members returned were 'decided' Conservatives.¹

The many losses could be attributed in part to the continuing excitement caused by the 'reform' issue which dominated the election, but much of the explanation lies in the new set of electoral conditions established by the Reform Act. It had altered the scale and the character of electoral politics in Scotland and posed serious problems of adjustment for those who wished to retain their political influence. In 1830 the total electorate (the holders of qualifying 'superiorities', frequently nominal, in counties, and the provosts and councillors of royal burghs) probably consisted of fewer than 4,000 individuals.² The scale of electoral politics was small; personal influence and patronage in its many forms played a significant part; and electoral management required finesse and close attention to the needs and interests of individual electors. When the privilege of voting was restricted to so few every vote was valuable, especially to its possessor. This was particularly true in a county where, rather uncommonly, a series of contests occurred, as in Midlothian in 1811, 1812 and 1818 when the purchase price of a superiority soared. James

¹ Below p. 220.

² J. Wilson, *Political State of Scotland* (London, 1833), 31-45, yields 1,303 burgh voters; Henry Cockburn estimated the total number of persons with county votes as 2,500, *Edinburgh Review*, lii (1830), 210-11.

Gibson, ws,¹ wrote to Sir John Dalrymple² on 19 December 1816, 'Cathcart's Vote was purchased by Lieutenant John Thomson of the Royal Navy *wanting Promotion*'.³ Thomson paid a total of £1,560; another vote purchased in the county that year cost a Mr Fletcher £1,660.

The Reform Act abolished the old qualifications and introduced new ones which increased the size and altered the composition of the electorate. In counties the right of voting was granted to proprietors of subjects valued at £10 a year, tenants of £10 properties on leases for life or at least fifty-seven years, and tenants of £50 properties on leases of nineteen years. In burghs the basic qualification was the ownership or occupancy of property of an annual value of £10. At the first registrations in 1832 approximately 33,000 county and 31,000 burgh electors were enrolled. By modern standards and even by contemporary English standards most of the individual electorates were still small, but the total number of electors was fifteen or sixteen times greater than in 1830 and by 1839 had increased by 45% to 48,000 in the counties, and by 14% to 36,000 in the burghs.⁴

In counties, with which this volume is mainly concerned, the new electorate was generally of a mixed character. The old freeholders were allowed to retain their votes for their own lifetime, but they found themselves part of a much larger and more diverse body of electors—consisting of other landed proprietors (who not being superiors had not previously qualified), tenant farmers, small numbers of professional men, merchants and manufacturers, and groups of retail traders and craftsmen in towns and villages within the county. The large landed proprietors were generally Conservative and most of the tenant farmers could be relied on to follow their landlords politically. But there was often a large number of £10 proprietors of houses, gardens and workshops in the villages, many perhaps religious dissenters, and the majority generally supporters of reform. These were the 'ten-pounders' described by James Hope,

¹ James Gibson, ws, 1765-1850, better known as Sir James Gibson-Craig, 1st Bart. of Riccarton (1831), a leading Whig politician in Edinburgh; *DNB*, iv, 1367-8; *Crombie's Modern Athenians*, ed. Scott Douglas (Edinburgh, 1882) 55-59.

² Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple, 5th Bart. of Cousland, 1771-1853, general 1838, MP Midlothian, 1833-4, succeeded as 8th Earl of Stair, 1840; *DNB*, v, 425-6.

³ S[cottish R[ecord] O[ffice] GD135/114, 'Letters 1812'.

⁴ *Return of registered electors, P[arliamentary] P[apers]*, 1844, II, xxxviii.

ws,¹ in 1835 as 'a class of men who can never be depended upon, and who should never, for their own sakes, have been entrusted with the Franchise'.² They were seen as a threat to the natural right of the landed interest to control the return of the county member. And although it would be wrong to suggest that in 1832 the rural electors were uniformly Conservative in sympathy, it was often the town element which predominated to win a county election for a land-owner of reform principles. For example in the county of Selkirk the electors in the countryside voted 104 to 31 in favour of Alexander Pringle of Whytbank, a Conservative, but the ten-pounders of Selkirk and Galashiels secured the return of the Reform candidate, Robert Pringle of Clifton, by voting for him 102 to 20.³

If the defeat of the Conservatives in December 1832 was largely a consequence of the Reform Act, it was one intended by those who prepared the measure, for they set out to destroy an electoral system which had enabled their opponents to dominate Scottish politics for so many years. The Whigs had an immediate and almost universal success in 1832. In the burghs this lasted for the remainder of the century; between 1832 and 1886 the Conservatives won only fourteen contests in Scottish burghs. But in many counties the Whigs' success was short-lived as the Conservatives steadily regained seats during the 1830s, until at the general election of 1841 they won twenty of the thirty counties, sixteen of them without opposition. The intention of the reformers was that not 'a jot or tittle' of the old system would remain, but Dr Ferguson has shown how defects in the Reform Act provided opportunities for electoral practices just as iniquitous as any that were employed before 1832.⁴ As Sheriff John Cay commented in 1838 after several years experience in the registration and appeals courts, 'never . . . had there been a statute vulnerable on so great a number of points, and those of so delicate a description'.⁵ During the 1830s both parties tried to turn the act's

¹ The Conservative agent in Midlothian, below p. xlvii.

² Below p. 23.

³ Alexander Pringle of Whytbank, 1791-1857, MP Selkirkshire, 1830-32, 1835-46; Robert Pringle of Clifton, d. 1842, MP Selkirkshire, 1833-34. Details of voting from a paper in SRO, GD224/581, 'Selkirk county and burgh 1829-32'.

⁴ W. Ferguson, 'The Reform Act (Scotland) of 1832: intention and effect', *Scottish Historical Review*, xlv (1966), 105-14.

⁵ John Cay, 1790-1865, sheriff of Linlithgowshire, 1822-65, author of *An Analysis of the Scottish Reform Act with the Decisions of the Courts of Appeal* (Edinburgh, 1850); the comment appeared in the *Scotsman*, 26 Sept. 1838, see below p. xlv.

deficiencies to their own advantage, both claiming that they did so in self-defence; the Conservatives against the intrusion of the ten-pounders, the Whigs against Conservative 'mushroom' voters. Ultimately the Conservatives gained the upper hand in most counties as with greater resources in land, money and tenants they had considerable advantages. But the Conservative gentlemen had to work hard to regain their political position; success did not follow directly from the provisions of the Act. They had to learn how best to operate within the changed conditions, or in spite of them. As Donald Horne expressed it in 1833 the problem was how to restore the influence of the Conservative party 'notwithstanding of the Reform Bill'.¹

Under the new conditions, with an enlarged and differently composed electorate in which currents of political and religious opinion could have much greater influence than before, the old methods of electoral management were less effective. Personal influence with the electors and the distribution of patronage continued to be important, though the supply of places was much reduced. But in time it was seen that the key to success lay in numbers, especially where an even division of forces within relatively small electorates of between one and two thousand made the manufacture of votes an obvious means of gaining an ascendancy. Consequently by the mid-1830s, when the significance of this point was first widely recognised, the annual contest in the registration court emerged as the most important form of electoral activity, often settling the result of a county election long before it was fought. A general result of the registration contests was that, whereas 1832 had disturbed long-established interests and the 1830s formed an unstable period during which counties often changed hands more than once, by the 1840s one party or the other tended to have established a form of control over most counties, as can be seen from the few contested elections between 1841 and 1868, and from the occasionally even longer periods during which one party held a county.²



Two groups of papers relating to Conservative activities in the post-reform period have been included in this volume: the first con-

¹ Below p. 8; on Horne see below p. lvi.

² Below p. lxii.

sisting of correspondence, memoranda, minutes of committee meetings, and abstracts of accounts, concerns the Conservative party in Midlothian between 1832 and early 1854. The second comprises several detailed reports, prepared for the 5th Duke of Buccleuch by Donald Horne of Langwell, w.s, presenting a Conservative assessment of election prospects throughout Scotland at various dates between November 1834 and December 1840.¹ Most of the material in the Midlothian section comes from two sources: the papers of the Duke of Buccleuch,² who was regarded by many Scottish Conservatives as their leader in the 1830s and 1840s, and who was by far the highest ranking and wealthiest Conservative peer connected with Midlothian; and the papers of Sir George Clerk, 6th Baronet of Penicuik,³ the county member from 1811 to 1832 and from 1835 to 1837. A few additional papers have been taken from other collections. Horne's memorandum of March 1833 is from the Melville Manuscripts,⁴ though this collection contains little other material of importance for the period after 1832 when the old Melville influence had largely disappeared. Some Whig papers from the Stair and Dalhousie Manuscripts⁵ have been introduced where they provide information about Conservative activities, or illustrate the Conservatives' problems by revealing what their opponents were doing.⁶ Finally, two letters published in the *Scotsman* in 1841 have been included for the information they contain on the registration contest in Midlothian during the late 1830s.

The Midlothian papers are episodic in character with some periods more fully represented than others, though there are common themes and recurring problems which give a sense of continuity. The main thread is a sequence of events in which the Conservatives having been defeated in 1832, regained the county in 1835, lost it again in 1837, took it back unopposed in 1841 and held it without further opposition until 1868. A number of general themes are illustrated, in particular the work of political agents and the activities of the small group of

¹ SRO, GD224/582 'Election Memoranda'.

² SRO, GD224.

³ SRO, GD18.

⁴ N[ational] L[ibrary] of S[cotland], MS 2.

⁵ SRO, GD135 and GD45.

⁶ Supporting material has been drawn from a number of other collections which are referred to in footnotes.

gentlemen who formed the inner circle of the Conservative county committee, the cost of elections and registrations, the associated problems of apportioning expenses and raising the necessary funds, and the manufacture of votes by both Whigs and Conservatives. The papers contain little discussion of specific political questions though a number are alluded to briefly. One general issue dominates the correspondence: the necessity for the Conservative 'landed interest' to regain and hold the representation of the county as in the years before 1832 when the Dundas-Melville faction had held virtually undisputed sway.

The representation of Midlothian 1811-32

When Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, died in May 1811, the succession of his son Robert¹ caused a vacancy in the representation of Midlothian. Since the early seventeenth century the Dundases of Arniston had provided representatives for the county, and had filled the seat continuously since 1774. The Dundas heirs, the new Lord Melville's son Henry, and his nephew Robert Dundas of Arniston, were too young to fill the vacancy, so Sir George Clerk of Penicuik,² then aged twenty-three, was brought forward to hold the county until one of the young Dundases was ready to begin his political career. As a *locum tenens* Clerk represented Midlothian in the House of Commons for the next twenty-one years.

During the first seven years Clerk's return was opposed on three occasions by a Whig candidate, Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple, later 8th Earl of Stair. In July 1811 when Clerk was new and untried some freeholders thought him too young and even unpopular, and others were unsure for which candidate they were expected to vote, but the approval and influence of Lord Melville and Chief Baron Dundas

¹ Robert Saunders Dundas, 1771-1851, 2nd Viscount Melville, MP Midlothian, 1801-11, First Lord of the Admiralty 1812-27, 1828-30. DNB, vi, 195-6.

² Sir George Clerk, 6th Bart. of Penicuik, 1787-1867, succeeded his uncle 1798, MP Midlothian, 1811-32, 1835-37, Stamford, 1838-47, and Dover 1847-52; a Lord of the Admiralty 1819-27, 1828-30, Clerk of the Ordnance 1827, Under-Secretary at the Home Office, Aug.-Nov. 1830, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Dec. 1834-Apr. 1835 and Sept. 1841-Feb. 1845, Master of the Mint and Vice-President of the Board of Trade 1845-46; he was a founder and the chairman of the Royal Academy of Music. DNB, iv, 494-5.

assured Clerk's success.¹ Sixty-two freeholders voted for him, twelve only for Dalrymple. A closer contest in October 1812 when Dalrymple obtained fifty votes to Clerk's fifty-nine was, according to Henry Cockburn, the result of temporary desertions from the Dundas camp.² The following year twenty-seven claims for enrolment as freeholders were prepared, all but four of them by the Dundas faction;³ and at the third contest in June 1818 Clerk had a comfortable majority retaining the seat by seventy-nine votes to forty-nine. It was obvious that until the electoral system was changed Dalrymple had little hope of winning the county.

For several years after 1818 Clerk's position in the county was not openly challenged, while at Westminster he began his official career. In 1819 he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, a position he owed directly to Lord Melville, who since 1812 had been First Lord of the Admiralty and in succession to his father exercised a still more important function as the 'minister' responsible for Scottish business, especially patronage. Having accepted office Clerk stood for re-election and was returned unopposed, as he was to be regularly until 1832: at general elections in 1820, 1826, 1830 and 1831, and after accepting office in 1827, 1828 and 1829.

It was events at Westminster, after a stroke forced the retirement of the Prime Minister Lord Liverpool in February 1827, which brought to the surface some latent dissatisfaction with Sir George in the county. In April he was bitterly criticised for taking office in the administration formed by George Canning with support from some of the leading Whigs.⁴ Clerk's patron Lord Melville, like many other senior members of the Liverpool cabinet, declined to serve under Canning, with the serious consequence that his long connection with Scottish business was broken, as it turned out permanently, and most of his already diminished political influence was lost. Clerk and other Scottish office-holders who served in the new government, Sir William Rae the Lord Advocate and John Hope the Solicitor-General,

¹ Robert Dundas of Arniston, 1758-1819, MP Midlothian, 1790-1801, Chief Baron of the Exchequer 1801-19; he and Viscount Melville were cousins and brothers-in-law. DNB, vi, 195. See correspondence on 1811 election in the Melville Castle MSS, SRO, GD51/1/198/16/23-30.

² *Memorials* (Edinburgh, 1856), 274.

³ SRO, GD18/3300.

⁴ G. W. T. Omond, *The Arniston Memoirs* (Edinburgh, 1887), 329-34.

were accused of having 'ratted'.¹ To make matters worse for Clerk when he stood for re-election on 15 May his most vocal supporters, no doubt with calculated enthusiasm, were old Whig opponents.² Clerk tried to conciliate his Tory friends but many adherents of the Dundas-Melville interest from Lady Melville down were not to be appeased. In July David Anderson of Moredun proposed that Clerk should be replaced by a Dundas at the earliest opportunity.³ The obvious candidate was Robert Dundas of Arniston⁴ who had ambitions to take what his uncle described as his 'natural place' as member for the county. On two occasions in 1828 and 1830 he threw out rather tentative challenges to Clerk but each time withdrew within a few days. In February 1828 there was ill-feeling against Clerk when he joined the Duke of Wellington's government. Even Sir John Hope of Craighall,⁵ who had praised Clerk's conduct the previous year, was unable to understand how he could now take office with those who had been most hostile to Canning. When Lady Melville heard that Robert Dundas was not after all going to oppose Clerk she wrote, 'They say there is a general amnesty for Rats'.⁶ In 1829 Clerk's support for Roman Catholic emancipation gave the extreme Protestants in the county cause to attack him.⁷ But in spite of a growing unpopularity in some quarters Clerk was generally regarded as a hard-working and effective representative for the county and he retained the seat without open opposition until after the passing of the Reform Act.

The last election under the unreformed system occurred in April 1831 after Grey's government was defeated in the committee stage of the first version of the Reform Bill. Many who had opposed the Bill were defeated at the election, but in Midlothian the Whigs decided not to oppose Sir George Clerk, yet. Henry Cockburn wrote on 26 April, 'I rather suspect that it is better to leave Sir George to gnaw his last bone in his own Kennel undisturbed'.⁸

¹ Sir William Rae, Bart., 1769-1842, MP, Lord Advocate, 1819-30, 1834-35 and 1841-42. DNB, xvi, 596-8. John Hope, 1794-1858, Solicitor-General for Scotland, 1822-30, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, 1830-41, and Lord Justice Clerk, 1841-58. DNB ix, 1218-19; *Crombie's Modern Athenians*, 73-4; see below pp. xlix-li.

² *Scotsman*, 16 May 1827.

³ David Anderson of Moredun, 1792-1881, banker; *Arniston Memoirs*, 334.

⁴ Below p. xxxi.

⁵ Below p. xxix.

⁶ *Arniston Memoirs*, 342.

⁷ *The Times*, 2 Mar. 1829.

⁸ SRO, GD135/153/80.

The 1832 general election

Long before the Scottish Reform Bill completed its final stages in parliament (it passed the Commons on 27 June, the Lords on 13 July, and received the royal assent four days later) preparations were being made for the first election under its provisions. Among the Buccleuch Manuscripts there are several holograph copies of a paper dated London 22 June 1832 which recommended how the Conservatives should organise for the 'Approaching Elections' in Scottish counties and burghs.¹ In Midlothian a general committee of between twenty-four and thirty gentlemen was formed with Sir John Hope of Craighall as chairman. James Hope, ws, son of Lord President Charles Hope,² was appointed Sir George Clerk's agent on the recommendation of Robert Dundas of Arniston, who for many years had been a close friend of James's elder brother John Hope, and Sir Francis Walker-Drummond.³

While the Reform Bill was still in the House of Commons newspapers carried lists of probable candidates. There seems to have been no doubt that Clerk should be the Conservative candidate, but it was only after a period of hesitation, when it was feared that Clerk might retain the county by default, that Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple agreed to stand. Unexpectedly there was opposition to his candidature among the reformers in Dalkeith to whom it seems he had given offence, but this difficulty was somehow overcome and on 7 July Dalrymple received a requisition signed by seven Whig gentlemen and forty-seven prospective voters in and around Dalkeith.⁴ Two days later he issued an address 'To The First Real Electors of Mid-Lothian'. But even with a reformed constituency some Whigs feared that the Conservatives would prove too strong. Henry Cockburn wrote on 24 July: 'Sir John's being victorious in the county is too good to be easily believed. He has fearful odds in the want of towns, the prevalence of Lairds, and the servility of tenants. His friends talk confidently, but it seems to me inconceivable'.⁵

¹ Below pp. 1-2.

² Charles Hope, 1763-1851, Lord President of the Court of Session 1811-41. DNB, ix, 1206-7.

³ Below pp. xxxi-ii.

⁴ SRO, GD135/110, 'J. A. Murray'; the requisition is in GD135/105.

⁵ *Letters on the Affairs of Scotland* (London, 1874) 417; cf. 425-6, 435, 437.

The election was still several months off; the new electors had first to be enrolled. The registration court sat in September, after which some four hundred rejected claims were heard in the appeal court before the registration was completed early in October. According to a newspaper report, of 1,134 new electors 615 declared that they would vote for Dalrymple, and 456 for Clerk; forty-three refused to state their preference, while twenty said that they had no intention of voting.¹

The printed register of electors contains 1,294 names.² From it a general impression can be formed of the composition and distribution of the new constituency. In addition to 168 old freeholders there were 1,126 newly-enrolled electors. Of these over one-third (435) were farmers and another 150 were listed as proprietors or tenants of land without any occupation being given; about one hundred were members of professions, ministers of religion (26), physicians and surgeons (16), advocates, writers and solicitors (35), and schoolmasters (12); another hundred were retail traders, including inn-keepers (21), bakers (23), grocers and fleshers (15 each); a slightly larger group consisted of artisans, notably wrights (32) smiths (20) and masons (12), but also slaters, nailers, shoemakers and joiners; there were eight labourers, fifteen carters and twenty-nine gardeners; merchants and dealers formed a group of about sixty; and manufactures were represented by fourteen papermakers, twelve masters of mills, four manufacturers of gunpowder, and three iron founders.

Although the new constituency was almost eight times larger than the old, and its composition much more diverse, it still included probably only one out of every ten adult males in the county, and in many of the occupations referred to above the number who qualified as electors was small. Apart from the larger landed proprietors, farmers were the best represented group; probably more than two-thirds of all farmers in the county were enrolled. But taking as an extremely rough guide the occupational statistics in the 1841 census,³ which do not distinguish between masters and men, nor between active and retired workmen, it appears that only one grocer in seven,

¹ *Scotsman*, 13 Oct. 1832.

² *Register of Voters in the County of Mid-Lothian 1832* [hereafter cited as *Register 1832*]; copy in NLS.

³ PP 1844 [588] xxvii, 22-27.

one baker in nine, one wright in ten, one smith in sixteen and one carter in twenty was registered as an elector in 1832. As for the eight labourers, they represented an occupational group that numbered between four and five thousand, while some eight hundred colliers were not represented at all.

The new constituency was distributed between three polling districts; 274 voters were registered in the western Mid-Calder district, 443 in the Edinburgh district, and 577 in the eastern district of Dalkeith. In each of these areas old freeholders, other landed proprietors and farmers formed a majority of the electorate, and had it not been for the town of Dalkeith and several large villages the Conservatives would no doubt have had a comparatively easy task controlling the representation of the county. Dalkeith with one hundred voters was the only large urban intrusion in the county, though there were also a number of villages of from four to eight hundred inhabitants where there were small groups of electors: twenty-three at Penicuik, twenty at Pathhead, nineteen at Loanhead, fourteen at Lasswade and Davidsons Mains, and from eight to twelve at Corstorphine, Bonnyrigg, Gilmerton, Juniper Green and Colinton, most of whom can be identified as ten-pounders, '*a class of men who cannot be depended upon at any time*'.¹ Undoubtedly they included many who voted for Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple in December: and probably many who were religious dissenters. Evidence in *The New Statistical Account* indicates that in many parishes of Midlothian from a quarter to a third of the population belonged to Relief or Secession congregations: and according to Cockburn nearly half of Dalrymple's supporters were dissenters.²

Throughout the period of registration the prolonged election campaign continued. One important new feature of this election was that there was a large body of electors and other supporters to whom a political appeal could be directed; and many examples of party propaganda, addresses, pamphlets, broadsheets, songs and other ephemera, have survived.³ In Conservative publications Sir John Dalrymple was characterised as a soldier who had attained the rank of lieutenant-general almost without hearing a shot fired in

¹ Below p. 7.

² *Letters on the Affairs of Scotland*, 451.

³ E.g. see *Reform Bill Broadides 1832* in NLS; SRO, GD135/105 and GD224/582.

anger, as a poor and incomprehensible speaker, and as an active road trustee especially interested in improving roads benefiting his own estates.¹ It was implied that he favoured the repeal of the Corn Laws and it was held as proof that he was an enemy of the agricultural interest that he supported the proposal that broad-wheeled waggons should no longer pay road tolls at a preferential rate.² By contrast Sir George Clerk was represented as a generous landlord, a friend to the farmer, a clear and sensible speaker, and an excellent man of business, 'In short, he is exactly such a person as would be likely to represent with impartiality and efficiency the views of the extensive and intelligent constituency of Mid-Lothian'.³ Naturally the Whigs decided that it was on his record in parliament as a nominee of the Dundas faction that Clerk was most vulnerable. It was probably in November that there appeared a *Letter Addressed To The Electors Of The County Of Edinburgh, By One Of Their Own Number*, which from a detailed examination of Clerk's votes and speeches in the House of Commons sought to demonstrate that he was 'a man who, throughout the whole course of a public life, . . . has defended every abuse, however flagrant and unconstitutional, and resisted every proposed Reform, however moderate'. A Conservative reply by a *Brother Elector* compared the merits of the two candidates to the great disadvantage of Dalrymple and attacked the policies of the Grey administration during its first two years in office. This in turn was answered in a long and detailed *Second Letter*, which ended with a call to every elector to support 'the cause of truth and justice' and ensure Dalrymple's victory: 'Then what a shout of joy will ring through our liberated shire! Our very fields will be greener in spring from the solemn act with which the year will have closed'.⁴

The election was of course not conducted entirely by means of the printed word. For many weeks before the poll was held the electors were canvassed by the candidates, their agents and friends.

¹ *The Ten Pounder*, published weekly, 4 Aug. to 20 Dec. 1832, was thoroughly Conservative though it claimed to be independent; see the comparison of Dalrymple and Clerk, 62-64.

² 'Broad Wheels' a slip in SRO, GD224/581; one of Clerk's election posters carried the warning, 'Remember the BROAD WHEELS'.

³ *The Ten Pounder*, 64.

⁴ The only copy found of the *First Letter* is in GD135/105; no copy of the *Brother Elector's* reply has been traced though its contents are described in the *Second Letter*, which is available in the British Museum Library.

Many electors were placed in circumstances which exposed them to the effects of influence, inducements and intimidation, and there were many allegations of such methods being employed. One man with debts to settle was anxious to sell a small property in Lasswade but had mislaid his title. He was informed that if he would agree not to vote for Dalrymple, Sir George Clerk, who was the superior, would help him to establish his title and enable him to obtain a good price for the property.¹ There were several reports that the Conservatives were trying to neutralise supporters of Dalrymple by offering to buy the properties on which they were qualified at prices well above the market value.² What evidence there is suggests that these tactics met with little success, and only made more enemies for the party for naturally such incidents were exploited to good effect by the Whig and Radical press. So too were examples of intimidation as in the case of Andrew Paterson the ironfounder at Penicuik,³ and that of James Swan a gardener whose Conservative landlord, Walter James Little Gilmour of Liberton, proceeded against him for arrears of rent in an effort to persuade him to vote for Sir George Clerk. Swan received a charge of horning for the debt but insisted on voting for Dalrymple on the first day of the poll and was imprisoned in Calton Jail on the Monday following the election.⁴ A few weeks later the Whigs gave maximum publicity to Sir George Clerk's treatment of Dr John Renton, who though not an elector had actively supported Dalrymple's cause.⁵ But of course, although the Whigs publicised their opponents' misdeeds there is no reason to suppose that they were themselves guiltless. On 12 December James Hope, Clerk's agent, wrote to Charles Forbes, 'the Enemy are using every means of intimidation with the *new* Constituency',⁶ and one can imagine the pressures that could be brought to bear on electors who declared themselves supporters of Clerk. Nor was it only Conservative landowners who considered their tenants on the register as so many votes at their disposal. On 2 August Mrs Helen Gibsone of Pentland offered Sir John Dalrymple 'Eleven votes all unexceptionable' if he

¹ *County of Edinburgh; More Attempts in the Buying-Out Line* [Dec. 1832]; copy in the British Museum Library.

² *Ibid.*, and *Second Letter*, 2.

³ Below p. 9.

⁴ *Scotsman*, 5 Jan. 1833.

⁵ Below pp. 3-5.

⁶ NLS, Fettercairn MSS, Acc. 4796, box 72 'Politics 1833'.

would obtain a retirement pension on full pay for her husband, a captain with thirty-two years' service in the Marines.¹ Dalrymple went so far as to forward Mrs Gibsone's letter to Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty², who would not however entertain the proposal even to obtain votes for Sir John.

The final stages of the election were conducted amid great excitement and activity as gentlemen of both parties galloped over the county to ensure that all their supporters voted. It was reported that there were at least a hundred horses that would never take part in another contest.³ At the poll held on 21 and 22 December Dalrymple defeated Clerk by 601 votes to 536. His success was greeted with jubilation and hailed as the liberation of the county from the Dundas family and the most important victory over the Tories in Scotland. Yet while the majority of sixty-five was a sound one it did not assure the Whigs of permanent control of the county. They had in fact obtained the support of less than half of the registered electors; for as over Scotland generally a surprisingly large number of the newly enfranchised voters did not go to the poll. In the Edinburgh district the contest had been even; while at Dalkeith Clerk had obtained a small majority; so that it was the large body of support for Dalrymple in the western district (160-72) which gave him the election. And if some Conservatives were disheartened by their defeat, Donald Horne was not as his appraisal of the situation in March 1833 reveals. His concluding sentence sets the theme for Midlothian politics over the next decade: '... if proper means are now taken there is every prospect of the interest of the Party being again firmly established, and predominant, in this County, notwithstanding of the Reform Bill'.⁴

The representation of Midlothian 1832 to 1853

At each election from 1832 until 1841 Midlothian changed hands, after a contest, in 1832, 1835 and 1837, but without one in 1841. When William IV dismissed the Whig ministry in November 1834 Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple being in poor health decided not to

¹ SRO, GD135/111 'Sir James Graham'; see below p. 5.

² Sir James Graham, Bart. of Netherby, 1792-1861, MP, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1830-34, 1852-55, Home Secretary, 1841-46; he seceded from the Whigs over the Irish Church issue in 1834.

³ *Scotsman*, 22 Dec. 1832.

⁴ Below p. 8.

defend his seat. The new Whig candidate, William Gibson-Craig, was late in entering the contest;¹ the Conservatives were possibly the better organised party and had made gains on the registrations of 1833 and 1834; there may have been some movement of opinion in favour of the Conservatives among those who had accepted reform in 1832 but preferred stability to a policy of further change; and Sir George Clerk's appointment as Financial Secretary to the Treasury and Chief Government Whip in what was to be the short-lived Peel administration may also have strengthened his position. At the election in January 1835 he defeated Gibson-Craig by thirty-one votes, the Conservative majorities in the Edinburgh and Dalkeith districts being large enough to more than balance the Whig numbers at Mid-Calder. When William IV's death brought on another general election in July 1837, Lord Melbourne's government had already lost much support in the country at large but local circumstances favoured Gibson-Craig in his second contest with Clerk. The Whigs had made a large gain at the registration in 1835 and slightly improved their position in 1836; several landowners were half-hearted in support, and even Clerk was accused of not taking enough trouble. Gibson-Craig regained the county with a majority of forty-two. His success like that of Dalrymple in 1832 can be largely attributed to the western district: on the votes at Edinburgh and Dalkeith Clerk had a lead of sixty-five, but at Mid-Calder Gibson-Craig's majority was 107. The following table shows the distribution of votes in each of the polling districts at the three contested elections.

		Mid-Calder	Edinburgh	Dalkeith	Total
1832	Clerk	72	193	271	536
	Dalrymple	160	196	245	601
1835	Clerk	71	211	283	565
	Gibson-Craig	162	152	220	534
1837	Clerk	100	235	326	661
	Gibson-Craig	207	212	284	703

SOURCES: *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 24 Dec. 1832, 17 Jan. 1835, 3 Aug. 1837.

¹ William Gibson-Craig, 1797-1878, 2nd Bart. of Riccarton, 1850, advocate, MP Midlothian, 1837-41, Edinburgh, 1841-52, a Lord of the Treasury, 1846-52, Lord Clerk Register 1862-78. DNB, iv, 1376. See correspondence on his late candidature in SRO GD135/110 'J. A. Murray'.

When expressed as percentages of the total votes obtained by the candidates these figures reveal that in spite of variations in the size of the total poll the patterns of voting were remarkably stable.

	Mid-Calder	Edinburgh	Dalkeith
<i>Conservatives</i>			
1832	13.4	36.2	50.4
1835	12.5	37.3	50.2
1837	15.1	35.5	49.4
<i>Whigs</i>			
1832	26.6	32.6	40.8
1835	30.3	28.5	41.2
1837	29.4	30.2	40.4

This distribution of votes reflects (i) that a large proportion of the electorate was located in the more populous eastern parishes of the county; (ii) that in the parishes to the south and east of Edinburgh there was a heavy concentration of the larger Conservative proprietors, though as a counter to their influence Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple was also a large landowner in the district, and in Dalkeith and the large villages of the area there were many Whig supporters; (iii) that the Earl of Rosebery¹ and Sir James Gibson-Craig were substantial landowners in the west where popular or influential Conservative proprietors were few; in fact the need for the Conservatives to build up their support in the western district is a frequently recurring theme in the Midlothian papers.

After the 1837 election the Conservatives' position in the county seemed poor. Their opponents held the seat and had established a majority on the electoral register. Then early in 1838 they were left without a candidate. Sir George Clerk had been Chief Conservative Whip from the end of 1834 until his defeat in 1837 and now wished to return to parliament. On 1 May he was elected for the English borough of Stamford, which he represented until 1847. In Midlothian it proved difficult to replace him. For a time the prospective candidate was Lord Claud Hamilton, brother of 'that improbable man' the Marquis of Abercorn, who was a Conservative but inactive

¹ Archibald John Primrose, 1783-1868, 4th Earl of Rosebery, 1814, Lord-Lieutenant Linlithgowshire, 1843-63. DNB, xvi, 379-80.

peer with property in the county.¹ Towards the end of 1838 an offer was made to William Ramsay of Barnton, who was extremely wealthy and owned a large estate in the western part of the county, but who was better known as a horseman and coaching entrepreneur than as a politician; he was however not willing to stand.² The Whigs had gained so substantially at the 1838 registrations that Ramsay was obviously not prepared to risk his money when the odds were so heavily against him. The Whig gains resulted from the manufacture of votes by several gentlemen, and a favourable decision in the appeal court admitting over 120 of these claims.³ But in 1839 and 1840 the Whigs were overwhelmed when the Conservatives turned their own methods against them and manufactured votes on an even larger scale. By 1840 it was clear that Gibson-Craig could not retain the seat, and at the general election in July 1841 Ramsay of Barnton was returned without opposition. He appears to have been an undistinguished and ineffective member until his retirement in 1845 on grounds of ill health.

Ramsay was succeeded by Sir John Hope of Craighall, convener of the county since 1823 and chairman of the Conservative committee since 1832. He held the seat in spite of advancing age, deafness, poor health and serious financial difficulties until his death in June 1853. A year after Hope's election the Corn Law crisis of 1846 split the Conservative party and forced the resignation of Sir Robert Peel. The Duke of Buccleuch and Sir George Clerk, both members of Peel's government, supported the prime minister over repeal but the majority of Conservative gentlemen in Midlothian were Protectionists, and it was as a Protectionist that Hope was re-elected in 1847.⁴ For personal reasons he was soon anxious to retire from parliament and by the end of 1850 it seemed to him increasingly necessary and desirable that he should do so;⁵ but the question of his successor raised acute problems in the county. Several of the gentlemen con-

¹ James Hamilton, 1811-85, 2nd Marquis of Abercorn 1818, 1st Duke 1868, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1866-68, 1876-78. DNB, viii, 1072-3; see below pp. 132-3, 182.

² William Ramsay of Barnton, 1809-50, MP Stirlingshire, 1831-32, Midlothian, 1841-45. J. M. Bulloch, 'A Famous Whip: Ramsay of Barnton', *S.M.T. Magazine* (July 1934), 61-64.

³ Below pp. xliii-iv.

⁴ Most of them were members of the Mid-Lothian Agricultural Protection Society formed in Feb. 1844; printed papers and correspondence in SRO, GD224/511.

⁵ Below pp. xxx-xxxi.

nected with the Scottish Protective Association¹ were determined that the seat should be occupied by an uncompromising Protectionist. Plans for Robert Balfour Wardlaw-Ramsay of Whitehill to be the candidate broke down on the issue of election expenses. In the early months of 1851 Wardlaw-Ramsay's quarrel with the committee, and a wrangle between Sir James Walker-Drummond² and Hope over Sir John's intentions and Walker-Drummond's remarks about the conduct of the committee threatened any semblance of unity among the gentlemen.³ By April the dissidents, Walker-Drummond, Wardlaw-Ramsay and John Wauchope of Edmonstone,⁴ were proposing as their candidate Lord John Scott, brother of the Duke of Buccleuch, but unlike him an extreme Protectionist.⁵ At this point, to prevent further rifts and to avoid arousing a Whig opposition in the county, Sir John was persuaded to give up any thoughts of retirement and plans were made to enable him to remain the member. To many Conservatives protection was already a dead issue and any attempt to reimpose the old system of duties was thought to be impractical. Even Sir John admitted this in his election address in June 1852.⁶ When Hope died twelve months later his successor was the Earl of Dalkeith, the Duke of Buccleuch's heir, who represented the county until 1868 and again from 1874 until his defeat by Gladstone in 1880.

The Conservative gentlemen of Midlothian

A majority of the landed proprietors in Midlothian were Conservatives, but as many of them were inactive or reluctant to contribute to subscriptions the cause was largely sustained by a small

¹ The Association formed probably in 1849 was affiliated to the National Association for the Protection of British Industry and Capital, an organisation of diehard Protectionists established c. May 1849 and dissolved in Feb. 1853. *The Times*, 27 June 1849; *Scotsman*, 12 Feb. 1853.

² Sir James Walker-Drummond, 3rd Bart. of Hawthornden, 1814-66, succeeded 1844, a prospective candidate for the Haddington burghs in the late 1830s, see below pp. 232, 267. In May 1850 he was a delegate from the Scottish Protective Association to a general meeting of the National Association in London. *Scotsman*, 11 May 1850.

³ Below pp. 193-216.

⁴ Below pp. xxxiii-iv.

⁵ Lord John Scott, 1809-60, MP Roxburghshire, 1835-37. On 22 Apr. 1851 he was a croupier at a dinner for 700 held in Edinburgh by the Protective Association. *Scotsman*, 23 Apr. 1851.

⁶ *Scotsman*, 12 June 1852.

group of the larger landowners. Three Conservative peers took an active interest in Midlothian politics: the 5th Duke of Buccleuch,¹ the 7th Marquis of Lothian and the 2nd Viscount Melville. The Duke with large estates in the counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk and Dumfries as well as in several other Scottish and English counties was by far the wealthiest of the three. In 1834 his agent John Gibson estimated the Duke's annual revenue from permanent sources at £50,000.² The estate in Midlothian was not a large one, consisting of less than 3,500 acres, but the Duke had other interests in the county, in coal mining, railways and Granton Harbour, which he built between 1835 and 1845; Dalkeith House six miles from Edinburgh was one of his principal residences; and since 1828, soon after coming of age, he had been Lord Lieutenant of the county. From the early 1830s in spite of his youth and lack of political experience he enjoyed enormous prestige and influence among the Conservative gentlemen. William Burn the architect (1789-1870) described him in 1834 as 'the individual to whom the Conservative party here [Edinburgh], and I may say in Scotland, have to look to as their head and main-rallying point...'.³ In Midlothian, as the papers reveal, the gentlemen deferred to his judgment, consulted him before any important decisions were taken, and depended on him to resolve their personal differences by acting as a mediator. Above all they relied upon his large contributions to election and registration funds, to the extent that they must be held at times to have taken advantage of his generosity and readiness to support the Conservative cause.

The sums donated in Midlothian formed only a portion of the Duke's political expenditure in the post-reform period. Donald Horne informed the Duke on 15 November 1838, 'that the Invest-

¹ Francis Walter Montagu-Douglas-Scott, 1806-84, 5th Duke of Buccleuch and 7th Duke of Queensberry 1819, Lord-Lieutenant of Midlothian, 1828-84, of Roxburghshire, 1841-84, Lord Privy Seal, 1842-46, Lord President of the Council, 1846, Captain-General of the Royal Company of Archers, 1838-84, Governor of the Royal Bank of Scotland 1838-84, KT 1830, KG 1835. DNB, xvii, 963-4.

² John Gibson, ws, 1796-1877, deputy-keeper of the Great Seal, 1853-58; he had been Sir Walter Scott's agent and one of the trustees for his creditors. Gibson to Buccleuch, 14 Oct. 1834, SRO, GD224/503, 'Correspondence Philiphaugh 1834'. In the early 1870s it was calculated that the Duke owned 460,108 acres and had a gross annual income of £217,163. John Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (4th edition, London, 1883), 63.

³ Burn to William Forbes, 22 July 1834, SRO, GD224/582, 'Edinburgh Conservative Club 1834-5'.

ments made by loans and purchases in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk out of monies which have passed thro' my hands exceed £26,000'.¹ These investments, the objective of which was the creation of more Conservative votes, were necessary to compensate for the limited effectiveness of the Duke's influence with the electors as was shown by his inability to have even one member returned at the 1832 election. It was not enough that he was highly regarded in the border counties, that his many tenants found him a generous and considerate landlord, and that he could rely on, even assume, a coincidence between their political views and his own. The influence of a Conservative peer who had opposed the Reform Bill, no matter how highly he was thought of personally, was insufficient to win the political allegiance of Reformers in Dalkeith, Hawick or Selkirk, or of tenant farmers adhering to a rival family interest such as that of the Earl of Minto in Roxburghshire. But in spite of the large sums spent the Duke's electoral policies met with mixed success. The county of Selkirk was regained in 1835 and held until 1861; Midlothian was secured in 1841; but Roxburgh changed hands at each election until 1847 when the Minto party took the county and retained it unopposed until 1868.

In the Midlothian papers the Duke appears a generous and fair-minded man who gave himself endless trouble in his efforts to untangle the financial and personal difficulties of the gentlemen. In political opinion he was a moderate Conservative. He accepted the office of Lord Privy Seal in the Peel administration in January 1842, and became Lord President of the Council when the ministry was reshuffled early in 1846. He was a reluctant convert to the policy of repealing the Corn Laws, and regretted the split that it caused in the Conservative party. He hoped that the party could be reunited, and disapproved of those, like his brother Lord John Scott, who adopted an extreme Protectionist position. In 1852 he declined an invitation to join Lord Aberdeen's Whig-Peelite coalition, saying that he could serve best in an independent capacity.² He never again held political office but continued to give his support to the Conservative cause until his death in 1884.

There were close ties between the Duke and the Marquis of

¹ SRO, GD224/667 'Letters D. Horne 1834-8'.

² Buccleuch to Aberdeen, 31 Dec. 1852, British Museum Add. MS 43201, fos. 59-62.

Lothian who was twelve years his senior.¹ The Duke's aunt, Lady Harriet Scott, who died in 1833, had been Lord Lothian's stepmother. They were neighbours in Midlothian and by virtue of their large estates shared an interest in the politics of Roxburghshire, where the Marquis was Lord Lieutenant until his death in 1841. He was one of the regular subscribers to Midlothian political funds, though after Sir George Clerk's defeat in 1837 he was extremely critical of the gentlemen's want of management.

Viscount Melville was by the 1830s a figure of diminished political significance. Even before his resignation in 1827 the political influence he had inherited from his father was greatly reduced; and though he took office again with Wellington in 1828 his connection with Scottish affairs and patronage was broken. He was not a large landowner and not especially wealthy judging by his modest contributions to electoral funds. Out of office after the fall of Wellington in 1830, and with the passing of the Reform Act, the last of his old political influence disappeared. In Midlothian after 1832 he served on the general Conservative committee, but he observed the organisation and management of county politics from a distance. Like the Duke, Melville was considered an important link between the gentlemen of the committee and other peers with property in the county. But Sir John Hope, no friend of Melville, frequently complained that though he made many promises he did little.

After these three peers there were several gentlemen who may be described loosely as the executive officers of the Conservative interest in the county, who with the agent provided what continuing organisation of the party there was between elections. At first the three most important were Sir John Hope of Craighall, Robert Dundas of Arniston, and Sir Francis Walker-Drummond of Hawthornden.

If there is a central figure in the Midlothian papers it is Sir John Hope 11th Baronet of Craighall (1781-1853), chairman of the Conservative committee for almost the entire period covered in this volume, and member of parliament for the county from 1845 until his death in 1853. His life presents an outstanding example of the many-sided character of a county gentleman's activities. He owned

¹ John William Robert Kerr, 1794-1841, 7th Marquis of Lothian, 1824, Lord-Lieutenant of Roxburghshire, 1824-41.

lands in Fife and Midlothian, was actively involved in the operation and development of a number of coalmines he owned or leased in the Midlothian parishes of Inveresk and Newton, and as well as having other business interests was a workhorse in county and local affairs.¹ His personal standing in the county, together with the favourable state of the register, guaranteed that there would be no opposition to his election in 1845. The respect in which he was held also explains why in 1849 and 1851 his friends were eager to persuade him to remain in parliament rather than risk choosing a candidate who might arouse an opposition.

The last years during which Sir John sat in the House of Commons were particularly distressing for him. In addition to difficulties caused by advancing age, poor health and deafness, he suffered a disastrous financial loss through one of his mining ventures. About 1845 he embarked on a scheme to exploit the deeper seams of the Edmonstone mine leased from John Wauchope.² In May 1847 water broke into the mine and as Sir John wrote to the Duke on 5 November 1849, 'everything was swallowed up by the works.—in fact in the year and a half from May 47 I had only seventy days work, no coal to sell and the expence going on as if I had'.³ An attempt to renegotiate the terms of the lease with Wauchope failed, according to Sir John because Wauchope and his agent tried to take advantage of Hope's difficulties to extract better terms. The flooding of the Edmonstone mine virtually ruined Sir John. In November 1849 he let Pinkie House and moved to Craigflower near Dunfermline. Sometime the following year he joined the band of impoverished gentlemen who resided on the continent for the sake of economy and by early 1851 he was living in Frankfurt though still member for the county. Meanwhile the administration of his estates was taken

¹ He was convener of the Commissioners of Supply for Midlothian, 1823-51, and Vice-Lieutenant of the county, member of the Musselburgh town council, 1833-41, and provost, 1836-39, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Royal Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry, Lieutenant-General in the Royal Company of Archers and President of the Council, 1838-48, Director of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 1821-39, and Deputy-Governor, 1839-53, chairman of the Scottish Board of the Guardian Fire and Life Assurance Company, c.1832-35, and a member of the Herring Fishery Board from 1844.

² N[ew] S[tatistical] A[ccount] of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1845), i, Edinburgh, 570; and for an earlier example of Sir John's enterprise see *ibid.*, 251-2.

³ SRO, GD224/581 'Midlothian Representation 1845-50'.

over by a commission consisting of Archibald his eldest son, the Duke of Buccleuch, G. W. Hope of Luffness and a Mr Wedderburn.¹ According to a minute of the commissioners dated 29 January 1851 Sir John's debts were estimated at £74,000, slightly more than the nett value of the estates.² Sir John's return from Frankfurt later that year to take his seat in parliament was made possible partly by his commissioners' providing funds, but also by the Duke's continuing to assist him with his political expenses in spite of doubts expressed by Hope of Luffness. To the latter the Duke wrote on 14 August: '... I never intended that Sir John Hope should repay me any part of that which I may advance to him, my object being to give him aid without in any way increasing his burthens. The necessity for that aid still exists, and I therefore propose to continue it, and trust as an old and sincere friend no objection will be made to my doing so'.³ Sir John continued to represent Midlothian for two more years. When he died in June 1853 even the Whig *Scotsman* paid tribute to 'the late-much-respected member for the county'.⁴

For Robert Dundas of Arniston (1797-1838) the political changes of 1830-32 put an end to his parliamentary and legal prospects. He had been called to the Scottish bar in 1820 and appointed an advocate-depute two years later in succession to his friend John Hope. In the late 1820s he aspired to replace Sir George Clerk as member for Midlothian and make a successful career in politics. With the passing of the Reform Act he relinquished his ambitions and retired instead to manage the Arniston estates, maintaining an active interest in county affairs, and serving as a member of the inner circle of the Conservative party in Midlothian.⁵ Although he no longer pressed his claim to represent the county one can sense nevertheless a continuing resentment of Sir George Clerk, the lingering effects of unsettled scores, forming an undercurrent in the disputes of 1835 and 1836.

Sir Francis Walker-Drummond, WS (1781-1844), 2nd Baronet

¹ For G. W. Hope, see below p. 199; Mr Wedderburn was probably Sir John's brother-in-law, John Wedderburn, 1789-1862, 8th Bart. of Balindean, 1858.

² Hope MSS in possession of Sir Archibald Hope, Bart., Sir John's great-grandson (Upton Grey Lodge, near Basingstoke, Hampshire).

³ Copy in Hope MSS; see below p. 199.

⁴ 11 June 1853.

⁵ *Arniston Memoirs*, 359.

of Hawthornden, was the son of James Walker of Dalry, ws (d. 1817), and through his mother related to the Marquises of Tweeddale. He was admitted to the Society of Writers to the Signet in 1807 and took the additional surname three years later when he married the daughter of Captain John Forbes-Drummond, RN, who had himself acquired the Drummond name and estates through his wife. Captain Forbes-Drummond was created a baronet in 1828 with the remainder to his son-in-law, and died in May 1829. Sir Francis had close ties with the Hope family. His father's second wife was a cousin of the Hopes of Craighall, and her brother, James Hope, ws (1769-1842), served his apprenticeship with James Walker and then married his daughter, Francis Walker's sister, in 1805 to form a double marriage link. One of James Hope's apprentices in the mid-1820s was his namesake, the Lord President's son, whom Sir Francis and Robert Dundas of Arniston recommended to be Sir George Clerk's agent in 1832.

Walker-Drummond was active in Tory political circles from at least the late 1820s.¹ In July 1832 he declined an invitation to be, I think, Conservative candidate for the city of Edinburgh.² He was one of the inner circle in the Midlothian committee from 1832 until he went to Europe in the summer of 1836. By 1839 he was again active on the committee and in the registration contest against the Whigs made about eighty votes on the unentailed lands of Hawthornden.³ Between 1837 and 1841 he took a special interest in the Haddington burghs, organising the manufacture of large numbers of votes in Jedburgh in the belief that his son Captain James Walker-Drummond would benefit as the Conservative candidate at the next election.⁴ Sir Francis was extremely annoyed in 1841 when the Duke of Buccleuch and the Marquis of Tweeddale would not support his son's candidature. Bitterly disappointed Sir Francis commented that the incident revealed just how some of the aristocracy regarded 'the influence or services of us Edinburgh folk'.⁵ It is not clear

¹ He defended Clerk against the extreme Protestants in 1829. *The Times*, 2 Mar. 1829.

² NLS, MS 4032, fo. 217 (Blackwood MSS).

³ Walker-Drummond to Buccleuch, 22 May 1841, SRO, GD224/581, 'Haddington burghs 1832-42'.

⁴ J. I. Brash, 'The Conservatives in the Haddington District of Burghs, 1832-1852', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, xi (1968), 37-70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

whether he took any further part in politics up to his death in 1844.

Gentlemen who filled subordinate yet participant roles between 1832 and 1835, for example on the finance committee for the 1835 election, included John Borthwick of Crookston (1787-1845), member of a very old Midlothian family whose first wife (she died in December 1832) was Dundas of Arniston's sister; John Inglis of Auchindinny and Redhall (1783-1847), eldest son of Vice-Admiral John Inglis; David Anderson of Moredun (1792-1881), a partner in the bank of Sir William Forbes & Company; and Sir John Stuart Forbes, 8th Baronet of Pitsligo (1804-66),¹ also a partner in the bank built up by his grandfather in the late eighteenth century but merged in the Union Bank of Scotland in 1838.

By the end of the 1830s another small group of gentlemen appear to have been taking a more prominent part in Conservative politics. William Burn-Callander of Westerton and Prestonhall (1792-1854) was an active committeeman from 1837 and succeeded Sir John Hope as chairman about 1850.² Robert Balfour Wardlaw-Ramsay of Whitehill (1815-82) joined the committee in 1839 soon after returning from India and served until 1851 when he became involved in a dispute with the committee over election expenses if he should agree to be the candidate in the event of Sir John Hope's retirement.³ John Wauchope (1816-93) also joined the committee in 1839 having succeeded to the estate of Edmonstone on the death of his father in 1837.⁴ He is not a prominent figure in the papers until near the end of the period: Sir John Hope attributed his financial troubles to

¹ In 1834 he married the Marquis of Lothian's half-sister, who was also the Duke of Buccleuch's cousin.

² He was the elder son of John Burn of Coldoch, d. 1814. In 1822 he took the additional surname upon inheriting the Callander estates in Midlothian and East Lothian, first acquired by his great-uncle Alexander Callander, 1741-92, who made his fortune in India. Little is known about Burn-Callander's life; see *Crombie's Modern Athenians*, 119.

³ His father Robert Wardlaw-Ramsay, d. 1837, was a captain in the East India Company's naval service; his mother was a daughter of the 6th Earl of Balcarres; educated at Haileybury he served in the Bengal civil service until after his father's death he succeeded to estates in Midlothian and Clackmannan; in 1841 he married a daughter of the 8th Marquis of Tweeddale.

⁴ In 1862 he succeeded to the Don baronetcy as Sir John Don-Wauchope, 8th Bart. of Edmonstone; 1863 he was appointed chairman of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland; 1872 he was the first chairman of the Scottish Board of Education.

Wauchope's conduct over the lease of the Edmonstone mine, and he was one of the ringleaders in the dispute over a Protectionist candidate in 1851. Richard Trotter of Mortonhall (1797-1874), member of a family long established in Midlothian and Berwickshire, was a highly respected figure and Hope's successor as convener of the county in April 1851.¹

★

The Conservative gentry in Midlothian considered as a group displayed certain features that contributed in differing degrees to their ultimate success in regaining the county. They still held a position of leadership and influence, especially over the more rural sections of county society, founded on their extensive material resources in land and minerals, reinforced by the many ties of kinship, marriage, interest and experience which characterised the still fairly close-knit society to which they belonged, and exercised through a wide range of activities and functions. It was a source of strength that many of them were normally resident for a large part of the year and participated in the responsibilities as well as the pleasures of county life. They were known to the electors and shared interests with each other as landowners, employers, customers, patrons and sportsmen. They were generally involved in the administration of county business on local road boards and as commissioners of supply, held appointments as deputy-lieutenants, and served with the Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry; while almost every gentleman who appears in the Midlothian papers, whether Conservative or Whig, was a member of the Royal Company of Archers.² They were in addition often found together on the boards of banks, insurance and railway companies, and at meetings of agricultural, sporting and social organisations. For most of them politics was not the central activity of their lives, but to understand the political role of the landed gentlemen one must recognise that their political activities were inseparable from their many-sided involvement in county affairs generally.

¹ He was the son of Lieutenant-General Alexander Trotter, d. 1825, succeeded his uncle Henry Trotter in 1838, convener of Midlothian 1851-67.

² James Balfour Paul, *The History of the Royal Company of Archers* (Edinburgh, 1875), 375-81 *passim*. The Duke was Captain-General, 1838-84, Sir John Hope was President of the Council in succession to the Duke, 1838-48, and James Hope, w.s., the Conservative agent was secretary, 1827-39.

In the long run the most significant features of the Conservative gentlemen, the one upon which all the rest was based and which was most clearly reflected in the patterns of voting at elections, was the extent and distribution of their property within the county.¹ The heartland of the Conservative interest lay in a compact group of parishes in the north-east corner of the county, particularly Dalkeith, Inveresk, Newton and Newbattle. This area was doubly rich: it contained some of the finest arable land in the county and was situated on the Midlothian coal basin. The ownership of the agricultural and mineral resources of these and neighbouring parishes was concentrated in the hands of a few men, almost every one of whom was a prominent Conservative. Seven-eighths of Dalkeith parish with coalmines at Cowden were owned by the Duke of Buccleuch, and three-quarters of Newbattle including collieries by the Marquis of Lothian. The principal landowners in Inveresk were the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Wemyss, and Sir John Hope who owned or leased all the coalpits in the parish. In Newton John Wauchope owned five-eighths of the parish by value and coalworkings at Edmonstone; while the Duke also held land in the parish including coalmines at Sheriffhall. The coal measures extended south into Borthwick where two Conservative proprietors were James Dewar of Vogrie, who owned the east and most of the central area of the parish, and Robert Dundas of Arniston. The Earl of Dalhousie, who was a Conservative but not politically active, owned half of Cockpen, while the Marquis of Lothian, Dundas of Arniston and (by 1845) Mrs Durham of Polton,² Robert Dundas's widow, shared most of the remainder. In Cranston there was the only large Whig intrusion in the district, for Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple owned two-thirds of the parish; but the next largest proprietor was William Burn-Callander, who also held almost the whole adjoining parish of Crichton. In no other part of the county was there a similar concentration of Conservative proprietors. Most of the influential men of the committee had estates in or close to this district, their houses within easy riding distance of each other. The focal point was Dalkeith House with Melville Castle and Newbattle Abbey each just over a mile away; Pinkie House, Edmonstone, and Preston Hall

¹ The following section is based largely on *N.S.A.*, i, Edinburgh, *passim*.

² Below p. 181, n. 3.

were all within a five mile radius of Dalkeith, as were Hawthornden, Whitehill and Morton Hall; to Arniston and Penicuik the distances were rather greater.

There was also a number of active Conservatives in the parishes to the south of Edinburgh, an area containing some fine agricultural land, though less well-endowed with minerals than the eastern district. They did not form such a dominant group because land-ownership was not concentrated in so few hands as in several of the eastern parishes. David Anderson of Moredun held land in Liberton, Richard Trotter in Liberton and Colinton, and Sir John Stuart Forbes in Colinton until 1839. Sir Francis Walker-Drummond and John Inglis of Auchindinny were proprietors in Lasswade, James Tytler of Woodhouselee¹ and H. M. Inglis,² the agent from 1836, in Glen-corse. Immediately to the west of Edinburgh the principal Conservative landowners in Cramond parish were William Ramsay of Barnton, who also owned the Gogar estate in Corstorphine, and the Duke of Buccleuch who built Granton Harbour from his Caroline Park estate.

In the large, thinly-populated, upland parishes along the southern boundary of the county, in the Pentland and Moorfoot hills and along the western slopes of the Lammermoors, there were other prominent Conservatives: Sir George Clerk owned one-third of Penicuik parish, one-half by value; Robert Dundas of Arniston was a principal landowner in the parishes of Temple and Stow, and his one-time brother-in-law John Borthwick of Crookston in Heriot, Stow, and Borthwick.

It was in the western extremity of the county that the Conservatives experienced most difficulty, in the Mid-Calder polling district (West and Mid-Calder, Ratho, Kirknewton, Kirkliston and Currie) where the Whig candidate always had a large majority, sufficient in 1832 and 1837 to win the election against Conservative majorities in the other two districts combined. In the west there were few large Conservative proprietors and those generally non-resident or inactive like Douglas of Baads in West Calder.³ The Earl of Morton⁴ owned about one-third of Ratho parish as well as lands in Kirknewton and

¹ Below p. 78.

² Below pp. li-ii.

³ Below p. 125.

⁴ George Sholto Douglas, 1789-1858, 17th Earl of Morton, succeeded his cousin in 1827 after a diplomatic career, 1811-25.

Currie; and his son Lord Aberdour¹ acquired lands in Cramond through his marriage in 1844 to the daughter of James Watson of Saughton; but according to Sir John Hope landlord-tenant relations on the estates were extremely poor, and we have the Earl of Morton's own account of the difficulties he had with his tenants at the 1837 election.² The absenteeism, inactivity or unpopularity of Conservative landowners posed a serious problem in an area where considerable influence was exercised by the Earl of Rosebery and Sir James Gibson-Craig, leader of the Edinburgh Whigs and the chief proprietor in Currie parish.

References to the problem in 'the western part of the county' occur frequently. On 20 July 1835 Alex Weir wrote to Sir George Clerk concerning the weakness of Conservatism and the strength of religious and political dissent in West Calder. To increase the Conservative vote in the west James Hope advanced £600 in 1836 so that fourteen Edinburgh Conservatives could be enrolled on East Camps in Kirknewton parish. The lack of Conservative voters is seen in the great difficulty experienced in forming a parish committee in Ratho at the general election of 1837, when there were so few Conservatives that all possible supporters were put on the committee including one man who wished to be neutral and another who was not even a registered elector.³ In particular the selection of a candidate for the county could be affected by considerations in the west; the need to select a man who could win votes there was given as a reason for making an approach to Ramsay of Barnton in 1838, and for not choosing Lord Aberdour in 1845 and 1849.⁴

Although ultimately it was their superiority in material resources that enabled the Conservatives to win Midlothian back from the Whigs, this is not to deny altogether the continuing importance of personal considerations and relationships in electoral politics. The largest single group of voters was the large body of tenant farmers. It was generally assumed that they would recognise an identity of interest with their landlords and follow their political lead. In many cases the assumption was justified but much depended upon the quality of landlord-tenant relations; as in 1845 Sir John Hope sug-

¹ Sholto John Douglas, 1818-84, 18th Earl of Morton 1858, styled Lord Aberdour, 1827-58.

² Below pp. 126-7.

³ Below pp. 118-19.

⁴ Below pp. 137, 171, 173, 182.

gested that the Earl of Morton did not understand 'the fair mode' of managing his tenantry.¹ The continuing relevance of personal issues is seen also in Sir George Clerk's correspondence before the 1835 and 1837 elections, in John Harvey's letter of 23 February 1835, and in several of the Whig papers: James Brownlee looking for a suitable appointment, James Thomson trying a little gentle blackmail, David Pinkerton withdrawing into neutrality because of his landlord's connections, and Humphrey Graham subject to private and unexplained pressures.² These personal considerations were still important in determining how the individual elector cast his vote. Similarly prominent landowners such as Sir John Hope or Dundas of Arniston or a great landed magnate like the Duke could exercise some degree of influence with the electors, but soon after 1832 it was recognised that such influence was insufficient by itself to regain control of the county. Eventually it was the exploitation of their property for the manufacture of votes which enabled the Conservatives to re-establish their dominance in the county. It was increasingly understood that the path to electoral success lay through the registration court; the politics of personal influence, patronage and deference yielded in effectiveness to the politics of registration.

The registration contest in Midlothian 1833-41

Registration politics in Midlothian must be seen in the context of developments in Scottish counties generally.³ In 1832 there were just over 33,000 county electors; by 1839 there were approximately

¹ Below p. 171.

² Below pp. 16, 18, 119, 122-3.

³ Under clause xxii of the Scottish Reform Act (2 & 3 William IV c. 65) claims for enrolment on the county register were lodged by 20 July with the parish schoolmaster, who forwarded the claims and any objections to the sheriff-clerk. Between 12 Aug. and 15 Sept. the sheriff or his deputy held the registration court in the county town to hear claims and objections, applications for re-enrolment, and motions for the removal of those who were no longer qualified. Appeals were heard between 15 and 25 Sept. at courts of review established under clause xxv of the Act. The sheriffs of the three Lothian counties formed a joint-court of appeal for those counties. The political parties employed counsel and agents to present and defend the claims of their supporters, and as the sittings of the courts might last several days legal costs and witnesses' expenses could be considerable; in Midlothian, it seems, especially for the Conservatives as their opponents gave their services freely, below pp. 43-44, 103, 128-9.

48,000 including a considerable number enrolled on fictitious qualifications. In 1833 and 1834 a total of 3,500 voters were added to the Scottish county registers,¹ but if the scarcity of newspaper reports is any guide there was little interest shown in the results of these registrations. It was in 1835 after the general election at which the Conservatives made a number of gains, as in Roxburgh and Selkirk, which could be attributed to hard, even dirty, work in the registration courts that there was an upsurge of activity and interest. Over 5,000 voters were enrolled in the counties,² the largest annual increase during the period, and from then until the early 1840s the newspapers in September and October each year published detailed tables of gains and losses on the enrolments, and accounts of cases heard in the registration and appeal courts. The extent of registration activity in the later 1830s and its influence upon election results can be gauged from many entries in the Buccleuch electoral surveys: success in the registration courts certainly decided the results in several counties at the 1841 general election. By the mid-1840s most counties were controlled by one or the other party, and for twenty years there were few contested elections with the frequent result that electoral politics stagnated, registrations were not attended to, and registration subscriptions begun in the 1830s fell into abeyance. Where the registers were not revised they became cluttered with multiple enrolments and the names of men who were dead, absent or denuded; while many who qualified were never placed on the roll. In 1859 it was reported that the Renfrewshire register, 'has not been purged for many years, and at this moment more than one-half are disqualified under the present law',³ a comment that would have applied equally to many other counties. By the late 1850s the cost of clearing the registers could prove a serious obstacle to anyone even contemplating a contest,⁴ and it was not until after the passing of the County Voters Registration Act in 1861 that they were purged.⁵ The responsibility for preparing the electoral rolls was given to the county assessors appointed under the Valuation Act of 1854 whose valuation lists now provided the most accurate basis for the county registers. In 1862 of

¹ *Return of Electors* . . . , PP 1836, 199, xliii.

² *Return of those qualified to vote* . . . , PP 1836, 190, xliii.

³ *Number of registered electors* . . . , PP 1859 (140 session 1) xxiii, 139, p. 4.

⁴ E.g. in Dunbartonshire and Stirlingshire c.1857, Cunninghame-Graham MSS, SRO, GD22/1/584.

⁵ 24 & 25 Victoria c. 83.

57,788 names on the Scottish county rolls 21,294 were struck off, and 13,735 new voters were added to form an electorate of over 49,000, not much larger but probably more genuine than that enrolled in 1841.¹

As in Scotland generally the numbers of new enrolments in Midlothian in 1833 and 1834 were small in comparison with later years, 133 and 88 respectively.² In many parishes only two or three new voters were enrolled, in some none at all. Dalkeith was the exception for twenty-nine claims were registered there in 1833, almost as many as in the other thirteen parishes of the district.³ The Conservatives made at least sixteen votes in the town of Dalkeith, mostly enrolled as joint-proprietors⁴ and including several employees of the Duke. Other gentlemen in the county enabled relatives, friends and dependents to acquire qualifications. The agents were interested in any properties that would afford one or two votes, and Donald Horne recommended that the 'buying up' scheme attempted in 1832 should be continued.⁵ However, although from 1832 men not directly connected with the county were obtaining qualifications, most of the new voters in 1833 and 1834 were local men, resident and employed in the county. There had probably been considerable under-registration in 1832; and there were always men coming on to the roll in the ordinary run of their lives as they acquired property or took up farms. Between 1833 and 1836 one-sixth of the new voters enrolled in the Edinburgh and Dalkeith districts were farmers claiming on their tenancies.

From 1835 the registration contest became more lively as it was recognised that Conservative gains at the first two registrations had helped Sir George Clerk to regain the county in January 1835. The Whigs were provoked into greater activity by their loss, while the Conservatives, determined to consolidate their victory, established a £5,000 cash credit to enable the agent James Hope to secure properties

¹ *Return of electors* . . . , PP 1863 (252) I, 801.

² Table of annual increases, 1833-37. *Scotsman*, 3 Oct. 1838.

³ Details of electoral changes are derived from *The Register of Electors in Midlothian 1836*, in which electors are listed under the year of their enrolment. The Edinburgh section (pp. 1-34) is in NLS, the Dalkeith section (pp. 35-74) in the Guildhall Library in the City of London; no copy of the Mid-Calder section has been found.

⁴ Below p. 7.

⁵ Below pp. 6-8.

that came on to the market to prevent them falling to the opposition.¹ In spite of Hope's optimistic predictions the Conservatives were defeated at the 1835 registrations: 242 new claims were admitted, but the Whigs made an overall gain of sixty-seven, more than double Clerk's majority in January.²

From 1835 as the contest intensified it was necessary to develop means of preparing larger numbers of votes less expensively. From the registers it can be seen that by 1835 there was an increase in the number of joint-proprietors registered, and by 1836 in the numbers of liferent and joint-liferent qualifications. Many examples of the enrolment of large groups of co-proprietors can be found; some of them *bona fide* transactions. Twelve Whigs, including Charles MacLaren, Duncan McLaren, and Adam Black,³ were enrolled on Marylands in Ratho parish in 1836. They purchased the property from Sir James Gibson-Craig and the conveyance was recorded in the Register of Sasines, which was unusual in the vote-making operations of either party.⁴ In 1837 when sixteen Conservatives were enrolled on Gorgie Park, acquired by James Hope by means of the cash credit, Sir George Clerk paid £125 for his son's share.⁵ In other instances a bill was given instead of cash, a bill being held to be as good as a banknote and negotiable by the recipient. In addition the purchaser would generally allow the vendor to retain possession of the land on a backlease at a rent of at least £10 sufficient to provide the purchaser with a qualification.⁶ In such cases the rent was not received by the purchaser but marked up on the bill as interest. This created no difficulty in the registration court where it was held to be legitimate to apply the issues of the property to the settlement of the bill. That many transactions of this kind were collusive seems

¹ Below pp. 22-25. The cash credit was secured by a bond signed by the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Lothian, Sir George Clerk and Sir John Hope; the account was operated like a normal current account except that interest, probably 5%, was charged on the balance drawn from it; A. W. Kerr, *History of Banking in Scotland* (4th edition London, 1926), 48-49.

² Below p. 32; *Scotsman*, 12 Sept. 1835.

³ Charles MacLaren, 1782-1866, editor of the *Scotsman*, 1817-18, 1820-45; Duncan McLaren, 1800-86, linen-draper, MP Edinburgh, 1865-81; Adam Black, 1784-1874, bookseller and publisher, MP Edinburgh, 1856-65.

⁴ Register of Sasines, Edinburgh, abridgement 5890, 30 Jan. 1836.

⁵ Below p. 188.

⁶ Below p. 18. A number of claimants could be qualified by the same procedure as long as each one obtained a sufficient share of the valuation.

obvious, but from the documents presented to the court it was extremely difficult to prove, and the system of oaths and interrogation employed there seems to have been wholly ineffectual.¹

The enrolment of fourteen Conservatives on East Camps in Kirknewton, 'the Camps concern' negotiated by James Hope in January 1836, is an example of what could be achieved on a property burdened with debt.² The property could be acquired at little cost (Hope advanced £600 to assist with this purchase) and its annual value, which determined the number of votes it could carry, was not affected by the size of the debt. The new proprietors would receive no rents as these were required to pay interest on the debt but this too was held to be a legitimate application of the issues of the estate.

By the later 1830s the granting of liferent dispositions became the most common mode of making votes in Midlothian. In 1832 there were only forty-three liferenters, generally ministers and parish schoolmasters who by virtue of their appointments held a manse or schoolhouse with grounds attached on liferent tenure. By 1837 there were 235 liferent voters, of whom 114 held joint qualifications, while two years later there were 530.³ In most cases the methods employed were similar to those described above. Often the amount of the bill would be determined from annuity tables according to the purchaser's age; while an innovation in 1838 was the establishing of a trust as additional security for the payment of the price; and there were other variants and refinements. Liferent grants were made to sons and relatives in the form of a gift; and there were instances of gentlemen with property in different counties exchanging liferent qualifications.⁴

The creation of fictitious votes had become widespread by 1836, especially in south-eastern Scotland. On 1 February 1837 Edward

¹ On these issues see John Cay, *An Analysis of the Scottish Reform Act with the Decisions of the Courts of Appeal* (Edinburgh, 1850), 161-85. There were numerous newspaper articles on the techniques of making votes, e.g. *Scotsman*, 4 Aug. 1836 and 12 Sept. 1838. The most important sources are the *First Report from Select Committee on Fictitious Votes (Scotland)* . . ., pp 1837 (215) xii, and *Report from the Select Committee of Session 1837-8, On Fictitious Votes (Scotland)* . . ., pp 1837-8 (590) xiv [hereafter cited as *First Report* and *Second Report*].

² Cay, *op. cit.*, 168, 204-6; *Scotsman*, 12 Sept. 1838. The fourteen, who included four members of the Blackwood family, are listed in *Second Report*, Appendix, p. 51.

³ See table below p. xlv.

⁴ Cay, *op. cit.*, 178-9.

Horsman, Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple's nephew, speaking from a brief prepared by associates of Sir James Gibson-Craig, succeeded in obtaining a select committee of the House of Commons to investigate the manufacture of votes in Scottish counties.¹ Later that year when the committee heard evidence from Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles Donald Horne was one of the principal witnesses. Early in 1838 to demonstrate the extent to which the Conservatives had created votes in Midlothian evidence was presented by John Clerk Brodie, a recently qualified Writer to the Signet employed by Sir James Gibson-Craig.² Ironically, a few days earlier the Whigs in Midlothian had completed the preparation of qualifications on a scale never previously attempted in the county.³ Although they had won the election in 1837, and had beaten the Conservatives at the registrations since 1835, they did not hold a commanding lead. Their object in 1838 was to consolidate their position before any legislation consequent upon the findings of Horsman's committee closed up loopholes in the 1832 act. William Murray of Henderland⁴ proposed that 500 votes should be made: in fact Murray himself made sixty-one, Sir James Gibson-Craig ninety-four, Sir John Dalrymple thirty-two, and Sir James Forrest of Comiston the lord provost of Edinburgh ten—a total of 197. Altogether 248 Whig claims were lodged but Adam Urquhart (1794-1860) the deputy-registering sheriff rejected 200 of them to the delight of his fellow Conservatives. It was reported that Urquhart likened his judgment to the massacre of St Bartholomew; it was 24 August 1838.⁵

Urquhart rejected most of the claims because they contained the novel feature of an 'interposed trust'. The test case in the registration and appeal courts was that of William Gallaway, an accountant to whom Murray of Henderland had granted a liferent disposition. Having given a bill for £88 Gallaway executed a trust-deed under which he made Murray's agent his trustee and assigned to him the rents due on the property so that they could be applied to the settle-

¹ Below pp. 108-10.

² *Second Report*, questions 11,743-12,200 and appendices; also Brodie to Fox Maule, 19 June 1837, *ibid.*, 249-50.

³ Below pp. 133-6.

⁴ William Murray, 1774-1854, was called to the English bar; brother of John Archibald Murray, see below p. 19.

⁵ *Scotsman*, 1 Sept., 19 Sept. 1838.

ment of the bill. The object of the trust would appear to have been to give Murray greater security for the payment of the bill, which meant in effect for the protection of his rents, in a situation where he had granted dispositions to many individuals not necessarily well-known to him. Urquhart ruled that whatever rights Gallaway might have acquired in the property were surrendered under the trust, and so rejected his claim.

A large crowd thronged the county hall on 24 September to hear the judgments in the appeal court.¹ John Cay, the sheriff of Linlithgow and later the author of the most important analysis of decisions in the courts of appeal (though it contains no mention of this case), presented a long and complex argument in justification of the interposed trust. He was of the opinion that as the law stood, with all its faults, and as it had been administered since 1832 Gallaway's claim should be admitted. Alexander Wood, the sheriff of Kirkcudbright,² who sat in place of the sheriff of Midlothian, concurred with Cay's judgment, though like Cay he did not conceal his concern at the defective state of the law and the nature of the claims admitted. William Horne, sheriff of East Lothian³ and Donald Horne's brother, upheld Urquhart's original decision but could not prevent its being reversed. The claims of Gallaway and 121 others were admitted giving the Whigs an overall gain of fifty on the registration.⁴

From the decision in the Gallaway case the Whigs gained a short-term advantage only. In 1839 and 1840 the Conservatives employing the techniques of vote-making 'à la Whig'⁵ easily outdistanced their opponents. The gentlemen came to an arrangement whereby those who held unentailed land made votes upon it while those whose lands were not free agreed to provide funds to meet the additional registration costs.⁶ They made an overall gain of 314 in 1839 and 114 a year later⁷ with the consequence that long before the general election in 1841 it was certain that Gibson-Craig the sitting Whig

¹ *Scotsman*, 26 Sept. 1838.

² Alexander Wood, d. 1864, sheriff of Kirkcudbright, 1830-41, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, 1841, Lord Wood, 1842-62.

³ William Horne of Stirkoke, d. 1856, sheriff of East Lothian, 1813-56.

⁴ *Scotsman*, 6 Oct. 1838.

⁵ Below p. 251.

⁶ Below pp. 160-1.

⁷ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 26 Sept. 1839, 19 Sept. 1840.

member must withdraw, and Ramsay of Barnton was returned without opposition.

The registration contest greatly altered the size of the Midlothian electorate, which increased from 1,294 in 1832 to 2,315 in 1839. After the early 1840s much less attention was given to registrations and the number of electors fluctuated over the years. There were 1,896 names on the register before it was cleared in 1862, when 1,013 were struck off and 684 added to form an electorate of 1,567, only slightly larger than it had been in 1835.¹ The manufacture of votes also changed the pattern of qualifications on which electors were enrolled, as can be seen from figures presented to the select committee on fictitious votes in 1838 and a later electoral return, which revealed that Midlothian had the largest number of liferent voters of any Scottish county.²

	1832	1837	1839	1842
Proprietors	473	778	807	795
of whom joint		19	239	
Tenants	610	718	749	718
of whom joint		50	112	
Liferenters	43	235	530	567
of whom joint		0	114	
Miscellaneous			104	65
Old Roll	168	129	125	123
	<hr/> 1,294	<hr/> 1,860	<hr/> 2,315	<hr/> 2,268

According to the Radical journalist William Tait in 1837, echoing Horsman's speech in the House of Commons, many of the mushroom voters in the south-eastern counties belonged to a clique of Edinburgh Tories whom he described as 'a *squadron volante* of the dregs of the Tory party forty or fifty in number consisting mainly of advocates, writers and their clerks'.³ Certainly lawyers formed an easily identifiable group among the batches of voters enrolled during the registration contest by both Conservatives and Whigs. Whereas there were thirty-five among the newly-registered electors

¹ *Return of electors* . . . , PP 1863 (252) 1, 801.

² *Second Report*, Appendix p. 41; *Return of registered electors* . . . , PP 1844, II, xxxviii.

³ *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, iv (1837), 198.

in 1832, at least seventy-nine were enrolled in the Edinburgh and Dalkeith districts between 1833 and 1836, and more were added during the next four years. Moreover many of them like Donald Horne held multiple enrolments: he was a voter in Midlothian, East Lothian, Roxburgh and Selkirk, as well as in three northern counties.¹ But in fairness to the lawyers it should be noted that the majority of mushroom voters in Midlothian were merchants and shopkeepers from Edinburgh and Leith.

Both parties claimed that in manufacturing votes they acted in self-defence. The Conservative landed interest believed that their special claim to control the representation of the county was threatened by the £10 village proprietors. The Whigs argued that they must repel the Conservatives' attempts to swamp the 'natural constituency' with non-resident electors enrolled on fictitious qualifications. In fact both Whigs and Conservatives, engaged in a struggle for control of the county, were equally prepared to exploit the deficiencies of the Reform Act,² though there were individuals who expressed reservations about the manufacture of votes, including Robert Ferguson of Raith, the Duke of Buccleuch and the Marquis of Lothian.³ Even Donald Horne on occasions claimed to deplore the system, but given 'the *spirit* which actuates the *Towns* and *villages*' he could see no other way in which the Conservative landowners could maintain their position.⁴ In practice agents of both parties, including Horne, had few scruples about the creation of votes by more or less dubious methods. They recognised that there was no better way to gain control of a county than by establishing an ascendancy on the register. As to which party first made votes (a practice well-established long before 1832) it was obviously the

¹ *First Report*, questions 5,360, 5,392; *Second Report*, 7,869-71.

² The Whigs however did make some efforts to remove these defects. An amending bill introduced in July 1835 would have enforced a residence qualification in counties, limited the number of joint-qualifications on a single property to two, and required claimants on property acquired after 31 Jan. 1834 to have an interest in it to the yearly value of £50, pp 1835 (351) iv, 85; but an emasculated bill dealing with minor procedural matters was all that finally passed, 5 & 6 William IV c. 78. No legislation resulted from the investigations of the select committee on fictitious votes, whose final report was vitiated by the Conservatives on the committee, *Second Report*, xi-xii, though several abortive Whig bills were introduced, 1839-41.

³ Below pp. 16, 139, 146; see Lothian and Buccleuch correspondence Dec. 1839, SRO, GD224/582 'Roxburgh and Selkirk 1834-9'.

⁴ Horne to Buccleuch, 24 Oct. 1835, SRO, GD224/667 'Letters D. Horne 1834-8'.

Conservatives following their defeat at the first general election who had the greater need to adopt such methods. Yet their early efforts, at least in Midlothian, were on an extremely limited scale more appropriate to pre-1832 conditions.¹ It was with the development of the registration contest from 1835 that the scale of operations was enlarged until, after the Whigs had shown the way in 1838 (with the approval of a majority of the sheriffs in the court of appeal), it became almost inevitable that the Conservatives would succeed in achieving a firm hold on the county in spite of the Reform Act.

Organisation and Finance

At the contested elections in 1832, 1835 and 1837 Conservative organisation in Midlothian was probably similar to that in many other Scottish and English counties, with a general committee of about thirty gentlemen, the more important of whom formed a finance sub-committee to organise the county's subscription towards the election expenses. The papers contain little information on the functions of the general committee, though presumably in addition to giving subscriptions the gentlemen assisted with the canvass of electors and reported on the political state of their own districts. This was certainly the situation by 1837 when the committee consisted predominantly of conveners of parish committees whose purpose was to organise the local Conservative vote.² Similar parochial committees were formed in 1835, and probably in 1832 though the papers do not mention them. Between elections until after 1837 there appears to have been little formal organisation. Occasional meetings of the general committee would be summoned as in the summer of 1836 to discuss the change of agency, and in December the same year to consider financial problems and enrolments for 1837; both of which meetings were poorly attended. For the most part the conduct of politics was confined to a small group of gentlemen who regarded the maintenance of the Conservative interest in Midlothian as their private and confidential business, and in the early years after 1832 it is perhaps questionable how far the personal

¹ According to J. C. Brodie, a hostile witness, the Conservatives made only twenty votes in 1833 and eight in 1834, *Second Report*, questions 11,972-74.

² Below p. 111.

relationships and activities of Sir John Hope, Dundas and Walker-Drummond deserve to be described at all as 'organisation'.¹ They provided a kind of personal continuity between elections, while the main business of supervising enrolments, preparing votes, acquiring properties and settling what accounts he could afford to, was carried on by the agent James Hope, acting it seems in a fairly independent manner.

James Hope, ws (1803-82), was extremely well-connected, too well it might be thought in the light of subsequent events. He belonged to a family, not over popular in some Conservative circles, members of which occupied some of the most eminent legal positions in Scotland. His father was Lord President of the Court of Session, his brother Dean of the Faculty of Advocates and his father-in-law Lord Justice Clerk.² All his life he had moved in Tory legal and political circles so that many of the leading gentlemen in Midlothian must have known him since he was a child. In 1828 he passed as a Writer to the Signet. By 1831 he was involved in political organisation, acting as secretary to the group of Tories who arranged the 'great constitutional meeting' held in Edinburgh on 28 November.³ Then sometime in July 1832 he was appointed Sir George Clerk's agent for the forthcoming election.

Before 1832 Clerk had employed his own agents and had been personally responsible for the general political expenses of the county. After the early period 1811-18 when there were three contested elections the expenses were comparatively slight.⁴ Alexander Monypenny, ws (1778-1844), Clerk's agent from 1817 to 1832, received £63 3s. 6d. for routine services between 1821 and the general election of 1826; and official election charges were small: Sir George paid £42 to the sheriff-clerk for the elections of 1826-7-8 combined.⁵ Indeed in the later 1820s it appears that the chief demand

¹ See James Hope's comment on their 'unbusinesslike' methods, below p. 41; and Lord Melville's criticisms, below pp. 54, 68.

² David Boyle, 1772-1853, Lord Justice Clerk, 1811-41, Lord President 1841-52. James Hope himself was joint-deputy-keeper of the Signet, 1828-50, sole deputy-keeper, 1850-82; his appointment in 1828 before he had even passed ws caused 'a little bit of rebellion' in the Society of ws, Cockburn, *Memorials*, 49-50.

³ Hope to Buccleuch, 21 Nov. 1831, SRO, GD224/667 'London Gazette'.

⁴ For expenses, 1811-18, see SRO, GD18/3302 and 3305, and other accounts in GD18/1719/15.

⁵ Accounts in GD18/1719/16.

on Sir George's purse was for the inevitable election dinner though even this must have seemed tiresomely expensive when his election became an annual event between 1826 and 1831; the accounts for the first five dinners indicate that they cost him over £700.¹ With the passing of the Reform Act there was a sharp increase in costs, and with the enlarged electorate and the development of registration activity much more work and expense for the political agent. Between 1832 and 1835 election expenses amounted to almost £8,000: £4,286 for the 1832 election (including the costs of the initial registration), £2,500 for the 1835 election, and over £1,200 for the three registrations 1833-4-5.² There were also three unresolved issues: (i) the gentlemen insisted that Hope was Sir George Clerk's agent and not the committee's; (ii) there was no agreed basis for apportioning the election expenses; and (iii) there was no regular provision of funds to defray the costs of registration.

Although it was recognised in 1832 that the expense of the first election would be greater than Sir George Clerk could be expected to bear himself the county subscription raised only £1,035, less than a quarter of the total, and arrears from 1832 remained on the eve of the next election in January 1835. It was proposed by Dundas in a rather ambiguous letter on 4 December 1834 that Clerk should pay off the arrears while the gentlemen subscribed 'to the utmost of our power' for the new election, but as Dundas over-estimated the likely yield of the county subscription and James Hope underestimated the cost of the election by £1,000, Sir George was left with both the arrears and over half the expenses of 1835. Although a temporary solution was found in June 1835 when Clerk was provided with a twelve-month loan from the bank of Sir William Forbes & Company, the issues relating to the agency and responsibility for the cost of county politics were raised in an acute form early in 1836 when James Hope, heavily in debt, demanded a settlement of his outstanding accounts. These issues, complicated by the decision already taken by the committee late in 1835 to change the agency, dominate the extensive correspondence of 1836.

In March and April 1836 a serious conflict developed between James Hope and his brother the Dean, who threatened legal proceedings if James's debts were not settled promptly, and the gentlemen

¹ *Ibid.*

² Below p. 50.

of the committee, who denied that anyone but Sir George Clerk was responsible for his agent's accounts. By May however the gentlemen were persuaded that Hope's accounts must be settled, leaving the question of liability for later adjustment. In the first place the legal preparations being made by the Hopes posed a threat to the privacy of the committee's activities, a point on which they were always extremely sensitive as other episodes in the papers confirm.¹ Secondly as they had already determined to replace him as agent it was necessary to pay off Hope so that a successor could be appointed in time to prepare for the registration court in August. Consequently Donald Horne was authorised to arrange a settlement of Hope's accounts. The related issue of liability for the debt took several months to resolve. After a close study of the papers the Duke of Buccleuch declared on 20 May that a candidate should not be expected to pay more than half the total expenses, and that as Sir George had already paid more than half the gentlemen of the county should relieve him of the arrears due to Hope. But as Sir John Hope and others were extremely reluctant to accept this view it was not until January 1837 that it was finally agreed to exempt Clerk from liability. Raising a subscription to extinguish the debt of £1,740 proved to be very difficult, and when, after many vicissitudes, it was finally cleared in 1842, at a cost of at least £1,839, two-thirds of the sum had been contributed by the Duke (£1,085) and Lord Lothian (£270).²

Many reasons were given for James Hope's dismissal. He was held responsible for the excessive expenditure at the 1835 election, and no doubt for the Conservatives' defeat that year in the registrations. He was thought to be too independent, self-assertive and 'wedded to his own opinions'. It was said that he was 'not a good political canvasser', and did not mix sufficiently with the tenantry; that he 'did not appear to possess that species of bustling activity which was greatly required in a political Agent', but, it was implied, preferred to conduct the business from his chambers.³ By the end of 1835 the leading gentlemen were convinced that a new agent was required, a man whose conduct would, to a much greater extent than was possible with Hope, be guided by the committee especially in matters of expenditure. In February 1836 Hope was urging the gentlemen

¹ Below pp. 98, 145, 192.

² Below pp. 142-51, 156-8.

³ Below pp. 71-72, 93.

to institute a more regular system of management. Ironically they had already decided to do so but saw as the first essential step the replacement of Hope himself.

Hope's actual dismissal reveals much about the gentlemen and their political behaviour. The original decision to change the agency in January was put off because Hope was completing the preparation of votes for the next registration.¹ Thereafter no-one regarded it as his responsibility to inform Hope of the committee's intention, and although it is difficult to believe that the Hopes had no inkling of what was to happen it would appear that no formal communication was ever made. The first hint James Hope received in writing was the extraordinary letter written by Sir John Hope on 14 June. For some months Sir George Clerk seems deliberately to have maintained an aloof attitude. Although he could claim pre-occupation with his parliamentary duties, a more convincing explanation is that he was most awkwardly situated between two groups (whose rivalries one suspects underlay all of these events). On the one side there was the influential 'Hope clique' with whom Sir George had old ties: John Hope had been a 'rat' with Clerk in 1827 and they had shared 'Catholic' views on the emancipation question. On the other were his most prominent supporters in the county. As in 1827 Sir George hoped to conciliate both sides: by allowing the change to be made, but insisting to the Hopes that he had had no choice but to acquiesce. Sir John Hope, genuinely concerned, and as a relative embarrassed, that James Hope had been dismissed without notice, was infuriated by Sir George's behaviour but could not persuade him to admit that he too had been dissatisfied with Hope as his agent.

The new agent was Harry Maxwell Inglis, ws (1800-83), the eldest son of the Reverend Dr John Inglis (1763-1834), minister of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, 1799-1834. He passed as a Writer to the Signet in 1828 and soon after through paternal influence was appointed factor for the Edinburgh clergy. In this capacity he was employed by the Edinburgh town council to collect arrears of the annuity tax levied on Edinburgh citizens for the maintenance of the city churches, but his injudicious action in arresting Thomas Russell, a dissenter who refused to pay the tax on grounds of conscience, aroused so much criticism that Inglis was compelled to resign in

¹ Below pp. 97-98.

April 1836.¹ A few weeks later Donald Horne recommended him to Sir John Hope for appointment by the committee. Inglis served as the Conservative agent until at least 1854, though his association with county politics continued beyond that date and he is referred to as a member of the committee in 1865.² When his younger brother, John Inglis later Lord Glencorse,³ retired as Lord Advocate in 1858 Inglis was appointed a Principal Clerk of Session, a position he occupied until 1880.

The Conservatives' defeat at the general election in 1837 prompted some extremely critical comments from the Marquis of Lothian, who declared on 19 August that the existing system of managing county politics was so bad that it would be pointless to continue if changes were not made; and the loss of the county and the need for a concerted effort to defeat the Whigs in the registration court do seem to have encouraged the development of a more regular system of management. From 1838 the papers suggest an increasing degree of formality in organisation. There was a small, evidently permanent, committee or sub-committee, with marked continuity of membership, meeting with Inglis as secretary (on one occasion it is even referred to as 'his sub-committee'),⁴ and keeping minutes of which several extracts have survived. Undoubtedly the position built up by Inglis over the years was very different from that held by James Hope, though he was no more successful than his predecessor in avoiding financial difficulties.

The extracts from the minutes are without exception concerned with problems of finance, for the modifications to the organisation were not sufficient to enable the gentlemen to extricate themselves from a continuous state of indebtedness. First there was the accumulation of debt to James Hope by 1836, then arising out of the settlement of Hope's accounts there was a debt to Donald Horne which was not finally cleared until 1842. But the main source of debt was the expense of regaining the county in 1841. To provide the costs of

¹ *Scotsman*, 27 and 30 Apr. 1836, town council proceedings.

² Dundas of Arniston letterbooks, Vol. 9, no. 162. SRO, RH4/15/6.

³ John Inglis, 1810-91, Lord Glencorse, Lord Advocate, 1852, 1858, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, 1852-58, Lord Justice Clerk, 1858-67, Lord Justice General, 1867-91. J. C. Watt, *John Inglis . . . A Memoir* (Edinburgh, 1893), 24-25, 161, refers with some inaccuracies to H. M. Inglis.

⁴ Below p. 142.

registration it was agreed in the spring of 1837 that Conservative proprietors would make an annual subscription equal to the amount of land tax they paid; but as always only a minority subscribed and the registration expenses were so high between 1838 and 1840 that the sums obtained were totally inadequate. Already by 1836 the cost of registration had risen to £900; there is no figure available for 1837; £985 was spent in 1838, mainly in opposing the large number of claims prepared by the Whigs; while in 1839 when the Conservatives counterattacked there were registration expenses of £666 plus additional costs associated with the preparation of votes amounting to £719.¹ From 1840 as a result of the overwhelming success of the previous year there was a steady decline in expenditure; but with the county secured in 1841 it became increasingly difficult to get the gentlemen to subscribe at all, and especially for arrears or 'bygones' as Sir John Hope described them. The main difficulty in the early 1840s, apart from some arrears from the 1837 election, was that the committee were evidently unsuccessful in persuading Ramsay of Barnton to pay half of the expenses which had made possible his unopposed election.² A large amount of this debt must have been carried forward to form part of the £1,963 for which Inglis claimed payment in 1849 and which had apparently still not been cleared in 1854. Finally there is the intriguing history of the £5,000 cash credit established at James Hope's suggestion in 1835. The account was operated for approximately twelve months; but after Hope's dismissal it was almost totally forgotten until fourteen years later in 1850 it was discovered that with accumulated interest there was a debt of £4,788 owing to the Royal Bank of Scotland.³ All that is at present known about the account and the uses to which it was put is contained in the documents printed here.⁴ Regrettably there is no evidence of who settled the bill, though one might hazard a guess that it was the Duke who paid the greatest part.⁵

An overall estimate of the cost to the Conservative gentlemen of

¹ Below pp. 161-3.

² Below pp. 160-6.

³ Allowing for interest at 5% it would appear that the balance owing in 1836 had been about £2,400.

⁴ Below pp. 184-90.

⁵ I am grateful to Mr R. N. Forbes, General Manager's Assistant at the Royal Bank of Scotland (1968), for his efforts on my behalf to find some trace of the debt and its settlement in the surviving records of the bank.

the contest to regain Midlothian between 1832 and 1841 is approximately £20,000. That is the sum of the known registration and election expenses, plus an allowance of £3,000 for the election and registration of 1837 for which there are no figures, and the total debt owing to the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1850.

The Midlothian papers indicate that the Conservative gentlemen did advance from the loose, informal arrangements of 1832-36 to a relatively more formal mode of organisation by the late 1830s especially in response to their defeat at the polls in 1837 and in the registration court in 1838. At considerable cost they regained control of the county in spite of the Reform Act and notwithstanding the problems of organisation and finance they experienced (and only partially overcame) in adjusting to post-reform conditions. However, the extent and character of these changes should not be exaggerated. By 1854 county politics was still the preserve of a small group of interested gentlemen; and the style of Midlothian politics had not altered much by the time of Gladstone's campaigns in 1879 and 1880, when the electorate had increased only to 3,260; and while the Midlothian campaigns are best remembered for Gladstone's enunciation of Liberal principles the contest in 1880 was still marked by the manufacture of faggot votes by both parties.

The Buccleuch election surveys

Between November 1834 and December 1840 Donald Horne prepared for the Duke of Buccleuch a number of returns or surveys showing the political state of the Scottish constituencies.¹ These provide a unique view of electoral politics in Scotland during the crucial decade after the passing of the Reform Act, and a particularly full account of certain constituencies in the three years before the general election of 1841, which in the Scottish counties marked the peak of Conservative recovery from the defeats of 1832. The papers fall into four groups:

- a) The first survey was compiled in November 1834 soon after the dismissal of Lord Melbourne's Whig government. Many of the entries have brief annotations in the Duke's hand concerning

¹ SRO, GD224/582 'Election Memoranda'.

possible candidates or gentlemen whose influence might be brought to bear on the election.

b) At the end of April 1835 soon after the fall of Peel's short administration, when the Duke seems to have anticipated an early election, Horne prepared notes on seven counties and twelve burgh constituencies situated mainly in either the far north of Scotland or the south and south-west.

c) There are two full surveys, and two memoranda sent to Horne from London by the Duke, relating to the general election of 1837. One dated 'June 1837' seems from internal evidence to be of slightly earlier composition than the other dated '27 June 1837'. The papers are written in different hands with variations in spelling and presentation but the information was compiled by one individual, obviously Horne who is named on the earlier document. For convenience the two surveys have been combined and the entries designated a) for June 1837 and b) for 27 June 1837. As far as possible the original lay-out of the papers has been preserved, except that C. R. and D. have been used to indicate a result forecast as 'Conservative', 'Radical' or 'Doubtful', which was signified in the original by marking the appropriate column with a dash.

d) The fourth group consists of three surveys dated 1 November 1838, 1 November 1839 and 9 December 1840, with some confidential notes prepared on 5 November 1839. The 1838 return contains many amendments forming a running commentary on changes that occurred up to the time when the 1839 return was compiled. The explanation is possibly that while the Duke was absent from Scotland during the first half of 1839, having taken his young family to Italy for their health, he corrected the return as more recent information was sent to him. To present a more coherent view the three surveys and the notes have been consolidated using the dates to identify each of the entries. The annual abstracts of Conservative prospects in counties and burghs have been combined and placed at the end; in setting these out the elaborate system of lines and boxes used by Horne has been dispensed with.

Horne also prepared a survey in 1836, but it has not been found. On

9 June 1836 he apologised to the Duke for his delay in completing the return: 'But the truth is I have not got authentic information from more than ten or twelve. . . . I have written again to the different districts, and I shall soon make the return as complete as possible'.¹

The preparation of these surveys was just one of the activities of Donald Horne of Langwell, ws (1787-1870), who though virtually unknown today was one of the most important Conservative agents in Scotland during the post-reform period. On 27 February 1838 Alexander Pringle of Whytbank wrote to the Duke with reference to the elections for the Carlton Club, then the Conservative headquarters in London: 'Of the Scotch candidates the only one of consequence to the business of the party to get in is Horne'.² He was the second son of John Horne of Stirkoke in Caithness.³ He passed as a Writer to the Signet in 1813 having been apprenticed to his uncle James Horne of Langwell (1752-1831) whose partner he became, and from whom he inherited the Langwell estate in Caithness, which he sold to the 5th Duke of Portland in 1857 for £90,000. In 1821 he married Jane the daughter of Thomas Elliot Ogilvie of Chesters in Roxburghshire, whose son William Ogilvie was appointed the Duke of Buccleuch's chamberlain at Branxholm in 1836. From January 1833 he was the Conservative agent in the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk where he was responsible for the expenditure of many thousands of pounds of the Duke's money and exercised his talents for exploiting the deficiencies of the Reform Act.⁴ He was consequently an extremely unpopular figure with the Reformers of these counties as Mr Berwick, a Glasgow brewer, found to his cost during the 1837 election when he was dragged from his coach in Hawick and assaulted in mistake for Horne.⁵ By December 1840 Horne's correspondence with the Duke indicates that there was an increasing coolness in their relations as the Duke began to resist the constant demands made upon him for funds to support

¹ SRO, GD224/526 'Midlothian Correspondence 1836 . . . 1851'.

² SRO, GD224/582 'Roxburgh and Selkirk 1834-39'.

³ The fullest account of Horne's career is in George Tancred, *The Annals of a Border Club* (2nd edition, Jedburgh, 1903), 261-63.

⁴ Above p. xxvii. According to John Gibson on 14 Oct. 1834, 'Advances for matters now under Mr Horne's charge' in 1833 amounted to £14,000. SRO, GD224/503 'Correspondence Philiphaugh 1834'; see also Horne's evidence in *First Report* and *Second Report*.

⁵ *Scotsman*, 5 Aug. 1837.

Horne's schemes.¹ In February 1842 when Horne gave up the agency in Roxburghshire the Duke's acknowledgement of his services was extremely formal,² though it is possible that Horne's appointment in 1843 as solicitor in Scotland for the Commissioners of Woods and Forests was intended as a recognition of his contribution to the Conservative cause. Many years after Horne's death George Tancred wrote of him: 'Mr Horne was a man of no ordinary stamp. He had unbounded energy and extraordinary mental vigour. He possessed a peculiar faculty of extracting information from those with whom he conversed, even when there might be an unwillingness to communicate it'.

In November 1834 Horne proposed that 'a small efficient Committee' should be formed in Edinburgh to coordinate the efforts of Conservatives throughout Scotland and to maintain confidential communications with headquarters at the Carlton Club.³ This raises the question of whether the information collected by Horne was passed on to F. R. Bonham the Conservative 'political secretary' for inclusion in his annual 'book of knowledge'.⁴ Neither the Buccleuch papers nor Bonham's correspondence among the Peel Manuscripts provide a conclusive answer. On 6 May 1835 Bonham reported to Peel, 'The Duke of Buccleuch has just given me a detailed and very interesting parliamentary sketch of Scotland . . .'.⁵ This presumably refers to the notes prepared by Horne at the end of April. Unfortunately it is the only reference of its kind that I have found in Bonham's correspondence. In the late 1830s Bonham received a considerable amount of Scottish electoral intelligence, mainly relating to western districts, from Sir James Graham.⁶ Occasionally Graham refers to meetings with the Duke of Buccleuch

¹ Buccleuch to Horne, 28 Dec. 1840 (copy), SRO, GD224/511 'Redford Green etc. 1835-41'.

² SRO, GD224/581 'Roxburghshire politics 1841-7'.

³ Below p. 229. Similar ideas led a group of Edinburgh Conservatives a few months later to propose the formation of The General Conservative Association of Scotland. See printed resolutions of their meeting on 26 May 1835, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 12 June 1835, and correspondence in SRO, GD224/582 'Edinburgh Conservative Club 1834-5'. By Aug. 1836 little progress had been made largely because of rivalries among the Edinburgh Conservatives.

⁴ N. Gash, 'F. R. Bonham: Conservative "Political Secretary" 1832-47', *English Historical Review*, lxiii (1948), 502-22.

⁵ British Museum, Add. MS 40420, fo. 139.

⁶ British Museum, Add. MS 40616, fos. 1-215 passim (1837-41).

at which they discussed constituencies in which the Duke had interests; and in October 1840 when Bonham was trying to arrange a candidate for the Ayr district Graham suggested that the Duke would be 'the best Channel of Communication' with the peers who were connected with these burghs.¹ But there is nothing in Graham's letters to indicate that he knew about Horne's election surveys,² even though most of his Scottish information came from Robert Lamond (1805-59) a writer in Glasgow, who was for many years chief Conservative agent in the west of Scotland, and who was also one of Horne's confidential correspondents.³ On 4 December 1840 Horne explained to the Duke that the completion of his return had been delayed by lack of information from 'Mr Lamond' but that he would get it when he went across to Glasgow in a few days.⁴ It must have been a one-sided arrangement for there is no sign in Graham's letters that Lamond sent him any information about the constituencies of which Horne would have had special knowledge.

Among the Buccleuch papers there appears to be only one letter from Bonham, the one written at Sir James Graham's suggestion in October 1840;⁵ though there is evidence that he corresponded with Horne about Edinburgh politics in November 1839, when Horne wrote to the Duke advising him how to reply to Bonham at the Carlton Club.⁶ Other information may have been passed on in a similar manner, especially as from early 1838 Horne was himself a member of the Carlton Club, though there is still a lack of conclusive evidence that his annual surveys were regularly communicated to Bonham. It is probable that their main purpose was to keep the Duke himself informed about Conservative prospects in Scotland, and at times it is clear that he acted on Horne's information. Annotations on the first memorandum indicate that he intended to write among others to Sir Ralph Anstruther about Caithness, to the Duke of Montrose about Dunbartonshire, and to Robert Bruce of Kennet

¹ British Museum, Add. MS 40616, fos. 7-8, 101, 172.

² There is a minor reference to Horne in June 1842, *ibid.*, fos. 249-50.

³ D. Teviotdale, 'The Parliamentary Constituency of Glasgow 1832-46', unpublished BLITT thesis, University of Glasgow 1963, p. 78. Few of Horne's correspondents have been identified; in the south-west his informant was David Scott Threshie, 1796-1878, WS of Dumfries; see his report of 14 Dec. 1840, SRO, GD224/581 'Dumfries 1839-41'.

⁴ SRO, GD224/512 'Scottish Standard'.

⁵ SRO, GD224/581 'Ayr 1840-1'.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 'Edinburgh 1832-39'.

about Clackmannan and Kinross. On 3 December 1834 he invited Sir Peter Laurie to stand for the Haddington burghs;¹ in May 1837 he and Horne were trying to settle a candidate for the Wick burghs;² and in July 1837 the memoranda from London confirm that the Duke was taking an active role. However the evidence in the Buccleuch papers does not suggest that the Duke actually claimed or tried to establish for himself a position of national leadership among the Scottish Conservatives. He was essentially a territorial magnate with a regional influence concentrated in the south and south-east of Scotland, as the Duke of Argyll was in the west, and the Duke of Gordon in the north until his death in 1836. This is confirmed by the Duke's electoral correspondence, which is almost entirely confined to those counties and districts of burghs with which he was connected as a landowner: Roxburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries and Midlothian, and the Haddington and Dumfries burghs.

The surveys reflect the changes that occurred in Scottish electoral politics between 1832 and 1841. In 1834, 1835 and 1837, where Horne referred at all to circumstances which he believed would affect the result of an election these belonged to what I have described as the politics of influence. There are references to the popularity or unpopularity of candidates, to the effects of government influence, but more frequently to the influence of prominent landowners in the constituency: the Earl of Galloway in Wigtonshire, the Earl of Eglinton in Irvine, the Sinclair family in Caithness, or the Duke of Richmond in Aberdeenshire. There are occasional references to changes in electoral forces brought about by the Reform Act: to the large numbers of ten-pounders in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, and to the 'radical weavers' in Stirlingshire.³ But there is not a single reference to registrations before the return for 1838, though there is a hint at what had been occurring in the registration courts in the hope expressed in 1837 that a scrutiny of the Selkirk votes could be avoided.

By 1838-40 the emphasis has changed. The returns still contain many references to forms of influence, ranging from that of the great landowners to that exercised by the British Fishery Society in Wick. The political complexion of Sutherland, a pocket county in

¹ *Ibid.*, 'Haddington burghs 1832-42'.

² *Ibid.*, 'Wick 1837'.

³ Below pp. 223-5.

which no contested election occurred between 1790 and December 1885, was altered by the death of the dowager Duchess in 1839; the succession of a Conservative Duke of Argyll in the same year prompted Whig plans to neutralise his influence; while in Wigtonshire the succession of Sir John Dalrymple as 8th Earl of Stair threatened the Conservatives' hold in that county; and even an alleged romance between George Houston and Miss Shaw-Stewart was considered for the possible advantages it might bring to the Conservatives in Renfrewshire.¹ There are however two significant changes in the returns for 1838, 1839 and 1840. The first is the importance attached to the registrations, and the second is the prominence given for the first time to the possible electoral effects of an issue, the non-intrusion question.² There are references to registrations in twelve counties and twelve burghs. From these there can be little doubt that several results in the 1841 election were pre-determined in the registration courts. In Dunbartonshire as in Midlothian success in the registrations enabled the Conservatives to regain the county without a contest. Lanarkshire, which had been gained by only one vote in 1837, was held without opposition in 1841. Roxburghshire was gained after a prolonged and expensive registration contest; and in Stirlingshire, which had been won by a single vote in 1837 and then lost on petition, Forbes of Callendar's return was also largely achieved in the registration court. The only Whig success in the use of these tactics was ironically in Horne's own county of Caithness. In the burghs registrations contributed to both of the Conservatives' successes in 1841: almost £10,000 spent in Jedburgh enabled J. M. Balfour to win the Haddington burghs;³ and attention to the registrations augmented the personal influence of the ironmaster William Baird and helped him to win the Falkirk district.

As a result of gains made by the Conservatives in 1835 and 1837, and their success in several registration contests, Horne's task in predicting county results had become considerably easier by December 1840. In the urban constituencies however his assessments often

¹ Below pp. 247-8, 256, 258-9.

² Below pp. 248, 254, 256, 259, 266, 271-2. Cf. Horne's comments with G. I. T. Machin, 'The Disruption and British Politics, 1834-43', *Scottish Historical Review*, li (1972), 34-39.

³ Brash, *op. cit.*, 57-58.

seem less soundly based and to reflect a good deal of wishful thinking, though there were several on which he admitted he had no information or which he regarded as 'hopeless' for a Conservative candidate. Currents of political opinion in the towns were generally against the Conservatives, though in some of the smaller districts of burghs there was always hope that influence or manipulation of the register might prove successful. Horne estimated that the Conservatives could win seven burgh seats at the 1835 election and six in 1837; while in the later surveys his forecasts ranged from eight in 1838 to five in 1840. In fact the Conservatives obtained only one of the twenty-three seats at each of the elections in 1832, 1835 and 1837, and two in 1841. Nevertheless Horne's predictions in December 1840 were not wildly inaccurate or over-optimistic: of the five

County elections 1832-41

	<i>Whigs</i>	<i>(unopposed)</i>	<i>Conservatives</i>	<i>(unopposed)</i>
1832	22	9	8	3
1835	16	5	14	8
1837	12	4	18	7
1841	10	6	20	16

districts of burghs in which he expected the Conservatives to be successful, the Falkirk and Haddington districts were gained, Kilmarnock burghs (won in 1837) were lost by just eleven votes, and the Elgin burghs by fourteen. It was only in the Wick burghs, where Horne seems consistently to have exaggerated the strength of the Conservatives, that there was a substantial majority against them.

Horne's predictions in the counties became increasingly accurate, especially by 1840 when so many of them had been secured by one party or the other. Of the thirty county seats he correctly forecast twenty-five results at the 1835 election (two of the others were counties gained by the Conservatives contrary to Horne's predictions); and twenty-six in 1837; while his assessments in December 1840 proved to be correct for twenty-eight of the counties at the 1841 election when the Conservatives won twenty seats and the Whigs ten. As Horne forecast the Conservatives gained Argyll, Dunbarton, Midlothian, Roxburgh and Stirling, and lost Caithness. But they also lost Renfrew and Wigtown, which Horne did not anti-

cipate, though he had suggested that there might be difficulties in each of these counties. Superficially the results were not a great improvement over 1837: the Conservatives made an overall gain of only two counties. But the significance of the 1841 election lay not in the number of seats gained but in the consolidation that had occurred. In 1837 when the Conservatives won eighteen counties they were unopposed in seven; of the twenty won in 1841 there was no opposition in sixteen, and this is the real measure of their recovery in the counties since 1832.

For long after 1841 Scottish county politics were affected by the events of the first decade after reform, in particular by the division of spoils that had occurred. There were twenty-four counties in which from some point in the period 1832-41 either the Whigs or the Conservatives established a hold that lasted for from twenty-four to over eighty years,¹ with the consequence that for at least the next twenty years even fewer counties were contested: only five in 1847 and 1852, four in 1857 and 1859, but with a revival in 1865 when there were nine. What the Buccleuch surveys illustrate is the culmination of the Conservatives' efforts to establish control of the Scottish counties. The 1841 election marked the highest point they achieved between 1832 and 1868; thereafter a slow disintegration of their position occurred, accelerating in the 1860s. By 1847 they had been divided by the Corn Law crisis, though the significance of this should not be exaggerated as most of the Scottish Peelites remained moderate Conservatives: in 1851 Sir George Clerk was still a member of the Conservative committee in Midlothian and the Duke of Buccleuch remained an undoubted Conservative.² It was from the general

¹ The Whigs held Banff, Caithness, Clackmannan and Kinross, Fife, Forfar, Orkney and Shetland, and Sutherland for from 45 to over 80 years, Kirkcudbright for 36 and Wigtown for 27. The Conservatives (including a small group of Liberal-Conservatives) held Dunbarton, Dumfries, Elgin and Nairn, East Lothian, Inverness, Peebles and Selkirk (combined from 1868) for from 42 to over 50 years. They also held a second group for from 24 to 33 years: Berwick, Bute, Kincardine, Linlithgow, Midlothian, Stirling, Lanark and Perth, but by the conclusion of the general election in 1868 they had all been lost (if temporarily in some cases) to Whig-Liberals. Roxburgh and Ross and Cromarty were gained by the Whigs in 1847, Argyll in 1854, Aberdeen and Lanark in 1857. The two counties which fluctuated most in political allegiance were Ayr and Renfrew. F. H. McCalmont, *The Parliamentary Poll Book* (7th edition London, 1910) *passim*.

² Of the seven Liberal-Conservative seats in 1847, four were held by Conservatives in 1865, two by Liberal-Conservatives, and only one by a Liberal.

election of 1857 that a distinct weakening of the Conservatives' position in the counties became apparent as the Whig-Liberals regained more of the ground lost during the 1830s, until by 1865 they held eighteen counties (fourteen without opposition) including eight that had been Conservative in 1841.

★

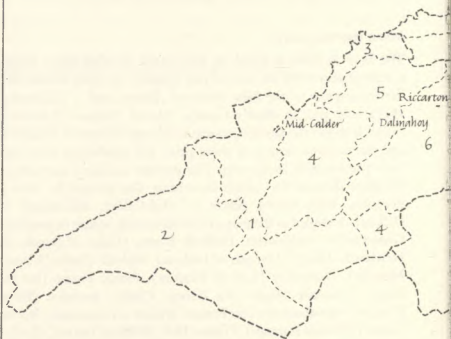
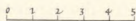
In presenting the Midlothian correspondence conventional superscriptions have been omitted as has miscellaneous and personal material irrelevant to the political theme. The original capitalisation, spelling and punctuation have generally been retained though excess commas have been removed, some apostrophes added, and occasional adjustments made to clarify the sense of a passage. Common abbreviations including ampersands have been extended, while less obvious extensions, editorial emendations and uncertain readings have been placed in square brackets. An attempt has been made to identify all individuals mentioned in the Midlothian papers except where they are sufficiently identified from the context, or where passing reference is made to a person so well known that further comment is unnecessary. In the election surveys, where it is not practicable to footnote all of the many individuals listed, additional information has been provided in the text in square brackets. Further biographical information on the many members of parliament referred to in the surveys can be obtained from general works of reference such as *Dod's Parliamentary Companion* (published annually from 1833), or Joseph Foster's *Members of Parliament, Scotland 1357-1882* (2nd edition privately published London, 1882). In many of the biographical footnotes no source is given because the entries have been compiled from such miscellaneous sources that citations would occupy an excessive amount of space (e.g. the note on Dr Renton on pp. 3-4). A great many reference works have been used, registers of electors, legal, clerical, medical, commercial and Post-Office directories. In addition to the familiar guides to the peerage, baronetage and landed gentry, the works consulted most frequently include: Sir Francis Grant, *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532-1943* (Scottish Record Society, 1944); *The History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's signet* (Edinburgh, 1890); *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*

(Edinburgh, 1845); F. H. Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (new edition London, 1894-95); J. Small, *Castles and Mansions of the Lothians* (Edinburgh, 1883); *The Dictionary of National Biography*; and F. Boase, *Modern English Biography* (first published 1897, reprinted 1955). Election results have been taken from F. H. McCalmont, *The Parliamentary Poll Book* (7th edition, London, 1910) as I have not usually had access to a copy of T. Wilkie, *The Representation of Scotland* (Paisley, 1895); in several instances a result as given in a contemporary newspaper has been preferred to McCalmont.

NOTE ON THE MAP

The map overleaf is based on two maps of Midlothian roughly contemporary with the text of this volume: the map which forms the frontispiece of the *New Statistical Account*, vol. i (Edinburgh, 1845), and that in *Black's County Atlas of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1848). It shows the parishes, towns and larger villages in Midlothian and the mansion houses of those peers and gentlemen who figure most prominently in the text. The parishes are listed according to the three districts into which the county was divided for electoral purposes, with voting places at Mid-Calder, Edinburgh and Dalkeith. Included in the map are the following houses of prominent Conservative landowners: Dalkeith House (Duke of Buccleuch), Newbattle Abbey (Marquis of Lothian), Melville Castle (Viscount Melville), Dalmahoy (Earl of Morton), Pinkie House (Sir John Hope), Penicuik House (Sir George Clerk), Arniston (Robert Dundas), Hawthornden (Sir Francis Walker-Drummond), Barnton House (William Ramsay), Preston Hall (William Burn-Callander), Edmonstone (John Wauchope), Whitehill (Robert Balfour Wardlaw-Ramsay), and Morton Hall (Richard Trotter); and on the Whig side Oxenford Castle (Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple), and Riccarton (Sir James Gibson-Craig).

MIDLOTHIAN



MID-CALDER DISTRICT

- 1 Mid-Calder
- 2 West Calder
- 3 Kirkliston
- 4 Kirknewton
- 5 Ratho
- 6 Currie

EDINBURGH DISTRICT

- 7 St Cuthberts
- 8 Canongate
- 9 South Leith

10 Duddingston

- 11 Liberton
- 12 Craigmond
- 13 Corstorphine
- 14 Colinton
- 15 Glencorse
- 16 Penicuik

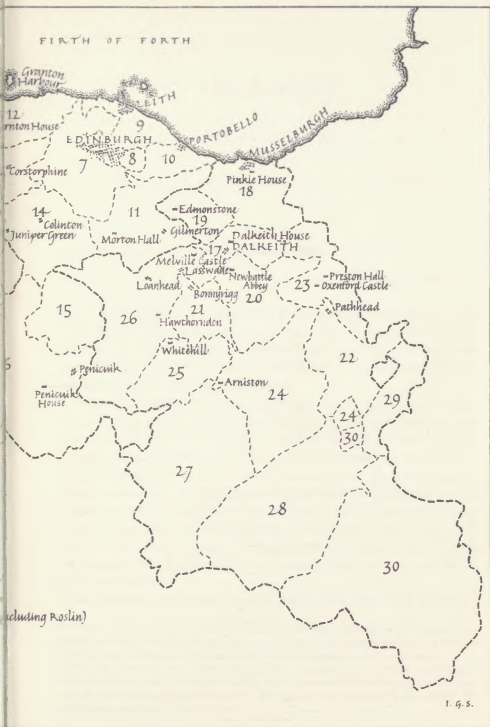
DALKEITH DISTRICT

- 17 Dalkeith
- 18 Inveresk
- 19 Newton

20 Newbattle

- 21 Cockpen
- 22 Crichton
- 23 Cranston
- 24 Borthwick
- 25 Carrington
- 26 Lasswade
- 27 Temple
- 28 Heriot
- 29 Fala
- 30 Stow

FIRTH OF FORTH



(including Roslin)

1832-1835

THE ELECTIONS

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE APPROACHING ELECTIONS¹

London, 22 June 1832

IN CARRYING INTO execution the Reform Bill it is necessary to act with strict reference to the provisions of the Bribery Bill,² lately presented to Parliament by Lord John Russell, and to avoid proceedings which may be considered precedents of an unconstitutional nature in conducting future Elections.

From the extent of the constituency in Counties, Cities and Burghs, it is not to be expected that Candidates of the highest character and respectability will offer themselves to the Electors on the doubtful issue of a Canvass that would involve expence and great uncertainty; it appears therefore to be absolutely necessary that the most respectable Persons composing the communities to which the right of voting is now extended should form Committees of individuals entertaining similar views and opinions regarding the Policy of the Country; and should make all the necessary arrangements for inviting such Persons to become thier Representatives as may appear most acceptable to the Constituency.

In Counties, Cities and Burghs requisitions should be addressed

¹ Above p. xvii. There are eight copies of this document among the Buccleuch MSS; none have been found in related collections. When it was written the Scottish Reform Bill had reached the end of the committee stage in the House of Commons.

² This bill introduced on 15 June 1832, PP 1831-32 (528) i, 577, defined the forms of electoral bribery and provided remedies, but in committee the defining clauses were struck out. In this attenuated form the Bill passed the Commons at the end of the session but was put off in the Lords.

to such Persons by the influential individuals composing these Committees.

The Committees should select a Chairman, and take the necessary measures to induce the voters to register thier votes.

In Counties each Gentleman of a Committee should immediately make himself acquainted with the sentiments of persons entitled to vote within the Parishes in which his Property is situated, and inform the chairman of the result of his Canvass.

A similar course should be adopted in Cities and Burghs, each person exerting his influence in the Parish District, or Ward of Police, in which it may be most efficient—Keeping a list of the Persons he has canvassed, and the specific answers he has received.

In the event of a Dissolution of Parliament, a central Committee should be formed in Counties, with some influential Country Gentleman to preside, who will receive the reports of each Member of the Committee who shall canvass the Parish or District in which he resides, and by a comparison of these reports an accurate idea may be formed by the Chairman of the probable success or failure of the Candidate.

In Burghs this system may be more easily and effectually adopted, as all the Voters are resident within, comparatively, a narrow compass. It is most desirable that the services of all persons should be Gratuitous, and that no Person in the situation of paid Law Agent of a Candidate should be a *Member of the Committee* for the purpose of conducting an Election.

It is very important that strict attention should be paid to this proposition, not only with a view to diminish the expences of Elections, and insure the return of Candidates whose principles render them worthy of support, but also to guard against any responsibility for the Acts of any individual Member of a Committee who may assist in conducting the Election.

If the whole arrangement of Elections be not conducted both with a view to save the Candidate against all unnecessary expences, and the Electors against temptation to become corrupt, it is Manifest that it will be impossible to find fit Persons connected with Scotland who will risk thier fortunes and character in the contests which will of necessity ensue under the present Bill.

Buccleuch Box 582: Election Memoranda

Sir Thomas Dick Lauder to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple¹

The Grange House, Edinburgh, 27 December 1832

I have this moment read Sir George Clerk's address to the Freeholders in this day's Mercury. *You* should have had an address of *thanks* in it. Pray think of this—and have one in the next—and you may take a text or two from Clerk's which may give a zest to yours.

I see distinctly that all Clerk's exertions and those of his party will be turned towards the grand object of recovering the County. They have begun already and depend upon it that unless we exert ourselves they will ultimately succeed. I am of opinion that the political organisation of the county which we established should be kept up. Each member of the parish committees should be furnished with an interleaved list of the Freeholders—and we should have at least quarterly general meetings of the Committees. In this way we shall at all times be acquainted with the state of the County—and we may by degrees be gaining strength. I know after all the fatigue and bother you have undergone it must be a bore to you to talk to you of giving a dinner, but I *do think* that you should give a dinner at Oxenford and ask to it merely the chief members of your Parish Committees. I think they will look for something of this kind—and I think it would have a good effect in Keeping them together and in securing them to you.² In my humble opinion you should do this soon. Forgive my officiousness. I am to meet you at Dalkeith on Thursday. I wish to God they could have let these dinners alone.

Stair, 154, no. 86

Sir George Clerk to Dr John Renton³

Penicuik House, 1 February 1833

It is with great reluctance and after much deliberation that I have resolved to address you on a subject which is as painful to me as it can be to you.

¹ Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, 7th Bart. of Fountainhall, 1784-1848, author, secretary of the Board of Scottish Manufactures and later of the joint-board formed with the Herring Fishery Board, 1839-48. He was a colourful and humorous figure, prominent in Edinburgh Whig circles during the 1830s. *DNB*, xi, 639-40; *Crombie's Modern Athenians* (Edinburgh, 1882), 59-61. For Sir John Dalrymple see above p. x n. 2.

² Dalrymple does not appear to have adopted either of Lauder's suggestions.

³ Dr John Renton, 1796-1865, *LRCs* Edinburgh 1817, *MD* St Andrews 1839. He was

When I wrote to you in the month of July last to express my surprize and regret that your name should have appeared in the list of Stewards for a Dinner of the Electors of Midlothian who supported Sir John Dalrymple I stated to you that I had long been aware of your opinions on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and that if you should be entitled to a vote and gave it in favour of Sir John Dalrymple that circumstance would not have made any difference in my conduct towards you but that I hoped you would not unnecessarily take an active part against me.

From the tenor of your letters to me of the 13th and 16th of July¹ I was led to believe that however decided your opinions might be with respect to the policy of the Reform Bill it was not your intention to interfere in the Politics of this County, and as it afterwards appeared that you were not enrolled as an Elector I thought that you would have been glad that you were not called on to express any opinion on the subject and that you would have remained quite neutral.

It was therefore with great regret that I learned that throughout the whole of the contest in which I was lately engaged you had on every occasion used all the means in your power to persuade many of my neighbours here to vote against me and that it is to your address and unwearied exertions that the friends of Sir John Dalrymple attribute whatever success they had in the Parish of Penicuik.

Under these circumstances, I feel that it is impossible that we can meet on those terms of cordiality and mutual confidence on which I should desire at all times to be with the medical attendant on my family, and I must therefore in future employ the services of some other medical gentleman.

As it will be necessary for me to resume possession of the house now occupied by you to enable me to provide a suitable residence

the third surviving son of Dr Robert Renton of Penicuik, died 1824, five of whose sons became doctors. Dr Renton remained in Penicuik for some years after 1833; his political services were recognised by the local Reformers in 1835, see *Report of the Speeches Delivered at The Public Dinner Given at Pennycuik to John Renton, Esq., Surgeon, May 8, 1835* (Edinburgh, 1835). He practised as a 'physician accoucheur' in Edinburgh c. 1840-49 and in Leith c. 1850-61. From 1846 to 1849 he was a member of the Edinburgh town council.

¹ These letters are not among the Clerk MSS.

for the Gentleman who may be your successor I take this opportunity of acquainting you accordingly that you may have time to provide yourself with another house at Whitsunday next.

I regret extremely that I should be deprived of the benefit of your Talents and Medical Skill in which I had great confidence, and that the connection, which has so long subsisted between your Father and yourself and my Family should thus terminate, but after the fullest consideration I have felt that I had no alternative.

[Copy] Clerk, 3339

William Gibson-Craig¹ to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

undated [12 February 1833]²

. . . In the county all our matters are going on smoothly, and the enemy giving us cards to play which shall not be thrown away. Sir George has written a most extraordinary letter to Renton, turning him out of his house and informing him he means to put another medical man into it. I have written Renton's answer for him which I think you will approve of. I expect to have copies of both letters tomorrow and will forward them to you. Sir George must answer Renton's last, and we have most valuable material for a reply, which we thought better to retain for it. Of course the whole must be published. . . .³

[PS] . . . Mrs Gibsone⁴ has very harshly and cruelly sequestered her tenant, Law,⁵ Sir George's most active friend. Law however has been constantly with me, and knows that my father and I have done everything possible to prevent it, for which he is very grateful. The Tories therefore cannot make any use of it against us, but on the contrary we have fettered the most clever, active, useful man Sir George had.

[Extract] Stair, Box 114: 1833 letters

¹ See above p. xxiii, n. 1.

² Undated letters have where possible been dated from internal evidence or postmarks.

³ Clerk's letter and Renton's reply dated 12 Feb. were published in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 Feb. 1833. There followed some exchanges between the Tory *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 26 Feb. and 1 Mar. and the *Mercury*, 2, 7, 9 Mar.; some ripples even reached London where the incident was reported in the *Examiner* and the *Spectator*.

⁴ Mrs Helen Gibsone of Pentland, died 1843; see above p. xxi.

⁵ George Law, farmer, tenant of Morton and Morton Mains in Liberton parish.

Memorandum for the private consideration of those principally concerned in maintaining the Conservative Interest in the County of Midlothian.

March 1833

Although Sir George Clerk was unsuccessful in the late contest for the County—the first since the formation of a new constituency—there is good reason for hoping that the same result would not follow another contest.

Considering the state of the times—the excitement in the public mind at the time the Election took place—and the intimidation exercised over the voters and the consequent breaking of pledges—it is perhaps surprising that the majority was not greater than it was.¹ It is not likely that all these causes will operate again—or at least to the same extent—at another Election; and as it is almost certain that a considerable number who voted for Sir John Dalrymple at the late Election against their private feelings—(some because he was first in the field, but most because they considered themselves bound to give their first vote to the party who got them the franchise)—will on the next occasion support Sir George Clerk. It is quite well known that many now regret the course they followed; and there were also several of Sir George's friends who were frightened to come forward at that time, who will probably give their votes in different circumstances.

For these reasons, and considering that there was nothing very formidable in the majority by which the Election was carried, there does not appear to be any cause for despondency in regard to the state of the County.

But it appears to be absolutely necessary, in order to ensure success, that means be taken in the meantime, not only for keeping up the interest of the party, but also for strengthening and extending it; the more so as it may be said that the two Parties are nearly equally balanced, and that almost the whole landed interest, which must in the end have its legitimate influence, and so turn the balance, is on the Conservative side.

With this view it is suggested that those principally concerned in keeping up the interest of the Party in this county should immediately come to some understanding in regard to the future, and give some

¹ Sir John Dalrymple had a majority of sixty-five.

authority and directions for their interests being attended to at the next and subsequent Registration of voters. Many claims of friends, which were rejected at last Registration, may be rectified; and many more may be brought forward—but none of this will be done if left to the parties themselves.

The acquisition of property, and the introduction of a friendly and respectable Class of Voters, is another very important object which should always be kept in view, and acted upon when occasion may offer.

This plan has already been acted upon to a certain extent, and some considerable purchases have been made and friends found, who have been willing and ready to take them, and who will be enrolled next August. But in these cases purchasers had been previously found who were willing to take Qualifications. There are various properties affording votes, which could be bought just now (almost all belonging to Voters of Sir John Dalrymple) but they cannot be purchased until some persons are found ready to be the purchasers. And, while matters continue on this footing, the Case cannot be otherwise, and thus frequent opportunities of purchasing properties (which are from [time] to time coming into the market) will be lost, and possibly the property may be bought by the opposite party.

It appears evident that there is no way in which the landed proprietors can so surely, or so legitimately and fairly maintain their influence in the county as by purchasing Ten Pound properties in the villages, *and so getting them out of the hands of a class of men who cannot be depended upon at any time.*

Whenever a desirable purchaser can be found, a sufficient qualification can be given to him; but if the property is not sold, or given in liferent, it is almost certain to let, and in general a very good return can be got for the purchase money.

It may here be stated that in the Town of Dalkeith alone 16 votes have been made, since the Election, by purchases in favour of friends who will be enrolled next August, and many more can be so made though not now in time for the first Registration. The price of the Qualification to each gentleman is generally from £210 to £230 for the best purchases, and properties affording only one qualification may be had for £150. All these yield rents equal to from Six to Seven and a half per Cent of the purchase money.

It is manifest that very little can or will be done in this way by the opposite party, compared with what may be done by the Conservative Party, and there can be no doubt that if this course is steadily and quickly pursued that the Conservative Interest will ere long be so materially strengthened in this county as to ensure the return of a member in that Interest.

Another matter connected with the purchase of property, and the making of votes, which requires to be provided for, is the expence attending the same.

It will often happen that, although friends are found ready to purchase, it may not be prudent to put them to the expence of the purchase—and also that in some cases the seller must be relieved of any expence. Although this is a secondary consideration yet it should be kept in view as it will often afford considerable facility in arranging such transactions.

There are also many other modes of making votes, but it is not necessary to enter into particulars here. All that is now submitted is that some plan should be agreed upon and put in operation for having the interests of the Party properly looked after and kept up. For, unless this is done, all the trouble and expence of the late contest will have been thrown away, and it will be in vain to attempt another. Whereas if proper means are now taken there is every prospect of the interest of the Party being again firmly established, and predominant, in this County, notwithstanding of the Reform Bill.

[Donald Horne Esq., ws]¹

Melville Papers, NLS, MS 2, fos. 175-78

William Gibson-Craig to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

undated [28 May 1833]

I have just returned from Pennycuik where I have been prevented going sooner by the General Assembly, in which for the last 10 days we have had a specimen of what you must be enduring in Parliament—the annoyance of interminable speeches. I saw both Renton and Cowan,² and was glad I went out as they were both nearly com-

¹ Horne is named on the back of the final sheet; see above pp. lvi-vii.

² Probably Charles Cowan, 1801-89, papermaker, MP Edinburgh 1847-59; according to the Penicuik parish register he was a witness at the baptism of two of Renton's children.

mitted to Piper,¹ who you will recollect would not vote. Paterson had only applied to them last night, and I immediately decided in his favour, and got them both quite satisfied that he was entitled to the preference. He is the Ironfounder whom Cadell attempted to bully, to whom he wrote the extraordinary letter which was published,² and who stood perfectly steady and determined in spite of threats from all quarters, and at the loss of Cadell's employment. There was no more meritorious man in Pennycuik, and to pass him over on the speculation of getting a shuffling fellow's vote on another occasion would have been too bad. Patterson wishes the situation for his wife, who is quite fit to manage it, and that has also the advantage of not disqualifying him from voting which being Post Master would.³ The application should therefore be for: Susanne Dryden, or Paterson, wife of Mr Andrew Paterson, Ironfounder, Pennycuik. They are most respectable people and will find perfect security.

Renton has just been turned out of his house, and could get nothing but a wretched place where John Lawson⁴ lived. There are only two small rooms and a kitchen, in fact a mere cot house, with his wife about to be confined, and everything in the greatest discomfort. He is however in the greatest spirits and bearing it admirably. The whole village and neighbourhood have been vying with one another in shewing him Kindness. The people have been working for the last 8 days for him removing his furniture, (which is scattered thro' 13 different houses) and would receive no payment. He is about buying $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre of land in the village, and the farmers have offered to drive the whole carriages for the house he intends building, stones, wood, slates, from whatever distance free of expence, while Carstairs⁵

¹ John Piper, draper, Penicuik.

² Philip Cadell, 1782-1854, was proprietor of the Cramond Iron and Steel Work and of the Auchindinny Paper Mills in Penicuik. In a letter dated 26 Sept. 1832 he urged Paterson, 'when the interest of the Penicuik Foundry is so much at stake', to promise either to vote for Clerk, or to remain neutral. This letter was published in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 29 Sept. under the heading, 'The Creatures at Their Dirty Work Again!!!', and reprinted as a broadside with the same title.

³ Until 1868 postmasters were disqualified from voting under Crewe's Act of 1782, 22 Geo. III, c. 41. However it was Andrew Paterson and not his wife who was appointed; Pigot, *National Commercial Directory* (1837), 159.

⁴ John Lawson, 1778-1849, a local character in Penicuik and an ardent Liberal; Charles Cowan, *Reminiscences* (Edinburgh, 1878), 77-85.

⁵ John Carstairs of Springfield; Cowan, *Reminiscences*, 86-88.

is opening a quarry in order to give him the stones. All this gratifies him extremely but I am very sorry for his wife who appears to feel the excessive inconvenience she is put to, and being very delicate is not well fitted to struggle against it.

His successor is a Mr Cunningham, the brother of the man who married one of the Ramsays of Barnton.¹ Renton knows nothing about him. Sir George does not appear to be playing his cards well. He will not speak to any man who voted against him, has not paid any attention to many of his supporters, and they say is forgetting his promises to them. Irving² seems also to be carrying on a petty persecution which must be very injudicious.

Stair, Box 114: 1833 letters

Sir George Clerk to John Irving

Penicuik House, 28 June 1833

I see a House advertised for Sale in the Village of Penicuik belonging to a Brother of the late Alexander Thomson, Mason. It is situated at the corner of the old Mill Road. The Houses are in bad order and at present let to Lodgers who are no improvement to the Neighbourhood. The Rent is £9 but might easily be made £10 if the House were put in order.³ I have made Thomson enquiries about it. I believe the property may be purchased cheap, and it is now necessary to look after all these House Properties.

Clerk, 1719/20

Robert Dundas of Arniston⁴ to Sir George Clerk

Private

Edinburgh, 4 December [1834]

In the absence of Sir John Hope⁵ I think I ought to *write* to you

¹ Alexander Cuninghame of Balgownie House, Culross, died 1851, who may have been the Alexander Cuninghame who graduated MD at Edinburgh in 1827. In 1834 he succeeded to Balgownie on the death of his brother James who in 1818 had married William Ramsay of Barnton's sister Anne. There is no evidence in the Clerk MSS of his having been the family's physician.

² John Irving, WS, 1770-1850, Sir George Clerk's uncle and lawyer.

³ It would then be of sufficient value to provide a vote.

⁴ See above pp. xvi, xxxi.

⁵ The chairman of the Conservative committee; see above pp. xxix-xxxi.

what was agreed upon at the last meeting at Mr Borthwick's¹ regarding the expences of the last and of the ensuing election for Midlothian.² With regard to the last it was the opinion of those present that it would not *now* do to raise a sum sufficient to discharge former arrears and from the same sources to call for means to defray our expected expences. We therefore thought it best to leave to you to pay what is now due while we took upon ourselves to the utmost of our power the whole of the expences of the coming contest. You must feel that it is impossible for any small committee (and from the nature of the subject it must be small) absolutely to guarantee the expences whatever they may be. All we can do is to exert ourselves to the utmost and from what has been already done I have myself no doubt that these exertions will be sufficient. To know better what we are about I have requested James Hope³ to let me know what he has reason to believe will be the utmost expence likely to be incurred. If it does not exceed 12 or 1,400 we shall I think manage it. In the event (and a probable one it is) that more is subscribed than is required we were of opinion that such residue should be applied to increasing the strength of the Conservative party in Midlothian and arrangements can hereafter be easily made for this purpose. From what passed between you and me in Athole Crescent⁴ I told the gentlemen present that I believed that all this would meet with your consent.

Clerk, 3374

Dr John Renton to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

Penicuik, 11 Dec. 1834

Sir James Craig⁵ having mentioned to me that it is your intention (in consequence of the state of your health) in the event of a dis-

¹ John Borthwick of Crookston, 1787-1845, advocate; his first marriage (1819-32) was to Anne, sister of Robert Dundas of Arniston.

² Lord Melbourne's Whig government had been dismissed on 14 November; a Conservative administration was being formed, and a general election was to be held early in the new year.

³ The Conservative agent; see above pp. xlviii-li.

⁴ Dundas's mother, the Hon. Elizabeth Dundas, 1766-1852, eldest daughter of Henry, 1st Viscount Melville, lived at 8 Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh. Donald Horne lived at number 10.

⁵ See above, p. x, n. 1.

solution of Parliament, not to offer yourself again as a Candidate for the representation of the County, I have taken the liberty to write to you, believing that altho' you retire as the member the success of the liberal Candidate (who I hope will be your successor) is an object you will do everything in your power to promote. Mr Craig being unfortunately at present in Ireland¹ our exertions in his behalf require to be redoubled, and these are the more necessary that Sir George Clerk has been *secretly* and most actively engaged in forming committees to secure his election. I have no doubt, *so soon as Mr Craig openly comes forward, or a dissolution takes place*, that Sir G[eorge] C[lerk]'s agents at a day's notice will be dispatched thro' all the parishes in Midlothian to *canvass for him*. In the mean time I think our Committees should be *secretly* arranged ready for work, Cowan, Carstairs and I have gone *secretly* thro' our own Parish, and secured it against any sudden attack from the enemy. The same thing should be *quietly* done in *every* Parish. I have therefore taken the liberty to suggest that your part of the County be looked after, especially as there are so many powerful opponents (in Dundas, Mitchelson, and your next neighbour Captain Burn etc.²) to [contend?] against. Stowe Parish in particular should be looked after. I have sent Sir James Craig a list of all Voters here (who reside in Edinburgh) mentioning those individuals who have influence with them. For this reason I beg to mention to you that I think it would be advisable in you to write to the Clappertons, Clothiers Edinburgh, asking them to speak or write to their friend George Clapperton, Farmer Auchindinny Mains, Parish of Lasswade, who is and always has been under great obligations to them, and who was lost last time by being pledged by Inglis³ before he was spoken to by the Clappertons. He could at least be made not to vote against. A letter from Lord Dalmeny to Mr Hay Auchindinny (now residing at 15 Shandwicke Place, Edinburgh) would neutralise Hay at least. He has always had leave for shooting from Lord Roseberry (a favor Sir George Clerk never granted) and I have reason to believe an application from that quarter would not be refused by Hay.

¹ William Gibson-Craig was a member of the commission set up in May 1834 to enquire into the revenues and property of the Church of Ireland.

² Robert Dundas of Arniston; Archibald Mitchelson of Middleton; William Burn-Callander of Preston Hall, see above p. xxxiii.

³ John Inglis of Auchindinny and Redhall, 1783-1847, see above p. xxxiii.

I would take the liberty to suggest that a letter from you to my friend Mr Haig Easter Bush (by Roslin) would be useful.¹ People in his rank are *purse proud* and like a little attention. He will vote the right way, but he might be made to interest himself in Glencorse Parish in our behalf with the Tenants there, were you to thank him for the *offer* he made last time of his vote, and stating that as you would retire in the event of a dissolution that you write to him *privately to keep on the watch* as the *Tories were secretly combining against us*. He is an honorable man, and you can say any thing in confidence.

I hope you will excuse this long letter. It is for the good of the cause.

ps Thomas Abernethy Howgate, Parish Penicuik, has two Brothers who got lately a Farm from Lord Roseberry on very favorable terms, a letter from Lord Dalmeny would make him vote the right way.

Stair, Box 113 : 1834 letters

William Gibson-Craig to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

Edinburgh, 16 December 1834

I came home last night. I have been obliged to come forward for the County to prevent it being walked over for and that our friends might not accuse us of deserting them.² I am afraid it is too late, although they tell me not. I hope you will come to assist me.

Stair, Box 114 : Letters 1822-1839

Robert Scott-Moncrieff³ to the Duke of Buccleuch

Dalkeith, 17 December 1834

I am sorry to say that the anticipations I expressed last night of our being saved in this County from the turmoil of a contested election are not likely to be realized. On my return from Edinburgh this morning I learnt that Sir Thomas Lauder had come out last night (it was said in a chaise and four at half past 12, but this I believe now

¹ He was almost certainly related to Renton's wife, Charlotte Mary Haig of Glencorse parish.

² There are several letters among the Stair MSS which indicate how unwilling Gibson-Craig was to stand; see in particular letters of J. A. Murray to Dalrymple, Dec. 1834, SRO, GDI35/110.

³ Robert Scott-Moncrieff, 1793-1869, advocate, the Duke's chamberlain at Dalkeith.

has been added to the real story by way of ornament) and that he had announced that William Gibson Craig was to take the field, or as other accounts say that he came to try what could be done in getting up a requisition with the promise that, if it were respectably signed, he would take the field. However this may be it is certain they have been actively engaged in canvassing today, and are boasting that they find all their old friends here standing firm except two. As soon as I arrived and found what had been doing I dispatched a notice of it to Mr James Hope Edinburgh, whom I had left a few hours before, and also to Sir John Hope, Mr [Burn] Callander, Mr R. Dundas, Mr Bertram¹ etc. We shall probably have some warm work in the market tomorrow, but if I mistake not it will end in putting an extinguisher on Gibson Craig's expectations. As to this parish which gave Sir John [Dalrymple] at last election a majority of eleven, I think Sir George may now count with confidence on a majority of nine or ten, making a difference of 20 between this and last election and I understand the reaction in other parishes has been much more decided than here, where Whiggery or rather Radicalism has been more concentrated and kept alive by incessant meetings and communications with Edinburgh and Oxenford.²

Buccleuch, Box 517: Moncrieff letters 1833-36

John Brown³ to Sir George Clerk

Esk Mills, 23 December 1834

What the opinion of so humble an individual as I am may be on political considerations is I am sensible a matter of trivial importance – yet, since you did me the unexpected honour of personally soliciting my suffrage this Evening, I trust it will not be deemed intrusive on my part briefly to state the reasons by which I was influenced in withholding it.

I did so with reluctance; it proceeded from no wish to oppose you or your party, nor to promote the interest of another; for I

¹ Not positively identified; a Mr Bertram of Ratho was reported as the seconder of Sir George Clerk's nomination in Dec. 1832, but he is not listed in the register of electors; *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 20 Dec. 1832.

² Oxenford Castle was Sir John Dalrymple's residence in Cranston parish four miles from Dalkeith.

³ John Brown, a paper manufacturer, was a friend of Dr Renton.

belong to none; but would wish to regard all men with feelings of benevolence.

In accordance with this feeling it is my sincere desire to aid with my feeble efforts every design which has for its object the amelioration of all classes of society.

It is in the proper economy of Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce, and in the general diffusion of Education, that the moral and physical happiness of this great nation depends. And it is those who are engaged in their prosecution who from experience are most competent to advise what legislative measures are most conducive to their prosperity. But unfortunately for the national interests those parties had no voice until the passing of the 'Reform Bill'. That healing measure supplied this very serious defect in our Constitution, and those who advocated it are entitled to the approbation and gratitude of all classes of society. Had you, Sir George, been amongst its supporters you should have commanded not my vote only but that of many others who with pride and pleasure would have hailed you as their honourable Representative. You declared however in Parliament that I ought not to possess the elective franchise, and yet request me to exercise it on your behalf to the prejudice of those who aided me in obtaining it. Figure yourself in my situation. How would you have acted?

Forgive my trespassing so much upon your attention. Far be it from my wish to offend you, but to vindicate myself; and I have only to add that should you be returned to Parliament that it will be your earnest endeavour to second with your acknowledged ability the wish expressed by our gracious Sovereign to 'reform all abuses' and so promote the true glory and prosperity of all our National institutions.

Clerk, 3350

Robert Ferguson of Raith¹ to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

Private

Biel, 26 December 1834

... I can assure you My Dear Sir John, I should most anxiously promote his [William Gibson-Craig's] success if in my power. But I

¹ Robert Ferguson of Raith, 1768-1840, MP Fife 1806-7, Kirkcaldy burghs 1831-34, 837-40, East Lothian 1835-37.

tell you the truth, situated as I am, the purchasing of Property, even to the extent you name, is quite out of my power. It could serve no rational object on this occasion, for the contest cannot go to one vote, and in other respects it would be rather an awkward transaction.

If the County cannot defend its independence with the means it has, the attempt to do so by parceling out future votes is not worth the thinking of—the enemy if victorious will beat us out and out at that game. . . .

[Extract] Stair, Box 111: Robert Ferguson

James Brownlee¹ to Sir George Clerk

Cousland Park [Cranston], 30 December 1834

If you have not heard I beg to mention that I left the Bar in consequence of having lost the business I had through ill health. And I purchased the Lease of this place in order that I might occupy my time in Agricultural Pursuits to which I was brought up in my early youth. But I find that in these times I am losing more money in my Farming pursuits than I can well afford to lose. What I am anxious to procure therefore is the situation of a Sheriff-Substitute, or of Factor to a Nobleman or Gentleman, or any situation for which I am fit worth from £200 to £300 per annum. I have no doubt that you could easily procure me one or other of these situations if you thought I had claims on you for such a favour. Without urging the matter I have only to say such a favour could not be done to one more needful, or that would be more grateful.

Mr Archibald Alison² has just been appointed Sheriff Depute of Glasgow; and I have no doubt that he will find cause to change some of his Substitutes who are ill qualified or not well liked. A word from you or the present Lord Advocate³ would in that case put me in the situation. . . .

PS. My sons are capable of managing the Farm, who will both next year be put on the Roll of Voters.

Clerk, 3349

¹ James Brownlee, d. 1851, advocate 1812; he was a tenant of Sir John Dalrymple; see below pp. 114–15, 117.

² Archibald Alison, 1792–1867, advocate and author, sheriff of Lanarkshire 1834–67, baronet 1852.

³ Sir William Rae, Bart., 1769–1842, MP, Lord Advocate 1819–30, 1834–35 and 1841–42.

Alexander Young¹ to Sir George Clerk

Harburn, [West Calder], 30 December 1834

I very much regret that I was in Edinburgh when you favoured me with a call the other day; for although it would not have been in my power to have pledged myself to vote for you at the ensuing election Contest for the County of Edinburgh, I should have been happy to have given you an assurance of that respect and esteem which I have ever had for you since we first met as members of the *amateur* concert.² And I should likewise have taken occasion to mention that during two of the parliaments when you were member for this county and I had the pleasure of voting for You, your conduct gave me entire satisfaction, more particularly your vote for Catholic Emancipation, which I thought did you great credit, and promised well for the future.

But I do not recollect to have ever had the pleasure of discussing any political subject with you; and since last election I have been only twice in company with you, first at a meeting of the Game association for this County, and secondly an accidental *rencontre* on the street, at which I remember, after shaking hands with you, I told you I was a Conservative as well as Yourself, for I had just then signed a remonstrance against the proposed reduction of the Clergy for the city of Edinburgh, and other attacks on the established Church of Scotland, which I mean to assist defend as far as lies in my power, and I hope you will do the same. It is probable however that we may differ on other Conservative matters; but be that as it may, I two years ago signified to Mr William Gibson Craig that whenever he became a Candidate for the County of Edinburgh, he might depend upon my Vote. It is not however my purpose to canvass for him or any other. I have not spoken on the subject to any of my tenants or any other persons in the parishes of Mid and West Calder, within which my property lies. They all know however that they are heartily welcome to chose for themselves, and will give me no offence by voting differently from their landlord and friend; neither is it my purpose to attend any Political meetings, or take a more

¹ Alexander Young, *WS*, 1759-1842.

² It is not clear to which of the Edinburgh musical societies Young is referring; a St Cecilia Music Society was active in 1823, M. Lochhead, *John Gibson Lockhart* (London, 1954), 90.

active concern in the business than is consistent with my present infirm state of health.

Clerk, 3350

James Thomson to Sir George Clerk

Loanhead, 3 January 1835

Having formerly applied [for] and obtained the situation of Manager of your Colliery here, and this being near the time when another might be appointed, if such were in contemplation, I beg therefore most respectfully to state that I shall feel great pleasure in being reappointed. Mr Irving I believe had no fault to find with me as to the Management of the Colliery, but owing partly to misrepresentation of my conduct, and perhaps owing to the active part I took in politics, another was appointed in my place.¹ Should you now be pleased to reappoint me, you shall have no cause to find fault with me in reference to politics, as I feel quite at liberty (along with others) either to vote for your opponent, or remain neutral. According to your circular which I received I was in expectation of your calling, and therefore delayed in making this application.

Clerk, 3355

William Murray of Henderland² to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

Sunday night [4 January 1835]

I have just returned from dining at Riccarton,³ where Ivory was one of the party, and he is anxious to purchase the vote at Pathead. I don't well know how to describe it, except that I believe it is a house, which the present proprietor will take on a lease of £22 rent per annum, and which will consequently make two votes. You may therefore assure the proprietor that you have got a customer for him, who is ready to take it immediately and you had better clinch the bargain.⁴

Stair, Box 109: W. Murray

¹ The papers and accounts for the Loanhead mine indicate that Thomson was manager in May 1832 and suggest that he was replaced in Sept., SRO, GD18/1719/21.

² See above p. xliii, n. 4.

³ Sir James Gibson-Craig's residence.

⁴ In 1835 James Ivory, 1792-1866, advocate, and his brother William Ivory, w.s, c.1798-1868, were enrolled as joint-proprietors of the premises occupied by William Miller in Pathhead, *Register (Dalketh)* 1836, 46.

John Harvey¹ to Sir George Clerk

Leith, 23 February 1835

The news of Saturday have annoyed myself and your many friends here most sadly.² I hope however that it will not ultimately affect the Ministry—that they will Keep to the Country, which in the present crisis stands so much in need of them, and that the disgraceful coalition which has unseated Sir C[harles] M[anners] Sutton will ere long not only see the folly of such aid as that of O'Connell, but that this last person will be made to feel the Vengeance of that Law which he has so often violated, and that they will join heart and *hand* if necessary in the protection of the prerogatives of the King and those sacred institutions of the Country which are its surest bulwark.

Actuated by these feelings, actuated also by a sincere regard for the institutions of the Country, and an ardent desire to further the views of Sir Robert Peel's administration, I again presume to address you—not on the matters of the Country generally, but on the localities of the County and Town of Leith, on the supposition that another Election will take place, altho I trust at a very distant period. 1st. From having been actively engaged in political contests ever since the Reform Bill came into operation, and from having been a good deal engaged in Sir George Murray's last Spring Election,³ I have observed that a little attention paid to the smaller class of voters invariably meets its own reward. It flatters them and besides it tends to command that respect at their hands which is due to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Country. By this sort of attention Mr Murray⁴ has gained a footing in Leith, and by dispensing a share of his

¹ John Harvey, solicitor, Conservative agent in Leith from April 1834; had previously worked for the Whigs, William Murray to Sir John Dalrymple, 11 May 1834, SRO, GD135/109. He was for a time clerk to the Leith Police Commission till the Whigs had him replaced; in 1842 was chairman of the Leith Conservative Association; see correspondence April 1842, SRO, GD18/3505.

² He refers to the election on 19 Feb. of James Abercromby, 1776-1858, Whig MP Edinburgh 1832-39, as Speaker of the House of Commons; with the aid of the Irish Radicals led by Daniel O'Connell he defeated Sir Charles Manners Sutton, Speaker since 1817, by ten votes.

³ General Sir George Murray, 1772-1846, MP Perthshire 1824-32, regained the seat for the Conservatives in May 1834.

⁴ John Archibald Murray, 1779-1859, advocate, MP Leith burghs 1832-39, Lord Advocate 1834 and 1835-39; in 1839 he was knighted and made a judge. He was the younger brother of William Murray of Henderland. DNB, xiii, 1293-4.

Patronage it will be difficult to undeceive the people, altho' if strictly examined he has in reality done nothing to promote the real interests of the Town. . . .

2nd. Your urbanity towards the Voters, and your frankness towards the poorer classes of them has gained you many friends in the County. This however still requires to be Kept up, not only by yourself, but by your friends, and in Consequence I think it would be of great use were you to write to the Landed Gentlemen by no means to lose sight of this. It is easily done, and as matters now stand it should not be neglected. Besides, I would earnestly urge the propriety of your dispensing your patronage as liberally as possible. You will recollect of my speaking to you on this subject, and particularly about a Son of [Henry] Cribbes the gardener at Restalrig. Cribbes was one of your opponents formerly, and as the situation he asks in the Customs or Excise here, or elsewhere, was a very humble one, it will afford me great pleasure to have it in my power to state to him that you have Complied with his request. It will not only rivet him to you in all time to come, but I feel convinced it will be the sure means of Carrying over not only Porterfield, but Carstairs as well as old Hunter,¹ and a number of others in the same grade of Society. In addition to his vote, Cribbes also Canvassed with me, and he is the Brother-in-law of a person, a builder in Bonnyrigg, (I forget his name) who was very useful.

3rd. You will recollect of my getting over Mr James Anderson Solicitor who resides at Ferney-side in the Parish of Libberton. Having been disappointed in his prospects in the legal profession, he now follows that of an Auctioneer and Land Surveyor or Measurer, and I promised that I should do every thing in my power to further his views in this respect. I also lately told him I would write you requesting you would interest yourself with the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the County in his behalf. He is a very deserving person with a Wife and large family. In particular could you speak to Mr Miller of Craigentenny²—[James] Newlands the Postmaster at Portobello,

¹ Three electors of Restalrig in South Leith parish; Alexander Spence Porterfield, James Carstairs (both gardeners) and Peter Hunter, *Register* 1832, 6-7.

² William Henry Miller of Craigentenny, 1789-1848, MP Newcastle-under-Lyme 1830-41. There is an account of this strange and eccentric man in W. P. Anderson, *Silences That Speak* (Edinburgh, 1931), 502-3.

a most bitter Enemy to you, and all along to Mr Aitchison,¹ has hitherto been employed by Mr Miller's Steward Douglas, a very anxious friend, and who, if Mr Miller but said the Word, would most readily employ Mr Anderson to Measure and roup his meadow Land. Mr George Wauchope,² on my mentioning how Mr Anderson had acted, and how he had been persecuted by the other party since, most readily gave orders that Newlands' further services as an auctioneer or Land measurer should for the future be dispensed with on the Estate of Niddrie.

4. I have to entreat you to keep Mr Oliphant of the Magdalen Bridge Foundry in recollection in the way of his business. He was most zealous. In fact with him I would have no fear of Carrying every £10 voter in the Parishes of So[uth] Leith, Duddingston and Inveresk. In a word he is just the Kind of man that should be attended to. He has a very small share of the business of Sir John Hope but none of the Marquis of Lothian,³ the Duke [of Buccleuch] or Mr Dundas of Arniston, while *Mushet*⁴ of Dalkeith a person who did not vote at all on the pretence that Sir James Craig was his Agent has the whole. I hope therefore you will Keep this in mind and get at least a *fair* share of the business of the Duke, the Marquis and Mr Dundas of Arniston. [James] Broadfoot of Woolmet [house carpenter] will now be off the Roll, but for him you will have Mr C[hables] C[ampbell] Stewart ws as Proprietor and Mr Oliphant and myself as Liferenters on the same property.

Finally, I regret we had so short a time to make purchases of property before the 31st of January⁵ because, if we had had about a month, I would have been Certain of at least 25 votes out of Leith. As it is you will have 8 additional in July, and by July 1836 you will have an additional twenty, for I have authority to look out for properties in all quarters. If Mr Guthrie Wright⁶ had been less

¹ William Aitchison of Drummole, 1784-1846, distiller; the first provost of Musselburgh after burgh reform 1833-36, and contested the Leith burghs in June 1834.

² He was a wine merchant in Leith, uncle of Andrew Wauchope, 1818-74, owner of the Niddrie estate. ³ See above p. xxix.

⁴ George Mushet, born 1781, ironfounder, a younger brother of David Mushet, 1772-1847, the distinguished metallurgist.

⁵ This was the time by which voting qualifications for the 1835 registration had to be prepared.

⁶ Thomas Guthrie Wright, ws, 1777-1849, auditor of the Court of Session 1806-49, factor for the Marquis of Abercorn; for the Marquis see above p. xxv, n. 1.

fastidious about the price of the feus at Jockslodge and Duddingston we might have had 5 or 6 votes there in July. His price however was extravagant which drove the people off. Should Lord Abercorn or the Marquis [of Lothian] not get a hint of this?

In Conclusion I trust you may not Consider me officious or intrusive in having thus addressed you. I do it from the best of motives and if it meets your approbation I shall be grateful.

[ps.] Mr Burn Murdoch bought Tynebank.¹

Clerk, 3365

Memorandum for the Private Consideration of those principally interested in maintaining the Conservative Interest in the County of Mid Lothian.²

Edinburgh, April 1835

In 1832 the Whig Candidate carried his Election in this County by a majority of 65. At the late general Election the Conservative Candidate was elected by a majority of 31, the constituency, although considerably changed, being the same in numbers as in 1832.³

Although this majority is small, it is perhaps greater than could have been expected in the short space of two years, considering that the opposite party had a majority more than double at the former Election; and therefore the prospects of the conservative party in the county cannot be said to be discouraging. But still the Parties are too equally balanced to make it safe to trust to so small a majority, and it appears to be absolutely necessary, in order to ensure success at another Election, that measures should be immediately taken for strengthening the Interest of the Conservative Party—especially as it is known that the opposite party have been making some exertions to create votes.

After giving every consideration to the state of the County, to the composition of the present constituency, and to that of the constituency which is likely to be in future, it is submitted that there is no way in which the Landed Proprietors can so surely, or so legitimately

¹ John Burn-Murdoch, 1793-1862, advocate, the younger brother of William Burn-Callander of Preston Hall, was enrolled in 1835 as proprietor of Tynebank in Crichton parish, *Register (Dalkeith)* 1836, 47.

² See introduction pp. xl-xli, and below pp. 184-90.

³ Sir George Clerk, 565; William Gibson-Craig, 534.

maintain their influence, and at the same time weaken that of the opposite Party, as by purchasing Ten pound Properties, and thereby getting them out of the hands of a class of men who can never be depended upon, and who should never, for their own sakes, have been entrusted with the Franchise.

In this county the Ten pounders do not, as in some Counties, constitute the majority of the Electors; but still their support is of the utmost consequence to either Party; and as in general they support the opposite side, it must be the object of the conservative Party to keep down the number of this Class of Voters. And they have much encouragement to do so at present, because, as they have a majority in the County, the extinction of a comparatively small number of the present Ten Pound qualifications would probably place the County out of the power of the opposite Party *at present*—and more so in future if Friends were to be enrolled upon the Properties so purchased.

The conservatives must always have the support of the majority of the Tenantry, and without the Ten Pounders the opposite Party could not make any effectual struggle.

Since the first Election under the Reform act in 1832, the Conservative interest has been considerably strengthened by individuals acquiring Qualifications; but this object can never be attained to any great extent so long as it is left to individuals to get themselves qualified, and so long as there is no person empowered to buy the Properties which are from time to time coming into the market.

If properties were in this manner bought (and of course they ought always as far as possible [to] be bought from the Ten Pounders on the opposite interest) there would at all times be the means of giving or selling qualifications to Friends; whereas at present application is sometimes made by friends for qualifications and there are none ready to give to them. For those undisposed of a fair return would always be obtained.

With a view of putting the foregoing recommendations into practical operation it is suggested,—

1. That a credit to a considerable extent should be established with one of the Public Banks by an account in the names of two Gentlemen (for convenience say two of the Election Committee who are resident in Edinburgh), and the agent of the Party.

2. That whenever the agent ascertains that a property, which it would be desirable to purchase, is for sale, he shall submit the particulars in regard to it to the Gentlemen before mentioned and, if they approve of the purchase, then they will along with him give an order upon the account at the Bank for the money required.
3. That if in any case it cannot be arranged that the Seller is to pay the whole expence of the title etc. that the foresaid Gentlemen shall authorise the necessary balance to be charged to the account.
4. In regard to the Title to be taken when a property is purchased, as the whole of this proposall is of a confidential and private nature, it is necessary, in order to the carrying it into effect, that a certain degree of trust should be placed in some person, so that the titles be taken in his name, and that he shall be enabled to grant dispositions to any individuals to whom it shall be settled to give qualifications. The natural person for this purpose is the Agent. But of course any other Individual can be chosen.
Some kind of private agreement might be entered into between him and the Parties interested explaining the nature of the transaction if desired.
5. When Properties are purchased and not disposed of to friends, the rents shall be paid into the credit of the Account as they are received, and in like manner when a Sale is made the price shall be paid into the Account.
6. That a regular Book shall be kept of the whole intromissions of the above Managers, and that an account of the whole receipts and expenditure be made up either half yearly or yearly, as may be agreed on, which shall be audited by any person appointed for the purpose.

It is thought that the above, or some similar arrangement, may be advantageously made without any great risk or loss. No advance of money would be required but only the Security of a few Gentlemen to the Cash account at the Bank. There never could be much loss in the purchase of properties, as when these were not again sold to friends a very fair return would be got from the rents.

A Credit of a few Thousand Pounds would give the means of at once disfranchising a number of the most hostile and most troublesome Voters on the Register, who are always the cause of considerable

expenditure at a Contest. There are many such Voters quite willing to sell at this moment.

The Credit should not be for less than £5000.

If the above arrangement can be made, it is submitted that it should be done *immediately*, in order that instant measures be taken, with a view to the chances of an Election soon.

J[ames] H[ope] j[unior]
Buccleuch, Box 582: Election Memoranda

Sir James Gibson-Craig to Fox Maule¹

Edinburgh, 25 April 1835

... I cannot doubt that the late Ministers or their underlings have been making appointments *after* they had resigned.²

Sir George Clerk sent down on Tuesday last an appointment of one Allan to the Leith Custom House, the day before of one Watson to the Montrose Custom House. These are appointments for Sons of Voters in this County.³ I understand he got several others, one to *Cribbes* to be an Expectant of Excise.⁴ *We* never have been able to get one appointment. The Commissioners of Customs and Excise and heads of other departments are generally Tories, who never scruple to lend their aid to Tory Jobs. If this is not put on such a footing as to give Candidates the fair patronage of the places for which they are Candidates, Ministers will destroy themselves, and no one will fight their Battle, when the Weapons, which they should command, are turned against them. If my Son has not the fair Patronage of this County he shall never stand again with my consent.

[Extract] Dalhousie, 14/628

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

10 Rutland Square, Edinburgh, 29 May 1835

There was a meeting here today of the Committee who have been

¹ Fox Maule, 1801-74, 2nd Baron Panmure 1852, 11th Earl of Dalhousie 1860, Whig MP Perthshire 1835-37, Elgin Burghs 1834-41, Perth city 1841-52; Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office 1835-41, Secretary at War 1846-52, 1855-58. His wife was a grand-daughter of the 1st Viscount Melville.

² Peel resigned 8 April, but it was not until 18 April that Lord Melbourne completed the arrangement of his new government.

³ Not identified.

⁴ See above p. 20.

taking charge of the Subscriptions towards the Expences of the last Election, and I am desired by them to communicate to you the result of their efforts up to this time, which may be considered very nearly as final, because they do not expect to be [able to] raise much more. The whole subscriptions which they have been able to collect as yet amount to

£979 6s. 7d.

And they do not expect to raise in addition above

150 os. od.

£1,129 6s. 7d.

And this depends on their success with Lord Abercorn (through Lord Melville) Mr Wardlaw Ramsay,¹ who has not yet been seen, and Mr Miller. As Lord Abercorn has not as yet given any thing to account of the first contest, it is possible his Lordship may now subscribe more largely to the present account, in which case alone the above sum expected may be encreased. It will therefore be of importance that you should endeavour forthwith to get some communication held with Lord Abercorn on the subject.

You will recollect that the Committee at the beginning of last December stated to you, through Mr Dundas, that they were to do their utmost towards paying the Expences of the recent Contest, and that they hoped they would be able to raise about £1,300 or £1,400. They have used their best endeavours, but are very sorry to find that their expectations have not been realised, owing to various circumstances which it is unnecessary here to detail. They regret this the more because, owing to the contest being more protracted and severe than what could have been anticipated, the Expences will amount to a larger sum than what I expected. It was of course absolutely impossible before hand to form any correct estimate of what the coming contest would cost, but still I did state a rough guess of the Expencc. I find however I did not make sufficient allowance for the great encrease in a certain class of the Accounts in consequence of our being successful—I mean the Innkeepers and such like expenses. They have evidently presumed upon this circumstance and made most extravagant charges, most of which it is impossible to check, and therefore to cut down, and which it would not be prudent in some cases to do if it were possible. I find that if such accounts had

¹ Robert Wardlaw-Ramsay of Whitehill, d. 1837, one of the principal landowners in Carrington parish. He had been a captain in the East India Company's naval service. On his son see above p. xxxiii.

been on nearly the same scale as at the former Election my estimate would not have been much short of the ultimate result.

To come then to the result—I have made up the Account according to the best of my judgement, applying the rules adopted by the Committee who adjusted my former Account to the present, and I find that the total Expence will be between £2,200 and £2,300, say
£2,250

There are one or two points which I have still to adjust, but I think I may say it will be about this Sum.

Applying the Subscriptions collected to this diem	980
There remains still to be paid	<u>£1,270</u>

To account of this the Committee, as I have said, hope to get about £150, and if the[y] succeed in doing so

There will remain about	150
which they regret must fall upon you.	<u>£1,120</u>

They are of course still to endeavour to get more if they can, but after what they have seen the Committee do not think it safe to calculate upon a larger sum.

This is a different result from what the Committee expected, but it [is] of no use expressing regrets, as it is unavoidable and what must always happen more or less in contested Elections. We must console ourselves this time by our Success.

As the above sum of £1,270, or whatever the exact balance shall be, is outstanding, and some of the parties are very pressing for the payment of their Accounts, the Committee desire me to say that they will give a letter to Sir William Forbes & Co.¹ to pay the money if you agree to replace it (less whatever additional Sum may yet be raised) when it is convenient for you, in case it may not be convenient for you to pay it at present.

In this way all the accounts will be paid off, and our credit in the County saved, which is at present a little endangered I am afraid.

The Committee are to meet again next Thursday, so I shall be obliged to you to let me hear from you on Wednesday or that day.

Clerk, 3374

¹ The bank founded by Patrick Coutts in the early 18th cent., built up by Sir William Forbes, 6th Bart. of Pitsligo, 1739-1806, and merged in the Union Bank of Scotland in 1838.

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Private

Edinburgh, 5 June 1835

I am very sorry to find that there is a misunderstanding between the Committee and you as to the Election Expenses. I hope however when you get the Letter which Dundas wrote you,¹ for I suppose you have it not with you, that it may be all cleared up.

I am very sorry also to be obliged to trouble you again about the sum due to me on the former account, but with me it is a matter of necessity and I cannot avoid [to] do so.

I send the enclosed letter at the desire of the Committee, and I hope Lord Melville and you will get something settled immediately.

Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

10 Rutland Square, Edinburgh, 5 June 1835

I yesterday received your letter of the 2d current² just before the Committee met.

The Committee regret to find that you are under a misunderstanding as to what they undertook in regard to the Expences of the last Election, and that in consequence you have not agreed to the proposal which they made for enabling me to have all the outstanding accounts paid off.

They have desired me to state that their understanding and intention was that they were to raise as much by subscription as possible—that they hoped to be able to raise from £1,200 to £1,400, but that they could not guarantee any particular sum—and that the remainder which might be required must necessarily fall upon you.

They consider that when they get in what they still expect they will have nearly fulfilled their expectations. However, as Mr Dundas is to write to you by this post with [a] copy of the letter which he wrote to you upon this subject, in case you may not have the Letter with you in London, they need only now refer to his letter.

I must however impress upon you the absolute necessity of the Accounts being immediately paid off in the meantime. I have daily demands upon me for payment; and I am exposed to very disagree-

¹ See above p. 10.

² Not seen.

able reflexions; and I know that some of the people have been grumbling in the county, which will be taken advantage of, and do much harm—particularly to you personally, for the people know nothing about Committees and subscriptions etc. They all think that they have to do with you alone. I need hardly say that it is universally expected that Election Accounts should be paid sooner than others, and this makes the parties the more impatient at the delay.

I have prevented more than one person writing to you for payment, but with difficulty, for I cannot make them understand that there are others concerned in the matter besides you. I of course cannot enter into explanations with them, and I do not know how I shall be able to put them off any longer. I expect most of them to be pressing me again next week.

I hope therefore that you will still agree to the offer made by the Committee to advance the money, which they are willing to do, on the understanding that you agree to replace it within a limited time, say 12 months.

Clerk, 3374

Robert Dundas of Arniston to Sir George Clerk

Arniston, 5 June 1835

By desire of the Committee who met yesterday to consider what is to be done regarding the expences of the last election I now write to you to recall to your recollection the terms of my letter to you of the 4th of December last. . . .

Such is an exact copy of what I then wrote to you and now let me beg your attention to its purport.

1st I deny that the Committee undertook to pay all 'the expences whatever they might be'.

2dly They engaged to use *their utmost exertions* to raise the requisite sum but the success of these exertions they in that letter refused to 'guarantee'. True you have my individual opinion that the exertions of the committee would raise 1,200 or 1,400 which brings me

3dly To inquire how far that opinion has turned out to be correct. I maintain that it has turned out as correct as under the circumstances we had any right to expect. I named 1,200 or 1,400 and we have raised within a trifle of 1,200.

Now what is the subject of dispute? Not as I understand it the difference between 1,200 or even 1,400 and the sum we have raised, but the difference between the actual Expences (say, 2,200) and the sum we have raised. I have read and reread the above letter and for my life I cannot see where it is within that letter that we ever contemplated such a guarantee. I most deeply regret this misunderstanding between you and us and I equally regret that after all your great expences you should thus be saddled with more, but this does not change the liability of the parties and it remains to me as clear as can be that we cannot in the face of that letter be called upon to pay what is now amounting.

I have only further to add that the claims are most unjust and that some arrangement *must* immediately be made. We are willing as your private friends to give you our names to assist you to find the money but we most distinctly refuse to hold ourselves liable for more than we originally contemplated and which in the letter above is distinctly detailed. . . .

ps Tho' *not authorised to say so* yet I believe that Sir J[ohn] Hope, Sir J[ohn] Forbes, D[avid] Anderson¹ and I would find the money if repaid in (say) one year.

Clerk, 3374

Viscount Melville to Sir George Clerk

Private

Somerset Place, [London], 9 June 1835

I went to Montagu House² yesterday with the Duke, and we there perused and considered the letters you left with me, and which are herewith returned. The contents of them were different from what either he or I expected, and even though the view taken in them may be correct as to the letter of the bargain, the result is not less a hardship on you. I should like to see you on that matter, as well as to future prospects and contingencies. I shall be here today till two o'clock, and shall take my chance of finding you at home or at the Carlton about three; or else you will find me at the House of Lords tomorrow between ten and twelve o'clock.

Clerk, 3374

¹ See above p. xxxiii.

² The Duke of Buccleuch's London house.

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 16 June 1835

I duly received your letter of the 9th and also your note of the same date,¹ and I immediately called a Meeting of the Finance Committee for yesterday. I previously saw Sir John Hope and consulted him about the proposal you hinted at in your private note, of adding the Balance of £500 odds due to me on the old account to the sum which the Committee were now to advance to you, and he said that he for one thought it quite reasonable and that he would propose it to the Committee from himself. I felt that I could hardly do it.

The Committee met yesterday when I read to them your letter agreeing to the proposal of their advancing the money required to pay off the outstanding accounts of last Election on the condition that you should make it good within a year, and the four Members who made the proposal agreed therefore to carry it into effect, vizt. Sir John Hope, Sir John Forbes, Mr Dundas and Mr Anderson. Sir John then alluded to the sum still due of the former Account and said that he thought as they were about it they might perhaps accommodate you further by advancing this sum also; there appeared however to be a little difference of opinion on the subject, and Sir John did not press it. Of course I could not.

We then discussed the mode of carrying the above Agreement into effect, and we resolved that the simplest mode was that the above four individuals should grant a Bill to Sir William Forbes & Co. for the money, and then you should grant your Bill to them along with a letter stating that it was done on the understanding that the money is to be replaced in a year.

Although your letter is addressed to me they held that it was quite sufficient for them to act upon in the meantime, so they gave me a Bill, for which I got the money today from Sir William Forbes [& Co.], and shall proceed to pay off everything immediately.

As I could not yet say the precise sum required, there being still one or two accounts about which I have not made up my mind and wish to consult, we thought it better to make the sum £1,300, instead of any odd sum between that and £1,200.

Clerk, 3374

¹ Not seen.

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Private

Edinburgh, 16 June 1835

My letter of this date in part answers your note of the 9th.

I am very sorry that the Balance of the old account has not been added to the sum now advanced by your friends, because I really do not know what to do, or what to say in answer to your note. I cannot say more than I have often said, that the want of the money has for long been to me the most serious inconvenience.

The fact is that I am considerably in debt, and as I have no credit with the Bank and owe them money it is impossible I can carry on either the little business I have, or the House Expenses. At this moment I have not money to pay either.

I trust therefore that you will authorise Mr Irving to pay me the Balance due, as he has the means of advancing money which I do not.

I regret to be obliged to press you in this manner, but I think you will see from what I have stated above that I cannot help it, and necessity must be my apology. I need not say more.

Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

10 Rutland Square, Edinburgh, 15 July 1835

I have today received your letter of the 13th.¹ In regard to the Reports which have reached you of the unfavorable state of this year's Registrations, all I can say is that I have seen nothing as yet to lead me to think that the other party will have the number of Claims which for months past they have been giving out they would have. The 20th is the day by which the claims must be lodged, and in two or three days after that I shall be able to send you a List of them. We shall then see how the two Parties stand.

A number of friends do us a great deal of harm by constantly repeating what they hear the whigs say of what they will do, and coming from them people suppose it to be true. I suppose some of the whig reports have reached you in this manner.

We shall have a considerable number of Claims. Gibson Craig has come home, and is going about the Market today.

¹ Not seen.

Nothing has been yet settled, but as soon as Lord Melville returns I shall see him. I shall attend to the Houses for sale in Penicuik which you mention. I am glad you think there is less chance of a Dissolution now.

Clerk, 3374

Alex Weir to Sir George Clerk

Boghead, Bathgate, 20 July 1835

Having lately taken a ride, with Mr Robert Baillie (son of Sir William Baillie Bart. [of Polkemmet]) and my son Thomas Durham [Weir] to Cobinshaw reservoir¹ for the amusement of fishing, Mr Lynn, the Tenant of Cobinshaw,² came to me and asked what news? and if I thought that there would be a separation betwixt church and State etc? As I had never spoken to him before, and did not know whether he was an Old-light or New-light Seceder,³ or a member of the Church of Scotland, I asked him what church he went to? To which he replied, to Mr Fleming's Meeting house West Calder.⁴ I told him that if Mr Fleming held the same principles as his brother-in-law Mr Marshall of Kirkintilloch,⁵ he would soon have plenty of company fishing at Cobinshaw on the Sabbath, as Mr Marshall had published a pamphlet stating that he hoped soon to see the time when everyone might act with impunity as he pleased on that day. He seemed very much surprised at what I told him, and observed that he had heard Mr Marshall preach at West Calder, and that he thought

¹ The reservoir is in the Pentland hills in the parish of West Calder.

² John Lind and Thomas Lind are listed in 1832 as tenants of the farms of South and North Cobinshaw, *Register* 1832, 55.

³ For a brief account of the Original Secession in 1733 and subsequent divisions and realignments among the seceders, see G. S. Pryde, *Scotland from 1603 to the present day* (London, 1962), 98-99, 181-83. In the early 19th cent. 'Old light' seceders were those who still adhered to the Covenants and the principle of a national Church, while the 'New lights' held to the voluntary principle that the Church should be entirely independent of the State. In 1820 the 'New light' groups coalesced to form the United Secession Church. There were in 1835 two continuing 'Old light' bodies: the Original Associate Synod, most of whose members rejoined the Church of Scotland in 1839, and the Associate Synod of Original Seceders formed in 1827.

⁴ Rev. William Fleming was minister of the United Secession church in West Calder, so Lynn or Lind was a 'New light'.

⁵ Rev. Andrew Marshall, 1779-1854, minister of the United Secession church in Kirkintilloch, involved in several sectarian controversies; he was described in 1835 as 'The West of Scotland Arch-Voluntary'. I have not been able to establish to which particular pamphlet Weir was referring.

very little of him. I also told him that I had heard that Mr Fleming was a great politician, and that he had taken a very active hand in canvassing during the former and late elections, which I thought did not become a man of his profession. He told me that it was true, and that he had now politics, both in his prayers and preachings, which he did not agree with. I then advised him strongly to go and hear Mr Learmonth the parish minister,¹ and I was convinced from what I had heard of him that he would neither introduce politics in his prayers, nor in his preachings; and he promised to go and give him a hearing. I then asked him what newspaper he read, and he told me that the only one was the Scotsman. I observed that in my opinion it was a very dangerous one, as it was a strong advocate for Voluntaryism,² and if the Voluntaries or Radicals (for I looked upon them as one party) succeeded in robbing the Church, it was not improbable that they would pay a visit to Cobinshaw and ease him of some of his hard earned substance, for if they succeeded in robbing the Church, they would soon pay little respect to private property. I then gave him a copy of Sir Robert Peel's speech at the dinner given to him by the Merchants etc of London,³ which he promised to read. My son told me that he had been at Cobinshaw last year and had a long conversation with Mr Lynn, and that he had remarked to him that he was much surprised that such a Cypher as Sir John Dalrymple had been elected a member of Parliament for the County of Edinburgh, which he thought made some impression upon him.

As Mr Lynn told me that the only paper he read, and which I believe is read in that quarter, was the Scotsman; an idea struck me forcibly that were a Conservative paper sent to Mr [James] Young Handaxewood (who I know was the only one who voted for you in at least the west end of West Calder parish, and on which account my son lately proposed to some Conservatives in Bathgate to give him a public dinner) he could after reading it transmit it to Mr Glaud Storie of Blackhill, who is a great enemy to Voluntaryism and who told me lately that if the present administration attempted to separate church and State, or do any thing to the prejudice of the

¹ Rev. William Learmonth, 1801-70, parish minister of West Calder 1835-70.

² See J. B. Mackie, *The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren* (Edinburgh, 1888), i, 152.

³ *Speech of . . . Sir R. Peel . . . delivered at the Dinner given to him by the Merchants, Bankers and Traders of the City of London . . . 11 May 1835* (1835).

Established church, he would vote at next election for a Conservative member. By him the paper could be sent to Mr [William] Smith, Lumford, who remained neutral last election, but who from the conversation which I lately had with him, I have reason to believe that not only he but some other voters in his neighbourhood would, when an election shall take place, vote for a Conservative. By Mr Smith the paper could be sent to Mr Lynn at Cobinshaw, who after reading it, might send it to some of his moorland neighbours, and it might prove beneficial to the cause of Conservatism.

I communicated my idea of the beneficial consequences which might result to what I reckon the good cause in sending a conservative paper to West Calder parish to my son-in-law Mr James Saunders Robertson w.s. Edinburgh, and asked him to desire his brother Mr Patrick Robertson,¹ Advocate, to write to you upon the subject. He observed that he was convinced that you would not take it amiss should I write to you myself, and advised me to write. He also remarked that should you think it worthwhile to order a paper to be sent, it should not be transmitted by your Agent, but by some other person. I have been informed that the London Courier is sent daily to the Whig-radicals in Bathgate *gratis*. The Scotsman is also sent to some of my Tenants, but I have advised them lately not to read it, and have sent them the Edinburgh Courant, as they thought the Evening Post was rather Ultra Conservative. I also know that the Edinburgh Advertiser has for some time been sent to The Right Honourable The Earl of Hopetoun's Tenants in this parish, and that the reading of it has proved beneficial towards Conservatism in this place. Should you not think it proper to order a newspaper to be sent, I hope you will excuse me for troubling you with this letter. . . .

ps Should you, or any of your friends, think proper to send a Conservative paper to West Calder parish, I should suppose that the Scottish Guardian published at Glasgow would be the best one to send to that quarter as it exposes and confutes the falsehoods published

¹ Patrick Robertson, 1794-1855, advocate 1815, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates 1842, a senator of the College of Justice as Lord Robertson 1843. He was prominent in Edinburgh Conservative circles. In Dec. 1834 he was rejected as a possible Solicitor-General for Scotland on account of his manners and fondness for buffoonery; Sir William Rae to Sir Robert Peel, 23 Dec. 1834, BM, Add. MS 40339, fos. 327-8.

in the Voluntary Magazine and in the Scotsman more fully than any newspaper which I have read.¹

Clerk, 3370

William Gibson-Craig to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

Edinburgh, Wednesday [22 July 1835]

... Everything is going on as well as possible in the County, and from all I can hear there appears to be the best spirit in every part of it. We have not yet got returns from all the Parishes, but we are a-head in all those we have received except in Duddingston. We have lodged upwards of 170 claims and do not think the other party can have much above one-third of that number.²

[Extract] Stair, Box 114: Letters 1822-1839

¹ The *Scottish Guardian*, founded Jan. 1832, was an organ of the Evangelical party; R. M. W. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1946) 40, 142-3.

² At the registration in 1835 the Whigs had 146 new claims admitted, the Conservatives 79, *Scotsman*, 12 Sept. 1835.

1835-1837

THE AGENT'S ELECTORAL ACCOUNTS

Viscount Melville to Sir George Clerk

Private

Arniston, 15 December 1835

I HAVE HAD a full conversation with the Duke of Buccleuch and Robert Dundas, which I am prepared to repeat to you whenever you chuse:—for instance after the Committee Meeting at the County Hall on Friday next. I may state however that an indispensable condition of any farther interference on our part will be a change in the Agency system, and no time should now be lost (enough, and more than enough has been lost already) in carrying into effect the arrangement which was lately proposed, and as I thought, settled.¹

Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 30 January [1836]

I think I can now Answer for 100 sure Votes made for next Registration. There must be several that I know nothing of, and there are many whom I do not count who were previously qualified in [the] ordinary course. So let us [hope?] we may avoid an Election at present.

I saw Sir John Hope on Wednesday, and as he took the same view of the Camps concern² as you did Rose³ and I have settled it, and it

¹ Why the agency was not changed at this time is explained below pp. 97-98.

² For an explanation of the 'Camps concern' see above p. xlii and below pp. 188-9.

³ James Rose, ws, 1796-1864, Donald Horne's partner and one of the fourteen joint-proprietors enrolled on East Camps.

is all completed and the Disposition *on Record*. There are 14 on it. Above 30 in the Parish of Dalkeith. . . .

[ps] We made fully two to one against the Whigs at the Sale on Wednesday.¹ I think we have about 12 qualified at it and they about 5 or 6.

I prevented them getting several properties, and defeated their Plans as to others, but of course I could not prevent them buying some places.

I disposed of all that I bought before I left the Room to G. Dunlop,² except one.

About $\frac{1}{2}$ the Properties sold.

Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Viscount Melville

[Edinburgh], 3 February 1836

. . . Now that the hurry of last month is over, I must renew the subject of Registration and Election expences, and I shall be obliged by your Lordship letting me know if any thing is arranged since I last spoke to you, which was at Melville in November.

I have been hoping that something satisfactory would have been done before this time.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond³

Private 10 Rutland Square, [Edinburgh], 9 February 1836

As it was through you that I was employed to manage the business of the County, and as I am sure that you will take an interest in what is of importance to me, I hope you will allow me now to ask your good offices in bringing about some immediate and satisfactory termination to the most *unsatisfactory* state of matters which exists at present.

¹ The *Scotsman*, 2 Jan. 1836, carried an advertisement for this sale on Wed. 27 Jan. at 12 noon in the Old Signet Hall, Royal Exchange: 'Sale of Houses, Gardens And Building Ground in Edinburgh and Portobello, And In The Villages of Duddingstone, Jocks Lodge, And Restalrig, *Affording Qualifications for 31 Votes for a Member of Parliament for the County of Edinburgh*, besides those in the City, and the Portobello District of Burghs'. There were thirty-five lots for sale. See below pp. 188-9.

² Possibly George Dunlop, ws, 1776-1852.

³ See above pp. xxxi-iii.

I have for long endeavoured in vain to bring this about myself, and so has Sir George Clerk, but all to no purpose, and things are now come to *this* with me, that I must have immediate payment of what is due to me. The want of it has got me into difficulties; and I cannot any longer delay insisting for a settlement, whatever the consequences may be.

I have therefore written the enclosed letter to Lord Melville (with whom my communications have been latterly) and what I have to beg of you is to consider it, and either to give it or send it to him as you consider best.

The Letter explains itself, and if you require any further information, I am ready to give it. Lord Melville and Dundas require none.

I trust you will oblige me in this, and endeavour to bring matters to a point in one way or another. I cannot go on with the business until this is done, nor can I get out of my present difficulties (which are great) until I have a Settlement.

I shall be glad to hear what occurs to you, or to wait on you when you please.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to Viscount Melville

[Edinburgh], 9 February 1836

... I am disappointed at not having heard from you in regard to a settlement of the Accounts for the County Politics.

After the many letters which I have been compelled to write on this subject to your Lordship and Mr Dundas, I have no wish to enter again into particulars, for it is very unpleasant for me to write in the manner in which I have so often been obliged to do.

We have now begun another year without any arrangement having been made (so far as I know) for the payment of the past expences due to me, or for the establishment of a regular system for the future, and I cannot in justice either to the proper conducting of the business or to my self agree to the present state of matters continuing any longer.

There is still due to me a considerable sum on account of the first Election in 1832—the whole expences of the Registrations and annual business of the County for the years 1833 and 1834—almost the whole

of my allowances for the Election this time last year—and now there falls to be added the Registration of 1835.

Considering that this is now the fourth year of my carrying on this business, that I have received only a part of what is due to me for the *first* of these years—and that during all this time I have been l[a]ying out of money advanced, Your Lordship cannot be surprised when I say that it is impossible for me to continue to conduct the business any longer, unless a Settlement is immediately made of the past accounts, and some satisfactory and definite arrangement adopted as to the future.

I have suffered in many ways from the non-payment of these accounts—so much so that no consideration would induce me to run the risk of the continuance of this state of matters. Besides, I feel that it is impossible to carry on the business in a proper and efficient manner without funds being provided for the purpose.

I should not have allowed this year to advance thus far without making this communication, if I had not been so much occupied in getting Votes created for next Registration, but now that this important matter is over for the present, I lose no time in renewing my application for a Settlement of Accounts, in order that every thing may be put on a proper footing, and that there may not be any obstacle in the way of any course the Party may at any time find it necessary or think it advisable to pursue.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

Viscount Melville to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Private

Melville Castle, 14 February 1836

I am already aware through several channels, including letters to myself, that our friend James Hope was unpleasantly and very unfairly treated in regard to the expences of Sir George Clerk's Elections and of the registration of Voters in Mid Lothian; but though I have been and am still perfectly willing to contribute my share of the general fund, or even beyond my reasonable share, I cannot consent to be mixed up as a Committee-man in those matters. I have never interfered in that capacity, and I should not have conceived that it was either a decorous or proper employment for *me*.

I have had a few lines from James Hope on this subject about ten

days ago; but it has so happened that owing to divers matters in which I was personally concerned in various *Trust* affairs, I have had an unusual pressure of business, and have not been able to reply to him; even my own private affairs of rather an urgent description in consequence of Sir R[obert] Dundas's decease¹ have been left almost untouched.

Independently however of any such impediment I must protest against being appealed to as the person responsible for Sir George Clerk's Elections, with which I had no concern, and could not interfere. It is very clear however that a few of the principal gentlemen ought *forthwith* to take the matter up, and relieve James Hope from his embarrassing situation.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to [Sir Francis Walker-Drummond]²

15 February 1836

It occurs to me that there ought to be a meeting of the *leading* people in the County, *with the Duke* before he goes out of the way, and let them settle decisively *as to the future*, as well as to the past. One reason why nothing is ever done satisfactorily, I have long thought, is because they do not meet and do things in a business-like way. They just put off, and say they will speak to one another.

If an Election were to come just now, they are not in the least prepared, and I have no doubt, in consequence, Craig would walk the course, which would be a humiliating spectacle for the Metropolitan County of Scotland.

I don't believe they have in any way prepared as to funds for such an event; nor do I believe, after what has passed, that until that is *done*, Sir George would stand; and this I know, that I would not undertake an Election, nor even a Registration, in the present unsettled state of matters.

I know they have been warned *of all this*; but I think it right to repeat it; for no one can tell when an Election may happen.

¹ Sir Robert Dundas, w.s, Bart. of Beechwood, 1761-1835, a cousin of Viscount Melville, one of the principal clerks of the Court of Session, a baronet 1821; d. 26 Dec. 1835.

² According to an endorsement on the letter the recipient could have been Walker-Drummond or Dundas of Arniston; the former seems the more likely.

I am satisfied that one proper Meeting might bring matters to a point. If they intend to give up the County, they had better do it at once than go on in the present way. But I trust there is no chance of such an event.

The more I think of what we were talking about the more I am satisfied that the plan of calling on Sir George to pay in the *first* instance is useless, for he has already told me that he cannot; and I *doubt* if he would agree to it, after what has been thrown upon him. This may make the matter more difficult; but I should think if there is the will there need not be much difficulty as to the means.

In the meantime I am suffering daily, and I have demands upon me both for Private and County Accounts which I cannot answer; and if there is to be any delay I know not what will become of me.

Please excuse me giving you so much trouble; but if you knew of what importance a settlement is of to me you could better understand my urgency.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Robert Dundas of Arniston to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Arniston, 17 February 1836

I went to Edinburgh on purpose to see you yesterday (tho' I am not a member of the road committee you mention). I found upon inquiry at your chambers that you were not in town. I then meant to ride to Midfield¹ to breakfast this morning but am laid up in bed by a cold. Tomorrow I trust to be able to see you at Midfield early in the forenoon. At present therefore I need only say that James Hope's demands must be satisfied forthwith—2dly that Sir George Clerk is in the first place at all events the party liable. 3rdly I am prepared to contend that Sir George has no right to expect [that] the few amongst us who have hitherto helped him are now to bear this new burden. James Hope never can be brought to remember that Sir George is his employer and the party to whom he has to look for payment. In all this I may almost say I have Sir John Hope's authority to say that he concurs. He read these letters yesterday and joined me in the opinion I now express. The subject is distressing

¹ Sir Francis Walker-Drummond's house in Lasswade parish.

enough and will lead to an abandonment of the county to the Whigs or to a total change of men and measures.

I will be with you by 12 tomorrow.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir Francis Walker-Drummond to James Hope

19 February 1836

. . . I have seen Robert Dundas, and he is to be here again on Monday when we are going to discuss the matter with Sir John Hope. Dundas says he has never seen your Accounts; I wish therefore that you would make an abstract of what is due, shewing the different periods at which it has been contracted and let me have this before Monday. Your Abstract may be very short but should shew the different payments you have received both from Sir George and others.

[Copy] Clerk 3374

James Hope to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Undated [21 February 1836]

I enclose an Abstract of my Accounts,¹ as you desire, which I think will give you the information which you wish for the Meeting tomorrow; but I wish they would then fix to whom I may give in the Accounts themselves, in order that they may be finally adjusted.

The first account you will recollect was audited by Mr Dundas and you. Of course in making out the subsequent ones I followed the rules then adopted, but on a lower scale.

The only thing which I think it necessary to notice at present (for the accounts themselves will explain everything particularly) is the expences of the last Registration, which, unexpectedly, turned out one of the heaviest (above 300 claims) and certainly *the most laborious and keenly contested of any we have yet had*.

The Account details it all, and I do not think that it is at all highly charged, considering the length of time we were occupied, and the extra attendance of Counsel, and the extent of Valuations, which were required.

¹ See below p. 50.

We were 11 days in Court averaging 10 hours a day. I cannot conceive that Gibson Craig will keep up this system long when we know he gets no assistance: and I hope that what was done last month will tend to put a stop to it.¹

I have only to add that in none of the accounts have I made any Charge for all that I have done throughout the other parts of the years, *before* and *after* the Registration time. Whether something should be fixed for this for the future is a matter for Consideration. There is never a week that I have not correspondence and meetings with people, particularly in December and January about making Votes.

I trust you will come to some *decisive arrangements* for a Settlement at your meeting; for, independent of my own pressing wants, which I explained to you, I beg to mention that I have not been able yet to pay the Counsel, and some other accounts, which is very awkward.

I hope to hear from you on Tuesday.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to Robert Dundas of Arniston

10 Rutland Square, Edinburgh, 23 February 1836

Sir Francis Drummond has just been here, and has directed me to forward the enclosed to you in consequence of your not being able to go to Hawthornden yesterday, when he hoped to have considered it with Sir John Hope and you; and to say that he thinks it will be necessary that you and he should meet as soon as possible and arrange what is to be done.

It appears to me to be certain that you can fix nothing, either in regard to the present object of an Immediate Settlement of what is due, or to the establishment of a proper and regular system for the future, without getting a Meeting of some of the Leading Men in the County; and therefore I think that Sir J. Hope, Sir Francis and you should arrange a Meeting² with the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Lothian, Lord Melville, and such others as you three on considering the matter may think proper.

Such a Meeting I think would do much good and would lead to

¹ He refers to the large number of Conservative votes prepared in January.

² Hope's copy has 'as early as possible'.

matters being put on a satisfactory footing, and prevent a great deal of unpleasant correspondence etc. from time to time, both to yourselves and to me.

As for myself, I have made up my mind that, *until some such arrangement is made*, I cannot and ought not to carry on the business any longer, either for the sake of the *proper Conducting* of the business of the County or for my own sake.

While therefore it is absolutely necessary to have matters arranged for the future, in order to be *prepared* for whatever may happen, it is in the first instance indispensable that the money due should be paid; and for effecting this I entreat your immediate efforts.

Buccleuch Box, 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope, Sir Francis Walker-Drummond and Robert Dundas of Arniston to James Hope.

110 George Street,¹ Edinburgh, 1 March 1836

We have this day had a meeting to consider the abstract of the accounts transmitted by you to Sir Francis Drummond at his request, the amount of which is considerably greater than what we had any idea of. We are of opinion that these accounts, or an abstract thereof, should immediately be forwarded to Sir George Clerk as it appears to us that those Gentlemen who have hitherto borne a share in these expences have already done all that they ever undertook to perform.

You can transmit a Copy of this letter along with these accounts if you think right.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Edinburgh, 3 March 1836

I have received the Letter of the 1st current signed by Sir John Hope, Mr Dundas and yourself, the contents of which have surprised me not a little. That letter requires serious consideration, and I shall answer it as soon as possible.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ Sir Francis Walker-Drummond's chambers. The copy was written by Robert Dundas.

James Hope to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Edinburgh, 5 March 1836

I think it right in reference to my last letter in the meantime to state that I do not consider that I have any thing to do with any arrangements there may be between the Gentlemen of the County and Sir George Clerk, and that I must consult my friends in consequence of the Letter of the 1st current.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir Francis Walker-Drummond to James Hope

6 March 1836

... I think you misunderstand the matter of our late correspondence. I am to be in Edinburgh tomorrow, and if you will call at 110 George Street a little after one I shall be glad to see you.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Edinburgh, 7 March 1836

I have this morning received your note of yesterday. Before I could meet you or write you on the subject of it, it was necessary after what has already passed that I should communicate with the Dean.¹

I have done so and he desires me to write from him that I have drawn up a Statement with all the Letters, which he has read, and that after one or two other friends read it I intend to be guided by *their* advice wholly.

The Dean has taken the matter out of my hands and insists upon taking charge of it, and he means to lay it before counsel. I therefore have no power in the business without his leave, and I must refer you to him, as my seeing you at present could do no good. I shall be happy to forward to him any Letter, and shall be equally glad to find that I have misunderstood the Letter of the 1st current, but the Dean wishes the right meaning of that Letter put on paper, as he interpreted it as I have done.

¹ James Hope's brother John was Dean of the Faculty of Advocates; see above p. xvi.

The Dean also wishes me to say 'that he was much surprised at the tone and expression of the Letter, whatever they meant, and felt that I deserved another answer in point of expression and tone, that the whole affair was new to him until now, and has excited his unbounded astonishment, and that he blames me much for having submitted to so cruel and unjust delay'.

I give you the Dean's words as I am desired.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Donald Horne to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

96 George Street, 7 March 1836

I saw Mr James Hope before dinner and I explained to him, as distinctly as I could, the predicament in which you felt his last letter to you placed matters. He wished me to look into previous letters, but this I positively declined. I stated to him that I thought, even if you were all bound to him, that his writing to Sir George could not weaken his claim on you, and that as an agent I did not think him warranted in the present state of matters in laying a Statement before any one—not even the Dean except as his Brother—and that I thought he should still write to Sir George, and lay his answer before you.

I have just received the enclosed from him, from which you will see that he declines to write to Sir George; and that he has transmitted copies of the recent correspondence to Sir John Hope and Mr Dundas.

I know nothing of your arrangements or liabilities, but certain it is that poor Hope must get money, and in my opinion effective steps should be taken to place the matter on a proper footing. I beg of you not to ask me to do more as it would be placing me in a very disagreeable position.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to Donald Horne

Rutland Square, [Edinburgh], 7 March 1836

I have seen my Brother, who desires me to say, 1st That He knows, as I do well, that Sir F. Drummond has done everything that was

kind individually towards me. Neither he nor I can view his conduct at any time in any other light. I trust therefore that he will understand that my Letter of today, although addressed to him, was so merely because my late communications have been made through him, and that that Letter was not intended for him alone. 2d That He thinks, as I feel, that is not any business, and at all events ought not to be expected of me, to be the Channel even of conveying to Sir George Clerk any resolution to throw on him more expence, much less of trying for the Gentlemen of the County how much farther Sir George will go. I beg to decline having any such part put upon me, especially after all that has passed.

By my Brother's desire I send a copy of my Letters to Sir F. Drummond of the 3d and 5th and this day, and of this, to Sir John Hope and Mr Dundas.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to James Hope

9 March 1836

Your communication has astonished me not a little, indeed at first I thought I was in a dream while reading it. The letter addressed to you was simply for the purpose of the business being communicated to Sir G. Clerk, and the letter entered into no part of the business, neither pro nor con, and the last thing any of us your friends dreamt of was to say one word disagreeable to you. I therefore expect that you will forward the letter to Sir George without delay.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to Sir John Hope

9 March 1836

... I have this Evening received yours of this date, which I have shewn to the Dean. We are very glad to find from it that the Letter of the 1st current was not intended to bear the interpretation which we both put upon it.

While the Dean cannot understand the Reason of that letter being expressed as it is so far as regards me, he thinks that after your letter I cannot refuse to send a Copy of it to Sir George Clerk as you wish,

but that I must not send it unaccompanied by the rest of the correspondence.

I shall therefore send a copy of all the Letters to Sir George, though I still think that this should not be done by me.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Private

Edinburgh, 11 March 1836

Since you left this I have had a very disagreeable correspondence with some of the County Gentlemen in regard to the payment of my Accounts.

I told you I was going to apply to them, and the only result hitherto has been a letter, addressed to me by Sir John Hope, Sir Francis Drummond and Mr Dundas, which they wished me to forward to you. This Letter appeared to the Dean and me to be most extraordinary after all the Letters which had passed on the Subject, as we understood it to amount to a denial of any responsibility on their part; and we deemed it necessary to write a strong Answer in order that that question might be brought to a point. That answer produced a Letter from Sir John Hope which appears to us to make the joint Letter more extraordinary still.

After Sir John's letter however the Dean is of opinion that I could not any longer refuse to send you copy of the joint Letter as desired, but that considering the particular terms in which the joint Letter is expressed it is necessary that you should see the whole correspondence.

I therefore send you copy in separate covers, and I have as you will see told Sir John that I have done so.¹

The whole affair is very painful to me, and I trust for the sake of all parties that it will end in an amicable manner; but it cannot rest here, and the business must be brought to an immediate conclusion.

In the event of their denying their share of the responsibility, you will observe how important any correspondence which may have passed between you and them, as to the proportion of the Expences to be borne by you, will be; and I shall be much obliged to you to let me know if you have any letters on the subject, and if you have them in London.

¹ Hope sent copies of the letters received or written by him between 3 Feb. and 9 Mar., except those he wrote to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond on 9, 15, and 21 Feb.

I have to request that you will send a Letter which I can forward to the Gentlemen, separately from any thing which you may have to say to me on the Subject; and I trust to hear from you by return of post, as I shall delay writing further to them until your Answer comes.

Clerk, 3374

Abstract of Midlothian Election and Registration Accounts

To James Hope Junior w^s¹

[March 1836]

I. <i>Registration and Election 1832</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Amount of account at 11 November 1835	4,286	19	5			
whereof paid by the County	1,035					
	<hr/>					
Leaves sum thrown on Sir G. Clerk	3,251	19	5			
Whereof due on bill by Mr Hope to Mr Irving transferred to Sir George's debit	£1,626	16s.	od.			
Paid by Sir George	1,300	os.	od.			
	<hr/>			2,926	16	0
	<hr/>					
Leaves balance still due to Mr Hope	325	3	5			

II. <i>Election 1835</i>			
[not yet audited but about—] ²	2,480	0	0
whereof paid by the County	1,025	6	7
	<hr/>		
	1,454	13	5
Advanced by Bank on Sir George's Bill	1,300	0	0
	<hr/>		
Balance due, say	154	13	5

¹ The Clerk MSS copy of the abstract is of slightly later date than that in the Buccleuch MSS (Feb. 1836), and there are slight differences in detail, e.g. in the Buccleuch copy the balance owing is £1,484 3s. 5d.

² A note on the Buccleuch copy.

III. <i>Registration 1833</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Amount of Account	308					
IV. <i>Registration 1834</i>						
Amount of Account	236					
V. <i>Registration 1835</i>						
Amount of Account, say £500						
Less subscriptions collected 70 ¹	430					
					974	0 0
Balance still due Mr Hope, say				1,453	17	0
						Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 15 March 1836

I have received a Letter from Dundas,² written on receipt of the copy of the correspondence between Sir F. Drummond and me, which shews clearly that I was not wrong in putting the construction upon the joint letter of the 1st current which I did, because he distinctly says that I have no claim against any one but you,—a proposition which I will not assent to.

I have written to him and stated that I shall correspond no more on the subject.

Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

10 Rutland Square, Edinburgh, 6 April 1836

Mr Maitland³ called on me today to say that you had got a letter from Sir John Hope, who wished you to arrange with me to call a Meeting in regard to the County matters for some day next week, after his return from Roxburghshire next Wednesday.

As I stated to Mr Maitland, I am of course ready to do what Sir John wishes; but I must *have instructions as to the Individuals to be*

¹ The Buccleuch copy has 'less amount subscriptions Paid to Mr Bonar about 70'; probably John Bonar of Ratho, d. 1837, banker, see below p. 121.

² Not seen.

³ Not identified.

summoned to the meeting; for I do not know in the least degree what Sir John wishes, and whom he intends to consult with.

I *presume* he does not intend a *General Meeting* of the 30 Gentlemen or thereabouts who formed the Election Committee; and as to any other smaller meetings about the finance matters I never used to call them, nor were they held at my house, nor was I present. And I do not know precisely whom Sir John and Mr Dundas are in the habit of consulting on the finance matters. Once, last June, some meetings of this kind were held here, but only then in regard to the clearing off the Accounts of last *Election*, and at that time communications took place between some Gentlemen and Sir George Clerk, who was in London, through me. You were not present I think.

Now this was the only occasion I ever had any thing to do with these consultations. And I do not know whether Sir John wishes the proposed meeting confined to the Gentlemen who were here then, or not. Those who attended then (for they were not summoned by me) I think were

- 1 Sir John Hope
- 2 Mr Dundas
- 3 Sir John Forbes
- 4 Mr Borthwick
- 5 Mr David Anderson
- 6 Mr [John] Inglis—once.

Now of these Mr Dundas and Sir John Forbes I believe are both in England, and Mr Inglis gave up any concern with *finance* matters at that time, and perhaps would do so again; so that there would only remain Sir John, Yourself, Mr Borthwick and Mr Anderson.

I cannot take upon me to summon any others as to these important matters, because I do not know who are in use to be consulted about them. And if it is to be merely a meeting of this sort I am much afraid it will not lead to much good.

I regret much Mr Dundas did not arrange a meeting such as I pointed out to him, before he went away, and it is equally to be regretted that Sir John did not do so for *this week*, when Sir George wrote to him from London that he was coming down mainly for this very object, and *that he could only be here this week*, as he returns to London on Saturday.

However I am ready to do whatever is wished, but I must have instructions. Please therefore send me these as soon as you can.

I think it right to say, however, that as it is now a Month since I intimated that I could not agree to delay taking advice as to the situation in which I am placed; and as I do not foresee much chance of progress being made towards a settlement when this meeting has been postponed so as that Sir George cannot be here, I cannot delay arranging what course I am to follow.

[Sir Francis Walker-Drummond wrote the following note on this letter and sent it to Sir John Hope at St Boswell's Green, Roxburghshire.]

Lasswade, 7 April 1836

In consequence of James Hope's letter I think we had better postpone our meeting till you return. I have written to him to that effect. Let me know when you wish to see me any day next week except Thursday. I have seen Mr Ramsay¹ etc.

I could even meet you on Thursday if after two o'clock.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Viscount Melville to Sir George Clerk

Private

Dalmahoy, 19 April 1836

Having received not only from you but from other quarters warnings as to the possibility of an early dissolution,² and having nearly made up my mind, independently of any such event, not to go to London this year, I have now finally determined not to go. Lord Haddington³ has written to me respecting East Lothian, as to

¹ It is not clear which of the Ramsays is intended here.

² Such rumours were common at a time when Lord Melbourne's government was weak, supported by a loose association of Whigs, Liberals and Radicals, dependent on the votes of Daniel O'Connell and his Irish followers, and faced with a hostile majority in the House of Lords. There was no dissolution but it is possible that as chief Conservative Whip Sir George Clerk knew that a scandal was about to break which might bring down the government. It was in April that George Norton decided to proceed against Lord Melbourne on a charge of having committed adultery with his wife, the poet Caroline Norton. By mid-May it was widely rumoured that Melbourne was about to resign (*The Times*, 18 May 1836), but he did not do so and when the case was heard on 23 June he and Mrs Norton were exonerated; Lord David Cecil, *Lord M.* (London, 1954), 155-65.

³ Thomas Hamilton, 1780-1858, 9th Earl of Haddington 1828, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Dec. 1834 to Apr. 1835, First Lord of the Admiralty 1841-46.

which I dont think I can be of any use; but I am quite sure that if [I] go away now, *nothing* will be done as to arranging matters in this County, at least on any satisfactory footing. Sir John Hope and Sir F. Drummond are both at home; but they wont act without Robert Dundas (who is in Fife for ten days) nor he without them, and I need not tell you that one day will not suffice for a settlement, especially with reference to other parties who must be applied to. The Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Lothian (who are both gone to London) are apprized of the state of affairs.

Under all those circumstances, and with the possibility of an impending dissolution, I have no doubt that my remaining here will be more useful than my single vote in London.

Clerk, 3374

John Hope to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Granton, 19 April 1836

In order to save time I have requested my Brother to write over the following letter from my D[ra]ft.

In the expectation that during Sir George Clerk's recent visit to Scotland (who intimated that this was the object of his journey) some decided step would have been taken to settle the Accounts relative to the Elections and Registrations for this County, I have been induced, though very reluctantly, to allow that matter to stand over for some time since the circumstances were communicated to me.

Sir George has however returned to London, and I do not understand that any thing has been done by the Gentlemen interested. You will I am sure agree with me in thinking that it is now perfectly necessary that the matter should be brought to a point, and that my Brother should be distinctly told what are the difficulties in the way of a Settlement.

If the delay is owing to any difficulty in adjusting the proportion of the expence which ought to be borne respectively by Sir George Clerk and by the other Gentlemen interested, (a matter with which my Brother has no concern) I would suggest to you whether such difficulty might not easily be removed by referring that point to some Individual in whom all parties would have confidence, but at

all events that no difficulty of that kind ought longer to prevent a settlement of the Agent's Accounts. If such is the only difficulty, both Parties should in the meantime concur in raising funds for that purpose, which they might easily do, leaving the question of ultimate apportionment to depend on the issue of the reference, or whatever the proceeding may be by which their respective liabilities are to be determined.

But if, on the other hand, the delay is owing to any disposition on the part of the Gentlemen who have taken charge of the proceedings to dispute their liability to the Agent, it is proper that this should be distinctly understood. I am induced to put the matter thus explicitly because, in a private letter of the 11th of March¹ to my Brother, Mr Dundas seems to think that the Gentlemen are not liable at all, and that the Agent is only entitled to look to Sir George, (the construction which I own I put on the joint letter of the 1st March) while a different construction seems to be put by you and Sir John Hope on that letter.

Up to this moment therefore my Brother is left in uncertainty as to the views with which that letter was written, and he cannot understand that any more explicit statement has been furnished to Sir George Clerk. If however the view intimated by Mr Dundas is the view now taken by the Gentlemen interested, it should be explicitly stated without further delay, and then my Brother will know precisely the footing on which he stands, and how he is to act.

I was unwilling to let the matter go out of my hands without calling your attention again to it, for I cannot help thinking that when you and the other Gentlemen take it into your serious Consideration, you will be satisfied of the absolute necessity there is for some distinct and final decision.

The Lord Justice Clerk² and I have perused a full statement that has been drawn up narrating the whole proceedings and Correspondence so far as my Brother has been a party to them, and we entertain no doubts whatever as to the course which both the interests of my Brother require and the facts of the case suggest.

It might have been more prudent for my Brother to have required

² Not seen.

¹ David Boyle of Shewalton, 1772-1853, Lord Justice Clerk 1811-41, Lord President 1841-52; he was James Hope's father-in-law.

that a more definite arrangement should have been made between Sir George Clerk and the Gentlemen who acted as the Committee and who employed him: But he had not foreseen the necessity of any such arrangement, as was required in the first Election for the City, and when, to prevent the matter stopping altogether in consequence of Mr Blair's¹ decision as to expences, another Gentleman and I gave at once our unlimited guarantee for the whole expences which the subscriptions might not be found to cover. But though my Brother did not imagine that it could be necessary in the County business to make a stipulation of this sort, that is no reason why he should suffer as he has already done.

It is right that I should add that there is a large portion of the Expences for which he cannot hold Sir George liable, after the communications which passed between Sir George and the Gentlemen interested, both last June and on former occasions.

I hope you will take the trouble of immediately communicating with those who take a lead in the matter, and get it brought to a point without loss of time.

If I do not hear soon that something decisive has been done, I shall conclude that any attempt on my part to get the matter arranged, without allowing it to pass into other hands, will be unavailing.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir Francis Walker-Drummond to John Hope

Haw[thornde]n, 21 April 1836

Yesterday I received your Letter of the 19th, in answer to which I beg to state that, while I readily admit the hardship of your Brother's situation in regard to the Political Accounts for business, I am not aware that he has any legal claim for the payment of these against any one except Sir George Clerk.

Sir George left the appointment of his agent to Sir John Hope, Mr Dundas and me. Sir John declined to act, and Mr Dundas suggested your Brother in which I most cordially concurred, but the appointment as I understand was actually made by Sir George himself. The Committee arranged various matters both with Sir George

¹ Forbes Hunter Blair, d. 1833, partner in Sir William Forbes & Co. bankers, contested Edinburgh in 1832.

and his agent as to subscriptions, purchasing votes etc., etc. But I am not aware that in any instance they gave your Brother any reason to suppose that they were to be responsible for his accounts, or for any expences beyond the sum they agreed to subscribe, and I am pretty certain that this is the impression of most of them at this moment. Personally I attended very few of the Meetings of the Committee, owing to other demands upon my time in East Lothian, Lanarkshire etc., and I may truly say that my late interference in these matters has arisen more from the regard and friendship which I feel towards your Brother, than from any call upon me as one of the Committee. I deeply regret the delay which has taken place. It was in some degree unavoidable, tho' perhaps it was somewhat increased by your Brother declining to send the Letter which was signed by Sir John, Mr Dundas and me to Sir George Clerk. I have every reason to believe however that, so far as the County Gentlemen are concerned, something will be settled ere long. Lord Melville has unfortunately been from home for some days, and I cannot now see him till about the middle of next week when I return from East Lothian, so that some delay must necessarily take place. When I see his Lordship however I will endeavour to suggest some plan by which your Brother's demand may be paid in the meantime, tho' I still think that, whatever arrangements are eventually made, Sir George ought to provide for this in the first instance.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 10 May 1836

The Gentlemen appear to have put themselves into Mr Horne's hands in some sort of way. But he tells me he has agreed to interfere only for the purpose of trying to get my Accounts paid without delay. He asked for an abstract of them shewing the differences of Election and Registration Accounts, which I have sent him. I told him that it was just what was already in their hands. The Dean and I thought it better however to accompany it with a Memorandum of which I enclose you a Copy, as I have no doubt reference will be made to you in London. Mr Horne has transmitted the Paper to London to Sir Francis Drummond who left this on Saturday. This

Memorandum contains our views; and I should think it will lead to something decisive being done immediately. I understand from Mr Horne that the Gentlemen do not yet admit their liability.

I have no doubt that this state of matters is as unpleasant to you as to me; but I think you will agree with me that I could not have done otherwise than I have done; and if I had it would have led to nothing. And Besides from the situation in which I am at present I could not avoid it.

Clerk, 3374

Memorandum

I. For the Balance of the Account for the First Election and Registration both the Gentlemen and Sir George Clerk are liable.

An Arrangement was entered into between the Gentlemen and Sir George by which Sir George was to take this Balance upon himself, so as to relieve them, at the commencement of the Second Contest, on the faith of being relieved of the expence of the second Election; but as this condition was fulfilled only in part the Gentlemen ought to relieve him of it. At all events with such an arrangement Mr Hope had no concern, the parties remaining liable to him.

II. For the Balance of the Account for the Second Election both the Gentlemen and Sir George Clerk are liable.

III. For the Registration Accounts of 1833-1834-and 1835 the Gentlemen are liable; Sir George Clerk is only liable in the same way as any other of the Gentlemen. Indeed the Registration of 1835 was set agoing by the Gentlemen when he was in London without any Communication with him at all; and during the years 1833 and 1834 Sir George was not in Parliament.

There is therefore no claim against Sir George for the Registration Expences, further than in a question among the Gentlemen themselves he would come in for his proportion as a County Gentleman. Even this may be doubtful as to the Expence of 1835, viewed as a legal question; and still more, in point of propriety, after the Communications between the Gentlemen and Sir George.

IV. But, with all these questions between the County Gentlemen and Sir George Clerk the Agent has nothing to do; and the parties must in the first instance raise money to pay the Accounts and then adjust the apportionment of the Expence among themselves.

If the Gentlemen intend to dispute their liability there are just two ways of proceeding, either by an Action, or a Reference.

In the event of a Reference, it must be understood that Mr Hope is not to be met with questions as to the general relief of the parties who acted by County Gentlemen at large.

In the event of a Reference The Dean proposes Sir George Murray. All the Parties, vizt Sir George Clerk, the Gentlemen who signed the joint letter of the 1st March, and Mr Hope, to sign the Submission as a final termination of all questions between them.

Clerk, 3374

Donald Horne to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Confidential 96 George Street, Edinburgh, 10 May 1836

You are aware that owing to our preachings last week little business could be attended to.¹ I however saw James Hope twice and last afternoon I got the inclosed abstract and Notes signed by the Dean,² which from their tenor I think it advisable to transmit to you, and to delay doing anything more until I receive your Instructions. Parties ought to be the best Judges of their own matters but, tho' it may be considered presumptuous, I must be permitted to think that the Dean has upon the part of his Brother gone too far in these notes. If he holds *all* liable what right or Interest has he in prescribing rules for the Conduct of parties. I need not however say more than that the tone taken up has induced me to delay any payment to Mr Hope until I hear from you.

It is clear that Hope *must be paid*, and for the sake of the party it must be done *quietly and immediately*. Indeed I submit that he should not be informed *how* the funds are raised, but paid he must be.

I have not seen any of the Accounts, and it would be very irksome to be obliged to examine them; indeed I fear that any interference on my part will be misconstrued, tho' I have told Hope that my sole motive is to get him quietly and speedily paid.

Looking at the abstract I think that the amount of the three years' Registration Accounts do not appear extravagant, but considering

¹ i.e. the Communion 'season' when several services were held on Thursday and Saturday preceding and on Monday following Communion Sunday (8 May).

² As explained in Hope to Clerk, 10 May, but there is no copy among the Buccleuch MSS.

the number of the Constituency, of polling places and other Circumstances I think the Expence of the Election [in] 1835 high.

I do not feel that I am sufficiently master of the facts to suggest a mode of Settlement, but I would not advise you to rely on a large Sum from parties resident in this neighbourhood. Indeed if this arrear could *by any means* be extinguished, it would be evidently a better plan to harbour these resources for future registrations, for unless the County is to be abandoned this year's registration must be attended with considerable expence, however well conducted, tho' it should be done effectually at less expence than any other County in Scotland, because Counsel are at hand, and witnesses cannot be required from a distance. As it is right you should have access to the correspondence you left with me in the view of a meeting in London, I shall send you the whole by Lord Morton¹ tomorrow.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir George Clerk to Viscount Melville

Private

London, 14 May 1836

I regret to learn from Sir Francis Drummond, who is now here, that very little progress has yet been made with regard to the settlement of Mr James Hope's Accounts and the arrangements for the future management of the Politics of the County. Neither of these questions can now admit of further delay. Mr Hope and his friends are about to prepare a reference on the subject of his Accounts, and the time has now arrived when the arrangements for conducting the Registrations of this year must be fixed. As it is of great importance that Mr Hope's accounts should be immediately discharged I have suggested to Sir Francis Drummond the following plan as a temporary arrangement.

Last year a Cash Credit was obtained from the Royal Bank for £5,000 to enable Hope from time to time to buy up any little properties which might be offered for sale with the view of again disposing of them to any of our friends who might wish to acquire a Qualification.² For this Cash Bond the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Lothian, Sir John Hope and myself are responsible. I should there-

¹ See above p. xxxvi, n. 4.

² This was the outcome of James Hope's memorandum, above pp. 22-25.

fore propose if it meets with their concurrence that £1,000 or £1,200 should be drawn from this Account and paid to Mr Hope till funds can be raised to discharge his accounts.

How this is to be done I am unable to say. I have already repeatedly stated to you and several of my friends in the County my inability to incur any further Expences at present, and it therefore becomes indispensably necessary for them, if they think the representation of the County of Edinburgh worth contesting, to settle what ought to be done. When I first entered into this expensive contest in 1832, although nothing was definitively settled, I understood that half of the Expences would be raised by subscriptions. I was then ready and I am still ready to contest the County on that understanding. The Expence to the present time amounts to £7,880 of which I am willing to pay one half or £3,940, and as I hope that in future the Expences will be much smaller than during the last four years I should be ready to continue as long as the Gentlemen of the County required my services. Should I be called on to contribute a larger proportion of the past Expences than I have mentioned above, I should be involved in so great a pecuniary embarrassment as to render it highly inexpedient for me to continue in Parliament. I trust my friends in the County would not wish to place me in such difficulties and I with confidence place myself in yours and their Hands to make such arrangements as they consider to be equitable and just to all Parties.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

Sir Francis Walker-Drummond to the Duke of Buccleuch

Carlton Club, 16 May [1836]

I understand from Lord Lothian that he left with your Grace some correspondence relative to our County Politics, and as it may be necessary you should see the whole, I beg leave to trouble you with the inclosed which only reached me from Scotland this morning.¹

When you have had time to consider it I shall be ready to meet with your Grace at any time you appoint.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ The papers sent to Drummond by Horne on 10 May.

[Note]¹

Private		18 May 1836
Total sum to be defrayed	£1,500	
Sir G. Clerk to pay		£500
The County to pay		£1,000
Supposed subscriptions		
D[uke] of B[uccleuch]		300
L[or]d L[othian]		100
L[or]d M[elville]		50
Miss Innes ²		100
Ramsay [of] Barnton ³		50
Wardlaw Ramsay		50
other subscriptions		100
		—
		750

This result of conversation with Sir F. Drummond Bart.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir George Clerk to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

124 Pall Mall, 18 May 1836

With reference to the conversation I had with you this morning on the subject of the Edinburgh Election Expences I take the liberty to enclose for your information and that of the Duke of Buccleugh a copy of a letter which I addressed to Lord Melville,⁴ which will put you in possession of my view of this embarrassing question. I regret that I cannot undertake quite so much as you proposed to me today but I can only assure you that it is not from want of inclination but really from inability that I feel myself compelled to limit my own exertions to the point I have there stated.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ Written by the Duke of Buccleuch.

² Miss Jane Innes of Stowe, 1748-1839, who had inherited the fortune of her brother Gilbert Innes, 1751-1832, a banker reputed to have left over one million pounds.

³ See above p. xxv, n. 2.

⁴ Above pp. 60-61. In the copy sent to Drummond Clerk did not indicate the sum to be drawn from the account.

Sir Francis Walker-Drummond to the Duke of Buccleuch

Royal Hotel, St James's Street, 19 May 1836

After I left your Grace yesterday I had a long conversation with Sir George Clerk and I have since received the inclosed¹ from him from which you will see that he is afraid to undertake so much as £500 out of the 1,500 still due to James Hope. I really do not know what to say about this very difficult matter but in the meantime I do not intend to write to our Friends in the North 'till I hear from or see your Grace again.

Buccleuch, Box 526 Midlothian 1836-51

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond

Confidential

Tunbridge Wells, 20 May 1836

I received your letter and the enclosures last night, and have given my whole attention to the subject. I am not surprised that Sir G. Clerk does not approve of the prospect of paying £500 out of the £1,500 which is required. He has already paid large sums and by my calculations more than he ought to have been called upon to pay i.e. supposing he was only to defray half the expence of the Elections, which is as much as can be in reason expected of any Member for such a County as Mid-Lothian. It appears that the Total Sums expended on Elections and Registrations for the years 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835 amounts in round numbers, according to Hope's Abstract which I have made the basis of my calculations, to the sum £7,820—of this the County has paid £2,130—and Sir George Clerk has paid £4,226²—being £316 more than half of the whole sum, and the County have paid £104 less than two sevenths.

¹ The copy of Clerk's letter to Melville, 14 May 1836.

² The Duke's calculations were based not on the abstract at present among the Buccleuch MSS but on a later version similar to the Clerk copy, above p. 50, probably the one given to Horne and sent by him to Sir Francis Walker-Drummond, above pp. 59-60. The Duke's total of £7,820 was based on £4,286 for the registration and election expenses in 1832, an estimate of £2,500 for the election in 1835, and a total of £1,034 for the registrations of 1833, 1834 and 1835 (the Clerk copy has £1,044 and the Buccleuch copy £1,029). His calculation of what Clerk had paid or had undertaken to pay was based on identical entries in the Clerk and Buccleuch copies: £1,626 and two sums of £1,300, totalling £4,226. His calculation of what the county gentlemen had paid, £2,130, was the sum of the entries in the Clerk copy: £1,035 (1832), £1,025 (1835) and £70 towards the registration expenses. The Buccleuch copy has £980 for 1835.

But of this sum £7,820-£6,786 is for the Registration and Election of 1832 and the Election of 1835 of which Sir George has paid £2,600 and is liable for £1,626, altogether by Hope's Abstract £4,226 which is five eighths of the sum and the County has paid only £2,060 being £60 less than five sixteenths. Of the sum of £1,034, the amount of Registration expences for 1833, 1834, 1835, the County has only paid £70 which is about a fifteenth of the amount. By Sir G. Clerk's letter to Lord Melville it appears he estimates the whole expence at £7,880 of which he says he is willing to pay one half viz. £3,940. This is £286 less than I suppose him to have paid or to be liable for according to Hope's abstract. I must own that I think Sir George Clerk has made a very liberal offer when he undertakes one half of the whole expence of Elections and Registrations as they now stand, for according to my view, he should not be called upon for more than one half of the election expences, which according to Hope's abstract would be £3,393, and only for his proportion as a County Gentleman for the Registration expences, but he has taken upon himself half or £517, making altogether £3,910 which is £30 less than he is willing to pay according to his letter to Lord Melville.

I have now put upon paper my opinion as to what proportion of these expences Sir George Clerk should bear and what the County should defray. The case then stands thus. Suppose the amount to be £7,820 and Sir George pays half, the County must raise £1,780; if Sir George is liable for £4,226 the sum required is £1,464. Suppose again the amount to be £7,880 and Sir George pays half the County must raise £1,810; if Sir George is liable for £4,226 the sum required is £1,524.

The sum however of £1,500 according to Hope's Abstract must be raised, and how is it to be done? Sir G. Clerk proposes that to pay off Hope at once, in consequence of his most improper threat of making the payment a subject of reference to an Arbiter or to Counsel, that the money should be taken from the Guarantee Fund in the first instance and that it should be repaid when other funds could be raised for that purpose. When, where, and by whom will that sum be raised or be repaid? The Guarantee Fund was created for a very different purpose and on the understanding that no loss should be sustained by those who Guaranteed it, but supposing this

sum to be drawn from that Fund who is to be liable for the interest? by whom is it to be paid? There is no doubt in my mind but that the County Gentlemen ought to pay the interest as well as repay the Capital, but if once it is known that the money has been paid from that source I much doubt if it will be possible to raise the money by subscription and the loss will ultimately fall upon those who are sureties for this Fund who in fact should only bear each his proportion as a County Gentleman. If however the others who have given their guarantee consent to this arrangement, I shall not object, tho' I do not approve of it, but with this proviso alone, that a new Agent is forthwith appointed, for I will not subscribe a single shilling after this matter is settled unless a new and proper arrangement is made, under able and proper management. I send to you a copy of Hope's Abstract that you may see the different items and compare them with my statement. You are at perfect liberty to shew this letter to Sir G. Clerk if you think fit.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir Francis Walker-Drummond to the Duke of Buccleuch

Royal Hotel, St James's Street, 24 May 1836

In consequence of the permission contained in your letter I shewed it to Sir George Clerk. We both think that a meeting of our Friends in the County should be held immediately, and as your Grace's letter puts the matter on so clear and proper a footing we think it ought to be read to the meeting. If therefore you have no objections I would propose to send it to Lord Melville or Sir John Hope for the purpose of its being read to a limited number of our Friends in the County. [PS] I shall not write of course till I hear from your Grace.

[*Note added by the Duke of Buccleuch*] Saw Sir Francis on 25th—gave permission to send letter to Lord Melville and Sir John Hope Bt. B[uccleuch].

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 29 May 1836

I again yesterday had a long conversation with Donald Horne

and we are still of opinion, as expressed in Lord Melville's letter,¹ that it is quite impossible to get friends in the County to subscribe for *Bygones*; all that can be done, in our opinion, is to get them to subscribe for future Expences, and that the present debt should be made up one half by Sir George, who in fact ought to have looked after James Hope's Expences, and the other half by Subscription, quietly among those anxious for the honour of the County in supporting the Tory Candidate. I am quite ready to do my utmost and at same-time to subscribe for that purpose but I cannot afford to pay the Half out of the Credit at the Bank, as that would subject me to pay one fourth of the money—nor would it be altogether fair to Sir George to include him besides paying the other half, But I refer you to Lord Melville's letter which I conclude you will receive tomorrow morning.

I likewise conversed with Horne about an agent, and besides Mr Scott,² who will be mentioned by Lord Melville, He pointed at a Mr Inglis,³ but by tomorrow or next day He is to inform me what he hears further of their abilities or qualifications. The appointment of this Agent had better be left to Mr Horne and me, and you may depend upon it that we shall be cautious to tie the person down to a fair compensation and as far as possible endeavour to avoid extra charges. But pray write me your ideas and wishes—after consulting Lord Lothian etc.

After all that has been said by Mr Hope and the Dean, It seems not a little extraordinary that no accounts have been even yet furnished by James Hope. We have nothing but the abstract, and as far as Horne can judge, the charges for enrolling and registering do not appear large, but the Expences of the Election instead of being £1,500, as stated to us not to exceed the sum necessary, are now brought up [to] £2,500. How that has come about I Know not, as there was little or no Expence for conveying the Electors. This Item ought certainly *to have been seen to by Sir George Clerk*. But in order to start upon a new score with a new agent a Bill signed by your Grace, Lord Lothian, Sir George Clerk, Lord Melville and myself

¹ Melville did not write until 1 June, although Sir John Hope thought he had written 26 May; see below pp. 68, 71.

² Andrew Scott, ws, 1798-1874.

³ Harry Maxwell Inglis, ws, see above pp. li-ii.

would at once enable us to pay off Mr Hope after his account is examined, and the Sums to be paid by those willing to assist should be arranged before the bill becomes due. This plan would at once settle matters—altho' it makes Sir George pay a greater proportion than you contemplate, yet when it is considered that it is the accounts of *his* Agent that have swelled from £1,500 (as stated by him when the County Gentlemen agreed to give one thousand pounds) to the Sum of £2,500, He ought not to be surprised. If this plan meets your grace's ideas pray write me. I remain at home till this matter is settled, having refused to go to Glasgow upon Bank Business,¹ being very desirous that matters were in train before Horne goes north on tuesday week.

ps The papers are just come in with the accounts of the Death of the Duke of Gordon.² What a loss to our cause. J.H.

My son John³ arrived from Portugal last night. He gives really a horrible account of the Country, thanks to Lord Palmerston and other Whigs.⁴

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Edinburgh, 1 June 1836

I have just seen D. Horne and He advised from what He Knows and Hears of Mr Inglis to be our agent, and in this opinion Mr Robertson,⁵ who takes charge of Peebleshire, concurs. Mr Inglis appears to have been somewhat prepared for an application being made to him owing to his having had some conversation with Richard Mackenzie⁶ to Whom Lord Melville had communicated that an agent for the County was wanted.

¹ Sir John Hope was a director of the Royal Bank of Scotland 1821-39.

² George, 5th Duke of Gordon, died on 28 May 1836.

³ John David Hope, 1809-92, Sir John's third son, a wine merchant; he succeeded as the 13th Bart. of Craighall in 1883.

⁴ In 1834 Lord Palmerston the British Foreign Secretary had intervened with France to protect the claims of the constitutional Queen Maria of Portugal against her absolutist uncle Dom Miguel. Though Dom Miguel was expelled the internal affairs of the country remained unsettled. On the condition of Portugal in 1836 see H. C. F. Bell, *Lord Palmerston* (London, 1936), i, 218-19.

⁵ Alexander Lambie Robertson, ws, 1794-1868.

⁶ Richard Mackenzie of Dolphinton, ws, 1780-1850; joint-deputy-keeper of the Signet, with James Hope, 1828-50.

Should your Grace, Lord Lothian and other friends as well as Sir G. Clerk concur in appointing Mr Inglis, who is son to the late Dr Inglis¹ one of the Clergymen of Edinburgh, I can then call a meeting of our friends and state the situation of matters for *our future* operations. Of course I can do nothing until I Hear from you. . . .

[PS] Mr Horne leaves this on friday week. He has delayed his Journey in order to give time for an answer to this, as He is anxious to assist in giving Mr Inglis every assistance and advice upon starting, and Mr Robertson the Agent for Peeblesshire promises his best assistance also—all this depends upon our paying off James Hope—about this I refer to my letter of Sunday. J.H.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Viscount Melville to the Duke of Buccleuch

Melville Castle, 1 June 1836

My Wife and daughters give me such shocking pens that I am not sure I shall be legible; N.B. I am writing in the Drawing Room.

As to business, in regard to Mid Lothian, it has been very difficult to get the acting parties to be also active, and frequently they have been away from this part of the Country. I must also state, and as some apology for not being able to answer all your questions as to the County, that I have purposely kept aloof from all the Committee details, and have declined to correspond upon them with Mr Hope or with any other person; it would in fact have been an unfit proceeding, and unreasonable to expect it from me. To *you* however I have no difficulty in stating that I agree entirely in all your doctrines and principles, and that I have no objection to contribute my share, provided it is a fixed sum as a maximum for a future Election, and I have no doubt we shall be able, or at least those who take the active share in the matter, to muster up a sufficient Sum to cover all reasonable expences, the candidate must undertake for any unreasonable or extra demands.

With regard to the past, amounting to about £1,500, it is in vain to expect that a subscription can be collected to cover that amount. I understand that the Committee (Hope, Walker Drummond, and

¹ Rev. Dr John Inglis, 1762-1834, minister of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, 1799-1834.

Dundas) propose that Sir George Clerk should pay one half, as it was a totally unlooked for and unprovided expenditure and that we, including you of course, should make up the remainder.

Sir George proposes that Hope's demand should be defrayed out of the £5,000 Credit Account. Sir John objects to that, but is willing to join in a Bill forthwith for £1,500, and to settle the payment of it among ourselves a few months hence when we are all in this Country. I have no doubt that Sir John is right in that proposal, and I shall write by the next post to that effect to Sir G. Clerk; pray let me know if you agree to the matter being settled in that way.

With regard to the future, we must get a subscription, each man putting down his name for a certain Sum.

On the suggestion of Horne, and with the entire approval of Sir John Hope, who knows all about the man, it is proposed to employ a Mr Andrew Scott w^s in the electioneering matters of the County, and of course under strict rules and restrictions as to expence. I have no doubt that under some such system we shall get on with twice as much efficiency and at less than one half of the expence. Scott is a relation of some Farmers of that name, and an active and decided Conservative.

On looking over what I have written I think it right to add that as far as I know, the proposal that Sir G. Clerk shall pay one half of the past expence has not yet been stated to him. . . .

[P^s] The loss of my very old and attached friend the Duke of Gordon is irreparable in the North.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Viscount Melville to the Duke of Buccleuch

Melville Castle, 7 June 1836

Sir John Hope came here today, and we have arranged, (not having heard from you) that he and I are to sign a Bill for £1,500 to pay off the Debt to Mr James Hope, in order that the new Agent may be enabled to enter upon his business forthwith so as to be in readiness to attend to the approaching Registrations. Another, and indeed the principal reason for the *immediate* arrangement as to the money, was the departure of Mr Horne in two or three days hence for the North, and the necessity therefore of the money being paid

instantly, in order that all the necessary books and papers may be given up by Mr Hope.

Sir John tells me that they have decided, subject of course to your concurrence, on employing a Mr Inglis, son of the late Rev[erend] Dr Inglis, instead of the Mr Scott respecting whom I wrote to you.

I know something of Inglis, and have seen him occasionally, two or three times; he seems a sensible person, but I should not guess him to be a very bustling, active person. Horne, however, and his coadjutors insist upon his entire fitness. I know nothing of Scott. . . . [ps] The Bill for £1,500 will be made payable I suppose in two months, by which time I hope that you and the other parties concerned will all be in Scotland, so that we may arrange as to the distribution of the burden.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Viscount Melville to Sir George Clerk

Private

Melville Castle, 8 June [1836]

Your letter of the 5th instant¹ arrived here this afternoon. There is no London post from hence tomorrow, and I have only a few minutes to let you know in answer to your inquiries that Sir John Hope was here yesterday, and I understood from him that an arrangement was to be made today or tomorrow to pay off the whole of James Hope's claim, in order that all his books and papers might be delivered up forthwith, which were to be put into the hands (I believe) of Mr Harry Inglis w's Son of the late Dr I[n]glis, by the advice of Horne etc. I expect to hear again tomorrow from Sir John as to whether those things have been done. He was anxious to get it all settled tomorrow at latest, as Horne was obliged to go away a day or two afterwards to the North, and it was desirable that he should previously give full instructions to the new Agent.

If you want information on those matters beyond what I have now given you, I would recommend your writing to Sir John, as I can only give you at second hand what I hear from him or others.

I do not recollect to have had any letter from Sir Francis W. Drummond since he left Scotland.

Clerk, 3374

¹ Not seen.

Sir John Hope to Sir George Clerk

Pinkie House, 9 June 1836

I hope to have a meeting on tuesday next with the Gentlemen of the County, and for which they are summoned—indeed we would have had them summoned long ago could we have got answers to our letters to the Duke of Buccleuch, wrote by Lord Melville *fourteen* days ago and by myself ten days ago.

After advising with Horne and thro' him with other competent Judges, He and I have agreed to suggest to you and to the other Gentlemen Mr Inglis son of the Reverend Dr Inglis as agent. He seems by all accounts to be well qualified for the Duties and He is recommended by Mr Robertson the agent in Peeblesshire as well as by Horne—and Horne is to assist in starting him upon a good plan—and I trust He will be such an agent as we ought to Have and one that will not be wedded to his own opinions—I am truly concerned about James Hope, as though He is a good man of business in other respects, He is not a good political canvasser. Horne has undertaken to settle matters by advancing twelve Hundred pounds as part payment, which must be repaid him before the Bill becomes due. You would see by Lord Melville's letter to the Duke of Buccleuch¹ that our idea was that you should pay half of the fifteen Hundred due Mr Hope, whose accounts seem to be £1,000 higher than what He stated would be the probable expence of the Election, at which time we assured you that we felt competent of getting at least £1,000 by Subscription, which we did. I wish most sincerely that we could have done more as you were fighting our battle, but surely some one ought to have looked after Mr Hope's expenditure. The accounts (except the abstracts) I never saw, nor have yet seen them, tho' I Have no doubt that Mr Hope made all the outlay He may state, yet I feel confident He must have been imposed upon so as [to] raise the Expence, when there was scarcely any distant carriage required, to the amount stated now by him being £1,000 beyond his original estimate.

You will also observe that our impression is that the Gentlemen may be induced to Subscribe for Expences to come, but not for bygones. I wish we could do both for your sake, but the fact is we

¹ Above p. 68.

were afraid they might draw back from Subscribing to any future Expences if it was proposed to Subscribe for old expences.

Our meeting is to be for tuesday and until their decision about Mr Inglis of course every thing is confidential. And We must see what our Subscription turns out to be, as I am as desirous as you can be that the expences of the Enrolling should be defrayed by the County Gentlemen, and the Member paying only his Subscription as a private Individual. The agent for the enrolling should be considered as acting for the Conservatives of the County as well as for the Member—now James Hope was never looked upon by the Gentlemen of the County as their agent,—though latterly He wished to act as such, now I own I never understood him to be their agent. If I had I would have said more to him, as He really took too much upon him, which I regretted. He was recommended to you by Sir F. Drummond and Robert [Dundas of] Arniston but I do not believe that Either considered that they were doing any thing more than mentioning Hope to you as your Agent, one of whom they had a good opinion—from this I am afraid is dated all the misunderstanding, as none of us ever dreamt of interfering in what He did as He was considered your Agent not ours.

As there was no London post last night I Have Kept this open and I am happy to say that I Have at length a letter from the Duke of Buccleuch approving of what we have done. I also received the new Burgh Bill¹ from you. Is it not possible to get Musselburgh boundaries made the same as they were previous to the reform act, as it is really hard that my House and ground here is placed at the mercy of the town of Musselburgh and its voters; pray do make some attempt to assist me—and I hear that Sir Thomas Lauder is in the same predicament in Edinburgh—now possibly they may assist him—if they do, surely they may concede it to me and leave my House and ground (only thirty acres), not formerly in the Burgh, as it was before the reform act. However if they do not listen to Sir Thomas Lauder, I can never look for any redress. But pray if

¹ This was the Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Bill, one of whose main provisions was that, in order to remove certain financial and administrative difficulties, burgh boundaries were, where necessary, to be altered to coincide with the parliamentary boundaries drawn in 1832. The Bill was shelved in July. None of the bills introduced between 1836 and 1841 to regulate Scottish municipal corporations reached the statute book.

you have any opportunity give me a lift or let me Know what to do.

I should hope that the Irish business will pass off quietly.¹ John D[avid] (my son) tells me that in Portugal the R[oman] Catholic priests talk openly of their success in Ireland and England and the happy prospects opening of being master of Ireland [and] England by the Extinction of the Protestant Religion. God [gran]t that this may not be the case as fearful strides are making to overthrow our protestant Establishments.

I shall write you the result of our meeting on tuesday and you may rest assured that both on public and on private grounds It will ever give me pleasure and satisfaction to support your cause.

Clerk, 3374

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 10 June 1836

Your most welcome letter arrived this afternoon and I am glad you approve of our plan to pay off Hope.

We are to have a meeting on tuesday of our friends in this County and I am to endeavour to state matters for their consideration and I hope in their subscriptions they will shew that they feel they are fighting their own battle in supporting the Conservative cause.

I shall write your Grace soon, at all events after tuesday.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 10 June 1836

After another months delay since my last communication with the County Gentlemen, of which I sent you a Copy, Mr Horne yesterday informed me that he was authorised to examine and *settle* my Accounts, and as he was obliged to go to Caithness today for a fortnight, he has paid to me to account of the Balances £1,200. As soon as he returns he will settle the Balance. So that as far as I am concerned this wearisome and unpleasant matter will then be at an end.

¹ Possibly a reference to the Irish Church Bill which was occupying a great deal of time in parliament; the Bill was abandoned for the time being by the government in Aug. after it had been extensively amended in the House of Lords.

I understand that this money is advanced on an arrangement by which (as all along contended for by me) my Accounts are to be paid; and the Parties interested are then to settle among themselves how the Expence is to be borne. I suppose you will have had some Communication with some of the Gentlemen during the last month.

The past being now provided for, I feel it to be my duty, for the sake of your interest as Member for the County, and of the Cause generally, to remind you, and through you those interested in the matter, that the period for preparing for the Annual Registration of the County Voters is at hand, indeed is come, for such preparation ought to be now going on.

You will recollect that in my Letter[s] to Lord Melville, Mr Dundas and others, I stated that after all that had passed I would not commence another Registration until I saw some distinct arrangement made for the future management of the business. I therefore gave them due warning, and I have nothing more to do—and can do nothing until I am instructed. But I beg to renew this warning in order to prevent any after reflexion upon me on account of this important matter not being attended to.

The County Gentlemen are of course at perfect liberty to employ any one else, and if they are to do so it is doubly necessary that no time should be lost, because a stranger will of course require more time to prepare matters for the Registration. And this is another reason why I remind you that the period has arrived. Having done so it is for them to act.

I hope you will not have any unpleasant discussions about the division of the Expences. I believe the Gentlemen who acted in the late matters are ill pleased at the part or line I took; but I acted by the Dean's advice; and we thought I was bound to take that view of the case which appeared to us to be the fair one between them and you, whether this was agreeable to them or not.

Clerk, 3374

Sir John Hope to James Hope

Pinkie House, 14 June 1836

I enclose a letter from the Duke of Buccleugh about Lord Cawdor's son to whom there can be no objection to his being admitted an

Archer.¹ As I am writing you I take the opportunity, which I have been deprived of at our two last Archer meetings, of mentioning how very awkward I feel in being the paymaster for buying up votes, of which I know nothing until a hurried note arrives for me to sign an order for the money to pay for property I know almost nothing about. I have therefore come to the determination to pay no more unless when sanctioned by Sir George Clerk. This you may say I am wrong in but when acting for others you cannot be surprised at my desire to act on safe grounds—more particularly as a property which I understood [you] would easily find purchasers for at *Drumgate* has not yet found a single offerer except Mr Hugh Bruce² who I sent to you. It is most unpleasant to me to say this, as there is no one I would feel greater confidence in than yourself, but as I appear to be the only one consulted and that only after the business is settled—the gentlemen may look to me not to pay away their money without being convinced of the value received—may if I do wrong say that as we are connections³ we agree too much in the matter, and that I pay the money without examining the state of matters. If any other is joined with me my great responsibility would be lessened. I feel quite sure you will concur in my opinion.

I am quite aware of the bother every one has who engages in politics and I am only surprised at any one engaging in them, I mean as the agents, as few are fitted for them, and I think you would feel your other business more agreeable and far more consonant to your habits of business as a *W.S.* Therefore as your friend [I] would say—Have nothing to do with political agency, for being Sir George's agent you will often be forced to act entirely on your own opinion without attending to any one. I may be quite [mistaken?]⁴ in this opinion but from our [connection?]⁵ I must ever feel anxious in your concerns. . . .

¹ John Frederick Vaughan Campbell, 1817-98, Viscount Emlyn, 2nd Earl Cawdor 1860. His mother and the Duchess of Buccleuch were sisters. He was admitted an Archer on 13 Dec. 1836. James Hope was secretary of the Royal Company of Archers 1827-39.

² Hugh Bruce, 1800-74, advocate, brother of Robert Bruce of Kennet.

³ Sir John was descended from the eldest son of the distinguished 17th-cent. lawyer Sir Thomas Hope, 1st Bart. of Craighall (d. 1646), James Hope, as a member of the Hopetoun family, from his sixth son. A further link was that Sir John's sister-in-law was the dowager Countess of Hopetoun.

⁴ Word missing.

⁵ The original has 'conversation'; probably a clerical error.

[ps] The Duke of B[uccleuch] is still much annoyed by the want of the *dress* uniform of the Archers not being made public. Is the drawing of the Uniform completed?

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, tuesday evening [14 June 1836]

At our meeting today we had only *Eight*¹ instead of 24 summoned. We agreed to meet again next Wednesday at twelve o'clock and in the meantime to see and write all our friends to make out a Subscription of as much as possible. We agreed to apply to Mr Inglis to be the agent for the Registrations if approved by Sir G. Clerk and, as we had your letters and also Sir F. Drummond's (wherein He mentioned an agent likely to suit) and I reported that Lord Melville concurred, we ventured tho' few in number to ask Mr Rose (Mr Horne's partner) to apply to Mr Inglis, and Mr Dundas was requested to communicate our opinion to Mr Hope—that after what had passed, *we had the concurrence* of Sir G. Clerk to apply to Mr Inglis. This was certainly *not mentioned to me* by Sir George, but all your letters concurring that a change was very necessary. I at once said this appointment met the concurrence of Sir George and others as I observed a feeling as if Sir George did not wish to part with James Hope (neither God Knows had I if he had been a good agent). I mention this that you may set us right with Sir George, who has never acted fairly in not giving his own written opinion on the Subject but leaves others to bear the *odium*—pray lose no time in seeing Sir George and let him say explicitly what agent He wishes and if He fixes upon any one we can have confidence in, let him mention him, and I have little doubt of his being chosen on Wednesday next. And I have further to request your Grace to apply to Lord Abercorn who tho' he has a good Estate in the County has never given anything to us yet and get something from him and also to Lord Wemyss or Elcho² and point out to them the great necessity of their doing something. Lord Wemyss always says he is determined

¹ Vigorously underlined three times in the original.

² Francis Wemyss-Charteris-Douglas, 1772-1853, 6th Earl of Wemyss 1826; and his son Francis, Lord Elcho, 1795-1883, 7th Earl of Wemyss 1853.

to be independent and will not give anything. But if you explain to him the imperious necessity of preserving this County from the Whigs, *who all subscribe*, I feel very sure He will do what you wish. Lord Abercorn and Lord Wemyss joining in the Subscription would do much for us as it would keep their tenants from wavering and Lord Abercorn's factor¹ is inclined t'other way and that encourages the split among the tenants. I write in haste as I write also to Sir George so excuse my scrawl. Pray write me at *latest* on Sunday.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to Sir George Clerk

Pinkie House, Musselburgh, 15 June 1836

Our meeting yesterday was not so numerous as we could Have wished, but Eight of us agreed to meet again on Wednesday week to reconsider matters and in the meantime we agreed to canvass our friends for Subscriptions. I Have accordingly wrote to Mr Ramsay [of] Barnton, Colonel Gordon of Cluny,² Miss Innes, Mr Selkirk,³ General Scott⁴ and to Colonel Scott;⁵ and I have spoke anxiously to Sir John Forbes who is to speak to Mr Anderson and to Mr [John] Bonar, and the Committee all agreed to exert themselves and I yet trust that every thing will be to your mind. I can assure you that no one thing dependent upon me is left undone as far as my best exertions or Judgement will permit me to do. We also proposed to Have Mr Inglis son of Dr Inglis to be our future agent—for my own part I feel acutely for James Hope and so must you, but from the letters of the Duke of Buccleuch and from Sir Francis Drummond it appeared that you agreed to their ideas and plans, and that unless a more efficient agent was found,⁶ and founding on that presumption I assured the meeting it had your concurrence and approval. Indeed

¹ Above p. 21, n. 6.

² John Gordon of Cluny, 1773 or 1774-1858, lieutenant-colonel in the Aberdeenshire Militia 1820-58, MP Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 1826-32; he inherited great wealth and was said to have left between two and three million pounds.

³ Charles Selkirk, accountant, tenant of Spylaw House in the parish of Colinton.

⁴ General Thomas Scott of Malleny, 1745-1841; at the time of his death he was the oldest commissioned officer in the British army; he first saw active service in 1761.

⁵ Colonel Carteret George Scott, d. 1875, nephew of General Scott and heir to the Malleny estate in Currie parish.

⁶ Fractured sentences like this occur quite frequently in Sir John Hope's letters.

Sir F. Drummond proposed Mr Maitland¹ one of his own people, and the Duke said that if a more efficient agency was not found He would not give one farthing. All the meeting seemed to feel the necessity of having a new agent except Mr Tytler,² who much to his credit felt a strong bias for James Hope; so do I, but in the first place He is a bad canvasser and secondly His reference to the Dean and others upon matters strictly confidential renders him in my opinion totally unfit for the place.

If you disapprove of our applying to Mr Inglis to be the agent, it is quite time for you to stop Mr Inglis being appointed, but say distinctly your own opinion for it is not agreeable to any of us to have only your acquiescence to our proceedings, but say distinctly whether you still think James Hope the active Agent or not. And if *you* wish him to *remain say so*. In short say your own candid and decided opinion and do not as it were put the burden upon the Committee but let us act together. I am thus particular as in all your letters there is no reference to the Agent but only to the money concerns, tho' both [in] Sir Francis's letters [and in] the Duke of Buccleuch's letters to Lord Melville and to myself reference is always made to the new agent to be approved by Lord Melville and me; in short they seem to leave it to us but still there is no actual acquiescence on your part and no actual approval. Now you ought to be candid with us as any of the Committee might say as Tytler said yesterday, does Sir George approve of this? does he wish Hope to be changed? Now My Dear Sir George put it to yourself, should it not be understood and explicitly declared by you that you either wish James Hope to be continued or *you do not*. For my own part I feel I will be abused by James Hope['s] relations; is not this hard upon one who is his friend and relation, and that no *Explicit opinion ought to come from the person most interested*; perhaps you have not been constantly consulted but yet the letters of the Duke of Buccleuch to Sir Francis Drummond, and from them to Lord Melville and me point out the necessity of a new agent and indeed we had a long correspondence about Mr Scott w.s.

¹ Not identified.

² James Tytler of Woodhouselee, w.s, 1780-1862, the principal landowner in Glencorse parish; Patrick Fraser Tytler, 1791-1849, the historian, was his brother and a close friend of the Dean of Faculty, John Hope.

I may add that I am quite aware that James Hope did and does not give satisfaction in the way he managed his political business—and of this you are well aware—but pray put it in writing one way or other. . . .

I have been all day in Edinburgh upon your business and pray excuse inaccuracies.

Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir John Hope

undated [15 June 1836]

I have received your letter of the 14th, the first part of which relates to the Archer business and shall be attended to and answered separately.

The rest of the letter is on county business, and appears to me to relate to two subjects; but I must say I am not sure if I understand it. I shall endeavour to answer each point.

And first as to the purchases of Properties, I have no desire whatever that you should act in this matter (which, as you know, is a concern in which you and three other gentlemen alone engaged)¹ on your own responsibility, I never understood that you were to do so; nor have I acted upon such an understanding; and you are mistaken in supposing that you alone have been consulted and that only after the business was settled, because no property was purchased without Sir George Clerk being aware of it and having been consulted; and not more than two were purchased that you also did not know of. Some of them were purchased a considerable time before we were called on to pay the prices, and when you came to give an order for the money it was not surprising that you should have forgotten about some of them. I understood Sir George's necessary absence was the sole cause why it was arranged that the account at the Bank should be kept in your name alone. But there can be no objection to Sir George being joined with you in the account except the inconvenience arising from his being in London.

In regard to some of the properties not having been disposed of, I really do not understand whether you impute blame to me on this account or not. I cannot think that any blame attaches to me. It was

¹ The Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Lothian, and Sir George Clerk.

a matter which was fully before those who embarked in the concern that properties must often be purchased before parties were found who would take them off their hands, and that occasionally some of them would necessarily remain in their hands for some time. In fact the very object of the plan was to enable us to purchase properties that came into the market, or which we were told were for Sale, so as at any moment to prevent them falling into the hands of our opponents, and have them at command to make use of as occasion offered. It is not above a year since the plan was commenced, and I think it could hardly be expected that in so short a time purchasers should have been found for all the properties, most of which have been purchased only last winter. I have done every thing in my power to find purchasers, and feel that I am not to be blamed because the properties have not yet been disposed of. Upon this point your letter surprises me the more when I consider that Lord Melville twice in the course of last winter went to the Dean and rather complained that properties were not purchased fast enough by me.

The second point is contained in the last part of your letter and appears to relate to the County business generally, but I confess I do not understand what is meant by it.

If it is wished that I should not carry on the political business of the County I beg that this may be intimated to me in a proper and open manner, and then I shall know how to act. At present your letter is the only hint of the kind which I have ever received from any one, and I cannot understand it unless I connect it with a recent correspondence regarding the payment of the expences. In that correspondence however nothing was stated to shew that it was wished that I should give up the business, neither was any thing stated by me to indicate that I was desirous to do so. . . .¹

This is all that was said by me in regard to the future conducting of the business. I did not receive any answer to these two letters; and from the date of the last letter—23d February—to the receipt of yours of yesterday nothing was stated in the whole intermediate correspondence to lead me to suppose that the Gentlemen wished me to give up the business—nor have I stated any wish to do so.

¹ Here Hope quoted the third and fifth paragraphs of his letter to Lord Melville 9 Feb. 1836, above p. 39 and the fourth paragraph of his letter to Robert Dundas 23 Feb., above p. 45.

The only allusion to the future which occurred during the subsequent Correspondence was on the 6th April when Sir F.W. Drummond informed me that you wished me to call a Meeting in regard to the County matters; I then stated I was quite ready to do so but that I must first—for the reasons stated in my letter to Sir Francis of that date—have more specific instructions. Sir Francis wrote to me that he had communicated my letter to you; but I did not hear from him again and never got instructions to call the meeting.

There is nothing in my letters to Lord Melville and Mr Dundas which implies that I wished to give up the business, and at all events I never intended to indicate such a wish.

But as I said before I do not well understand the meaning of your letter, nor do I understand why it is written at this particular time, and therefore this explanation of what I have stated in any of my letters may be unnecessary.

I must repeat that if I have put a construction on your letter which it does not bear I shall regret it, but as I have said I do not exactly understand it. At all events I feel obliged by the interest which you express in my concerns.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

Sir John Hope to James Hope

Pinkie House, 17 June 1836

I wrote you the other day merely to express my anxiety that no more properties were to be bought unless approved of by one other person interested in the Bond—until the old ones were sold off and I certainly regret that you have had no offers for Danderhall¹—and that in fact I felt very awkward I being the sole referee as well as the payer.

As to the conclusion of my letter, to which you also refer, I do not remember exactly what I did say, But it was wrote under the impression that you were aware through Lord Melville and your Brother and also through Sir George Clerk of the anxiety of the principal supporters of Sir George that the agent should be one who would mix much with the tenantry and that such a one had been inquired after for some little time. Mr Dundas and I were empowered

¹ A hamlet two miles from Dalkeith; this may have been the Drumgate property referred to on p. 75. See below p. 188.

along with Mr Horne to try and find out one and to report, but we had no authority further until we heard from London. I think after the bother you have had you are better without such an office.

Should you feel disappointed at not remaining in the Office I confess I think you are wrong. I as a friend would rather be inclined to congratulate you upon being quit of it, as the duties were anything but pleasant—Your giving it up will enable you to attend more closely to the usual routine of your professions, which you are well accustomed to.

Having known you from your youngest days and your being also connected with us, I shall ever take as warm and deep an interest in your welfare as if you were one of my own.

PS I may as well mention that the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Lothian, Lord Melville, Sir F. Drummond were all parties to the above plan and they left Mr Dundas and me to converse with D. Horne—as we really knew no one—and a more disagreeable task to both could not well be found; in fact we found it so disagreeable that we I believe lost time.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

Robert Dundas of Arniston to James Hope

Arniston, 17 June 1836

Upon Tuesday there was a meeting of the most part of those gentlemen of this County who constituted Sir George Clerk's Committee. The meeting was called partly to consider the embarrassed and embarrassing state of the funds of the County and partly to see what steps should be taken regarding the ensuing registration. With regard to yourself we were all of us of opinion that after the occurrences of the last few months it would be as well that the agency for the County should be changed, the more so as the whole system of the political agency of the county must undergo a total change both as regards the conditions under which it is to be held and the mode in which it is to be carried on. It was thought that the best way of communicating this to you was by my writing you this letter.

There are two things which require your immediate attention, 1st That you get ready your accounts with all speed in order that the balance beyond the 1,200 paid by the hands of Mr Horne may be ascertained and discharged, and secondly that you will furnish either

to me or to whoever may be appointed your successor any memoranda or lists or other similar information which you may think of use to the cause. It would have been as well that your accounts had been settled before any change was made but the near approach of the Registration renders this impossible.

ps I shall call myself with this letter tomorrow.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Robert Dundas of Arniston

Edinburgh, 18 June 1836

This afternoon I received your letter of the 17th. . . . I shall not say one word as to the feelings with which I received this intimation; but as it appears that the resolution has been formed by the County Gentlemen to take the County business out of my hands (after I have had the honor to be their agent for a period of four years, during which they have twice contested and have now obtained the representation of the County) without the slightest communication with me on the subject, I feel called upon for the vindication of my professional character to ask a little explanation from you upon one or two points.

I beg however to premise that I do not in the slightest degree call in question the right of the County Gentlemen to change their agent whenever they please. All that I say is that, if they dismiss their agent in the manner in which you announce on a statement made to them respecting me, that agent has a right to know what was the statement submitted to them.

First then, You state that you 'were all of opinion that, *after all the occurrences of the last few months*, it would be as well for all parties that the agency for the county should be changed'.

I shall not pretend ignorance of what the occurrences are to which you allude but at once assume that you refer to the circumstances of my having been compelled to insist upon a settlement of my accounts, some of which were of three years' standing, because I feel confident that there has been no other occurrence either during the last few months, or at any time, to give the county gentlemen cause to withdraw their confidence from me.

I request then to know if 'the occurrences of the last few months',

vizt. the whole of my correspondence with you and others since January last regarding the settlement of these accounts, was laid before the meeting of the County Gentlemen on Tuesday last. I presume that it was. And if the gentlemen came to the above resolution after *having heard that correspondence read*, then I shall not say one word as to the result to which they have come. If not, it is necessary that to those with whom I have been so much in communication that correspondence should be communicated.

But, secondly, if that correspondence was not read to the meeting then some statement or account of it must have been given to the gentlemen which was sufficient to induce them, without hearing what I had to say, to come to a resolution which is unusual and may be calculated to injure me in my profession; and therefore I request to know if the correspondence was not read what was stated to the meeting, and what were the grounds on which it was proposed to the Gentlemen to remove me from the situation in which they had placed me.

These are points upon which for my own sake I am entitled to have information and I shall say no more in regard to your unexpected communication until I have received your answer.

I am the more anxious to have an explicit answer to the above enquiries because I received on Wednesday morning by the Musselburgh Post a letter from Sir John Hope upon County affairs dated the 14th which was the very day of the meeting, in which there is no allusion to the meeting or to a change in the agency. There was however at the end of that letter an advice to me to give up having anything to do with politics, which I could not *then* understand. It is a great gratification to me to find that all question as to the perfect accuracy of my understanding that I was the agent of the County gentlemen is now set at rest (indeed in the most striking way possible since the agency has been changed without any communication with Sir George Clerk [until] after the meeting)—and that circumstance makes it the more necessary that I should know that those at the meeting were acquainted with the recent correspondence, in which when it became necessary to have the old standing accounts settled it was so positively asserted that I was solely the agent of Sir George Clerk.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir John Hope

Edinburgh, 20 June 1836

The Post of this morning brought me your letter of the 17th current in answer to which I have only to say that the information contained in it is entirely new [sic] to me.

If the resolution or plan for the future management of the County was formed by the leading gentlemen so long ago, as I think from your letter it must have been, I think that it ought to have been communicated to me in the first instance. No such communication was ever made as you suppose, either by Lord Melville to the Dean, or by Sir George Clerk. All that Lord Melville said to the Dean was that the Gentlemen wished that as it was thought that purchases of properties had not been made quick enough or in sufficient number there should be some persons in the districts to look out for purchases, and he rather gave the Dean the impression that I did not purchase them fast enough. It was after the Dean's interviews with Lord Melville that you and Mr Dundas came here once or twice in January in regard to the getting new qualifications made, and you never at these meetings or subsequently hinted at change. I cannot help now wishing that you had done so, as I should not have then begun a good deal of business for the next Registration, which another must now follow out.

But your letter is of quite a different nature from one which I received on Saturday afternoon from Mr Dundas of which I beg to enclose Copy, in which he informs me that there was a meeting of 'The most part of those Gentlemen of this County who constituted Sir G. Clerk's Committee' upon Tuesday last, and that they 'were all of opinion that after the occurrences of the last few months it would be as well for all parties that the agency for the County should be changed'. I sent an answer to that letter which Mr Dundas would receive this morning and to it I beg to refer you.

The 'occurrences of the last few months' of course must mean the recent correspondence in regard to the settlement of the past accounts, and Mr Dundas distinctly informs me that it is on account of this that the County Gentlemen at a meeting on Tuesday resolved to change the agency.

Now I do not say either that I am disappointed at not being continued or that the gentlemen have not a right to withdraw the

business from me, but I must request that I may be told distinctly on account of which of the *two grounds*, given for my removal by you and Mr Dundas respectively, it is that I am to understand that I have been dismissed.

It is necessary for me to have this put upon a clear footing, because for my own sake I must see that the change is made in such a manner as will not injure me in my profession, which any such step on the part of the County Gentlemen is calculated to do—and also that the Gentlemen and my friends understand exactly how the change is to be made.

I have only to request that this may be communicated to me as soon as possible.

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

Robert Dundas of Arniston to James Hope

Melville Castle, 21 June 1836

In reply to yours of Saturday received by me yesterday I have to say,

1st. That the Correspondence you allude to was not read to the Meeting on Tuesday because there are parts of it which being strictly confidential ought not to meet the Eyes of any third Party whatsoever.

2dly. It was stated that a Misunderstanding had arisen regarding the Party to whom you were to look for payment of your accounts, and the extent to which that misunderstanding had gone was fully detailed. (I may here state that *I* never imagined that you wished or meant to retain the Agency after the Correspondence of last Spring, Nay I considered that by that Correspondence you virtually had given it up).

Your letter I regret to say has compelled me to state what I had not wished for your sake to do, namely that 'the occurrences of the last few months' do not form the sole nor indeed the principal grounds of the change that has now been made. For some time past Sir George Clerk as well as many of the Committee have become gradually more and more aware that your habits were not those which were best suited for the peculiar duty of a political Agent, especially as regards the necessary intercourse with men of inferior rank in Society to yourself. In proof of this I am allowed to refer you

to your Brother to whom this was stated so far back as (I think) November last by Lord Melville. At that period the change was nearly taking place, and was not carried through mainly through an unwillingness to part with an Agent of whose zeal and activity no one need find fault. Although this can form no imputation against your professional character still I feel that it is a most painful communication for *me* to make and for you to receive. Upon me alone then rests the whole blame of not alluding to it in my note of Friday, and of attributing the change solely to a dispute, which tho' it certainly forms *one* reason is far from the only one why that change was made.

I have only further to notice the concluding part of your letter where you allude to the old grounds of dispute, namely whether you were Sir George's Agent or ours. I must decline again entering upon what is now a useless dispute except to say that my original opinion as stated to you in my letter from Bloxholme¹ remains *unchanged*.

You must bear in mind that this alteration is not made by the Committee alone, but by the wish, and with the most perfect and entire concurrence of Sir George Clerk, Sir Francis Drummond and others interested in the County in London.

Note by the Dean to Mr. J. Hope on returning the foregoing letter, and which was forwarded at his desire to Mr Dundas.

I have simply to say that Lord Melville *said nothing to me but this*—not one word more:

1. On the first occasion I saw him, that there had been a Meeting of some of the Gentlemen, who thought you were not *purchasing* quick enough. I was struck with the fact that Mr Horne had been at that Meeting, and immediately said that if they wished any change I hoped he would say so at once. *He said not at all*. But that they thought that they should have some Agents in the County Districts to pick up purchases. I said I should send you to him [Horne]. I found out that they, and not you were to blame as to purchases.

2. On the second Occasion he said you were not getting *purchasers* for what had been bought fast enough, and again it was said that Mr Horne could name people who could purchase. I said it was absurd

¹ This was probably the letter referred to by James Hope on 15 Mar., above p. 51. Bloxholme Hall in Lincolnshire was the home of Dundas's cousin Robert Adam Dundas, below p. 247, n. 1.

for any one to suppose that Horne could not easily have given their names to you. He said Horne and others were often more in the habit of hearing of such things than perhaps you were. I said you would see Horne. That is all that passed.

That the conduct to you is intollerable is too plain: But I own I pity the exhibition others have made in it.

[On the above copy the Dean added a note in his own hand]

NB Since my note to Sir George Clerk, it appears that there has been another meeting and that Tytler has been sent to James with some sort of apology and with some statement that they believed Lord Melville had said something to me which he had not done. This makes little change. J[ohn] H[o]pe].

[Copy] Clerk, 3374

John Hope to Sir George Clerk

20 Moray Place, Edinburgh, 22 June 1836

I know not what sort of notion of fair treatment of another Mr Dundas may Entertain, or whether He imagines that my Brother's friends generally or I are to allow the words of the change which He so abruptly Communicated to pass (notwithstanding the General notice it will attract) without any Statement or explanation on the part of my Brother in His Vindication or whether He ever thought upon the Subject at all. But He is very much mistaken if He supposes that the way in which James has been treated shall not be as well known as the change made in this abrupt and harsh manner on the Eve of the Registration must become. The Contrast between the Statement in his first letter and in his last (of which and of a Memorandum by me to James sent to Him in reply I now Enclose copies) is a very pitiful Exhibition.

I am under the necessity however now of asking you if his Statement in regard to yourself is correct, which both James and I treat as you may suppose with utter disbelief. The affair is most unexampled on his own Shewing.

He and others resolve last Autumn to make a change. All Winter they go on preparing the Registration Votes with James. I find it necessary to have the question as to the accounts brought to a point: Then Dundas says he never was the Agent of the Gentlemen at all

and wishes him to turn round on you. And then after that Dundas coolly announces that the Gentlemen have made the change!! That James was not to go on, He and I had Settled: But He deserved Something diff[eren]t at their hands and their conduct shall be as well Known as the fact in order to prevent injury to His prospects in Life.

Clerk, 3374

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 22 June 1836

Our meeting was a thin one today but our Subscription was £350 or thereabouts. Miss Innes is in bad humour from having too much money and has *not* as yet given any thing. But I own to you that we are much annoyed by Sir George Clerk's conduct. (He has now acted just as I in some measure suspected, Kept himself out of the way and left others to bear the odium). It turns out now that altho' He agreed to have a new agent as far back as last January, He never hinted the idea to poor James Hope, who we were told at that meeting was to be told of the resolution by as I understood Sir George and also by the Dean, to whom Lord Melville was *first* to communicate the plan. *Dundas* and I are Hope's oldest friends and it has, we find, devolved upon us last week to do what Sir George ought to have done months ago. Is this fair? But would you believe that Sir George Clerk writes by last night's (tuesday) post, his Letter having been mis-sent, that at that meeting He concurred in the propriety of the change proposed in consequence of what fell from others, tho' He could not say He was dissatisfied with Mr Hope. This is my understanding of what he now writes—now, my impression of proceedings of that meeting is that I never heard him say that *He was satisfied* with Mr Hope's exertions. Had He given either Dundas or me a hint of this opinion we might have tried to back James Hope, but I never heard him express such an opinion as He now states. But of this I will write more tomorrow, as our hour of post is at hand.

We have notwithstanding all this blow hot and cold work stuck to our point and appointed Mr Inglis *for this registering only*¹ who

¹ The words in italics were added and underlined. In fact Inglis held the agency until the early 1850s.

seems an active rational sort of man; and we agreed to get you and the other absentees along with ourselves to become security for £400 certain to begin his work—which I Have no doubt you will all do, and at sametime to give our best assistance in seeing more money collected if necessary as we had no money; we thought this the best way of proceeding as we were but few, Eight in all, tho' others wrote to Subscribe their £20 or £25—and Mr Inglis is to begin forthwith. I trust that you will approve of all this—But to go on with my account of Sir George's letter. I heard repeated this forenoon the Expressions made use of by Sir George in a letter to James Hope last night,¹ wishing to Know what was going on, in short writing him as if He was still the Agent. Now this appears to me to be Equally as incredible as the first story I mentioned. In the past He more than concurred in getting a new agent last January—on twenty second of May He read and approved your letter of that date² addressed to Sir Francis Drummond, and yet on 18th June He addresses James Hope *as Agent* to enquire what was going on. This is a kind of way of going on that I do not understand nor can I believe Sir George capable of such conduct. There must be some great mistake or misapprehension on my part.

But in consequence of all these different idioms of things we had a singular Scene at our meeting and [seemingly?] each producing Sir George's letters to confirm the opposite Statement. But all this I shall write fully to Sir George Clerk tomorrow as there must exist some great mistake somewhere. All that I can say is that Dundas and I have been cruelly used by being made the Executioners of poor James Hope our Early friend, who with the best intentions, was certainly not so culpable as to be treated in the way He has been, viz.—dismissed at a moment's warning. There is no [end of?]³ blunders in the whole business, as I hear that the Dean and Lord Melville are not at one about the business of announcing a change which Lord Melville says He did and the Dean says He did not understand that such was the communication, but the simple question is why did Lord Melville go to the *Dean*? What was the object?—pray do not forget to apply to Lord Abercorn. I am getting quite hardened in these kind of applications. I remain in haste. . . .

¹ Not seen.

² The letter was dated 20 May, above p. 63.

³ Words supplied.

[P.S.] We meet again on tuesday 28th so pray write me your ideas and what Cash you have got Subscribers for.—pray write on *Saturday 25.*

Our Subscription today was	£300
and from Miller M.P. of Craigentenny for our	50
Bygones. Rec[eive]d on my return here	
announcing it to be paid.	

£350

[*Further note*] I am sure you cannot be surprised at my saying that if I had Known the difficulties I would not have meddled so as to jar poor James Hope's feelings.

[*On the folder of the letter*] I have not time to write Sir George and there is no post tomorrow. If you think my letter not too strong—pray shew it to him—and by tuesday I have no doubt every thing will be put right if I am wrote to on Saturday. J.H.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to Sir George Clerk

Private

Pinkie House, 23 June 1836

Your letter of 18th inst.¹ arrived here last night (instead [of] on 20th) where detained God Knows.

I confess its contents have astonished me and many others not a little, and indeed part of the letter I do not understand. But I will quote your words, 'although I should not myself have in the first instance recommended any change I was satisfied with the reason urged by others and I then signified my approbation of the determination to which they had come'. Now My Dear Sir George I never heard you at that meeting (at Melville)² express that you would not in the first instance have recommended a change. But be that as it may I certainly understood that you were to apprise Mr Hope of the plan in agitation after Lord Melville had previously acquainted the Dean. This was my full belief and understanding and

¹ Not seen.

² On 23 Jan. 1836; see below pp. 97-98.

if such had not been my firm belief that James Hope was to be made aware of the plan, I for one, not only being his relation, but being fully sensible that his respectability demanded that he should be treated fairly, would not have allowed myself to be placed in the situation of displacing a person who had no previous intimation that such a plan was in agitation.

You mention that you understood that Dundas of Arniston was to do it. This I certainly did not understand at the time and Dundas denies that any such duty was placed on him. You will see by this statement in how very awkward [a] dilemma I am placed in, increased two-fold by James Hope receiving on tuesday from you a letter I am assured (as I Have not seen it) applying to him, as if he [were]¹ still the Agent, for information as to what was doing. . . .

Yesterday 22d your friends met to fix upon Mr Inglis as the Agent, if He accepted our offer which he did. . . . We had a great deal of painful discussion in consequence of a message by Tytler from James Hope, and both Dundas and I had to explain matters and refer to your letters—and He [Tytler] mentioned what Mr Hope had told him and this delayed us—and has occasioned my adverting to your letters to me and to Mr Hope which would appear to be contradictory to one another, but as we did not see Mr Hope's there we are no judges. But as I do feel deeply that Mr Hope has received no previous warning, I trust you will be able to put that right—as James Hope has begun a correspondence about it.

Clerk, 3374

Sir George Clerk to John Hope

London, [c. 26 June 1836]²

I have received your letter of the 22d and the accompanying correspondence between your Brother and Sir John Hope and Mr Dundas on a subject which has been most painful to my feelings. I shall as shortly as I can now state to you in reply to your enquiry what I know with respect to the communication which has been made to your Brother.

A short time before I left Scotland to attend my duty in Parliament I had a meeting with some of the Gentlemen who have taken the

¹ The original has 'will'.

² Incorrectly dated 22 June.

most active part in the Business of the County Politics. On that occasion I learned with regret the opinion entertained by some of my friends that your Brother though most zealous and indefatigable in managing the business confided to him did not appear to them to possess that species of bustling activity which was greatly required in a political Agent, and that with the view of counteracting the efforts which had been made and were then making by the opposite party they thought that some person though by no means equal to your Brother in professional knowledge but of more active habits might be more serviceable for that object, as the business was of a nature not to be transacted¹ in chambers.

I then stated my regret that such an opinion should prevail among them, but I considered that [as] they had as deep an interest as myself that the political business of the County should be conducted in the most efficient manner, I should bow to their superior judgment and acquiesce in whatever arrangements they considered most expedient. I insisted at that time that if they should conceive it necessary to employ another Agent that they should take upon themselves the task of making the communication to your Brother, and I did understand that at the proper time R. Dundas was to communicate with your Brother. I believe no such [communication]² was made to him before I left Scotland, and under the circumstances I have mentioned above I did not feel myself warranted in opening my lips on the subject [after?]³ I left Scotland. Shortly after that period a correspondence took place with regard to the Accounts of the nature of which you are perfectly aware which placed the relative situation of your Brother and myself in a more anomalous and embarrassing position than before. I came down to Scotland for a week at Easter chiefly for the purpose of having this matter adjusted but from the absence of almost all of the persons who had taken a share in the correspondence I had no opportunity of doing any thing.

Since my return to London I heard nothing of what was taking place in Edinburgh either with regard to the settlement of the accounts or any arrangement for employing another Agent to take charge of the Registrations except a casual conversation with Sir

¹ Clerk deleted 'as James had'.

² In the original but deleted.

³ The original has 'before' deleted but not replaced; 'after' is clearly what Clerk intended.

Francis Drummond about a month ago when he was passing through London,¹ till I was informed by Sir John Hope that a meeting was to be held on the 14th. I received last Saturday the 18th a further letter informing me of what had occurred at that meeting and stating that a second Meeting was to be held on the 22d at which every thing was to be settled, and requesting to know, as I had previously merely stated my acquiescence in the views of the other Gentlemen, whether this arrangement met with my approval.

I told him that in the peculiar and delicate situation in which I felt myself placed, having already stated my readiness to acquiesce in any arrangements my friends should propose, I had no hesitation in now saying, when they were made, that I should approve of them. I most deeply regret that the communication of this determination has been made in an abrupt manner to your Brother and, that anything should have occurred to aggravate those painful feelings which under any circumstances must have to a certain extent have existed in his mind, I can attribute only to the extreme reluctance everyone has felt to undertake so painful a communication to a person for whom they entertain so warm a friendship and so deep a regard as your Brother. I certainly entertained no doubt that both he and you had been prepared for it, as I understood Lord Melville had made some communication to you.

I may have been to blame in not informing your Brother of what I knew, but as Mr Dundas had undertaken this duty I thought I ought to leave to him the time of making such a communication.

I can only say in justice to your Brother that in the whole of the intercourse I have done with him during the last 4 years I have uniformly found him most zealous in promoting the conservative Interest in the County of Edinburgh and that he has devoted the greatest portion of his time during that period. I never should have suggested or expressed any wish to make any change though when such an opinion was entertained and expressed by those on whom I was mainly dependent for support I felt myself bound to acquiesce in their decision.

[Draft copy] Clerk, 3374

¹ As the correspondence in May shows this statement falls somewhat short of the truth, above pp. 60-65.

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 28 June 1836

Our meeting went on today most *harmoniously*—and we have got a good addition to our Subscriptions. I am glad you have ordered payment of yours and it would be well if you wrote to Lord Lothian to do the same. I hope you will get Lord Abercorn to assist. Mr James Hope has given up the whole Electioneering papers to Mr Inglis and promises to give him every assistance; at one time I did not expect this, as I heard that a statement of the whole business was preparing. Our Subscribers are rather cautious and not willing to volunteer—But I made it quite distinct that this Subscription was for by-gones, and that it would be necessary for our having an additional Small Subscription for the new Registration and that Mr Inglis was only engaged for that and if a dissolution took place that a meeting should take place of all concerned, when it would be settled what portion the Candidate and those friendly to him and his politics were to Subscribe.

I received all your letters from Barnet. I have been making further investigation about the Mistake of who was to inform James Hope. It now turns out that Mr Dundas first undertook the duty, but his letter was stopped at the time. But this was *before the meeting at Melville Castle* when both Dundas and I understood that Sir George was to do it—while on the other hand Sir George C. considered that Dundas continued still to have the authority He received at a previous meeting in the County Rooms—and we on the other hand believed that the Duty devolved on Sir George.

I took occasion at the meeting today to mention that when it was resolved at Melville to try and get another Agent, That the Duke of Buccleuch was not present and consequently that he had then little to do in the determination which *in fact* James Hope's own immediate friends came to—not from any fault in his zeal and anxiety to perform his Duties, but in real truth because He moved less among the tenantry than was necessary for an Agent to do, and that what was required was a person who would mix more with them.—Various Sums have been subscribed at the Royal Bank. But until I see the Sums actually paid in I cannot give a proper Statement—But some people are looking to see your Subscription and Lord Lothian's.

Pray keep Lord Haddington in view for a Subscription, — Whatever He gives is not of so much consequence as the Example. He has the King's park in this County.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to Sir George Clerk

Pinkie House, 28 June 1836

Our meeting today went on smoothly and Mr Inglis is to commence his active operations without delay. Our Subscription is encreasing very fairly, and if you saw any one in London who from belonging to this County and who ought to Subscribe — *the Example* being as much wanted as the Amount — pray apply to them if possible and mention what the Conservatives are doing. Miller of Craigen-tinny has Subscribed.

Dundas and you are not at one about writing James Hope. Dundas says that He once had the Commission and wrote a letter which was withdrawn, and at the after meeting at Melville¹. — He understood that that duty devolved upon you, which I also believed, but pray put this on the proper footing with James Hope.

[ps] I may mention that Sir John Forbes told me today that the bill signed by you and others to their House was due.²

Clerk, 3374

Robert Dundas of Arniston to the Duke of Buccleuch

Rosscend, Burntisland, 29 June 1836

I have never written to you during all the late unfortunate correspondence relative to James Hope and the agency of the politics of MidLothian, because the letters of Lord Melville and of Sir John Hope were sufficient to make you aware of the facts and I did not want to write unnecessary letters upon so disagreeable a subject. I find however that I must trouble you to read the inclosed and to forward it to Sir George Clerk. It is in answer to a letter of his to Sir John Hope of the 26th forwarded to Sir John under your Grace's frank.³ In that letter Sir George erroneously states that I was the person who was charged with the task of communicating to Hope that the agent was to

¹ Printed as in the original; the phrase may refer to the meeting's endorsement of Dundas's action, below p. 98.

² Above p. 31.

³ Not seen.

be changed. In the inclosed I have reminded him of certain circumstances proving that I was not the person. In this view of the matter Lord Melville, Sir John Hope and Horne entirely agree with me.

Since I have been obliged to plague you with this letter I shall merely say that no one could be more convinced of the necessity of a change than I was, that I undertook to communicate this necessity to Hope with great reluctance and solely because I thought that it was the Kindest way in which he could be made aware of it, and because I being the person to whom Hope chiefly owed his late situation I could not well decline the task of being the organ of his removal. Most deeply do I regret the temper in which Hope and his brother have acted in this matter and I wish I could flatter myself that time would show them that my endeavours were prompted by the desire that this inevitable change should be made in the mode least painful to Hope himself.

[ps] I return to Arniston tomorrow.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Robert Dundas of Arniston to Sir George Clerk

Rossend, Burntisland, 29 June [1836]

Sir John Hope gave me yesterday yours to him of date the 26th and both Lord Melville, Sir John and Horne agree with me in thinking that you are mistaken in your belief that I was the person to whom the task of communicating the intended change to James Hope was committed at our meeting at Melville Castle.

In confirmation of this you will perhaps remember that our first meeting upon this subject was held not at Melville but in the County Rooms. At that meeting Lord M[elville] undertook to speak to the Dean to prepare James for the communication which I was then and *there* directed to make. After allowing two days for Lord M[elville] to see the Dean, I upon a *Wednesday* (I think January 20th) wrote a long letter to James Hope announcing the intended change. I wrote this letter in my Mother's house and gave it to her servant to carry to J. Hope. I then went to Horne's and found him and Sir F. Drummond.¹ They both insisted upon my stopping my letter if yet

¹ 8 Atholl Crescent was only a few minutes walk from James Hope's chambers in Rutland Square. Horne lived at number 10.

possible on the ground that the 1st of February was far too near to make the change safe.¹ I did get hold of the letter and burnt it. The meeting at Melville took place upon the *following Saturday* where what I had done or rather *not* done was approved of. You will remember that the time when the change was to be made was not mentioned but left quite indefinite, and most assuredly no commission was *then* or at any subsequent time given to me to make any communication to James Hope on the subject. A few weeks after, vizt among the first days of March, that most extraordinary correspondence as to whose agent James Hope was took place. I was then in Lincolnshire and I fairly own that I thought this correspondence was a mere pretext to get James out of a situation from which he (the Dean) knew that he was ere long to be removed. Never did I imagine that he meant to remain agent after showing to third parties letters which were intended by us at least to be confidential, and after leaving us no choice but an action!! or an immediate arbitration! to settle the dispute.

The tone and temper in which James and the Dean have acted is indeed to me most annoying and I cannot help thinking that in undertaking to act as your substitute (by performing this most unpleasant duty) I have had rather a hard task assigned to me. I do not complain of it, 1st because I was the person to whom James owed the agency and was therefore in some degree bound to be the organ of the change, 2dly because I thought in so doing I was taking the kindest mode of notifying it to James Hope. Therefore it was that at the meeting in the County Rooms I undertook the duty which I (most wisely) was then prevented from performing and therefore it was that on the next occasion (vizt ten days ago) I did a second time undertake it and carry it through.

Clerk, 3374

James Hope to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 5 July 1836

I have to apologise for not sooner noticing your Letter of the 28th ult.² as well as your previous letter to the Dean, but I have been a good deal hurried since about a Jury trial.

¹ The date by which the preparation of voting qualifications for the 1836 registration had to be completed.

² Not seen.

I can assure you that the receipt of these two letters has been a great relief to my mind after all that has passed, and that I am quite satisfied that under the Circumstances in which you were placed you could not do otherwise than acquiesce in what others had resolved upon.

I certainly regret that you did not tell me what was going on, because I should then have brought matters to a speedy termination and so saved a great deal of most unpleasant correspondence; but I quite understand your unwillingness to do so after it had been arranged that others were to make the Communication. And therefore I shall think no more of that matter.

I can never however find excuse for the conduct of Mr Dundas and others for not making the Communication at the proper time, or for not ascertaining that it had been made, when they *must have often seen* from my actings that I had not been informed of the resolution to which they had come. Their going on with me arranging and preparing for next Registration after they had come to a resolution that I was not suited to be their Agent, shewed a want of candour which was very unfair to me, and which was most unnecessary on their part on any account. If Lord Melville or Dundas had just stated their opinion when they formed it last November, I should without the slightest feeling of being ill-used have immediately given up the business and put them quite free, and no person should have known *why* I gave it up.

But I do not wish to enter upon their conduct, which throughout the whole Correspondence has been very extraordinary and what I never could have expected from them. The matter is now ended I hope, and I shall say no more about it unless I may find it necessary occasionally to explain to friends the true state of matters, for I rather think it has been given out that I threw up the Business.

Clerk, 3374

Sir John Hope to Sir George Clerk

Pinkie House, 9 August 1836

I am glad that you are arrived. I can attend you any day *next week* as I am not going to the Highlands.

The sooner you wait upon your constituents the better as the

Enemy has been busy right away. You will have some difficulty in settling with James Hope, who in consequence of your letter to him saying that you acquiesced in the new appointment understands that you were entirely satisfied with him. He has in consequence wrote a most extraordinary letter to Robert Dundas of Arniston,¹ and unless you come forward and state that you also had reason to be dissatisfied, your former opinions will necessarily be enquired into.

Your wish to palliate matters to the Dean, will bring forward your greatest supporters to prove that you also expressed your dissatisfaction of James Hope's not taking the best mode for forwarding your Interest. I give you this hint as you may yet stop matters coming to a crisis.

Have you Ever seen or wrote to Ramsay of Barnton as He seems not so active in your favour, at least He does [not?] enter so warmly into the Canvassing and He certainly did much for you? Sharpe has some influence with him. I mean William Sharpe.²

Clerk, 3374

Sir George Clerk to the Duke of Buccleuch

Penicuik House, 23 November 1836

Sir John Hope has sent me the enclosed letter from Donald Horne respecting the settlement of James Hope's Accounts as he does not wish to take upon himself alone the responsibility of sanctioning the interpretation placed by Mr Horne on what took place at Dalkeith on Monday the 14th. My own impression is that Mr Horne's view of what took place is correct, namely that if he failed in persuading Mr Hope voluntarily to make any abatement from his charges he was authorized to pay him the full amount.

I have however very great difficulty in presuming to give any opinion in this matter as it is entirely out of my power to advance the money required for that purpose.³

¹ Not seen.

² William Sharpe of Hoddam, ws, 1791-1875, younger brother of General Matthew Sharpe, Whig MP Dumfries burghs 1832-41, and of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the antiquarian and Tory.

³ Sir George Clerk had other financial problems at this time arising from debts incurred by his second son George Edward Clerk, 1815-75. See below, p. 131, n. 1.

I stated in a letter which I wrote to Lord Melville,¹ but of which I took the liberty to send a copy to your Grace, that if my friends in the County called on me to contribute more than $\frac{1}{2}$ the total Expences from the commencement of the contest in 1832 it would not only be impossible for me to contribute any thing more in future, but also that it would involve me in such pecuniary embarrassment as to render it necessary for me in common prudence to consider whether I should not retire altogether. The total Expence now amounts to about £8,000 of which I have actually paid £3,000 and I believe about the same amount has been raised by subscription. There is a bill for £1,300 lying at Sir William Forbes' drawn on me by Mr Dundas, Sir John Forbes and Mr Anderson, and it seemed to be expected that in addition to this Bill I should pay £500 towards the settlement of Mr Hope's Accounts. I am most anxious to make every exertion in my power, but it is altogether impossible for me to pay these large sums without involving myself in difficulties which would embarrass me for the rest of my life, and which would render it necessary for me to break up my establishments at Penicuik. With a clear income of little more than £4,000 it is not possible for me to pay about one fourth of it annually for Election Expences, which were I obliged to pay the two sums now due, would be the case during the last four years. I hear there is every reason to apprehend that the Expences will not be much less in future. Under these circumstances I have to request that your Grace would in conjunction with Lord Melville and the other Gentlemen reconsider the proposed division of the Balance of the Expences and that I should not be called on to pay more than one half of the total Expence from the commencement. Even this reduced demand on me would expose me to considerable difficulty which nothing but the most rigid economy on my part would enable me to meet. I have to offer you many apologies for troubling you with this detail to which the urgent necessity of the case alone has compelled me to have recourse.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ Above pp. 60-61.



Donald Horne to Sir John Hope

Private 96 George Street [Edinburgh], 16 November 1836

I have had two meetings with Mr Oliphant,¹ and one with Mr Hope this forenoon. To the former I explained my views in detail; but when the latter called today he held still he had not charged *so much* as he might have done and that his charges were not compensation to him. I stated to him that I held such continuous business should not be so fully paid as if one were taken away and accepted for a specific time, or business with which he was never again to interfere and not to feel any further Interest; but my statements made no impression, and finding this to be the Case I asked him what he thought of a reference to Mr Robertson.² He said he could not object to a reference but he did not think Mr Robertson, connected as he was with Sir Francis, the proper person; and that the objections to his accounts should be in writing. This would be an endless mode of settlement, and as he assures me that until last Year he had not much of the Conveyancing tho' he had all the trouble, I do submit to you that the best plan will be to pay off his balances at once, and get his discharge. I think I have full authority from the meeting on Monday to do this, but I would wish, after you have considered what I have now said, to have your sanction, and after hearing from You I shall fix Thursday next for paying him. And as I understand You are to []³ on Wednesday You can then provide the funds.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private Pinkie House, 24 November 1836

I had a meeting with Sir George Clerk yesterday, and I am sorry to say that the state of the funds to pay off James Hope gives serious uneasiness. Sir G. is cramped in money matters, his Estate being entailed, and how the balance is to be forthcoming I Know not. It would therefore be well that as Lord Melville is with you that Matters should be well considered, as I am afraid the Expence will fall upon those able to pay and as far as I am concerned I Have done more than I can well afford, and *with the great difficulty* of getting the

¹ Robert Oliphant of Rossie, w.s. 1810-72, James Hope's partner, from late 1836.

² Above p. 67, n. 5.

³ MS illegible.

County gentlemen to subscribe I confess I am beginning to despair of our being able to go on, as besides the old arrears of which we talked at Dalkeith the Expences of the last registration amount I understand to *nine* Hundred pounds, owing in a great measure to the delay thrown on the way by our opponents in getting our friends enrolled. One would expect that the Expences of our opponents would be as great but this turns out *not* to be the case, as their witnesses for themselves as well as against us work for nothing; their Counsel also act *gratuitously*. This bears hard upon our finances as our witnesses expect to be repaid their Expences as well as for refreshments.

We are to have a meeting of the general Committee of the County on Friday week 2d December to look into our concerns both pecuniary as well as to see what numbers we can get enrolled next year, but I am afraid that the Expences will frighten many of them.

You are aware I believe that Sir George has a bill of £1,200¹ to discharge at Sir William Forbes's, being a part of former Expences, and privately I know his son has lately brought him into difficulty in pecuniary matters, which are now under discussion of his solicitors in London.² As Lord Lothian is in your neighbourhood, pray weigh all these matters as I really much fear the results of our meeting on 2d December, indeed I am afraid few will attend as they are afraid of their purses being called upon.

I wrote again to Ramsay of Barnton, whether successful or not I know not. Lord Melville was to speak to Miss Innes and I do not know if Dalhousie³ or Lord Morton have joined us.

What a day yesterday was and this day is thick and I suppose in the Hills it rains heavily.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir George Clerk

Private

Bowhill, 1 December 1836

I have had some conversation with Lords Lothian and Melville and also Lord Morton. We are of opinion that you should not be

¹ Actually £1,300.

² See below p. 131, n. 1.

³ George Ramsay, 1770-1838, 9th Earl of Dalhousie 1787, was Governor-in-Chief of Canada 1819-28.

called upon to pay more than one half of the whole expences supposing them to amount to £8,000 and that the county should defray the deficiency. I have written to Sir John Hope upon the subject by this post, he will show you my letter to him.

Clerk, 3374

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir John Hope

Bowhill, 1 December 1836

I had a conversation yesterday with Lords Lothian, Melville and also Lord Morton respecting Mid Lothian. We are of opinion that Sir George Clerk should not pay more than one half of the whole expences, supposing this to be £8,000 i.e. [the] whole of the expences previous to the appointment of Mr Inglis. In my opinion he ought not and cannot be asked to do more. We think that the County should make up the deficiency and each of us will subscribe for that purpose.

With regard to the registration expences, the sum mentioned by you (viz. £900) has surprised us; no doubt the accounts are correct, but we should like to see a statement from Mr Inglis of the causes which have swelled them up so high. Of this account however we think that Sir G. Clerk should not be called upon to pay more than his fair proportion as a county gentleman. It would be well if you could devise some plan by which we might have an annual subscription for such purposes. In some parts of England the Farmers and middling Classes subscribe their half crowns etc. for this purpose. Could you not start something of that sort, and let them form Committees among themselves for it? Lord Melville could not see Miss Innes as she was ill in bed. . . .

[ps] I have paid in my further subscription to your account at the Royal Bank.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Pinkie House, 3 December 1836

I have endeavoured to consider your plan that Sir George should

only be at half the Expence, but I am afraid that the Subscriptions from many will come in very slow. But I shall endeavour to see Lord Melville on tuesday morning and have a confab with him on the Subject. Our meeting on friday (yesterday) was very thinly attended, but we have put matters in train and we meet again on friday next, by which time we mean to try and make out a list of those we think will agree to become voters, for Ex[ample] Lord Elcho is not on the list of the voters in this County. Could your Grace write him to get himself enrolled?—this month it must be fixed what his qualification or possession is to be. Horne is to examine the accounts of Mr Inglis. But with regard to the old accounts of Mr James Hope, I understood that Mr Horne was authorised by the meeting at Dalkeith House to pay him off. Was this your Grace's idea?, because it would be well that Horne settled with James Hope to prevent further dispute. But at all Events it would be well that Mr Horne had your authority, as He's delaying to settle owing to his not hearing from some of us.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Donald Horne to Sir John Hope

Private 96 George Street, [Edinburgh], 2 January 1837

From the inclosed abstract you will see I have finally settled James Hope's accounts, and as I am very far from flush of Cash at present, I shall be very glad to be repaid my advances.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Donald Horne to the Duke of Buccleuch

96 George Street, Edinburgh, 4 January 1837

I have just received your Grace's note and I now inclose a Copy of the Statement of the final settlement with Mr Hope. I sent the original to Sir John Hope on Monday last, and I have put a Note at the bottom shewing the amount of my advances.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Abstract of the Accounts of James Hope Junior, Esq., w.s.
For The County of Mid-Lothian¹

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. To amount of account for the Registration and Election in 1832 with interest on the outlay per account at 5 per cent	1,980	2	10			
By cash to account on 25 May 1836 as marked on the account	1,635	2	3			
				345	0	7
2. To amount of account for the Registration of 1833 per account				314	19	3½
3. To amount of account for the Registration 1834 per account				238	17	8
4. To amount of account for the Election in 1835 per account	2,521	12	2			
By cash to account at different times as stated in said account	2,279	6	7			
				242	5	7
5. To amount of account for Registration 1835 per account	659	15	10			
By cash received to account of Subscriptions	60	11	4			
				599	4	6
				1,740	7	7½

¹ To understand the figures in this abstract it is necessary to compare it with that printed on p. 50. The sum of £1,980 2s. 10d. is obtained by deducting payments of £1,035 and £1,300 (as in the earlier abstract) from the total expenses in 1832, £4,286, and allowing for interest. The sum of £1,635 2s. 3d. paid on 25 May is the £1,626 16s. 0d. shown to be owing by Sir George Clerk in the earlier abstract, plus interest. The registration accounts for 1833 and 1834 have also been increased by interest. The expenses of the general election in 1835 have been finally calculated, and the figure of £2,279 6s. 7d. paid towards that account, of which Clerk had paid £1,300 by the bill on Sir William Forbes and Company, indicates that the county gentlemen had paid £979 6s. 7d. as stated in Hope's letter to Clerk 29 May 1835, above p. 26, and not the slightly larger sum shown in the Clerk copy of the earlier abstract. The registration expenses for 1835 have considerably increased over the earlier estimate of £500, and the amount of the subscriptions has fallen from £70 to just over £60.

Sir George Clerk to the Duke of Buccleuch

London, 4 February 1837

I have received your letter of the 1st and I assure you I feel very grateful for the great kindness which I have received from you and my other friends. It has been most painful to me that I should have been under the necessity of trespassing on their friendship to so great an extent, but unfortunately it was impossible for me to avoid it.

I shall most willingly take charge of the Granton Harbour [Bill] and use my best endeavours to obviate any difficulties which it may experience in its progress through the House of Commons.

A Committee has been granted to enquire into the allegation of the creation of Fictitious Votes in the Counties of Scotland.¹ If the Committee is fairly constituted and the enquiry confined to devising a mode of preventing fictitious and merely collusive purchases I do not think the Conservative Party will have reason to complain. There can be no reason why these may be checked and yet every facility given to the acquisition of *bonâ fidê* votes which must favour the influence of the real property in the Counties.

The Rumours of early Dissolution still prevail. I hear O'Connell tells his people to be ready about the month of April. I hear there is to be no recess at Easter which certainly looks as if there was some truth in the Report. I shall take care if I hear anything on this subject to give notice to our friends in Scotland.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ The committee was obtained on 1 Feb. on a motion by Edward Horsman, 1807-76, MP Cockermouth, nephew of Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple; see above pp. xlii-iii.

1837-1839

THE ELECTION OF 1837:
THE MANUFACTURE OF VOTES

Sir James Gibson-Craig to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

Riccarton, 9 February 1837

I MUST SINCERELY CONGRATULATE you on Horseman's most splendid appearance. I cannot doubt its being of incalculable advantage to himself and to our Cause.

But we must back him up to the utmost, otherways all his exertions must fail.

I some months ago put the business into the hands of Mr Newbigging ws,¹ who has done it admirably. The preparation of the Case, which has enabled Horseman to shine so brilliantly, has been attended with great labor and very heavy expence.

We must incur a great deal more in sending witnesses to London etc. etc. It cannot be less than £500. Lord Minto, Maule, Adam, Carmichael, Pringle and I have each subscribed £50.² I expect £50 from Raith,³ and I hope you will also subscribe. How the remaining £100 is to be made up I do not know. I cannot apply to the Murrays,⁴ because they have each innumerable and such heavy claims upon them. Can you suggest a mode of getting the money?

Stair, Box III: Sir James Gibson-Craig

¹ John Stewart Newbigging, ws, 1809-49, sheriff clerk Roxburghshire 1841-9; he was one of the secretaries of the Liberal Reform Registry Association in 1836.

² Gilbert, 2nd Earl of Minto; Fox Maule MP; Admiral Charles Adam MP; Alexander Gibson-Carmichael; Robert Pringle of Clifton; see index for other references.

³ Robert Ferguson of Raith, MP, see above p. 15, n. 1.

⁴ The Lord Advocate John Archibald Murray, and his elder brother William Murray of Henderland.

William Murray of Henderland to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

undated [10 February 1837]

. . . I hope the Commission will be able to find some means to prevent the fabrication of more fictitious votes, and to get rid of those that have been made already, but it will not be an easy matter—every possible trick will be played to defeat the measure by the experienced Tory tacticians, but I hope we shall be too much for them. I have not heard much of what the Tories here say, they admit it to be a clever speech, but say he [Horsman] does not know the way in which *their* votes were made, but only how the *Whig* votes were manufactured. I am much mistaken if he does not shew that he knows all their manoeuvres. They are evidently in a state of great dismay and anxiety. I was but a very short time at the Club¹ yesterday, and was asked by *two* different Tories if I knew what the list of the committee was, tho' it had been printed in the Caledonian Mercury. . . .

Stair, Box 109: W. Murray

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 23 June 1837²

We had a meeting about our County Election today but we came to no decision as we could not arrange any plan about the pecuniary part—without which nothing can be done; in fact there lyes the difficulty and how to raise the money I do not know. What Sir George will do I do not know, but unless there is an available fund got, one way or other, I fear our success. Every body is naturally afraid to give their aid but for a given sum, and how it is to be raised I know not. . . . It would be perhaps well if your Grace saw Sir George Clerk and had some plan for our Expences settled as I foresee much, very much difficulty on this head, as few will come forward but for fixed sums—and many who ought to give liberally wont give at all.

¹ The New Club, founded 1787, was a social and not a political club; its membership in the 1830s included most of the prominent Whigs and Conservatives in Edinburgh.

² King William IV died on 20 June 1837. Parliament was dissolved and a general election held in July, the last occasion on which this happened automatically on the death of the sovereign.

[PS] I have wrote Lord Morton to request Lord Aberdour¹ to come over to canvass. This would stop the mouths of many who are luke warm as they cannot swallow the idea of such a Factor as Oliver² not obeying Sir James Gibson Craig.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir George Clerk to the Duke of Buccleuch

124 Pall Mall, 26 June [1837]

I enclose a letter which I have received from Inglis this morning. As Sir John Hope seems to think that nothing can be done till I come down, I shall leave London this Evening, as the Enemy are so active that I feel no time should be lost. The Expences of the former Contests have so crippled me that I can do but little myself towards the expence of the coming Election. I must therefore trust to the assistance of my friends to prevent the County being handed over quietly to the Whigs. As I shall have no opportunity of seeing them might I request your Grace to speak to Lord Abercorn and Lord Morton. I hope they will both write to their respective Agents Mr Guthrie Wright and Mr Moneypenny³ as well as give some assistance towards the Expences. Please excuse all the haste.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

H. M. Inglis to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 23 June 1837

Our Committee meeting is just over which was pretty numerously attended. The prospect of an immediate election was announced and that a Canvass by the Whigs has already actually commenced in the parish of Penicuik. The meeting consisted chiefly of Conveenors of

¹ Sholto John Douglas, 1818-84, 18th Earl of Morton 1858, styled Lord Aberdour 1827-58; at this time he was serving with the army in Ireland.

² Thomas Oliver, Lochend, d. 1844, farmer, land valuer, and factor for the Earl of Morton; he was a director of the Highland and Agricultural Society, and well known for his interest in agricultural experiments. In politics he was a Whig, see below pp. 125, 127.

³ Alexander Monypenny, ws, 1778-1844; he had been Sir George Clerk's political agent 1817-32.

Parochial Committees, who are to summon the members and arrange a division of the parishes, giving to each member of Committee a portion of the parish under his especial charge, His first duty being to get the best access to the doubtful voters, and ultimately to secure the attendance of all our friends on the day of election.

I had summoned a meeting of the *Sub-Committee* an hour previous to the General meeting, principally to consider how the funds necessary to pay the expences of an election are to be raised, but in the absence of Mr Dundas, who is in Fife, Mr Burn Callander at Harrowgate, etc., no one was present except Sir John Hope, so nothing could be done. It is obvious that money must be had immediately, and that there is no time to gather in subscriptions. I am satisfied from £2,000 to £3,000 will be required, and it can only be got by some few being security to a Bank for the amount in the meantime. Sir John seems to wish you here before any thing is done, so that the sooner you can leave London, both on this account and for other reasons the better. In the meantime I should like to know your views on this subject. I cannot advance a shilling, having already gone as far as possible, so that unless the means can be raised the County may be handed over to the Whigs.

Sir John has written to Mr Callander begging him to come immediately home, and he trusts to your writing to Sir F. Drummond whose present address is 'Baden Baden' as well as to young Wauchope of Edmonstone.¹ In my letter of yesterday I mentioned Douglas of Baads² and Lord Morton, as well as the Marquis of Abercorn. We must also make a push to get Lord Aberdour from Ireland. He is at present at Kilkenny and it would be of the utmost consequence to have him as soon as possible at Dalmahoy.³

I have this morning got a purchaser for property in Mid Calder which will immediately disqualify two additional Whig Voters.

I shall write you after my visit to the West on Monday. Young Wauchope's address is Wiesbaden, Dutchy of Nassau.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ John Wauchope of Edmonstone, see above p. xxxiii.

² Rev. Alexander Houston Douglas of Baads, d. 1852, the largest landowner in the parish of West Calder, but non-resident, *N.S.A.*, i, 306.

³ The Earl of Morton's estate and mansion in Ratho parish.

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir George Clerk

Private

London, 28 June 1837

I have written to Sir John Hope to say that I shall be most happy to give my name, with any others that may choose to join, as a security to the Bank for a Cash Credit should that be required for the expences of the Mid Lothian Election, and supposed that the amount would not exceed £3,000. I have said also that I am ready to subscribe now £300 and if necessary will at once add £200 more to that sum.

Lord Morton is doing all he can to get leave for his Son to come over, even for a week, but he doubts if he can accomplish it. He has taken steps with regard to his Tenantry.

I hear from Mr Scott Moncrieff this morning that he has lost no time in getting to work.

Clerk, 3374

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, Musselburgh, 1 July 1837

... Sir George's canvass is going on well and we are to meet on tuesday about our funds and if I see a proper opportunity I will put your name down for £300. The Credit you mention is employed in assisting the purchase of votes and it is well that no other Expence should be placed upon it; a good deal has already been drawn out¹—any other credit should be quite separate; perhaps you could give Lord Abercorn and Lord Morton a hint. By the bye it would be of great consequence that Lord Abercorn gave Captain Hamilton² some powers to look after various tenants, some of whom I can see. Mr Guthrie Wright the factor presses too hard upon *very trivial* matters—and besides Mr Wright between ourselves is *luke warm* in the cause to say the very least. If Captain Hamilton had a little authority He would put all matters right—for example Mr Wright keeps up a dispute with a tenant for the Interest of twenty five pounds upon an improvement beneficial to the Estate but he expressly wishes to Keep the Rental so just plagues the man.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ At the bottom of this page the Duke wrote, 'Note I suppose this is the credit for £5,000 mentioned in your letters. B.'

² Probably Captain William Alexander Baillie-Hamilton RN, 1803-81, the Marquis of Abercorn's brother-in-law.

Sir James Gibson-Craig to Fox Maule

Riccarton, 2 July 1837

William Sharp, Brother of General Sharp,¹ has a Vote in this County, and greatly annoys us, partly in misleading William Ramsay of Barnton, and carrying on a System of the most grovelling debauchery with some of the lowest Voters in the neighbourhood of Barnton. Last Election this was carried to the most disgraceful extent. It has not yet begun this Election, but we are in hourly expectations of hearing of it.

Sharp stands in great awe of the General, to whom I beg you to write requesting that he may ask his Brother to vote for William. Or, if he cannot do so, that he may not take an active part against him.

Dalhousie, 14/628

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, Musselburgh, 4 July 1837

At our meeting this day I put you down for £300 being unwilling at first to name more, Sir George £500 and upwards of £1,000 was got—this is very well for a beginning but unless we get £2,000 it wont do. There is no getting Lord Abercorn to put pen to paper but if it was Known that He subscribed It would give a kilsh² to his tenants that would be of immense use, and were He to give Captain Hamilton some powers it would settle the Election, for as in Sir Walter's works the Bailie says that his relation is of the *north side of friendly*³ such is Mr G. Wright his factor upon the Estate of Duddingston. Where is Lord Lothian? It would be well that your Grace wrote him upon the Subject as the sooner Subscribers come forward the more chance of our Success and at present I think well of our prospects.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Brownlee to William H. Brown⁴

Cousland Park, 5 July 1837

Lest you should suppose I promised the other night you called to

¹ Above p. 100, n. 2.

² 'An unexpected blow, especially in the side' according to *The Scottish National Dictionary*, v, 397.

³ *Rob Roy*, chapter xxxiv.

⁴ William H. Brown of Ashley, a landowner in Ratho parish, see below p. 118.

vote for Sir George Clerk, I think it right to inform you that decidedly I will not vote for a Whig, but whether I vote for Sir George will depend upon circumstances.

Previous to last election I addressed a letter to Sir George requesting a favor which he could either have granted or declined.¹ But he told me twice when I met him in Dalkeith that he had not got time to consider my letter. In the meantime circumstances occurred which forced me to promise my vote to Mr Gibson Craig, on a promise of indulgence etc from Sir John [Dalrymple]. The violation of his promise cured me of Whiggery but before I vote for Sir George Clerk he will explain to my satisfaction why he did not find time to consider and answer a letter which I now feel mortified at having addressed to him.

Had Sir George treated me with ordinary courtesy he would have had my most zealous support then and now; and the time was when I had some influence, particularly in the western part of the County. But perhaps two votes are of no consequence to him, as Sir John told me the other day. If they are of no consequence they are not worth asking and I shall certainly not give myself any trouble about the matter. I wish the conservative cause success; but I am too proud readily to overlook neglect.²

[Copy] Clerk, 3378

Sir George Warrender³ to Sir George Clerk

Private

Clifden, 7 July 1837

I accept as a personal civility your desire to have my support (which of itself is of so little importance) in the County of Edinburgh, but I do not see how I can act differently now from the vote I gave at the last general election. I hear indeed with pleasure that our sentiments do not much differ on the great questions of the day; but whatever are the political combinations that probably will hereafter arise, you must as an experienced party man perceive that I can take no other course than that of supporting every where those who will

¹ Above p. 16 and n. 1.

² See below p. 117.

³ Sir George Warrender 4th Bart. of Lochend, 1782-1849, MP Haddington burghs 1807-12, and English seats 1812-32. By 1841 Warrender was actively supporting the Conservatives in Roxburghshire; he gave £50 to the registration fund, Buccleuch MSS, SRO, GD224/581: Roxburghshire 1840-7.

act with Lords Melbourne and Palmerston in whose policy I concur and to whom I owe every obligation (for favors tendered tho' not accepted) that party honor can infer.

Clerk, 3378

Alex Douglas¹ to Sir George Clerk

17 Drummond Place, Edinburgh, 8 July 1837

If I had any influence with my friend Mr Bruce² or any one else you need not doubt it would be exerted in your favour. Mr Bruce and I have been personally acquainted with for nearly 40 years and a more honourable and better dispositioned Gentleman does not exist, but he is of a very peculiarly shy temper and mixes very little in Society. His property was not freehold and the Superior was originally Lord Eldin³ and latterly James Stuart of Duncarn⁴ and he felt particularly indignant when he learned that the latter Gentleman had been passing an Infestment on his property.⁵ When the Reform Bill passed, without having any political feeling or bias whatever, he has repeatedly stated to me as his reason for supporting Sir John Dalrymple and latterly Mr Gibson Craig that he considered himself bound to give his vote to the party by whom he had acquired the elective franchise, and by whose means he had been relieved from what he considered a state of Vassalage. However intimate I am with him I am quite satisfied he would feel indignant at any attempt on my part to use influence with him. I will however towards the end of next week pay him a visit and ascertain what his views are upon the present occasion although I have little doubt these will be unfavourable to you.

Clerk, 3378

¹ Alexander Douglas, ws, 1780-1851.

² William Bruce, proprietor of Alderstone in Mid-Calder.

³ John Clerk, 1757-1832, advocate 1785, Solicitor-General 1806-7, Lord Eldin 1823, a Whig. Sir George Clerk's father was his cousin.

⁴ James Stuart of Duncarn, ws, 1775-1849. An ardent Whig, he is remembered for having in 1822 killed Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck in a duel. Stuart had discovered that Boswell was the author of virulent attacks made on him in the Tory *Glasgow Sentinel*. Although tried for the murder of Boswell, Stuart was acquitted.

⁵ Stuart obtained the superiority of the barony of Alderstone from John Clerk in Sept. 1816. In June 1820 he conveyed the superiority of Westfield, part of the barony of Alderstone, to Thomas Cranstoun of Dewar, ws, 1760-1836, presumably to enable him to qualify as a voter in the county. Register of Sasines, Edinburgh, 1812-20, abridgements 20134, 26 Sept. 1816, and 23978, 30 June 1820.

William Burn-Callander to Sir George Clerk

Preston Hall, Saturday Morning [8 July 1837?]

Previous to the last Election I communicated to you the contents of a letter I had received from Mr Brownlee of which the following is a copy, and which rendered any answer to his letter to you unnecessary or rather out of the question.

'Cousland Park, 12th January 1835

Dear Sir, I think it right to inform you that circumstances have occurred since I last saw you, which render it inexpedient for me to vote for Sir George Clerk. I beg you will have the goodness to intimate to Sir George that I request he will consider the application I lately made to him for a favour as withdrawn.¹ I indeed regret that I gave him any trouble in that respect. I have the honour etc.'

Perhaps the best way to answer the letter to Mr Brown, of which he has sent you a copy, would be by his going again to Mr Brownlee and making whatever *verbal* communication you may judge right. And if you think I should do anything let me know by return. I ought however to tell you that since his letter to me I have not spoken to him, so perhaps I had better not go to him. At all events his own and his sons' votes must be secured if possible.

I regret to say that Taylor of Cakemuir (Mr Mackay's Tenant) is going wrong.² I have written to Mr M[ackay] to beg him to leave no stone unturned to set him right. I think I have *secured* Thorburn's vote in Dalkeith.³ I was yesterday in Haddington where all is right and where for the Burghs Sir Thomas H[epburn] will run Steuart very hard and probably beat him.⁴

[ps] Have you written to Binnie the Surgeon?⁵ If not pray do so.

Clerk, 3378

¹ See above p. 16.

² James Taylor, farmer Easter Cakemuir, Cranston parish, tenant of Alexander McKay of Black Castle, an old freeholder.

³ William Thorburn, nailer in Dalkeith; in July 1832 he signed the requisition to Sir John Dalrymple, sro, GD135/105; in June 1839 he signed the Conservative requisition to William Ramsay of Barnton, see below p. 140, *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 10 June 1839.

⁴ Robert Steuart of Alderston retained the seat by 268 votes to 237.

⁵ James Binnie, surgeon at Pathhead in Crichton parish.

William H. Brown to Sir George Clerk

Ashley [Ratho], 16 July 1837

My anxiety for the cause induces me to trouble you upon the subject of the enclosed note which was handed to me this day upon my way to church.

Sometime ago I was requested to see the members of your Committee in this Parish and to intimate the great probability of a dissolution. Although not on very friendly terms with Mr White¹ I considered it my duty to make him the first person I called for and had reason to be satisfied with the reception I met with. He stated that situated as he was with the other party he could not take any active part in the canvass further than introducing you to his two Tenants.² One (Brown) he thought you would not be able to make any thing of, and as to Pinkerton he thought him friendly. I informed him that Pinkerton's name was on the list of the Committee and that I was to wait upon him and would be glad of his company as we were then only a few yards from his house. He announced that he thought it would be better for me to go alone. I found Mr Pinkerton quite enthusiastic in the cause and anxious to exert himself with others of his friends. I had explained to him Mr White's position. I subsequently called for him and invited him to meet the other members here. Having to go to Town that day he could not be out in time for dinner but said he would be with me at 7. At that time he was quite hearty in the cause, it is therefore *since* that he has been influenced.

I consider this a case for your personal attention through Mr White. If his other Tenant (Brown) would feel equally tender as to his landlord's connections the cause would not suffer by the silence of Mr P[inkerton].

Committee³

Mr White

Mr [Alexander] Berwick of Norton

¹ William Logan White of Kellerstain, 1793-1877, advocate, landowner Ratho parish. See below p. 121.

² As stated in David Pinkerton's note on p. 119 Mrs White was connected with the Gibson-Craig family; her mother and Sir James Gibson-Craig were first cousins and her brother Augustus Maitland, ws, had been apprenticed to Gibson-Craig.

³ Additional information on members of this 'committee' is taken from *Register 1832*, 57-8, and *N.S.A.*, i, 89.

Mr [James] Anderson Civil Engineer
 Mr [Thomas] Sadleir Norton Mains [Farmer]
 Mr [John] Young Newhouse [Farmer]
 Mr Brown Haggs
 Mr [David] Pinkerton [Farmer]
 Mr [William] Allan Hillwood [Farmer]

Mr Sadleir is well disposed but I find Mr Craig is endeavouring (thro' the medium of Mr [Alexander] Scott, Craiglockhart, who is Mrs Berwick's Brother) to get him to stand neutral. I think there is no fear of him, but it would be well if you could see Mr Berwick who is quite friendly. He might relieve Mr S[adleir] from the fear of Mr Scott.

Mr Berwick having no vote will not act on Committee.

Clerk, 3378

David Pinkerton to William H. Brown

[undated]

as I wase long detned in edinborough on Sturday the 8th I was sorrow that I could not attend your Compny that evining but as Mr Craig is a conniction to Mrs White I think to Keep silent at this time.

Im yours etc. etc.

Clerk, 3378

Dr Morison¹ to Sir George Clerk

26 Cavendish Square, [London], 17 July 1837

Dr Morison presents his respectful Compliments to Sir George Clerk—it would have given him great pleasure to have voted for Sir George as the friend of his kind friends General and Colonel Scott of Malleny, had he not previously promised his Vote to Sir J. G. Craig's Son to whose family he has on various occasions been obliged.

Dr Morison regretted that on the last election Colonel Scott had not signified to him the interest he took in the Success of Sir George Clerk prior to his having said to Sir J. G. Craig that he would vote for his son.

Clerk, 3378

¹ Probably Dr Alexander Morrison, proprietor of lands in the parish of Currie, where Malleny was also situated.

Sir James Baird¹ to Sir George Clerk

Edmonstone, 19 July 1837

I only returned from Newbyth yesterday which is the only apology I can offer for not having already answered your letter. I regret that the annual inspection of the Regiment by Sir Charles Dalbiac takes place almost immediately which will prevent my longer absence from the Regiment. I must necessarily be present at the inspection. I consequently leave this for Nottingham tomorrow. I sincerely wish you every success in the approaching struggle and earnestly hope that the people of Scotland will unite with those of England in their endeavour to promote the interest of the Conservative Cause and to render it triumphant over those destructive measures which have already done so much to injure the Constitution of England.

We shall be turned out of Nottingham during the general election and sent into Billets in some of the small villages surrounding the Town; my duties as Adjutant will then become very irksome and probably will cause me to ride many miles every day. I cannot therefore promise to be present at the election as I doubt being able to obtain the leave required, more especially if the country is disturbed about Nottingham, but if I can manage it I will be present. I spoke to Mr [William] Hill my principal tenant about his Politics. I was glad to find him a decided conservative. I told him to give his vote as he thought proper as I did not wish to influence him, but I should imagine you might rely on his principles for his support or at any rate that it would not be difficult to get him to promise his Vote.

Clerk, 3378

John Mowbray² to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 22 July 1837

Till I got Mr Inglis' Note, I did not know that my farm Servant was enrolled as a Voter in this County. Had I known it when I saw you lately at Hartwood, I could probably have secured his vote. I shall still endeavour to do so, if it is not engaged.

¹ Sir James Gardiner Baird, 7th Bart. of Saughtonhall, 1813-96, a captain in the 10th Hussars. John Wauchope of Edmonstone was his cousin; in 1845 he married Wauchope's daughter.

² John Mowbray of Hartwood, West Calder, ws, 1768-1838.

I have written to Mr Douglas of Baads stating the days of polling and requesting him to cause his Factor [to] intimate to his Tenants his wish that they should vote for you.

Clerk, 3378

William Logan White to Sir George Clerk

Private

Leamington, 22 July 1837

Your letter of the 18th reached me at this place yesterday. The state of Mrs White's health, I am sorry to say, deprives me of the hope of being present at the Elections. . . .

It signifies the less that my vote was all I could well have given you looking to the constitution of your Committee for the parish of Ratho, with which I could not possibly cooperate. Our friend Mr Bonar's¹ death has led to an unfortunate change in this respect.

I should be sorry to believe that the County is prepared to dispense with your services, and assure you of my own best wishes. Indeed I shall be pleased to find that the prejudice resulting from what I have alluded to extends no further, as it would be hard that you should suffer from an arrangement with which you had probably little personal concern.

Clerk, 3378

William Bonar² to Sir George Clerk

3 Warwick Terrace, Leamington, 26 July 1837

Your letter of 20 inst. confirmed those I had previously received from several of your friends urging my presence at your election contest next week and tho' certainly it is *not* convenient for me on many accounts to comply with the request yet, as in the present very *critical*, I ought rather perhaps to say alarming state of public affairs, and which will be so materially affected by the result of the present general Election, I feel it to be right to leave private considerations out of view, and I have only therefore to say that I intend (D.V.) to be in Edinburgh on Monday next and to give you every support in

¹ John Bonar of Ratho, d. 1837, banker, partner in Ramsays, Bonars and Co. which was merged in the Bank of Scotland in 1837; he had been an active supporter of the Conservative party, see above pp. 51, 118-19.

² William Bonar of Easter Warriston, 1798-1866, banker, partner in Ramsays, Bonars and Co., cousin of John Bonar of Ratho, and the author of several religious tracts.

my power and trusting it may please God to bless specially the efforts now making by those who like yourself are seeking to avert the dangers with which we are now threatened and from which *His blessing* alone can save us.

Clerk, 3378

Humphrey Graham¹ to Sir George Clerk

14 Atholl Crescent, [Edinburgh], 28 July 1837

I must apologise for not having seen you when you took the trouble to call this afternoon. My very minutes were numbered and engaged and I had given orders accordingly—and had I allowed one exception I never could have looked for attention again. Also I had some time ago arranged not to vote at all on this occasion, and if I had seen you there is no saying but your eloquence might have placed me in an awkward predicament. It is best therefore to state my decided resolution not to vote upon this occasion. For yourself personally, your character and abilities, I have the highest regard, and the cause you espouse is the same I am attached to. On any future occasion I hope not only to have no obstacle in my own way, but to be able to aid you even more effectually than I could at present do.

Pray do not consider it any want of either respect or regard that caused me [to] decline seeing you today. I assure you my feelings are exactly the reverse and that nothing will give me more pleasure than to testify so on any future occasion.

ps I have before sealing this received your note of today. I can only say that I have exerted all the influence in my power in your favor with some voters who were undecided, and I hope with some effect.

Clerk, 3378

Humphrey Graham to Sir George Clerk

Saturday Morning [29 July 1837]

Before I can decide on your note of this morning I must consult a third party. I am very sorry *you* have had so much trouble, and that the chances are so evenly balanced. Till now I was led to understand there was no risk. If I find it *possible* I shall poll on Tuesday, returning

¹ Humphrey Graham, ws, 1789–1868.

to Edinburgh that morning and going back to the north the same night—and I beg you will rest satisfied with this.

Clerk, 3378

Humphrey Graham to George Forbes of West Coates¹

31 July [1837]

[*Note written on the back of one of Graham's visiting cards*]

Mr Ad[am] Wilson² comes from London tonight to vote, and goes back Wednesday.

I have ascertained that circumstances permit me also, and having countermanded the whole arrangements made last week, I mean to vote here tomorrow morning before starting.

[*Note written on the wrapper*]

With Mr Graham's compl[imen]ts in case it should be of any use in calculations for Sir George.

Clerk, 3378

William Dunlop to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 31 July 1837

I was Sorry I missed you when you called to day. I have seen Glenny, he has been with me in my own house for a few hours³—he has stated to me a Conversation he had with you relating to myself, that he had no authority from me to do—but let that pass—If we can secure his vote. All I can make of him is this, that he will not pledge himself tomorrow to any party, and that he will ride out with me in my Gig to Mid Calder on Wednesday morning—under the express understanding that he is left at liberty to vote there as he thinks proper. I think he inclines to vote for you, but he is sore beset—however lame as I am, If I get him fairly under my *Crutches* I think all will be right—his Brother in Law he assures me will not vote ag[ainst] you if he votes at all.

Clerk, 3378

¹ George Forbes of West Coates, 1790-1857, banker, third son of Sir William Forbes, Bart., above p. 27, n. 1, and uncle of Sir John Stuart Forbes, Bart.

² Adam Wilson, deputy clerk of session, and Graham's father-in-law.

³ Dunlop and Glenny have not been positively identified. It is possible that they were the William Dunlop and William Glenny who had premises in the Grassmarket; Dunlop at number 34 was a wine and spirit merchant, and Glenny at number 30 had a china and glass warehouse.

Lord Meadowbank¹ to the Duke of Buccleuch

13 [Royal] Circus, Thursday [3 August 1837]

... It is a sad business this of Mid-Lothian. Clerk must be given up if the County is not to be utterly lost. My opinion is that your Grace should try Burn Callander, with whose excellences you are probably well acquainted, and if that be done myself and I believe many others will set about making up all the force we can muster on our properties. . . .

[Extract] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir George Clerk to the Duke of Buccleuch

Penicuik House, 5 August 1837

I am much obliged to you for your letter of yesterday.² I quite concur in your reasons with respect to appointments in the Lieutenancy.

I will therefore be greatly obliged to you as our Captain General if you will get my son James admitted an Archer, which will perfectly answer his object.³

I regret to hear so unfortunate an account of Roxburgh. The English Counties look well. The only one I am anxious about is East Cumberland.⁴

I have reason to think that in this County our Canvass was not nearly so efficient as it ought to have been. I fear our Friends took too much on trust, and by a little exertion at the commencement of the Canvass some of the doubtfuls and waverers might have been secured. I should wish much before you leave Dalkeith to have an opportunity of some conversation with you on the state of the County. I should wait on you at any time and place most convenient for you.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ Alexander Maconochie, 1777-1861, advocate, Solicitor-General 1813-16, Lord Advocate 1816-19, and on the bench as Lord Meadowbank 1819-43.

² Not seen.

³ James Clerk, 1812-70, 7th Bart. of Penicuik 1867; he was admitted an Archer 7 Nov. 1837.

⁴ For the result in Roxburghshire see below p. 239, n. 4. In East Cumberland the Conservative candidate, Sir James Graham Bart. of Netherby, was placed at the bottom of the poll.

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private Glenferriate Lodge, Pitlochry, 13 August 1837

Feeling our defeat in Mid Lothian as much as you can do I cannot resist giving you my ideas on the Subject, as unless we become more united, It is needless to continue the Struggle. In the first place we have many friends who did nothing indeed worse than nothing such as Trotter of Dreghorn,¹ Trotter of Mortonhall,² Inglis of Redhall who is not well, Hare of Calder Hall,³ Scott of Milany⁴ who is infirm; We had no assistance; unfortunately Sir George Clerk is inactive, and in business in London had so much other business that He made many friends luke warm and even against him by not answering their letters. Such are our state of matters.

Douglas of Baads on the other hand lost us many votes

I should say seven by *not appearing* 7

Gordon of Cluny not appearing his tenants voted against
us the second day 5

Lord Morton's tenants except two were all against us. I do not believe that his factor canvassed against us but what tenant will vote contrary to the Known Wish of 11 or 12 the factor with whom every thing is left by Lord Morton. It is therefore absurd to say that they are not led to support his Well Known principles. This was the general feeling many months ago and I wrote your grace to that Effect. If Lord Morton's factor was no meddler in politics in any other quarter It would be wrong to plague Lord Morton on the Subject but as the factor at Dalmahoy owes everything to Sir James Craig and to the Lord Advocate,⁵ His being so gives a tone to the rest of the neighbourhood that it is impossible while He is factor to eradicate,—and were he removed both the Dalmahoy tenants and many in the neighbourhood taking their example from them would go as Lord Morton wishes. In short as I said before unless we go hand in hand it is quite needless to con-

¹ Alexander Trotter of Dreghorn, 1755-1842, one of the principal landowners in Colinton parish.

² Henry Trotter of Mortonhall, d. 1838; he was succeeded by his nephew Richard, see above p. xxxiv.

³ Steuart Bayley Hare of Calder Hall, d. 1878; in 1834 he married the daughter of Alexander Maconochie, Lord Meadowbank.

⁴ Malleny.

⁵ Above p. 111, n. 2. The exact nature of the obligation is not clear; see below p. 129.

tinue the Struggle without any hope of Success. Had all we counted upon gone with us we would have had a majority of about thirty—on the other side I show a list of about twenty four which would have given us the Election, besides we would have had the non-declared who always go with the winner of the first day. For myself I am ready to take any trouble and will cheerfully, However inconvenient, Subscribe while there is a chance of success. But I cannot think of going on if we do not unite in our exertions. Such are my views on the Subject.

Many I Know object to Sir George attempting it again as he is a bad canvasser and gives himself no trouble and disgusts many. I had an instance of it whereby merely writing a letter He would have saved an honest man a great deal of trouble with the board of Excise after waiting long for an answer—the other party heard of it and got his business arranged in a moment. Now this I Know for a fact as I have it under the man's own hand, and I own I hear of many other stories of the same sort. We are thinking of having a meeting upon 6th September to arrange our matters for the future but few will attend as they fancy that money will be required and generally they are unwilling to put their hands in their pockets—*Shame to Know*.

Pray write to Lord Lothian to pay to Mr Inglis 6 St. David Street His Subscription and also to Lord Morton. Mr Horne was to pay to Mr Inglis your Subscription of £300—But I suspect it will be necessary to add the additional £200. Mr Inglis says it will be necessary as the accounts will come to £1,500: I got fifty from Miss Innes and twenty five from Mr F. Elphinstone.¹

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Earl of Morton to the Duke of Buccleuch

Dalmahoy, 17 August 1837

I believe my subscription was paid about ten days ago, at least I desired Monypenny to pay fifty to Mr Inglis, and I have no doubt it was done immediately as those are matters which generally bring out all his dormant activity.

I have been much annoyed at the conduct of some of my tenants,

¹ James Fullerton Elphinstone of Carberry, 1788-1857, his son succeeded as the 15th Lord Elphinstone in 1861.

three of whom voted against Sir George Clerk. I expected that two would, but the third surprized and annoyed me much. I have put these matters into the best hands I can find in this part of the Country, those of a Mr Glendinning who was Sir G. Clerk's seconder.¹ There is no doubt that the fact of my having a whig factor is more or less disadvantageous, but will be less so in future, as I shall take care to mark pretty strongly that every man who does not vote right will be required to pay up every farthing of rent and arrear the day it becomes due. Unluckily however my conservative tenants are those who do not pay their rents. In [the west?] I am afraid the only hold I have on them is of that description, and that by reducing rents and repairing steadings I have set many of them free. They are nearly all dissenters, and their feelings are all against us. They have most of them been always on a bad footing with their Landlord before I came to this part of the world, and the only thing to be done is to get rid of them as fast as opportunities occur. My new tenants have not yet votes but I shall have four or five good men next year and shall lose no opportunity of *purging* the estate you may rely upon it. I may have these rascals in my hands yet before their leases are out.

I have the satisfaction however with all this of establishing distinctly that tho' my factor being a whig is a disadvantage to our cause amongst my people at present, He has behaved perfectly well himself, and he has reported to me every case which occurred of tenants alluding directly or indirectly to Election matters in speaking to him.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Marquis of Lothian to the Duke of Buccleuch

Richmond, 19 August 1837

I return you Sir John Hope's letter. In all that he says I concur excepting that I think Sir George should still be our Candidate; it is very true that he is a bad canvasser and that his manner at times is not conciliatory, but he is a hard working man of business and therefore most fitted to represent the Metropolitan County. As Sir John now seems so completely awake, I think that others of the Gentry may be roused also; unfortunately they have had too much reason

¹ At the nomination of candidates in 1837 Clerk was proposed by William Burn-Callander and seconded by George Glendinning farmer and proprietor of Milrig in Kirknewton parish.

to think that money is to be incessantly demanded and this feeling has I believe in many instances made them somewhat indifferent to a success which would oblige a fresh appeal to their pockets. Have a small active Committee established of men who from taste or interest or duty will constantly work and make others do the same, and let it be understood that work will render less money necessary and you [will] find the County may still be carried by the Conservatives and after the next Election at a small comparative expence. As it is, I am of opinion with Sir John that our present system is so bad that we had better give the matter up than cripple ourselves further by a useless contest.

I saw Sir George in Edinburgh and he repeated to me in general terms pretty much what you told me he had said to you. I did not conceal from him my impression that we ought still to look to him as our Candidate and moreover that the County should bring him in free of expence beyond Personal. To effect this there should be a small annual subscription from all the Party to meet Registration expences leaving the Election costs to be met by subscription to be raised as it is at present. I am satisfied that the amount would be much less than has been hitherto required besides being attended with a successful result.

I will desire my subscription to be paid to Mr Inglis.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 9 September 1837

I think it right to make you aware of the proceedings of our meeting on wednesday [6th]—after much conversation it was finally agreed that every one of us should do our utmost to try and get conservatives added to the list of voters in this County and that we should not relax our exertions in canvassing and that Sir George Clerk should continue his Exertions also which He agreed to do. This is all very well but the difficulty will be to find persons who are willing to become voters. The Whigs find no difficulty, as generally speaking the steady Inhabitants of Edinburgh are on their side and *they* are put on the Roll because there is no chance of their going from home or their being called away; for Example at last

Election we had sixty five absentees and they had *twelve*—had our absentees been present, we must have gained even without the untoward circumstances mentioned in my former letters. We are to meet again in October and then see what we are likely to be able to do in point of numbers, but unless we buy Land and deal out the votes at a fair price we cannot go on. But even in that way I see great difficulty in getting any individuals to give a fair price at all.

People are beginning to be Luke warm, not in the cause, but seeing the true causes that have lost the Elections, They say what is the use of throwing away money while so many Conservative Landlords are doing almost as much as backing the Whigs—Viz Lord M[orton] (who people will assert is under obligations, pecuniary ones supplied by Whig agents, to his Factor); such is the story besides the two other proprietors I named in my former letter.¹ I hear also that there has been some very uncalled for letter wrote to Mr Lascelles² which He forwarded to Lord Morton pointing out the causes of the failure here. This said letter was wrote by one unconnected with the county and was totally unauthorised by any of the Committee, indeed no one seems to have known of the letter until they heard that Lord M[orton] was very angry about a letter sent to him by his Cousin.

Our Subscription for Election expences is getting on and I hope there will be no occasion for your second Subscription. We are more in a difficulty about our Registration Expences, as few have subscribed to it, though we limited the sum to be given by Each to the amount of the Landtax paid yearly by Each. Various persons have paid in that Ratio, and we understood in Spring that Lord Melville would take charge of applying to the peers, but nothing has as yet been received from them. We agreed at our Spring meeting to subscribe for three years the amount of our yearly Landtax. I think it right to mention all this to you, and I hope I do not plague you nor interrupt your Sport.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Earl of Morton to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Haddo House, 17 September 1837

I delayed answering your letter on the subject of the Midlothian

¹ Above pp. 125-6.

² William Saunders Sebright Lascelles, 1798-1851, son of the 2nd Earl of Harewood, and cousin of the Earl of Morton.

Registration fund, till I had ascertained the amount of my land tax, which I find to be £40. This is more than I expected, and more than I should have supposed necessary for Registration purposes alone, if the conservative proprietors of the County contribute generally in the same proportion to their resources. I shall always be ready to contribute my fair share, *coute qui coute*;¹ but before engaging to anything I should like to know the grounds on which they come to the conclusion that such an amount is necessary, that it would be fairly collected, and that there is reason to suppose that it will be judiciously expended.

The land tax does not appear to me to afford a good test in the cases which first present themselves to my mind, those of Sir John Hope and myself. He has an above ground Estate which pays a small land tax, and an underground one of great value which pays none, and consequently no contribution. I have a property paying a high land tax, but one half of the present rents of which belong not to me but to my Dowager.²

In truth I am somewhat disposed to rebel against the Dictatorship which Sir John exercises in these matters. If you, or Lothian, or Lord Melville had any part in the matter beyond that of paying your money, we should know that all parties had fair play, but as matters stand I should like Sir John Hope to vouchsafe us a little more information. One thing I am sure of that we ought to pay our writer³ by a fixed salary, the other expences must be small, but we all know the immeasurable powers of expansion by a writer's bill. Our Fife elections are managed much cheaper. Your letter is the first communication I have had on the subject, and before going any farther I should like to see you, which I hope I may have an opportunity of doing soon.

I apprehend that the letter Sir John alludes to, and disclaims, is the one I shewed you in London from the Singing Forbes⁴ to William Lascelles. He greatly overrates its effect on my peace of mind.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ This should be '*coûte que coûte*', whatever the cost.

² The dowager Countess of Morton was the widow of the 17th Earl's cousin from whom he had inherited the title in 1827. It was a common practice for provision to be made for a dowager out of the income of the estate.

³ The agent, H. M. Inglis.

⁴ Unfortunately his identity has not been established.

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Pinkie House, Musselburgh, 6 November 1837

I have been prevented writing your Grace about our County matters by the confusion I have been put into by the illness and subsequent death of my chief overseer.

Our County matters in politics do not make much progress. Sir G. seems very luke warm and desirous to back out of it. There are few inclined to subscribe, particularly the annual sum at the rate of the valued rent for 1836, 7, and 8. In short I think our friends are very zealous until mention is made of money. Many of us have paid our first year's Subscription for the Expences of the annual registration, but little has been given by those not at the meeting as yet and I have not heard as yet of any of the Peers having given their share upon the valued rent. I understood that Lord Melville was to apply to the peers, But He is apt to forget and unless you remind him or do it for him it will never be done, and without having the various peers entering into the plans we never can get the various proprietors to subscribe. Sir George talks of going from home now and in Spring he proposes going abroad; such a plan will be ruinous to our Interests and will leave us without a Candidate in case of any thing occurring to lead to a new Election, and I hear that the other party is already asserting that Sir G. will not start again. I am sorry, very sorry, that Sir George proposes going abroad and I am afraid that his sons are the cause of his doing so, as I Know that his Eldest got into pecuniary difficulties by some foolish Kindness of giving his name to some bills for a Brother officer.¹

The question now to be considered solves itself into one or two more—are we to continue the Struggle? and What is our prospect of Success? and how without a Candidate resident in the County are we to get one? Those are questions which should be well weighed, as unless we get new votes upon the Registration, we certainly cannot go on and as the popular side is against us for the present votes are not to be got, while the Whigs can command the resident Shop-

¹ It was in fact Clerk's second son, George Edward Clerk, 1815-75, who got into debt in this manner in 1836. Sir George paid off £2,000 in Jan. 1837 and another £260 in Feb. 1839 but the affair dragged on until at least 1844; SRO, GD18/1719/22. G. E. Clerk after several years in Australia finally settled in Montreal where he established a newspaper called the *True Witness*; GD18/5602.

Keepers of Edinburgh, But much would depend upon our having a candidate and one with a good purse and we cannot get on without having a candidate resident near us if not among us. In short I suspect that if Sir G. goes abroad the game is up unless a new Candidate comes forward, and perhaps it [is] this view that leads Sir G. abroad as I think he would be glad to retire as the expence is and will be serious to him.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Pinkie House, 11 November 1837

I can answer you most promptly as to the first of your Candidates that he has neither inclination, money, nor time, to devote to anything but to assist his rather numerous family, and therefore It would be folly in him to hesitate one moment in giving in his dissent to aspire to such an office, [and] which would require more ability than He possesses.¹ I should think that Callander was also out of the question, as the duty required would be to fight for a County already in the hands of others. Your third is a much more feasible candidate and if it were Known that Lord Abercorn was very decided, It would be of great moment, as his Factor Mr G. Wright is any thing but active, very near as bad as Lord M[orton]'s factor in the West; this Captain Hamilton is quite aware of. With regard to our means I can apply to Mr Inglis for particulars But I may mention that our Election Expences are nearly paid, perhaps to about two hundred pounds, but it is the Expences *yearly* for Registration of votes, which in 1836 came to near £900 to £1,000 that this year 1837 will be trifling in comparison and it was settled each person paying equal to his Landtax would nearly do, taking one year with another, and most of us have paid for the year 1836. But if you wish it, I can send particulars though it is dangerous putting these matters in writing. [*Note by the Duke of Buccleuch*]

Will talk this matter over and go over the details Monday. To think of Lord C[laud] H[amilton].²

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ Sir John was presumably referring to himself.

² Lord Claud Hamilton, 1813-84, the Marquis of Abercorn's brother, MP County Tyrone 1835-37 and 1839-74.

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir John Hope

Confidential

London, 21 November 1837

I have just had a long conversation with Lord Abercorn respecting Mid Lothian. He says that if the County is open, and that Sir G. Clerk does not stand again, that his Brother Lord Claud Hamilton would be happy to come forward provided he was considered the best Candidate, and could be assured of support from all our friends in the County. He would be answerable for Election expences not exceeding £3,000, but that the County must find the remainder if the expences exceeded that Sum, and that the County must bear the whole expence of Registration. This appears to me to be a most liberal offer. Now the question is, Is Lord Claud Hamilton the best Candidate supposing Sir G. Clerk not to stand, and will he receive the support of all our friends in the County? Does Sir G. Clerk mean to retire? I [do not] know where Sir G. is at present and cannot therefore write to him. Let me know what you think of this.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 26 November 1837

Your letter requires much consideration and without personal interview can hardly be entered into. Sir G. Clerk is gone to visit his Mother in Law¹ and I have no doubt his address is Known at the Carlton Club. I am not very fit to entering into a long letter having received the melancholy tidings of the Death of my only remaining Brother.² He died at Calcutta on 13th September of an attack of Cholera. The news arrived yesterday by the overland despatch.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

William Murray of Henderland to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

Edinburgh, 18 January [1838]

. . . I understood that William Craig was to write to you about making votes for the ensuing enrollment of this county, but in case he should not have done it, (and we have had no communication

¹ Henrietta Sarah, widow of Ewan Law, 1784-1829, an elder brother of the 1st Lord Ellenborough.

² William Hope, 1784-1837; he had been a dockyard official in Calcutta.

from him on the subject) I lose no time in informing you that we have determined to make an exertion on the present occasion, and to put as many liferent or fictitious votes on the roll as we can muster. Nobody, as you probably know, was more opposed to this system than myself, but I have at last yielded and I shall now give the measure all the support in my power. My reasons for this change of opinion are that we understand the Tories are manufacturing a large batch of such votes, and unless we bestir ourselves to counteract them this county will be swamped as Peeblesshire was last year. Should any legislative measure pass during the present session to prevent the creation of such votes in future (as in all probability it would not be *retrospective*), if the Tories were thus to obtain a majority at the next registration, the fate of the county would be sealed. I would avow openly that we disapprove of making fictitious votes, and were forced to adopt it as a defensive measure, and if we could succeed in putting a large number of them on the roll, it would be a strong argument in favor of Horsman's motion.¹ I would therefore make 500 or indeed as many as I possibly could of such votes. Lothian² is now busily employed on this subject, but the time presses as the voters must have their dispositions *before the 1st of February*. I am told we shall have a considerable number of proper persons to take them, but we shall require properties on which the liferents must be granted. Forest³ made 30 on his property last year and intends to make more this year. I formerly granted several liferents on my property for the purpose of making votes, but they were *bonâ fidê* transactions. But now I shall not hesitate to make the fictitious votes and I hope you will also assist us.

Will you be so good as to let me know, as soon as [you] can conveniently, what your views on the subject are, for we have not a moment to spare. I have received Dalmeny's subscription today.

Stair, Box 109: W. Murray

Maurice Lothian to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

31 North Bridge, Edinburgh, 22 January 1838

I write this in consequence of a meeting with Mr Murray of

¹ See above pp. xlii-iii.

² Maurice Lothian, solicitor, Whig agent.

³ James Forrest of Comiston, 1780-1860, advocate 1803, lord provost of Edinburgh 1837-43, baronet 1838, one of the larger landowners in Colinton parish.

Henderland, from whom I enclose a note to you.¹ Time presses and whatever is to be done to maintain the ascendancy in this County must be done without the loss of a moment. I have prepared Deeds over Mr Murray's property, and in the view of doing the same over any portion of yours it will be necessary *that in direct course of post* your Agent and factor here give me access to the *titles* of such part of your property as is to be included in the Deeds. Please observe that after that the Deeds must be *written and sent to you for signature and returned to Edinburgh*, all on or before the *30th day of this month*. The plan taken is this. Mr Murray has conveyed a *share* of the rent of a given property, say to the extent of £10 5s. to each of A. B. C. D. etc. Each of these parties grants a Bill in return for such a Sum, calculated according to his age, as would be required if any Insurance Company were to provide to him an annuity of £10 5s. The Deed is then retained in security of the Bill. Of course it is only a *liferent right* which is conveyed. If any person chooses to *pay* his bill you will then have the option either of taking the money and paying the annuity; or of sending the money to an Insurance Company *which will pay the annuity*. The expence of the Deeds falls upon the voters—any deficiency being paid out of the subscription fund. Perhaps you will give such rights to 60 or 80 people, which requires property to the extent of £600 or £800 of rental. Mr Murray will make 65. It is desirable if possible to get upwards of 200 placed on the roll next registration. In regard to the Entail of Oxenford, if it be *not* recorded, it will not prevent an operation like the above. On the other hand it fortunately happens that the *above operation* will not injure the *subsequent* recordings of the Entail.²

If you can name *individuals who will take votes like the above*, it is most important to do so; because altho' it costs little, yet there is indeed much difficulty experienced in satisfying individuals, and I am far, very far, short of the number which is required. In cases where Mr Murray got *cash* for the *liferent* votes, he just at once paid it over to an Insurance Company, which pays a Sum equal to what the voter is to receive, so that the transaction does not affect Mr Murray in any way.³

Stair, Box 109: Miscellaneous Letters

¹ Omitted.

² I.e., in the Register of Entails and the Register of Sasines.

³ See introduction pp. xliii-iv.

William Murray of Henderland to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple

Edinburgh, 25 January [1838]

I have seen Lothian, Wilson and Purves¹ today—the former has got some of your titles from Wilson sufficient to keep him at work for the present, and perhaps he may not require any more. . . .

I am decidedly against giving votes to servants, for the present at least, tho' I believe the Duke of Buccleuch has given a vote to his butler and some other of his menials,² but I have not heard of any other attempt of the kind in this county, and I should be sorry to set the example; if however the Tories give votes to persons of that description, we may do it next year if the system is not put an end to by Parl[iame]nt. There is besides this objection to giving votes to servants—they may leave you and get into a Tory family, and thus be prevailed on to use your vote against yourself. On the whole I think the persons you have mentioned might stand over in case of need till another year. Young Moncreiff³ had been applied to but refused—Jack Stewart⁴ had accepted.

Lothian attaches great importance to your being in Edinburgh on Monday the 29th—if the deed were signed then, it can be *shewn* to the voters at the time they sign their bill, so that they could swear the[y] saw it at the time,⁵ and that thus the whole transaction was complete. You could also consider about putting some of these people⁶ on the roll, as there would be time enough to make out dispositions on Tuesday. I hope therefore you will be able to be here on that day. The voters sign nothing but their bill.

Stair, Box 109: W. Murray

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 21 October 1838

Mr Inglis has only this morning sent me the inclosed. The general

¹ Hugh Purves was Sir John Dalrymple's factor, *The Grey Festival* (1834), 90; and the agent was probably James Wilson, ws, 1809-66.

² See J. C. Brodie's evidence, *Second Report*, question 11, 984.

³ James Moncreiff, 1811-95, advocate 1833, MP, Lord Advocate 1851-2, 1852-58, 1859-1866, and 1868-69, Lord Justice Clerk 1869; a baronet 1871, and Baron Tullibole 1874.

⁴ John Shaw Stewart, 1793-1840, advocate 1816, sheriff of Stirling 1838-40.

⁵ That is if required to do so in the registration court.

⁶ There is nothing in the Stair MSS to indicate which people Dalrymple had suggested.

feeling of the meeting was that your grace might be requested to apply to Mr Ramsay and to assure him that if he would entertain the idea of being the Candidate, that a numerously signed requisition would be forwarded to him. In the East of the County the Conservative party are Strong. But in the West Mr Ramsay is so popular that He would carry many votes and neutralise a great proportion of those who now support Mr Craig—in short He would do more than any person, however heavy his purse may be, in furthering our cause. I am sorry to interrupt your other avocations by sending the above request as it will add to your plague of letter writing. . . .

I trust to your having arranged to retain all your favorite Horses; they can never be replaced and further your Keeping them on would remove the general feeling that you are to be away for longer than a year or two.¹ Pray consider this and forgive an anxious friend for interfering, but your doing so would and will be of use to the County where every one takes an anxious Interest about you, and if deprived of the idea of your being among us a damp would be thrown over every one, as no one understands (nor gets through so much of) our best Interests as you do.

[ps] Our post goes out at one oclock. I have therefore staid away from Church in order to forward the different papers from Mr Inglis, and I am afraid we must plague [you] to apply to the peers who have given nothing. Lord Moray I think I can get at through Sir F. Drummond—*except from* Ramsay of Barnton who gives £1,500 for a horse our other friends have behaved very well.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Excerpt from Minute of Meeting of the Conservative Committee of the County of Midlothian

15 October 1838

It was stated to the meeting by Sir John Hope that, in consequence of Sir George Clerk having been returned to Parliament for the Burgh of Stamford,² he had, at the request of several Gentlemen

¹ The Duke was going to the Continent for the sake of his children's health.

² 1 May 1838.

connected with the County, written to Sir George to ascertain his views in regard to the future Representation of this County. The following communication was then read to the Meeting, which had been received from Sir George Clerk.

(Here Sir George's letter is inserted)¹

In consequence of Sir George's resolution not to offer himself again for the Representation of the County, it appeared desirable, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the Register, occasioned chiefly by the unlooked for result of last Registration,² that no time should be lost in providing a Candidate ready to take the field whenever an election might occur.

This course seemed desirable in every point of view. If an election should take place previous to another Registration, of which there did not appear to be any probability, it would be open to the Conservative party to test the legality of the new whig system of vote-making by means of a Committee of the House of Commons; and in the event of a favorable result the Conservative Candidate would be returned by a Considerable Majority. If on the other hand some time should elapse before an election takes place it would afford an opportunity to the Candidate along with the Conservative party, by means of vigorous exertions, to beat the Whigs even on their new chosen ground.

The meeting after the fullest consideration of all existing circumstances were unanimously of opinion that if Mr Ramsay of Barnton could be prevailed upon to come forward he would decidedly be the strongest Candidate for the Conservative party, and they therefore recommend that a powerful appeal should instantly be made to Mr Ramsay assuring him of the unanimous and most cordial support of the party. The meeting were fully sensible of the great personal sacrifice it would cost Mr Ramsay, but they felt assured, upon his being made fully aware of the vast importance of such a course on public grounds, that he would not stand aloof in the present very critical state of the County.

The meeting direct Mr Inglis to transmit a Copy of this Minute to Sir John Hope with a request that he will adopt the proper measures

¹ The letter is not included in this copy of the minute.

² See above pp. xliii-iv.

for having the Sentiments of the Conservative party in the County communicated to Mr Ramsay.¹

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Duke of Buccleuch to Donald Horne

Private

Bowhill, 6 November 1838

... As to the creation of life rent votes upon one of the Farms [on the Eildon Hall estate in Roxburghshire], I am much averse to have any thing to do with such a transaction. I consider those that have been made in Mid Lothian to be contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the Reform Act. I did what I could when that Bill was passing thro' the House of Lords to insert a clause which would have had the effect of preventing the creation of any fictitious votes,² and I do not wish now, even as it may be said in self defence, [to] do in this case, any more than in any other, that of which I cannot approve.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 627: Eildon Hall 1838

William Ramsay of Barnton to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Lauriston Castle, 15 December 1838

I had the honor to receive your letter sometime ago and cannot but feel highly flattered by the proposal contained in it. In declining to accede to the wish you express that I should stand for this county I beg to state to your Grace in confidence that the expense attendant upon a canvass in the present state of matters is such as my finances cannot support, and is my only reason for not at once coming forward, tho' at the same time I need not conceal the utter hopeless-

¹ There is no mention here of Lord Claud Hamilton who was discussed as a possible candidate in Nov. 1837. It was after Ramsay declined the committee's invitation on 15 Dec., that Hamilton agreed to be the candidate; when he was elected for County Tyrone in May 1839 a second approach was made to Ramsay, whose change of mind must have been influenced by the knowledge that the Conservatives were about to place over 300 votes on the register, below pp. 167-8.

² No evidence has been found that the Duke ever formally moved to have a clause dealing specifically with fictitious votes inserted in the Scottish Reform Bill, though he undoubtedly supported the amendments proposed by the Earl of Haddington on 12 July 1832. These would have created a restricted county franchise based on land rated in the cessbooks at £5 Scots a year and houses valued at £15; *Journals of the House of Lords*, lxiv, (1831-2), 377.

ness of a conservative candidate at present carrying the county. Should any one else undertake the contest I beg to assure you that they shall have my most cordial support.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 10 June 1839

I hope that you are all by this time stout and well at Florence. I received your last letter of 18th ult.¹ the day after I wrote you last to Florence, and I Have delayed a few days writing you in order to tell you the result of the number of applicants to Ramsay, and I Have the pleasure of saying that there are about Seven Hundred names attached to it which with his acceptance is published in the papers of this morning, and as far as I can observe the farmers and all the persons connected with the County say that there is a great change in political feeling in the County and that many are inclined and determined to join us though they do not think it right to sign the paper after so recently being on the other side.

I am not surprised at your anxiety about being at or near home at this crisis.² There never was a time that we had so weak a government and their weakness and Known anxiety to encourage the lower classes to meetings for the purpose of supporting themselves prevents the Sheriffs and Magistrates acting so decidedly as they would do if there was a strong efficient government, as they Know not How the Home Office will support them in their arrangements to suppress mobbing or *drilling*. We have got Chartists at *Kirriemuir* and *forfar*. . . .³ Here we are hitherto quiet and uncontaminated. But I will write you – But I do not in the least apprehend any thing hereabouts. . . .

As far as I can judge we have hit the exact time for Ramsay's coming forward, while the Whig measures were in a state of suspense they could not be canvassing for that would have proclaimed the

¹ Not seen.

² 1839 was a year of economic distress, mass meetings, riots, and fears of insurrection; when Sir John wrote the first of the great Chartist petitions had already been prepared, only to be rejected by the House of Commons on 12 July; for a different assessment of the government's handling of the situation see F. C. Mather, *Public Order in the Age of the Chartists* (Manchester, 1959), 39-42.

³ The passage omitted describes Chartist activities in these towns.

state of the Cabinet and within Eight days we went quietly over the County.¹

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 8 July 1839

... With regard to Ramsay He agrees to advance a thousand pounds towards the Expences of the Election if the Election takes place immediately and if not until next year He then is to give fifteen Hundred pounds besides his proportion of the Expences of the Annual Registration. This is I think as it should be and with regard to our former expences *still due* I will endeavour in a few days to give a distinct State[ment]. . . .

[Extract] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ Having a small and unreliable majority in the House of Commons the Melbourne government resigned on 7 May 1839. Sir Robert Peel's attempt to form an administration broke down over the Queen's refusal to dismiss any of the ladies of her bed-chamber, some of whom were married to Whig politicians. By 12 May the Whigs were back in office for two more unimpressive years during which Peel as leader of the opposition continued to dominate the political scene.

1839-1845

THE ELECTION OF 1841: FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

H. M. Inglis to the Duke of Buccleuch

6 North St David Street, Edinburgh, 7 October 1839

I HAVE THE HONOR of forwarding to your Grace a statement by the Conservative Sub Committee of this County, in obedience to their instructions to me, which will be found in their Minute, a copy of which is contained in the enclosed.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Memorandum of Proceedings connected with the repayment of advances made by Mr Horne in 1836 for the Conservative party in Mid Lothian.

The following documents seem sufficient for the purpose of explaining the nature of Mr Horne's claim, and what has been done in the way of disposing of it.

The claim as will be seen is one for repayment of certain advances made to Mr James Hope w^s in the year 1836 when he ceased to be political Agent for the County.

Mr Horne was induced to delay making application to the Conservative Gentlemen of the County, at whose request these advances were made, until their arrangements admitted of his receiving payment without inconvenience to any party, and it was not till the spring of the present year that Mr Horne first wrote to Mr Inglis on the subject of this claim.

Mr Inglis immediately thereafter called a meeting of his sub-Committee—the following is the Minute of that Meeting.

Minute of Meeting of Sub Committee

8 July 1839

Present :

Sir Francis W. Drummond
Mr Burn Callendar
Mr Wardlaw Ramsay¹
Mr Wauchope

A communication was read from Mr Donald Horne in regard to a balance due to him of £639 9s. 9d. being Cash advanced to Mr James Hope Junior, ws, at settling his accounts when he ceased to be political Agent for the County.²

The Meeting are fully satisfied that Mr Horne is not only entitled to payment of this balance but also to the thanks of the Conservative Party in the County for the trouble he took in the matter. The Committee however are not in a situation to say by whom this arrear is payable. The present sub-Committee was not in existence at the date of these advances.

Sir Francis Drummond stated that previous to his going abroad in May 1836 an arrangement was made by him in London with the Duke of Buccleuch and Sir George Clerk (the terms of which he does not at present remember) as to the manner and proportions in which the political expenses of this County were to be provided for.

The meeting accordingly direct Mr Inglis to request Mr Horne to communicate the state of his claim to Sir George Clerk in order that steps may be taken for discharging the same in terms of the arrangement above referred to or in such other way as Sir George may point out.

Mr Horne having declined to communicate with Sir George Clerk, the Committee then [20 July 1839] directed Mr Inglis to do so. It was not known however till Sir George's return to Penicuik, where his papers were, that he could give any satisfactory information regarding the arrangements for the payment of these accounts. Sir George then [7 Aug. 1839] wrote to Mr Inglis :

'Prefixed I send you an extract from a letter to me from the Duke of Buccleuch respecting the balance due to Mr Horne referred to in your letter to me of the 20th July and to which I could not at the

¹ Robert Balfour Wardlaw-Ramsay of Whitehill, see above p. xxxiii.

² The balance on 2 Jan. 1837 had been £553 12s. 4d. plus interest, above p. 107.

time I received it give you a distinct answer. As all the parties named in the Duke's letter will be in this country next week it would be better to bring the subject of Mr Horne's letter to you under their notice.

I am etc.'

[The memorandum here contains a copy of the first paragraph of the Duke of Buccleuch's letter to Sir George Clerk, dated 1 February 1837]

Owing to the absence of different members of the Committee it was found impossible to have a meeting before the first of October when the subject was again considered and the following Minute prepared.

Minute of Meeting of Sub Committee

1 October 1839

Present:

Sir John Hope
Sir George Clerk
Sir F. W. Drummond
Mr Wardlaw Ramsay

The letter from Sir George Clerk to Mr Inglis of 7th August with its enclosures having been read the meeting directed that a copy of their Minute of 8th July last and of the Duke of Buccleuch's letter to Sir George Clerk of 1st February 1837 should be immediately sent to His Grace, to the Marquis of Lothian and Lord Melville and their Lordships be requested to favor the Committee with their views as to the immediate disposal of Mr Horne's claim, it being a matter in which the Committee are not personally concerned.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Duke of Buccleuch to H. M. Inglis

London, 11 October 1839

I have received your letter of 7th October with the paper you enclosed to me. As all my letters and memoranda upon that subject are in Scotland it is impossible for me to give an answer until my return there, which I expect will [be] in the end of this month or in the first week of November.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 14 December 1839

... ¹We had afterwards a meeting of the conservative Committee when we expected to Hear from your Grace about paying Horne the seven Hundred pounds He advanced to pay off James Hope, of which you approved. Now Horne has discounted a Bill at the Bank and the Bank may prosecute him and of course He will turn round upon us and the whole will become public. Mr Inglis was to write you. Lord Lothian wrote Mr Inglis sometime ago that He would pay no more money unless He saw how it was spent. This places the Committee in an awkward position and tho' very anxious that Lord Lothian should see every thing and they are ready to show him Every thing but unless he takes a charge or trusts the Committee to use their best exertions, we must stop our proceedings as we cannot be expected to act and be left in the lurch.

Lord Melville always says He will arrange by setting agoing a Subscription but He does nothing and I do not believe has ever moved a jot, though often spoken to. Now my Dear Duke what is to be done? If we are not supported by the Peers, we cannot go on, and unless one of the Peers takes it in hand we cannot properly address them.

I shall expect to hear from you as this Bill has already *become due* and if Horne is summoned for it He of course will throw it upon us. All must of course pay their share—but the amount must be found.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Marquis of Lothian to the Duke of Buccleuch

N[ewbattle] Abbey, 29 December 1839

I think there must be some mistake about the payment of the debt to Horne. I remember his being authorised to pay the money necessary to close James Hope's account and that the peers should take their share with the County in relieving him. You told me at the time that you would pay £200 towards this object and I agreed to pay £70. Pray look into your book and see if you placed £200 in the beginning of 1837 to the Election account in the Bank of Scotland.

¹ The first part of the letter concerns a county meeting on 10 Dec.

You will recollect the meeting at Dalkeith House in January 1837 when Lord Melville you and I on the part of the Peers expressed our readiness to bear a share of the expence due for closing the accounts of the last Election. It was shortly after this that I paid the £70 as my share and I think you must have paid your quota: if the money has been applied to other purposes we are not therefore to be called upon to pay it over again. I saw Lord Melville on the subject this afternoon. He is to call on Mr Inglis and get some explanation without loss of time. You shall hear the result. You must have received ab[ou]t 2 months since a memorandum on this matter transmitted by desire of the Election Committee. I did not read my copy till this morning. I find it confirms my impression of what took place.

The day after I wrote to you anent Roxb[urgh] votes I had a note from Horne from which I infer that you have adopted his plan. I hope it will turn out for the best, tho' I should have preferred in the first instance to have seen a shot fired into the system with clean hands: it was however a choice of evils.¹

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 6 January 1840

I Have seen Lord Lothian who mentioned that He had already paid his share of this seven hundred pound bill—but He paid into the R[oyal] Bank this Sum of £70, along or into the same account as our annual expences.

I shall write Inglis to call the committee together the day of our County meeting and perhaps if your grace gave your Agents [orders?] to pay the three hundred to Mr Inglis and me when required, we could get it to pay off the Bill whenever a good portion is collected.²

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 24 January 1840

I Have been endeavouring to trace what was done by your Grace

¹ Horne had proposed a new scheme for creating liferent votes to counter a large number made by the Duke of Roxburghe; SRO, GD224/582: Roxburgh and Selkirk 1834-39.

² Across the second paragraph is written, 'Will pay it. B.'

and Lord Lothian with regard to our debts to James Hope, and tho' I may be wrong in my Statement I may perhaps say some thing that may recall the whole to your memory.

In 1836 we found that somewhere about £1,800 was due James Hope and a Subscription was agreed to be made to pay off £1,200 and at that time it was thought right that Sir George should pay the remainder. You paid in June 1836 £300, and in September Lord Lothian sent £100—£960 or thereabouts was then paid into the Bank to assist in []¹ the Bill of £1,200, and that was not effected however until you paid in on December 9 1836 the sum of £200, and then the balance of £240 was paid and Interest and the Bill taken up. In the end of December and also in January 1837 various small sums were paid into the Bank amounting to about £70 or £80—and the last thursday of January 1837 there appears to Have been held a meeting at Dalkeith House when it was determined that the remaining £500 odd was to be paid by the proprietors of the County and not by Sir G. But for this sum, there being *then no bill* due the Bank, there was no hurry in completing the Subscription and nothing was done about it. Then came our Election and when we found in the Bank account £153 in our favour we agreed to pay to assist the Election expences, and no one ever thought of examining the account, as the object of the Account had been effected, the payment of £1,200 and Interest. But upon examining the Bank Book *now* it appears that Lord Lothian paid in £70 on 25th February 1837. Thus your Grace paid £300 and £200, and Lord Lothian paid £100, and paid in £70 for the new bill which turned out not to have been employed in that manner—It Having been paid into a wrong account, that is to say an account opened to pay off [the] £1,200 bill.

I Have thus endeavoured to explain how matters stand, as my memory is not good on these matters as I never trust my memory on money matters, but I Have got Mr Inglis's assistance and I have examined D. Horne's statement of what occurred and I and Mr Inglis went over the Bank Books and I dare say I am not far from being correct, but at any rate what I have said may assist your grace's memory. And I think you will find that it was only the last thursday of January 1837 that it was determined to relieve Sir G. of the remain-

¹ Illegible.

ing £500 and odd pounds, at least there is a letter of yours dated 31st January 1837¹ in which you state to Sir George that it was determined last thursday to pay off the £500 and odds due by mutual Subscription and not by him alone.

There is now nothing to be done but by a new Subscription to pay this Bill amounting now to above £600. You can shew this to Lord Lothian and He will I think be satisfied that though He may have intended to pay £70 for this now second Bill, that it being paid into another account, no one could divine that it was intended as following out the resolution of the meeting of the end of January. I grant that these calls are very heavy but if we are to contest the County we must lay our account with such disagreeables. I say nothing of the monies paid since to Mr Inglis whose expences are certainly heavy, and as far as possible the Committee do their best to curtail and will continue to do so while they have the confidence of all who support them. But I must own that both Mr Inglis and the committee felt sore that Lord Lothian in his last letter² remitting his yearly subscription seemed to infer that there was a want of management in curtailing the Expences. I scarcely think his Lordship intended saying this to the committee, But as they act for the best and take all the trouble, we should be glad that Lord Lothian or any other person would examine what we do and point out where any thing is wrong. As we Kept open the County for nearly a year for Lord Claud Hamilton, in writing to the other peers, which I hope and We trust your Grace will do in order to pay off this said Bill, I think you have a fair claim upon Lord Abercorn. In fact we trust all to you as Lord Melville is not zealous nor active in this matter. In fact he does very little or nothing.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Marquis of Lothian to the Duke of Buccleuch

Blickling, [Norfolk], 28 February 1840

I heard yesterday from Sir J. Hope anent the 'Bank Bill which stands against us'. I enclose his letter.³ He was in expectation of hearing from you about it. I have sent him £100 to quiet him, for tho' I still think I intended to subscribe to this object in my payment

¹ The letter was dated 1 Feb., above p. 107.

² Not seen.

³ Not seen.

in February 1837, yet as resolving any doubt about it in favor of this impression would not under the circumstances prevent my paying again it is much less trouble to pay at once.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir John Hope

Boughton House, Kettering, 25 April 1840

During the time I was in London, I was so much occupied with various business, and so frequently interrupted, that I have not until now been able to state the result of a close and attentive examination of all the correspondence that has passed from 2nd January 1836 down to the present time, with other Memoranda connected with the County matters amounting to upwards of 100 Letters, besides other Documents.¹ I need not enter into all the details, which would render a recapitulation of half the correspondence necessary. Suffice it to say then that it was necessary in 1836 to raise £1,500 to settle with Mr James Hope, (his Abstract of the Accounts shewing a Balance due to him in February 1836 of £1,484 3s. 5d.).² This was raised in June 1836 by a Bill drawn and signed by Lord Melville and yourself and discounted by the Royal Bank for £1,200 and 300 was advanced by Mr Horne. At first it was proposed that Sir G. Clerk should pay £500 and the County 1,000. After much discussion and correspondence, in which I have a considerable share, and make sundry statements of my opinion, it was decided at length by Lords Lothian, Morton, Melville and myself at Bowhill late in November 1836 (although I had long before expressed a similar opinion) that Sir G. Clerk, having already defrayed more than half of the whole expences from 1832 down to that date, should not be called upon to contribute to the said sum of £1,500. This decision was communicated by me to Sir G. Clerk in a letter dated 1st December 1836, and this decision was confirmed at a meeting of the same persons with the addition of Dundas of Arniston and yourself (without, I think, Lord Morton) in January 1837 and which was communicated

¹ The Duke made an abstract of the entire correspondence from 9 Feb. 1836 on seven foolscap pages. There is no letter dated 2 Jan. 1836 in the collection; the reference in the Duke's letter is probably a slip: the first letter on the second sheet is dated 2 Jan. 1837.

² Above p. 50 and n. 1.

by me to Sir G. Clerk in a letter dated 1st February 1837 (not 31 January but this does not matter)—in June 1836 I paid my subscription towards the £1,500 viz. £300 and by the copy of a letter to you dated 1st December 1836 I find that I stated to you the result of our deliberation at Bowhill before alluded [to] and that I had paid in a further subscription of £200. This subscription you acknowledge to have received by a letter dated 20th December 1836,¹ which £200 you assumed was to pay off the original Bill granted by Horne to pay off James Hope. I have no copy of any answer to this letter from you. My impression is that my second subscription of £200 was intended to assist Sir G. Clerk from the liability for the £500 which it was proposed he should pay, though I see by your letter you thought differently as only £960 had at that date been raised towards the payment of the Bill for £1,200. Lord Lothian originally subscribed £100 to meet this demand for £1,500 and which was paid in September 1836. He afterwards in February 1837 paid another subscription of £70 and which I have no doubt was intended as his subscription towards the £500 originally allotted to Sir G. Clerk. In a letter from Mr Horne dated 4 January 1837 he sends me an abstract and State of Final Settlement with Mr Hope as follows². . . . Thus leaving a Balance due to Mr Horne of, with other expenses, a sum of about £600.

It matters now but little whether the further sum of £200 paid by me in December 1836 and the £70 paid by Lord Lothian by February 1837 were for defraying the amount of the original Bill for £1,200 or for the £500 allotted to Sir G. Clerk, tho' my impression is such was our intention, viz. for the 500, as since then I have paid £300 towards clearing off the balance due to Mr Horne for the settlement of Mr Hope's accounts, and Lord Lothian has paid 100 for the same purpose, thus making a payment by Lord Lothian of £270 and by myself of £800, together £1,070 towards the Settlement by Mr Horne of the balance due to Mr Hope. I have no doubt but that the £153 which was found in the Bank should have been applied to the extinction of the debt and not to the Election Expenses. At all events the Balance due is so small that I trust you will not find much difficulty in raising it. If you think it advisable I will write to

¹ Omitted.

² Here the Duke inserted details of the accounts and of Horne's advances, above p. 106.

some of the Peers, tho' as you and they are in the County I think you could do it easier and with more effect, as it would be almost impossible for me to explain to them the state of the case, and they may have already paid their additional subscriptions to the £500. Lord Abercorn has not yet I believe returned to London, but at all events I do not expect to be successful with him.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Lord Abercromby¹ to Fox Maule

Douglas Hotel, Edinburgh, 27 February [1841]

. . . I hear it whispered that Ramsay of Barnton would rather back out of the County. This at least is certain, that since he received the requisition to stand he has not visited one of his Constituency. His principal amusement seems to consist in driving the Defiance Coach.² His Hounds and Hunters are all to be sold at the end of the Season.

Dalhousie, 14/627

Robert Scott-Moncrieff to the Duke of Buccleuch

Dalkeith, 19 June 1841

On reconsidering what I stated in the letter regarding the Church question which I used the freedom to write to your Grace yesterday,³ when alluding to the reception Mr Ramsay met with when he waited on the electors in Dalkeith, it strikes me that I have not been sufficiently explicit, and that you might perhaps be led to infer that some discontent had been manifested with your exercise of patronage in the appointment of Mr Duncan⁴ to this parish. I beg to explain therefore that nothing of the kind occurred. . . . What I referred to was this, that some very respectable people who had been hitherto among the most decided supporters of the Conservative Cause

¹ George, 2nd Baron Abercromby, 1770-1843, succeeded 1821; he married in 1799 a daughter of the 1st Viscount Melville; he was a Whig; Fox Maule, above p. 25, n. 1, was his son-in-law.

² In 1829 Ramsay was associated with Captain Barclay of Urie in starting the Defiance Coach which ran between Edinburgh and Aberdeen; see above p. xxv.

³ Not seen.

⁴ Joseph Rogers Duncan, 1811-84, was the minister at Dalkeith from June 1841 until Oct. 1843 when he was presented by the Duke of Buccleuch to the parish of Torthorwald in Dumfriesshire.

received us with much coldness, from believing that Mr Ramsay would not go all lengths in supporting the Church in her present position, and I have little doubt that if a Whig started for the County with a pledge that he would support the Duke of Argyll's bill¹ he would carry the whole votes and influence of these persons. I do not say that they are numerous, but if there are as many in other parts of the County as here they might turn the election at an emergency. In other respects Mr Ramsay's reception was very gratifying. He met with civility every where, and one or two who had been considered doubtful frankly promised their support if there should be a contest, while a few others who had hitherto voted on the opposite side engaged not to vote against him. In short but for the Church question it seems to me that the gain to the Conservative Cause among that class of voters would be very Considerable. The leading men here on the Whig side all assured us that there was to be no contest, but of course they are not to be trusted, and we must not be thrown off our guard.

Buccleuch, Box 517: Moncrieff letters 1840-44

H. M. Inglis to William Gibson-Craig

Edinburgh, 24 June 1841

I regret to find that your Address to the Electors of Mid-Lothian intimating that you retire from the representation of the County contains a charge against the Conservative party which calls for

¹ John Douglas Campbell, 1777-1847, 7th Duke of Argyll 1839, a Conservative. His bill, introduced in the House of Lords on 6 May 1841, proved an abortive attempt to provide a compromise solution to the non-intrusion controversy, which had brought the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland into collision with the civil courts. The Duke's proposals for a congregational veto were approved by the General Assembly on 21 May by 230 votes to 105, but by the end of June it was clear that neither Whig nor Conservative leaders were prepared to support the measure. R. Buchanan, *The Ten Years' Conflict* (Glasgow, 1849) ii, 218-20, 230-44, 287-91, 340-43; G. I. T. Machin, 'The Disruption and British Politics, 1834-43', *Scottish Historical Review*, li (1972), 34-45.

At the election on 6 July 1841 Ramsay of Barnton declared that he supported the principle of non-intrusion and desired a settlement of the Church question, without however indicating whether he favoured the Duke of Argyll's solution or that for a presbyterial veto proposed by the Earl of Aberdeen in 1840; *Scotsman*, 7 July 1841; Machin, op. cit., 29-32.

explanation.¹ That explanation for obvious reasons may naturally be expected to come from me.

I cannot suppose that you would cast an imputation upon political opponents which you did not believe to be warranted; but you must excuse me for saying that before making your charge you were bound to ascertain that the information on which you proceeded was correct.

The tendency of your Address is to lead the public to believe that, since your election in 1837 by a majority of about forty votes, unfair means have been resorted to by the Conservative party to deprive you of your seat as Member for the County. Your determination to retire is said to have been 'formed on consideration of the number of *fictitious votes* which have been placed upon the Register by the Tory party', and you add, 'Had the right of voting been confined to the real Electors of the County, I have not the slightest doubt that the success of a Liberal candidate would again have been certain'.

In order to ascertain how far your charge against the conduct of the Conservatives since the election of 1837 is well founded, it is necessary shortly to review the proceedings that have taken place from that period in reference to the Registration of Voters.

At the registration of 1837 the first step taken by your supporters was an attempt to sweep from the roll the votes of a great body of the *Tenantry* of the County upon the plea that a Tenant on the Roll, however large his rent, is disqualified by ceding possession of any portion of ground, however small, even when given for purposes beneficial to his farm—such as the formation of a road. That attempt, fortunately for the rights of the *Tenantry* throughout the country, was ultimately defeated.

In the same year fifty-one liferenters were enrolled by your friends, and thirty by the Conservatives; a proportion which certainly improved the roll in so far as your prospects were concerned.

It is to this class of liferent qualifications generally, as I understand, that you and your friends are in the habit of applying the term '*fictitious votes*'.

Not content with the advantage thus gained, a totally new plan was concocted by your friends for creating liferents by means of inter-

¹ Gibson-Craig's letter dated 19 June 1841 appeared in the *Scotsman*, 23 June 1841, together with a second letter accepting the invitation to stand for the City of Edinburgh.

posed Trusts,¹ a kind of qualification hitherto unknown, and which to most people appeared better deserving of the name of 'fictitious' than anything that had yet been heard of in this or any other County. At the registration of 1838 claims of this last-mentioned description were lodged on the Whig side for above 200 liferenters, of whom nearly one hundred held their liferents over the Estate of Riccarton.

For the introduction of claims of this kind the Conservatives are thus obviously not responsible. They opposed their registration on grounds which they believed to be good in law, and they were successful in their opposition before the Registering Sheriff. But on an appeal taken by the Whig party the judgment was reversed; and I doubt whether, if an Election had occurred in that state of the Register, any complaint would have been heard from you or your friends on the subject of 'fictitious votes'.

The Conservatives are not certainly liable to any imputation of unfairness for acting upon the judgment of the Appeal Sheriffs which you had thus obtained.

But independent of such considerations your information as to the state of the constituency must be very inaccurate and imperfect if you suppose that the admitted preponderance of the Conservatives arises from their possessing a majority in any single class of voters. I am satisfied that had you gone to the poll you would have found that the Conservative candidate had a decided majority among all classes of the Electors.

Scotsman, 26 June 1841

Maurice Lothian to H. M. Inglis

20 St Andrew Square, Edinburgh, 26 June 1841

I have just perused your published Letter to Mr Craig in which you impugn his statement that his resolution of not offering himself as a Candidate at the ensuing Election FOR THE COUNTY was formed on a consideration of the number of Fictitious Votes which have been placed upon the Register. In answer I have simply to say that an impartial review of the whole proceedings of the Tory party since the passing of the Reform Bill, not only justifies the statement of Mr Craig, but proves that if the right of voting were confined

¹ See introduction pp. xliii-iv and above pp. 133-6.

to the real Electors there could not be the slightest doubt of the success of a Liberal Candidate.

It is not necessary for me to state, *what is quite well known*, that the system of which Mr Craig complains was COMMENCED BY THE TORY PARTY. No one knows better than you that in the year 1833 the Son and Agent of the Tory Candidate set for the first time the example complained of by getting themselves enrolled as liferenters—an example which was followed, in 1834, by various other friends of that Candidate.

Down to that period not a single vote that I am aware of had been made on the Liberal side.

It was out of the question however to suppose that the Liberal party were to submit to be destroyed without making any effort in self-defence.

And yet in 1835 only *one* Liberal liferenter was made, while *sixteen additional* were manufactured by the Tories.

In the next year (1836) the system developed itself more fully. There were *eleven* liferenters admitted on the Liberal side; while on the Tory side no less than *forty-one* were admitted.

From that period the same system has been carried on with varied success, till it was altogether checked on the side of the Liberal party in 1840. *I am not aware that it has yet been checked by the Tory party.*

You complain of the number of liferent votes which were created in 1838 on the Liberal side by means of interposed trusts.

May I remind you of what *you have omitted* to state, that in the year 1839 no less than 319 Tory claims were lodged, of which 306 were admitted. Out of that large number only 28 were supported by parties who produced deeds showing that they were absolute fiars; seventeen were re-enrolments. The whole remaining claims were supported by *liferent deeds*; in return for which 236 of the parties in whose favour those deeds were granted gave bills without paying a farthing of the price; while about 165 of them granted trust-deeds in security of the bills.

Although in that year only 41 Liberal claims were sustained thus leaving the Tories a large majority; and although *in the year 1840 the Liberal party did not create a single vote*, yet the Tory claims sustained in that year amounted to no less than 119—all of which (deducting about 40 as being the claims of the natural constituency) were created *under the protection of trust-deeds and bills.*

The public are now in a condition to judge whether it be not true that the natural constituency of the County have been swamped by the number of Fictitious Votes which have been placed on the Register by the Tories.

In conclusion let me put one question, the answer to which will test the sincerity of any party professing that an election should depend on the suffrages of the natural constituency:—Will the Tory party concur in attempting to procure a legislative measure to exclude *non-resident* voters?

Such a measure would liberate this County for ever from Tory domination.

Scotsman, 30 June 1841

Robert Sym Wilson¹ to H. M. Inglis

Royal Bank, Edinburgh, 5 January 1842

A Promissory Note by Mr Donald Horne w/s for £639 9s. 9d. has lain over unpaid here for a very considerable time and I am informed that you take a charge of the matter. I therefore enclose a Statement of it from which you will perceive that after crediting various payments to account there is still due with interest to yesterday's date £284 11s. 1d. of which I request a settlement at your earliest convenience—Reserving the Bank's claim against Mr Horne.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836–51

H. M. Inglis to the Duke of Buccleuch

Edinburgh, 6 January 1842

I am sorry to be obliged to trouble your Grace with the enclosed application relative to the balance still due to the Royal Bank of the sum advanced for the payment of Mr Hope's accounts, and for which the Bank hold Mr Horne's obligation.

Your Grace may probably recollect that in the month of October 1839 I made a communication by direction of the Committee to your Grace, the late Marquis of Lothian,² and Lord Melville on this subject.

¹ Robert Sym Wilson, w/s, 1792–1868, cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland; he was the brother of Professor John Wilson, 'Christopher North'.

² The 7th Marquis of Lothian died 14 Nov. 1841.

The amount of Mr Horne's Bill was at that date £639 9s. 9d. Since that time two payments, one of £100, and another of £300, have been made to the Bank towards the extinction of this claim. The former was made by the late Marquis of Lothian, and the latter by your Grace. It is perhaps proper for me to inform your Grace that no payment has been received on this account from any other quarter. I am obliged to make the present communication to your Grace in consequence of the strong terms in which the Bank have written to Mr Horne for payment of the balance of £284 11s. 1d. still due upon his bill.

If the papers which were formerly sent to your Grace have fallen aside I shall immediately forward another Copy upon hearing that your Grace desires it.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Duke of Buccleuch to H. M. Inglis

Dalkeith, 8 January 1842

I have received your letter of the 6th. I cannot at this moment find the papers you allude to, and I shall be obliged to you to send to me a copy of them. In the meantime you had better perhaps inform the Royal Bank that measures are in progress to pay off this Balance. I expect to see Lord Melville on Monday and will speak to him on the subject.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

H. M. Inglis to the Duke of Buccleuch

Edinburgh, 10 January 1842

I beg leave to enclose the Memorandum referred to in your Grace's note received by me this morning. Previous to communicating with your Grace I had informed the Royal Bank that the payment of the balance due to them would be immediately arranged.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

H. M. Inglis to the Duke of Buccleuch

Edinburgh, 10 March 1842

I have again received a pressing letter from the Royal Bank regard-

ing the balance due to them upon Mr Horne's Bill of which I take the liberty of sending a copy to your Grace.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Dundas and Wilson¹ to H. M. Inglis

Edinburgh, 7 March 1842

We are directed to enquire whether you have now made arrangements for the payment of the sum due on Mr Donald Horne's Promissory Note to the Royal Bank. You have now had an opportunity of communicating with the parties on the subject and we have received pointed instructions not to allow any farther delay.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

The Duke of Buccleuch to H. M. Inglis

Private

London, 15 March 1842

I have received your letter of the 10th and enclose an order upon Messrs. Coutts & Co. for £285 to pay the balance of the Bill named by you. I do this to save time, but in doing so I must beg that you keep a Memorandum that this is not to exonerate other parties who properly are liable for this balance.²

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

[Circular letter]

Private and confidential

Edinburgh, 20 December 1843

We take leave to transmit to you the enclosed,³ which we earnestly hope will receive an early and favorable consideration.

We have nothing to add to what is contained in the Minute except to inform you that the existing debt connected with the two last elections amounts altogether to £2,126 1s. 11d.

We shall anxiously look for your reply to this communication,

¹ John Dundas, ws, 1803-73, and William Wilson, ws, 1805-80.

² There is no evidence that the Duke was ever reimbursed.

³ The enclosed paper consisted of the last five paragraphs of the minute dated 13 Dec. 1843, below pp. 164-6.

and it will be obliging if you will address the same to Mr Maxwell Inglis Secretary to the Committee at 6 St David St Edinburgh.

We have the honor to be Your Faithful and obedient servants.

John Hope

W. B. Callander

John Wauchop

R. B. Wardlaw Ramsay

[To Sir George Clerk's copy Sir John Hope appended the following note.]

[23 Dec. 1843]

The committee are very anxious that you as a member of the Committee would exert yourself in London to obtain some assistance from all you know to belong to the County. We have wrote to all the Peers connected with the County, and Have applied to the D[uke] of B[uccleuch] to forward the letters to them.

Clerk, 3380

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 23 December 1843

I forward to your Grace letters for the Peers of this County which the Committee are desirous should be transmitted by your Grace to them individually as having more Interest with them than we can pretend to.

The Committee are also very desirous that your Grace should have some communication with the Curators of the Lothian family upon this very important Subject as without support from all connected—It is impossible for the Committee to go on getting into debt.

[Endorsed] A[nswered] 25th. When I get particulars of accounts will forward the letters. B[uccleuch].¹

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

H. M. Inglis to Sir George Clerk

Edinburgh, 16 January 1844

From your note to Sir John Hope which he has left with me it

¹ Sir John Hope sent the Duke copies of the circular letter dated 20 Dec. 1843; those addressed to the Marquis of Abercorn, and the Earls of Haddington, Morton, Rosslyn and Wemyss are still awaiting delivery; SRO, GD224/581.

appears that you have only received an Excerpt of the Minute of the Committee. It was intended that you should have a complete copy and I now beg to supply the omission.

The abstract of the Registration account which I enclose will with the explanation given in the minute in reference to this account supply the information you desire.

I fear the Minute so far as respects the election account of Mr Ramsay will not be very intelligible without your seeing the papers which were before the Committee. I therefore enclose copies of these papers.

Clerk, 3381

Explanatory Note by the agent sent to Mr Ramsay along with a Note of the Expenses incurred in proceedings connected with the Election of 1841 in the County of Mid Lothian [May 1843]

It is necessary that Mr Ramsay should be made fully aware of the principle upon which the accounts have been prepared, of which the foregoing is an abstract.

Upon looking at this abstract it will be found that a considerable portion of the accounts have been incurred in creating liferent votes which had become necessary in consequence of the extent to which this system had been previously practised by the Whig Party. In furtherance of this object several Gentlemen connected with the County were induced to incur the risk and annoyance of dividing their property for the purpose of creating votes, it being at the same-time understood that those proprietors who were prevented from concurring in this measure, either in consequence of Entails or from other causes, should provide the necessary funds to meet the Expenses, it being apparent that the ordinary subscriptions to the registration fund would be quite inadequate for this purpose.

The arrangement was gone into in the full belief that it would be a saving of expense to all parties to apply in this way a portion at least of the funds which had been provided, and [which] would otherwise have been required to defray the expense of a contested election.

It will be in the recollection of Mr Ramsay that soon after he became the Candidate he applied for and obtained from the Committee a

Guarantee that he should not be called upon to pay more than one half of the expenses as the Conservative Candidate, and that in no circumstances should the call upon him exceed £1,500.

The accounts have been all incurred during the years 1839 and subsequently. The one half of the whole expense does not much exceed £600 and in all probability had the last election taken place in ordinary circumstances Mr Ramsay would have been called upon to the full extent of £1,500. So that by a judicious anticipation of a portion of this sum the expense now falling upon Mr Ramsay is reduced by more than one half.

[Copy] Clerk, 3380

John Robert Tod¹ to H. M. Inglis

Edinburgh, 23 August 1843

As requested by you at our meeting today I beg to repeat shortly in writing the view that Mr Ramsay of Barnton takes of the Political account and explanatory Note forwarded by you to him through me in May last.

This account, or rather abstract of accounts, embraces charges to the amount of £1,322 9s. 2d. which I will divide as follows vizt.

In 1839 to the amount of	£719 10s. 5½d.
In 1840 Ditto	148 6s. 4 d.
In 1839, 40 and 41 Ditto	391 12s. 11 d.
Interest on said accounts from June 1841 to June 1842 one year	62 19s. 5½d.
	<hr/> £1,322 9s. 2d. ²

It is admitted in the explanatory Note that Mr Ramsay is only bound for one half of the *Election* expenses incurred (so that there is no necessity of referring to the Minute of the Sub Committee of 21st June 1839)³ consequently Mr Ramsay thinks it is equally clear

¹ John Robert Tod, ws, 1814-56.

² See the minute dated 13 Dec. 1843, below pp. 164-6.

³ This minute has not been found but its sense is conveyed in Sir John Hope's letter of 8 July 1839.

that he is only liable per agreement to the one half of £391 12s. 11d. and the proportion of Interests effeiring to that Sum.

Mr Ramsay declines to take upon his own shoulders debts incurred either by the County Conservatives as a body or by any member or candidate, previous to his coming forward on the requisition of the Electors. When this requisition was handed to him by the Committee, not a word was stated of any of the present claims and until very lately Mr Ramsay was ignorant that they even existed, nay more, many of the parties who signed the requisition were the parties, the expense of enrolling whom is now asked from Mr Ramsay, and who, in the absence of any explanation he (Mr R.) naturally supposed were free agents and not dependent on him for the expense of their enrollment and on this supposition alone he cheerfully, tho' at many personal sacrifices, accepted of the requisition, and from *his* popularity the opposite party saw all opposition was then in vain. These observations apply to the sum of £719 10s. 5d.

The next sum of £148 6s. 4d. into which I have divided the account may stand in slightly a different position as I think you mentioned that none or but few of the voters who were put on the roll at this expense signed the requisition, not being then qualified so to do. Even if I have understood you rightly on this point, I do not think that Mr Ramsay should be asked to pay it, as surely he is entitled to some work for the liberal subscription he has given for several years back to the Registration fund.

As you mentioned that these accounts had not yet been before the Committee, the above remarks may be quite unnecessary (as the Committee may probably take the same view of Mr Ramsay's liabilities as he and I do) in which case please destroy them.

I beg further to mention that Mr Ramsay has directed that on the principle of the settlement of these accounts being agreed on and any difficulty arising as to funds to meet the liabilities incurred previous to his responding to the call of the requisitionists that I shall subscribe on his behalf for that purpose the sum of one Hundred pounds, and this I will be happy to do on hearing from you.

[Copy] Clerk, 3380

ABSTRACT

Accounts current between The Conservative Committee on Midlothian Registrations and H. Maxwell Inglis w^s¹

To Balance due upon accounts prior to Registration 1838	£	s.	d.
	525	10	11

£	s.	d.
---	----	----

Subscriptions towards Registration Expenses

Account for Registration 1838	985	2	10½
Account for Registration 1839	666	0	10½
Account for Registration 1840	332	12	3
Account for Registration 1841	184	12	5
Account for Registration 1842	106	4	0
Account for Registration 1843	190	8	11

Subscriptions for 1838	597	7	8
Subscriptions for 1839	595	2	4
Subscriptions for 1840	517	13	10
Subscriptions for 1841	489	7	10
Subscriptions for 1842	327	0	9
By balance	463	19	10

1839-1845

£2,990	12	3
--------	----	---

£2,990	12	3
--------	----	---

To Balance due

£463	19	10
------	----	----

[Copy] Clerk, 3380

¹ Minor adjustments have been made in setting out these accounts.

Minute of Meeting of The Sub Committee upon Election and Registration Expenses in the County of Midlothian, held 13 December 1843.

Present: Sir John Hope, Convener; Mr Burn Callander; Mr Wardlaw Ramsay; Mr Wauchope [of] Edmonstone.

There was laid before the Meeting the following accounts connected with Election and Registration proceedings.

1. Account of Expences for registrations including that of 1843 shewing a balance due thereon of this date exclusive of interest amounting to £463 19s. 10d.
2. Ditto incurred in proceedings connected with the Election in 1841 as rendered to Mr Ramsay in June last amounting to £1,322 9s. 2d.
3. Balance of account connected with the contest of Sir George Clerk at the Election of 1837 amounting to £803 12s. 9d.

From the Registration account it appeared that while the annual subscriptions had during some years proved quite inadequate to meet the Registration Expences, a surplus Fund had arisen from the saving of other years so that when the subscriptions for last registration, which were still outstanding, came to be collected there would probably be a balance upon this account in favor of the Committee.

It appeared to the Committee after having examined the account as rendered to Mr Ramsay along with Mr Inglis' explanatory Note, and Mr Tod's Reply, that the statement of Mr Tod proceeds to a certain extent at least upon a misapprehension as to the facts.

It is stated in that letter that 'many of the Parties who signed the requisition were the parties, the expence of enrolling whom is now asked from Mr Ramsay, and who in the absence of any explanation he (Mr R.) naturally supposed were free agents and not dependent on him for the expence of their enrolments, and on this supposition alone, he cheerfully tho' at many personal sacrifices accepted of the requisition'. Now the fact, as the Committee are informed, is directly the reverse, not one individual having signed Mr Ramsay's requisition who was not at the time an Elector, while all the enrolments of which the expence is embraced in this account were made subsequent to the period when Mr Ramsay accepted the requisition, and announced himself as the conservative candidate of the County.

The Committee further observe that the annual subscription which Mr Ramsay has given to the Registration fund for the last four years is of the same amount with that of Sir George Clerk when he was the Candidate. The Members of Committee have individually contributed for the last seven years to this Registration Fund but which is entirely devoted to ordinary registration purposes, and never was intended as a provision to any extent for expences connected with Elections, or with such extraordinary proceedings as became necessary in the years 1839 and 1840, and which ultimately had the effect of relieving Mr Ramsay and his supporters from the trouble and expence of a contested Election.

The Committee have no desire to make any demand upon Mr Ramsay beyond what may be considered to be a fair and equitable interpretation of the Minute of 21 June 1839. But they trust when Mr Ramsay is put in full possession of the whole facts and circumstances connected with this account, which does not embrace any portion of the ordinary Registration expences, that he will adopt the view embodied in the explanatory Note appended to it.

The Committee feel themselves entitled to say that in authorising these proceedings they acted to the best of their judgement and with perfect success in saving both the annoyance and expence of a contest to Mr Ramsay and to themselves; and they can scarcely suppose that by having done so they shall be now burdened with the expenses which were inevitable in attaining that object.

In reference to the balance upon the Election account of 1837 it was stated by Mr Inglis that he had communicated with Sir George Clerk upon this subject, and that Sir George seemed to be of opinion, considering the very heavy demands which had been made upon him at various times connected with the Politics of this County, that the balance of this account should be defrayed by subscription, in which he would willingly join.¹

As the Meeting foresee that even in the most favorable view funds will be required to a considerable amount to enable the Committee to discharge their share of the account connected with Mr Ramsay's

¹ That there was £803 owing for the 1837 election is odd in view of Sir John Hope's statements on 9 Sept. and 11 Nov. 1837, above pp. 129, 132. Sir George Clerk was put down for £500 on 4 July, above p. 114; a receipt for this amount was signed by Inglis 22 July, SRO, GD18/1719/22.

Election, they are of opinion that a subscription should be immediately opened for the purpose of raising this money as well as to assist Sir George Clerk in clearing off the balance due upon the account for the previous Election.

Upon referring to the account for Registration expences it appears that while the amount of cess¹ (by which the subscriptions to that Fund have in general been regulated) payable by Conservative Proprietors in the County exceeds £1,200, the subscriptions actually received have in general been made by Proprietors the aggregate amount of whose cess is little beyond one third of that sum. So that the whole expenses of carrying on the Registrations has hitherto devolved upon a very limited number of Individuals, who by their unassisted exertions and subscriptions have regained the County for the Conservatives and placed it for the present at least beyond risk.

In these circumstances the Committee feel constrained to observe in looking at the limited list of Contributors that, with the exception of the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Melville and the late Marquis of Lothian, they have not met with that support to which they were fairly entitled from those who by their rank and position in the County are best able to afford them encouragement and pecuniary assistance.

The Committee therefore resolve that this Minute shall be communicated to the Noblemen and Gentlemen in the County who belong to the Conservative Party, and particularly to those who have not hitherto contributed to the Registration and Election Funds, and that they should be earnestly requested to come forward at present and contribute liberally to defray the outstanding debt as well as to become subscribers to the annual registration fund upon the same principle as has been acted upon by the present contributors for a series of years.

[Copy] Clerk, 3380

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 30 April 1844

In reference to a communication made to you in the month of December last, by the Conservative Sub Committee of Mid Lothian,

¹ I.e. land tax, see above pp. 129-31.

I have now the honour to enclose an Excerpt Minute of Meeting of that Committee held at Edinburgh on the 17th current to which your early attention is particularly requested.¹

Signed John Hope
Convener of Committee

Excerpt Minute of Meeting of Sub Committee upon Election and Registration Expenses in the County of Mid Lothian held 17 April 1844.

The Committee are gratified to find that the Secretary has received replies to many of the applications lately made by them to the friends of the Conservative Cause in this County, expressing a readiness to contribute towards the liquidation of the outstanding debt connected with registration and election expenses; and as there appears from these Communications to be a general wish that the Committee should offer some suggestion with the view of assisting intending Subscribers in regulating the amount of their Contributions the Committee are quite ready to do so.

Upon referring to the Subscription Lists the Committee find that in addition to their Subscriptions towards the expense of the different elections they have individually, along with some other friends, contributed annually to the Registration fund for the last *seven* years according to the amount of their cess or Land Tax; and they trust that they will not be considered unreasonable in suggesting that those now willing to join them for the first time should make a Donation equal in amount to *three* years payment of their cess towards liquidating the existing debt, and that their annual subscriptions should in future be regulated upon the same principle as has been and is now acted upon by the present Subscribers.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 581: County of Edinburgh Election Expenses 1843-1844

Sir John Hope to Sir George Clerk

14 St James's St, London, 8 May 1844

I hope you will be able to find an opportunity to speak to Mr

¹ There are also copies addressed to the Marquis of Abercorn, the Earls of Haddington, Moray, Morton, Rosslyn and Wemyss, and Mr Elphinstone of Carberry; sro, GD224/581.

Ramsay about our election arrears. We have always Kept the annual Registration fund totally separate which is defrayed by annual Subscriptions. But when we began imitating our opponents by making as many *life rent* votes as we could—It could not be expected that the proprietors of those lands could fairly be called upon to be at the sole expence in preparing those votes. The expence of Registration was of course defrayed by the fund for that purpose. But the outlay in preparing those votes must certainly come upon the Election expences as they are no part of the usual expences of registration, and without those life rent votes the Election would not have been carried; under all circumstances I can only say that if I were in Mr Ramsay's situation I would consider myself bound to join in paying those extra expences in the manner already proposed to him.

Mr Tod seemed to have impressed Mr Ramsay that those life rent votes had been put in requisition before he Mr Ramsay agreed to start for the County. As soon as we heard of this unfounded idea of Mr Tod We sent him such lists which proved to him that not one of those who signed the requisition had any thing to do with those votes; in fact those life rent votes were arranged *after* Mr Ramsay agreed to stand for the County.¹ In short we suspect that if Mr Ramsay had been left to himself and not impressed at starting by Mr Tod that those life rent votes were made and arranged the year before Mr Ramsay received the requisition, I feel sure that Mr Ramsay would not have declined to pay those extra expences which in part relieved him of paying £1,500 to defray a part of the Election expences.

Clerk, 3381

William Ramsay of Barnton to Sir George Clerk

Barnton House, 9 April 1845

Knowing the interest you take in the Political arrangements of this County I am induced to write to you and communicate my intention of retiring from the representation of Mid-Lothian. My reason for coming to this resolve is that I have for some months

¹ The registration court met after Ramsay agreed to be the candidate but the large number of Conservative claims admitted at the 1839 registration must have been prepared by the end of Jan. 1839.

been very unwell and for the last few weeks I have been almost entirely confined to bed and my health is such as to preclude the possibility of my going to London to attend Parliament this session, and under these circumstances I mean to resign my seat, and should feel obliged if you would (in addition to your former Kindness) take the usual necessary steps to relieve me of my duties.

Clerk, 3705

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Pinkie House, 9 April 1845

I Have this moment the unexpected news from Ramsay that he means to resign being Member of the County. I had of course wrote to him to pause and to do nothing rash both in fairness to himself as well as to his friends in the county—and to mention his determination to no one until his friends have time to look about them to find a Successor.

I confess this news has come suddenly upon me and in the present state of matters I have not of course had time to make up my mind whether to offer myself or bring forward Archy¹—or to give up any interference. I Have now for forty years worked hard and fully as steadily as most people, and during that period after every exertion what has been done for me?—the conduct of Lord Haddington I consider anything but fair²—under such circumstances however it may prove most disagreeable yet in justice to my family I will not shirk bringing my claims forward. . . .

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir John Hope

Private and Confidential

London, 11 April 1845

I have this morning received your letter announcing the un-

¹ Archibald Hope, 1808-83, Sir John's eldest son, advocate 1829, 12th Bart. of Craighall 1853.

² The comment appears to refer to a family matter, and as the Earl of Haddington was First Lord of the Admiralty it presumably concerns Sir John's son in the Royal Navy, Thomas Hope, 1810-67, who had been promoted commander in Nov. 1841 but had been given no employment since. In Nov. 1845 after four years on half-pay he was appointed to command the *Bittern*; *O'Byrne's Naval Biography* (London, 1849), 539, 1365. Unfortunately there is no evidence in Lord Haddington's Admiralty papers to confirm this surmise; SRO, GD249/53 and GD249/62/5-9.

expected intelligence that our present Member intends to retire from Parliament. Sir G. Clerk has since called upon me as Ramsay of Barnton had written to him to take the necessary steps to enable him to resign his seat. Sir George is to write to him today requesting of him to delay for a time announcing his intention, and until some arrangement can be made in the County, for if the announcement were made and no one ready to come forward great inconvenience and confusion would be sure to arise. It is not necessary for him to attend in his place at present, so that there is no necessity for his coming to London.

As to the Candidate that may come forward it is a matter for consideration. The great difficulty in that County lies in the Western district. Should you be the person, the great respect that is felt for yourself personally throughout the whole County would to a great degree neutralise the opposition in that quarter, but I doubt if Archy could command the same personal feelings that exist towards yourself individually, and which would outweigh political feelings.

How far attendance in Parliament would suit your health and the occupations in which you are engaged you alone can decide. Archy to be sure has not these considerations to look to.

In considering the arrangements that might be necessary in the event of a vacancy occurring, and which I certainly did not anticipate during the lifetime of this Parliament, It has often occurred to me that Aberdour was a person to whom we might look . . . He is young and has no particular avocation to prevent his attendance in Parliament. He has one great advantage, viz from his marriage and his connections thro' his Wife he would naturally neutralise much of the opposition to any one else in the Western District of the County.¹ I believe that Burn Callander has expressed a wish to come forward should an opportunity occur, but whatever may be his merits I do not think he would carry the County if it were contested, and supposing him to be a Candidate it is more than probable that there would be [a] sharp contest. . . .

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

¹ In Jan. 1844 Lord Aberdour had married Helen, daughter of James Watson of Saughton in the parish of Corstorphine.

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Pinkie House, 13 April 1845

I have just received your letter about our member who I yet hope may be persuaded to delay his retiring. My own personal feeling for mentioning myself or Archy is in the first place there is a chance of one of us carrying the county—and I am certain there is no chance of Lord A[berdour] gaining a vote in the West part of the county. Lord M[orton] either does not meddle with, or does not understand the fair mode of managing, his tenantry and the farming upon the Estate has not changed nor improved since I have known it, 1802, and if you ask the neighbours they say how can it be otherwise—there is a constant change of tenants and all roused out¹ and no one will go there but those who cannot get ground elsewhere. And I am grieved to say that Lord Aberdour has begun the same system on the Watson property where they are already discontented. Such being the case someone else must be looked out. But to tell the truth—I Have no intention of giving up what I think is due to me or to my family after 43 years work in the county—and if Ramsay does resign I shall certainly try my chance or that of my son if I can manage the money part of it; or if I find I am not to be supported I shall most certainly withdraw from taking any share or vote upon the matter. I have spent a long life in trying to be useful to my native county, and have long worked hard and been at expence for others during the period I have mentioned, and I think the general feeling of the county will bear me out—and I am induced to come to this resolution—that if I do not follow this opinion out—I do not do my duty to my family. I may not succeed in assisting my family but if I fail I will have the satisfaction of Knowing I Have done my best—and I will be no worse off than I Have been—having never received any Kindness or favour from a party I Have so uniformly and zealously supported—while every one with far less claims are pushed forward.

. . . I do not think Callander would go down with the County in general. He does attend to County matters in some degree [and]² he is anxious for our cause and is liberal in his contributions for our enrolling and Election Expences—*far very far* above the family of

¹ A tenant unable to pay his rent would be turned off the land and his effects sold at a public roup to pay the arrears.

² The original has 'but'.

Lord Aberdour. Callander has therefore a far better claim than Lord Aberdour whose family take neither trouble in one way or other and have scarcely given a Subscription.

I saw Lord Melville on thursday but considering Ramsay was not in such a hurry I did not mention any thing to him. But it is with your Grace that I would be inclined to consult—as during the period of Lord Melville's being in power from 1812 to 1830 he never obliged me in any way and I never applied to him but once.¹

Buccleuch, Box 581 : Midlothian 1845-50

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

[St Andrew Square, Edinburgh], 14 April 1845

I have just been at Barnton and Ramsay consents to Keep matters quiet for some little time and I would be inclined to say that as he has been really unwell and still suffering—that if Sir George Clerk wrote to ask him as of moment to the County gentlemen not to have two Elections in little more than a year, and to continue to be member during this parliament which may be dissolved at the end of this Session or next year at farthest, and that he Should get *all the leave of absence possible*—I think he would be inclined to *oblige us*. I would have tried my powers with him but having obtained his acquiescence to delay I did not think it prudent to make further requests. But if Sir George were to state it as throwing the risks of two Elections and the attendant expences upon the County—I think Ramsay would acquiesce.

[PS] I write this from our Committee Room St Andrews Square—nobody of the Committee present except Wauchope of Edmonstone, and we mean of course to say nothing until we hear from you or Sir George on friday or saturday and each to bring what letters we may receive.

Buccleuch, Box 581 : Midlothian 1845-50

Viscount Melville to Sir George Clerk

Private and Confidential

Melville Castle, 16 April 1845

Sir John Hope called here yesterday and gave me the first intimation

¹ See above pp. xv, xxix.

I had received of Mr Ramsay's intention to give up his Seat in Parliament; I doubt therefore whether it is known to many others as you seem to apprehend, but I think there can be no doubt that it will very soon be more generally known. Sir John added that he had written to you in the hope of your being able to induce Ramsay to continue till the *end of the Parliament*, which in the usual course will be after the Session of 1846, but I think the expediency now of attempting so long a delay is very questionable. On my asking Sir John if any person had occurred to him as successor, and mentioning Aberdour, he immediately protested against the latter as a candidate, his Father, as he alledged, being greatly disliked in the Western part of the County on account of his harsh and litigious dealings with his Tenantry, and that the Son since his marriage had contrived to instil the same feeling into the Saughton Tenantry, who were heretofore as comfortable and contented as any in the County. I then mentioned [Richard Trotter of] Mortonhall, but though Sir John spoke in a different stile in regard to him, he stated several reasons why he ought not to be proposed. We both agreed that Callander was not likely to succeed, and could not safely be brought forward. It then came out that Sir John had settled in his own mind that his Son Archibald was the fit and proper person, and I certainly was under the impression, though I cannot 'condescend' on any special expression, that he had communicated with you to the same effect. I believe Archibald would not be an unpopular candidate, though I may be mistaken on that point.¹

Clerk, 3706

Sir George Clerk to William Ramsay of Barnton

18 April 1845

... I will ask for Leave of Absence for you for a month on account of your Health, and if at the end of that period it should still be necessary I will take care to have your leave renewed. It may probably require some time to enable our Friends in the County to make their arrangements and in the meantime it would be expedient that as little as possible should be known of your intention of retiring, but as soon as I hear from those of our Friends who take a lead in those

¹ This letter ends here abruptly without a signature.

matters that they are ready I shall apply for the Chiltern Hundreds for you. At any rate I think it would be more Convenient that nothing should be done till near the end of the present Session.

[Copy] Clerk, 3371

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Pinkie House, 20 April 1845

I Have been much disappointed not hearing from you either yesterday or this morning.

I would fain hope that Ramsay may yet be persuaded to remain and I wrote him my opinion on thursday, pointing out the expence and trouble [it would?] throw upon the gentlemen of the County (should there be a dissolution of Parliament next year) of three Elections within five years. As I Have not heard from him—I hope he has listened to Sir George and has delayed his retirement. You may perceive that I am no ways very anxious that Archy or I should succeed him. I mentioned the whole business to Lord Melville on tuesday and he at once said that it would be impossible for the county to have a second time, a member who would not do the business¹—and then he said that he had no doubt that Archy would do it well, in this I quite agreed with him.

We are to have another meeting of the Committee on tuesday, but of course can do nothing until we hear from Ramsay or from Sir George Clerk as to Ramsay's determination. I Have done every thing I can to encourage Ramsay to remain. This line I conceive to be my duty towards the County as between ourselves I think Ramsay bound to the County to fulfil (health permitting) the duties of this parliament.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir John Hope

Private

London, 22 April 1845

... It is quite impossible to say when a dissolution may take place, that must always depend upon circumstances, but this Parliament may very likely go on for two years longer. It was only called in the

¹ This is the only reference found to Ramsay's conduct as the county member; there was little newspaper comment when his resignation was announced in mid-June.

Summer of 1841 and would not naturally expire until 1848. This delay in Ramsay's resignation will give you ample time to make every preparation and to decide positively who is to come forward, so that whenever he vacates his seat, that very day the new Candidate would issue his address and commence his canvass. I shall be very glad to hear what the Committee decide.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

Viscount Melville to the Duke of Buccleuch

Melville Castle, 24 April 1845

I had another visit today from Sir John Hope, and at his request I now write to you, as he is anxious to bring the Mid Lothian concern to some settlement. I really think that on the whole his son will be the best candidate and the most likely to carry the Election against any competitor; but I told him that I should say nothing on the subject until I should hear from Sir G. Clerk, or from you. I told him they must on no account have an Election till after the Maynooth question¹ is at rest, but it will probably be advisable to have it as soon afterwards as may be convenient and practicable, for fear of any opposition when Ramsay's intention shall become known.

Sir John said that the Committee were to meet on Monday next, and you may perhaps be able to write to him or me on Saturday, if you can also see Sir G. Clerk on that day.

I have said nothing as to the Laird of Arniston,² because he ought on no account to come forward now, and I should say the same as to the next General Election. What he may chuse to do at a future general Election is another matter, and at any rate it will be beyond my time.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

¹ Since the Union with Ireland in 1801 the British government had provided an annual grant of £9,000 for the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth. In April 1845 Peel's proposal to increase the grant to £26,000 a year and to provide £30,000 for rebuilding the college split the Conservatives: on the second reading of the Bill they divided 159 for, 147 against, and on the third reading 148 for, 149 against. N. Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics 1832-1852* (Oxford, 1965), 151, n.1.

² Robert Dundas of Arniston, 1823-1909, succeeded 1838; for almost thirty years he was convener of the county and subsequently chairman of the county council; he was made a baronet in 1898. On two occasions, in 1859 and 1863, there were suggestions that he might replace the Earl of Dalkeith as MP for Midlothian; Dundas of Arniston letterbooks, vol. 9, nos 142, 158, SRO, RH4/15/6.

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Pinkie House, 24 April 1845

Yours of this morning was the first intelligence of what Ramsay had written to Sir George Clerk. I am glad time is given but the difficulty is to Keep Secret Ramsay's intentions—besides at this moment in the excitement of the Maynooth question It would be well not to throw the County without a member—at sametime it is obvious that the Secret may Spurt out in some way or other. Now with regard to a member it must be allowable that *one* who will stand this Election as well as the next is the person for this County—It being wrong to change your representative every Parliament and had we one who could shew during a year or two that he was equal to business—He could with more certainty of success stand a general Election when He would have an opponent.

Thus I may promise to Stand the general Election but at my age there is much less certainty of my being equal to the duties (when 67) than I am now. I therefore think that my Son is more to be relied on than me—as his age is not 64 as mine is. I will not say one word about my son except that having found him during a two year's absence¹ an excellent manager for me as well as all his letters being so distinct that I never wrote for explanation. Without this proof of his exactness and prudence I would never have proposed him for the consideration of your Grace or of any one in the County—and I feel certain that if your Grace concurs in this opinion that every thing will go Smooth. I begged Lord Melville today to write your Grace his opinion on the Subject.

All I can say is that if I was a few years younger I would have no hesitation of saying that I would Stand the Second Election but old as I am I think it more fair to the County that if a younger man—my son—can be had that I should waive my pretensions rather [than] entangle the county with one who might not be so able three years hence to Stand the fatigues of the House of commons—tho' at present

¹ Sir John was absent from meetings of the Commissioners of Supply from the end of April 1840 until July 1842; Archibald Hope was appointed acting-convenor of the county; minutes of the Commissioners of Supply for Midlothian, SRO, CO2/1/8. The Musselburgh town council minutes also show that Sir John was absent from the end of April 1840; SRO B52/3/8. None of the correspondence indicates where Sir John spent the two years.

he feels quite strong—and except in favour of my son I do not resign my Claims.

Your opinion that I may State it to the Committee, on Monday, would be of moment in order to have matters prepared in case of Ramsay's intention being made public.

I am annoyed at Pringle's mode of going on.¹ His female friends must have worried him—tho' he has always had a hankering to that saintlike feeling that the Catholics must be exterminated—but it should be by gentle means—by opening the Bible to them and *not* by depriving them of Education at Home.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir John Hope

Confidential

London, 26 April 1845

I have this morning received your letter of the 24th but have not been able to see Sir G. Clerk today. It is most desirable not to have an Election until this Maynooth business is settled, such absurd notions are abroad upon the subject. As I understand matters, Ramsay will not announce his intention of resigning until he hears again and has written to Sir G. Clerk, at present he has got leave of absence, and this may be renewed. I should recommend that nothing be done at present beyond deciding upon the Candidate, and to remain perfectly quiet. You are quite right in saying that whoever is the Candidate now ought to be the person to stand at the next General Election. I can quite understand your feelings as to yourself, and if you decide at your meeting that Archy is to be the man, you may be sure he will have my very best wishes for his success. I am satisfied that Ramsay will not move till he hears again from Sir G. Clerk.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Pinkie House, 4 May 1845

We have wrote to Ramsay not to Hurry Sir George Clerk in

¹ On 18 April Alexander Pringle of Whytbank, Conservative MP for the county of Selkirk, had voted against the second reading of the Maynooth Bill.

bringing forward his resignation and to give him time to take the best moment for his doing so while this Maynooth question agitates everyone, and I Have wrote to Sir George Clerk to warn us whenever Ramsay writes to him again (as Ramsay does not write me or to any of us) in order that we may be prepared for the day of his retirement. The committee seem to prefer that I should come forward as a *long occupant* in the County. I think they are wrong—but if I cannot prevail on them to take a younger man, I do not shrink from the duty.¹

Buccleuch, Box 581 : Midlothian 1845-50

¹ Sir John Hope was elected without opposition on 25 June 1845.

1848-1854

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Minute of Meeting of Sub Committee, 19 April 1848

SIR JOHN HOPE stated that in consequence of his absence in London he had been prevented from attending the two last Meetings of the Sub Committee, but that Mr Inglis had communicated to him the proceedings of the Committee in which he entirely concurred.

Sir George Clerk's letter of the 20th ultimo was then read on the subject of the election account of 1837.¹

The Committee regret extremely to find that Sir George's views differ so much from theirs on this subject. It does not however appear to the Committee that further correspondence with Sir George is likely to be attended with any beneficial result. At the same time, as it is extremely desirable that the misunderstanding which seems to exist between Sir George and the Committee upon some points should be removed, they direct Mr Inglis to request Sir George to meet with the Committee upon his return to Scotland, and till then supersede the further consideration of the question of Sir George Clerk's liability for the 1837 Election Account.

[Copy] Clerk, 3382

Minute of Meeting of Sub Committee appointed by the Conservative Gentlemen of the County of Mid Lothian, 16 January 1849

Present: Sir George Clerk, Mr Burn Callander, Mr Trotter of Mortonhall, Mr Wardlaw Ramsay, Mr Wauchope of Edmonstone. Sir John Hope the only other Member of Committee was prevented

¹ Not seen; on the election account see above pp. 164-5.

from indisposition from being present but afterwards concurred in the Minute.

W. B. Callander Esq in the Chair

The Sub Committee having had under their consideration the Abstract of the Registration Accounts prepared by Mr Inglis,¹ from which it appeared that there is a balance owing to him of £1,963 15s. 2d. for Election and Registration Expenses, feel it necessary for them to make an appeal to the Conservative Gentlemen of the County with regard to this large debt, and to request their aid to enable them to liquidate it.

The great cause of the excess of expense attending the registrations above the annual contributions is attributable to the exertions which it was necessary to make in the years 1839 and 1840 to counteract the efforts made in the preceding year by the opposite party. A great number of liferent votes having been made by them in 1838, which were returned in the Registration Courts after the most strenuous opposition, would have given them an overwhelming majority, to prevent which, at a numerous meeting of the Conservative party it was resolved that every exertion should be made to encrease their own strength by the creation of a large number of votes of the same description. Several of the Gentlemen present stated readiness to give every facility in their power by allowing Liferent votes to be created over their property.

This important object however could not be attained without incurring a very heavy expenditure. The expense of opposing the votes made by the opposite party in 1838 encreased the Registration expenses of that year to £971 8s. 9d. and that of 1839 in preparing and defending the votes above referred to amounted to no less a sum than £1,432 2s. 6d. while the subscriptions to meet these expenses amounted only to £581 16s. 2d. in 1838 and £590 15s. 2d. in 1839.² The expenses of 1840 also exceeded the subscriptions, but since that

¹ There is no copy of this abstract among the Clerk or Buccleuch MSS.

² These figures are approximately the same as those in the abstract prepared in 1843, above p. 163. The sum of £1,432 presumably combines the ordinary registration expenses for 1839 (£666 according to the 1843 abstract) and the additional cost of preparing liferent votes (£719 according to Tod's letter of 23 Aug. 1843). It must be concluded from these figures that Ramsay never paid the £600 requested by the Conservative committee, above p. 161. As there is no reference to the £803 owing on the election account for 1837, above pp. 164-5, it is probable that some settlement had been reached with Sir George Clerk.

year the expenses have been so much reduced that there has been each year a small surplus. This, however, has done no more than to diminish the accumulation of interest on the original debt, and, as, unfortunately, from the death of some valuable friends¹ and other causes, the annual subscriptions have greatly fallen off of late years it is now absolutely necessary that some extraordinary exertion should be made to extinguish the present debt. The Committee therefore confidently trust that the Conservative Noblemen and Gentlemen of the County will not refuse their aid for this object.

The Members of Sub Committee have agreed to subscribe the sums placed opposite to their respective names, and they severally undertook to apply to their friends to add their names to the List.

Sir George Clerk £100; Mr Wauchope of Edmonstone £50; Sir John Hope £50; Sir J. G. Baird £25; Mr Dewar² £25; Mr Dundas £15; Mrs Durham³ £15; Mr Elphinstone £20; Mr Callander £50; Mr Trotter of Mortonhall £50; Mr W[ardlaw] Ramsay £50; Mr [Andrew] Wauchope of Niddry £25; Mr Walker of Dalry⁴ £10.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Pinkie House, 5 November 1849

We have had various meetings of the County Committee about the debt of which I spoke to you in London when you undertook to apply to the Peers belonging to this County. The Subscriptions are very slow as well as very low. Arniston gives £15 certainly far short of what he ought and his mother gives the same.

¹ Among the active and financial supporters of the Conservative cause who had died were Robert Dundas of Arniston in 1838, Miss Innes of Stowe in 1839, the Marquis of Lothian and General Thomas Scott in 1841, Sir Francis Walker-Drummond in 1844, John Borthwick of Crookston in 1845, John Inglis of Auchindinny and Redhall in 1847, and William Henry Miller of Craigentenny in 1848.

² James Dewar of Vogrie, 1793-1869, one of the principal landowners in the parish of Borthwick.

³ Lilius Calderwood Durham, d. 1883, widow of Robert Dundas of Arniston, d. 1838; she was known as Mrs Durham after she inherited the Polton and Largo estates from her uncle in 1845.

⁴ James Walker of Dalry, 1790-1856, advocate, sheriff of Wigtownshire 1818-43, one of the principal clerks in the Court of Session 1843-56; he was Sir Francis Walker-Drummond's brother.

The Committee met again last wednesday and they again adjourned until 5th December, and they decided in the meantime to make every exertion by writing again to all on each of their lists and I was requested to write to you. I think you intended to have some conversation with the trustees of the Lothian family, Lord Melville, Lord Morton, and with that improbable man Lord Abercorn, and I hope you will be somewhat successful.

Both at the last meetings—even in April—as well as on wednesday I laid before them that situated as I am now It was more impossible for me to continue in Parliament than it was when I spoke to them in Spring and that of course it should be Kept Secret to all except to you—that such an idea was intended.¹ The difficulty is who are we to fix upon to come forward. I wish I could have held on three years longer—then there would have been no difficulty,² but the expence in London is now an object to me and I cannot meet it. I may say to you that in this Committee there is a feeling of Jealousy which of them is to stand. Wardlaw Ramsay and Callander tho' they apparently say Nay are inclined, but I would say the only man of the Committee who would carry himself through is Trotter [of] Mortonhall. He is much liked and respected in the county—but between ourselves unless Ramsay [of] Barnton supports the candidate and he interests himself with Lord Torphichen³ They would be assailed by his Interest in the west joining the dissenters there of which there are many. One might have supposed that Aberdour would have some Interest but there always seems some coolness between the tenants upon Lord Morton's Estate and the Landlord and Aberdour does not seem to act upon one idea of his own and is I am sorry to say no favourite. If Ramsay of Barnton stood there would be no opposition—and how to sound him for himself or for support of any other is a very difficult question—because the chances are it may transpire—for with all his good qualities and his good abilities He has singular companions for a man of his station, and I meet him so seldom that I can scarcely say I Know him—farther [than] that I feel grateful for his uniform and active support, and He and his nephew Sir Alexander

¹ See above pp. xxx-xxxi for an explanation of the difficulties Sir John faced at this time.

² In 1852 the Earl of Dalkeith, the Duke of Buccleuch's eldest son, would come of age.

³ James Sandilands, 1770-1862, 10th Baron Torphichen 1815, of Calder House, Mid-Calder; he was William Ramsay of Barnton's father-in-law.

Maitland¹ will always from old friendship of the family support and aid me but I have been told that Callander and He do not Know—and I doubt his aiding Wardlaw Ramsay, tho' I think He would support Mortonhall. But as I said before the difficulty is any one's approaching him to learn his feeling or sentiments. Here is the whole difficulty and it is serious. Every thing must depend upon this debt being thought upon as no one will face the Struggle until that is done. Lord Melville was a great deal today with Trotter of the Bush² and his Brother for Subscriptions, and I have said enough to set you athinking. I can only say I regret my present position prevents me continuing member.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Craigflower by Dunfermline, 10 November 1849

Since I wrote you I have had some conversation with Mr Inglis. He thinks that Mr Callander has given up all thoughts of starting and that Mr Wardlaw Ramsay is not Keen for it unless he is called upon. Mr Inglis had some private conversation with both after our meeting. I still think Trotter is the best but I doubt his agreeing—but from what Wardlaw Ramsay said it may prove difficult to press him.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

William Burn-Callander to the Duke of Buccleuch

Preston Hall, 7 December 1849

... PS my opinion is that were enough subscribed now to enable us to wipe off the present score, the future annual contributions might be considerably lessened.

[Extract] Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

¹ Sir Alexander Charles Gibson-Maitland, 1820-1876, 3rd Bart. of Clifton Hall 1848; in 1865 he inherited the Barnton estates; from 1868-74 he was Liberal MP for Midlothian.

² John Trotter of Dryden and the Bush in the parish of Glencorse, 1788-1852; he was succeeded by his brother Archibald Trotter, 1799-1868.

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Hopetoun House, 10 December 1849

Your letter which I received at our meeting on Wednesday 5th was most appropriate,¹ and after considering it and also consulting Mr Inglis I read it to the meeting—in fact it was quite in unison with the sentiments expressed at the meeting previous to the arrival of your letter—and every hint was given to Trotter to weigh the business as all agreed that there would be no opposition if he was the man and that the other² might foster an opposition. It was determined to have another meeting on 15th January after the County Meeting as it was further agreed that I should Keep on *if necessary* until Easter that the parties might not be hurried and above all that the whole was to be Kept private.

Buccleuch, Box 581 : Midlothian 1845-50

H. M. Inglis to Sir John Hope

[Edinburgh], 18 January 1850

... I regret being from home when you called this forenoon but I received your message and hasten to reply to it. As I mentioned to you on Tuesday the balance due to the Royal Bank as intimated in the Secretary's letter is £4,788 1s. 6d.³

To assist you in communicating with the parties interested along with you in this account, and which I understand you are in the course of doing, I shall give you all the information I possess on the subject.

This cash credit was I believe obtained on the application of Mr James Hope for the purchase of property in the County previous to my appointment as political Agent.

It will be in your recollection that the only sums received by me connected with the purchase of property were £600 on 2d December 1836 and £800 on the 24th January 1837. These two sums it appears were paid by drafts made by you on this account and were applied in implementing obligations undertaken by Mr James Hope. I further by your directions in November 1838 paid to the credit of this account £439 11s. 6d. being the proceeds of a Sale of a portion of

¹ Not seen.

² Not identified.

³ See above pp. xl-xli, liii.

the property purchased by Mr Hope. This is the only connexion I have ever had with that Bank account.

I ought further to mention that the rents of such part of Mr Hope's purchases as have not been disposed of have been paid to me and the balance due by me is £171 5s. 1d.

In the month of February 1842 your son Mr Hugh Hope ^{ws}¹ called upon me in reference to this Bank account to whom I communicated all the information I possessed, and at the same time by his desire prepared for him a detailed statement in writing upon the subject.

Since that time I have heard nothing further of this account, and supposed that the information then given had led to an arrangement of it with the Bank, who it now appears have made no communication to any one on the subject for a period of nearly ten years.

I have only to add that the value of the property remaining unsold may I think be fairly estimated at £900.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to H. M. Inglis

Craigflower, 18 January 1850

... I have this moment yours. I think those sums of which you mention the total should be paid into the account as at the time you received them, as they had no connection with any other funds. It strikes me that there must have been a signed minute as I think more were concerned in it than the four in the Bond, and James Hope would give you some clue to find out the memorandum.

I feel sure that James Hope was not employed by me before he was appointed to being Agent for the County.

When you find this out pray write and note the dates of the different sums you received—you have sent the amount.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

H. M. Inglis to Sir John Hope

[Edinburgh], 22 January 1850

... I have ... seen James Hope who thinks he has a memorandum

¹ Hugh Hope, ws, 1813-76, Sir John Hope's fourth son.

which will throw light upon the Cash account. He has promised to make an immediate search among his private papers, and let me know the result.

The sums received by me I shall not only allow credit for, but pay interest at 5 per cent upon all sums from the day they were paid to me. The total shall be placed in the Cash account as you wish.

When I hear from James Hope I shall write to you. I think it decidedly better that you should communicate with all the parties when you receive full information. I would rather not interfere except through you.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

James Hope to H. M. Inglis

[Edinburgh], 24 January 1850

I have found and enclose the private Memorandum which I made out in April 1835,¹ and gave to the parties, and which led to the establishment of the Credit at the Royal Bank.

I think the plan is one which ought still to be adhered to.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

H. M. Inglis to Sir John Hope

[Edinburgh], 25 January 1850

Enclosed I send you the Memorandum which has been sent to me by Mr Hope. As you will observe from his letter, which I also enclose, that he does not mention what followed upon the recommendation made by him in that paper. I called upon him and ascertained that the Memorandum was forwarded by him to the Duke and that Mr Hope had a long interview with his Grace on the subject of it. The result of which was the establishment of the Bank credit with the Royal. The Parties to the Bond he understood to be the Duke, the late Marquis of Lothian, Sir George Clerk and yourself, and that the account was to be operated upon by you in whose name it was opened.

Further he knows nothing except that he received from you orders upon that account from time to time to pay for purchases.

¹ Above pp. 22-25.

I have this day paid into the account the sum of £201 6s. 8d. being the total balance in my hands with interest calculated periodically at 5 per cent up to this date.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

Sir John Hope to H. M. Inglis

Craigflower, 26 January 1850

. . . I will thank you to send the dates of the period you received the different sums and from what properties as my memory is so bad I recollect nothing, and your adding the names of the properties bought, the value of what remains would add much to make the matters distinct to others as well as to etc.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

H. M. Inglis to Sir John Hope

[Edinburgh], 1 February 1850

. . . As you wished to have a note of the different payments I have prepared a continuation of the statement since 1842 of the whole receipt and expenditure which I now enclose with a copy of the previous statement given to your son.¹ From these you will see that the balance in my hands at 23d January last, was £172 13s. and not as I previously wrote to you £201 6s. 8d. The mistake arose in calculating the interest on the balances, and accordingly this sum of £201 6s. 8d. was lodged by me in the Bank account in terms of my letter to you of the 25th ultimo. But this is of no consequence as I can take credit for over payment out of the next rents received by me.

In compliance with your wish I have further prepared from the information in my possession and now enclose a note of the different purchases and advances distinguishing the property which has been sold from that remaining unsold; also shewing the value which I think may be attached to the latter.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ These have not been found.

Memorandum of Purchases and Advances

	£	s.	d.
1. Woodbine Cottage Lasswade			
This transaction was entirely arranged by Mr Hope and the price paid by him. I don't know the price paid.			
2. Furniture in Woodbine Cottage	143	15	11
3. Jocks Lodge property ¹	314	1	5
4. Two shares of Gorgie ²	250	0	0
5. Property at Danderhall ³	550	0	0
6. Dean feuduties ⁴	385	3	3
7. Loan over house in Juniper Green belonging to John Mackenzie	154	1	11
8. Proportion of price of East Camps ⁵	600	0	0
	<u>£2,397 2 6</u> ⁶		

Property sold

1. Woodbine Cottage	572	9	0
2. Furniture in Woodbine Cottage	92	2	6
3. Jocks Lodge property	192	7	0
	<u>£856 18 6</u>		

Property remaining unsold and which may be valued as under

4. Two shares of Gorgie	150	0	0
5. Property at Danderhall	300	0	0
6. Feuduties at Dean	300	0	0
7. Loan over house at Juniper Green	150	0	0
8. Proportion of price of East Camps	0	0	0
	<u>£900 0 0</u>		

¹ Presumably bought at the sale on 27 Jan. 1836, above p. 38 and n. 1.

² Sixteen voters were enrolled in 1837 on shares of Gorgie Park in St Cuthbert's parish. On 28 Jan. 1837 Inglis acknowledged receipt from John Irving of £125 to pay the share of Gorgie purchased by John Clerk, Sir George Clerk's third son, SRO, GD18/1719/22. The sixteen voters are listed in the appendix to the *Second Report from the Select Committee on Fictitious Votes (Scotland)*, PP 1837-8 (590) xiv, 52-53.

³ Above p. 81 and n. 1.

⁴ According to a notice in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 4 Sept. 1835, the estate of Dean to the west of the New Town of Edinburgh was to be put up for sale in the Royal Exchange Coffee House on 25 Nov. Six lots of feu-duties were included in the sale.

⁵ See above pp. xlii, 37-38.

⁶ No total in MS.

Note: You will observe from the statement of receipt and expenditure that the rents of Numbers 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 have been regularly placed to your credit. In regard to Number 7 and 8 some explanation is necessary. The former was a loan agreed to be given by Mr Hope to enable a Voter in the parish of Colinton to raise the value of his property to the requisite qualification and with whom it had been arranged that instead of paying his interest he should only pay his feuduty and give his services gratis in that parish where there were few Conservative Voters and none who could be useful in getting up information for the registrations. The property is however I believe good for the money. As to Number 8 it was an advance made to assist in the purchase of a property in the west country by which 16 Voters were added to the Roll immediately previous to the election of 1837.¹ The money was I believe sacrificed to attain this object, as there never has been, nor ever will be, so far as I can judge, any repayment.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private Craigflower by Dunfermline, 5 February 1850

This business of the Bank Bond which I had totally forgot gives me more uneasiness than I can well express. I Have now got the original memorandum laid before your Grace in 1835 by James Hope who at that time was the County agent for those matters. I send it to you in the hope that a perusal of it may possibly bring matters to your recollection. I got the accounts Sent me two days ago—which Mr Inglis has been carrying on receiving and paying since 1842—unfortunately without saying one word to me—thinking that the bond had then been settled as most of the transactions had gone thro' Mr James Hope's hands and not thro' his. At that [time little above £3,000 was due the Bank—now the Bank is due by us from Interest added £4,788. But in Mr Inglis's hands there is a sum . . . which he has paid into the Bank of £172 13s. (NB he has paid in a little more but that is done by mistake—and what is due to the Bank is £4,617 or thereabout).

¹ Inglis confused the sixteen enrolled on Gorgie in 1837 with the fourteen enrolled on East Camps in 1836.

But besides those names on the Bond there must have been others concerned in it—but of this James Hope Knows nothing as his letter [to] Mr Inglis explains.

I am quite annoyed and distressed at all [this] as it is beyond my present position to pay anything. I own I recollect nothing about the transaction as to how it was managed. Mr Inglis says that my son *Hugh* saw the accounts in 1842 and that he took a copy of them. I have wrote to him but he remembers nothing but of having seen the accounts. I think that both Sir F. W. Drummond and Dundas of Arniston were parties as they recommended James Hope to be agent,—and I feel sure that Your Grace must have consulted Lord Melville and also Lord Morton, besides Sir George Clerk—who if you sometime see [in] London It would be well to consult.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

Sir John Hope to H. M. Inglis

Craigflower, 7 February 1850

... I return you the accounts and the letters sent in the same packet and I have marked them all with my initials as having seen them. Possibly his Grace of Buccleuch or Sir George Clerk may send for them.¹

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

William Burn-Callander to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Preston Hall, 9 November 1850

When lately at Penicuik I mentioned to Sir G. Clerk my opinion that our friends should be requested to pay their Subscriptions at the term of Martinmas next in order that so much of our debt² should be paid off, and the accumulation of Interest by so much lessened from that date, and as he agreed with me upon the propriety of doing so I instructed Mr Inglis to write a circular to the Subscribers to that effect. I have no doubt that the matter has escaped Your Grace's recollection, and I therefore hope you will excuse my again—as Chairman of the Committee—using the liberty of bringing it

¹ The next reference to this debt is in Oct. 1851, below p. 216.

² This appears to be the debt referred to in the minute of 16 Jan. 1849.

under your notice by inclosing a note I have just received from Mr Inglis, who I think was quite right in not making any direct application to Your Grace.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

H. M. Inglis to William Burn-Callander

Edinburgh, 8 November 1850

I have as suggested by you sent a circular to the Subscribers to the fund for liquidating the old debt requesting payment of their Subscriptions. From what was mentioned at one of our Sub Committee meetings here I was led to expect a communication from the Duke of Buccleuch on this subject, but I have heard nothing from that quarter, nor indeed from any of the Peers with the exception of Lord Morton, who has paid to me his subscription. The amount of your own Subscription is £50.

As I have of course not made any application to his Grace on the subject.

Buccleuch, Box 581: Midlothian 1845-50

H. M. Inglis to R. Wardlaw-Ramsay

Edinburgh, 18 January 1851

At the Committee meeting yesterday I explained that you were not to be present, and I read your reply to my letter of the 4th current relative to the proposed interview.¹

From the terms of your letter the Committee regret to find that there is now no prospect of the agreement with you being carried out as it originally stood.² In these circumstances they think it better that the agreement should no longer be considered as binding upon either Party, and I have been directed to intimate this to you and to Sir John Hope.

The Committee are hopeful that Sir John may be induced to continue as Member for sometime longer, and this is the more desirable as the opinion seems to be daily gaining ground that there will be

¹ Neither letter has been seen.

² The terms of this agreement are nowhere stated in the correspondence but it probably concerned election expenses, below pp. 193, 204.

ere long a general election,¹ and it certainly would be a great object to avoid having two elections following so close upon each other.

At the sametime even if Sir John should agree to continue for the present it will be necessary for the Committee to consider what is to be done in case of a vacancy occurring in the representation of the County from any unforeseen cause and they will be glad to have your assistance as a Member of the Committee in their deliberations upon this subject. Should you not be in Scotland I will take care to let you know what is going on.

It is scarcely necessary for me to add that in consequence of what has occurred it is more than ever essential that all our communications should continue to be strictly private, and the Knowledge of what is going on confined exclusively to Members of the Committee.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Frankfort,² 22 March 1851

Since I wrote your grace two days ago I have received a letter from Mr Inglis about County Election matters which has cost me much anxious thought—but besides other causes I am daily getting more deaf which last would be an insuperable objection to continuing in Parliament which Mr Inglis hints at.

It occurs to me that if there was any chance of my son Archibald coming in without much dread of expence He might do for two or three years and perhaps get thro' the position some place or occupation. I need not assure you that I feel more for him than for any of my sons as most of them are put in the way to forward themselves and have some occupation, but it is not so with him. I feel certain that all in the county who know him, like him, of all this however you are the better judge. If Archibald got some active position He

¹ There was no general election until the summer of 1852 but when Inglis wrote there was reason to anticipate political change. The Whig administration of Lord John Russell had held office since July 1846, but its position early in 1851 was not secure. The parliamentary session opened on 4 Feb.; on 20th the ministers were beaten on a Radical motion to assimilate the county and borough franchises; they resigned the next day but returned to office on 3 March because no-one had been able to form an alternative government. It was during this hiatus that the following correspondence about Sir John Hope's political intentions began.

² For the sake of economy Sir John was living abroad; see above p. xxx.

would make way for your son, who if there is an Election this year, would not be of age to enable him to come forward.

I have of course said not a word of this to any one and therefore leave the matter in your hands. Inglis said he hoped to be able to wait upon you soon. I therefore think it best to write you without delay.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

H. M. Inglis to the Duke of Buccleuch

Edinburgh, 26 March 1851

I yesterday received the enclosed¹ from Mr Callender and had a meeting with him this forenoon.

I have some doubts if Lord John [Scott]² be serious, but upon enquiry I learn from Mr Callender that Lord John had stated his intention of communicating with Your Grace upon the subject before taking any step.

So far as regards Election expences I do not see how the Committee can deal differently with Lord John and their former Candidate Mr [Wardlaw] Ramsay, with whom they broke off on that point.

By the post of today I have received the enclosed letter from Sir John Hope, in which he suggests my writing to Sir George Clerk to arrange a pair for after Easter. Before doing so I think it necessary that your Grace should be aware of the present position of matters, in case you might think it desirable to ask Sir John to take his seat after Easter with a view to future arrangements for his continuing to represent the County.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir James Walker-Drummond³ to Sir John Hope

Hawthornden, 3 April 1851

Your answer referring me to the Committee for the information I sought from you personally I duly received. It was of course impossible for me to get that information from a Committee which

¹ The enclosures referred to in this letter were returned to Inglis.

² Lord John Douglas Montagu-Douglas-Scott, 1809-60, the Duke of Buccleuch's brother, MP Roxburghshire 1835-37.

³ See above p. xxvi and n. 2.

professed to be secret, and whose proceedings until very lately were so.

I have no hesitation in saying that it was most fortunate that its proceedings were brought to light.¹ It was the height of feudalism and vanity, a mockery of the word 'independent', to imagine that in these days the Electors would accept as their Member the nominee of such a Committee.

Its fate has been that of all societies composed of such discordant materials; it has been accused of treachery and of intrigue, in fact of what as private Individuals they would have spurned at and rejected. I sincerely trust it may leave no sting behind it, and that from its ashes another may spring based upon a more enlarged and liberal Scale.

I am anxious however to ascertain whether you still adhere to your determination to resign as expressed some time ago, when Mr Ramsay was selected as the Candidate to replace you.

I think in justice to the Constituency and to the cause of Protection, which you have always advocated, it is highly desirable and full time to have an explicit and straight-forward answer.

I must remind you that in my former letter I asked you, as Chairman of the Protection Association² and from no personal motives (for had I done so I should have acted by this time very differently), whether it was your intention to resign. I now ask you as an Elector for some information, and I beg you will simply tell me yes or no, and that your answer may not be marked private so that I may give it the same publicity as you have my leave to give to this.

I cannot help adding that it is owing solely to your being a Protectionist that our Candidate has not been already announced (your wish to retire having gained publicity). I trust you will act equally liberally and cordially, and that you will let us know your determination at all events as early as any other persons with whom you may be in correspondence. Our candidate is one who will do honor to the Country and service to the principles which he professes, and one whose name will awe even the rashest Free Traders from a useless and unprofitable contest.

¹ See below p. 212.

² The Scottish Protective Association, see above p. xxvi. Sir James's claim to be chairman of the Association was denied by Burn-Callander, below p. 209.

I feel you may be placed, in fact I know you are, in a very delicate position, but I have no fear for a triumphant result, when long existing political principles and public duty are sought to be influenced, aye and even undermined, by the strong claims of friendship, gratitude and personal esteem.

I have written very earnestly on this subject as much depends, I am convinced, on your line of conduct. I trust you will believe me when I say that I have no other object than first of all to get the best Protection Candidate for the County and secondly to destroy by a manly and straight-forward line of conduct those heartburnings and jealousies which have already shewn symptoms of vitality, and which only require a little forcing in the political hotbed of intrigue and suspicion to raise them to the full luxuriance and strength which they attained at the time of the Reform Bill.

Trusting to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir George Clerk to H. M. Inglis

Private

London, 6 April 1851

I have received your letter of the 4th.¹ I regret to learn that Mr Wauchope of Edmonstone has without any previous communication to the other Members of the Committee made a proposal to Lord John Scott. I quite agree with you in opinion that were he to offer himself there would almost certainly be a contest and great risk of losing the County altogether. Under these circumstances it appears to me to be the most expedient course to request Sir John Hope again to permit himself to be elected. I have no doubt that he would again be returned without opposition, and that ample time would be given to make such arrangements as might be best suited to preserve the County to the Conservative interest.

I do not *now* apprehend any danger of an immediate dissolution. I think there is every possibility that the present Government will be able to scramble through this Session. They will introduce their new Reform Bill,² and there will be no dissolution till the opinion of the

¹ Not seen.

² Lord John Russell did prepare a new Reform Bill in 1851 but it was rejected by the cabinet. It was not until 9 Feb. 1852, shortly before his government fell, that Russell explained his proposals to an unenthusiastic House of Commons.

Country is expressed with regard to it. You are aware that I have always stated to you and to the Committee my decided opinion that as long as there was no movement on the other side we ought to take no step. Sir J. Hope I think will not hesitate to continue to hold the seat for the remainder of this Parliament and if his friends shewed him that it was their wish that he should again offer himself I have little doubt that he would comply with this request. I hope Mr Wauchope will on further consideration withdraw his proposition.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to Sir James Walker-Drummond

Frankfort, 7 April 1851

I wish distinctly to understand before answering your letter of 3d received last night whether you write as an old friend, or whether you are authorised by others. My reasons for asking this favour are simply these. Your first letter¹ to me I could not well make out under what denomination to look upon it, but rather than appear unkind to the son of my old friend I wrote you (and the Committee) at the same time in order that you might have the opportunity of getting the best information from those who really know the County, and who are most anxious to be able to report to the large general Committee of the County that they had found one Candidate exactly fitted to fill the position of M.P. The Sub-Committee have no power of themselves to nominate any one, they can only report to the general Committee—therefore your tirade against the Committee falls to the ground. I suspect that Ramsay has from what you say called upon them to do what is beyond their power. But to return to your first letter of 26 February—I have again read the letter, and from one end to the other there is *no* mention that you wrote as Chairman of any Society, and secondly in a letter I had from Mr Wardlaw Ramsay he says he is authorised by you to say that you wrote that letter entirely from yourself; thirdly in your letter of 3 April you say 'I must remind you that in my former letter I asked

¹ The first letter was written on 26 Feb. 1851 during the ministerial crisis; there is no copy among the Buccleuch MSS.

you as Chairman of the Protectionist Association, and from no personal motives'. Now what am I to understand from all this?—while also your first letter was almost wholly about yourself and what you would do if no sound protectionist came forward and you wound up your letter by requesting me not to speak nor allude to your letter. In my turn I would ask two questions—1st what am I to understand of all this versatility of ideas? and 2dly I would ask you why you had not spoken to me upon the subject when you were here on your way to Baden? When I left Scotland Ramsay was quite at one in every thing with the Committee. Since I left he has I am told wrote various letters to the Committee finding fault with some things, and finally making a demand upon them which they had no power to perform, which he well knew, and evidently he seemed to wish to withdraw—but supposing he had a quarrel or misunderstanding, you will certainly not be of opinion that because he differed that he was at liberty to say publicly what had passed in the Sub-Committee, who had to report to the General Committee which was formed in 1832. You are therefore totally misled by Mr W[ardlaw] Ramsay, and were private or public matters, private to the party of any side, to be made public because a trustee or a Committee man differ in opinion with the others, there is an end of all mutual confidence and I may add safety for any one. For myself I must say that I understand straight forward candid questions but I do not deal in writing letters in a friendly tone and confidence, and then say I wrote you nearly six weeks ago as Convener of a Political Society while the word Convener was never alluded to. Whenever I receive a straight forward application as from one friend to another I shall then be most happy to comply with your request. I expect however there is to be no tirade against intimate friends who are activated by no other motives than honestly doing their duty to the County in a most conscientious manner and with no selfish object, whatever others may do.

As I omitted to mention that I am paired off at present. What is your Candidate's name? I would fain hope your language is more moderate than your epistle, as unless you do things more quietly be solemnly assured that you will set the whole County by the ears, and remember that all the County is not protectionist.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to H. M. Inglis

Frankfort, 7 April 1851

I send you my answer to Sir James Drummond and also his letter. The Committee will judge what is best to be done, and whether an intimation from me is not necessary; of this let me know, for if it has gone so far as Drummond hints, it should not be long ere I intimate that I do not intend to start for the County if a dissolution takes place.

Pray forward under cover my letter to Sir James Drummond which of course you can keep a copy of, if you think fit. Mr W[ardlaw] Ramsay has very much to answer if he has occasioned all this trouble.

I suppose (tho' I would fain hope not) that it is Lord John Scott he hints at. I deplore it, as it might make matters not so well between his brother¹ and him, and the County will go by the ears.

Get the Committee assembled without delay. Excuse haste as I write to catch the post. I have wrote to Sir George Clerk the heads of Drummond's letter, and that I decline answering his questions until those aspersions on my friends were omitted. I send Drummond's letter without comment leaving you and the Committee to judge for yourselves.

I trust they will approve of my answer to Sir James D.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

H. M. Inglis to the Duke of Buccleuch

[Edinburgh] 8 April 1851

There was a Committee meeting here yesterday, but only two Members of it were present, Messrs Callender and Wauchope. Both of them concurred in opinion that Sir John Hope should be requested to come forward in the event of a general election, and that a letter to this effect should be sent direct from the Committee in addition to the communication to be made to him by your Grace.

After the meeting I wrote to Mr Trotter to ascertain his views, having previously written to Sir George Clerk to the same effect,

¹ The Duke of Buccleuch.

and the answers of both of them are now enclosed;¹ so that your Grace has the opinion of every Member of Committee. I enclose the letter of the Committee to Sir John for your Grace's perusal.²

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

George William Hope³ to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

9 April 1851

Your question what can be expected of Sir John in the matter under consideration is not easily answered. The nearest approach I can make to one is that *if* he is to come home I see no insuperable difficulty, and the strong desire he evidently has to come home, given without any special reasons for so doing, aids this solution of it so far as his inclination is concerned. On the other hand his appearance here and canvass of the County under actual circumstances would be very awkward, and besides the unreasonableness of your being *further* burdened, to avow or admit that he received aid from you for that special purpose would be most impolitic in every way.⁴

The M[id] L[othian] Committee may have settled the difficulty by selecting some one else—but if not I would ascertain from Hugh and John David [Hope], who are the best judges in the family, what had better be done, whether or not they think it possible for them to live at home on the sum we have reckoned on his spending. If they can, probably for a year or two this additional payment can be provided from the estate funds and the only obstacle would be to overcome any feeling on Sir John's part—but till we see one way or the other it is needless to raise any question on this difficulty.

My suggestion therefore is—as soon as you hear what has been decided that you should let me know, with authority to communicate with Hugh and John. You could it is true yourself speak to Archy and it may be as well to do so, but I do not think he is com-

¹ For Clerk's letter see above p. 195. Trotter's note expressing concurrence has been omitted.

² Below pp. 206-7.

³ George William Hope of Luffness, 1808-63, MP Weymouth 1837-41, Southampton 1842-46, New Windsor 1859-63, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies 1841-46; his wife was the daughter of Henry, 7th Baron Montagu, 1776-1845, the Duke of Buccleuch's uncle and his guardian 1819-27.

⁴ See above p. xxxi.

petent to form any calculation or give any advice to Sir John as to what he can live upon in this country or rather in England for that would be best.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir George Clerk to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

London, 11 April 1851

I have this day received the enclosed letter from Sir J. Hope which he has requested me to forward to your Grace.

Sir J. W. Drummond appears to have totally misapprehended the proceedings of the Committee. They have carefully abstained from doing any thing which could compromise the County with regard to the selection of a Candidate to succeed Sir John whenever he may retire. Mr W[ardlaw] Ramsay's complaint against them is that they will not definitively accept his offer and announce him as the Conservative Candidate. I more than once stated to the Committee my opinion that were they to appear to dictate to the Electors, who should be the Candidate it would create great dissatisfaction and cause an explosion similar to Sir J. Drummond's. I have always trusted that delicacy towards Sir J. Hope and the sympathy which everyone who knew him must feel in his misfortunes would have prevented any one from calling on him categorically to declare his intentions. His conduct has been irreproachable. He consulted his friends as to the propriety of his retirement more than a year ago, and was ready had they advised it then to give up his seat in Parliament. I was then and still continue to be of the opinion that it was more expedient that while matters in the County remained quiet Sir John should remain at least till the end of this Parliament. What the effect of this movement on the part of Sir James may be I know not, but still I am inclined to adhere to the opinion I have lately expressed to Mr Inglis that Sir John should not be called on to resign.

Sir John as you are aware wishes to resign his situation as Con-
vener [of the County] and has written a formal letter of resignation which I forwarded to Lord Melville, expressing at the same time to him that though it was due to Sir J. Hope that this letter should be read at the Meeting on the 30th I trusted that as a mark of the regard felt by the County to Sir John, that they notwithstanding his letter

re-elect him as Convener.¹ The angry tone of Sir James Drummond's letter might make this doubtful and I therefore venture to suggest that Your Grace, when the whole of this correspondence has been submitted to you, would communicate with Lord Melville.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir George Clerk

Private

Dalkeith, 12 April 1851

I have this Evening received your letter and enclosure upon my arrival here.

Sir James Drummond doubtless alludes to my Brother as the Terror of the Freetraders.

I shall endeavour to see Mr Inglis on Monday and will communicate with Lord Melville.

It is most cruel, to use the mildest expression, in Sir James to write and act in such a manner to Sir John Hope who deserves every consideration and whose conduct in all matters has been most high and strictly honorable and who stands upon higher ground than his angry correspondent can ever hope to reach.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to H. M. Inglis

Frankfort, 13 April 1851

I am very anxious, my dear Sir, to hear what you and the Committee are about. Last night I received a requisition concerted by Mr Wauchope and Sir James W. Drummond.² Sir James seems somewhat in the air or crazy and still harps upon the old theme of abuse against the Committee. He is a fool but he is doing mischief as far as he can. I am sharp in my answer to him, and Mr Wauchope seems to assist him. I send you my answer—forward it to him. When he wrote me last he would not have got my letter of 7th but I feared of his not answering my letter of 7th because he had wrote me on *ninth* April. Keep a copy of my letter if you think fit. His letter of last night brings me a requisition from Mr Wauchope, Sir James and a good

¹ Sir John Hope had been convener of the Commissioners of Supply since 1823; see below p. 208.

² Not seen.

many others calling upon me without delay to acquaint him whether I stand again or not. If I stand they seem to agree to support me. All who have signed are strangers to what has passed except the two first.

[ps] Lose no time in writing to me. I require the good advice of the Committee. If I keep my place until a general Election—I should think *that* good policy for the County. I suppose W. Ramsay is at Leamington. He has fanned the flame. Now who is your Candidate? Consult at once the Duke of Buccleuch. I shall send him a copy of what I now send you. I wish I was ten years younger. I would try it again. But deaf and seventy do not agree with Parliamentary hours, besides I cannot afford it—unless my son was thought of in this dilemma—but let me hear who is thought of—resting upon oars wont do. Some one must bestir themselves.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to Sir James Walker-Drummond

Frankfort, 13 April 1851

Before I either consider or answer the letters you sent me last night, you and I must have some complete explanation upon the former letters and I must here say However unwillingly that I am confident there is not one individual in the County but yourself who would lend himself to be a tool to insult me as you have done in your letters of 26th February¹ and 3rd inst. On 7th April I wrote you a much more civil answer than you deserved. I therefore claim and wait for a full and complete explanatory answer to the queries contained in my letter [of] 7th, as untill they are satisfactorily answered I can have no confidence in anything you write in your different capacities.

Having been one of the Committee that you abuse in so unmeasured terms, more suited for the purpose of inflaming a meeting of Free trade manufacturers, [and] which might have been made use of in 1846 at a Burgh Election, than to cast upon your neighbours who latterly were *all Protectionists*, I believe to a man in the Committee. I consider your aspersions as untrue, as undeserved and insulting to every member, equally so the manner you endeavoured under the

¹ Not seen.

mark of friendship to draw from me (in your letter of February 26th) my private ideas and future plans, in order to make these public, not at a meeting of the Protectionists of the County but to the general body of the Protectionists of Scotland. This assumption was laid open by Mr Wardlaw Ramsay and by your own letter on 3rd April.

I have now received your letter of 9th with an application signed by many respectable and valuable friends requesting me to say what my plans are, now—However painfull it may be to my own feelings I must delay doing so untill I receive from you a satisfactory explanation of the queries I put to you in my letter of 7th inst.—untill they are satisfactorily answered our correspondence is at an end.

There is another and more tender cause for my feeling deeply your conduct. You must be well aware of the cause that obliges me to remain away from my own native country and you have unscrupulously lent yourself to make me uncomfortable and unhappy.

I am not much surprized at the unfeeling conduct of the head of the signatures to the requisition.¹ He Knows well how much he contributed to my being obliged to leave home—had he behaved like the former Lairds I would not be here. Why you should be led to harrass me I cannot conceive. I am this day 70 years of age. I feel sure that there is no man in the County who would not have avoided wounding my feelings but yourself—but you are only made a Scape-goat and you seem unscrupulous of your language *or* you do not Know its force.

You cannot be doing all this for yourself *surely? sub rosa*. I can tell you that you will not succeed. You have the property but as a Drummond you have no interest—your old name has more. I may further add, now that my eyes are more open to your intrigue, I will neither aid you nor your Co-adjutor to bring in your Candidate for the County (tho' there is none more truly deserving of being an MP) unless his Brother encourages him to come forward. Were you to put him forward without his Knowledge or were he to stand, which I feel assured he wont do, without the family support, the Conservatives would all split and vote different ways and then the Whigs would consolidate and vote together and carry the County—so much for your patriotism and for the Laird of Edmonstone deserting his duties of Conservative Committee man and fostering

¹ John Wauchope of Edmonstone; see above pp. xxx, xxxiii-iv.

of a coolness between the Brothers, where only one has property in the County and the other none. But if he chooses he can get in for Warwickshire where he is deservedly popular.¹

I think it right to shew you that until I get a satisfactory answer to my letter of the 7th April I shall not even look at the letters of *ninth* inst. as until a satisfactory explanation comes your correspondence has ended.

[First note to the Duke of Buccleuch from Sir John Hope in his hand at the beginning of this copy]

I send you this copy that you may Know fully all that passes. I do not believe a word about Lord John but they are taking *his Name* on the requisition to me. J.H.

[Second note at the end of the copy letter]

I should be very glad of your advice how to act ; meantime I stick to the ship—Wardlaw Ramsay, Edmonstone and Sir James are fomenting the mischief.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526 : Correspondence, 1851

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir John Hope

Private

Dalkeith, 15 April 1851

There has been a grand mess concocted by some of our injudicious friends in this County.

To my great surprise the other day my brother informed me that he had been requested to stand for the County in the event of a vacancy occurring by your retiring.

It appears that J. Wauchope made the proposal to him without having previously communicated his intention to the other members of the Committee. These two afterwards called upon Trotter and Burn Callander and then my brother spoke to me at Kelso upon the subject. I met him and Wauchope in Edinburgh. My brother said he would not stand unless he had a requisition and all expenses were paid for him as he would not contribute anything. This is the point upon which W[ardlaw] Ramsay ultimately split.

¹ Lord John Scott held lands in Warwickshire and a house, Cawston Lodge, near Rugby. He was never a candidate for the county of Warwick.

I stated that his views and mine were so different and that he held, in my opinion, such extreme views and indulged in such strong language in expressing them, that it was impossible for me to give my cordial support, that I should not interfere, and that I certainly would not defray the expenses. Though if it were a fight between him and a thorough going Whig I would subscribe in proportion to my estate in the County and no more. I declined saying any more then, and stated that hitherto all my communication had been with you or with the Convener of the Committee. I preferred adhering to that course and would see Mr Burn Callander. I accordingly met him at Mr Inglis' and had a full conversation on the subject (indeed I should say the talk between my brother, J. Wauchope and myself lasted a long time but would be tedious and needless to repeat). I repeated to Burn Callander all that had passed. He stated at once that the stipulations my Brother imposed put an end to his coming forward, for that he for one and others also would not guarantee any expenses, and he indeed did not seem inclined even as an individual to subscribe. I begged of him to assemble and consult the Committee, to select the Candidate, and let me know the result.

We both agreed and Mr Inglis concurred that if you could attend Parliament and would again come forward that all opposition would cease. My Brother entirely coincides in that view and said when talking over the matter he thought that was the best and the right solution of the difficulty. That he would not have thought of agreeing to stand, had he imagined you would again come forward.

The Committee have met and you will receive from Mr Inglis the result of their deliberations. I entirely concur in the view they have taken; it is indeed the only course which can save the County from a contest and from differences among our own friends. I know not how you may feel upon this subject, tho' I fear you may be very averse to agree to this proposal and were you to continue to reside on the Continent it would not be in your power, but as I understand that both you and your family are very desirous of returning to this side of the Channel that difficulty at least is removed. Indeed unless I understood you were anxious to come home I would not now write suggesting to you that you should comply with the request of the Committee; and on considering and trying how far it would be possible for you not only to reside in England but also to give such

attendance as might be necessary from time to time in Parliament I find this could be done with very little additional expense and which your Commission would be able to provide for.¹ It is of great importance for the present and future peace of the County that you should make this sacrifice if only for a couple of years, by which time the great question now agitating the County will have been decided one way or the other, and a new conservative Candidate could then start with the cordial and united support of all that party.

Sir G. Clerk is of opinion that a dissolution is not imminent and not too likely to be this year; others as well informed think differently and that the time is approaching when the Whigs will again be put into such a minority that they must resign. Indeed if D'Israeli had been able to make a respectable counter Budget the other night he would have beaten the Government but what little was definite and practical was so erroneous the House would not swallow it.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

H. M. Inglis to Sir John Hope

Edinburgh, [15] April 1851²

The Committee are glad to learn that there is a near prospect of your returning to England and of your being able to resume your place in Parliament. In these circumstances I have undertaken to convey to you the unanimous wish of the Committee that you would consent to continue as the Representative of the County in the event of a General Election.

In the present disturbed state of Parties you can easily believe how difficult it is to get any new man to come forward, who is likely to please a Majority of the Electors. It is different with you whose views upon all the great leading questions of the day are already well known, and also that those views while perfectly straight-forward and decided have yet been tempered with a moderation and discretion which have secured for you the general respect and approval of all parties. Believing that your opinions upon all great and vital

¹ The Duke was referring to the commission of four gentlemen who were administering Sir John's estates; see above p. xxxi.

² The letter was written on 8 Apr., above p. 199, but held back until 15 Apr. so that it would not arrive before the Duke's letter.

questions remain unchanged and that you fully sympathise with the general strong protestant feeling of the County on the subject of the papal aggression,¹ the Committee feel convinced that your appeal will be cheerfully responded to by the Electors of the County.

The Committee further desire me to assure you that they will do anything in their power both individually and collectively to relieve you so far as possible of the trouble and annoyance necessarily attending a new Election.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

H. M. Inglis to the Duke of Buccleuch²

Edinburgh, 18 April 1851

... Sir John does not seem with his increasing years to have lost any portion of his natural vigour and high feeling of honor; at the same time it is a pity that he should be annoyed with such Correspondents. ...

[Extract] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to Sir George Clerk

[Frankfort], 20 April 1851

I received last night late a letter from the Duke of Buccleuch and another from the sub committee of the County anxiously wishing me to remain MP and to stand again for the County ... I shall write my answer tomorrow to the Duke as there are many things to consider. If I found that I could afford to live in or near London, my accepting would be a matter of course, and even I would wish to make a trial to meet the wishes of so many old friends. But in the meantime it would be as well that I should endeavour to remain Convener of the County, my being in that position might affect my being returned again. I leave this to you to say what I ought to do and whether the letter I wrote you on the 14th wishing to give up

¹ In Sept. 1850 Pope Pius IX had published a brief restoring the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. This had aroused a violent and widespread Protestant reaction.

² Inglis sent the Duke copies of the letters Sir John Hope had written to him and to Sir James Walker-Drummond on 13 April.

being convener should be withdrawn, or withheld for the present, in fairness to those friends who wish me being *reelected*.¹

What a mess that misled headstrong man Sir James Drummond and his two friends² have brought about, all of them blindly unacquainted with the quiet feeling of the Conservative interest, and it is hard upon me at my age to be brought in to smooth matters after all their folly and wicked mischief, inconsiderate to the degree, and the two last evidently forgetting the trust reposed in them by their neighbours, the one carried by a pique and the other fancying he would forward the Interest of his friend and having a Slap at me, but fortunately I had much doubt of Drummond's straightforwardness and that he was fond of mixing in troubled waters and very anxious to make himself conspicuous. Do you remember his speech at Haddington when he tried to come in for the Burghs. He was as violent as a Free trader as he now wishes to prove himself a Protectionist.³ Pray send the letter to the Duke as besides showing him that I doubted Sir James and his coadjutors, that I gave Lord John full credit. If I agree to remain at next Election, How do I stand at the Carlton Club? I suppose that I must come over to show myself at *the House*; this would be inconvenient, but if I must I must. Would it do to come in June or must I come now? Arrange the pair as you think best, for a month or to be renewed.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

William Burn-Callander to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Cheltenham, 20 April 1851

I was last night favored with your letter of the 17th inst.⁴ I was sure Your Grace would feel much at our excellent friend being subjected to the receipt of such a letter, one the worst in tone and feeling

¹ Hope's letter of resignation was written in Frankfurt on 28 Mar. 1851; when the Commissioners of Supply met on 30 Apr. his resignation was accepted and Richard Trotter of Mortonhall was elected in his place; minutes of the Commissioners of Supply for Midlothian, SRO, CO2/1/8, p. 378.

² Wauchope of Edmonstone and Wardlaw-Ramsay.

³ Drummond's address to the electors appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 24 June 1847; it contained no reference to free trade or protection; just over a week later he decided that he had started too late and withdrew, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 2 July 1847; there is no report in these newspapers or the *Scotsman* of the speech to which Sir John Hope refers.

⁴ Not seen.

I ever read. The character assumed by the writer in one part of it as Chairman of 'The Association' appears to me to be a practical fiction at best. At the very first meeting Mr Bertram Brown¹ was elected Convener and occupied the Chair at that and (I think) the two following meetings after which—he still continuing Convener—I was in the chair at the two or three subsequent Meetings, and I am mistaken if any regularly called meeting has since been held. No permanent Chairman was to my Knowledge ever appointed.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to H. M. Inglis

Frankfort, 22 April 1851

Your letter of 15th has taken me quite by surprise. I received it the night before last and I confess I deeply regret that the Committee have been so much annoyed. In answer to their wishes—I confess I would prefer that my son came forward as being much more active than I am or can expect to be. But if the Committee should not approve of this, if they still think that I can be of use, tho' their kind expressions and confidence expressed towards me are very far beyond my deserts, I am not one to shrink from any duty placed upon me by those I esteem. If they do not find one younger and more active I am ready to allow myself to be proposed to represent the County at next general Election—It being fully understood I am not to be called upon for any subscription for previous expenses nor for even the small expenses I paid last time for hustings etc, in short to be at no expense whatever. Should there be any demur about this I am quite ready to accede to any opinion of the Duke of Buccleuch as referee, but as my present object is to live very frugally I cannot at the present moment do justice to my family otherwise than [by] making this stipulation. I may also mention that my present plan is, after being a short time at Homburg for my daughter's health, to go either to Brussels or *Boulogne sur mer*, or should this MP arrangement go on, I will establish myself somewhere in England near London or for a time in London, and attend strictly to my parliamentary duties.

¹ Probably James Bertram Brown of Milton who signed the requisition to the Earl of Dalkeith in June 1853; *Scotsman*, 15 June 1853.

I have had a letter from the Duke of Buccleuch strongly urging me to agree, and as he knows exactly how my matters are I am thus encouraged to follow the wishes of the Committee.

I will of course not enter into what has lately occurred as the kind expressions and such unbounded confidence expressed by the Committee has relieved my anxiety completely that I had acted in a straightforward manner in that correspondence which struck me most distinctly that an attempt was made to make me a tool (in the event of Lord John Scott declining, which I thought he would) to palm another upon the County who certainly did not use expressions at all consonant to the character and strict honour of the Sub-Committee. . . .

[PS] I received last night your letter of 18th.¹ I am glad Drummond has got my letter of 13th which I feared he would not, as he truly deserves a rap. If the Committee think I should be in England by the end of June or July, pray let me know, as I have of course arrangements to make for moving my family.

I have said nothing in reply to your hints about the pope, and you may depend that the said pope or Cardinal will get nothing from me—and the plan of bringing the Jews into Parliament *Ditto*.²

I think it right to mention that not having as yet heard from Sir James Drummond, I have thought it right for fear of their taking amiss my silence to answer the requisition he sent me and to announce that it is my intention to come again forward in case there is a dissolution of Parliament, and I added that it was my intention after being at Homburg to come to England and settle near London. I also thanked them warmly for their kind assurances of support, which along with similar assurances had encouraged me to make up my mind to stand again for the County—that I counted upon their hearty and able assistance as strongly as I felt deeply their kind expressions. So you see I have begun in earnest and with a grand flourish and without your able assistance. But I must add that I have sent to Mr Wauchope and have taken no notice of Sir James D.—privately the said requisition has neither day nor date of any kind,

¹ Not seen.

² Until 1858 practising Jews were excluded from parliament because members were required to swear an oath containing the phrase 'on the true faith of a Christian'. Attempts to alter the oath between 1830 and 1836 and more recently in the sessions of 1847-8, 1849 and 1850 had been blocked by the House of Lords.

and whether Lord John Scott was there when they signed I do not know, but this I know that Lord John Scott's name is *interlined* in a different hand and certainly with different ink—query when was it put in or what would you say to its being put in to blind me—the whole transaction seems more like a dream than reality.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to Sir James Walker-Drummond¹

Frankfort, 24 April 1851

... if at Frankfort you had no intention to the County Representation How can you qualify such an assertion when I have it under your hand that you had gone *with a Secretary* to demand of Mr Inglis a List of the Voters three months before you wrote me and six weeks consequently before you came here, and if your Brother² reads that letter he will then be satisfied that your object privately was to be the Candidate yourself.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to Sir James Walker-Drummond

Frankfort, 26 April 1851

... supposing that you and others joined in bringing forward Lord John does it not occur to you that it was anything but a compliment to the Duke, who is so deservedly popular on all points except Sir R. Peel's wild plan,³ that his Brother should be brought from his own County of Warwick to *Bell him* in the County where he is Lord Lieutenant and resident—would that not *have created a coolness between the Brothers?*

[The Duke of Buccleuch commented on this passage]

Technically no Peer is supposed to take any part or interest in an

¹ This and the following extract are taken from a thirty page abstract of the correspondence made by the Duke in May; the extracts appear on pp. 18 and 27.

² Sir James had two brothers; the reference here is probably to John Forbes Walker-Drummond, ws, 1819-96.

³ The Duke had at first opposed Peel's plan to repeal the Corn Laws and on 4 Dec. 1845 indicated that he would resign from the cabinet over the issue. However, when the cabinet was reformed later in December, after Lord John Russell's abortive attempt to form a government, the Duke agreed from a sense of duty to remain and to support the policy of repeal; J. R. Oliver, *Upper Teviotdale and the Scotts of Buccleuch* (Hawick, 1887), 415; N. Gash, *Sir Robert Peel* (London, 1972), 549-50, 562-3.

Election but it is absurd to suppose that a Peer has not as deep an interest in proportion to his stake in the County as to who represents that County, as any other proprietor and resident. It may be wrong for him to interfere, but it would be as wrong if he cared not for the representation of it.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Frankfort, 1 May 1851

I am sorry to say that I have just discovered that we owe in some degree all the turmoil in the County to one who never could Keep a Secret in his life and who while Lord Advocate in 1817 and 1818 Kept us all in hot water, so much so that the joy was great when Sir William Rae was appointed end of 1818 or beginning of 1819 when all the yeomanry Corps acted with firm confidence in Sir William Rae.¹

In a letter from Ramsay Wardlaw he says that one day coming into the Club at Edinburgh that Mr Maconochie of Meadowbank had before a number of people called out to him—'So I hear from the Duke that you are after all not to be our member now', and Ramsay adds that he then found himself obliged to defend himself and that he means to put his in a state[ment].

I have wrote to Ramsay saying that few people minded what Meadowbank said and that he was fond of [safting?]² people and repeating things to show his Knowledge, and I have put to Ramsay strongly the impolicy of publishing any statement and that he would prove himself a leal friend to the County if he withheld such a statement, which might disunite our party in the County, and that I felt quite certain that the Duke of Buccleuch had never given such information to Meadowbank who was fond of []³ people by

¹ Alexander Maconochie, 1777-1861, Lord Meadowbank, 1819-43, was Lord Advocate from 1816 until succeeded by Sir William Rae in the summer of 1819. For his conduct in this period see G. W. T. Omond, *The Lord Advocates of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1883), ii, ch. xviii.

² The sense of 'to saft' here appears to be 'to make pliable' to place someone in a position where they are forced to make an admission. Sir John Hope had been present in 1827 when Maconochie led Sir Walter Scott publicly to admit his authorship of the Waverley novels. *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. W. E. K. Anderson (Oxford, 1972), 281-2.

³ MS illegible.

strong assertions, and by way of getting the news he had worded his assertion strongly. I write in haste to catch the post.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

The Duke of Buccleuch to Sir John Hope¹

London, 16 May 1851

I intended to have written to you some days since had not Sir J. Drummond called upon me and wished particularly to call my attention to the correspondence that has passed between you and him. He was much agitated and nearly overcome when first entering upon the subject. After some conversation he left the whole of the correspondence with me, with the exception of the letter of the 24th or 26th February of which he had kept no copy and the letter of the 9th April and the requisition to you which were not with the correspondence and I know not that he had copies of them. Of this correspondence I had known nothing beyond that part which you sent to Mr Inglis for the information I believe of the Committee and the letters you sent to me direct from yourself.

Upon going minutely into the correspondence I soon ascertained where Sir James had first erred, viz. in not going to the Committee as requested by you for the information he wanted. He had evidently been imbued with erroneous notions respecting the conduct of that Committee by statements made to him by another.² He is now quite aware how wrong he was to repeat those attacks and in his letter to you which will go by the same post as this letter he expresses this. I pointed out to him how much these attacks and the tone of his letter were calculated to wound your feelings. He expressed in the strongest terms his sorrow that he should have done, and that nothing could have been further from his thoughts or intentions [than] to have caused such feelings in your breast. In your replies to Sir James you expressed yourself strongly and sharply; he also feels wounded by some of your expressions, and more particularly when you imputed to him certain motives for his actions and accuse him of an intrigue. I pointed out to him the passages in his letter, and that which he had done which would lead you to draw such conclusions. He

¹ Several letters have been omitted because they are merely concerned with quibbles over the interpretation of the correspondence and add nothing new.

² Presumably Wardlaw-Ramsay was intended here, above pp. 193-5.

assured me most solemnly that such were not his motives and such an intrigue as you suspected had not entered his mind. I told him that it was not unlikely that any one should draw the same conclusion as you did as to his own intentions, and he again assured me that whatever might have been drawn as conclusions from his letter and asking for the Register, he had no intentions of coming forward himself, for that it was impossible for him to do so even had he wished it, his great object being to secure the coming forward and success of a Protection Candidate. No public move could be made until your intentions were publicly known and instead of going to the Committee as he should have done for information, and as you directed him, he by ill advice it would appear wrote direct to you again. It is probable that he would have acted differently had he not got wrong notions put into his head. My brother as you already know was the Candidate selected, and you know from my letter to you¹ what passed between my Brother and myself, and Sir James was quite aware that I should be apprised of the intention to bring my brother forward, and that my brother was to speak to me on the subject. Sir James was not I understand the person who first proposed my Brother, tho' he cordially joined in wishing him to come forward as the best Candidate as a Protectionist. We may differ in our views as to the prudence of the selection, but I must acquit Sir James of all intention of an intrigue to effect it. In fact he and others imagined you would not again come forward at a general election and wished to secure the Candidate who they thought would be the best to represent the Protection principles and views which they held. I trust this letter from Sir James may be satisfactory to you and that the tone may efface those painful impressions which his former letters made upon your mind, and also that you may be able to reply to him in language of reconciliation, and by abandoning the imputations of motives and intrigues which he solemnly declares to be unfounded and which greatly irritated him, relieve his mind from the weight which the conclusions you drew as to his motives and conduct has cast upon it. No one could express themselves in more becoming language than Sir James did to me, nor evince a greater desire to do what was right in this matter. I shall feel myself most fortunate and happy if thro' any assistance which I may render that intimacy and friendship which

¹ Above p. 204.

has subsisted for so many years between you and Sir James and his Father may again be reestablished.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir James Walker-Drummond to Sir John Hope

Carlton Club, London, 16 May 1851

I have delayed answering your letter of 26 April until now, owing to its having contained no acknowledgement of the very deep regret I expressed in my letter of the 20 April¹ to you for having most unintentionally wounded your feelings.

I have in the meantime shewn the whole correspondence to some of my friends and amongst others to the Duke of Buccleuch whose advice I have taken on the subject.

The Duke has pointed out an omission in my letter of 20 April which I certainly overlooked. In my letter of 3 April I repeated attacks which had been made on the Committee and as I feel I had no right to do so without being able and willing to substantiate them I now fully withdraw those remarks, and beg to express my regrets through you to the Committee that I should have repeated them.

I trust that you will also see that the imputations you cast on my conduct and motives and the very strong expressions you employed to describe your opinions of me are not only unfounded, but that you were not justified by any thing I have said or done in applying such terms to me as contained in your letter of the 13th and again repeated in yours of 26 April. I trust that through the intervention of the Duke, who has most kindly and with very great labour gone most minutely into the details of the correspondence, it may be amicably terminated, and then that the recollection of it may be completely effaced from our memories more particularly as it has grown into such proportions, more from a misunderstanding as to its real purpose than from anything bad or vicious in itself.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Sir John Hope to the Duke of Buccleuch

Frankfort, 21 May 1851

Many thanks for your long letter. I grieve you had so much trouble,

¹ Omitted.

tho' I rejoice that Drummond applied to you. You have I trust put all things straight between Drummond and me. I Have sent him such a letter as will satisfy him—if he reads it, but unfortunately his first letters bore severe upon my friends as well as myself, and tho' I wrote him two long civil letters, He still continued his tirade. I always fancied therefore that he did not read the letters—certainly he paid no attention to my hints until I got very plain. If Sir J. Drummond is obliged to you, I am doubly so. It was hard upon me to be obliged to quarrel with the son of my old friend, which without your able assistance would have been the case.

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

Mem[orandum]

May 1851

Sir John Hope answered letter from Sir James Drummond in the most friendly manner and thus the correspondence came to an end and reconciliation was effected. B[uccleuch]

Buccleuch, Box 526: Correspondence 1851

H. M. Inglis to the Duke of Buccleuch

Edinburgh, 2 October 1851

In the early part of last year I had some correspondence with Sir John Hope in reference to a cash account with the Royal Bank standing in the name of your Grace, the late Marquis of Lothian, Sir George Clerk, and Sir John Hope.

I then understood from Sir John that he was immediately to communicate with the Parties along with him to the Bond, but I do not know if he has done so.

In the course of last Spring Your Grace mentioned the subject to me, and expressed an intention of calling here for the purpose of obtaining further information.

The Bank have now in the absence of Sir John requested me 'to draw the attention of the Individuals interested to the present state of the account', and accordingly I have taken the liberty of enclosing for Your Grace's perusal a Copy of my Correspondence with Sir John on this subject.¹

Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

¹ Above pp. 184-90.

The Duke of Buccleuch to H. M. Inglis

Drumlanrig, 6 October 1851

I received your letter of the 2d yesterday with its enclosure. All my Memoranda connected with that subject are at Dalkeith. I will write to Sir G. Clerk, and upon the first opportunity, when at Dalkeith, will search out all documents connected with the matter.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: Midlothian 1836-51

William Burn-Callander to the Duke of Buccleuch

Confidential

Preston Hall, 2 May 1853

I last saw Sir John Hope on sunday the 24th ultimo and on the day following I returned here. Archibald Hope has since that time received very alarming intelligence, and has gone to London. The worst accounts of Sir John's state of health, which I heard in Edinburgh from every one on friday and saturday, appear to have been industriously circulated, and there has been an apparent movement in a Body styling itself the *Midlothian Protection Society*, the existence of which I accidentally discovered on wednesday by Mr W[ardlaw] Ramsay asking me if I was going to 'the meeting' that day, and shewing me the Circular which he had received that morning, calling the meeting by desire of Sir James Drummond, with whom A[rchibald] Hope was staying at Hawthornden when he received very bad accounts from Mr Hugh Hope. Of the object of the meeting of these gentlemen I am ignorant, but all circumstances combined have impressed me with the necessity of contemplating the very sad and painful possibility of losing our much valued friend, and with the duty of being in some measure prepared should such a misfortune happen to us. I therefore had a conference with Mr Trotter, the only member except myself of the Sub-Committee now in this country—Messrs Ramsay and Wauchope having, as Your Grace knows, separated from us—and Mr Maxwell Inglis our Secretary on Saturday afternoon, and they agree with me that were either of the Gentlemen I have alluded to to come forward in the event of a vacancy in the County, we should encounter an opposition and in every probability a successful opposition from a Whig Candidate. We have therefore thought it best immediately to communicate with Your Grace and

thro' you with Lord Dalkeith as to the desirableness of His Lordship's coming forward for the County in the event of a vacancy occurring. I conclude in haste it being now post hour.

ps. We feel certain of Sir G. Clerk's concurrence in our views.

Buccleuch, Box 526: unmarked packet

The Duke of Buccleuch to William Burn-Callander

Confidential

London, 4 May 1853

... Should circumstances cause a vacancy to occur in the representation of the County . . . , of course it would be impossible for my Son to put himself forward as a Candidate. His coming forward must depend upon the wish to that effect being generally expressed in the County, and his being requested to do so.

I shall take an early opportunity of seeing Sir George Clerk and will communicate to him our correspondence.

[Copy] Buccleuch, Box 526: unmarked packet

William Burn-Callander to the Duke of Buccleuch

Confidential

Preston Hall, 11 May 1853

I delayed acknowledging your letter of the 4th inst. until I had met with Mr Trotter and Mr Inglis, which I did yesterday, and I have now the pleasure to express to Your Grace both my own, and also their very great gratification with your reply. We are of opinion that it is very desirable (and I have since seeing these Gentlemen heard very unfavourable reports of Sir John being worse again) to have an early interview with Your Grace.¹

Buccleuch, Box 526: unmarked packet

William Burn-Callander to the Duke of Buccleuch

Private

Preston Hall, 2 February 1854

... I venture to trouble you upon the subject of Mr Inglis's accounts, as I have purposely abstained from any communication with himself

¹ Sir John Hope died 5 June 1853; the Earl of Dalkeith was elected in his place on 25 June.

in consequence of Your Grace's intention to instruct your agent to take the matter in hand, and I am very anxious that a settlement should be come to.

Buccleuch, Box 526: W. B. Callander Esq., Baronetcy 1842

William Burn Callander to the Duke of Buccleuch

undated [6 February 1854]

... It is of great importance that the whole matter should be settled in any point of view ...

[*Endorsed*] A[nswered] 11th called on him [Burn Callander], he was in London, desired Mr Gibson¹ to see him [Inglis] and urge a final and speedy settlement. B[uccleuch].

Buccleuch, Box 526: unmarked packet

¹ The Duke's agent; see above p. xxvii, n. 2.

1834-1840

DONALD HORNE'S ELECTION SURVEYS

Memorandum as to the state of the Scotch Representation

Strictly confidential

[November 1834]¹

At the last General election there were only, out of the 53 members for Scotland, eight who could be reckoned as decided friends of the Wellington Administration.² These were,

Counties

1. *Aberdeen*: The Honourable William Gordon, Member—still in—and County may be considered as secure.
2. *Banff*: George Ferguson. In the same situation.
3. *Elgin*: Colonel [Francis William] Grant. Ditto.
4. *Kincardine*: Honourable Hugh Arbuthnott. Ditto.
5. *Peebles*: Sir John Hay. Ditto.
6. *Linlithgow*: Honourable Sir Alexander Hope. Ditto. In the event of Sir Alexander retiring the Honourable Captain Hope³ would come forward, and altho' the County is hard run, it is thought it may be depended upon.

[*Marginal notes*] Lord Dalmeny is canvassing. Captain Honourable James Hope.

¹ The memorandum was presumably drawn up soon after William IV dismissed Lord Melbourne's Whig ministry on 14 Nov. 1834. It was not until Jan. 1835 that the general election was held. See introduction pp. liv-lxiii.

² At first it was assumed that the Duke of Wellington was to remain at the head of the new administration; in fact he acted as caretaker until the return from Italy on 9 Dec. of Sir Robert Peel.

³ James Hope, later Hope-Wallace, 1807-54, second son of the 4th Earl of Hopetoun, nephew of General Sir Alexander Hope. He was elected unopposed.

7. *Haddington*: James Balfour. Still Member, but in the event of his retiring from bad health measures ought to be immediately taken to fix on a Candidate. Sir David Baird, the Whig candidate, is very popular. It is said that Mr [Robert] Ferguson of Raith is to try the County, and Sir David Baird the Burghs. In the meantime [Robert] Stewart [of Alderston] is busy canvassing.

[*Marginal notes*] John Thomas Hope¹ starts. Sir D. Baird does not start.

8. *The Inverness Burghs*: Mr [John] Baillie, who has since been succeeded by Major Cumming Bruce, and it is believed that his return would be secure.²

[*Marginal note*] Cumming Bruce starts.

Since the General election the Party has already gained the following additional strength.

Counties

1. *Bute*: Sir William Rae.

2d. *Berwick*: Sir H[ugh] P[urves] H[ume] Campbell. [*Marginal note*] write.

3d. *Perth*: Sir George Murray.³

The following Counties may be contested, and the result, in all probability, be as under.

1. *Edinburgh*: Sir George Clerk's return may be considered as almost certain. [*Marginal note*] unpopular.⁴

2. *Roxburgh*: Lord John Scott in the same situation.⁵

3. *Selkirk*: Mr [Alexander] Pringle of Whytbank in the same situation.⁶

4. *Forfar*: Mr [Douglas Gordon] Hallyburton, the present Whig member, will probably not stand again. But the Whigs will put forward a candidate. It may safely be said that, in the event of a

¹ John Thomas Hope, 1807-35, eldest son of General Sir Alexander Hope; he was MP Gatton 1830-31, Okehampton 1831-32. He lost the election to Robert Ferguson of Raith by 268 votes to 231.

² Cumming-Bruce held the seat against Edward Ellice junior by 344 votes to 340.

³ General Sir George Murray was defeated by Fox Maule by 1,453 votes to 1,371.

⁴ Sir George Clerk 565, William Gibson-Craig 534.

⁵ Lord John Scott 757, George Elliot 681.

⁶ Pringle of Whytbank 206, Robert Pringle of Clifton 175.

Candidate in the Conservative interest, such as the Honourable Donald Ogilvie, or the Honourable [John] Stuart Wortley,¹ coming forward, there is every chance of carrying the County. Mr Horatio Ross, the member for Montrose etc. will it is said support the new Government, and in the event of no better appearing would stand for the County.

[*Marginal notes*] Lord Duncan. Lauderdale Maule.²

5. *Inverness*: This County was very hard run by [Norman] Macleod of Macleod against Mr Charles Grant, the present member, at the last election, and with the influence of Government and the great strength of the landed interest, in a comparatively small constituency, it is thought that it will be carried. Macleod, however, is not very popular, and perhaps Mr [Evan] Baillie junior [of Dochfour] might succeed, if all the conservative interest united in his behalf.³

[*Marginal note*] ? Evan Baillie?

6. *Ross and Cromarty*: Mr [James] Stewart Mackenzie [of Seaforth], the present Whig member, would again stand, and it would be extremely difficult to unseat him. But it would be advisable to have a Government Candidate connected with the county in the field. Novar,⁴ the late candidate, wont do. But perhaps [Thomas Mackenzie of] Applecross might stand.⁵

[*Marginal note*] ? Applecross.

On the other counties it may be remarked,

1st As to *Argyll*: Mr [James Henry] Callander, the present Whig Member, would be difficult to beat; but it is not considered that this County is desperate. Mr [Neil] Malcolm [of Poltalloch] might perhaps unseat Callander.⁶

¹ John Stuart-Wortley, 1801-55, 2nd Baron Wharnccliffe 1845, was the candidate; he was MP Bossiney 1823-30 and 1831-32, and for the West Riding of Yorkshire 1841-45, but he had been member for the Perth burghs Aug.-Dec. 1830. Hallyburton retained the seat by 625 votes to 446.

² These were possible Whig candidates each of whom was later to be the county member, Maule from 1852 till his death in 1854 in the Crimean War, then Duncan till he succeeded as 2nd Earl of Camperdown in Dec. 1859.

³ Grant won a close contest against Macleod by 260 votes to 253.

⁴ Hugh Andrew Johnston-Munro of Novar, d. 1864.

⁵ Mackenzie of Seaforth defeated Mackenzie of Applecross by 241 votes to 200.

⁶ Callander retired; another Whig candidate, Walter Frederick Campbell of Islay, was returned unopposed.

2d. *Ayr*: Mr [Richard Alexander] Oswald. This is the largest Ten pound Constituency of all the Counties generally except Perth. Colonel [William] Blair, the former Member, was beat by an immense majority, and it may be considered nearly hopeless. But it is said that Colonel [Frederick] Macadam Cathcart would have the best chance, if he would stand, which it is supposed he is unwilling to do. Sir Charles Lamb,¹ who is now conservative, might perhaps be prevailed on in the event of Colonel Cathcart declining.²

[*Marginal note*] Charles Fergusson of Kilkerran, Sir James Fergusson's son.

3. *Caithness*: It would not be desirable to contest this County, as it is thought Mr George Sinclair, who is a strong supporter of the church, might be secured in favour of the new Government.

[*Marginal note*] Sir R[alph] Anstruther to be written to. B[uccleuch].

[*Other notes*] no chance. [*And*] Fishing population under Lord Duffus³ to be protected.

4. *Dumbarton*: Mr [John Campbell] Colquhoun is also a strong supporter of the Church. He is in bad health. [*Inter-lined note*: 'very bad']. It is not doubted that this county might be carried.

[*Marginal notes*] Write Duke of Montrose. ? William Graham.⁴

5. *Clackmannan and Kinross*: There is now a contest going on. Admiral [Charles] Adam in the Whig interest, and Mr Anstruther⁵ in the Radical. Mr [Robert] Bruce of Kennett in the Conservative interest is ready to start, but it is not thought he could overcome the coalition of Whig and Radical, which disgraceful alliance has already been proclaimed all over Scotland.⁶

[*Marginal notes*] Bruce? will be []⁷ write.

6. *Dumfries*: Mr [John James] Hope Johnston. It is rather thought

¹ Sir Charles Montolieu-Lamb, Bart., 1785-1860, stepfather of the 13th Earl of Eglinton.

² Oswald's return was not opposed.

³ Sir Benjamin Dunbar, 3rd Bart. of Hempriggs, 1761-1843, styled himself 5th Lord Duffus from 1827. On 2 Dec. 1834 in Wick he chaired a meeting which declared that it had no confidence in the Duke of Wellington, *Scotsman*, 13 Dec. 1834.

⁴ Possibly Lord Montagu William Graham, 1807-78, second son of James, 3rd Duke of Montrose, 1755-1836. The Conservative candidate, Alexander Smollett of Bonhill, was beaten by Alexander Dennistoun of Golfhill by 436 votes to 399.

⁵ He is sometimes referred to as Major Anstruther, but not otherwise identified. He withdrew from the contest, *Scotsman*, 3 Jan. 1835.

⁶ Adam defeated Bruce by 447 votes to 285.

⁷ ms illegible.

that he is unassailable, at least that it is not expedient to disturb him.¹

7. *Fife*: Captain [James Erskine] Wemyss. He was a steady Tory till the Reform—may probably change again. Colonel James Lindsay contested the County with him at the last Election, and was obliged to give up. The Constituency is large, but it is not supposed that the Captain will incur any expence in trying to keep the County. If Colonel Lindsay seriously offers, it is thought he will carry it.

[*Marginal note*] Lord Loughborough for County would not be opposed. Lindsay little Chance at present.² D[onald] H[orne].

8. *Kirkcudbright*: Mr [Robert] Cutlar Ferguson. It is feared that Mr Ferguson could not be shaken. But Lord Selkirk might be consulted as to this.

9. *Lanark*: Mr [John] Maxwell, an ultra Whig, has the command of this County, there being a large Ten pound constituency. If the Marquis of Douglas,³ or any other respectable person, could be prevailed on to stand with the Duke of Hamilton's⁴ approbation on the Conservative interest, this with the support of Lord Douglas⁵ would carry the County.⁶

10. *Orkney and Shetland*: Mr [George] Traill, a decided Whig. The constituency is small. There is a strong hatred in Shetland to Orkney; and it is thought that a contest might be tried. Mr [Thomas] Balfour younger of Elwick might be tried.⁷

[*Marginal note*] ? Balfour

11. *Renfrew*: Sir Michael Shaw Stewart. There would be no chance of ousting the present member. But his politics are by no means steady, and it is thought he might be brought over to the new Government.

¹ Hope-Johnstone is generally regarded as a Conservative. Probably because of his support for the Reform Bill in 1831-32 Horne did not include him among those who could be considered decided friends of the new administration, though he hoped he might be won over (see Horne's concluding summary). In 1837 Horne lists Hope-Johnstone as a Conservative.

² Wemyss defeated Lindsay by 1,051 votes to 584.

³ William Alexander Anthony Archibald Douglas-Hamilton, 1811-63, 11th Duke of Hamilton 1852.

⁴ Alexander Hamilton, 1767-1852, 10th Duke of Hamilton 1819, was more likely to support a candidate in the Whig interest, see memoranda 6 July 1837 on p. 246 and n. 2.

⁵ Archibald Douglas, 1773-1844, 2nd Baron Douglas 1827, a Conservative.

⁶ By 725 votes to 525 Maxwell held Lanarkshire against a Conservative, Alexander Macdonald Lockhart, MP for the county 1837-41.

⁷ Balfour defeated Traill by 114 votes to 84.

[*Marginal note*] Wants a Peerage.

12. *Stirling*: Admiral [Charles Elphinstone] Fleming, decided Whig, would carry the County. But probably a more popular Whig Candidate would be brought forward. On the other hand Mr [William] Forbes of Callander is ready to start, but the Constituency being so large, and there being so many Radical weavers, success can by no means be depended on.¹

[*Marginal note*] Duke of Montrose.

13. *Sutherland*: Mr [Roderick] Macleod [of Cadboll], a Whig and nominee of the Duchess of Sutherland² who has the County in her pocket.

[*Marginal note*] ?Lord Francis Egerton.³

14. *Wigton*: Sir Andrew Agnew, a strong supporter of the Church and it is thought might be brought over to the new Government. His seat in all probability is secure. It is believed Lord Galloway's interest predominates in this county.⁴

This exhausts the 30 Counties and the Inverness District of Burghs—together 31 Members. There remain,

City of Edinburgh: Two Members, Mr [James] Abercromby and Sir John Campbell, late Attorney General. The Conservative Candidate,⁵ even altho' a Radical stood at the last Election in May 1834, was far down the poll. It is feared that this seat of Whiggery cannot be successfully attacked. Perhaps however Sir Charles Forbes, Sir David Milne, or some active person might try it.⁶

[*Marginal notes*] ?Sir Charles Forbes. [*Later*] has been written to per Aberdeen.

¹ Forbes defeated Admiral Fleming by 779 votes to 759.

² Elizabeth, 1765-1839, the only surviving child of William, 19th Earl of Sutherland, 1735-66; in 1771 the House of Lords declared her to be Countess of Sutherland in her own right; in 1785 she married George Granville, 2nd Marquis of Stafford, who was created 1st Duke of Sutherland in Jan. 1833 six months before his death; she is often referred to in the memoranda as the Duchess/Countess.

³ Lord Francis Egerton, 1800-57, second son of the 1st Duke of Sutherland, created Earl of Ellesmere 1846.

⁴ Agnew (340 votes) held the seat against James Blair of Penninghame a Conservative (228), and John Douglas of Barloch (58) a Radical from Glasgow who also contested the Wigtown burghs; *Scotsman*, 21 Jan. 1835.

⁵ John Learmonth, 1789-1858, coachbuilder, lord provost of Edinburgh 1831-33.

⁶ Abercromby (2,963 votes) and Campbell (2,858) were opposed by Lord Ramsay (1,716) and Learmonth (1,608).

[*Other notes*] ? Sir David Milne no chance. ? Learmonth ? !!!

Glasgow: 2 Members. Mr James Oswald, a Whig Radical who presided at Lord Durham's festival,¹ and who could not be ousted, and Mr James Ewing, who altho' a reformer is a kind of Conservative, and would it is supposed support the new Government. If another conservative were started, however, perhaps Oswald might be unseated.²

[*Marginal note*] Kirkman Finlay?

The following places are considered nearly hopeless:

Aberdeen: Mr [Alexander] Bannerman, a Whig.³

[*Marginal note*] Sir Charles Forbes? [*Later*] has been written to.

Dundee: Sir Henry Parnell, a Whig Radical.

Wick and District: Mr [James] Loch, nominee of the Duchess of Sutherland.

Kirkcaldy District: Mr [Robert] Ferguson of Raith, a Whig, though Lord Loughborough might perhaps carry this District.⁴

[*Marginal note*] Lord Loughborough.

Stirling District: Lord Dalmeny, a Whig. This might also be tried, tho' the Constituency is not very well known.

Kilmarnock etc.: Captain [John] Dunlop, Whig Radical. One of the Portland family would carry this. Lord Henry⁵? was once talked of.

Falkirk etc.: W[illiam] D[owne] Gillon—Radical.

Greenock: Robert Wallace—Radical.

¹ A banquet was given in Glasgow on 29 Oct. 1834 in honour of John George Lambton, 1792-1840, 1st Earl of Durham 1833, regarded as leader of the more radical section of the Whig party.

² No Conservative stood; Oswald (3,832 votes) retained his seat, but Ewing (2,297) was replaced by Colin Dunlop (3,267).

³ By 938 votes to 372 Bannerman defeated a Conservative, Captain Sir Arthur Farquhar, 1772-1843, rear-admiral 1837.

⁴ Ferguson was elected for the county of Haddington; John Fergus of Strathore was elected here without opposition.

⁵ Possibly Lord Henry William Bentinck, 1804-70, fourth son of the 4th Duke of Portland, MP North Nottinghamshire 1846-57. The family had extensive estates in Ayrshire and a mansion, Fullarton House, a few miles from Kilmarnock. The Conservative candidate was Robert Downie of Appin, c.1771-1841, MP Stirling burghs 1820-30, (153 votes), but the seat was won by Dr John Bowring, a Radical who had an astonishingly varied career as linguist, traveller, envoy and writer; he edited the works of Jeremy Bentham and wrote his biography. Bowring defeated Dunlop by 520 votes to 276.

There remain :

Perth City: Mr [Laurence] Oliphant whig radical. It might be possible to contest Perth but success cannot be counted on.

[*Marginal note*] [John Stewart] Richardson of Pitfour, write?

Elgin etc.: Colonel [Andrew] Leith Hay. The present Member could ill afford a contest. The Lord Chancellor gave great offence in this district.¹ There is an influential conservative party, and a Contest might be tried.

[*Marginal notes*] Sir John [Stuart] Forbes Bart. wont. [William] Brodie [of Brodie], *no*.²

Montrose etc.: Mr Horatio Ross, tho' returned on the Reform interest, will support the new Government. In the event of a dissolution it is doubtful whether he would stand, and Mr [Patrick] Chalmers of Auldbar, a radical, would probably be in the field.³

[*Marginal note*] [Ross] wont do for County, a conservative would come in. Young Gladstone.⁴

St Andrews etc.: Mr Andrew Johnston, Whig and supporter of the Church. Sir Ralph Anstruther contested this District but has retired; and Mr [William Robert] Keith Douglas it is believed will take the field. It is very assailable. Major Anstruther is also talked of, if beaten in Kinross, on the Radical interest.

[*Marginal note*] Keith Douglas [and] *Secure*.⁵

Haddington etc.: Mr [Robert] Stewart [of Alderston], a Whig Radical, could hardly stand a contest, and there is a considerable reaction in this district. It is very assailable.⁶

[*Marginal notes*] ? Sir G[eorge] Warrender [and] ? Sir P[eter] Laurie.⁷

¹ This refers to the tour of the north and east of Scotland made by Lord Henry Brougham in late Aug. and Sept. 1834. His critics accused him of eccentric and extravagant behaviour. E.g. see Charles Greville, *Memoirs* 1st series, ed. Henry Reeve (London, 1874), iii, 133-34.

² Brodie was the Conservative candidate; Leith-Hay won by 384 votes to 264.

³ Chalmers was returned unopposed.

⁴ Probably Thomas Gladstone, 2nd Bart. of Fasque, 1851; he was MP Portarlington 1832-34 but was looking for a new seat; S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones* (Cambridge, 1971), 283.

⁵ Johnstone was returned without opposition.

⁶ Robert Stewart of Alderston was returned without opposition. On this constituency see J. I. Brash, 'The Conservatives in the Haddington District of Burghs 1832-1852', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, xi (1968), 37-70.

⁷ Sir Peter Laurie, c.1778-1861, a saddler who had made his fortune as a contractor to the Indian army, knighted 1824, lord mayor of London 1832-33; he declined to stand.

Leith: Mr [John Archibald] Murray the late Lord Advocate has begun a canvass. This is also a very assailable district. But Mr [William] Aitchison,¹ who stood on the Conservative interest formerly, must retire in favor of some direct Government Candidate, if he can be got. It is ascertained that Mr A[itchison] will retire if requested.

[*Marginal notes*] Gladstone² and Irvine.³ Honourable Richard Dundas!⁴ write Lord Melville and D[uke] of W[ellington].⁵

Ayr etc.: Lord James Stuart, Whig, Lord Eglinton's interest is strong in Irvine, and there is a good number of conservatives in Ayr. It might be contested, but is a very doubtful district.⁶

[*Marginal note*] May be tried. R[ichard] Mackenzie w[s] and Campbell⁷ could manage Oban and Cambelltown Lord J. [?]⁸ could manage.

Dumfries etc.: General [Matthew] Sharpe, Whig. It is doubtful whether General Sharpe would stand; and it is believed there is a considerable reaction in Dumfries.⁹

[*Marginal note*] Sir Pulteney Malcolm

Wigton etc.: Mr Edward Stuart. It is not known whether anything could be made of this district. But it is rather thought that it is at the command of Lord Galloway.¹⁰

Paisley: vacant. There is a very strong Church party in Paisley, and a liberal conservative might do. Captain Gordon¹¹ who tried it at the last Election will not succeed, but it is a very assailable quarter.¹²

¹ Above p. 21, n. 1.

² Possibly John Gladstone of Fasque, 1764-1851, Bart. 1846. ³ Not identified.

⁴ Richard Saunders Dundas, 1802-61, second son of Robert, and Viscount Melville, vice-admiral 1858.

⁵ Murray was returned without opposition.

⁶ There was no Conservative candidate; Lord James Stuart held the seat against a Radical, Alexander Johnston of Shieldhall, by 339 votes to 323. See the entry for 1840 on p. 260. ⁷ Not identified.

⁸ Possibly Lord John Campbell, 1777-1847, 7th Duke of Argyll 1839.

⁹ Sharpe did stand; he retained the seat against David Hannay a local Radical by 422 votes to 370.

¹⁰ Edward Stewart, cousin of Randolph, 9th Earl of Galloway, retired. He was succeeded by another Whig John McTaggart who defeated the Glasgow Radical John Douglas of Barloch by 224 votes to 82.

¹¹ Lieutenant James Edward Gordon, a naval officer on half-pay since 1815, *O'Byrne's Naval Biography* (London, 1849) 410. He was MP for Dundalk 1831-32; at a bye-election in Paisley in March 1834 he obtained twenty-nine votes.

¹² The Liberal-Conservative was Horatio Ross (see the Montrose burghs); he was defeated by Alexander Graham Speirs of Culcreuch by 661 votes to 477.

These observations have been hastily prepared, and do not go much into detail; but it is believed they are generally pretty correct, and as to some places they are the result of more detailed information. It is indispensable, 1st to form a small efficient Committee in Edinburgh, to be in direct and confidential communication with Headquarters. This was suggested some months ago with the view of concentrating an efficient Conservative opposition. It is plainly now more necessary than ever and must be very quietly managed. 2d. It will be necessary to have one confidential correspondent in each county and district on whose zeal and discretion full reliance can be placed. 3d. Whether the Government can or cannot make known even to their most confidential friends the intention of dissolving Parliament or not, when this is fixed on—it is essential that the candidates to be put in nomination, if there be an election, should be fixed on without delay and the whole machinery be set in motion at once when required.

[*Marginal note*] Compell Dean to take Solicitor Gen[era]lship. James ['Cay' scored out] Keay, Hope, Justice Clerk Boyle promoted.¹

Result

Secured at the last Election and generally still quite safe	8
Three new Counties already gained	3
Almost certain,	
Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Inverness, Forfar,	5
chance of getting over the present members very great in,	
Caithness, Dumfries, Dumbarton, and probably in Fife	4
To be reckoned against,	
Ross, Argyll, Ayr, Clackmannan, Kirkcudbright, Lanark,	
Orkney, Renfrew, Stirling, Sutherland, and Wigton	11
	<hr/>
	31

¹ John Hope, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, (see above p. xvi) declined to be Solicitor-General. James Keay, d. 1837, advocate, was one of those considered for the position after Hope's refusal, but having been till recently a Whig, and not being a criminal lawyer, he was thought unsuitable; Sir William Rae to Sir Robert Peel, 23 Dec. 1834, BM, Add. MS, 40339, fos. 326-7. It is not clear which Hope is intended but if Lord Justice Clerk David Boyle was to be promoted it presumably refers to Lord President Charles Hope.

Burghs, independent of Major Cumming Bruce, who is included in the original 8, of which there is Probable chance of securing

Mr James Ewing, Mr Horatio Ross	2
Places to be contested with a probability of success,	
Elgin, St Andrews, Haddington, Leith,	4
More doubtful,	
Perth City, Dumfries, Ayr, Paisley	4
The remaining 12 may perhaps be considered unassailable	12
	<hr/>
	53 ¹
	<hr/>

Donald Horne to the Duke of Buccleuch

96 George Street, Edinburgh, 1 May 1835

I have received your Grace's favor of the 27th, and I now inclose a Memorandum on the seats of which I know any thing.² I have of course not noticed the two Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, where I trust there will be no change. It is most desirable that what is to be done should be early fixed, and arrangements made accordingly. I trust the present Government will not get time to hatch and bring mischief to maturity. I am afraid of them on the Corporation question³, where I fear it is in their power to do more mischief.

The Lord advocate is kept in hot water, Sir David's people are

¹ Horne's forecast of the results in Scottish counties was not far off the mark. The Conservatives retained Aberdeen, Banff, Berwick, Bute, Elgin and Nairn, Kincardine, Linlithgow and Peebles; they lost Haddington and Perth, but gained Edinburgh, Orkney and Shetland, Roxburgh, Selkirk and Stirling; and Horne's hopes that the members for Caithness and Dumfries might be won over to the new government were sound. The Whigs retained Argyll, Ayr, Clackmannan and Kinross, Dumbarton, Fife, Forfar, Inverness, Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Renfrew, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland and Wigtown, as well as the two counties gained.

In the burghs the Conservatives were less successful; they retained the Inverness burghs but their opponents held the other twenty-two seats.

² After several defeats on the Irish Church question Sir Robert Peel resigned on 8 April 1835, and Lord Melbourne formed his second administration. Presumably the Duke of Buccleuch requested these notes in anticipation of an early general election.

³ That is the reform of the municipal corporations in England and Wales which was to be the major legislation of 1835.

very sanguine, but I cannot make myself believe he can be successful.¹ I go to the nomination tomorrow.

Inverness will be very keenly contested. I am very confident; but much depends on our London friends—and if Stables, Lord Cawdor's Factor, were neutralised, it would be of very great importance. We have it that Grant delays taking the Peerage until he has nominated and voted for his nominee.² If this be so, surely our London friends will find it necessary to make similar exertions. Messrs Spottiswoode & Robertson³ have the charge and are possessed of the lists.

We are very anxious about Devonshire.⁴ We shall have an immediate job, to make room for [John] Cunningham the Solicitor General on the bench.⁵

Confidential Memorandum Scotch Representation 29 April 1835

Scotland

1. Orkney, is safe in the hands of Mr [Thomas] Balfour the present member.

2. Caithness, I do not think Mr [George] Sinclair the present member will stand a contest, but with his family influence, which will be given in favor of a churchman against Mr [George] Traill, we can carry a conservative member and I shall try and bring about an arrangement with Sir Ralph Anstruther or some one else.

[*Marginal note*] This confidential

3. Wick Burghs, Mr [James] Loch's radical votes have secured this seat to him.

4. Sutherland County, The Dutchess Dowager's stronghold.

5. Ross-shire, In my opinion we cannot find a Conservative Candi-

¹ When J. A. Murray sought re-election in the Leith burghs after his appointment as Lord Advocate he was opposed by Admiral Sir David Milne; Murray won the election by 727 votes to 423; *Scotsman*, 6 May 1835.

² Charles Grant was created Baron Glenelg on 11 May 1835; he did not nominate the Whig candidate, James Murray Grant of Glenmoriston, at the nomination on 7 May; and as a peer was not eligible to vote on 12 and 13 May when J. M. Grant was defeated by Alexander William Chisholm by 268 votes to 240.

³ A firm of parliamentary lawyers in London.

⁴ Lord John Russell, Home Secretary in the new government and leader of the Whig party in the House of Commons, was standing for re-election in South Devonshire. He was defeated by a Conservative and another seat had to be found for him at Stroud.

⁵ Cunningham did not go on the bench until Feb. 1837.

date so likely to succeed as Mr [Thomas] Mackenzie of Applecross.
 6. Inverness-shire, The contest now going on must decide who should be the Candidate at a General Election. If the Chisholm carried the county now, I presume he must be the candidate, in that Event Mr Baillie¹ should come forward for the

7. Inverness Burghs, and he has decidedly a better chance of carrying them than any other Conservative. Major C[umming] Bruce will not stand again.

8. Elgin Burghs, I know little of them; but I presume [William] Brodie of Brodie should be the candidate.

9. Argyle-shire, This is a very Conservative County and a candidate on that Interest should surely come forward.

I know nothing of any of the other seats north of the forth.

10. Stirling Burghs, I fear they are too radical and that a Conservative Candidate would have no chance against Lord Dalmeny. He was nearly beat by a radical ([John] Crawford) at last General Election, but since then he has become more radical and will now have the support of the dissenters.

11. Falkirk Burghs, The same remark applies. I have not much local knowledge. They are radical and their present Member (Gillon) suits them, but he should if possible be opposed, as he cannot stand a blast and his Constituents are tired of unanimity.

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

13. Haddington County, I dare not presume to venture an opinion but it appears to me that Lord Elcho is the person to emancipate this county.

14. Kirkcudbright, Could not Mr Cutler Fergusson be shaken in this County?

15. Edinburgh, I consider a contest for this City a very desperate Game, and I fear that it can only be carried at a very great sacrifice.

¹ Presumably Evan Baillie junior of Dochfour, 1798-1883.

16. Ayr
 17. Dumfries
 18. Wigton } Of these districts of Burghs I can say nothing as I have
 } no information.
 19. Leith, is at present contested. If the Church party were true to the Cause there would be a fair chance of success, but I want confidence in them.

D[onald H[orne].

Scotch Representation

[June 1837]¹

Counties

	Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
<i>Aberdeen</i>			
[a]	Hon. Captain [William] Gordon	C	No contest expected.
[b]	Hon. Captain Gordon	C	No Contest expected. The Duke of Richmond ² has promised the strictest neutrality and has written to that effect to his Agents. ³
<i>Argyle</i>			
[a]	Mr [Walter Frederick] Campbell [of] Islay Mr [Alexander] Campbell of Monzie	R	Said to be close but that Islay will carry
[b]	Mr Campbell of Islay Mr Campbell of Monzie	R	Close contest. Supposed Islay will be successful. ⁴

¹ See introduction p. lv for a discussion of these memoranda and the form of presentation that has been used. The abbreviations 'C', 'R' and 'D' stand for 'Conservative,' 'Radical', and 'Doubtful' respectively.

² Charles Gordon-Lennox, 1791-1860, 5th Duke of Richmond 1819; he inherited the Gordon estates in 1836 on the death of his uncle the 5th Duke of Gordon. Although a Tory for many years, he had served as Postmaster-General in Whig administrations from Dec. 1830 until his resignation in May 1834. He rejoined the Conservatives and was later a leader of the Protectionists.

³ Gordon retained the seat against Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys by 1,220 votes to 807.

⁴ Campbell of Islay 712, Campbell of Monzie 462.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
<i>Ayr</i>		
[a] Captain [John] Dunlop	R	I have not heard that he will be opposed.
[b] Captain Dunlop	R	A good man would have a good chance, at all events would poll within 150 of Dunlop. ¹
<i>Banff</i>		
[a] Captain [George] Ferguson	C	Contest threatened, but nothing certain known.
[b] Captain Ferguson	C	Contest threatened, but safe. ²
<i>Berwick</i>		
[a] Sir H[ugh] Purves Hume] Campbell	C	Contest threatened, but safe.
[b] Sir H. Campbell	C	Contest threatened, but safe.
<i>Bute</i>		
[a] Sir William Rae	C	No contest anticipated.
[b] Sir William Rae	C	No contest expected.
<i>Clackmannan</i>		
[a] Admiral [Charles] Adam	R	Said that [Fox] Maule will come in and Adam take a Command.
[b] Admiral Adam Hon. F. Maule [Robert] Bruce of Kennet Colonel [George Ralph] Abercromby	R	It is said that Adam retires ['by the' scored out] with a command, that Maule will start, more probably Colonel Abercromby. Bruce will have a good chance. ³

¹ The Conservative candidate was Lord Kelburne; Dunlop's majority was 189, 1,559 votes to 1,370.

² See memorandum dated 6 July 1837 on p. 246.

³ Admiral Adam was not opposed.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
<i>Caithness</i>		
[a] Sir G[eorge] Sinclair Mr [George] Traill	C	Contest will be close, but with exertion safe.
[b] Sir G. Sinclair Mr Traill	C	Close contest, supposed safe. ¹
<i>Dumbarton</i>		
[a] Mr [Alexander] Dennistoun Mr [Alexander] Smollet	D	Uncertain, I have little information, but said Sir J[ames] Colquhoun will start.
[b] Mr Dennison Mr Smollet Sir J. Colquhoun	—	Uncertain, do not know who starts. ²
<i>Dumfries</i>		
[a] [James John] Hope Johnstone	C	No contest.
[b] Hope Johnstone	C	No contest expected.
<i>Elgin</i>		
[a] Hon. [Colonel Francis William] Grant ³	C	No contest.
[b] Hon. Colonel Grant Grant of Barndalloch ⁴	C	['This' scored out] contest threatened, supposed safe. ⁵
<i>Edinburgh</i>		
[a] Sir George Clerk [William] Gibson Craig	D	Contest very keen, and result doubtful, tho' it is expected Sir George Clerk.

¹ Sinclair defeated Traill by 129 votes to 106.

² Sir James Colquhoun defeated Smollett by 453 votes to 411.

³ The original has 'Hon. Charles Grant'.

⁴ George Macpherson-Grant of Ballindalloch, 1781-1846, bart. 1838; MP Sutherland 1809-12, 1816-26.

⁵ Colonel Grant was not opposed.

	Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
[b]	Sir George Clerk W. Gibson Craig	C	Very close contest, every exertion must be made. Hope to be safe. ¹
<i>Fife</i>			
[a]	Captain [James Erskine] Wemyss	R	Not contested.
[b]	Captain Wemyss Mr [Robert] Ferguson of Raith	R	Captain Wemyss has resigned, and since intimated his intention of standing if required. It is supposed that Mr Ferguson will start for this County. ²
<i>Forfar</i>			
[a]	Lord [Douglas Gordon] Haliburton ³ Sir J. Carnegie	D	Said that Lord Panmure ⁴ is to support Sir James Carnegie.
[b]	Lord D. Haliburton Sir J. Carnegie Hon. Fox Maule Hon. L[auderdale] Maule	D	Said that Lord D. Hallyburton retires and that Lord Panmure will support Sir James Carnegie. ⁵
<i>Haddington</i>			
[a]	Lord Ramsay Mr [Robert] Ferguson	C	Result certain. I would not be surprised that Sir D. Baird started in place of Mr Ferguson to give a chance on a future occasion.

¹ Gibson-Craig defeated Clerk by 703 votes to 661.

² Erskine-Wemyss was the Whig candidate; by 1,086 votes to 567 he beat James Bruce, 1811-63, 8th Earl of Elgin 1841.

³ Hallyburton was granted the rank of a younger son of a Marquis in June 1836 after his half-brother the 5th Earl of Aboyne succeeded as Marquis of Huntly at the death of the 5th Duke of Gordon.

⁴ William Maule, 1771-1852, Baron Panmure 1831, estranged for many years from his eldest son Fox Maule.

⁵ Lord Hallyburton was returned without opposition.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
[b] Lord Ramsay Mr Ferguson of Raith Sir David Baird	C	Safe. Said that Mr Ferguson stands for Fife. Sir David Baird will try his chance. ¹
<i>Inverness</i>		
[a] The Chisholm	C	I have not heard that he will be opposed.
[b] The Chisholm Mr [James Evan] Baillie	C	Safe, endeavours are made to persuade Mr Baillie ² (the Purchaser of Lord Glenelg's Estate) to start. ³
<i>Kirkcudbright</i>		
[a] Mr [Robert] Cutlar Ferguson	R	I have not heard that he will be opposed.
[b] Mr Cutlar Ferguson	R	No contest expected. He does not like the present Government.
<i>Kincardine</i>		
[a] Hon. General [Hugh] Arbuthnott	C	No contest.
[b] Hon. General Arbuthnott	C	Contest threatened but no one named.
<i>Lanark</i>		
[a] Mr [Alexander Mac- donald] Lockhart Mr [John] Maxwell	C	Said to be safe for Mr Lockhart, but I don't know by whom he is to be opposed.
[b] Mr Lockhart	C	Said to be safe. It is said Maxwell retires, and is growing Conservative. ⁴

¹ Baird did not stand; Lord Ramsay (Conservative) defeated Ferguson of Raith by 299 votes to 208.

² James Evan Baillie of Kingussie and Glenelg, 1781-1863, uncle of Evan Baillie junior of Dochfour, a banker in Bristol, MP Tralee 1813-18, Bristol 1830-34.

³ Chisholm was opposed again by James Murray Grant but held the seat by 332 votes to 217.

⁴ See memoranda dated 6 July 1837 on pp. 246-7.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
<i>Linlithgow</i>		
[a] Hon. Mr [James] Hope	C	No contest expected.
[b] Hon. Captain [James] Hope	C	No contest threatened at present. ¹
<i>Orkney</i>		
[a] Mr [Thomas] Balfour Hon. Mr [Frederick] Dundas Mr Traill	C	Supposed safe but there will be keen opposition, and it is said a Mr Traill ² from the East Indies will start.
[b] Mr Balfour Hon. Mr Dundas Mr Traill	C	Supposed safe. Keen contest, who is Mr Traill? The Courier calls him a Tory. ³
<i>Peebles</i>		
[a] Mr [William Forbes] Mackenzie Mr [Alexander Gibson] Carmichael	C	Said to be safe, but a keen contest and probably a Committee. ⁴
[b] Mr Mackenzie of Portmore Mr Carmichael	C	Supposed safe but a Keen Contest. ⁵
<i>Perth</i>		
[a] Lord Stormont Mr [Fox] Maule	C	Said to be safe, and thought that Maule would stand but fall back on Clackmannan in place of Adam.

¹ Hope was opposed by Robert Fulke Greville, 1800-67, half-brother of David William Murray, 1777-1840, 3rd Earl of Mansfield 1797, but unlike him not a Conservative. Hope won by 262 votes to 130, *Scotsman*, 5 Aug. 1837.

² Not identified.

³ Dundas was not opposed. See memorandum 4 July 1837, below p. 245.

⁴ A committee of the House of Commons set up to examine a disputed election return.

⁵ Forbes-Mackenzie won the seat by six votes, 251 votes to 245. The return was not disputed.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
[b] Lord Stormont Hon. F. Maule	C	Supposed safe. Keen contest. Supposed that Maule will stand for Forfar or Clackmannan. ¹
<i>Renfrew</i>		
[a] Mr [George] Houston	C	Said to be safe. I don't know the Radical Candidate.
[b] Mr Houston	C	Considered safe, contest expected but have not heard the Candidates' names. ²
<i>Ross</i>		
[a] [Thomas] McKenzie of Applecross [William] McKenzie of Muirton	C	Safe, but important to get Duchess Countess [of Sutherland] to interfere.
[b] McKenzie of Applecross McKenzie of Muirtown	C	Safe. Duchess Countess has been spoken to. It is hoped no Contest will occur. ³
<i>Roxburgh</i>		
[a] Hon. Mr [Francis] Scott Captain [George] Elliot	D	Very close and therefore marked Doubtful.
[b] Hon. F. Scott Hon. G. Elliot	D	Very close. ⁴

¹ Stormont defeated Maule by 1,495 votes to 1,379.

² Houston was opposed by a member of the Shaw-Stewart family, Captain Houston Stewart RN, 1791-1875, knighted 1855, Admiral of the Fleet 1872. Houston held the seat by 821 votes to 704.

³ Mackenzie of Applecross was not opposed.

⁴ The Whig candidate was Elliot's younger brother, John Edmund Elliot, third son of the 1st Earl of Minto; he defeated Scott by 803 votes to 759.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
<i>Selkirk</i>		
[a] Whytbank Clifton	C	Safe, but most important to make majority as large as possible to preclude a scrutiny.
[b] [Alexander] Pringle of Whytbank [Robert] Pringle of Clifton	C	Safe. ¹
<i>Stirling</i>		
[a] Mr [William] Forbes	C	Will be opposed but I have not heard by whom.
[b] Mr Forbes of Callendar	C	Safe. Have not heard of an opponent. ²
<i>Sutherland</i>		
[a] Mr [William] Howard	C	No contest.
[b] Hon. Mr Howard	C	No contest.
<i>Wigton</i>		
[a] Sir A[ndrew] Agnew	C	I have not heard that he is to be opposed.
[b] Sir A. Agnew Mr [James] Blair	C	Arrangements have been made with these two Gentl[eme]n as to the County and Burghs. ³
<i>Burghs</i>		
<i>Aberdeen</i>		
[a] Mr [Alexander] Banner- man	R	[No entry].

¹ Pringle of Whytbank defeated Pringle of Clifton by 262 votes to 215.

² Forbes was opposed by Colonel George Ralph Abercromby but won the election by a single vote, 859 to 858. Abercromby petitioned the House of Commons claiming that many bad votes had been allowed for Forbes while good votes on his side had been disallowed. *Journals of the House of Commons*, xciii (1837-8), 118-19. In April 1838 the House of Commons declared that Abercromby and not Forbes was the duly elected member for Stirlingshire. According to the *Scotsman*, 10 July 1841, Forbes 'withdrew rather than suffer the votes of his supporters to be scrutinized by a committee of the House of Commons'.

³ See memorandum 6 July 1837, p. 246.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
[b] Mr Bannerman	R	Almost hopeless.
<i>Ayr</i>		
[a] Lord P[atricks] J[ames] Stuart	R	[No entry]
[b] Lord J. Stuart	R	Hopeless.
<i>Dumfries</i>		
[a] General [Matthew] Sharpe	R	Hopeless against the General.
[b] General Sharpe Mr Evan Baillie	R	General Sharpe very unpopular, Mr Baillie only reported to start. ¹
<i>Dundee</i>		
[a] Sir H[enry] Parnell	R	[No entry] ²
[b] Sir H. Parnell	R	Very unpopular.
<i>Edinburgh</i>		
[a] Hon. J[ames] Abercromby Sir J[ohn] Campbell	R } R }	Hopeless.
[b] Hon. J. Abercromby Sir J. Campbell		{ Hopeless. It is reported that Mr Abercromby is to be made a peer. ³
<i>Elgin</i>		
[a] Sir A[ndrew] L[eith] Hay	R	I am not aware if he will be opposed or of the probable result.
[b] Sir A. Leith Hay [William] Brodie of Brodie	R	If Brodie starts he will have a good chance. ⁴
<i>Falkirk</i>		
[a] William D[owne] Gillon		Quite open to a good Candidate said to be.
[b] Mr D. Gillon	R	A Candidate may be found. ⁵

¹ General Sharpe was not opposed.² See memorandum 4 July 1837, p. 245.³ It was not until June 1839 that Abercromby was made a peer, Baron Dunfermline.⁴ Leith-Hay was not opposed.⁵ Gillon was not opposed.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
<i>Glasgow</i>		
[a] [John] Dennistoun } [Robert] Monteith }	D D	{ I really cannot hazard an opinion on the result, and therefore entered doubtful.
[b] Dennistoun Monteith	R C	
		{ Attempts have been made to get a second Candidate to start with Monteith. The Radicals will start a second Candidate. ¹
<i>Greenock</i>		
[a] [Robert] Wallace	R	[No entry]
[b] Mr Wallace	R	It is said a good man might succeed. ²
<i>Haddington</i>		
[a] [Robert] Stewart [of Alderston] Sir T[homas] B[uchan] Hepburn	D	A keen contest and result doubtful.
[b] Mr R. Stewart Sir T. B. Hepburn	D	
		In favour of the con- servative. ³
<i>Inverness</i>		
[a] Mr [James John] Mac- kenzie [of Scatwell] Mr [Roderick] McLeod [of Cadboll]	C	A keen contest, but sup- posed safe.

¹ The second Whig candidate was Lord William Bentinck, the second Conservative James Campbell of Stracathro, 1790-1876, lord provost of Glasgow 1840-43, knight 1842, father of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Dennistoun and Bentinck were elected.

² Wallace was opposed by James Smith of Jordanhill, 1782-1867, sleeping partner in a firm of West India merchants, best known as a geologist, yachtsman and author. Wallace held the seat by 401 votes to 202.

³ Steuart beat Hepburn by 268 votes to 237.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
[b] Mr Mackenzie Mr McLeod	C	Sharp contest, supposed safe. ¹
<i>Kilmarnock</i>		
[a] [Dr John] Bowring	D	It is said a good Con- servative candidate would have a fair chance.
[b] Dr Bowring Captain Montgomery ²	C	Sharp contest, supp[ose]d safe. ³
<i>Kirkcaldy</i>		
[a] [John] Fergus ⁴	R	Hopeless said to be.
[b] Mr Fergus	R	Supposed hopeless.
<i>Leith</i>		
[a] The Lord Advocate [John Archibald Murray]	R	[No entry]
[b] The Lord Advocate	R	Hopeless.
<i>Montrose</i>		
[a] Mr [Patrick] Chalmers	R	[No entry]
[b] Mr Chalmers	R	Supposed Hopeless.
<i>Paisley</i>		
[a] [Archibald] Hastie	R	[No entry]
[b] Mr Hastie	R	Said something might be done here. ⁵
<i>Perth</i>		
[a] Sir P[atrick Murray] Thriepland Mr [Arthur] Kinnaid	D	Will be a very keen con- test.

¹ The Whig candidate, Roderick Macleod of Cadboll, defeated Mackenzie by 336 votes to 317.

² Captain Alexander Montgomerie RN, 1791-1863, nephew of the 12th Earl of Eglinton.

³ Dr Bowring was opposed and beaten, by 509 votes to 438, by John Campbell Colquhoun the only Conservative to win a burgh seat at this election.

⁴ Fergus did not stand; Robert Ferguson of Raith was returned without opposition.

⁵ Hastie was not opposed.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
[b] Sir P. Thriepland Hon. A. Kinnaird	D	close contest, in favour of the Radical. ¹
<i>St Andrews</i>		
[a] [Andrew] Johnstone [Edward Ellice] ²	D	Marked doubtful, as it is said a Conservative will have a good chance.
[b] unknown	R	['Con' crossed out] neither Johnstone nor Ellis stand, a Radical Candidate is named by Ellis to whom Johnstone agrees, name unknown. ³
<i>Stirling</i>		
[a] Lord Dalmeny	R	Said to be disgusted with his Lordship's views on the Church question. ⁴
[b] Lord Dalmeny	R	Unpopular, a Con[servative] no Chance.
<i>Wick</i>		
[a] Mr [James] Loch	R	[No entry]
[b] Mr Lock	R	Strong Con[servative] Parties in these Burghs. ⁵

¹ Kinnaird defeated Murray-Threipland by 355 votes to 188.

² The original has 'Ellis'.

³ Edward Ellice junior was the candidate; he defeated a Conservative, David Maitland Makgill Crichton of Rankeillour, 1801-51, by 290 votes to 261.

⁴ Non-Intrusion was not a prominent issue in the 1837 election. Perhaps, if the report was correct, some churchmen among Dalmeny's supporters were displeased by his opposition to the proposal that the State should provide the Church of Scotland with funds for its extension programme; *Hansard*, 3rd series, xxvii, 542, 1 Apr. 1835. Nevertheless, a meeting in Stirling cheered his views on that subject; *Scotsman*, 21 Dec. 1836. Later when Non-Intrusion and the clash between the Church and the Courts became a political issue Dalmeny refused to be drawn on his opinion; as late as June 1841 he was alleged to have said that the question was 'not sufficiently ripe'; *Scotsman*, 26 June 1841.

In 1837 the main opposition to Dalmeny came from the Dunfermline Radicals, who disliked his Conservative Whiggery. There is an account of the 'roasting' he received from them in the *Scotsman*, 26 July 1837. The Radicals nominated a Colonel Thompson but he did not go to the poll and Dalmeny was re-elected without a contest.

⁵ Loch was not opposed.

Candidates	[Result]	Remarks
<i>Wigton</i>		
[a] Mr [John] McTaggart	D	Said to be open to a conservative with all the influence that can be bro[ugh]t to bear.
[b] Mr McTaggart Sir A[ndrew] Agnew Mr [James] Blair	D	Doubtful, Arrangements have been made with the two latter Gen[tlemen] about the Burgh and County. ¹ A Con[servative] should succeed.

Memoranda

<i>Private</i>	London, 4 July 1837	
Caithness	The Duke will see about Sir G. Sinclair and Sir James Graham.	
Orkney	Lord Dundas's Son stands for this County. ² The Duke of Wellington has written to old Mr Balfour ³ and hopes with success. Lord Melville is to call on Mr B[alfour].	
Fife	It is supposed another of Lord Dundas's Sons is to stand for this County. The Honourable James Bruce has gone down to Fife.	
Leith	Mr Mitchell who is canvassing Leith etc. is the Son of the old Timber merchant, ⁴ and supposed in the Radical Interest—ought to be opposed should he come forward.	
Dundee	Old Mr Gladstone intends to stand for this place, with good prospects of success. ⁵	

¹ See memoranda dated 6 July 1837, below p. 246.

² Frederick Dundas was a nephew of Laurence Dundas, 1766-1839, 2nd Baron Dundas 1820, but none of Lord Dundas's sons were candidates in Orkney and Shetland or in Fife (see next entry).

³ John Balfour of Trenaby, 1750-1842, MP Orkney and Shetland 1790-96, 1820-26, great-uncle of Thomas Balfour of Elwick.

⁴ Thomas Alexander Mitchell, a merchant in London, son of Robert Mitchell of Fisherrow, timber merchant, who with his wife and two other sons died in the cholera epidemic in Feb. 1832. J. Paterson, *History of the Regality of Musselburgh* (Musselburgh, 1857), 213. Mitchell addressed the electors but did not go to the poll.

⁵ John Gladstone of Fasque, 1764-1851; he was defeated by Sir Henry Parnell by 663 votes to 381.

As to the other places the Duke will see what can be done. The general accounts with regard to England are favourable.

Ayrshire Mr [Claud] Alexander of [Ballochmyle?] will stand for this County.¹

Sent to D. Horne Esq. 4 July 1837

[Copy]

Memoranda

Private

London, 6 July 1837

John Maxwell younger of Pollock does not stand for Lanarkshire. He is grown a great Conservative. Charles Murray² will not as neither his Brother nor the Duke of Hamilton will give him any money.

It is reported in London that [George] Ferguson of Pitfour does not stand for Banff; and that General Duff's son (a whig) is to come in without opposition. Is there any foundation for this?³

Cub Ellice⁴ and Wemyss are gone down to Fife last Saturday.

The Wigton County and Burghs not yet settled. Lord Galloway rather wants Blair for the County, and Agnew for the Burghs. This will not do. It should be the other way.⁵

Sir James Graham is gone down to Netherby.

The Duke will what he can about the Falkirk Burghs.

Can anything be done in Clackmannan and Kinross? What is Bruce of Kennet about?

Bear Ellice boasts that the Whigs will gain Six in Scotland.

¹ Alexander did not contest Ayrshire.

² Charles Augustus Murray, 1806-95, sportsman, diplomat and author, brother of the 6th Earl of Dunmore, who was a Conservative, and nephew of the 10th Duke of Hamilton, whose sympathies were on the Whig side. He had contested the Falkirk burghs in 1832. According to a later but undated note with these papers: 'Honourable Charles Murray went down to Lanarkshire the night before last. The Duke of Hamilton told him if he chose to stand, he would give him his interest and £2,000'. Lockhart the Conservative won the contest by a single vote, 1,486 to 1,485.

³ Ferguson did stand but was beaten by James Duff, 1814-79, 5th Earl of Fife 1857, by 292 votes to 214. Duff was the son of General Sir Alexander Duff, 1774-1851, MP Elgin burghs 1826-31.

⁴ His father the prominent Whig politician Edward Ellice, 1781-1863, was known as 'Bear'.

⁵ The Earl of Galloway had his way. Blair won the county against Alexander Murray of Broughton by 362 votes to 314, but Agnew was beaten in the burghs by John McTaggart by 157 votes to 123.

R. A. Christopher (Dundas)¹ comes in without opposition for Lanarkshire.²

[Copy]

Return from Scotland

[1838/1839/1840]³

1st Counties

Members and Interest

Remarks

Aberdeen

Hon. W[illiam]	1/11/1838. Opposition not anticipated.
Gordon	1/11/1839. No opposition anticipated.
Conservative	9/12/1840. No opposition anticipated.
	[Note] General Duff ⁴

Argyle

W[alter]	1/11/1838. May be opposed by Mr [Alexander]
F[rederick] Camp-	Campbell of Monzie, but in my opinion so long
bell of Shawfield	as Shawfield is supported by the Argyle interest
[and Islay]	he will retain this County.
Ministerial	[Amended] Nov. 1839. The Duke of Argyle
	being dead ⁵ there is good reason to hope that
	a Conservative may come in on a General
	Election.

¹ Robert Adam Dundas, 1804-77, MP Edinburgh City 1831-2, Ipswich 1826-30, 1835-1837, North Lincolnshire 1837-57. In 1836 he took the name of Christopher instead of Dundas. He did not contest Lanarkshire in 1837.

² The election results in 1837 show that although there were still considerable fluctuations in the political allegiance of the counties the Conservatives had already regained control of more than half of them. They held Aberdeen, Berwick, Bute, Caithness, Dumfries, Elgin and Nairn, Inverness gained at a bye-election in 1835, Kincardine, Linlithgow, Peebles, Renfrew and Ross and Cromarty gained at bye-elections in 1837; and Selkirk. They gained Haddington, Lanark, Perth, Sutherland and Wigtown; but lost Banff, Edinburgh, Orkney and Shetland, Roxburgh, and Stirling (after an election petition). The Whigs gained these five seats and retained Argyll, Ayr, Clackmannan and Kinross, Dumbarton, Fife, Forfar and Kirkcudbright. In the burghs the Conservatives made little progress; the gain in the Kilmarnock district was offset by the loss of Inverness.

³ The form in which these memoranda have been presented is explained in the introduction p. lv.

⁴ See p. 246, n. 3.

⁵ George William Campbell, born 1768, 6th Duke of Argyll 1806, d. 22 Oct. 1839. He had held office in Whig administrations as Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland 1830-1839, and as Lord Steward of the Household 1833-34 and 1835-39. He was succeeded by his brother John Douglas Campbell, 1777-1847, who had been Whig MP for Argyll 1799-1822 but was now a Conservative.

Members and Interest	Remarks
W. F. Campbell of Shawfield Ministerial	1/11/1839. Now entirely dependent on the new Duke of Argyle—a change expected. 5/11/1839. The result depends entirely on the Duke, who may be worked upon not to oppose so near a branch of his own family and to whom soon for neutrality the lieutenancy may be offered. ¹ This must soon be known. If Monzie gets any thing like support from his Grace the County will be gained; but neutrality as against Islay would it is thought not do.
W. F. Campbell of Shawfield Ministerial	9/12/1840. At present; but Mr Campbell of Monzie, conservative, will be returned it is thought without opposition. [Note] Safe
<i>Ayr</i>	
Sir John Dunlop ² Ministerial	1/11/1838. He will not stand again. The conservatives have greatly strengthened themselves at last Registration, and I am assured on good authority that Lord Kelburne will be returned on the Conservative Interest.
[Amended] dead 1839 Lord Kelburne Conservative	[Amended to read] Lord Kelburne returned on the Conservative Interest by a majority of above 400, 1839.
Lord Kelburne Conservative	1/11/1839. Quite safe.
Lord Kelburne Conservative	9/12/1840. It is thought quite safe, though the <i>non intrusion</i> cry may be attempted, but with little success. [Note] Safe

¹ The 6th Duke had been Lord Lieutenant of Argyll 1800–39. A proposal to use this office to obtain the 7th Duke's neutrality was considered by the Whig government: Dalhousie MSS, SRO, GD45/14/628 and 640. Lord Melbourne was sceptical about the plan and in the end the 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane, who had first proposed it, was himself appointed to the Lord Lieutenancy.

² Dunlop, created a baronet in April 1838, d. 3 April 1839.

Members and Interest

Remarks

Banff

James Duff
Ministerial 1/11/1838. I have no information on the state of this County, but I am trying to obtain it. Lord March?¹

James Duff
Ministerial 1/11/1839. [*No entry*]
5/11/1839. I have heard that [George Ferguson of] Pitfour does not think himself quite out of the field; and I have likewise heard it said that the County Conservatives should offer to support Lord March without any pledge and thus get free of Mr Duff—but I have no further information on the subject, or the means of obtaining any.

James Duff
Ministerial 9/12/1840. Nothing known. [*Note*] I expect to be safe.²

Berwick

Sir H[ugh Purves
Hume] Campbell
Conservative 1/11/1838. Quite safe—opposition not talked of.

Sir H. Campbell
Conservative 1/11/1839. No opposition anticipated.
9/12/1840. No opposition anticipated.
[*Note*] Mr Marjoribanks Robertson³ threatens a contest.

Bute

Sir William Rae
Conservative 1/11/1838. No change.
1/11/1839. [*No entry*]

Sir William Rae
Conservative 9/12/1840. [*No entry*]

¹ Charles Henry Gordon-Lennox, 1818-1903, styled Earl of March 1819-60, 6th Duke of Richmond 1860, 1st Duke of Gordon 1876; he did not contest the county.

² The Conservative candidate was John Charles Ogilvy-Grant, 1815-81, styled Viscount Reidhaven 1840-53, 7th Earl of Seafield 1853. Duff held the seat by 316 votes to 273.

³ David Marjoribanks-Robertson, 1797-1873, Liberal MP Berwickshire 1859-73, did not contest the county in 1841.

Members and Interest	Remarks
<i>Caithness</i>	
Sir George Sinclair Conservative	1/11/1838. He will again be opposed by Mr [George] Traill but Sir George is quite safe.
Sir George Sinclair Conservative	1/11/1839. Believed safe, but will be keenly contested.
Sir George Sinclair Conservative	9/12/1840. The conservative interest swamped at present, and if an election takes place before September Mr Traill, <i>ministerial</i> , will be returned. ¹
<i>Clackmannan and Kinross</i>	
Sir Charles Adam Ministerial	1/11/1838. Hopeless I should fear even with a change of Ministry though he is not popular.
Sir Charles Adam Ministerial	1/11/1839. It is feared hopeless.
Sir Charles Adam Ministerial	9/12/1840. It is feared hopeless. [Note] George Abercromby. ²
<i>Dumfries</i>	
[James John] Hope Johnstone Conservative	1/11/1838. No attempt will be made to disturb him.
Hope Johnstone Conservative	1/11/1839. No opposition anticipated.
Hope Johnstone Conservative	9/12/1840. No opposition anticipated.
<i>Dumbarton</i>	
Sir James Colquhoun Ministerial	1/11/1838. The Conservatives have been successful in the Registrations and I am assured the County will be gained by them. [Note] Nov. 1839 ['the Duke' scored through] Smollett is Candidate.

¹ At the registrations in 1840 the Liberals made an overall gain of 75, *Scotsman* 2 Sept. 1840; the county was lost to Traill as predicted without a contest.

² Abercromby succeeded Adam in this seat; there was no opposition.

Members and Interest	Remarks
Sir James Colquhoun Ministerial	1/11/1839. But certainly will be gained to the Conservatives by a majority of 130. About 100 was gained on this years Registration, and with the Argyle interest quite secure. It is said that Mr [Alexander] Smollet will yet be the Conservative Candidate.
Sir James Colquhoun Ministerial	9/12/1840. At present, but a conservative will be returned, and it is believed the leaders of that party are agreed on Mr Smollet.
<i>Edinburgh</i> [William] Gibson Craig Ministerial	1/11/1838. From a decision pronounced by a majority of the Registering Sheriffs this year this County is I fear hopeless except in a Committee of the house of commons; about 200 bad votes in the ministerial interest were admitted. ¹ [<i>Amended</i>] The conservatives have been very active making votes à la Whig. Lord Claud Hamilton to start. [<i>Second amendment</i>] Lord C. Hamilton returned for County of Tyrone 1839 W[illiam] Ramsay of Barnton to start; above 700 signed the requisition. [<i>Third amendment</i>] Nov. 1839 A large majority above 300 on the registration this year. Gibson Craig has no chance and will most likely retire.
Gibson Craig Ministerial	1/11/1839. But will certainly be carried by Mr Ramsay the Conservative Candidate at next Election if before another Registration.
Gibson Craig Ministerial	9/12/1840 but he will certainly be replaced by Mr Ramsay the conservative candidate at next election. Indeed it is thought the ministerial party have given up the contest.

¹ See introduction pp. xliii-xlv.

Members and Interest	Remarks
<i>Elgin and Nairn</i>	
Hon. Colonel [Francis William] Grant Conservative	1/11/1838. I have no information. [<i>Note</i>] supposed safe 1839
Hon. Colonel Grant Conservative	1/11/1839. Safe and may not be opposed.
Major C[umming] Bruce ¹ Conservative	9/12/1840. Safe for him or any other conserva- tive candidate.
<i>Fife</i>	
Captain [James Erskine] Wemyss Ministerial	1/11/1838. Hopeless so long as the present member <i>stands and retains his present opinions</i> .
Captain Wemyss Ministerial	1/11/1839. Hopeless so long as he stands.
Captain Wemyss Ministerial	9/12/1840. Hopeless so long as he stands. If he is not made Lord Lieutenant there is no saying what may happen.
<i>Forfar</i>	
Lord [Douglas Gordon] ² Haliburton Ministerial	1/11/1838. I have no information or access to any. [<i>Note</i>] Sir J[ames] Carnegie to come for- ward on Conservative interest. 1/11/1839. No information. 9/12/1840. And it is thought secure for any ministerial candidate. Such is my information but not from authority. ³

¹ Cumming-Bruce was elected unopposed after Colonel F. W. Grant succeeded as 6th Earl of Seafield in Oct. 1840. He was opposed in 1841 by General Sir Alexander Duff of Delgaty but retained the seat by 372 votes to 173.

² The original has 'W'.

³ In 1841 Hallyburton was succeeded by his nephew Lord John Frederick Gordon, 1799-1878, MP Forfar 1841-52.

Members and Interest	Remarks
<i>Haddington</i>	
Sir T[homas Buchan] Hepburn Conservative	1/11/1838. Quite secure at present and until another Registration, when it runs the risk of being swamped as in Edinburgh.
Sir T. Hepburn Conservative	1/11/1839. All opposition abandoned.
Sir T. Hepburn Conservative	9/12/1840. All opposition abandoned.
<i>Inverness</i>	
The M[aster] of Grant ¹ Conservative	1/11/1838. Quite safe if a certain coalition does not take place, of which I know nothing. In that event I fear the contest would be severe. [Above entry scored through and amended] Grant has been very active making himself known and popular; it is said Baillie ² is appeased and will give no trouble, 1839.
The Master of Grant Conservative	1/11/1839. Quite safe, though opposition threatened.
H[enry] J[ames] Baillie Conservative	9/12/1840. Quite safe tho' opposition threatened, but there is no fear of the Seat.
<i>Kincardine</i>	
Hon. General [Hugh] Arbuthnott Conservative	1/11/1838. Quite secure I understand and no opposition spoken of. 1/11/1839. Wont be opposed. 9/12/1840. Wont be opposed.
<i>Kirkcudbright</i>	
[Robert] Cutlar Ferguson Ministerial	1/11/1838. Reports are current that he is to retire immediately, and that Mr [Alexander] Murray of Broughton will come forward on the same interest. The Registrations have not

¹ Francis William Grant junior, 1814-40, MP Inverness-shire 1838 till his death in March 1840; Viscount Reidhaven (see p. 249, n. 2) was his younger brother.

² It is not certain which of the Baillies is referred to here.

Members and Interest	Remarks
	been attended to, but the County is said to be Conservative, and it is supposed that the Honourable Colonel [Frederick] Cathcart Macadam of Craigingullan would carry it on that interest if he would come forward.
[<i>Amendment</i>] dead Murray of Broughton [Ministerial]	[<i>Amendment</i>] Cutlar Ferguson dead and Murray of Broughton returned, no use in attempting to oppose him 1839. [<i>Later notes</i>] Mr [William] Maxwell son of Sir David Maxwell [of Cardoness] has started. [And] It is said that Broughton will be run hard.
Murray of Broughton Ministerial	1/11/1839. It is said that Mr Maxwell will come forward on the Conservative Interest. 9/12/1840. Mr Maxwell will come forward on the conservative Interest. ¹ [<i>Note</i>] Contest.
<i>Lanark</i>	
Mr [Alexander Macdonald] Lock- hart	1/11/1838. The conservatives have gained considerably on the Registrations, and the County is considered safe.
Conservative Mr Lockhart Conservative	[<i>Further note</i>] gain also in 1839 1/11/1839. The Conservative gain on Registration this year was 80. His friends active and seat considered safe.
Mr Lockhart Conservative	9/12/1840. The conservative gain on Registrations of 1839 was 80, and they resulted favourably this year likewise; but the non intrusion cry likely to have some effect here. His friends continue active and confident. ²
<i>Linlithgow</i>	
Hon. Charles Hope Conservative	1/11/1838. Quite safe at present, and until another Registration when it runs the risk of being swamped as in Edinburgh.

¹ Murray defeated Maxwell by 672 votes to 249.

² The Conservative candidate in 1841 was William Lockhart, 1787-1856, half-brother of John Gibson Lockhart, and MP Lanarkshire 1841-56; his return was not opposed.

Members and Interest	Remarks
Hon. Charles Hope	1/11/1839. Safe.
Conservative	
Hon. Charles Hope	9/12/1840. Safe.
Conservative	
<i>Orkney and Shetland</i>	
Hon. [Frederick]	1/11/1838 [<i>No entry</i>]
Dundas ¹	[<i>Later note</i>] Young Gladstone the best Candidate here 1839. ² Captain Fitzsimmon. ³
Ministerial	1/11/1839. But bulk of Constituency not so. 5/11/1839. More is known in London than here. There is no doubt that the bulk of the Constituency are Conservative.
Hon. F. Dundas	9/12/1840. But bulk of Constituency not so,
Ministerial	and the Seat should be contested. ⁴
<i>Peebles</i>	
Mr [William	1/11/1838. Safe.
Forbes] Mackenzie	1/11/1839. Opposition abandoned.
Conservative	9/12/1840. Opposition abandoned.
<i>Perth</i>	
Lord Stormont	1/11/1838. No information at present.
Conservative	[<i>Later note</i>] safe 1839.
Lord Stormont	1/11/1839. The Registrations this year were not
Conservative	attended to by the Ministerialists, except in Lord Breadalbane's District. ⁵
Mr [Henry Home-]	9/12/1840. And the Seat considered safe unless
Drummond	a split takes place if the candidate be changed. ⁶
Conservative	

¹ The original has 'W'.² Probably Thomas Gladstone, see above p. 227, n. 4.³ Not identified.⁴ Dundas was not opposed.⁵ John Campbell, 1796-1862, 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane 1834, as Earl of Ormelie MP Perthshire 1832-34. He was the largest Whig landowner in the county with extensive estates in the south-western district round his castle at Taymouth. In 1837 he claimed to have spent £30,000 since 1832 on county elections and registrations: Breadalbane to Fox Maule, 28 June 1837, Dalhousie MSS, SRO, GD45/14/623.⁶ Home-Drummond's return was not opposed.

Members and Interest

Remarks

Renfrew

Mr [George]
Houston
Conservative

1/11/1838. The Registrations have not made any material change in the state of the parties, but reported to be safe.

[*Later note*] gaining 1839.

Mr Houston
Conservative

1/11/1839. Registrations this year very nearly equal, though rather in favour of the Conservatives. Seat by no means secure though it is expected that Mr Houston will be able to retain it.

5/11/1839. It is said that Mr Houston is *paying attention* to Miss Shaw Stewart the late Sir Michael's Daughter. If there be any truth in this report it will remove all doubt about this County.¹

Mr Houston
Conservative

9/12/1840 The registrations attended to, and the only fear arises from the *non intrusion* question. A change of Candidate spoken of which may be dangerous. Mr Houston not in good health.²

Ross and Cromarty

Mr T[homas]
Mackenzie
Conservative

1/11/1838. Safe, and it is thought will not be opposed.

1/11/1839. Quite safe, and it is thought wont be contested.

Mr T. Mackenzie
Conservative

9/12/1840. Quite safe, and it is thought wont be contested.

Roxburgh

Hon. J[ohn]
E[dmund] Elliot
Ministerial

1/11/1838. He gained last contest by a majority of 44, and the conservatives had more than that number of unpolled votes. On this years Registration the Conservatives have gained upwards

¹ I have found no evidence that anything came of this supposed romance.

² The Conservative candidate in 1841 was William Mure of Caldwell, 1799-1860, MP Renfrewshire 1846-55. He was defeated by Miss Shaw-Stewart's uncle, Patrick Maxwell Stewart, 1791-1846, by 959 votes to 945.

Members and Interest

Remarks

of 50 so that if well fought, *under a Conservative government*, the Conservative Candidate would *to a certainty* be returned.

[*Later note*] Majority about 96 in 1839 an increase in favor of Conservatives of 17.

Hon. J. E. Elliot
Ministerial

1/11/1839. Registrations this year keenly fought, and resulted in a majority of 17 or 18 for the Conservatives (one disputed); A clear majority in favour of the Conservative candidate on the Register; and with a dissolution under a Conservative government, quite safe.

Hon. J. E. Elliot
Ministerial

9/12/1840. The registrations this year nearly equal though the deaths were heavily against the conservatives. The seat should be safe for the conservative candidate if distant Electors will attend; with a dissolution under a conservative government considered quite safe.¹

Selkirk

Mr [Alexander]

Pringle

Conservative

1/11/1838. Quite safe, but will be opposed for the purpose of keeping the party together.

Mr Pringle

1/11/1839. Opposition abandoned.

Conservative

Mr Pringle

9/12/1840. Opposition abandoned.

Conservative

Stirling

Colonel [George
Ralph]

Abercromby

Ministerial

1/11/1838. It is said that Sir Gilbert Stirling will be the next candidate in this Interest. I suspect if any change takes place that Sir Michael Bruce (who stood for Aberdeenshire in 1832) is more likely. It is said that Mr [William] Forbes [of Callendar] should regain this county on the Conservative Interest.

[*Later note*] good hopes.

¹ In 1841 Francis Scott, 1806-84, brother of the 5th Baron Polwarth, defeated Elliot by 830 votes to 748.

Members and Interest	Remarks
Colonel Abercromby Ministerial	1/11/1839. Colonel Abercromby will again be the Ministerial Candidate; The Registrations this year resulted in a drawn battle. There is a majority on the Register in favour of Mr Forbes the Conservative Candidate; but it is said the organisation is not good, and that the death of Mr Charles Stirling ¹ will be a severe blow to the Conservative party; Colonel Abercromby's friends are very active, but not withstanding Mr Forbes and his friends are sanguine.
Colonel Abercromby Ministerial	9/12/1840. The registrations this as last year nearly equal, notwithstanding great exertions by the ministerial party. There is a majority on the Roll in favour of Mr Forbes, and he is confident. ² [Note] Sir M. Bruce.
<i>Sutherland</i>	
Hon. Mr [William] Howard Conservative	1/11/1838. The Dutchess Dowager will return whom she pleases. ³ [Later note] The D[uche]ss C[ounte]ss dead 1839. This may make a great difference as her son supports Ministers tho' he does not like them. The D[uche]ss is a strong Whig and in office as Mistress of the Robes.
Hon. Mr Howard Conservative	1/11/1839. Nothing known; It is said the Duke of Sutherland will put in Mr [Roderick] McLeod the present member for the Inverness Burghs.
Mr [David] Dundas Ministerial	9/12/1840. In the course of last year Mr Howard Conservative retired, and Mr Dundas on the nomination of the Duke of Sutherland was returned.

¹ Charles Stirling, 1796-1839, a West India merchant in Glasgow, purchased the Gar-guncock estate in Stirlingshire in 1835; he died 24 Oct. 1839.

² Forbes defeated Bruce by 1,019 votes to 895.

³ Howard was a nephew of her late husband the 1st Duke of Sutherland.

Members and Interest	Remarks
<i>Wigton</i>	
Mr [James] Blair	1/11/1838. No information.
Conservative	1/11/1839. [<i>No entry</i>]
Mr Blair	9/12/1840. But it is said that the present Earl of Stair ¹ will oppose him by his influence and that the seat is by no means secure. I have no detailed information.
Conservative	

2nd Burghs

Aberdeen City

Mr [Alexander] Bannerman	1/11/1838. Will be opposed by Captain [Horatio] Ross supported by the church party and <i>under a Conservative government</i> I am assured with fair prospects of success.
Ministerial	[<i>Note</i>] very doubtful.
Mr Bannerman	1/11/1839. No detailed information; Sir George Murray proposed; Captain Ross writes that the Conservative party is very powerful.
Ministerial	5/11/1839. I can add nothing. If wished I shall make further Enquiry but I should be sorry to see Sir George Murray after all the buffets he has got run the risk of defeat there also. ²
Mr Bannerman	9/12/1840. Canvassed by Mr Lindsay, ³ but the Conservatives split on the non intrusion question and from all I have been able to learn I cannot anticipate his success. ⁴
Ministerial	

¹ Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple, 1771-1853, Whig MP Midlothian 1832-34 succeeded as 8th Earl of Stair in March 1840; soon after he began making extensive land purchases, which would tend to increase his influence in the county. At the registrations in 1840 the Whigs made an overall gain of 116, *Scotsman*, 12 Sept. 1840. Even so it was by a narrow margin that the Earl's nephew, John Dalrymple, 1819-1903, 10th Earl of Stair 1864, defeated Blair: 403 votes to 397.

² General Sir George Murray, 1772-1846, MP Perthshire 1824-32, May-Dec. 1834; he had experienced several defeats: Perthshire 1832 and 1835, Westminster 1837, and Manchester 1839, where he was again beaten in 1841.

³ Not identified.

⁴ The Conservative candidate in 1841 was William Innes of Raemoir, 1781-1863; Bannerman won by 780 votes to 513.

Members and Interest

Remarks

Ayr District

Lord James

[Stuart]¹

Ministerial

1/11/1838. I believe the state of these Burghs is little known by Conservatives. They have never been looked after.

[*Marginal note*] Eglinton, Hastings,² Argyle.

[*Note*] hopeless. *private note*.

Lord James [Stuart]

Ministerial

1/11/1839. State of parties not well known and Registrations not attended to; but a Conservative supported by the Duke of Argyle and Lord Eglinton would it is said carry the Seat.

5/11/1839. It is not likely that the Duke of Argyle will have any one in view for these—and therefore it might answer were Lord Eglinton to get the Duke's influence and start Mr Lamb³ junior who is very popular in Irvine, and would make a strong stand in Ayr. I thought of Mr [Neil] Malcolm [of Poltalloch] but I have reason to know that he will not come forward.

Lord James [Stuart]

Ministerial

9/12/1840. I reported last year that the state of parties was not well known and the registrations not attended to, but a conservative supported by the Duke of Argyle and Lord Eglinton would it is said carry the Seat. I have heard Mr Malcolm suggested since Mr [James] Smith of Jordanhill declined; Mr [Alexander] Johnston⁴ [of Shieldhall] a radical who was formerly in the field still talks of standing, but Lord James' friends wish to get him to oppose Mr Col-

¹ The original has 'Stewart'.

² George Augustus Francis Rawdon-Hastings, 1808-44, 2nd Marquis of Hastings 1836; Loudoun Castle in Ayrshire was one of his seats.

³ Charles Lamb, 1816-56, only son of Sir Charles Montolieu-Lamb, Bart., half-brother of the 13th Earl of Eglinton, see p. 223, n. 1.

⁴ Alexander Johnston of Shieldhall, 1790-1844, merchant and manufacturer, MP Kilmarnock burghs 1841-44; Stuart beat him by only sixteen votes in 1835 and by thirteen in 1837.

Members and Interest

Remarks

quhoun in Kilmarnock and thus get free of him in this District and it is said he has been promised the government support.
[Note] contested.¹

Dumfries District

General [Matthew] Sharpe Ministerial 1/11/1838. The Constituency untried as for a Conservative Candidate, but I believe correctly set down as Radical.
[Note] hopeless.

General Sharpe Ministerial 1/11/1839. The Constituency untried as for a Conservative Candidate. I believe they are *radically* inclined. It is said the Provost of Dumfries a high Radical (Mr [David] Armstrong Writer) is determined to set up Mr [William] Ewart,² while Mr [David] Hannay the radical Candidate against General Sharpe in 1832, now the Manager of a Provincial Bank in England, has expressed his determination to stand. It is said Hannay's Directors are all conservative. Sir Alexander Johnstone [of Carnsalloch] has been feeling his way for himself. The Conservatives wish Lord William Douglas³ to stand and take chance of what may come up at first Election as the only way of ascertaining what should be done in future.

General Sharpe Ministerial 9/12/1840. Nothing known in addition to what I stated in last years report.⁴

¹ Stuart was not opposed; Johnston beat Colquhoun in the Kilmarnock district.

² William Ewart, 1798-1869, MP Bletchingley 1828-30, Liverpool 1830-37, Wigan 1839-41, Dumfries burghs 1841-68; he was an extremely active private member, responsible for several measures that lessened the harshness of the criminal law, an advocate of the abolition of capital punishment, best-remembered for the Public Libraries Act of 1850.

³ Probably Lord William Robert Keith Douglas, 1783-1859, who had been MP Dumfries burghs 1812-32; he was the brother of the 6th and 7th Marquises of Queensberry.

⁴ In 1841 there was no Conservative candidate. Ewart won the seat from Sir Alexander Johnston by 412 votes to 352.

Members and Interest

Remarks

Dundee

Sir H[enry]

Parnell

Ministerial

1/11/1838. The Constituency are tired of him but whether ready to accept a Conservative Candidate is a very different question. An influential merchant in the Baltic or East India trade is the most likely Candidate to suit them. [Marginal note] Mr Wightman¹ anxious to get into Parliament?

Sir H. Parnell

Ministerial

1/11/1839. It is said they are tired of him, but little hope for a Conservative. An independent merchant in the East India or Baltic trade would have the best chance.

Sir H. Parnell

Ministerial

9/12/1840. [1839 entry repeated]²

Edinburgh City

[1] The Speaker

[James Aber-

cromby]

Ministerial
[Amended] resigned
and made a Peer.

Mr [Thomas
Babington]

Macaulay 1839

[2] Attorney
General [Sir John

Campbell]

Ministerial

[1] Attorney

General

Ministerial

1/11/1838. The Constituency more Radical than ministerial, and I fear at present there is no hope for a Conservative.

[Note] hopeless tho' they do not like their Representatives.

[Note] Oct. 1839 the Roll purged to 4800. The Conservatives claim 2100.³

[Note] N[ov] 1839 a good candidate might defeat Macaulay.

1/11/1839. The Register has been thoroughly purged and not more than 4800 can vote; The Conservatives calculated at 2100, and it is

¹ Not identified.

² In 1841 there was no Conservative candidate; the seat was won by George Duncan, 1792-1878, MP Dundee 1841-57.

³ The registration court sat for four weeks when 6,030 names of dead and otherwise disqualified electors were expunged from the roll, *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12 Sept. 1839.

Members and Interest	Remarks
[2] Mr Macaulay Ministerial	thought that a great number who formerly supported the liberal Candidates would not vote at all; There would be a much better chance of success on the present vacancy ¹ than at a general Election, and if a proper Candidate would come forward the best time to try strength would be on Mr Macaulay's vacancy on the meeting of Parliament. 5/11/1839. I know not what to say. If we had a good Candidate I would advise an immediate trial of strength against Mr Macaulay, were it for no other reason than to let us know what we have to look to in future. We only contested one of the Wards yesterday ² where both our men were carried; and if our party had known their strength and put up a third they would have carried him also.
[1] Attorney General Ministerial	9/12/1840. I reported last year that the register had been thoroughly purged and that not more than 4800 could vote, but there has been a considerable accession this year giving a majority of upwards of 100 to the Radical party. The conservatives are calculated at 2100, and it is thought that a great number who formerly supported the liberal candidates would not vote at all. Even with an unexceptionable candidate I cannot however hold out any prospect of success; and split as the whig parties are amongst themselves I submit that they should be left to fight out their battles for a time. ³
[2] Mr Macaulay Ministerial	

¹ Macaulay had to seek re-election after his appointment in Sept. 1839 as Secretary at War.

² This was in the third ward in the elections for the Edinburgh town council; a week later two more Conservatives were elected in the fourth ward when two Liberals, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder and a Mr Gillespie, declined to accept their election, *Scotsman*, 6 and 13 Nov. 1840.

³ In 1841 Macaulay and William Gibson-Craig were elected without opposition.

Members and Interest	Remarks
<i>Elgin District</i>	
Fox Maule Ministerial	1/11/1838. No information, but I understand the Conservative In[tere]st has not been attended to at the Reg[istratio]ns. [Note] Mr [Thomas Abercromby] Duff of Haddo a relation of Lord Fife has started for these Burghs with some prospect of success as he states 1839.
Fox Maule Ministerial	1/11/1839. The Registrations have been attended to and Mr Duff of Haddo the Conservative Candidate thinks he has a fair chance.
Fox Maule Ministerial	9/12/1840. [<i>Repeats the 1839 entry and continues</i>] Indeed he is very confident even against a single whig candidate, and if Sir Andrew [Leith] Hay and Captain Grant ¹ both keep the field he has no doubt of the result. [Note] Duff. ²
<i>Falkirk District</i>	
Mr [William Downe] Gillon Ministerial	1/11/1838. He has no influence with the constituency and the seat <i>must be fought</i> . In my opinion a well selected Candidate would have a fair chance of success. [Note] Cochrane? ³
Mr Gillon Ministerial	1/11/1839. He has no influence in the District; The Registrations have, particularly in Airdrie and Falkirk, been attended to by the Conservatives, and I expect a Candidate will come forward in that Interest. Mr Gillon will not spend money on a contest. I hope soon to be able to communicate more particularly as to this seat. 5/11/1839. They expect to find a Candidate in the West. If one of the Bairds the Ironmasters would stand, it is thought We would carry this district against Mr Gillon.

¹ Not identified.² Leith-Hay narrowly defeated Duff by 311 votes to 297.³ Possibly Sir Thomas John Cochrane, 1789-1872, Rear-Admiral 1841, Admiral of the Fleet 1865, MP Ipswich 1839-41; he contested Greenock in 1841.

Members and Interest	Remarks
Mr Gillon Ministerial	9/12/1840. I reported last year that the registrations had, particularly in Airdrie and Falkirk, been attended to by the conservatives and Major Anderson ¹ having appeared as a candidate they have [this year] been most successfully conducted in all the Burghs. The Major and his friends speak very confidently. ²
<i>Glasgow City</i>	
[1] Lord [William] Bentinck Ministerial	1/11/1838. I shall report in detail in a few days. [Note] compromise? 1839
[Amended] dead ³ [James] Oswald [2] Mr [John] Dennistoun	
[1] Mr Oswald Ministerial	1/11/1839. The Conservative gain on this years Registration amounted to 232; the Register was thoroughly cleared and put into a workable state, and the party are sanguine; I believe it is intended to bring forward Sir James Graham and Mr [Robert] Monteith in the confident expectation of carrying the former. Mr Stirling's death is a severe blow here also; ⁴ The result of the municipal Elections next week will be a pretty fair test of the strength of parties in the City. ⁵
[2] Mr Dennistoun Ministerial	
[1] Mr Oswald Ministerial	9/12/1840. The conservative gain on the registration of 1839 amounted to 232; the reg[iste]r
[2] Mr Dennistoun Ministerial	was thoroughly cleared and put into a workable state; but the registrations of this year were not

¹ Anderson has not been identified; he canvassed the burghs late in 1840, but withdrew before the election; *Scotsman*, 4 Nov. 1840, 16 June 1841.

² In 1841 this seat was gained for the Conservatives by William Baird, 1796-1864, eldest of the Baird brothers, ironmasters of Gartsherrie. He beat Gillon by 484 votes to 433. ³ He died 17 June 1839. ⁴ See p. 258, n. 1.

⁵ Before the elections in 1839 the Conservatives had a majority of four on the Glasgow town council; afterwards the composition of the council was sixteen Reformers, fifteen Conservatives and one neutral, *Scotsman*, 9 Nov. 1839.

Members and Interest

Remarks

so well got up owing to the non intrusion question which has split parties much in this city. The municipal elections have however been conservative,¹ and until an election is at hand little can be known. It is said the constituency (the Radical part) will not have the present members.²

[Note] Hutchison?³

Greenock

Mr [Robert]

Wallace

Mr Wallace

1/11/1838. I shall report in detail in a few days. [Note] gained 185 on Registration in 1839.

1/11/1839. A great change has taken place since last year; All screws are loose with Wallace;⁴ A conservative association has been formed, and they gained nearly 200 votes on last Registration. It is the opinion of the best informed that a merchant of note with some connection with the trade of the port would carry the Seat. 9/12/1840. A great change took place both this year and last year in the state of the register, and the constituency are conservative; but Mr P[atricks] M[axwell] Stewart has been living much in the neighbourhood and with the family influence will have a good chance if not strenuously opposed by a proper Candidate.⁵

Mr Wallace
Ministerial

Haddington District

Mr [Robert] Steuart

[of Alderston]

Ministerial

1/11/1838. The constituency very nearly balanced. Last years Reg[ist]ratio[n] made little change. If Mr Stewart were out of the Treasury he or any other Whig Candidate would be beaten. These Burghs should be soon looked

¹ In 1840 the Conservatives contested three out of the five wards; in each two Conservatives came top of the poll. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 5 Nov. 1840.

² Oswald and Dennistoun were re-elected.

³ Not identified.

⁴ No explanation of this allusion has been found.

⁵ Wallace was opposed by Sir Thomas John Cochrane, see p. 264, n. 3, but retained the seat by 406 votes to 309.

Members and Interest

Remarks

Mr [Steuart]
Ministerial

after. There is no conservative candidate in the field at present.

[Notes] Hopeful. These Burghs should be carried by a Conser[vati]ve.

1/11/1839. The Registrations very keenly fought and parties are as nearly equal as possible on the Register; *I think Mr Stewart in office would keep the Seat*; but that out of office he or indeed any other radical Candidate would be beaten.

5/11/1839. As against Mr Stewart the contest would be *very close and doubtful*—I find that it was proposed to set up Captain [James] Walker Drummond, but that the late Lord Lauderdale¹ demurred—He would do well at Jedburgh on account of his father's connection with Lord Douglas² and as it is of great importance to have the Candidate fixed, I hope some plan will be fallen on to get the present Lord Lauderdale's answer. Without the cordial support of the leading influence in all the Burghs Captain Drummond will of course never think of coming forward. With it I understand he is quite ready to enter the lists and fight.

Mr [Steuart]
Ministerial

9/12/1840. The registrations very keenly fought last year and parties were then as nearly equal as possible on the register; The gain on the registration of this year, particularly in Jedburgh, has been considerable and by a proper arrangement the Seat should be safe for a Conservative Candidate.

[Note] J[ames Maitland] Balfour.³

¹ James Maitland, 1759-1839, 8th Earl of Lauderdale 1789, d. 15 Sept. 1839, when his son James, 1784-1860, 9th Earl, succeeded him.

² Sir Francis Walker-Drummond, ws, was a legal agent for Archibald, 2nd Baron Douglas.

³ James Maitland Balfour, 1820-56, was a grandson of the 8th Earl of Lauderdale, and father of A. J. Balfour. He gained these burghs for the Conservatives, defeating Steuart by 273 votes to 264. See Brash, op. cit., 52-56.

Members and Interest	Remarks
<i>Inverness District</i>	
Mr [Roderick] Macleod Ministerial	1/11/1838. The conservatives gained largely on last Reg[istratio]ns and Mr [James] Mackenzie [of Scatwell] the Conservative Candidate (Earl Fitzwilliam's son in law) is sure of the return. [Entry scored out] [Note] N[ov]. 1839 Mr [John] Fraser [of Bunchrew] C[onservative?] has started with every prospect of success.
Mr Macleod Ministerial	1/11/1839. He [Macleod] has no Chance, and it is not likely that he will be the Candidate; Mr Fraser late of the Indian House of Arbutnot & Company has addressed the constituents in the Conservative Interest and is making good progress in his Canvass.
Mr [James] Morrison Ministerial	9/12/1840. This seat carried by Mr Morrison by the most bare faced and lavish corruption, and I do not think any one will be got to oppose him. ¹
<i>Kilmarnock District</i>	
Mr [John Campbell] Colquhoun Conservative	1/11/1838. Is reported safe. 1/11/1839. Reported quite secure; The Registrations hard fought and again in his favour on this year of 15. He has been visiting his Constituents and was well received.
Mr Colquhoun Conservative	9/12/1840. It is asserted he will be opposed by the Government, but his seat is said to be secure. I presume Johnston the Glasgow radical is the person in view (See Ayr District). ²
<i>Kirkcaldy District</i>	
Mr [Robert] Ferguson [of Raith]	1/11/1838. [No entry] [Note] Hopeless. 1/11/1839. [No entry]

¹ Morrison took this seat at a bye-election in March 1840 after the resignation of Macleod of Cadboll. He defeated John Fraser of Bunchrew by 353 votes to 307. In 1841 he was not opposed.

² In 1841 Johnston defeated Colquhoun by 490 votes to 479.

Members and Interest	Remarks
Ministerial	9/12/1840. At present vacant owing to the death of Mr Ferguson. ¹

Leith

The Lord Advocate 1/11/1838. He is quite secure as long as he remains in office. If out of office the seat should be contested.

[John Archibald Murray] Ministerial [Note] very doubtful of success.

[Amended] Murray made a Judge.

Rutherford succeeds to seat and as Lord Advocate.²

The Lord Advocate 1/11/1839. [No entry]

[Andrew Rutherford] 9/12/1840. [No entry]

Ministerial

Montrose District

Mr [Patrick] 1/11/1838. No information.

Chalmers 1/11/1839. [No entry]

Ministerial 9/12/1840. [No entry]³

Paisley

Mr [Archibald] 1/11/1838. No information.

Hastie 1/11/1839. [No entry]

Ministerial 9/12/1840. [No entry]⁴

¹ The vacancy was filled in Jan. 1841 by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Ferguson of Raith, nephew of the previous member; he won a contest against the Radical Dr John Bowring by 218 votes to 131. At the general election he was not opposed.

² Rutherford succeeded Murray in April 1839. He was not opposed on that occasion nor at the general election in 1841.

³ Chalmers was not opposed.

⁴ Hastie was opposed by a Chartist, William Thomason of the Vale of Leven, who received no votes.

Members and Interest	Remarks
<i>Perth City</i>	
Mr [Arthur] Kinnaird	1/11/1838. No information.
Ministerial	[<i>Note</i>] Some chance but not much.
[<i>Amended</i>] ¹ Lord Provost of Perth	[<i>Note</i>] Oct. 1839 Mr [William Faichney] Black of Perth a Candidate with some good chance of success.
[David Greig]	
Lord Provost	1/11/1839. The seat contested by Mr Black a London merchant in the Conservative Interest who has made great progress in his Canvass; The Provost's return last July has upset the plan of the ministerial party, the object of which evidently was to keep the Seat for Mr [Fox] Maule at a general Election.
Ministerial	
Lord Provost	9/12/1840. The Seat will be contested by Mr Black a London merchant who has made great progress in his Canvass; Mr Black's friends are confident, but the less sanguine say that the place is still too radical to expect success to a Conservative. ²
Ministerial	
<i>St Andrews District</i>	
Mr [Edward] Ellice	1/11/1838. Will be opposed and successfully by Mr McGill ³ in the Conservative Interest.
Ministerial	
Mr Ellice	1/11/1839. At last Election the majority against Mr McGill was 29, and the Conservative agent reports that they have gained 65 on subsequent Registrations, leaving at present a clear majority in Mr McGill's favour of 36; but Mr McGill has declared <i>that he cannot afford the expence of a Contest against such metal</i> , though he is willing to stand; In short funds are required.
Ministerial	

¹ Kinnaird resigned in July 1839 because he believed that a vote he had given in favour of religious education had offended his supporters. D. Fraser, *Mary Jane Kinnaird* (London, 1890), 27. He again represented Perth 1852-78.

² Black was defeated by Fox Maule, 356 votes to 227.

³ See p. 244, n. 3.

Members and Interest	Remarks
Mr Ellice Ministerial	<p>5/11/1839. I do not know who can communicate with Mr Maitland McGill—That seat may be gained by some exertion if the means are supplied—I understood there was a County Committee formed who take charge, but I am not in communication with any of them and in Colonel [James] Lindsay and Sir Ralph Anstruther's absence I am at a loss who to apply to.</p> <p>9/12/1840. When I made my report last year Mr Maitland McGill was the Candidate in the Conservative interest, but his conduct on the Church question¹ induced the Conservatives to notify to him that they could not support him, and he abused them and withdrew; there is at present no chance in that District.²</p>
<i>Stirling District</i> Lord Dalmeny Ministerial	<p>1/11/1838. If out of the admiralty his Lordship could I think be successfully opposed on account of his opinions on church matters by a liberal Conservative.</p>
Lord Dalmeny Ministerial	<p>1/11/1839. It is said the Radicals intend bringing forward Mr [James] Aytoun³ as their Candidate at a general Election, and under a Conservative government and with a Conservative Candidate his Lordship would stand a good chance of defeat.</p>
Lord Dalmeny Ministerial	<p>9/12/1840. Lord Dalmeny cannot be opposed except by a radical, and it is said that Mr Aytoun is resolved to oppose his Lordship on their influence.</p> <p>[Note] Aytoun.</p>

¹ He held extreme Non-Intrusionist views, *Scotsman*, 12 Sept. 1840.

² In 1841 the Conservative candidate was George Makgill of Kemback, 1812-99, *de jure* 9th Bart. of Makgill. Ellice retained the seat by 336 votes to 258.

³ James Aytoun, 1797-1881, advocate; he contested Edinburgh in 1834 and Stirling burghs in 1841 when he was defeated by Lord Dalmeny, 438 votes to 420.

Members and Interest	Remarks
<i>Wick District</i>	
Mr [James] Loch Ministerial	1/11/1838. Is opposed by Mr [George] Dempster [of Skibo] in the Conservative Interest, and I think he will succeed. The Interest of the British fishery Society is Mr Loch's main hold at Wick, but notwithstanding I am confident Mr Dempster will beat him. [Note] Oct. 1839 if reports can be depended upon Dempster is quite safe here.
Mr Loch Ministerial	1/11/1839. If any reliance is to be placed on the Returns made, Mr Dempster will carry these Burghs by a considerable majority. The Registrations were very keenly contested and the result was greatly in favour of the Conservative party; Mr Loch has been visiting the Burghs but has not attempted a public meeting.
Mr Loch Ministerial	9/12/1840. The registrations this year were in favour of the conservative party, and if there be no split on the church question amongst the Conservatives, I confidently believe that Mr Dempster will carry this Seat. I say so partly on my own information and on reports on which I can rely. Mr Loch avoided visiting his Constituents for fear of being questioned on church matters. [Note] Dempster. ¹
<i>Wigton District</i>	
Mr [John] McTaggart Ministerial	1/11/1838. No information. [Note] Sir Andrew Agnew?
Mr McTaggart Ministerial	1/11/1839. I have no information, but as these Burghs were only carried by a majority of 35 at last Election, surely the powerful Conservative Interest which can be brought to bear might secure this seat.

¹ In 1841 Loch held the seat against Dempster by 270 votes to 189.

Members and Interest	Remarks
Mr McTaggart Ministerial	9/12/1840. I stated in my last report that I had no detailed information but as Mr McTaggart only carried his election by a majority of 35 that he might be opposed by the powerful conservative party connected with these Burghs. I now understand however that Lord Stair's succession ¹ and recent purchases will strengthen the ministerial influence in them, and whoever may be the candidate (probably Mr [Edward] Horseman) ² that the chance for a Conservative is materially diminished. ³

ABSTRACT OF THE 1838 RETURN

Abstract of the Counties

		[Annotations]
Total	30	
At present Conservative	18	22
At present Ministerial	12	6
	30	2 doubtful
It is not anticipated that any of the Conservative Counties would be lost, therefore say		
Ministerial Seats which may and it is anticipated will be gained	18	
1 Ayrshire		gained
2 Dumbarton		
3 Kirkcudbright if Colonel Cathcart or other popular candidate stands.		3 quite a mistake Murray of Broughton is quite safe.
4 Roxburgh		Likely to be gained.
5 Stirling	5	23 Ditto.

I have no hope of four of the remaining seven, and my

¹ See p. 259, n. 1.

² See above, p. 108, n. 1.

³ The Conservative candidate in 1841 was Colonel Patrick Vans Agnew, 1783-1842, a director of the East India Company. McTaggart held the seat by 157 votes to 129.

information does not enable me
to form an opinion on the remain-
ing three viz.

1 Argyle	} no hope			1839 not unlikely
2 Clackmannan				
3 Fife				
4 Edinburgh		4		4 There is some hope here. Lord C[laud] Hamilton is to stand. [<i>Second note</i>] quite safe.
5 Banff	} No information on which to form an opinion			
6 Forfar				
7 Orkney		3	7	
Total Counties as before			30	

Abstract of Burghs

Total number of members
returned

Whereof Ministerial	22	
Whereof Conservative	1	23
Ministerial as above	22	

But there should be gained under
a Conservative government

1 Aberdeen City		1 doubtful
2 Falkirk		
3 Glasgow (one)		
4 Haddington		4 ought to be certain certain
5 Inverness		
6 St Andrews		
7 Wick		

	Deduct	7	15
Conservatives as before		1	
Add the above		7	8
		<hr/>	
Number as before			23

General Result

Conservative County members as before	23		27
Burgh	ditto as above	8	being hopeful 3
		<hr/> 31	<hr/> 30
Ministerial County members or uncertain, as before	7		
Ministerial Burgh members as above	15	22	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
Total	53		

ABSTRACT OF THE 1839 RETURN

I Counties Result

Total County Members	30
At present Conservative	19
At present Ministerial	11
	<hr/> 30

Note. Last years return shewed eighteen for the Conservative Party, but since then Ayr County has been gained.

Number of Conservatives as above	19
Deduct Sutherland which it is feared will be lost	1
	<hr/> 18

At a general Election on a dissolution by a *Conservative Government* none of the Conservative c[ount]y Seats would be lost, and the following would probably be gained viz.

Edinburgh (certain)	1
Dumbarton (certain)	1
Roxburgh (certain)	1
Stirling	1
Argyle, with the Duke's influence	1
	<hr/> 5
Total certain	23

Of the following I cannot form any opinion viz.

Banff, Forfar, Kirkcudbright, Orkney, Sutherland.	5
The following are it is feared quite hopeless	
Fife, Clackmannan	2
	<hr/>
Total as before	30

II Burghs Result

Total seats as before	23
Whereof Conservatives at present	1

	Ministerial	22
Of these it is confidently expected will be gained to the Conservatives viz.		

Inverness, Haddington, Wick	3
-----------------------------	---

And the following Seats will be contested viz.

Aberdeen City, Ayr District, Elgin District, Falkirk District, Glasgow City (2), Greenock, Perth City, St Andrews, Wigton	10
---	----

And that the following are it is believed hopeless viz.

Dumfries, Dundee, Edinburgh (2), Kirkcaldy, Leith, Montrose, Paisley, Stirling	9	22
--	---	----

General Result

Total Scotch seats	53
--------------------	----

Counties to be carried by Conservatives	23
---	----

Burghs ditto ditto	4
--------------------	---

—
27

Counties to be carried by Ministerialists, though in some of them they will be opposed and perhaps successfully 7

Burghs to them certain 9

Ditto which they may gain though opposed 10

26

— 53

ABSTRACT OF THE 1840 RETURN

Abstract of the Counties

Total County Members	30
----------------------	----

At present Conservative	18
-------------------------	----

At present Ministerial	12
------------------------	----

30

Note last years return shewed the conservative strength to be 19, but in the manner above stated the County of Sutherland has been lost to the party.

Note, in the event of a dissolution by a conservative government it is not anticipated that any of the Conservative County Seats would be lost except Caithness, while the following Counties would certainly be gained viz.

Number of Conservatives as before	18
Edinburgh, Dumbarton, Argyle, Roxburgh	4
And very fair prospects also of gaining Stirling	1

—
23

Deduct Caithness lost

1

—
22

Kirkcudbright and Orkney may be contested, but I cannot take credit for them.

Therefore 2

and,

Banff, Forfar, Sutherland, Fife, Clackmannan, Caithness 6

I give to the Radical party, making 8

Total Counties 30

Result of Burghs

Total Seats 23

Whereof conservative at present 1

Remains 22

At a general election the following Seats will be contested by conservatives

Aberdeen City, Ayr District, Elgin District, Falkirk District, Greenock, Haddington District, Perth City, Wick District 8

And of these it is expected to gain

Elgin, Falkirk, Haddington, Wick 4

and that something may be done in the other four.

In addition to the above Glasgow City may be contested, but it is impossible to speak with any confidence or certainty at present.

*General Result*¹

Total Scotch Seats		53
Counties to be kept or carried by conservatives as before	22	
Burghs to be kept or carried by conservatives	5	
	—	
		27
Counties to be probably kept or carried by Ministerialists	8	
Burghs to be retained by them, though some will be contested and perhaps gained	18	26
		53
		—

¹ See introduction pp. lx-lxii for a discussion of the election results in 1841 and Horne's forecasts.

INDEX

References in bold type indicate where biographical information about the person indexed will be found. In entries for those members of parliament mentioned in the election surveys, only Scottish constituencies which they represented during the period covered by these papers are shown. Place-names in Midlothian are identified by indicating their parish.

- ABERCORN, Lord *see* Hamilton, James
- Abercromby, George, 2nd Baron Abercromby, 151
- Abercromby, Colonel George Ralph (later 3rd Baron Abercromby), MP Stirlingshire 1834-41, Clackmannan and Kinross 1841-42, 234, 240 *n* 2, 250, 257-8
- Abercromby, James (Baron Dunfermline), MP Edinburgh 1833-39, 19 *n* 2, 225, 241, 262
- Aberdeen, Lord, *see* Gordon, George Hamilton
- Aberdeen, 151 *n* 2, 225-6, 240-1, 259, 274, 276-7
- Aberdeenshire, lix, lxii, 220, 230, 233, 247, 257
- Aberdour, Lord, *see* Douglas, Sholto John
- Abernethy, Thomas, 13
- Acts, *see* Bills and Acts
- Adam, Admiral (Sir) Charles, MP Clackmannan and Kinross 1833-41, 109, 223, 234, 238, 250
- agents, land, *see* factors
- agents, political, *see* Conservatives, Midlothian, organisation; Harvey, John; Hope, James, ws; Horne, Donald, ws; Inglis, Harry Maxwell, ws; Lamond, Robert; Lothian, Maurice; Monypenny, Alexander, ws; Robertson, Alexander Lambie, ws
- Agnew, Sir Andrew, of Lochnaw, MP Wigtownshire 1830-37, 225, 240, 245-6, 272
- Airdrie, 264-5
- Aitchison, William, of Drummorie, 21, 228
- Alderstone, barony (Mid-Calder), 116
- Alexander, Claud, 246
- Alison, Archibald, Sheriff of Lanarkshire, 16
- Allan, William, farmer, 119
- Allan, [*blank*], 25
- Anderson, David, of Moredun, banker, xvi, xxxiii, xxxvi, 30-31, 52, 77, 101
- Anderson, James, civil engineer, 119
- Anderson, James, solicitor, 20-21
- Anderson, Major [*blank*], 265
- annuities, 135
- annuity tables, use of, xlii
- Anstruther, Sir Ralph, of Balcaskie, lviii, 223, 227, 231, 271
- Anstruther, Major/Mr [*blank*], 223, 227
- Arbuthnot & Company, 268
- Arbuthnott, General Hugh, MP Kincardineshire 1826-65, 220, 237, 253
- Argyll, Dukes of, *see* Campbell, George William, and John Douglas
- Argyllshire, lix, lxi-lxii, 222, 229-30, 232-3, 247-8, 274-5, 277
- Armstrong, David, Provost of Dumfries, 261
- Arniston estates, xxxi
- Arniston House (Borthwick), xxxvi, 97

- Auchindinny Paper Mills, 9 *n* 2
 Australia, 131 *n* 1
 Ayr, 228, 260
 Ayr burghs (Ayr, Irvine, Campbeltown, Inveraray, Oban), lviii-lix, 228, 230, 233, 241, 260-1, 268, 276-7
 Ayrshire, lix, lxii, 223, 226 *n* 5, 229-30, 234, 246-8, 260 *n* 2, 273, 275
 Aytoun, James, advocate, 271

 BAILLIE, Evan jr, of Dochfour, 222, 232, 237 *n* 2, 241
 Baillie, Henry James, MP Inverness-shire 1840-68, 253
 Baillie, James Evan, of Kingussie and Glencg, 237
 Baillic, John, MP Inverness burghs 1830-33, 221
 Baillic, Robert, 33
 Baillic, Sir William, of Polkemmet, 33
 Baillie-Hamilton, Captain William Alexander, 113-14, 132
 Baird, Sir David, of Newbyth, 221, 236-7
 Baird, Sir James Gardiner, of Saughtonhall, 120, 181
 Baird, William, MP Falkirk burghs 1841-46, lx, 265 *n* 2
 Bairs of Gartsherrie, 264-5
 Balcarres, 6th Earl of, *see* Lindsay, Alexander
 Balfour, Arthur James, prime minister, 267 *n* 3
 Balfour, James, MP East Lothian 1831-34, 221
 Balfour, James Maitland, MP Haddington burghs 1841-47, lx, 267
 Balfour, John, of Trenaby, 245
 Balfour, Thomas, of Elwick, MP Orkney and Shetland 1835-37, 224, 231, 238, 245 *n* 3
 Banffshire, lxii, 220, 230, 234, 246-7, 249, 274-5, 277
 Bank of Scotland, 121 *n* 1
 Bannerman, Alexander, MP Aberdeen 1833-47, 226, 240-1, 259
 Barclay, Captain Robert, of Urie, 151 *n* 2
 Barnton (Cramond), 114
 Barnton House, 172
 Bathgate, Linlithgowshire, 34-35
 Bedchamber Crisis, the, 140-1
 Bentham, Jeremy, 226 *n* 5
 Bentinck, Lord Henry William, 226 *n* 5
 Bentinck, Lord William, MP Glasgow 1836-39, 242 *n* 1, 265
 Bertram, Mr [blank], of Ratho, 14 *n* 1
 Berwick, Alexander, 118-19
 Berwick, Mr [blank], brewer, lvi
 Berwickshire, xxxiv, lxii, 221, 230, 234, 247, 249
 Bills and Acts
 Act to amend the Reform Act (Scotland) 1832, 1835, xlvi *n* 2
 Bribery Bill, 1832, 1-2
 Church of Scotland Benefices Bill, 1840, 152 *n* 1
 Church Patronage (Scotland) Bill, 1841, 152 and *n* 1
 County Voters Registration (Scotland) Act, 1861, xxxix
 Granton Harbour Bill, 1837, 107 *n* 1, 108
 Irish Church Bill, 1836, 73 *n* 1
 Maynooth College Bill, 1845, 175-7
 Municipal Corporations (England and Wales) Act, 1835, 230 *n* 3
 Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Bill, 1836, 72
 Parliamentary Oaths Bills, 210 *n* 2
 Parliamentary Reform Bill, 1852, 195-6

- Public Libraries Act, 1850, 261
n 2
- Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854,
 xxxix
- See also Reform Act (Scotland)
 1832
- bills and promissory notes,
 to banks, 27-32, 50, 69-71, 96,
 101, 103, 107, 145-51, 156-8
 given in payment for voting
 qualifications, xli-xliv, 135-6,
 155
- Binnie, James, surgeon, 117
- Black, Adam, bookseller, xli
- Black, William Faichney, 270
- Blackwood family, xlii *n* 2
- Blair, Forbes Hunter, banker, 56
- Blair, James, MP Wigtownshire
 1837-41, 225 *n* 4, 240, 245-6,
 259
- Blair, Colonel William, MP
 Ayrshire 1829-32, 223
- Bloxholme Hall, Lincolnshire, 87
- Bonar, John, of Ratho, banker,
 51 *n* 1, 77, 121
- Bonar, William, banker, 121-2
- Bonham, Francis Robert, lvii-lviii
- Bonnyrigg (Cockpen), xix, 20
- Borthwick, John, of Crookston,
 xxxiii, xxxvi, 11, 52, 181 *n* 1
- Borthwick, parish, xxxv-xxxvi,
 181
- Boswell, Sir Alexander, of Auchin-
 leck, 116 *n* 4
- Bowhill, Selkirkshire, 149-50
- Bowring, Dr John, MP Kilmarnock
 burghs 1835-37, 226 *n* 5, 243,
 269 *n* 1
- Boyle, David, Lord Justice Clerk,
 xlviii, 55, 229
- Boyle-Carr, James, Viscount
 Kelburne (later 5th Earl of
 Glasgow), MP Ayrshire 1839-43,
 234 *n* 1, 248
- Braxholm, Roxburghshire, lvi
- Breadalbane, 2nd Marquis of, *see*
 Campbell, John
- bribery, at elections, 1-2
- British Fishery Society, lix, 272
- Broadfoot, James, carpenter, 21
- 'Broad Wheels', a slip, xx *n* 2
- Brodie, John Clerk, ws, xliii,
 xlvii *n* 1
- Brodie, William, of Brodie, 227
 232, 241
- Brougham, Lord Henry, Lord
 Chancellor, 227
- Brown, James Bertram, 209
- Brown, John, paper manufacturer,
 14-15
- Brown, William H., of Ashley,
 114-15, 117-19
- Brown, Mr [blank], Haggis, 119
- Brownlee, James, xxxviii, 16, 114-
 115, 117
- Bruce, Hugh, advocate, 75
- Bruce, James (later 8th Earl of
 Elgin), 236 *n* 2, 245
- Bruce, Sir Michael, of Stenhouse,
 257-8
- Bruce, Robert, of Kennet, lviii, 75
n 2, 223, 234, 246
- Bruce, William, of Alderstone, 116
- Buccleuch, 5th Duke of, *see*
 Montagu-Douglas-Scott,
 Walter Francis
- burghs, Conservatives weakness in,
 xi, lx-lxi, 230 *n* 1, 247 *n* 2
- Burn, John, of Coldoch, xxxiii *n* 2
- Burn, William, architect, xxvii
- Burn-Callander, William, of Preston
 Hall, xxxiii, xxxv, 12, 14, 22 *n*
 1, 112, 117, 124, 127 *n* 1, 132,
 143, 158-9, 164-6, 170-3, 179-83,
 190-1, 193-4, 198, 204-5, 208-9,
 217-19
- Burn-Murdoch, John, advocate, 22
- Burnett, Sir Thomas, of Leys, 233 *n* 3
- Buteshire, lxii, 221, 230, 234, 247,
 249

- CADELL, Philip, manufacturer, 9
 Caithness, lvi, lviii-lxii, 73, 223,
 229-31, 235, 245, 247, 250, 277
Caledonian Mercury, 3, 5 n 3, 9 n 2,
 110
 Callander, Alexander, xxxiii n 2
 Callander, James Henry, MP Argyll-
 shire 1833-34, 222
 Campbell, Alexander, of Monzie,
 MP Argyllshire 1841-43, 233,
 247-8
 Campbell, Elizabeth, Countess
 Cawdor, 75 n 1
 Campbell, George William, 6th
 Duke of Argyll, lix, 247-8
 Campbell, Sir Hugh Purves Hume,
 MP Berwickshire 1834-47, 221,
 234, 249
 Campbell, James, of Stracathro,
 242 n 1
 Campbell, John, 2nd Marquis of
 Breadalbane, 248 n 1, 255
 Campbell, John, 1st Earl Cawdor,
 74, 231
 Campbell, Sir John, MP Edinburgh
 1834-41, 225, 241, 262-3
 Campbell, John Douglas, 7th Duke
 of Argyll, lix-lx, 152, 228 n 8,
 247-8, 251, 260, 275
 Campbell, John Frederick Vaughan,
 Viscount Emlyn (later 2nd Earl
 Cawdor), 74-75
 Campbell, Walter Frederick, of
 Islay, MP Argyllshire 1822-32,
 1835-41, 222 n 6, 233, 247-8
 Campbell, [blank], 228
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry
 242 n 1
 Campbeltown, Argyllshire, 228
 Canada, 103 n 3, 131 n 1
 candidates, selection of, xiv, xvii,
 xxv-xxvi, xxx, xxxviii, 1-2,
 124, 131-3, 137-40, 169-78,
 182-4, 191-214, 217-18
 Canning, George, prime minister, xv
 canvassing, xx-xxii, xlvi, 1, 1-2,
 12-14, 17-18, 32, 34, 71, 78,
 99-100, 111-28, 140-1, 151-2,
 199
 Carlton Club, London, lvi-lviii,
 30, 61, 133, 208, 215, 229
 Carmichael, *see* Gibson-Carmichael
 Carnegie, Sir James, of Southesk,
 236, 252
 Caroline Park (Cramond) xxxvi
 Carrington, parish, 26
 Carstairs, James, gardener, 20
 Carstairs, John, of Springfield, 9-10,
 12
 cash credits (£5,000, 1835) xl-xli,
 liii, 23-25, 60-61, 64-66, 69, 75,
 79-81, 113, 184-90, 216-17;
 (1837) 112-13
 Cathcart, Colonel Frederick
 Macadam, 223, 273
 Cathcart, [blank], x
 Cavendish-Bentinck, William
 Henry, 4th Duke of Portland,
 226 n 5
 Cavendish-Scott-Bentinck, William
 John, 5th Duke of Portland, lvi
 Cawdor, Lord, *see* Campbell, John
 Cay, John, Sheriff of Linlithgow-
 shire, xi, xlii, xlv, 154
 cess, *see* land tax
 Chalmers, Patrick, MP Montrose
 burghs 1835-42, 227, 243, 269
 chartists, 140, 269 n 4
 Chisholm (The), Alexander
 William, MP Inverness-shire
 1835-38, 231 n 2, 232, 237
 cholera, 133, 245 n 4
 Christopher (Dundas), Robert
 Adam, MP, 87 n 1, 247
 Church of Scotland, li, lx, 8, 17,
 33-35, 59 n 1, 151-2, 244
 Church parties, 228, 233, 259
 General Assembly, 8, 152 n 1
 supporters of, 223, 225, 227, 231
See also non-intrusion

- Clackmannann and Kinross, lix, lxii, 223, 227, 229-30, 234, 238-9, 246-7, 250, 274-5, 277
- Clapperton, George, farmer, 12
- Clappertons, clothiers, 12
- Clerk, Sir George, of Penicuik, MP, xiii, xiv, xv-xviii, xx-xxv, xxix, xxxi-xxxii, xxxviii-xli, lxii, 3-6, 10, 12, 14-22, 25, 33-37, 110-28, 133, 137-8, 159-60, 164-70, 172-81, 186, 188 *n* 2, 190, 193, 195-6, 198-201, 206-8, 216-18, 221, 235-6
- criticisms of, 114-15, 117, 124-7
- and dismissal of James Hope ws, l-li, 37, 76-78, 84-100
- and election expenses, xlviii-l, 10-11, 25-32, 38-87, 100-7, 128, 143-4, 147-50, 165-6, 179, 180 *n* 2
- financial difficulties, 42, 61-63, 100-3, 110-11, 131-2
- Clerk, George Edward, 100 *n* 3, 103, 131 *n* 1
- Clerk, James, 124, 131
- Clerk, John, xli, 188 *n* 2
- Clerk, John, Lord Eldin, 116
- coaching, xxv, 151
- coal and coalmining, xxvii, xxx, xxxiii-xxxvi, 18, 130
- Cobinshaw (West Calder), 33-35
- Cobinshaw reservoir, 33
- Cochrane, Sir Thomas John, 264 *n* 3, 266 *n* 5
- Cockburn, Henry, ix *n* 2, xv-xvii, xix, xlviii *n* 2
- Cockpen, parish, xxxv
- Colinton, parish, xxxvi, 77, 125, 134, 189
- Colinton, village, xix
- colliers, xix
- Colquhoun, Sir James, of Luss, MP Dunbartonshire 1837-41, 250-1
- Colquhoun, John Campbell, MP Dunbartonshire 1833-34, Kilmarnock burghs 1837-41, 223, 243 *n* 3, 260-1, 268
- Conservative Association of Scotland, The General, lvii *n* 3
- Conservatives, Midlothian, election and registration expenses, (pre-1832) xlviii-xlix; (1832 and after) xiv, xxvi-xxix, xxxviii *n* 3, xlv, xlvii-l, 10-11, 25-32, 38-91, 95-96, 100-7, 110-14, 126, 128-32, 137, 141-151, 156-68, 178-91, 193, 199-200, 204-5, 207, 209, 216-19
- accounts (abstracts), 50-51, 106-107, 163
- innkeepers, 26-27
- candidate's share, xlix-l, 61, 63-64, 101, 103-4, 133, 141, 160-2, 164-6, 168, 191, 204-5, 207, 209
- elections:
- 1832-35: xlix-l, 10-11, 25-32, 38-74, 82-83, 101, 106, 146
- 1837: liii, 110-12, 126, 129, 132, 141, 147, 165-6, 179
- 1841: liii, 158-68
- registrations (detail):
- 1832-35: xlix, 50-51, 106
- 1836: liii, 103, 132
- 1837: 132
- 1838-43: liii, 160-5, 180 *n* 2, 181
- subscriptions, xxvii, xxix, xlv, xlvii, xlix-l, liii-liv, 10-11, 26-30, 50-51, 57, 61-68, 71-73, 76-78, 89-91, 95-96, 102-5, 110-14, 126, 128-33, 137, 145-151, 160-8, 180-3, 190-1
- lists, 62, 90-91, 126, 181
- See also bills and promissory notes; cash credits; property, purchased for political purposes; registration funds; votes, manufacture of

- Conservatives, Midlothian, organisation, (pre-1832) xlviii-xlix; (1832 and after) xiii-xiv, xvii, xlvii-liv
- agents, xiii, xvii, xxix, xlvii-liv
- accountability of, xlviii-l
- appointment of, xvii, xxxii, xlviii, li-lii
- change of, l-li, 37, 65, 78, 82, 88-89, 92-93, 95
- functions of, xlviii
- See also* Hope, James, ws;
- Inglis, H. M., ws
- criticisms of, xxix, xlviii, lii, 38-39, 41, 54, 68, 125-8, 130, 145, 148, 193-5
- general committee, xvii, xxix, xxxi, xlvii-liv, 23, 37, 52, 56-57, 76-79, 82-98, 103, 105, 110-12, 128-9, 181-2, 196-7
- minutes of, 137-9
- parish committees, xxxvii, xlvii, 12, 111-12, 118-19, 121
- sub-committees, xxv-xxvi, xxxiii-xxxiv, xlvii, lii, 10-11, 25-32, 52, 68-69, 112-13, 145-6, 148, 156, 158-63, 172, 174-5, 177-178
- membership of, 52, 143, 159, 164, 179, 198-9
- minutes of, 142-4, 164-7, 179-81
- Conservatives, Scotland, ix-xiii, xxvii, liv-lxiii, 1-2, 220-78
- See also* individual constituencies
- Conservatives, Westminster, xv-xvi, xxiv-xxv, xxviii, lvi-lviii, lxii, 229
- See also* Carlton Club; Parliament;
- Peel, Sir Robert
- constitution, the, 15, 19, 120
- corn laws, xx
- repeal of, xxv-xxvi, xxviii, lxii, 211 and *n* 3
- See also* free trade; protection
- Corstorphine, parish, xxxvi, 170
- Corstorphine, village, xix
- counties, Scotland
- Conservative recovery in 1832-41, xi-xii, liv, lx-lxii
- Conservatives in, after 1841, lxii-lxiii
- electorates in, ix-xi, xxxviii-xl
- purge of registers 1862, xxxix-xl, xlv
- Coutts, Patrick, banker, 27 *n* 1
- Coutts & Company, bankers, 158
- Cowan, Charles, paper manufacturer, 8-9, 12
- Cowden (Dalkeith), collieries at, xxxv
- Craig, Sir James, *see* Gibson-Craig
- Craig, William, *see* Gibson-Craig
- Craigflower, Dunfermline, xxx
- Cramond Iron and Steel Work, 9 *n* 2
- Cramond, parish, xxxvi-xxvii
- Cranston, parish, xxxv, 14, 16, 117
- Cranstoun, Thomas, ws, 116 *n* 5
- Crawford, John, radical, 232
- Cribbes, Henry, gardener, 20, 25
- Crichton, parish, xxxv, 22, 117
- Crichton-Stuart, Lord Patrick James, MP Ayr burghs 1834-52, 228, 241, 260-1
- Cromarty, *see* Ross and Cromarty
- Cumberland East, election in, 124
- Cumming-Bruce, Major Charles
- Lennox, MP Inverness burghs 1831-32, 1833-37, Elgin and Nairn 1840-68, 221, 230, 232, 252
- Cuninghame, Alexander, of Balgownie, 10 *n* 1
- Cuninghame, James, of Balgownie, 10 *n* 1
- Cunninghame, John, Solicitor-General for Scotland, 231
- Currie, parish, xxxv-xxxvi, 77, 119
- Customs and Excise, 20, 25, 126

- DALBIAC, General Sir Charles, 120
 Dalhousie, 9th Earl of, *see* Ramsay, George
 Dalkeith, Earl of, *see* Montagu-Douglas-Scott, William Henry Walter
 Dalkeith House, xxvii, xxxv-xxxvi, 100, 103, 105, 107, 124, 146-7, 217
 Dalkeith, parish, xxxv, xl, 14, 38, 151-2
 Dalkeith, polling-district, xix, xxii-xxiv, xxxv-xxxvi, xl, xlv-xlvi, 137
 Dalkeith, town, xvii, xxviii, 3, 7, 13-14, 81, 115, 117, 151-2
 Dalmahoy (Ratho), 112, 125
 Dalmeny, Lord, *see* Primrose, Archibald
 Dalrymple, Sir John, *see* Hamilton-Dalrymple
 Dalrymple, John (later 10th Earl of Stair), MP Wigtownshire 1841-1856, 259 *n* 1
 Danderhall (Dalkeith), 81, 188
 Davidson's Mains (Cramond), xix
 Dean estate, Edinburgh, 188
 Dempster, George, of Skibo, 272
 Dennistoun, Alexander, MP Dunbartonshire 1835-37, 223 *n* 4, 235
 Dennistoun, John, MP Glasgow 1837-47, 242, 265-6
 Devonshire, election in, 231
 Dewar, James, of Vogrie, xxxv, 181
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 206
 dissenters, x, xix, xxxvii, li, 33-36, 127, 182, 232
 Douglas, Marquis of, *see* Douglas-Hamilton, William Alexander Anthony Archibald
 Douglas, Alexander, ws, 116
 Douglas, Rev. Alexander Houston, of Baads, xxxvi, 112, 121, 125
 Douglas, Archibald, 2nd Baron Douglas, 224, 267
 Douglas, Dunbar James, 6th Earl of Selkirk, 224
 Douglas, George Sholto, 17th Earl of Morton, xxxvi, xxxvii-xxxviii, 60, 103-4, 111-13, 125-127, 129-30, 132, 149, 159 *n* 1, 167 *n* 1, 171-3, 182, 190-1
 Douglas, John, of Barloch, 225 *n* 4, 228 *n* 10
 Douglas, Sholto John, Lord Aberdour (later 18th Earl of Morton), xxxvii, 111-13, 170-3, 182
 Douglas, Susan Elizabeth, dowager Countess of Morton, 130
 Douglas, Lord William Robert Keith, 227, 261
 Douglas, [blank], 21
 Douglas-Hamilton, William Alexander Anthony Archibald, Marquis of Douglas (later 11th Duke of Hamilton), 224
 Downie, Robert, of Appin, 226 *n* 5
 Drumgate (Dalkeith?), 75, 81 *n* 1
 Drummond, *see* Walker-Drummond
 Duddingston estate, 113-14
 Duddingston, parish, 21, 36
 Duddingston, village, 22, 38
 Duff, General Sir Alexander, 246, 247, 252 *n* 2
 Duff, James, 4th Earl of Fife, 264
 Duff, James (later 5th Earl of Fife), MP Banffshire 1837-57, 246, 249
 Duff, Thomas Abercromby, of Haddo, 264
 Duffus, Lord, *see* Dunbar, Sir Benjamin of Hempriggs
 Dumfries, 228, 261
 Dumfries burghs (Dumfries, Annan, Kirkcudbright, Sanquhar, Lochmaben), lix, 228, 230, 233, 241, 261, 276

- Dumfriesshire, xxvii, lix, lxii, 151 *n* 4, 223-4, 229-30, 235, 247, 250
- Dunbar, Sir Benjamin, of Hempriggs (Lord Duffus), 223 and *n* 3
- Dunbartonshire, xxxix *n* 4, lviii, lx-lxii, 223, 229-30, 235, 247, 250-1, 273, 275, 277
- Duncan, George, MP Dundee 1841-1857, 262 *n* 2
- Duncan, Rev. Joseph Rogers, 151
- Duncan-Haldane, Adam, Viscount Duncan (later 2nd Earl of Camperdown), 222
- Dundas, Anne, Viscountess Melville, xvi, 68
- Dundas, Anne, 11 *n* 1
- Dundas, David, MP Sutherland 1840-52, 1861-67, 258
- Dundas, Elizabeth, 11, 97
- Dundas, Frederick, MP Orkney and Shetland 1837-47, 1852-72, 238, 245, 255
- Dundas, Henry, 1st Viscount Melville, xiv, 11 *n* 4, 25 *n* 1, 151 *n* 1
- Dundas, Henry, 3rd Viscount Melville, xiv
- Dundas, John, ws, 158
- Dundas, Laurence, 2nd Baron Dundas, 245 *n* 2
- Dundas, Richard Saunders, 228
- Dundas, Robert, of Arniston, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, xiv-xv
- Dundas, Robert, of Arniston, (1797-1838), xiv, xvi-xvii, xxix, xxxi, xxxii-xxxviii, xlvii-xlix, 10-11, 12, 14, 21, 26, 28-31, 37, 39, 42-45, 47-49, 51-52, 54-57, 69, 72, 74, 76, 80-90, 92-101, 107, 112, 149, 181 *nn* 1, 3, 190
- Dundas, Robert, of Arniston, (1823-1909) 175, 181
- Dundas, Sir Robert, of Beechwood, 41
- Dundas, Robert Adam, *see* Christopher
- Dundas, Robert Saunders, 2nd Viscount Melville, xiv, xv, xxvii, xxix, xlviii, 26, 28, 30, 33, 37-41, 44, 53-54, 57, 60-71, 74, 76, 78, 80-82, 85, 87-88, 90-91, 94-97, 99, 101-5, 107, 129-31, 144-6, 148-9, 156-7, 166, 172-6, 182-3, 190, 200-1, 228, 245
- criticisms of, xxix, 131, 145, 148, 172
- Dundas-Melville interest, xiii-xvi, xx, xxii, xxix
- Dundee, 226, 241, 245, 262, 276
- Dunfermline, xxx, 244 *n* 4
- Dunlop, Colin, MP Glasgow 1835-1836, 226 *n* 2
- Dunlop, George, ws, 38 and *n* 2
- Dunlop, Captain John, of Dunlop (baronet 1838), MP Kilmarnock burghs 1833-34, Ayrshire 1835-1839, 226, 234, 248
- Dunlop, William, 123
- Dunmore, 6th Earl of, *see* Murray, Alexander Edward
- Durham, Lord, *see* Lambton, John George
- Durham, Mrs, of Polton, xxxv, 181
- EAST CAMPS (Kirknewton), xxxvii, xlii, 37-38, 188-9
- East Indies, 238, 262
- See also* India
- East Lothian, xxxiii *n* 2, xlvi, lxii, 53-54, 57, 221, 226, 230, 232, 236-7, 247, 253
- Edinburgh Advertiser*, 5 *n* 3, 35
- Edinburgh, x, xxvi-xxvii, xxxii, xxxvi-xxxvii, xlv, xlviii, li, lvii-lviii, 3-4, 11-14, 17, 23, 38, 56, 69, 72, 79, 93, 110, 118-19, 121-3, 128, 135-6, 151, 167, 188, 204, 212, 217, 229

- annuity tax, li
 Atholl Crescent, 11, 97 *n* 1, 122
 Calton Jail, xxi
 clergy of, li, 17; *see also* Inglis,
 Dr John
 Conservative Club, lvii *n* 3
 Conservative committee room,
 172
 Conservatives in, xxvii, xlv,
 xlvi, lvii *n* 3, 35 *n* 1, 229,
 262-3
 'constitutional meeting' (1831),
 xlviii
 County Hall, xlv, 37
 County Rooms, 95, 97-98
 county voters from, xlv-xlvi, 12,
 128-9, 131-2
 musical societies, 17 and *n* 2
 New Club, The, 110, 212
 purge of electoral register, 262-
 263
 representation of, xxxii, lviii, 56,
 153 *n* 1, 225-6, 232, 241, 262-
 263, 271 *n* 3, 276
 Royal Exchange, sales in, 38 *n* 1,
 188 *n* 3
 support for Whigs in county,
 128-9, 131-2
 town council, li, lii *n* 1, 4 *n*, 263
 Edinburgh, county of, *see* Mid-
 lothian
Edinburgh Evening Courant, 35
Edinburgh Evening Post, 35
 Edinburgh, polling-district, xix,
 xxii-xxiv, xxxvi, xl, xlv-xlvi
 Edmonstone estate (Newton),
 xxxiii, xxxv
 Edmonstone, colliery, xxx, xxxiv-
 xxxv
 Education, Scottish Board of, xxxiii
 n 4
 Egerton, Lord Francis, 225
 Eglinton, Earls of, *see* Montgomerie
 Eildon Hall estate, Roxburghshire,
 139
 Elcho, Lord, *see* Wemyss-Charteris-
 Douglas, Francis
 election dinners, xlix, 3-4
 election literature (1832), xx-xxi
 election surveys, xiii, xxxix, liv-lxii,
 220-78
 See also Horne, Donald, *ws*; and
 individual constituencies
 elections, municipal,
 Edinburgh, 263 and *n* 2
 Glasgow, 265 and *n* 5, 266 and *n* 1
 elections, parliamentary, Midlothian,
 1811-31: ix-x, xiv-xvi, xlviii-xlix
 1832: xvii-xxiv, xlvii-xlix, 1-10,
 22
 1835: xxii-xxiv, xxxviii, xl, xlvii,
 xlix-l, 10-22, 25-32, 221
 1837: xxii-xxiv, xxxvii-xxxviii,
 xliii, xlvii, lii-liv, 110-29, 235-6
 1841: xxv, xlv-xlv, liii, 151-6,
 251
 1845-53: xxv-xxvi, 178 *n* 1,
 218 *n* 1
 elections, parliamentary, Scotland,
 1832: ix, xi, xvii, xxii, xxxviii,
 xlvi, liv, 1-2, 220
 1835: xxxix, liv-lv, lix-lxi, 220-30
 1837: lv, lix-lxi, 233-47
 1841: xxxix, liv, lx-lxii, 247-78
 1847-65: lxii-lxiii
 electors,
 absenteeism of, 1832, xxii
 attempts to neutralise, xxi, 7,
 23-25, 112
 intimidation of, xxi, 6, 9
 old freeholders, x, xviii-xix, xlv
 reluctant to vote, 6, 118-19, 122-3
 in Scotland, ix-x, xxxviii-xl
 who did not intend to vote, xviii
 See also liferent votes and voters;
 Midlothian, electorate, and
 electors; registrations of
 electors; ten-pounders
 Elgin and Nairn, lxii, 220, 230, 235,
 247, 252

- Elgin burghs (Elgin, Banff, Cullen, Inverurie, Kintore, Peterhead), lxi, 227, 230, 232, 241, 264, 276-7
- Ellice, Edward ('Bear'), MP, 246
- Ellice, Edward ('Cub'), MP St Andrews burghs 1837-80, 221 n 2, 244, 246, 270-1
- Elliot, George, Captain RN, MP Roxburghshire 1833-34, 221 n 5, 239
- Elliot, Gilbert, 1st Earl of Minto, 239 n 4
- Elliot, Gilbert, 2nd Earl of Minto, xxviii, 109
- Elliot, John Edmund, MP Roxburghshire 1837-41, 1847-59, 239 n 4, 256-7
- Elphinstone, John Fullerton, of Carberry, 126, 167 n 1, 181
- entails, 101-2, 130, 135, 160
- Erskine-Wemyss, James, Captain RN, MP Fife 1820-47, 224, 236, 246, 252
- Europe, travel in, xxx-xxxix, lv, 112, 137, 140, 192 n 2, 197, 209-11, 220 n 2
- Ewart, William, MP Dumfries burghs 1841-68, 261
- Ewing, James, MP Glasgow 1833-34, 226, 230
- FACTORS, land agents and stewards, political activities of, 13-14, 21-22, 77, 111, 113, 114, 121, 125, 127, 129, 132, 135-6, 213, 233
- Falkirk burghs (Falkirk, Airdrie, Hamilton, Lanark, Linlithgow), lx-lxi, 226, 232, 241, 246, 264-265, 274, 276-7
- farmers, x-xi, xvii-xx, xxviii, xxxvii, 5, 9, 12-13, 16-17, 23, 33-35, 69, 77, 81, 104, 113-14, 117-21, 125-7, 140, 153, 171, 173, 182
- Farquhar, Captain Sir Arthur, 226 n 3
- Fergus, John, MP Kirkcaldy burghs 1835-37, Fife 1847-59, 226 n 4, 243
- Ferguson, George, of Pitfour, Captain RN, MP Banffshire 1833-1837, 220, 234, 246, 249
- Ferguson, Robert, of Raith, MP Kirkcaldy burghs 1831-34, 1837-40, East Lothian 1835-37, xlv, 15-16, 109, 221, 226, 236-237, 243 n 4, 268-9
- Ferguson, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert, of Raith, MP Kirkcaldy burghs 1841-62, 269 n 1
- Ferguson, Dr William, xi
- Fergusson, Charles, of Kilkerran, 223
- Fergusson, Sir James, of Kilkerran, 223
- Fergusson, Robert Cutlar, MP Stewartry of Kirkcudbright 1826-38, 224, 232, 237, 253-4
- Ferneyside (Liberton), 20
- feus and feu-duties, 22, 188-9
- Fictitious Votes, Select Committee on, xlii nn 1-2, xliii-xlvi, 108-110, 134, 188 n 2
- see also* votes, manufacture of
- Fife, Lord, *see* Duff, James
- Fife, xxx, lxii, 54, 112, 130, 224, 229-30, 236-7, 245-7, 252, 274-275, 277
- Finlay, Kirkman, 226
- Fitzsimmon, Captain [*blank*], 255
- Fitzwilliam, Charles William, 5th Earl Fitzwilliam, 268
- Fleming, Admiral Charles Elphinstone, MP Stirlingshire 1833-1834, 225
- Fleming, Rev. William, 33-34
- Fletcher, Mr [*blank*], x
- Forbes, Sir Charles, of Newe and Edinglassie, 225-6

- Forbes, Charles Hay, xxi
 Forbes, George, of West Coates,
 banker, 123
 Forbes, Sir John Stuart, of Pitsligo,
 xxxiii, xxxvi, 30-31, 52, 77, 96,
 101, 123 *n* 1, 227
 Forbes, the 'Singing', 130
 Forbes, Sir William, of Pitsligo,
 27 *n* 1, 123 *n* 1
 Forbes, Sir William & Company,
 bankers, xxxiii, xlix, 27, 31, 50,
 56 *n* 1, 96, 101, 103, 106
 Forbes, William, of Callendar, MP
 Stirlingshire 1835-38, 1841-55,
 lx, 225, 240, 257-8.
 Forbes-Drummond, John, Captain
 RN, xxxii
 Forbes-Mackenzie, William, MP
 Peeblesshire 1837-52, 238, 255
 Forfar, 140
 Forfarshire, lxii, 221-2, 227, 229-30,
 236, 239, 247, 252, 274-5, 277
 Forrest, Sir James, of Comiston,
 Lord Provost of Edinburgh,
 xliii, 134
 Frankfurt, Sir John Hope at, xxx-
 xxxi, 192-216
 Fraser, John, of Bunchrew, 268 *n* 1
 free trade, xx, xxv-xxvi, xxviii
 Free Traders, 194, 202, 208, 211
 Fullarton House, Ayrshire, 226 *n* 5

 GALASHIELS, xi
 Gallaway, William, accountant,
 xliii-xliv
 Galloway, Lord, *see* Stewart,
 Randolph
 Gibson, James, ws, *see* Gibson-
 Craig, Sir James
 Gibson, John, ws, xxvii, lvi *n* 4, 219
 Gibson-Carmichael, Alexander, 109,
 238
 Gibson-Craig, Sir James, of
 Riccarton, ws, ix-x, xxiv,
 xxxvii, xli, xliii, 5, 11-12, 18
 n 3, 21, 25, 109, 111, 114, 118
 n 2, 119, 125
 Gibson-Craig, William, MP, xxiii,
 xxv, xlv-xlv, 5, 8-10, 12-15,
 17, 22, 25, 32, 36, 41, 44, 115-
 116, 118-19, 133-4, 137, 152-5,
 221 *n* 4, 235-6, 251, 263 *n* 3
 Gibsone, Mrs Helen, of Pentland,
 xxi-xxii, 5
 Gibson-Maitland, Sir Alexander
 Charles, of Clifton Hall, 182-3
 Gillespie, Mr [blank], 263 *n* 2
 Gillon, William Downe, MP Falkirk
 burghs 1833-41, 226, 232, 241,
 264-5
 Gilmerton (Liberton), xix
 Gilmour, Walter James Little, xxi
 Gladstone, John, of Fasque, 228, 245
 Gladstone, Thomas, 227, 255
 Gladstone, William Ewart, xxvi, liv
 Glasgow, lviii, 35, 67, 225-6, 242,
 258 *n* 1, 265-6, 268, 274, 276-7
 Glencorse, parish, xxxvi, 13, 78, 183
 Glendinning, George, farmer, 127
 Glenelg, Lord, *see* Grant, Charles
 Glenny, [William?], 123
 Gogar estate (Corstorphine), xxxvi
 Gordon, George, 5th Duke of
 Gordon, lix, 67, 69, 233 *n* 2,
 236 *n* 3
 Gordon, George Hamilton, 4th Earl
 of Aberdeen, xxviii, 152 *n* 1
 Gordon, James Edward, Lieutenant
 RN, 228
 Gordon, John, of Cluny, 77, 125
 Gordon, Lord John Frederick, MP
 Forfarshire 1841-52, 252 *n* 3
 Gordon, William, MP Aberdeens-
 shire 1820-54, 220, 233, 247
 Gordon-Lennox, Charles, 5th Duke
 of Richmond, lix, 233
 Gordon-Lennox, Charles Henry,
 Earl of March (later 6th Duke
 of Richmond and Duke of
 Gordon), 249

- Gorgie Park (St Cuthberts), xli,
188, 189 *n* 1
- Graham, Humphrey, ws, xxxviii,
122-3
- Graham, James, 3rd Duke of
Montrose, lviii, 223, 225
- Graham, Sir James, of Netherby,
MP, xxii, lvii-lviii, 124 *n* 4,
245-6, 265
- Graham, Lord Montagu William,
223
- Grant, Charles (Baron Glenelg),
MP Inverness-shire 1818-35,
222, 231, 235 *n* 3, 237
- Grant, Colonel Francis William
(6th Earl of Seafield 1840),
MP Elgin and Nairn 1833-40,
220, 235, 252
- Grant, Francis William, MP
Inverness-shire 1838-40, 253
- Grant, James Murray, of Glen-
moriston, 231 *n* 2, 237 *n* 3
- Grant, Captain [*blank*], 264
- Granton Harbour, xxvii, xxxvi,
107-8
- Greenock, 226, 242, 264, 266, 276-7
- Greig, David, MP Perth 1839-41,
270
- Greville, Robert Fulke, 238 *n* 1
- Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl Grey,
government of, xvi, xx
- HADDINGTON, Lord, *see* Hamilton,
Thomas
- Haddington, 117, 208, 232
- Haddington burghs (Haddington,
North Berwick, Dunbar,
Lauder, Jedburgh), xxvi, xxxii,
lix-lxi, 117, 208, 221, 227, 230,
232, 242, 266-7, 274, 276-7
- Haddingtonshire, *see* East Lothian
- Haig, Charlotte Mary (Mrs Renton)
13 *n* 1
- Haig, Mr [*blank*], Easter Bush, 13
- Hallyburton, (Lord) Douglas
Gordon, MP Forfarshire 1833-
1841, 221-2, 236, 252
- Hamilton, Alexander, 10th Duke of
Hamilton, 224, 246
- Hamilton, Lord Claud, MP, xxiv,
132-3, 139 *n* 1, 148, 251, 274
- Hamilton, James, 2nd Marquis of
Abercorn, xxiv-xxv, 21-22, 26,
76-77, 90, 95, 111-14, 132-3,
148, 151, 159 *n* 1, 167 *n* 1, 182
- Hamilton, Thomas, 9th Earl of
Haddington, 53, 96, 139 *n* 2,
159 *n* 1, 167 *n* 1, 169
- Hamilton, Captain, *see* Baillie-
Hamilton, William Alexander
- Hamilton-Dalrymple, General Sir
John, of Cousland, MP (8th Earl
of Stair 1840), x, xiv-xv, xvii-
xxii, xxiv, xxxv, xliii, lx, 3-16,
18, 22, 34, 36, 108-10, 115-16,
117 *n* 3, 133-6, 259, 273
- Hannay, David, 228 *n* 9, 261
- Hare, Steuart Bayley, of Calder
Hall, 125
- Hartwood (West Calder), 120
- Harvey, John, solicitor, xxxviii,
19-22
- Hastie, Archibald, MP Paisley 1836-
1857, 243, 269
- Hastings, Marquis of, *see* Rawdon-
Hastings, George Augustus
Francis
- Hawick, xxvii, lvi
- Hawthornden (Lasswade), xxxii,
xxxvi, 44, 217
- Hay, George, 8th Marquis of
Tweeddale, xxxii, xxxiii *n* 3,
232
- Hay, Sir John, MP Peeblesshire
1831-37, 220
- Hay, Mr [*blank*], Auchindinny, 12
- Hepburn, Sir Thomas Buchan, of
Smeaton, MP East Lothian
1838-47, 117, 242, 253

- Heriot, parish, xxxvi
- Herring Fishery Board, The, xxx
n 1, 3 n 1
- Hill, William, farmer, 120
- Home-Drummond, Henry, MP
Perthshire 1840-52, 255
- Home Office, 140
- Hope, General Sir Alexander, MP
Linlithgowshire 1800-35, 220,
221 n 1
- Hope, Archibald, xxxi, 169-71,
173-7, 192-3, 199-200, 202,
209, 217
- Hope, Charles, Lord President of
the Court of Session, xvii,
xlvi, 229
- Hope, Charles, MP Linlithgowshire
1838-45, 254-5
- Hope, George William, of Luffness,
MP, xxxi, 199-200
- Hope, Hugh, ws, 185, 187, 190,
199, 217
- Hope, Captain James, MP
Linlithgowshire 1835-38, 220,
238
- Hope, James, ws, xxxii
- Hope, James ws, Conservative
agent in Midlothian, x-xi, xvii,
xxi, xxxii, xxxiv n 2, xxxvii,
xl-xlii, xlviii, xlix-liv, 11, 14,
22-29, 31-33, 37-102, 105-7,
142-3, 145, 147, 149-50, 155-6,
184-6, 188-90
- accounts, disputes over settlement,
38-74, 82-88, 93, 100, 102, 105-
107
- appointment of, xvii, 38, 56-57,
72, 97-98
- dismissal of, 37, 60, 65-100
reasons for, 1-11, 71-72, 78-79,
81, 86-87, 93, 95, 98
- and manufacture/preparation of
votes, xxxvii, xl-xlii, 22-25,
37-38, 40, 43-44, 75, 79-81, 85,
87-88, 184-9
- memorandum by (1835) 22-25,
185-6, 189; *see also* cash credits
on need for changes in the
management of county politics,
39-41, 44-45, 74
- See also under* Conservatives,
Midlothian, election and
registration expenses, and
organisation
- Hope, Sir John, 4th Earl of Hope-
toun, 220 n 4
- Hope, John, 5th Earl of Hopetoun,
35
- Hope, Sir John, of Craighall, MP,
Chairman of Conservative
committee in Midlothian,
xvi-xvii, xxv-xxvi, xxix-xxxii,
xxxiii-xxxv, xxxvii-xxxviii,
xli, xlvii-liv, 10, 14, 21, 30-31,
37, 42-45, 47-49, 51-57, 60,
65-86, 89-107, 110-14, 125-8,
130-3, 136-8, 140-1, 144-51,
158-9, 161, 164-218
- death of 217-18
- 'Dictatorship' of, 130
- family, sense of duty to, 132, 169,
171-2, 192-3
- financial difficulties of (1849-51),
xxx-xxxii, 182, 190, 200, 203,
206, 209
- assisted by Duke of Buccleuch,
xxxii, 199-200
- at Frankfurt, xxx-xxxii, 192-216
- Protestantism of, 73, 177, 207, 210
- respect for in the county, xxx-
xxxii, 170, 178, 195, 205-7
- Hope, John, Dean of the Faculty of
Advocates, xv, xvi n 1, xvii,
xxxii, xlix-li, 46-49, 54-59, 66,
74, 78, 80-81, 85, 87-94, 97-98,
100, 229
- Hope, John David, 67, 73, 199
- Hope, John Thomas, 221
- Hope, Louisa Dorothea, dowager
Countess of Hopetoun, 75 n 3

- Hope, Sir Thomas, of Craighall,
75 *n* 3
- Hope, Thomas, 169 *n* 2
- Hope, William, death of, 133
- Hope-Johnstone, John James, MP
Dumfriesshire 1830-47, 1857-65,
223-4, 235, 250
- Hopetoun, Earls of, *see* Hope, Sir
John, and Hope, John
- Horne, Donald, of Langwell, ws,
ix, xii-xiii, xxii, xxvii-xxviii,
xl, xliii-xliv, xlv, l, lii, lvi-
lvii, 11 *n* 4, 37, 47-48, 57-61,
65-71, 73, 76, 82, 87-88, 97-98,
100, 102, 105, 107, 126, 139
debts to, 107, 142-51, 156-8
election surveys by, liv-lxiii,
220-78
memorandum by (1833), 6-8
votes held by, xlv
- Horne, James, of Langwell, ws, lvi
- Horne, John, of Stirkoke, lvi
- Horne, William, Sheriff of East
Lothian, xlv
- horses, xxii, xxv, 137, 151
- Horsman, Edward, MP, xlii-xliii,
xlv, 108-10, 134, 273
- Houston, George, MP Renfrewshire,
1837-41, lx, 239, 256
- Howard, William, MP Sutherland
1837-40, 240, 258
- Hunter, Peter, 20
- Hutchison, [blank], 266
- INDIA, xxxiii *nn* 2-3, 26 *n* 1, 133,
227 *n* 7, 268, 273 *n* 3; *see also*
East Indies
- influence, political, ix, xi-xvi, xxi,
xxiv, xxvii-xxx, xxxvii-
xxxviii, xlv, lix-lxi, 6-8, 12-13,
19-23, 100, 114-16, 118-19,
122-3, 125-7, 132, 182, 203,
225, 228, 231, 233, 246 *n* 2,
258-62, 266-7, 272-3
- of Dukes of Argyll, lx, 247-8,
251, 260
- of Duke of Buccleuch, xxvii-
xxviii, xxxviii
- of dissenting clergy, 33-34
- of government, 222, 257, 259,
271, 275, 277
- of dowager Duchess of Suther-
land, lx, 226, 231, 239, 258
- of British Fishery Society, 272
- See also* factors etc, political
activities of; landlord-tenant
relations; patronage
- Inglis, Harry Maxwell, ws,
Conservative agent in Mid-
lothian, xxxvi, li-lii, liii, 104-5,
111-12, 120, 126, 128, 130, 132,
136-8, 142-8, 152-65, 167, 179-
180, 183-211, 213, 216-19
appointment of, 66-71, 76-78,
89-90, 92, 95-96
debts to, 180-1, 218-19
- Inglis, Rev. Dr John, li, 68, 70-71,
77
- Inglis, John (later Lord Glencorse),
lii
- Inglis, John, of Auchindinny and
Redhall, vice-admiral, xxxiii
- Inglis, John, of Auchindinny and
Redhall, xxxiii, xxxvi, 12, 52,
125, 181 *n* 1
- Innes, Gilbert, of Stowe, 62 *n* 2
- Innes, Jane, of Stowe, 62, 77, 89,
103-4, 126, 181 *n* 1
- Innes, William, of Raemoir, 259 *n* 4
- Innes-Ker, Sir James Henry Robert,
6th Duke of Roxburghe, 146 *n* 1
- Inveresk, parish, xxx, xxxv, 21
collieries, xxxv
- Inverness burghs (Inverness, Forres,
Fortrose, Nairn), 221, 225, 230,
232, 242-3, 247, 258, 268, 274,
276
- Inverness-shire, lxii, 222, 229-32,
237, 247, 253

- Ireland and Irish issues, 12, 19, 73,
111-12, 175-8, 230 *n* 2
- Irvine, [*blank*], 228
- Irvine, Ayrshire, lix, 228, 260
- Irving, John, ws, 10, 18, 32, 50,
188 *n* 2
- Italy, lv, 137, 140, 220 *n* 2
- Ivory, James, advocate, 18 and *n* 4
- Ivory, William, ws, 18 and *n* 4
- JEDBURGH, xxxii, lx, 267
- Jenkinson, Robert, Lord Liverpool,
xv
- Jews, admission to parliament, 210
- Jocks Lodge (South Leith), 22, 38
n 1, 188
- Johnston, Sir Alexander, of
Carnsalloch, 261
- Johnston, Alexander, of Shieldhall,
MP Kilmarnock burghs 1841-
1844, 228 *n* 6, 260-1, 268
- Johnstone, Andrew, MP St Andrews
burghs 1833-37, 227, 244
- Johnston-Munro, Hugh Andrew, of
Novar, 222
- Juniper Green (Colinton), xix, 188
- KEAY, James, advocate, 229
- Kelburne, Lord, *see* Boyle-Carr,
James
- Kelso, 204
- Kerr, John William Robert, 7th
Marquis of Lothian, xxvi, xxix,
xxxiii, xxxv, xli, xlvi, l, lii,
21-22, 44, 54, 60-62, 66, 68, 79,
82, 95, 103-4, 107, 114, 126-8,
130, 144-50, 156-7, 159, 166,
181 *n* 1, 182, 186, 216, 232
- Kilmarnock, 226 *n* 5
- Kilmarnock burghs (Kilmarnock,
Dumbarton, Port Glasgow,
Renfrew, Rutherglen), lxi, 226,
243, 247, 260-1, 268
- Kincardineshire, lxii, 220, 227 *n* 4,
230, 237, 247, 253
- Kinnaird, Arthur, MP Perth 1837-
1839, 1852-78, 243-4, 270
- Kinross, *see* Clackmannan and
Kinross
- Kirkcaldy burghs (Kirkcaldy,
Burntisland, Kinghorn,
Dysart), 226, 243, 268-9, 276
- Kirkcudbright, Stewartry of, lxii,
224, 229-30, 232, 237, 247,
253-4, 273, 275, 277
- Kirkintilloch, 33
- Kirkliston, parish, xxxvi
- Kirknewton, parish, xxxvi-xxxvii,
xlii, 37-38, 127, 188-9
- Kirriemuir, 140
- LAMB, Charles, 260
- Lamb, William, 2nd Viscount
Melbourne, government of,
xxiii, liv, 25 *n* 2, 53 *n* 2, 116,
140-1, 220 *n* 1, 230 *n* 2, 248 *n* 1
- Lambton, John George, Earl of
Durham, 226
- Lamond, Robert, writer, lviii
- Lanarkshire, lix-lx, lxii, 57, 224,
229-30, 237, 246-7, 254
- landlord-tenant relations, x-xi, xx-
xxii, xxviii, xxxiv, xxxvii-
xxxviii, 5, 13, 17, 35, 111, 113-
115, 117-21, 125-7, 171, 173,
182
- land tax, 129-32, 166-7
See also registration funds
- Langwell estate, Caithness, lvi
- Lascelles, William Saunders
Sebright, 129-30
- Lasswade, parish, xxxvi, 12
- Lasswade, village, xix, xxi, 188
- Lauder, Sir Thomas Dick, 3, 13-14,
72, 263 *n* 2
- Lauderdale, Earls of, *see* Maitland
- Laurie, Sir Peter, lix, 227
- Law, George, farmer, 5
- Law, Henrietta Sarah, 133 *n* 1
- Lawson, John, 9

- Learmonth, John, 225 *nn* 5-6, 226
 Learmonth, Rev. William, 34
 Leith, 4, 19-21
 Conservative Association, 19 *n* 1
 Customs House, 20, 25
 Police Commission, 19 *n* 1
 votes manufactured in, 21
 votes in county obtained by
 merchants and shopkeepers,
 xlv
 Leith burghs (Leith, Musselburgh,
 Portobello), 21, 228, 230-1, 233,
 243, 245, 269, 276
 Leith-Hay, Sir Andrew, MP Elgin
 burghs, 1833-38, 1841-47, 227,
 241, 264
 Leveson-Gower, Elizabeth, Duchess
 of Sutherland (the Countess/
 Duchess), lx, 225-6, 231, 239,
 258
 Leveson-Gower, George Granville,
 1st Duke of Sutherland, 225
 nn 2-3, 258 *n* 3
 Leveson-Gower, George Granville,
 2nd Duke of Sutherland, 258
 Leveson-Gower, Harriet Elizabeth
 Georgiana, Duchess of Suther-
 land, 258
 Liberal-Conservatives, lxii
 Liberal Reform Registry Association,
 109 *n* 1
 Liberals, *see* Whigs
 Liberton, parish, xxi, xxxvi, 5, 20
 liferent votes and voters, xli-xlv,
 7, 21, 134-5, 153-5, 160-8, 180
 in Roxburghshire, 139
 See also votes, manufacture of
 Lincolnshire, 87, 98
 Lind (Lynn), John or Thomas,
 farmer, 33-35
 Lindsay, Alexander, 23rd Earl of
 Crawford and 6th Earl of
 Balcarres, xxxiii *n* 3
 Lindsay, Colonel James, 224, 271
 Lindsay, Mr [*blank*], 259
 Linlithgowshire, lxii, 220, 230, 238,
 247, 254-5
 Liverpool, Lord, *see* Jenkinson,
 Robert
 Loanhead (Lasswade), xix
 colliery at, 18
 Loch, James, MP Wick burghs 1830-
 1852, 226, 231, 244, 272
 Lockhart, Alexander Macdonald,
 MP Lanarkshire 1837-41, 224 *n*
 6, 237, 246 *n* 2, 254
 Lockhart, John Gibson, 254 *n* 2
 Lockhart, William, MP Lanarkshire
 1841-56, 254 *n* 2
 London, xxvi, lv-lvii, lix, 1-2, 28,
 30, 34, 49, 52-54, 57-58, 60, 70,
 72, 79, 82, 87, 93-94, 96, 103,
 109, 111-12, 123, 125, 130,
 143, 149, 151, 159, 169-70, 179,
 181-2, 190, 207, 209-10, 217,
 219, 227, 231, 245-7, 255, 270
 London Courier, 35
 Lothian, 7th Marquis of, *see* Kerr,
 John William Robert
 Lothian, Maurice, solicitor, 134-6,
 154-6
 Loudon Castle, Ayrshire, 260 *n* 2
 Loughborough, Lord, *see* St Clair-
 Erskine, James Alexander
 Lunacy, General Board of Com-
 missioners in, for Scotland,
 xxxiii *n* 4
 Lynn, Mr, *see* Lind
 MACADAM, Colonel Frederick
 Cathcart, of Craigingullan, 254
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, MP
 Edinburgh 1839-47, 1852-56,
 262-3
 McKay, Alexander, of Black Castle,
 117
 Mackenzie, John, 188-9
 Mackenzie, James John, of Scatwell,
 242-3, 268

- Mackenzie, Richard, of Dolphinton,
ws, 67, 228
- Mackenzie, Thomas, of Applecross,
ws, MP Ross and Cromarty
1837-47, 222, 231-2, 239, 256
- Mackenzie, William, of Muirton,
239
- MacLaren, Charles, editor, xli
- McLaren, Duncan, linen-draper, xli
- MacLeod, Norman, of Macleod,
222
- Macleod, Roderick, of Cadboll, MP
Sutherland 1831-37, Inverness
burghs 1837-40, 225, 242-3, 258,
268
- Maconochie, Alexander, Lord
Meadowbank, 124, 125 n 3,
212-13
- Macpherson-Grant, Sir George, of
Ballindalloch, 235
- McTaggart, John (baronet 1841),
MP Wigtown burghs, 1835-57
228 n 10, 245, 246 n 5, 272-3
- Magdalen Bridge Foundry, 21
- Maitland, Augustus, ws, 118 n 2
- Maitland, James, 8th Earl of
Lauderdale, 232, 267
- Maitland, James, 9th Earl of
Lauderdale, 267
- Maitland, Mr [blank], 51, 78
- Makgill, George, of Kemback,
271 n 2
- Makgill-Crichton, David Maitland,
of Rankeillour, 244 n 3, 270-1
- Malcolm, Neil, of Poltalloch, 222,
260
- Malcolm, Sir Pulteney, 228
- Malleny estate (Currie), 77, 119
- Mansfield, 3rd Earl of, *see* Murray,
David William
- Manufactures, Scottish Board of,
3 n 1
- March, Lord, *see* Gordon-Lennox,
Charles Henry
- Marjoribanks-Robertson, David, 249
- Marshall, Rev. Andrew, 33-34
- Marylands (Ratho), xli
- Maule, Fox (later 2nd Baron
Panmure and 11th Earl of
Dalhousie), MP Perthshire
1835-37, Elgin burghs 1838-41,
Perth 1841-52, xliii n 2, 25,
109, 114, 151, 221 n 3, 234,
236, 238-9, 255 n 5, 264, 270
- Maule, Lauderdale, 222, 236
- Maule, William, 1st Baron Panmure,
236
- Maxwell, Sir David, of Cardoness,
254
- Maxwell, John, of Pollock, MP
Lanarkshire 1833-37, 224, 237,
246
- Maxwell, William, 254
- Maynooth College Bill, 1845, 175-8
- Meadowbank, Lord, *see* Maconochie,
Alexander
- Melbourne, Lord, *see* Lamb,
William
- Melville, Lady, *see* Dundas, Anne,
Viscountess Melville
- Melville, 1st Viscount, *see* Dundas,
Henry
- Melville, 2nd Viscount, *see* Dundas,
Robert Saunders
- Melville, 3rd Viscount, *see* Dundas,
Henry
- Melville Castle (Dalkeith), xxxv,
38, 91, 95-98
- Mid-Calder, parish, xxxvi, 17, 116,
182
- Mid-Calder, polling district, xix,
xl n 3
- Conservative weakness in, xxii-
xxv, xxxvi-xxxvii, 33-36,
125-7, 137, 170-3, 182, 189
- Mid-Calder, village, 112, 123
- Midfield (Lasswade), 42
- Midlothian, ix-liv *passim*, lx-lxii
- Agricultural Protection Society,
(1842), xxv n 4

Midlothian—*continued*

- Commissioners of Supply, xxx n 1, xxxiv and n 1, 175 n 2, 176 n 1, 200-1, 207-8
- election prospects, 221, 229-30, 235-6, 247, 251, 274-5
- electorate, distribution of, xix, xxiii-xxiv
- electorate, size of, xviii, xlv, liv
- electors, occupations of, xviii-xix, xlv-xlv1
- electors, qualifications of, x, xviii-xix, xl-xlv
- Game Association, 17
- landownership in, xxiv, xxxiv-xxxviii
- members of parliament for, *see* Clerk, Sir George; Gibson-Craig, William; Hamilton-Dalrymple, Sir John; Hope, Sir John, of Craighall; Ramsay, William, of Barnton
- Protection Society (1853), 217
- Register of Electors*, (1832), xviii n 2; (1836), xl n 3, 3, 16, 21, 24, 211
- representation of, (1811-32) xiv-xvi; (1832) xvii-xxii; (1832-1853) xxii-xxvi
- Royal Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry, xxx n 1, xxxiv
- voting patterns in, xxii-xxiv, xxxv
- Western district, Conservative weakness in, *see* Mid-Calder, polling district
- See also* Conservatives, Midlothian; elections, Midlothian; registration of electors
- 'Midlothian Campaigns' (1879-80), liv
- Miller, William, 18 and n 4
- Miller, William Henry, of Craigentenny, MP, 20-21, 26, 91, 96, 181 n 1
- Milne, Admiral Sir David, 225-6, 230-1
- Minto, Earls of, *see* Elliot, Gilbert
- Mitchell, Robert, 245 n 4
- Mitchell, Thomas Alexander, 245 n 4
- Mitchelson, Archibald, of Middleton, 12
- Moncreiff, James, advocate, 136
- Montagu, Henry James Scott, 7th Baron Montagu, 199 n 3
- Montagu House, London, 30
- Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Charlotte Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, 75 n 1
- Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Francis Walter, 5th Duke of Buccleuch and 7th Duke of Queensberry, xiii, xxv-xxvi, xxvii-xxviii, xxix-xxxvi, xxxviii, xl-xli, xlv1, 1, liii, lxii, 13-14, 21, 30, 37, 41, 44, 54, 60-74, 76-79, 82, 89-91, 95-97, 100-5, 107-8, 110-11, 113-14, 124-33, 136-7, 139-52, 156-9, 166-7, 169-72, 174-8, 181-4, 186, 189-93, 198-219, 223, 230-1, 245-6
- aids Sir John Hope, xxxi, 199-200
- attitude to manufacture of votes, 139
- determines liability for election expenses, 63-65, 100-5, 107-8, 149-51
- and election surveys, liv-lix
- insists on change of agent, 37, 65
- on peer's interest in representation of county, 211-12
- and protection, xxv-xxvi, xxviii, 204-5, 211, 214
- resolves dispute between Sir John Hope and Sir James Walker-Drummond, 211-16
- and selection of candidates, 133, 137, 139-40, 169-72, 174-8, 204-206, 217-18

- Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Lord John Douglas, MP Roxburghshire 1835-37, xxvi, xxviii, 193, 195, 201, 203-5, 208, 210-11, 214, 221
- Montagu-Douglas-Scott, William Henry Walter, Earl of Dalkeith, MP, (later 6th Duke of Buccleuch and 8th Duke of Queensberry), xxvi, 175 *n* 2, 182 *n* 2, 193, 209 *n* 1, 218
- Monteith, Robert, 242, 265
- Montgomerie, Alexander, Captain RN, 243
- Montgomerie, Archibald William, 13th Earl of Eglinton, lix, 223 *n* 1, 228, 260
- Montgomerie, Hugh, 12th Earl of Eglinton, 243 *n* 2
- Montolieu-Lamb, Sir Charles, 223, 260 *n* 2
- Montrose, Duke of, *see* Graham James
- Montrose, 227
Customs House at, 25
- Montrose burghs (Montrose, Arbroath, Brechin, Forfar, Inverbervie), 222, 227-8, 243, 269, 276
- Monypenny, Alexander, ws, **xlvi**, 111, 126
- Moray, Lord, *see* Stewart, Francis
- Morrison, Dr Alexander, 119
- Morrison, James, MP Inverness burghs 1840-47, 268
- Morton, Lord, *see* Douglas, George Sholto
- Morton, dowager Countess of, *see* Douglas, Susan Elizabeth
- Morton Hall (Liberton), xxxvi
- Mowbray, John, of Hartwood, ws, 120-1
- Mure, William, of Caldwell, 256 *n* 2
- Murray, Alexander, of Broughton, MP Stewartry of Kirkcudbright 1838-45, 246 *n* 5, 253-4, 273
- Murray, Alexander Edward, 6th Earl of Dunmore, 246 *n* 2
- Murray, Charles Augustus, 246
- Murray, David William, 3rd Earl of Mansfield, 238 *n* 1
- Murray, General Sir George, MP Perthshire 1834, 19, 59, 221, 259
- Murray, John Archibald, MP Leith burghs 1833-39, Lord Advocate, xliii *n* 4, 13, 19-20, 109, 125, 228 230-1, 243, 269
- Murray, William of Henderland, xliii-xliv, 18, 19 *n* 4, 109-10, 133-6
- Murray, William David, Viscount Stormont (4th Earl of Mansfield 1840), MP Perthshire 1837-40, 238-9, 255
- Mushet, David, metallurgist, 21 *n* 4
- Mushet, George, ironfounder, 21
- music, xiv *n* 2, 17 and *n* 2
- Musselburgh, xxx *n* 1, 21 *n* 1, 72, 176 *n* 1, 245 *n* 4
- NAIRN, *see* Elgin and Nairn
- Newbattle Abbey, xxxv
- Newbattle, parish, xxxv
collieries in, xxxv
- Newbigging, John Stewart, ws, 109
- Newbyth, East Lothian, 120
- Newlands, James, postmaster, 20-21
- 'New light' seceders, 33 and *n* 3
- newspapers, 34-36
- Newton, parish, xxx, xxxv
collieries in, xxxv
- Niddrie estate (Liberton), 21
- non-intrusion, lx, 151-2, 244, 248, 254, 256, 259, 266, 271-2
- Norton, Caroline, 53 *n* 2
- Norton, George, 53 *n* 2
- Nottingham, 120
- OBAN, Argyllshire, 228
- O'Connell, Daniel, MP, 19, 53 *n* 2, 108

- Ogilvie, Donald, of Clova, 222
 Ogilvie, Jane, lvi
 Ogilvie, Thomas Elliot, of Chesters, lvi
 Ogilvie, William, of Chesters, lvi
 Ogilvy-Grant, John Charles, Viscount Reidhaven (later 7th Earl of Seafield), 249 *n* 2, 253 *n* 1
 'Old light' seceders, 33 and *n* 3
 Oliphant, Laurence, MP Perth 1833-37, 227
 Oliphant, Robert, of Rossie, ws, 102
 Oliphant, Mr [blank], ironfounder, 218
 Oliver, Thomas, of Lochend, III, 125, 127, 129, 132
 opinions, political and religious, influence of, ix-xii, xix-xx, xxiii, xxviii, xxxvii, xlvi, lix-lxi, 15, 33-36, 116, 127-8, 131, 140, 151-2, 182, 207
 See also non-intrusion; protection; Protestantism
 Orkney and Shetland, lxii, 224, 229-31, 238, 245, 247, 255, 274-5, 277
 Oswald, James, MP Glasgow 1833-1837, 1839-47, 226, 265-6
 Oswald, Richard Alexander, MP Ayrshire 1833-34, 223
 Oxenford Castle (Cranston), 3, 14, 135
 PAISLEY, 228, 230, 243, 269, 276
 Palmerston, Lord, *see* Temple, Henry John
 Panmure, Lord, *see* Maule, William
 Parliament, xv-xvii, xx, xxv, xlvi *n* 2, 1, 8, 15, 17, 61, 72-73, 92, 169-70, 172-3, 175-8, 182, 192 and *n* 1, 210 *n* 2, 211 *n* 3
 dissolutions of, 2, 11-13, 95, 110, 174-5
 rumours of, 33, 53, 108, 191-192, 195-6, 198, 206
 House of Commons, xiv, xvii, xx, xxx-xxxi, xlii-xliii, xlv, 1 *n* 2, 8, 53 *n* 2, 107-8, 140 *n* 2, 141 *n* 1, 195 *n* 2, 206, 208, 230 *nn* 2-3, 231 *n* 4, 240 *n* 2
 committees of disputed returns, 138, 238, 240 *n* 2
 Speaker, election of, 19
 House of Lords, 1 *n* 2, 30, 53 *n* 2, 73 *n* 1, 139, 152 *n* 1, 210 *n* 2, 225 *n* 2
 parliamentary reform, ix, xi, xix-xx, xxviii, 4, 15, 116; (1851-52) 192 *n* 1, 195-6
 See also Reform Act (Scotland) 1832
 Parnell, Sir Henry, MP Dundee 1833-41, 226, 241, 245 *n* 5, 262
 Paterson, Andrew, ironfounder, xxi, 9
 Paterson, Susanne, 9
 Pathhead (Crichton), xix, 18, 117
 patronage, ix, xii, xv, xxix, xxxviii, 9, 20-21, 25, 172, 192
 church, 151-2
 requests for, xxxviii, 16, 18, 115, 117
 Peebleshire, xliii, lxii, 67-68, 71, 134, 220, 230, 238, 247, 255
 Peel, Sir Robert, xxiii, xxv, xxviii, lv, lvii, 19, 25 *n* 2, 34-35, 141 *n* 1, 175 *n* 1, 211, 220 *n* 2, 229 *n* 1, 230 *n* 2
 Penicuik estate, 101
 Penicuik Foundry, xxi, 9 *n* 2
 Penicuik House, xxxvi, 143, 170
 Penicuik, parish, xxxvi, 3-5, 8-10, 12-13, 111
 Penicuik, village, xix, xxi, 10, 33
 Perth, 222 *n* 1, 227, 230, 243-4, 270, 276-7
 Perthshire, lxii, 19, 221, 223, 230, 238-9, 247, 255, 259

- election and registration expenses,
255 *n* 5
- Pinkerton, David, farmer, xxxviii,
118-19
- Pinkie House (Inveresk), xxx,
xxxv, 72
- Piper, John, draper, 9
- Pius ix, Pope, 207, 210
- Polwarth, 5th Baron, *see* Scott,
Henry Francis
- Porterfield, Alexander Spence,
gardener, 20
- Portland, 4th Duke of, *see*
Cavendish-Bentinck, William
Henry
- Portland, 5th Duke of, *see*
Cavendish-Scott-Bentinck,
William John
- Portobello, Midlothian, 20, 38
- Portobello district of burghs, *see*
Leith burghs
- Portugal, 67, 73
- preachings, 59 and *n* 1
- Preston Hall (Cranston), xxxv
- Primrose, Archibald, Lord Dalmeny,
MP Stirling burghs 1833-47, 12-
13, 134, 220, 226, 232, 244, 271
- Primrose, Archibald John, 4th Earl
of Rosebery, xxiv, xxxvii, 12-13
- Pringle, Alexander, of Whytbank,
MP Selkirkshire 1830-32,
1835-46, xi, lvi, 177, 221, 240,
257
- Pringle, Robert, of Clifton, MP
Selkirkshire 1833-34, xi, 109,
221 *n* 6, 240
- property purchased for political
purposes, xxi, xxvii-xxviii,
xl-xlii, xlviii, liii, lvi, 7-8, 10,
15-16, 21-22, 23-25, 33, 38,
60, 75, 79-81, 85, 87-88, 112,
129, 184-9
- sales advertised, 38 *n* 1, 188 *nn* 1, 4
- protection, xx, xxv-xxvi, xxviii,
194, 206, 208, 214, 217
- Protection of British Industry and
Capital, National Association
for the, xxvi *nn* 1-2
- Protectionists, xxv-xxvi, xxviii,
194-217, 233 *n* 2
- Protective Association, The
Scottish, xxvi, 194, 196-7, 203,
209
- Protestantism, xvi, xxxii, 73, 175-8,
207, 210
- Purves, Hugh, factor, 135-6
- RADICALS, xxi, xlv, 14, 34-35, 192 *n* 1
Irish, 19, 53, 108
- Rae, Sir William, MP Bute 1834-42,
Lord Advocate, xv-xvi, 16, 35,
212, 221, 229, 234, 249
- Ramsay, Anne, 10 *n* 2
- Ramsay, George, 9th Earl of
Dalhousie, xxxv, 103
- Ramsay, James Andrew, Lord
Ramsay (10th Earl of Dalhousie
1838, Marquis of Dalhousie
1849), MP East Lothian 1837-38,
225 *n* 6, 232, 236-7
- Ramsay, William, of Barnton, MP,
xxv, xxxvi-xxxvii, xlv, liii,
10, 62, 77, 100, 103, 114, 117,
137-41, 151-2, 180, 182-3, 251
and election expenses 1841, 160-2,
164-5, 167-8
- retirement of, 168-78
- Ramsays, Bonars & Company,
bankers, 121 *nn* 1-2
- Ratho, parish, xxxvi-xxxvii, xli,
112, 114, 118-19, 121
- Rawdon-Hastings, George Augustus
Francis, 2nd Marquis of
Hastings, 260
- Reform Act (Scotland) 1832, ix-xii,
xvi-xvii, xxii, xxviii-xxix,
xxx1, xxxviii, xlvii, xlix, liv,
1-2, 4, 6, 8, 15, 19, 23, 72, 116,
139, 224 *n* 1
- weaknesses of, xi-xii, xlv, xlv1, lvi

- Reformers, x-xi, xvii, xix-xxii,
 xxviii, xlvi, 4, 15
 registers of electors, xviii-xix, xxxix-
 xl, xlv, 3, 16, 21, 24, 211
 registration appeals courts, xi,
 xxxviii *n* 3, xxxix
 for Lothian counties, xviii, xxv,
 xxxviii *n* 3, xlv, xlvii, 154, 251
 registration courts, xi-xii, xxxviii-
 xxxix, lix-lx
 Midlothian, xviii, xli-xliv, 43-44,
 60, 103, 136, 153-5, 180, 251
 registration funds, xxxix
 in England, 104
 in Midlothian, xlix, liii-liv, 69,
 72, 104, 128-32, 160, 162-8,
 180-3
 in Roxburghshire, 115 *n* 3
 registrations of electors, x, xii,
 xxxviii-xl, lix-lxi
 Ayr burghs, 260
 Ayrshire, 248
 Caithness, lx, 250
 Dunbartonshire, lx, 250-1
 East Lothian, 253
 Edinburgh, 262-3
 Elgin burghs, 264
 Falkirk burghs, 264-5
 Glasgow, 265-6
 Greenock, 266
 Haddington burghs, xxxii, 266-7
 Inverness burghs 268
 Kilmarnock burghs, 268
 Kirkcudbright, Stewartry of,
 253-4
 Lanarkshire, lx, 254
 Linlithgowshire, 254
 Midlothian, xiii, xviii-xix, xxiii-
 xxv, xxxii, xxxviii, xl-xlvii,
 xlix-l, lii-liv, 6-8, 16, 21-25, 32,
 36-38, 40, 43-44, 60, 74, 82-83,
 85, 88-89, 97-99, 103-5, 128-36,
 138-9, 152-6, 160-8, 180, 188-9,
 251
 procedure, xxxviii *n* 3
 Perthshire, 255
 Renfrewshire, 256
 Roxburghshire, xxxix, lx, 256-7
 Selkirkshire, xxxix
 St Andrews burghs, 270-1
 Stirlingshire, lx, 258
 Wick burghs, 272
 Reidhaven, Viscount, *see* Ogilvy-
 Grant, John Charles
 Renfrewshire, xxxix, lx-lxii, 224-5,
 229-30, 239, 247, 256
 Renton, Dr John, xxi, lxiii, 3-5,
 8-13, 14 *n* 3
 Renton, Dr Robert, 4-5
 rents, xli-xliv, 7, 10, 18, 24, 113,
 127, 130, 135, 185, 187
 requisitions, 1-2, 14, 204
 to the Earl of Dalkeith, 209 *n* 1,
 218
 to Sir John Hamilton-Dalrymple,
 xvii, 117 *n* 3
 to Sir John Hope, 201-4, 210-11
 to William Ramsay of Barnton,
 117 *n* 3, 140, 162, 164, 168, 251
 Restalrig (South Leith), 20, 38
 Riccarton (Currie), 18, 154
 Richardson, John Stewart, of Pitfour,
 227
 Richmond, Duke of, *see* Gordon-
 Lennox, Charles
 roads, xx, xxxiv, 42
 Robertson, Alexander Lambie, *ws*,
 67-68, 71, 102
 Robertson, James Saunders, *ws*, 35
 Robertson, Patrick, advocate, 35
 Roman Catholic issues, xvi, xxxii,
 li, 17, 73, 175-8, 207, 210
 Rose, James, *ws*, 37, 76
 Rosebery, 4th Earl of, *see* Primrose,
 Archibald John
 Ross, Horatio, *MP* Montrose burghs
 1833-34, 222, 227, 228 *n* 12,
 230, 259
 Ross and Cromarty, lxii, 222, 229-
 232, 239, 247, 256

- Rosslyn, Earl of, *see* St Clair-Erskine, James Alexander
- Roxburghe, Duke of, *see* Innes-Ker, Sir James Henry Robert
- Roxburghshire, xxvii-xxix, xxxix, xliii, xlvi, lvi-lvii, lix-lxii, 51, 53, 115, 124, 139, 146, 221, 229-30, 239, 247, 256-7, 273, 275, 277
- Royal Bank of Scotland, xxvii *n* 1, xxx *n* 1, xl-xli, liii-liv, 60, 67, 95, 104, 107, 145-7, 149-50, 156-8, 184-7, 189-90, 216
- Royal Company of Archers, xxvii *n* 1, xxx *n* 1, xxxiv, 74-76, 79, 124
- Russell, Lord John, 1, 192 *n* 1, 195 *n* 2, 211 *n* 3, 231 *n* 4
- Russell, Thomas, li
- Rutherford, Andrew, MP Leith burghs 1839-51, Lord Advocate, 269
- SADLEIR, Thomas, farmer, 119
- St Andrews burghs (St Andrews, Anstruther East, Anstruther West, Crail, Cupar, Kilrenny, Pittenweem), 227, 230, 244, 270-1, 274, 276
- St Boswell's Green, Roxburghshire, 53
- St Clair-Erskine, James Alexander, Lord Loughborough (3rd Earl of Rosslyn 1837), 159 *n* 1, 167 *n* 1, 224, 226
- St Cuthberts, parish, xli, 188
- Sandilands, James, 10th Baron Torphichen, 182
- Saughton estate (Cramond), 171, 173
- Scotsman*, *The*, xiii, xxxi, xli *n* 3, 34-36, 152-6
- Scott, Alexander, Craiglockhart, 119
- Scott, Andrew, ws, 66, 69-70, 78
- Scott, Colonel Carteret George, 77, 119
- Scott, Francis, MP Roxburghshire 1841-47, Berwickshire 1847-59, 239, 257 *n* 1
- Scott, Lady Harriet, xxix
- Scott, Henry Francis, 5th Baron Polwarth, 257 *n* 1
- Scott, Lord John, *see* Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Lord John Douglas
- Scott, General Thomas, of Malleny, 77, 119, 125, 181 *n* 1
- Scott, Sir Walter, xxvii *n* 2, 114, 212 *n* 3
- Scott-Moncrieff, Robert, 13-14, 113, 151-2
- Scottish Guardian*, *The*, 35-36
- Selkirk, Lord, *see* Douglas, Dunbar James
- Selkirk, xi, xxviii, xlvi
- Selkirkshire, xi, xxvii-xxviii, xxxix, xliii, xlvi, lvi, lix, lxii, 221, 229-30, 240, 247, 257
- Selkirk, Charles, accountant, 77
- servants, votes given to, xl, 136
- Sharpe, Charles Kirkpatrick, 100 *n* 2
- Sharpe, General Matthew, MP Dumfries burghs 1833-41, 100 *n* 2, 114, 228, 241, 261
- Sharpe, William, of Hoddam, ws, 100, 114
- Shaw-Stewart family, 239
- Shaw-Stewart, John, advocate, 136
- Shaw-Stewart, Sir Michael, MP Renfrewshire 1830-36, 224-5, 256
- Shaw-Stewart, Miss [blank], lx, 256
- Sheriffhall (Edmonstone), collieries at, xxxv
- Shetland, *see* Orkney and Shetland
- Sinclair family, Caithness, lix
- Sinclair, (Sir) George, MP Caithness 1831-41, 223, 231, 235, 245, 250

- Smith, James, of Jordanhill, **242 n 2**, 260
- Smith, William, Lumford (West Calder), 35
- Smollett, Alexander, MP Dunbartonshire 1841-59, 223 n 4, 235, 250-1
- Society of Writers to the Signet, xxxii, xlviii n 2
- South Leith, parish, 20-21
- Speirs, Alexander Graham, of Culcreuch, MP Paisley 1835-36, 228 n 12
- sport, xxv, 12, 17, 33, 129, 137, 151
- Spottiswoode and Robertson, London, parliamentary lawyers, 231
- Spylaw House (Colinton), 77 n 3
- squadron volante*, a, xlv
- Stables, [blank], 231
- Stair, Earl of, *see* Hamilton-Dalrymple, Sir John
- Stamford, Lincolnshire, xxiv, 137
- Steuart, Robert, of Alderston, MP Haddington burghs 1833-41, 117, 221, 227, 242, 266-7
- Stewart, Charles Campbell, ws, 21
- Stewart, Edward, MP Wigtown burghs 1831-34, 228
- Stewart, Francis, 10th Earl of Moray, 137, 167 n 1
- Stewart, Houston, Captain RN, **239 n 2**
- Stewart, Patrick Maxwell, MP Renfrewshire 1841-46, **256 n 2**, 266
- Stewart, Randolph, 9th Earl of Galloway, lix, 225, 228, 246 and n 5
- Stewart-Mackenzie, James, of Seaforth, MP Ross and Cromarty 1833-37, 222
- Stirling, Charles, of Gargunnoch, **258**, 265
- Stirling, Sir Gilbert, of Uppal, 257
- Stirling, 244 n 4
- Stirling burghs (Stirling, Culross, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, Queensferry), 226, 232, 244, 271, 276
- Stirlingshire, xxxix n 4, lix-lxii, 225, 229-30, 240, 247, 257-8, 273, 275, 277
- Storie, Glaud, Blackhill (West Calder), 34-35
- Stormont, Lord, *see* Murray, William David
- Stow, parish, xxxvi, 12
- Stuart, James, of Duncarn, ws, **116**
- Stuart, Lord Patrick James, *see* Crichton-Stuart
- Stuart-Wortley, John (later 2nd Baron Wharncliffe), **222**
- 'Suggestions for the Approaching Elections', xvii, 1-2
- superiorities, ix-x, xv, 116
- Sutherland, Dukes and Duchesses of, *see* Leveson-Gower
- Sutherlandshire, lix-lx, lxii, 225, 229-31, 240, 247, 258, 275-7
- Sutton, Sir Charles Manners, MP, Speaker of the House of Commons, **19**
- Swan, James, gardener, xxi
- TAIT, William, journalist, xlv
- Tancred, George, of Weens, lvii
- Taylor, James, farmer, 117
- Taymouth Castle, Perthshire, 225 n 5
- Temple, John Henry, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, 67, 116
- Temple, parish, xxxvi
- Ten Pounder, The*, xix-xx
- ten-pounders, x-xii, xix, xxi, xxiv, xlv, lix, 7, 21, 23-25, 223-5
- Thomason, William, Chartist, 269 n 4
- Thompson, Colonel Perronet, 244 n 4
- Thomson, Alexander, mason, 10

- Thomson, James, mine manager, xxxviii, 18
- Thomson, John, Lieutenant RN, x
- Thomson, [blank], 10
- Thorburn, William, nailer, 117
- Threipland, Sir Patrick Murray, of Fingask, 243-4
- Threshie, David Scott, ws, Dumfries, lviii n 3
- Tod, John Robert, ws, 161-2, 164, 168, 180
- Torphichen, Lord, *see* Sandilands, James
- Torthorwald, parish, Dumfriesshire, 151 n 4
- Traill, George, of Ratter, MP Orkney and Shetland 1830-34, Caithness 1841-69, 224, 231, 235, 250
- Traill, Mr [blank], 238
- Trotter, Alexander, Lieutenant-General, xxxiv n 1
- Trotter, Alexander, of Dreghorn, 125
- Trotter, Archibald, 183
- Trotter, Henry, of Mortonhall, xxxiv n 1, 125
- Trotter, John, of the Bush, 183
- Trotter, Richard, of Mortonhall, xxxiv, xxxvi, 125 n 2, 173, 179-84, 198-9, 204, 208, 217-218
- Tweeddale, 8th Marquis of, *see* Hay, George
- Tynebank (Crichton), 22
- Tytler, James, of Woodhouselee, ws, xxxvi, 78, 88, 92
- Tytler, Patrick Fraser, 78 n 2
- UNION BANK OF SCOTLAND, xxxiii, 27 n 1
- United Secession Church, xix, 33-34
- Urquhart, Adam, deputy-registering sheriff, xliii-xliv, 154
- VANS-AGNEW, Colonel Patrick, 273 n 3
- Victoria, Queen, 141 n 1
- Voluntary Magazine, The*, 36
- voluntarism, 33-36
- votes, cost of, xli-xliv, 7-8, 134-5, 188 n 2
- votes, manufacture of, xii, xxxix, 108-10, 139
- attitudes to, xii, xlv-xlvii, 16, 108, 134, 139, 146
- in Jedburgh, xxxii, 267
- methods used, xli-xliv, 6-8, 10, 18, 21, 23-25, 135, 155
- 'a la Whig', 251
- in Midlothian, xiii-xiv, xxi, xxv, xxxii, xxxvii-xxxviii, xl-xlvii, liv, 6-8, 10, 21-25, 37-38, 40, 43-44, 75, 79-81, 85, 87-88, 124, 128-9, 138-9, 153-6, 160, 165, 168, 180, 184-9, 251
- by Whigs, xli, xliii-xlvii, 16, 18, 110, 133-6, 138, 153-5, 160, 180, 251
- in Peeblesshire, 134
- in Roxburghshire, xxviii, xxxix, lvi, 139, 146
- in Selkirkshire, xxviii, xxxix, lvi
- in South East Scotland, xlv
- See also* Fictitious Votes, Select Committee on; property purchased for political purposes; registrations of electors
- WALKER, Francis, *see* Walker-Drummond, Sir Francis
- Walker, James, of Dalry, ws, xxxii
- Walker, James, of Dalry, Sheriff of Wigtownshire, 181
- Walker-Drummond, Sir Francis, of Hawthornden, ws, xvii, xxix, xxxi-xxxiii, xxxvi, xlvii-xlviii, 38-49, 51-57, 59-65, 68, 70, 72, 76-78, 81-82, 87, 90, 94,

- Walker-Drummond, Sir Francis—
continued
 97-98, 102, 112, 137, 143-4, 181,
nn 1, 4, 190, 215, 267
- Walker-Drummond, Sir James, of
 Hawthornden, xxvi, 193-8,
 200-4, 207-11, 213-17, 232, 267
- Walker-Drummond, John Forbes,
 ws, 211 *n* 2
- Wallace, Robert, MP Greenock
 1833-45, 226, 242, 266
- Wardlaw-Ramsay, Robert, of
 Whitehill, xxxiii *n* 3, 26, 62
- Wardlaw-Ramsay, Robert Balfour,
 of Whitehill, xxvi, xxxiii, 143-
 144, 158-9, 164-6, 179-83, 191-
 194, 196-8, 200, 202-4, 208,
 212, 213 *n* 2, 217
- Warrender, Sir George, of Lochend,
 115, 227
- Warwickshire, 204, 211
- Watson, Helen, 170 *n* 1
- Watson, James, of Saughton, xxxvii,
 170 *n* 1
- Watson, [blank], 25
- Wauchope, Andrew, of Niddrie,
 21 *n* 2, 181
- Wauchope, George, wine-merchant,
 21
- Wauchope, John, of Edmonstone
 (later Sir John Don-Wauchope),
 xxvi, xxx, xxxiii-xxxiv, xxxv,
 112, 120 *n* 1, 143, 158-9, 164-6,
 172, 179-81, 195-6, 198, 201-
 205, 208, 210, 217
- Wedderburn, John, of Balindean,
 xxxi
- Weir, Alex, of Boghead, xxxvii,
 33-36
- Weir, Thomas Durham, 33-34
- Wellesley, Arthur, Duke of
 Wellington, xvi, xxix, 220,
 223 *n* 3, 228, 245
- Wemyss-Charteris-Douglas,
 Francis, 6th Earl of Wemyss,
 xxxv, 76-77, 159 *n* 1, 167
n 1
- Wemyss-Charteris-Douglas,
 Francis, Lord Elcho (later 7th
 Earl of Wemyss), 76, 105,
 232
- West Calder, parish, xxxvi-xxxvii,
 17, 33-35, 112, 120-1
- West Calder, village, 33-34
- Westfield, superiority of (Mid-
 Calder), 116 *n* 5
- West India merchants, 242 *n* 2, 258
n 1
- Whigs, ix, xi, xiii-xxv, xxxii, xxxv,
 xxxvii-xxxviii, xl-xli, xliii-
 xlvii, lii-liii, lx-lxiii, 3-16, 18-
 19, 22-23, 25, 32, 34-36, 38, 43,
 53, 67, 77, 80, 93, 100, 103,
 108-12, 114-19, 125-9, 131-6,
 140-1, 152-6, 160, 168, 180,
 192, 203, 206, 217, 220-78
- parish committees, 3, 12
- support from Edinburgh, 128-9,
 131-2
- See also under votes, manufacture*
of
- White, William Logan, of Keller-
 stain, 118, 121
- White, Mrs, 118 *n* 2, 119, 121
- Whitehill (Carrington), xxxiii,
 xxxvi, 26 *n* 1
- Wick, lix, 223 *n* 3, 272
- Wick burghs (Wick, Cromarty,
 Dingwall, Dornoch, Kirkwall,
 Tain), lix, lxi, 226, 231, 244,
 272, 274, 276-7
- Wightman, Mr [blank], 262
- Wigtown burghs (Wigtown, New
 Galloway, Stranraer, Whit-
 horn), 225 *n* 4, 228, 233, 240,
 245-6, 272-3, 276
- Wigtownshire, lix-lxii, 225, 229-30,
 240, 245-6, 247, 259
- William IV, xxii-xxiii, 15, 19, 110,
n 2, 220 *n* 1

- Wilson, Adam, 123
Wilson, James, ws, 135-6
Wilson, Professor John,
 'Christopher North', 156 n 1
Wilson, Robert Sym, ws, 156
Wilson, William, ws, 158
Wood, Alexander, Sheriff of
 Kirkcudbright, xliv, 154
Woodbine Cottage (Lasswade), 188
Wright, Thomas Guthrie, ws, 21-
 22, 77, 111, 113-14, 132
YOUNG, Alexander, ws, 17-18
Young, James, Handaxewood (West
 Calder), 34
Young, John, farmer, 119

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE EXECUTIVE

1972-1973

President

PROFESSOR GORDON DONALDSON, D LITT

Chairman of Council

RT REV. MONSIGNOR DAVID MCROBERTS, D LITT, STL, FSA

Council

JENNIFER BROWN

ALEXANDER FENTON

WILLIAM STEVENSON

PROFESSOR R. H. CAMPBELL

PETER G. B. MCNEILL

W. H. D. SELLAR

RONALD G. CANT

JOHN G. DUNBAR

DONALD J. WITHRINGTON

ALEXANDER D. CAMERON

BRUCE LENMAN

MISS MARGARET D. YOUNG

Corresponding Members of Council

V. H. GALBRAITH, FBA, *England*

PROFESSOR MICHEL DE BOÛARD, *France*

PROFESSOR MAURICE LEE, JR, *USA*

Honorary Treasurer

IAN B. COWAN, PH D

Department of Scottish History

University of Glasgow

9 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QH

Honorary Secretary

THOMAS I. RAE, PH D

National Library of Scotland

George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW

Honorary Assistant Secretary

KATHERINE L. DAVIES, PH D

MEMBERSHIP

*Membership of the Scottish History Society
is open to all who are interested in the history of Scotland.*

*For an annual subscription of £3·00
members normally receive one volume each year.*

*Enquiries should be addressed to
the Honorary Secretary or the Honorary Treasurer
whose addresses are given overleaf.*

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

REPORT

of the 86th Annual Meeting

The 86th Annual Meeting of the Scottish History Society was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society, George Street, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 9 December 1972 at 11.15 a.m. Professor Gordon Donaldson, President, was in the chair.

The Report of Council was as follows:

Unavoidable delays have continued to plague the printing of the eighth and ninth volumes of the Fourth series, *Papers on Sutherland Estate Management, 1802-1816*, edited by Mr R. J. Adam. The volumes are now entirely in final proof, and will be issued to members early in the year. *William Melrose in China: 1845-1855*, edited by Lorna and Professor Hoh-Cheung Mui, is also in an advanced stage of preparation, and should follow about six months later.

The volume for publication for the year 1973 will be *Papers on Scottish Electoral Politics, 1832-1854*, edited by Mr Iain Brash. This will illustrate the development by the Conservative party of a new system of party management after the Reform Act. The documents will be drawn mainly from the muniments of the Duke of Buccleuch and the Melville archives. The preparation of two future works is well advanced. *The Swedish papers of James Spens, 1603-1631* and *Tynninghame Kirk Session Minutes, 1615-1650*; one of these will be the volume to be issued to members for the year 1974.

Members responded helpfully to the questionnaire circulated last year, and valuable information was obtained on the potential market among members for reprints of the Society's publications. Unfortunately the information gained provided only slender support for the Society's contract with the Kraus-Thomson Reprint Corporation, and, acting on this and on comments made by members both on the questionnaire and at the last Annual Meeting, Council decided to cancel the contract. The cancellation will become effective on 1 January 1973, provided that the Corporation does not take up its option to produce evidence that the actual production of reprints for the contracted scheme is already in an advanced stage. In the meantime Council has been considering ways of implementing a reprint programme which could show results in the near future; this programme would be based on the information provided by members.

The questionnaire was instrumental in encouraging members to add to their sets of the Society's volumes by purchasing back numbers; this is reflected in the Annual Accounts. In addition, sufficient names of possible members were given to encourage Council to put into effect its membership campaign. About 120 individual letters were written to people so nominated, and as a result 23 became members of the Society. The success of this personal approach is so striking, especially in a year in which the subscription has been raised, that members are again asked to give names of possible new members to the Honorary Secretary.

Professor Gordon Donaldson this year completes his four-year term of office as President of the Society. The gracious manner in which he has conducted the business of the Annual Meetings and the quality of the addresses he has delivered on these occasions has made his term of office a notable one. Council will propose to the Annual Meeting that Professor G. W. S. Barrow be elected to fill the vacancy.

Members of Council who retire in rotation at this time are Professor A. A. M. Duncan, Dr I. M. M. Macphail and Mr John Simpson. The following will be proposed to the Annual Meeting for election to Council: Mrs Jennifer Brown, Mr A. Fenton, and Mr W. Stevenson.

During the past year ten members have died, seven have resigned, and eleven were removed from the list for non-payment of subscription. New members (including those joining through the membership campaign) numbered 40. Membership, including 225 libraries, is now 720, as against 708 in 1971.

In presenting the Annual Report, Monsignor David McRoberts mentioned the delays which had prevented the issue to members of the two volumes of *Papers on Sutherland Estate Management*. He discussed in some detail the response to the questionnaire sent to members on reprinting, and the subsequent cancellation of the Society's contract with the Kraus-Thomson Reprint Corporation; and commented favourably on the increase in membership which had resulted from the personal letters sent to those nominated as potential members.

The Hon. Treasurer reported a satisfactory balance, but warned that, at this time of increasing printing costs, there were no grounds for complacency about the Society's financial situation.

Dr G. G. Simpson, seconded by Mr W. W. Scott, moved the adoption of the Annual Report, which was duly approved.

The President nominated Professor G. W. S. Barrow to succeed him in the office of President; this was seconded by the Hon. Secretary and

Professor Barrow was elected. Mr S. Maxwell, seconded by Mr J. C. Wallace, nominated for election as ordinary members of Council Mrs Jennifer Brown, Mr A. Fenton, and Mr W. Stevenson, and they were duly elected.

The President gave an address entitled 'World War II: further adventures of the Scottish records'. The proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to the retiring President proposed by Mr R. G. Cant.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF CHARGE AND DISCHARGE OF THE
INTROMISSIONS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER for the
year 1 November 1971 to 31 October 1972.

GENERAL ACCOUNT

CHARGE

I. Cash in Bank at 1 November 1971	
1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	£3,264.76
2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland	40.49
3. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	57.99
4. Sum at credit of Special Investment Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	886.59
	<hr/>
	£4,249.83
II. Subscriptions received	1,475.56
III. Past publications sold (including postages recovered from purchasers)	556.65
IV. Interest on Savings Accounts with Bank of Scotland and Edinburgh Savings Bank	162.47
V. Grant from Carnegie Trust	250.00
VI. Income Tax Refund (1970-71)	165.42
VII. Donation	100.00
VIII. Sums drawn from Bank Current Account	<u>£3,596.67</u>
IX. Sums drawn from Bank Savings Account	<u>£1,300.00</u>
	<hr/>
	<u>£6,959.93</u>

DISCHARGE

I. Cost of publications during year (<i>Sutherland Estate Papers</i>)	£2,450.00	
Maps (<i>Sutherland Estate Papers</i>)	87.00	
Cost of printing Annual Report, Notices and Printers' Postages, etc.	121.37	
	<hr/>	
	£2,658.37	
II. Insurance premiums	37.56	
III. Miscellaneous Payments	100.74	
IV. Sums lodged in Bank Current Account	£3,888.12	
V. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account	<u>£5,171.81</u>	
VI. Funds at close of this account:		
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	£2,863.21	
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland	291.45	
3. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	59.99	
4. Balance at credit of Special Investment Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank (Leverhulme Trust Fund)	948.61	
	<hr/>	
	4,163.26	
	<hr/>	
	<u>£6,959.93</u>	

GLASGOW, 13 November 1972. I have examined the General Account of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1 November 1971 to 31 October 1972 and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

I. M. M. MACPHAIL
Auditor

