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**The Evolution of the British Economy: Anglo-Scottish Trade and Political Union, an
Inter-Regional Perspective, 1580-1750.**

Matthew Richard Greenhall

This thesis examines the nature and extent of Anglo-Scottish trade over the course of regal and political union between 1580 and 1750. It assesses whether the Unions of 1603, 1654 and 1707 had a tangible impact upon Anglo-Scottish coastal and cross-border trade between north-eastern England (north of the Tees) and southern and eastern Scotland (east of the Moray Firth). It considers how industrial similarity between the Tyne, Wear and the Forth affected the trade between them and how these related to wider networks of domestic and overseas commerce. In doing so, it offers a marriage between the study of Anglo-Scottish political and economic relations, whilst demonstrating the need for an economic arm of the New British History which acknowledges regional variation. It concludes that the regional economies of north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland moved from a position of carboniferous-based competition in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, to one of increasing integration and complementary trading in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, something hastened by the Parliamentary Union of 1707. It identifies an immediate change in the level and nature of trade following the Unions of 1603, 1654 and 1707, particularly in relation to the variety of commodities traded and the logistics of commerce. It also determines that political Union was only one influence amongst many over Anglo-Scottish trade and that the differences in the English and Scottish customs systems, fiscal protectionism, and the presence of international war, were all important external factors. In offering an analysis of early-modern trade, it also assesses the usefulness of both English and Scottish ports books for the economic historian, and the important role played by the customs system in state formation and the regulation of commerce.

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Ph.D. Thesis

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2011

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation

BL	The British Library
C.S.P.C.	Calendars of State Papers Colonial
C.S.P.D.	Calendars of State Papers Domestic
C.T.P.	Calendars of Treasury Papers
DUL	Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections
NAS	The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS	The National Library of Scotland
R.P.C.S.	Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland, second series
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
TNA, E190/	Port book series, the National Archives, Kew
TWAS	Tyne and Wear Archive Service, Newcastle
TWAS, 543/	Newcastle Chamberlains Accounts, TWAS

CONVENTIONS

All dates have been formatted in the new style.

All conversions between contemporary weights and measures have been done according to the calculations given in R.D. Connor, *The Weights and Measures of England* (London, HMSO, 1987) and R.D. Connor and A.D.C Simpson, *Weights and Measures in Scotland: a European Perspective* (Edinburgh, 2004)

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1. Introduction – Anglo-Scottish relations: history and historiography.

Anglo-Scottish relations have long interested writers, propagandists and historians alike. From the earliest years of their history as kingdoms, there was an interest in how England and Scotland interacted with one another. Lengthy chronicles were produced of the common origins of the English and Scottish monarchies, their relation to one another and the prolonged conflicts between them.¹ Such accounts continued into the sixteenth century. John Major's *History of Greater Britain* openly considered the prospect of Anglo-Scottish Union in 1521, whereas more aggressively, Henry VIII deployed writers to analyse English claims upon the Scottish throne during the 'rough wooing' of the 1540s.² The easing of Anglo-Scottish tensions towards the late sixteenth century also produced several acclamations for Anglo-Scottish Union. James VI of Scotland actively encouraged the publication of pan-British accounts to bolster his claims to the English and Scottish thrones.³ Yet it was as political tensions declined between the two kingdoms in the late sixteenth century that increasing interest was shown towards the economic relationship between them. Government writers, such as Francis Bacon, poured over accounts of Anglo-Scottish trade and its political implications when plotting a 'more perfect' *commercial* Union for his new master, James I. Others, including the antiquarian Henry Spelman, wrote copious tracts predicting the great destruction and loss to English commerce if this were to occur.⁴ The association of such

¹ T. Johnes, (trans), *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries from the latter part of the Reign of Edward II to the Coronation of Henry IV* (London, 1808)

² J. Major, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland*, ed. and trans. A. Constable (Scottish History Society, X, 1892); R.A. Mason, 'Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain', *Transactions of the RHS 14* (2004), p. 283; T. Bertheleti, *A declaration conteyning the iust causes and consyderations of this present warre with the Scottis* (London, 1542); R. Grafton., *An exhortacion to the Scottes to conformance them selves to the honorable, expedie[n]t, and godly vnion, betwene the twoo realmes of Englande and Scotlande* (London, 1547); N. Bodrugan, *An epitome of the title that the Kyniges Maiestie of Englande, hath to the souereigntie of Scotlande* (London, 1548)

³ A. Melville, *Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia* (Edinburgh, 1594), in G. Buchanan, (ed.), *The Political Poetry* (Scottish History Society, Fifth Series, 8,1995), pp. 276-81; See P. J. McGinnis and A. H. Williamson (eds.), *The British Union: A Critical Edition and Translation of David Hume of Godscroft's 'De Unione Insulae Britannicae'* (Aldershot, 2002); Mason, 'Scotland, Elizabeth England and the Idea of Britain', pp. 279-293.

⁴ BL, Add Ms 41, 613, F. Bacon, 'Certain Articles or considerations touching the Union of the Kingdomes of England and Scotland collected and digested for his maties better service by Sir ffrancis Bacon knight', ff. 37-

writings with Anglo-Scottish political Union increased as the seventeenth century progressed. Innumerable tracts were produced surrounding the Unions of 1603, 1654, and 1707, alongside the failed Union negotiations of 1665-67, 1670-72 and 1702-05.⁵ All of these were concerned with the present state of Anglo-Scottish trade, the potential for political Union, and the likely impact it would have.

It was due to this contemporary fascination with Anglo-Scottish Union, alongside its current political relevance, particularly in Scotland, that historians have continued to probe its intricacies. The Unions of 1603, 1654, and 1707 have all received considerable historiographical attention, both as milestones in Anglo-Scottish political interaction, and for their economic and commercial ramifications. This thesis will combine both of these strands into an investigation of Anglo-Scottish trade and economic relations against the backdrop of political Union between 1580 and 1750. In order to do this with the necessary detail and concentration, it will focus specifically upon Anglo-Scottish coastal and overland trade between north-eastern England (north of the Tees) and southern and eastern Scotland (east of the Moray Firth) between 1580 and 1750. This regional focus will not be used as a microcosm through which to analyse the national economies of both kingdoms, but will build a bridge between the study of high-level political histories of Union and daily trade on the ground and along the coast. The study of trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland will be placed within the macro-economic and political contexts of east-coast trade, the north-sea economy, and the wider border trade. This will be particularly

47; BL, Add Ms 48,163 (Yelverton), 'A Calendar of lawes of England prohibiting or restraining any points of Commerce or Trade', ff. 41-68; H. Spelman, 'Of the Union' (1604), in B.R. Galloway and B.P. Levack, (eds.), *The Jacobean Union – Six Tracts of 1604* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 171-173.

⁵ Galloway and Levack (eds.), *The Jacobean Union*; C.S. Terry, (ed.), *The Cromwellian Union: Papers Relating to the Negotiations for an Incorporating Union between England and Scotland 1651-1652, with an appendix of Papers Relating to the Negotiations in 1670* (Edinburgh, 1902); J. Spruell, *An Account Betwixt Scotland & England Ballenc'd: Together with An Essay of a Scheme of the Product of Scotland, and a few Remarks on each* (Edinburgh, 1705); Anon., *The Advantages of the Act of Security, Compar'd with these of the Intended Union: Founded on the Revolution Principles Publish'd by Mr Daniel Defoe or the Present and Happy Condition of Scotland, with respect to the Certainty of its Future Honourable And Advantageous Establishment; Demonstrated* (Edinburgh, 1706); Anon., *A Discourse Concerning the Union* (Edinburgh, 1706).

important in order to emphasise that both regions were not sealed and isolated units, but were in fact only component parts of much larger economies. This study will therefore also consider material from Glasgow and Gretna to assess Anglo-Scottish trade through western precincts, and from Boston (Lincolnshire) and London to provide a wider picture of Anglo-Scottish east-coast trading. In particular, it will seek to establish whether political Union actually caused an immediate change in the nature and extent of Anglo-Scottish trade. This therefore aims to make a valuable contribution to a rich historiography, which has largely downplayed the immediate economic consequences of Anglo-Scottish political Union.

1.1. Current debates surrounding the economic legacy of Anglo-Scottish Union.

Historians have long explored Anglo-Scottish relations across the period of political Union, considering the individual causes and consequences of 1603, 1654 and 1707. Yet although English contemporaries were invigorated to produce a copious number of tracts analysing the case for Union at the time, English historians have not shown similar enthusiasm since.⁶ The majority of the historiography concerning Anglo-Scottish Union has therefore originated from Scotland and considers the impact of political Union north of the border; whether the departure of James VI in 1603, military conquest and occupation of 1651-54, or the loss of political sovereignty in 1707. Yet although a large number of works exist which deal with each of these Unions individually, very few consider the impact of all three Unions together.⁷ As a result of this, it is difficult to identify overarching schools of thought, which offer common approaches to studying the relationship between political

⁶ C.A. Whatley, with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 1.

⁷ Notable exceptions include, R. Oram, 'From the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Parliaments: Fife 1603-1707', in D. Omand, (ed.), *The Fife book* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 119-144; E. Walter, 'Union of Crowns to Union of Parliaments: 1603-1707', in D. Omand, (ed.), *The Borders Book* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 89-92; B.P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union 1603-1707* (Oxford, 1987); C.M.F. Ferguson, 'Law and Order on the Anglo-Scottish Borders, 1603-1707' (St Andrews, unpublished PhD thesis, 1981)

Union and economic exchange. What is possible, however, is to identify a number of individual works, which have re-evaluated the relationship between the political impact of the Unions of 1603, 1654 and 1707, and their economic and commercial legacies.

In relation to the Union of the Crowns, historians have recently downplayed the significance of James VI's departure for England on Scotland's political infrastructure and economy. Jenny Wormald has suggested that 'there was no European Kingdom better equipped than Scotland to survive without the presence of an effective King', owing to the survival of the Scottish Parliament and Privy Council, alongside the fierce autonomy of the Kingdom's elite.⁸ Conrad Russell has stressed the continued political separation between England and Scotland following 1603, and that there remained 'two crowns, two coronations, two privy councils, two parliaments, two laws, two churches and a border'.⁹ Beyond the continuity in state separation, Lythe and Russell both suggested that the Union of the Crowns witnessed a degree of stability in Scottish economic interests, which included the survival of close trading links with France as an economic vestige of the 'auld alliance'.¹⁰ More recently however, the Union of 1603 has been judged as having a greater economic significance and as having ushered in a new, albeit temporary, period of Anglo-Scottish economic and commercial proximity. Jennifer Watson and Ian Whyte have both cited the existence of free trade between 1604 and 1610/11, the establishment of a common exchange rate, and the exposure of Scotland's merchants and elite to enhanced ideals of English mercantilism.¹¹

As a result of these, Watson has suggested that the Union of the Crowns encouraged a greater degree of Anglo-Scottish economic proximity by the second decade of the

⁸ J. Wormald, 'The Happier Marriage Partner: The Impact of the Union of the Crowns on Scotland', in G. Burgess, R. Wymer, and J. Lawrence, (eds.), *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences* (New York, 2006), pp. 70-71.

⁹ C. Russell, '1603: The End of English National Sovereignty', Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence, (eds.), *The Accession of James I*, p. 4.

¹⁰ S.G.E. Lythe, 'The Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the debate on economic integration', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 5 (1958), pp. 223-225; Russell, '1603: The End of English National Sovereignty', p. 2.

¹¹ J.C. Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade, 1597-1645' (Edinburgh University, unpublished PhD, 2003), pp. 20-21; I.D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c. 1500-c. 1760* (London, 1997), p. 141; C. Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763, Second Edition* (London, 1984), p. 57.

seventeenth century, marked by a rise in cross-border trade.¹² Despite this, others have stressed the fundamental differences that still existed in the economic orientation of the two kingdoms. Peter McNeil and Hector MacQueen have shown the devastating effect that the joint Anglo-Scottish foreign policy, instituted by the 1603 Union, had on Scottish overseas trading during the Anglo-French War (1626-29).¹³ Anglo-Scottish economic and commercial divergence has also been acknowledged by others. Ivan Roots has cited that the causes of the Bishops' Wars went beyond Charles I's stress on religious uniformity, and that the Scottish Covenant represented a wider 'refusal to be dragged along on the coat-tails of a richer, more populous neighbour, with social, cultural, economic traits and interests, different from, even somewhat inimical to, the Scots'.¹⁴ Yet despite the continuation of economic and commercial differences between England and Scotland, and the perceived failings of the Stuart monarchy, John Morrill has stated that there was still a demonstrable desire for Anglo-Scottish political and economic partnership as embodied by the treaty of 1641.¹⁵ Although such a partnership was dictated by prevailing circumstances, the continued commitment towards some form of Union was finally demonstrated on behalf of the Scottish Covenanters by their declaration of Charles II as King of Great Britain in 1650.¹⁶

It was this declaration that opened a new chapter in the history of Anglo-Scottish relations and its historiography. Derrick Hirst has argued that the 'complacent Anglocentrism' of the early seventeenth-century English court was impossible following the civil wars, the conquest

¹² Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', p. 192.

¹³ P.G.B. McNeill, and H.L. MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), p. 270.

¹⁴ I. Roots, 'Union and DisUnion in the British Isles, 1637-1660', in I. Roots, (ed.), *"Into Another Mould": Aspects of the Interregnum* (Exeter, 1998), pp. 3-4; J. Morrill, 'The English, the Scots, and the Dilemmas of Union, 1638-1654', in Smout, (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900, Proceedings of the British Academy 127* (Oxford, 2005), p. 60; J. Wormald, 'A Brave New World? The Union of England and Scotland in 1603', in Smout, (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, p. 33.

¹⁵ Morrill, 'the Dilemmas of Union, 1638-1654', p. 60.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

of Scotland and the forced Union of the 1650s.¹⁷ Unlike 1603, the 1654 Republican Union witnessed the full incorporation of England and Scotland into political and economic partnership, with the foundation of a common parliament and, equally important, the declaration of free trade. Historians have seen the years following the Cromwellian invasion as a bleak period for Scotland, owing to wartime damage and the repeated appearance of plague.¹⁸ More positively, Alan MacInnes has noted that the Union of 1654, and its concession of free trade with England and its colonies, greatly enhanced Scotland's colonial trade and 'was particularly advantageous to Glasgow'.¹⁹

Any lasting impact of the Union of 1654 is generally obscured by the historiographical focus on the decades that followed its dissolution in 1660. In 1902, Peter Hume Brown stated that 1660 marked 'the opening of the most pitiful chapter of the national history [of Scotland]', whereas more recently, Mark Goldie has described the late seventeenth century as a period of increasing divergence between England and Scotland.²⁰ It was with the ending of free trade, the rise in English protectionism and the exclusion of Scotland from English colonial trades, that economic tensions began to 'produce stresses almost as great as those of ideology had done'.²¹ These provoked new calls for a Union and closer economic relationship on behalf of Scotland in 1668-70.²² Historians have therefore viewed post-Restoration Anglo-Scottish commercial and economic relations within an international context, embodied by the

¹⁷ D. Hirst, 'The English Republic and the Meaning of Britain', in B. Bradshaw, and J. Morrill, (eds.), *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (London, 1996), pp. 193-194, 200; Morrill, 'Dilemmas of Union, 1638-1654', p. 65.

¹⁸ F.D. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland, 1651-1660* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 14; S.G.E. Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee: From the Reformation to the Civil War*, Abertay Historical Society Publication, No. 5 (1958), pp. 28-30; T.M. Devine, 'The Cromwellian Union and the Scottish Burghs: The Case of Aberdeen and Glasgow', in J. Butt, and J.T. Ward, (eds.), *Scottish Themes: essays in honour of Professor S.G.E. Lythe* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 1-16.

¹⁹ A. MacInnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 153.

²⁰ P. Hume Brown, *The History of Scotland, Volume II* (Cambridge, 1902), p. 379; M. Goldie, 'Divergence and Union: Scotland and England, 1660-1707', in Bradshaw and Morrill, (eds.), *The British Problem*, pp. 220-245; W. Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 143.

²¹ Hutton, 'The Triple-Crowned Islands', in L.K.J. Glassey, (ed.), *The Reigns of Charles II and James VII & II* (London, 1997), p. 75.

²² Whatley, with Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 96.

continuation of Scottish trading with France, but also the growth of illegal colonial trading with England's North American plantations despite the Navigation Acts.

Undoubtedly, the Union of 1707 has received the greatest attention from historians, starting almost immediately after its conclusion with Daniel Defoe's *History of the Union* (1709-1711).²³ Ever since, historians have battled with the complexities of the Union, its causes, contents and consequences. In all of these accounts, historians have stressed that the Union of 1707 was not the inevitable result of 1603. Ferguson dismissed such suggestions as 'fantasy masquerading as history', although both Whatley and Fry have correctly identified the Union of 1707 as the final solution to the failure of the regal Union and the system of multiple monarchy it introduced.²⁴ Historians have explored the Parliamentary Union within a colonial setting, in relation to European politics and as a piece of aristocratic political wrangling.²⁵ Economic considerations have also been at the forefront of discussions.²⁶ Whatley and Smout have argued that the four economic disasters of the 1690s (harvest failure, the Nine Years War, protective tariffs and Darien) were the key motivations for the Scottish commissioners to conclude Union.²⁷

Yet despite the importance attached to the economic incentives for Union, debate still exists amongst historians as to what extent the Union impacted upon the economy of Scotland.²⁸ Tom Devine has suggested that although the Parliamentary Union of 1707 'was a historic watershed in Scottish political and constitutional history... its short-term economic

²³ D. Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1709).

²⁴ Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p. 142; Whatley, 'The Crisis of the Regal Union: 1690-1707', in B. Harris, and A.R. MacDonald, (eds.), *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation c.1100-1707, Volume 2 – Early Modern Scotland: c. 1500-1707* (Dundee, 2007), pp. 74-89; M. Fry, *The Union: England, Scotland and the Treaty of Union of 1707* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 21-22.

²⁵ P.W.J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1978), p. 197; Fry, *The Union* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 32-40; MacInnes, *Union and Empire*, pp. 277-313; D. Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh, 2007).

²⁶ Whatley, 'Economic Causes and Consequences', p. 151.

²⁷ Whatley, with Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, pp. 187-253; T.C. Smout, 'The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. I. The Economic Background', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 16: 3, (1964), pp. 455-467.

²⁸ T.M. Devine, 'Scotland', in R. Floud, and P. Johnson, (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain: Volume I – Industrialisation, 1700-1869* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 388.

consequences down to the 1750s are much more debateable'.²⁹ In particular, Devine has argued that beyond suffering from a flood of cheap English imports, the Scottish economy felt remarkably little benefit from the Union in its first decades.³⁰ Such an interpretation has been supported by others, and a disparity is generally seen between the Union as a political milestone, and its delayed economic and commercial legacy.³¹

Whereas Devine has questioned the overall advantages brought to the Scottish economy by Union, other historians have considered its impact on individual industries. Whatley has argued that the Union forced the Scottish linen manufacture not only to be more efficient, but also to become more complementary towards the English industry.³² Lythe and Butt have suggested that 'even though the gains from the Union of 1707 were slow in coming, the expansion of the cattle trade, the linen industry and the tobacco trade occurred more rapidly than would have been possible if England's Parliament had remained hostile'.³³ Whatley has also drawn attention to the survival of the Scottish salt and coal industries, both of which were protected by the Union treaty, and thus were able to survive whereas others, notably the Tyneside salt manufacture, floundered.³⁴ Beyond Scotland's domestic industries, the rise of the tobacco trade and Scotland's colonial commerce is generally identified as one of the greatest beneficiaries of the Union. Rössner has argued that it went on to form the foundation

²⁹ Devine, 'Scotland', p. 396-397; see also, T.M. Devine, 'The Scottish Merchant Community, 1680-1740', R.H. Campbell, and A.S. Skinner, (eds.), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*,

³¹ D. Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century: Union and Enlightenment* (London, 2002), p. 86; P. Rössner, *Scottish Trade in the Wake of the Union (1700-1760): The Rise of a Warehouse Economy* (Stuttgart, 2008), p. 40.

³² Whatley, 'Economic Causes and Consequences', p. 174.

³³ S.G.E Lythe, and J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939* (London, 1975), p. 85; see also, Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards Industrialisation* (Manchester, 2000), p. 99.

³⁴ Whatley, "That Important and Necessary Article": *The Salt Industry and its Trade in Fife and Tayside c. 1570-1850* (Dundee, Abertay Historical Society, 22, 1984); Whatley, 'Salt, Coal and the Union of 1707: A Revision Article', *Scottish Historical Review*, 66:1 (April, 1987), pp. 26-45; J. Ellis, 'The Decline and Fall of the Tyneside Salt Industry, 1660-1790: A Re-Examination', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, 33:1 (1980), pp. 45-58.

of Scotland's 'warehouse economy', which underlay its eighteenth-century economic growth.³⁵

Although the Union has been attributed with improving these Scottish industries, Devine has argued that it only acted as a catalyst for pre-existing processes of improvement and economic change within the Scottish economy.³⁶ Allan Macinnes has also identified the existence of a Scottish colonial trade long before 1707, and has suggested that the subsequent increases in Scotland's post-Union tobacco and sugar trades were extensions of this.³⁷ In doing so, both Devine and Macinnes have adopted a holistic approach, and have suggested that the Union of 1707 should only be seen within a broader chronology and as only one positive influence upon the Scottish economy amongst many.³⁸ These more balanced accounts are in contrast to those which have dismissed the Union as having little impact upon the Scottish economy. Foremost amongst these has been Finlay, who stated that the Union did not encourage 'any dramatic up turn in Scottish economic fortunes in the first half of the eighteenth century'.³⁹ In addition to this dismissal of Union, Finlay states that when 'the Scottish economy does begin to flourish, the key factors in expansion are due to Scottish initiative and expertise. In short, the Scottish economy boomed because the Scots made it boom'.⁴⁰ Although indigenous efforts were undoubtedly important, such an account is overly dismissive of the Union's contribution to Scottish economic growth.

Great debate therefore exists in relation to the political significance of Anglo-Scottish Unions and their subsequent economic and commercial legacies. The present approach will

³⁵ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 45; R.C. Nash, 'The English and Scottish Tobacco Trades in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Legal and Illegal Trade', *Economic History Review*, 35:3 (August, 1982), p. 365.

³⁶ T.M. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: social change and the agrarian economy, 1660-1815* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 21-22, 32.

³⁷ Allan, *Scotland*, p. 99; Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, p. 138; D. Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', in A. Grosjean, and S. Murdoch, (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 105-134.

³⁸ Devine, 'Scotland', p. 396-397; Devine, 'Scottish Merchant Community', p. 26; T.M. Devine, 'The Modern Economy: Scotland and the Act of Union', in T.M. Devine, C.H. Lee, and G.C. Peden, (eds.), *The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy since 1700* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 13-33.

³⁹ Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain?', p. 145.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

suggest that instead of searching for evidence of the economic or commercial ‘success’ of Union, or in Finlay’s words, for a ‘dramatic upturn in Scottish economic fortunes’, a quantitative assessment of Anglo-Scottish trade should be made in order to assess the short, medium and long term fluctuations in Anglo-Scottish commercial contact. This will divert attention away from studying structural economic change in the long term and will instead concentrate on the daily fluctuations in trade that were notable to contemporaries, and had a greater role in dictating mercantile decisions and concerns. An assessment will therefore be made of whether the Unions of 1603, 1654 and 1707 had an immediate impact upon trade and exchange, and if so, how this related to the structural economic change cited by historians. In assessing the level and extent of Anglo-Scottish trade between two adjoining regions, the inter-regional approach used here hopes to contribute to the New British History, and in particular, overcome some of its current shortfalls.

1.2. The New British History.

There seems to have been some surprise amongst English historians concerning the emergence of a New British History when the idea was first persuasively mooted by John Pocock.⁴¹ Yet to Scottish, Welsh and Irish academics it did not come as such a surprise that the story of the three kingdoms was ‘more than just the history of England writ large’.⁴² In the decades that have followed Pocock’s article, the New British History has re-written much of our understanding of the early-modern kingdoms and entities which formed the so called ‘Atlantic Archipelago’, and their interaction with one another. The value of completing such exercises has been demonstrated by the longevity and durability of historians’ desire to

⁴¹ J.G.A. Pocock, ‘British History: a Plea for a New Subject’, *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975), pp. 601-621.

⁴² G. Burgess, ‘Introduction’ in G. Burgess, (ed.), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603-1715* (London, 1999), p. 1.

answer Pocock's call. Yet in attempting a more inclusive history of the 'Atlantic Archipelago', the New British History finds itself facing four important challenges, all of which have sculpted the inter-regional approach utilised here.

Firstly, one of the earliest criticisms of the New British History was its overwhelming focus upon the political relationship between the three kingdoms, or the study of 'the constitutional relationships between the constituent parts from the Union of England and Wales in 1536 to the creation of the United Kingdom in 1800'.⁴³ Focus was placed on the interaction of political histories between the three kingdoms, great attention being paid to periods such as the 'mid-seventeenth century crisis', and the ramifications this had for a tentative British polity and 'multiple monarchy'.⁴⁴ Although the New British History's 'spinal cord' has remained resolutely political, social and cultural limbs have now tentatively emerged. Tony Clayton, Ian McBride and Linda Colley have all considered the importance of a common Protestantism to Anglo-Scottish relations, and its importance in creating a British identity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁵ Nicholas Canny has focused on the interactions between the kingdoms of the Atlantic Archipelago from an Irish perspective, including detailed work on their political relations, and their social, cultural and economic connections.⁴⁶ Beyond these general works there have also been chronologically specific contributions from historians such as Laura Stewart who has studied the influence of religion upon the urban-politics of Covenanting Edinburgh, or William Maley's study of Shakespeare's representation of early-Jacobean Britishness.⁴⁷ Yet despite these advances in

⁴³ K.M. Brown, 'Seducing the Scottish Clio: Has Scottish History Anything to Fear from the New British History', in Burgess, (ed.), *The New British History*, p. 239.

⁴⁴ J. Pocock, 'The Atlantic Archipelago and the War of Three Kingdoms', in Bradshaw and Morrill, (eds.), *British Problem* (London, 1996), pp. 172-191; Hirst, 'English Republic', pp. 192-219.

⁴⁵ I. McBride and T. Claydon, (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland c.1650-1850* (Cambridge, 1998); L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London, 1992), pp. 11-54.

⁴⁶ N. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001); N. Canny, 'Irish, Scottish and Welsh responses to centralisation, c. 1530-c. 1640: a comparative perspective', A. Frant, K.J. Stringer, (eds.), *Uniting the kingdom?: the making of British History* (London, 1995), pp. 147-169.

⁴⁷ L.A.M. Stewart, *Urban politics and British civil wars: Edinburgh, 1617-53* (Boston, 2006); W. Maley, "'A Thing Most Brutish": Depicting Shakespeare's Multi-Nation State', *Shakespeare*, 3:1 (2007), pp. 79-101.

religious and cultural histories, socio-economic aspects have still been neglected, and an economic arm of the New British History is particularly notable in its absence.⁴⁸

The existence of a political framework has therefore invariably lent itself to a political chronology. This is the second challenge facing the New British History. The date ranges of 1640-49, 1637-54, and 1603-1707, still hold great resonance with historians looking for interaction between the kingdoms, an approach which Glen Burgess has termed 'episodic'.⁴⁹ Although some of these dates obviously lend themselves to association, the years 1637-54 demarcating the 'long civil war' and doing justice to the complex interactions between the kingdoms, elsewhere such an episodic approach can represent little more than a process of historical vivisection in which socio-economic, cultural and political experiences are divided into malleable chunks for the historian's convenience. This is particularly true when 'high political' dates are used to define socio-economic processes. An example of this is the demarcation of the years 1603-1707 as the age of Anglo-Scottish Union, which risks giving the impression that the 'process' begun in 1603 somehow resulted in that of 1707, ignoring the important and essential processes on either side of these dates.⁵⁰ Such a problem has been recognised by John Morrill who has suggested a holistic approach of studying early-modern British history which embraces all of its composite nations across the early-modern period.⁵¹ Yet although this is an admirable agenda, it is not free from pitfalls, notably of lending itself to Anglo-centricity, or otherwise, an over-reliance upon the comparative elements between kingdoms in order to supply it with a coherent structure over a long chronology.

⁴⁸ Whyte, 'Is a British Socio-Economic History Possible?', in G. Burgess (ed.), *The New British History*, p. 191; T.M. Devine, 'The English Connection and Irish and Scottish Development in the Eighteenth Century', Devine and Dickson, (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 12-29.

⁴⁹ Burgess, Lawrence, and Wymer, 'Introduction', in Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence, (eds.), *The Accession of James I*, pp. xiii-xxvii.

⁵⁰ B.P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union 1603-1707* (Oxford, 1987); E. Walter, 'Union of Crowns to Union of Parliaments: 1603-1707', D. Omand, (ed.), *The Borders Book* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 89-92; Oram, 'Fife 1603-1707', pp. 119-144.

⁵¹ Morrill, 'The British Problem, c. 1534-1707', in Bradshaw and Morrill, (eds.), *The British Problem*, pp. 1-38; J. Morrill, 'The fashioning of Britain', in S.G. Ellis and S. Barber, (eds.), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725* (London, 1995), pp. 8-39.

There is a certain irony therefore, that in attempting to investigate the relationship between the kingdoms of the British Isles over an extended chronology, historians have come to rely on England as a base. Charges of Anglo-centricity have therefore remained, and represent a third challenge to the New British History. Keith Brown has suggested such bias is relatively unavoidable due to the fact that historically ‘England is bigger, it has always been more populous, wealthy and powerful’.⁵² Although this has been problematic within the political sphere, it has also been present within the few socio-economic studies which claim to be genuinely British.⁵³ This has been evident in the work of Keith Wrightson, who despite offering an impressively detailed and wide ranging account of economic developments throughout the British Isles in his work *Earthly Necessities*, concentrated heavily upon England and English economic historiography as a foundation.⁵⁴ The continued presence of Anglo-centricity has led some historians to claim, possibly unfairly, that the New British History is nothing more than English history with Scottish, Welsh and Irish additions, so-called ‘tokenism’.⁵⁵ As a result of this tokenism, and the contemporary rise in Scottish nationalism, recent years have seen a resurgence of Scottish national histories, which have not been reflected within English historiography.⁵⁶ Whereas in 1999, Keith Brown asked the question ‘has Scottish history anything to fear from the New British History’, the question should now probably be reversed; it is the New British History which appears under threat from an eloquent and resurgent Scottish national historiography.⁵⁷ While such national histories have the tendency to stress the differences between the kingdoms, those which focus on the inter-connections between them have overwhelmingly done so through a comparative

⁵² Brown, ‘Seducing the Scottish Clio’, p. 242.

⁵³ Whyte, ‘Is a British Socio-Economic History Possible?’, p. 174.

⁵⁴ K. Wrightson, *Early Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750* (Yale, 2000)

⁵⁵ Brown, ‘Seducing the Scottish Clio’, p. 241.

⁵⁶ J. Wormald, *Scotland: A History* (Oxford, 2005); C. Harvie, *Scotland: a short history* (Oxford, 2002); F.J. Watson, *Scotland: A history 8,000 BC to 2000 AD* (Stroud, 2001)

⁵⁷ Brown, ‘Seducing the Scottish Clio’, p. 241; Devine, Lee, Peden, (eds.), *The Transformation of Scotland*; Devine, ‘Scotland’, in Floud and Johnson, *Cambridge Economic History*, pp. 388-416; R.J. Finlay, ‘Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century’, in D. Broun, R.J. Finlay, and M. Lynch, (eds.), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 143-156.

model which has brought its own problems. Such an approach has been of most use to socio-economic historians who, struggling with complex processes of social and economic change, have used a comparative model to provide their accounts with a greater coherency.⁵⁸ Yet in doing so, it is easy to exaggerate the unity of Britain, and the parallel development of the economies and societies of its respective kingdoms. In trying to avoid Anglo-centricity, whilst also giving a coherent account of socio-economic strands, the New British History therefore risks disregarding significant differences between kingdoms and important regional variations within them. This is the fourth challenge facing the New British History.

1.3. An Inter-regional Approach.

In an attempt to resolve the challenges that are currently facing the New British History, what is being embarked upon here is an Anglo-Scottish inter-regional study over an extended time period. Although it is concerned with the economic impact of Anglo-Scottish political Union, it does not restrict itself to the political chronology of Union of between 1603 and 1707, but instead stretches from 1580 to 1750. In doing so, it is able to establish patterns of exchange which were not directly associated with the political ‘events’ of Union, and allows an assessment of economic and political change in the long term. It will do this, not by comparing both national economies to one another, but through an inter-regional approach. This will consist of a study of the economic interaction between north-eastern England (north of the Tees) and southern and eastern Scotland (east of the Moray Firth) across the prolonged period of political Union, not only within their regional contexts, but also at national and international levels.⁵⁹ In doing so, this study will acknowledge developments within the national economies across the period, but also recognise important regional variations in

⁵⁸ Burgess, ‘Introduction’ in Burgess, (ed.), *The New British History*, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁹ See below, Map 1, p. 23.

trade and contact, which are frequently overlooked by the New British History's stress on a comparative approach. Through this model, the present study aims to resolve the key challenges facing the New British History, and will attempt a marriage between political and economic historiographies, whilst recognising national and regional variations.

The reasons for choosing north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland as geographical foci for such an approach are numerous. Initially, these include the benefits of being able to study trade both across the landed frontier of the Anglo-Scottish border and along the east coast. In addition to this, there are also specific historiographical reasons for this choice of geography, including the relative absence of works dealing with economic life upon the eastern Anglo-Scottish borders. In their study of overland trade, historians have largely focused upon the western precincts, famed for the high-volume cattle trade which passed through Carlisle every year.⁶⁰ Although more prominent than eastern-trades, this geographical and sectional focus upon the cattle trade in the western precincts has skewed our knowledge of the Anglo-Scottish borders, which has only partially been overcome by later works.⁶¹ Although they have received attention politically, little is therefore known of the true complexity of the trade through the eastern borders and how they interacted at local, regional and national levels across a prolonged chronological period.⁶²

In addition to this historiographical imbalance in relation to Anglo-Scottish contact through the borders, historians writing on the economy and trade of north-eastern England

⁶⁰ A.R.D. Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 168-186; T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 212-214; D. Woodward, 'Irish and Scottish Livestock Trades in the Seventeenth Century', in L.M. Cullen, and T.C. Smout., (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 147-164.

⁶¹ A.J.L. Winchester, *The Harvest of the Hills: Rural life in northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700* (Edinburgh, 2000); A.J. Koufopoulos, 'The Cattle Trades of Scotland, 1603-1745' (Edinburgh University, unpublished PhD, 2004); Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', pp. 116-118.

⁶² For socio-political histories of the eastern borders see: D.L.W. Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier: A History of the Borders during the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1928); S.J. Watts and S.J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire, Northumberland 1586-1625* (Leicester, 1975); C.M.F. Ferguson, 'Law and Order on the Anglo-Scottish Borders, 1603-1707' (St Andrews, unpublished PhD Thesis, 1981); M.M. Meikle, *A British Frontier? Lairds and Gentleman in the Eastern Borders, 1540-1603* (East Linton, East Lothian, 2004); R. Newton, 'The Decay of the Borders: Tudor Northumberland in Transition', in C.W. Chalklin and M.A. Havinden, (eds.), *Rural change and urban growth, 1500-1800 : essays in English regional history in honour of W.G. Hoskins* (London, 1974), pp. 2-31.

have focused on the carboniferous economy, centred on coal extraction and the umbilical relationship this brought with London.⁶³ The rise of the coal trades of the Tyne and the Wear are inescapable facts of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both intimately related to the growing domestic market for coal in London and the development of salt panning, glass making and sugar refining on both rivers.⁶⁴ Yet in focusing upon north-east England's commercial relationship with London, some sight has been lost of the economic complexities of the region's economy and its trade with other areas. The current study does not therefore seek to dismiss the strong links held between north-eastern England and London, and the impact the latter had upon the region's economic development, but instead aims to contextualise this relationship within a wider geographical setting.

The fact that the Tyne, Wear and Forth were all expanding coal exporting ports during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a profound impact upon their economic and commercial relationship with one another. Both areas saw the development of related industries, which brought them into direct competition with one another in relation to the salt and glass trades, both at the inter-regional level and for national and international markets.⁶⁵

⁶³ E.A. Wrigley, 'A simple model of London's importance in changing English Society and Economy, 1650-1750', *Past and Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 44-70; D.H. Sacks, 'London's Dominion: The Metropolis, the Market Economy, and the State', in L.C. Orlin, (ed.), *Material London, ca. 1600* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 20-54.

⁶⁴ J.U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry, Vol. I* (London, 1932), pp. 24-35; B. Dietz, 'The North-East Coal Trade, 1550-1750: Measures, Markets and the Metropolis', *Northern History*, 22 (Leeds, 1986); E. Clavering and A. Rounding, 'Early Tyneside Industrialism: The Lower Derwent and Blaydon Burn Valleys 1550-1700', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fifth Series, 23 (1995), pp. 249-268; Ellis, 'Tyneside Salt Industry', pp. 45-58; U. Ridley, 'The History of Glass Making on the Tyne and Wear', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fourth Series, 40 (1962), pp. 145-162.

⁶⁵ Ridley, 'Glass Making on the Tyne and Wear', pp. 145-162; Ellis, 'Tyneside Salt Industry', pp. 45-58; I.H. Adams, 'The Salt Industry of the Forth Basin', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 81:3 (September, 1965), pp. 153-162; D. Anderson, *Sourcing Brickmaking, Salting and Chemicals at Prestongrange* (Prestongrange, 2000); Whatley, 'Sales of Scottish Marine Salt, 1714-1832', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 6 (1986), pp. 4-17; Whatley, "That Important and Necessary Article"; Ridley, 'Glass Making on the Tyne and Wear', pp. 145-162; J. Turnbull, *The Scottish Glass Industry 1610-1750* (Edinburgh, 2001); DUL, DCM/K/L9/22, Statement showing the difference between the cost of salt in England and in Scotland (undated, c. 1667); DCM/LP9/53, Draft petition that trade between England and Scotland must be balanced and controlled (undated); Order in Council, referring to the English Commissioners for trade with Scotland three petitions specified, 10 June 1668, *C.S.P.D. 1667-1668*, p. 430.

This economic similarity between the Tyne and the Forth did restrict the breadth of the trade between them. Neither economy was able to trade their domestic produce with one another in any great volume, although some small quantities of Tyneside coal were shipped to the Forth due to its economical burning properties compared to Scottish varieties.⁶⁶ In this respect, the two regions were not the most obvious trading partners, despite their increasing industrial and consumer economies, centred on Edinburgh and Newcastle, and their geographical proximity. As a result of this, Scottish trade to Newcastle, particularly from the Forth, was more reflective of Scotland's overseas trade than of its carboniferous or domestic economy. The exception to this was the trade in marine and agricultural produce from the Forth and its hinterland, both of which were prominent Scottish cargoes across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whether in its coastal trade or across the border. Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland therefore had the unique position of reflecting the changes and developments within both regional economies in terms of agricultural and marine produce, and of being highly sensitive and reflective of wider changes in international trading. It will be the wider national and international contextualisation of this inter-regional focus, and its correlation with the process of Anglo-Scottish political Union, which will act as the two central strands of this study. They will offer a marriage between political and economic histories within an inter-regional context whilst placing these within national and international settings.

⁶⁶ See below, Table 5, Map 2, p. 53.

1.4. Chapter synopsis.

The present study is divided into eleven chapters, each of which will examine the nature and extent of inter-regional trade within a specific chronology. Whilst doing this, each chapter will also investigate some central thematic strands. These include an evaluation of the nature of early-modern trade, the means through which it was conducted, and how it was represented in the Anglo-Scottish port books.⁶⁷ The logistical and structural nature of inter-regional trade will be established in the opening chapters: Chapter 2, ‘The inter-regional coastal trade, 1580-1638’, and Chapter 3, ‘The inter-regional border trade, 1580-1638’. Although utilising a political and episodic chronology from the majority of James VI in 1580-81 until the outbreak of the Bishops’ wars in 1638, this chronological division has also been partially dictated by source survival, in particular that of the Newcastle port books. Following the thematic and chronological foundations established by these two chapters, Chapter 4 will assess the level and nature of inter-regional trade during the first and second civil wars 1638-48, whereas Chapter 5 will consider the causes, importance and impact of the 1654 Cromwellian Union on inter-regional overland and coastal trade (1648-60). Following the dissolution of the Republic, Chapter 6 will examine the level and nature of inter-regional coastal trade between the Restoration in 1660 to the conclusion of the Third Dutch War in 1674, whereas Chapter 7 will assess that conducted across the border. Each of these chapters will continue to explore the thematic strands developed in Chapters 2 and 3, whilst also combining the analysis of inter-regional commercial exchange with the economic developments experienced in both kingdoms and the political process of Anglo-Scottish Union.

⁶⁷ See below for a discussion of the Anglo-Scottish port books as a source for the economic historian, pp. 31-40.

Following the analysis of the period immediately following the Restoration, Chapter 8 will examine the level and nature of the inter-regional coastal trade between the end of the Third Dutch War in 1674 and the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701. It will pay particular attention to the methods and nature of trade, once again forming a comparison with those discussed in regard to the early seventeenth century in Chapter 2. Chapter 9 will evaluate the nature and extent of overland trade over the same period, 1674-1701, and will build on the thematic foundations laid by Chapter 3. Chapter 10 will then open with the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701 and conclude with the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion in 1716. It will pay special attention to the economic and commercial aspects of the Union negotiations in 1702-03 and 1705-07, the impact of international conflict, and whether any perceivable change in the level and nature of inter-regional trade occurred after the 1707 Union. Finally, Chapter 11 will consider the significance of the parliamentary Union of 1707 in the long term and will examine whether changes in inter-regional trade reflected the economic structural change cited by historians.⁶⁸ These chapters will then be followed by an overall conclusion. Two appendices have also been produced, Appendix I, containing figures which relate directly to one or more chapters, and Appendix II containing those figures summarizing general cross-period trends.

1.5. The analysis of early-modern trade and economies: models and methodologies.

Historians and economists have used a range of sources, methodologies and techniques to assess trade and economic change in the early-modern period. In recent years, a number of source-based approaches have been devised where source-groups, rather than economic models, are placed at the heart of research. Examples include Lorna Wetherill's study of probate inventories to evaluate changes in early-modern patterns of consumption, Craig

⁶⁸ See above, pp. 7-10.

Muldrew's use of account books and legal records to assess the nature of credit relations, and Jenifer Watson's use of the Scottish exchequer books to chart economic change and shifts in Scotland's overseas trade.⁶⁹ In relation to the study of trade, quantitative examination in England was first perfected by Ralph Davis in his analysis of English foreign trade in the late seventeenth century.⁷⁰ In this work, Davis revealed the possibility of reconstructing a quantitative picture of early-modern commerce and the sources through which this could be achieved. Central to his analysis were early-modern customs records and the port books. Since the publication of this early work on the nature of late seventeenth-century English trade, there have been a host of studies which have evaluated the nature of specific branches of trade alongside those in relation to individual ports.⁷¹ The present study will offer a quantitative and qualitative account of Anglo-Scottish trade through the use of the Newcastle and eastern Scottish port books, or customs accounts. Although these do not provide a strict reflection of a port's 'trade', they do give an illustrative account of the taxable, or dutiable, commerce of a particular port. For the period 1580 to 1750, a total of 132 port books have been surveyed from both kingdoms, in addition to twenty-six customs books [Table 1].⁷²

The port books have been chosen as the main source to investigate Anglo-Scottish trade due to the unparalleled quantitative and qualitative detail they offer of early-modern dutiable commerce. Although they do not offer an encyclopaedic account of early-modern trade, and often suffer from shortfalls in their coverage and survival, they still present an extensive account of the early-modern trade passing through an individual port. The port books, and the

⁶⁹ L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, 2nd edition (London, 1996); C. Muldrew, 'A Mutual Assent of Her Mind'? Women, Debt, Litigation and Contract in Early Modern England in *History Workshop Journal*, 55 (2003), pp. 47-71; C. Muldrew, 'The Culture of Reconciliation: Community and the Settlement of Economic Disputes in Early Modern England', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), pp. 915-942; C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998); Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade'.

⁷⁰ R. Davis, 'English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700', *Economic History Review*, 7:2 (1954), pp. 150-166.

⁷¹ D. Woodward, 'The Overseas Trade of Chester 1600-50', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Chester*, 122 (1971 for 1970), pp. 25-42; D.H. Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (London, 1991); N.J. Williams, *The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 1550-1590* (Oxford, 1988)

⁷² See below, Table 1, p. 22.

customs system they reflect, are also useful documents to chart the growth of the fiscal state in England, Scotland and later Britain. These sources are particularly pertinent to assess inter-regional trade due to the abundant survival of the Newcastle port books. Even when these are absent, they can be supplemented by additional contemporary sources, including the Newcastle chamberlains' accounts, whereas those port books from Scotland can be compared to the records of local collections such as the Leith 'Merk of the Tun' records and the Kirkcaldy Sea Box. All of these recorded the levying of local duties on the entry of a vessel into their respective port, either for charitable purposes as was the case of the Kirkcaldy Sea Box, or for the dumping of ballast and for river charges in the case of the Newcastle chamberlains' accounts and Leith 'Merk of the Tun'.

Table 1: Geographical and chronological range of port books and customs accounts surveyed.

ENGLISH Port Books	No.	Chronological range (not necessarily coverage)
Berwick port books	4	1606-83
Boston port books	17	1601-40
London port books	4	1593-1609
Newcastle port books (including sub-ports)	43	1593-1638, 1654-1749
Newcastle chamberlains' accounts	26	1590-1748
SCOTTISH Port Books		
<u>Border Precincts</u>		
Ayton	1	1680-81
Duns	1	1680-81
Edinburgh	5	1662-63, 1665-66, 1681-82, 1682-83
Gretna	1	1665-66
Jedburgh	3	1666, 1681, 1691
Kelso	6	1672-73, 1681, 1691
<u>Coastal Precincts</u>		
Aberdeen	3	1668-69, 1680-81
Borrowstoness	2	1665-66, 1672
Dunbar	1	1629
Dundee	2	1611, 1681-82
Fife (inc. Wemys, Anstruther, Burntisland, Crail, Dysart)	3	1665-73
Forth (inc. Blackness, Bonhard, Bridgeness, Carriden, Culross, Kincardine)	3	1618, 1620, 1671-72
Glasgow	6	1666-73
Inverness	1	1681-82
Leith	8	1666-91
<u>Scottish Quarter accounts</u>		
Aberdeen	3	1742-44, 1747-50
Anstruther	2	1742-45, 1749
Dunbar	2	1742-49
Dundee	2	1742-44, 1748-50
Inverness	2	1742-50
Kirkwall	2	1744-48, 1749
Leith	1	1745-49
Montrose	2	1742, 1748-50
Perth	2	1744-46, 1748-49
Total port/customs books surveyed	158	

Map 1: Geography of customs precincts from which material has been surveyed, outports (black) and subports (grey).



Source: Ordnance Survey Map, Crown Copyright, edited without permission.

The survey of these port books includes the identification of all vessels which were recorded as trading between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland, the

merchants and masters involved, and the individual cargoes entered. The use of vessel numbers to assess the level of trade is open to criticism as vessels varied greatly in their tonnage, and in the size and variety of their cargoes. The present study therefore uses vessel numbers as a crude measure of trade, combining these with a detailed quantitative survey of the commodities traded and the value of trade when national trade statistics are available. The use of monetary value as a key measurement of trade, either in terms of market prices or customs revenue, is generally avoided beyond a limited number of chronological instances. This is due to two key reasons. Firstly, in order to obtain a wide chronological survey of trade, port books belonging to a variety of customs officers had to be used.⁷³ Not all of these recorded the value of a vessel's cargo, making the comparison between different port books difficult. Secondly, the values given to commodities in the port books were the "official" values listed in the book of rates and therefore do not reflect their actual market price.⁷⁴ This was particularly the case in relation to grain and victual, which dominated much of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade, but could also fluctuate widely in their market price from year to year depending on the harvest. Assessment of trade by the values listed in the port books would therefore ignore sizeable chronological and seasonal shifts in demand. The key disadvantage of the approach used here however, is its inability of establishing the financial balance of trade, which cannot be determined in terms of vessel numbers due to the varying size and value of vessel cargoes. This study does not, therefore, attempt to offer a detailed analysis of the balance of payments between England and Scotland for the entire period from port book data, but only assesses this between 1696 and 1707 when national statistics are available. The use of this approach, and the heavy reliance it has upon the port books, requires an intimate knowledge of not only the organisation and workings of the early-modern customs system, but also its efficiencies and exemptions.

⁷³ For the operation of the customs system, see below, pp. 25-31.

⁷⁴ See below for a discussion of the book of rates, pp. 25-27.

1.6. The early-modern customs system.

The emergence of a national system of customs collection was one of the most evident signs of state formation and fiscal development in both early-modern England and Scotland. A system based upon the collection of duties from a series of outports along the coast, and sub-divided into a plethora of sub-ports and creeks, it was also defined by landed precincts at Carlisle and Berwick (England) and Gretna, Hawick, Kelso, Jedburgh, Ayton and Duns (Scotland) for the collection of overland duties. Viewed as a source of revenue by the crown and as an instrument of controlling trade and national competitiveness by parliament, the customs system would develop into one of the most complex and extensive arms of state revenue.⁷⁵ Although generic duties were present on a variety of commodities, the customs system would frequently adapt to the concerns of government, most notably in the form of discretionary protectionism.⁷⁶ These twin aims of the customs system, as a revenue source for the crown and a mercantilistic weapon for parliament, were regularly demonstrated in parliamentary statutes and were reflected in the development of its central document, the book of rates.⁷⁷

1.7. The customs system at the centre: book of rates.

The early-modern customs system was notoriously complicated, in part the reflection of its piecemeal development during the sixteenth century. The first systematic attempt at customs collection in the ports of England occurred under Henry VII when the initial book of rates was issued in 1507. This detailed the commodities upon which duties should be paid

⁷⁵ C.D. Chandaman, *The English Public Revenue, 1660-1688* (Oxford, 1975), p. 11.

⁷⁶ H. Hall, *A History of the Customs-Revenue in England from the Earliest Times to the Year 1827, Volume I - Constitutional History* (London, 1885), pp. 104, 108.

⁷⁷ Chandaman, *English Public Revenue*, p. 16.

upon entry and exit of the kingdom.⁷⁸ It was soon expanded by successive Tudor monarchs, and a uniform customs system was established in both London and the outports by 1565.⁷⁹ This newly organised system was characterised by the regular publication of the book of rates, the most comprehensive of which were those in 1582 and 1590.⁸⁰ It would be following these, and as the seventeenth century progressed, that the book of rates effectively became the handbook of weights and measures, for both domestic and alien trade, alongside duties, tariffs and statutory information.⁸¹ The development of such fiscal frameworks was also reflected in Scotland, which having introduced a customs system based partly on the duties of Edward I, issued its first book of rates in 1597. Due to the broad remit of these documents, the dual purpose of the customs system, and the changing nature of trade, repeated books of rates were issued throughout the seventeenth century in both England and Scotland. In doing so, the number of chargeable duties increased markedly, as did their complexity.⁸²

Although the repeated reissuing of the book of rates demonstrated a greater commitment on behalf of the state to fiscal efficiency, the English crown demonstrated a preference for customs farming by private individuals from 1604-51 and 1662-71.⁸³ It was the incorporation of the customs system under crown control, and thus the removal of the customs farmers' drive for personal profit and efficiency, which saw the English customs system become 'fossilized' from 1671 onwards.⁸⁴ Despite this alleged fossilization in procedures, the late seventeenth-century customs system was to grow in both the range and diversity of its duties,

⁷⁸ E. Carson, 'Customs Records as a source of Historical Research', *Archives*, 13 (1977), p. 76; Carson, *The Ancient and Rightful Customs*, p. 29; R.C. Jarvis, 'Book of Rates', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5:8 (1977), p. 515.

⁷⁹ Carson, 'Customs Records', p. 76; Carson, *Ancient and Rightful Customs*, p. 32.

⁸⁰ Anon., *The Rates of the Customs House: Reduced into a much better order for the redier finding anything therein contained* (London, 1590).

⁸¹ Jarvis, 'Book of Rates', p. 516.

⁸² Chandaman, *English Public Revenue*, p. 12.

⁸³ Carson, *Ancient and Rightful Customs*, p. 43; Jarvis, 'Book of Rates', p. 518; E. Hoon, *The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786* (New York, 1938), p. 7; Chandaman, *English Public Revenue*, pp. 21, 22-23.

⁸⁴ S.E. Åström, *From Cloth to iron – the Anglo-Baltic Trade in the Late Seventeenth Century: Part II The Customs Accounts as Sources for the Study of Trade, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Tomus 37:3* (Helsinki, 1965), p. 73.

partly associated with the need for additional wartime finance and to fulfil the mercantilist convictions of the day. As a result, English import duties almost quadrupled between 1690 and 1714.⁸⁵ The increasing number of import duties, coupled with a colossal rise in the variety of English exports associated with the growth of colonial trade and domestic manufacture, saw the customs system reach a new complexity in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸⁶ The key cause of confusion amongst customs officials and merchants alike was the sheer array of duties which were chargeable on a single item. By the early eighteenth century, it was not unusual to find ‘ten or more separate rates legally chargeable on one commodity’ and Henry Crouch identified a total of thirty individual subsidies which could be levied on a commodity by 1724.⁸⁷ Although the Scottish book of rates contained fewer duties than that of England, it was the dizzying array of duties of the latter that was partly and progressively applied to Scotland after 1707, including the 2,000 acts relating to the customs system’s daily application.⁸⁸ For this to be achieved, the customs system relied on a small army of officials dotted throughout the series of out- and sub-ports, which were intimately related to the production of the port books.

1.8. The customs system at the outports – officials.

Modelled essentially on the customs system of the port of London, the English outports were characterised by the appointment of three patent officers: the *customer*, the *controller* and the *searcher*, each being assisted by his own officials.⁸⁹ Every officer was specifically responsible for the collection of customs within an outport and its member ports and creeks,

⁸⁵ W.J. Ashworth, *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production and Consumption of England, 1640-1845* (Oxford, 2003), p. 43.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159; Hoon, *English Customs System*, p. 3.

⁸⁷ Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, p. 159; H. Crouch, *A Complete View of the British Customs; Containing the Rates of Merchandize* (London, 1724), pp. 1-42.

⁸⁸ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁹ Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, p. 151; Hoon, *English Customs System*, p. 152.

and although each had his own responsibilities, they were essentially intended to offer a system of checks on the collection of duties and assessment of cargoes. At the head of these three officials was the *customer* who was responsible for the collection of the relevant duties from vessels entering and leaving a port, frequently being attended by a *collector*, and returning the quarter, or port books, ‘containing accounts of imports and exports to the customs office’ of the port in question.⁹⁰ Beyond these, the *searcher* was responsible to assist the *customer* ‘in the Business of the Customs without Doors, to see that no Goods were imported or exported without due Payment of Duty’.⁹¹ In doing so, the *searcher* and *customer* were the most obvious interface between the customs system and a merchant, being as they were present on the quayside, checking cargoes and opening crates. In completing this business, the *searcher* was supported by a team of *land waiters* ‘for the Landing, Examining, and Delivering of all foreign Goods imported’, alongside *coast-waiters* who did the same for coast-bound goods.⁹² In addition to these, there were the *surveyors* ‘who are a kind of Inspectors and Supervisors of the whole Business of the Customs without Doors, as well by Land as by Water’.⁹³ In larger ports, these were sometimes divided between *tide-surveyors*, who sat at the head of a team of *tide-waiters*, *tidesmen* or *watermen* to ensure no commodities were shipped ashore before duties had been assessed, and *land waiters*, who ensured everything was unloaded onto the quayside legitimately, whether from the vessel itself or lighters. Finally, the third patent officer was the *comptroller* ‘who, as well as the *customers*, were to be chosen from amongst the best and most sufficient Men’, and who ‘were to sit with the *customers*, and in all things to cheque and imitate their Transactions’.⁹⁴ The *comptroller*, therefore, acted as a safety-check against any fraud or inaccuracies on

⁹⁰ Crouch, *A Complete View of the British Customs; Containing the Rates of Merchandize* (London, 1732), p. 2; Hoon, *English Customs System*, p. 8.

⁹¹ Crouch, *Complete View* (London, 1732), p. 3.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

behalf of the *customer*, keeping his own port books which would likewise be delivered to the Exchequer and compared for discrepancies with those of the *customers*. In addition to these officials at the quay-side were the *riding-officers*. These were responsible for patrolling between creeks and inlets within an outport's jurisdiction to intercept any illegal activity which was not detected by the host of officials already detailed.⁹⁵

Although these positions and responsibilities were established in English ports by the late sixteenth century, the customs system in Scotland was more sluggish in its development. Whereas in England foreign trade could be conducted through the outports, in Scotland it was limited to those places which held a royal charter to trade abroad, known as the Royal Burghs.⁹⁶ Despite this difference, Scottish ports were grouped together into well-defined jurisdictions for accounting purposes, 'each area possessing its own set of customs officials and its own cocket seal to authenticate customed goods'.⁹⁷ As a consequence, the ports of Scotland were divided into eleven precincts, eight of which have been studied here (Map 1).⁹⁸ As was the case in England, the Scottish crown preferred to delegate the responsibility for collecting customs to private individuals in return for a select sum, and custom farming continued in Scotland until 1707.⁹⁹ The Scottish customs system therefore modelled itself heavily on that established in England, including the positions of *customer*, *searcher* and *comptroller*.¹⁰⁰ On arriving in a Scottish port, a vessel master was to present the relevant trading coquets, or cargo receipts issued by the port of origin for the commodities he carried, to the customs house within twenty-four hours.¹⁰¹ Following this, he was required to swear an oath to their accuracy and state to which merchant the commodities belonged.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁹⁶ Carson, *Ancient and Rightful Customs*, p. 119.

⁹⁷ Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', p. 6.

⁹⁸ See above, Map 1, p. 23; These are: Edinburgh/Leith, the Forth Ports, East Neuk of Fife, the Tay, North East, the Clyde, East Lothian and the overland precincts of the Borders.

⁹⁹ Carson, *Ancient and Rightful Customs*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁰ Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', pp. 17-18.

¹⁰¹ NAS, E76/6, *Tables of inward and outward customs* (Edinburgh, 1669)

As in English ports, the central document around which the collection of duties was dependent was the Scottish book of rates, which was first comprehensively produced in 1597, fixed duties having formerly been levied on exports.¹⁰² The issuing of the Scottish book of rates in 1597 represented a major advance in the Scottish fiscal state, offering the first general import duty not only for individual commodities, but also establishing a set rate of twelve pence per pound in relation to a commodity's value.¹⁰³ Although these duties were generally lower than those in England, the Scottish fiscal state had still undergone a massive expansion in the early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴ Customs precincts were established along the Scottish border at Gretna, Hawick, Jedburgh, Kelso, Ayton and Duns in 1611, complementing those English precincts established at Carlisle and Berwick.¹⁰⁵ The foundation of these reflected a greater determination to tax cross-border trade by the Scottish crown and has also left a wide array of primary sources for the use of the historian.

Beyond the foundation of border precincts, one of the most significant developments in the Scottish customs system was the introduction of the drawback system in 1660. Also introduced in England, this enabled merchants to claim back a portion of the import duties paid on commodities which they subsequently re-exported abroad.¹⁰⁶ The conditions of these were similar in both kingdoms, with the Scottish book of rates of 1669 stating that 'all forraigne goods and merchandise first imported may be againe exported by any native within a twelve moneth' for a merchant to be refunded the original import duties paid, whereas the English book of rates of 1660 stated that although Englishmen could export within twelve months, aliens had to do so in nine.¹⁰⁷ It was this system of drawbacks that encouraged the rapid explosion in re-export trading in colonial produce, which dramatically altered England

¹⁰² J. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), p. 113.

¹⁰³ Lythe and Butt, *Economic History*, p. 222; Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', 1597, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰⁴ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁵ See below, pp. 93-96.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

¹⁰⁷ NAS, E76/6 – *Tables of inward and outward customs* (Edinburgh, 1669); Anon., *England and Wales Parliament, The Rates of Merchandise* (London, 1660) p. 53.

and Scotland's overseas trade in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth centuries, and to which Rössner attributes the rise of Scotland's 'warehouse economy'.¹⁰⁸ Yet although the English and Scottish customs systems had developed in parallel to this point, substantial differences still existed in their respective operations in 1707 when a uniform British customs system was introduced.

1.9. Sources and Methodology: The Port Books.

The port books were a record of the customable trade passing through a port as recorded by the *customer*, *controller* and *searcher* for both overseas and domestic trade (each official produced two books annually, one for coastal and one for overseas trade). A large port, such as Newcastle, would therefore produce six port books annually, compiled by each of the three patent officers for coastal trade and overseas trade. It was the port of origin, not necessarily the nationality, of a vessel that determined which book it was entered in. A Scottish vessel trading from Scotland would be recorded in Newcastle's overseas books before 1707, whereas a Scottish vessel trading from an English port would be recorded in Newcastle's coastal book (although the vessel would pay alien duties on its cargo). After 1707, if trading from England or Scotland, a Scottish vessel would be recorded in Newcastle's coastal book, and if trading direct from abroad, in its overseas book. There is therefore a need to correlate both coastal and overseas port books to gain a full picture of Anglo-Scottish trade and the full range of its movements. This is, however, almost impossible for much of the period due to the poor survival of Newcastle's coastal books for the same years as its overseas books. Even when these do survive, the correlation of one vessel in both books is a process fraught with inaccuracies and frustration due to variation in the spelling of vessel names and those of its

¹⁰⁸ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 44-45.

master and merchants. Such a correlation has therefore been largely avoided in the present study. Instead, the English and Scottish port books have been compared with sources such as the Newcastle chamberlains' accounts in order to reveal some of the complex vessel movements which formed inter-regional trade. This approach overcomes several other difficulties when comparing individual port books.

One of the complicating factors with the comparison of port books from a single year were the subtle differences between the roles of the three patent officers. Each of the books produced recorded slightly different material from one another. The *customer* and *controller's* books were concerned with recording the volume and value of commodities and the duty to be paid, whereas the *searcher* provided a generic record of a vessel's cargo, regardless of the duty to be paid. As a result of this, the port books compiled by the *searcher* give the nearest thing approaching an account of a port's 'trade', rather than its customable or taxable trade as recorded by the other two patent officers. Despite these subtle differences, each book recorded the same central variables: the date of a vessel's entry or departure from a port; its port of origin (or destination); the items it carried, their volume, the official value of these commodities as listed in the book of rates (not necessarily the current market value; by the *customer* and *controller* only), and the duty payable.¹⁰⁹ Occasionally, additional information would also be recorded, such as whether the customs entry was a re-adjustment of a previous entry (post-entry), the tonnage of a vessel or, for some limited commodities, whether a *transire* was granted which allowed them to pass through a port *enroute* elsewhere without paying any customs.¹¹⁰

Great stress was placed by the three patent officers on the correlation of these books with one another, and that they should have been regularly and faithfully maintained. It was also

¹⁰⁹ D.M. Woodward, 'Port Books', in L.M. Munby (ed.), *A Short Guide to Records – The Historical Association* (London, 1972), p. 208.

¹¹⁰ Crouch, *Complete View of the British Customs* (London, 1736), p. 17; Hoon, *English Customs System*, p. 268.

their responsibility to dispatch neat copies of their respective port books to the treasury for audit, and from the late seventeenth century, for the calculation of national trade statistics.¹¹¹ It is these neat copies sent for inspection that survive, their orderly appearance disguising what was often a complex and confused process of assessment.¹¹² The port books should not therefore be seen as an accurate reflection of a port's trade; they were concerned with the collection of duties for the crown according to the goods listed in the book of rates rather than giving an accurate view of actual or total trade.¹¹³ Certain commodities, including ballast, went untaxed and unrecorded and thus could distort the image given of vessel movements in the port books. This was especially true in relation to heavily-ballasted trades, such as those in coal and salt.¹¹⁴ As a result of this, the information provided in the port books should be treated with extreme caution, with the complexity of early-modern trade often being hard to decipher from their pages: ships frequently traded between multiple ports and in multiple commodities on a single voyage, merchants gave false information concerning their origins and destinations in times of war, and the information presented in the port books was vulnerable to the activity of smugglers and the corruption of officials.¹¹⁵ It is the latter in particular which poses the greatest challenge to port book coverage of trade.

The early-modern customs system has long been tarnished with the reputation of being corrupt and inefficient. With its low pay and poor motivation, many customs officials were easily corrupted by merchants, smugglers and fellow customs officials. As a result, 'the first line in the fight against the common economy was also, perhaps, the most infected with illicit practices'.¹¹⁶ Much of this illegal activity was of a low level and involved the pilfering of

¹¹¹ Hoon, *English Customs System*, p. 8; R.W.K. Hinton, (ed.), *The Port Books of Boston, 1601-40* (Lincoln Record Society, 50), pp. xv-xvi.

¹¹² Hinton, *The Port Books of Boston*, p. xxxiii.

¹¹³ J.H. Andrews, 'Two Problems in the Interpretation of the port books', *Economic History Review*, 9:1 (1956), p. 119.

¹¹⁴ Åström, *From Cloth to iron*, pp. 38-39.

¹¹⁵ Woodward, 'Port Books', p. 208.

¹¹⁶ Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, p. 157; Hoon, *English Customs System*, p. 195.

goods from onboard vessels or as they were carried along the quayside.¹¹⁷ In order to engage in wholesale smuggling beyond mere pilfering, it was therefore necessary for some level of collusion to exist between the smuggler, *collector*, *comptroller* and *searcher* in unison – effectively the majority of the customs officials of a port due to the series of checks and double checks that the customs system involved.¹¹⁸ Although this was a large undertaking, such cartels do appear to have existed. In June 1715, George Wetherby was held in the Fleet Prison for ‘corrupting the Customs and salt officers about Newcastle in 1700-01 in the certifying of shipments of fish’ whereas, in 1718, ‘a sort of confederacy’ was reported in Scotland ‘between sundry merchants and the Custom House officers’.¹¹⁹

Beyond the need to punish the perpetrators of such acts, there was a creeping recognition across the seventeenth century that increases in both the number of customs officials and their salaries were required.¹²⁰ In June 1725, it was noted that the trade of Blythnook had grown so significantly that ‘a very great smuggling trade is carried on almost without ye least disturbance there being only two Officers’ and there was ‘an absolute necessity for...five more officers [to] be there – appointd viz two boatsmen and three tidesmen’.¹²¹ In relation to salaries, special attention was given to those customs officials on the borders who were seen to have the most challenging job and who were also at the greatest exposure to illicit practices. In 1675, ‘the [land] waiters at Wooller and Sharperton upon the borders of Scotland are to have their salary raised from £5 to £15 per an[um] from Xmas next for their encouragement’ whereas in 1705 an additional £20 was to be paid to ‘3 riding officers upon the borders of Scotland to make their salaries 80l. per an[um]’.¹²² These attempts were joined by those to create a more impartial customs system. One David Forbes, the land

¹¹⁷ Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, pp. 154-155; TNA, CUST 84/1, Newcastle, 15 October 1725.

¹¹⁸ Hinton, *The Port Books of Boston*, p. xvi.

¹¹⁹ Treasury Warrant to the Salt Commissioners, 28 June 1715, *C.T.P., 1714-1715*, p. 564; Report to the King from the Treasury Lords on the petition of Thomas Robertson, 1 May 1718, *C.T.P., 1718*, p. 334.

¹²⁰ Chandaman, *English Public Revenue*, p. 34; Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, p. 159.

¹²¹ TNA, CUST 84/1, Newcastle, 19 June 1725.

¹²² Treasurer Danby to Customs Commissioners, 16 December 1675, *C.T.P., 1672-1675*, p. 866; Treasurer Godolphin to the Customs Commissioners, 19 September 1705, *C.T.P., 1705-1706*, Pt II, pp. 414-415.

surveyor of Inverness, was replaced due to his ‘too strict intimacy with the merchants’.¹²³ Such attempts to root out inefficiencies and corruption demonstrate that far from being fossilized and complacent, the early-modern English, and later British, customs system was making some attempt at reform and efficiency.

Yet even the increase in the salaries of officials, and their greater supervision, did not prevent the large explosion in smuggling during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries due to a rise in demand for luxuries, improvement in smuggling techniques and the colossal increase in customs duties.¹²⁴ Although this smuggling was unrecorded by the port books, case of intercepted smuggling were recorded by the English and Scottish seizure accounts.¹²⁵ These books detail the seizure of commodities by customs officials from blatant smugglers and from those merchants who attempted to evade the payable duties by under-estimating their cargoes. It is almost impossible to gauge the full extent of this, although it is likely to have formed a major portion of the underground economy.¹²⁶ Despite the presence of smuggling, the port books still offer an invaluable and priceless insight into the expansion of the English, Scottish and later British fiscal state, and provide an illustrative, although not authoritative, picture of how early-modern trade was conducted. In addition to this, they are also especially useful ‘in tracing the development of the trade of individual ports, groups of ports, regions, or the country as a whole’.¹²⁷ For this reason, the comparison of port books from differing ports, and in this case, differing customs systems (until 1707), can be revealing of their respective development.

¹²³ Warrant by the Lords of the Treasury to the Commissioners of the Customs in Scotland, 29 April 1729, *C.T.P., 1729-1730*, p. 196.

¹²⁴ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 62; W.A. Cole, ‘Trends in Eighteenth-Century Smuggling’, *Economic History Review*, Second Series, 10:3 (1958), pp. 395-410; Carson, *Ancient and Rightful Customs*, p. 56.

¹²⁵ TNA, CUST 84/1, 1724-1726; NAS, E72/8/13, Edinburgh, Aug 1683-Dec 1685; E72/8/19, Edinburgh, Nov 1689-Mar 1690; E72/14/21, Kelso, Nov 1690-Mar 1691; E503/1-36, May 1707-Sep 1749.

¹²⁶ Åström, *From Cloth to iron*, p. 12.

¹²⁷ Woodward, ‘Port Books’, p.209.

1.10. *The Survival of the port books.*

Beyond the need to treat the port books with caution, their sporadic survival is another challenge to their use.¹²⁸ The survival of the port books varies from port to port, with only 700 of the 4000 books issued for London between 1565 and 1697 surviving.¹²⁹ This poor survival of the London port books has caused some historians to dismiss the use of English ports books as a source for comparative economic study. Chief amongst these has been Phillip Rössner who stated that port books from the eighteenth century have been ‘largely lost in England’s case and thus potentially makes for a Scottish “comparative advantage in source endowment”’.¹³⁰ Although this may be true in relation to London, it is a gross distortion of the national picture to dismiss the English port books as near non-existent. The English outports boast an extraordinary survival in their port books and customs records. Important studies have already been undertaken of those which have survived from Boston in Lincolnshire, Bristol and Chester, whereas Newcastle boasts the survival (some fragmentary) of 1,037 of its port books and related documents between 1592 and 1788.¹³¹ Even when port books have not survived for the Tyne, their absence can be partly compensated for by the survival of additional and alternative documents, such as the Newcastle chamberlains’ accounts. It would therefore be wrong to judge the survival of English port books by the poor survival of London’s, with the English outports offering a viable alternative to the study of trade.

In contrast to those of England, late sixteenth-, seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century port book survival for Scotland is meagre. Although a number do survive for the seventeenth century, these are frequently sporadic and in poor condition, with there being a near complete

¹²⁸ Andrews, ‘Two Problems’, pp. 119-122, p. 119; Åström, *Cloth to iron*, p. 73.

¹²⁹ Woodward, ‘Port Books’, p. 208.

¹³⁰ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 24.

¹³¹ Hinton, *The Port Books of Boston*; Woodward, ‘Overseas Trade of Chester 1600-50’, pp. 25-42; Sacks, *Widening Gate*.

absence of books between 1707 and 1742. The poor quality of those that do survive, and their general absence for much of the period, reflects the considerable lapses and irregularities that appear in the compilation of customs accounts in Scottish precincts, both before and after the Union of 1707. In 1717, it was reported that ‘the Collectors of the Customs in the several ports in North Britain have been very remiss of late in sending to the Officers in Edinburgh the accounts of the shipping and trade in Scotland’, in order for these to then be forwarded to the customs house in London.¹³² The following year, the customs commissioners in Scotland reported to the Lords of the Treasurer that ‘there is no Office there [in Scotland] where such accounts [of imports and exports] are kept’ and that they were therefore unable to present information concerning Scottish trade since the Union.¹³³ This absence of any port books in Scotland was further confirmed by a report of 1719-20 that ‘it is practically impossible to obtain adequate information about the nature and quantity of the goods which Scotland obtains from other countries or exports of her own, because there are no such books in the customs house which could intimate the shipping of each harbour’.¹³⁴ This absence of port book material is both problematic, and intriguing, for the historian as clear expectations existed that these books would be collated and neat copies dispatched to London as was the case with all other English outports following the Union. Such reports would suggest that accounts were neither sent to London nor retained in Scotland. Despite the absence of comprehensive port books for Scotland between 1707 and 1742, some have survived for the seventeenth century. In addition to these, relatively complete runs of quarter accounts survive from 1742 to 1750, which are ‘the only source containing comprehensive information on all

¹³² William Lowndes to the Customs Commissioners in Scotland, 27 December 1717, *C.T.P.*, 1717, pt. III, p. 727.

¹³³ C. Tilson (in the absence of the Treasury Secretaries) to Mr. Martin, 11 September 1718, *C.T.P.*, 1718, p. 570.

¹³⁴ T.C. Smout, ‘Journal of Henry Kalmeter’s Travels in Scotland, 1719-1720’, in *Scottish Industrial History: A Miscellany* (Edinburgh, 1978), p. 48

commodities shipped into and out of Scotland'.¹³⁵ These survive for the majority of Scottish precincts and are effectively port books sent to Edinburgh from the outports on a quarterly basis.¹³⁶

1.11. The use of the port books to study trade.

Although an invaluable source for studying early-modern trade, the port books suffer from several shortcomings in relation to their chronological survival and their inefficiencies in recording smuggling or commodities not listed in the book of rates. Yet despite these drawbacks, the port books have been revealed as more reliable than is often thought. In comparing the port books of London, Ipswich, Hull and Newcastle, Astrid Friss found them to be more accurate than the Danish Sound Toll Registers in tracing individual vessels and cargoes.¹³⁷ Of these, those belonging to Newcastle and Hull were found to be more reliable than those of either London or Ipswich.¹³⁸ Similarly, Sven Åström concluded that the English port books were more accurate than expected in recording the number of vessels passing through the Sound, and 'thus stand up rather well to a comparison with the Northern European Customs accounts'.¹³⁹ These findings are in comparison to those made by Rössner in relation to the Scottish customs accounts, which demonstrated a significant discrepancy between the Scottish books and those of Bremen and Hamburg in terms of vessel numbers and the commodities traded.¹⁴⁰ In light of these findings, the Newcastle port books have been compared with the Scottish quarter accounts for 1747-49. An attempt was made to correlate

¹³⁵ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 91.

¹³⁶ NAS, E72/15/6, Leith, 1666-1667; E72/15/16, Leith, 1672-1673; NAS, E504/17/1, Inverness, 1742-1750; E504/1/1-2, Aberdeen, 1742-1750; E504/10/1, Dunbar, 1742-1749; E504/11/1-2, 1742-1744, 1748-1749; E504/26/1, Kirkwall, 1744-1748; E504/27/1, Perth, 1744-1746, 1748-1749; E504/24/1-2, Montrose, 1742, 1747-1750.

¹³⁷ Åström, *Cloth to Iron*, p. 13.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁴⁰ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 102.

individual vessels in both sets of documents by identifying those vessels recorded as arriving in Scottish east-coast ports from Newcastle or its sub-ports of Sunderland, Stockton or Hartlepool, and subsequently seeing whether these were recorded as leaving Newcastle (or its sub-ports) for those same ports. The table below shows the percentage of vessels recorded arriving in the various Scottish ports from Newcastle that were actually recorded as leaving the Tyne.

Table 2: Percentage of vessels recorded as leaving Newcastle (and its sub-ports) that were subsequently recorded as arriving in the quarter accounts of Scottish east-coast ports, 1747-49.

	percentage of vessels arriving in a Scottish port from Newcastle, that were recorded as departing Newcastle and its sub-ports	percentage of vessels arriving in a Scottish port having left only Newcastle
Aberdeen	82	92
Anstruther	100	100
Dunbar	94	94
Dundee	83	100
Inverness	75	75
Montrose	100	100
Perth	75	75
TOTAL	87	91

Source: TNA, E190/248/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748; E190/248/10, Newcastle, Xmas 1748-Xmas 1749; NAS, E504/1/2-3 – Aberdeen, 1746-50; E504/3/1-2 – Anstruther, 1742-49; E504/10/1-2 – Dunbar, 1742-49; E504/11/1-2 – Dundee, 1742-50; E504/17/1-2 – Inverness, 1742-50; E504/26/1-2 – Kirkwall, 1744-49; E504/22/2 – Leith, 1745-49; E504/24/2 – Montrose, 1747-50; E504/27/2 – Perth, 1748-49.

Generally, the Newcastle port books relating to Newcastle itself, rather than its sub-ports, had the highest correspondence with the Scottish quarter accounts. Of all the vessels entering these Scottish ports, 91 per cent of them were recorded as leaving Newcastle on the same voyage. In some cases, in relation to Dundee, Montrose and Anstruther there was a complete correspondence between the vessels recorded as leaving in the Newcastle port books and

arriving in their respective Scottish quarter accounts. It therefore appears that, in relation to trade with Newcastle, the Scottish quarter accounts actually had a greater coverage of trade than Rössner suggested. However, the process of correlating individual vessels between ports is fraught with difficulties and inaccuracies. This makes the use of additional sources in combination with the port books all the more important. Yet even the combination of the Newcastle port books with other English sources such as the chamberlains' accounts is not without issue, with differences in the weights and measures used, alongside varying chronological coverage making a direct comparison difficult.

As a result of the difficulties in correlating quantitative sources, use will be made of qualitative accounts in order to chart changes to the trade and economies of both kingdoms. These will include state, treasury and colonial papers, alongside the registers of the House of Lords for England, and the registers of the Privy Council and Court of Session rolls for Scotland. Use will also be made of merchant correspondence and account books at both the inter-regional and national level, alongside customs reports and documentation. The combination of the port books and quarter accounts with qualitative documents will allow the placing of this micro-economic study within a macro-economic and political context, having the sufficient depth to analyse inter-regional peculiarities, whilst contextualising these within broader national and international frameworks. The combination of these sources reveal not only the ebb and flow of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade but also its nature, the means through which it was conducted, and whether this changed in relation to economic and political Union at a national level.

2. Anglo-Scottish Coastal Trade, 1580-1638.

2.1. Introduction: coastal trade and its study.

The coastal trade along the east coast of the British Isles was of vital economic and commercial importance to the ports dotted along its shore. Divided between a series of head ports, each charged with administering and overseeing the trade and customs of a variety of smaller creeks and harbours, trade was distributed not only along the coast, but deep within the interior to rural markets and hinterlands.¹⁴¹ With the poor condition of early-modern roadways, alongside the frequently blocked and awkwardly navigable network of rivers and occasional canals, coastal trade ‘remained the cheapest form of transport’ throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁴² It demonstrated a great variety in the breadth and nature of its transactions, from the smallest fisherman’s cobbler conducting a localised coastal trade from creek to creek, to large mercantile ventures trading between several ports in multiple commodities.

Existing studies of a number of east-coast ports have already provided useful information in relation to the growth of specific trades and their relationship with wider regional economies. Great Yarmouth and Kings Lynn were both dependent on east-coast trade to serve their respective regions and hinterlands with a wide variety of domestic and international produce ‘as centres of collection and distribution’.¹⁴³ Both ports demonstrated a growing specialisation in their trade during the sixteenth century, with Lynn becoming ‘the chief corn market in eastern England’, whereas Yarmouth came to play an important role in the trade in new draperies.¹⁴⁴ The filtering of trade and commerce beyond a port into the

¹⁴¹ Wilson, *England’s Apprenticeship*, p. 44.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 44; For a more detailed examination of early modern transport see, T.S. Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750* (Manchester, 1967); Willan, *The Inland Trade: Studies in English Internal Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Manchester, 1976).

¹⁴³ Williams, *Maritime Trade*, pp. 50, 50-68.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

surrounding locality was not restricted to the east coast. Research into sixteenth-century Exeter has revealed the city as acting as a ‘funnel through which moved both the exports and imports of the whole area’, and where ‘regional commerce was the economic lifeblood of the city’.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Bristol has been shown to have relied on the fruits of its hinterland, which stretched into South Wales, the Severn Valley and West Midlands in exchange for continental imports.¹⁴⁶ Such ports acted as both feeders and receivers of goods and produce, channelling these from the quayside to a myriad of coastal, inland and international markets.

Ultimately, the chief market and destination for the majority of vessels along the east coast was London. Enjoying an unparalleled period of sustained growth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the capital drew heavily on surrounding areas and throughout the British Archipelago for its supplies of fuel and foodstuffs.¹⁴⁷ Such demands witnessed the rise of regional specialisation aimed at supplying the capital with the necessary goods it demanded, something which has been cited as cementing the growth of a national economy aimed at the metropolis.¹⁴⁸ Yet in studying the growth of London and its influence on the English and wider British economy, some sight has been lost of the intricacies of provincial commerce between outports.¹⁴⁹ Willan highlighted this when he stated that although ‘some provincial ports were dominated by their London trade... to many that trade was only part of their coasting trade and not always the bigger part’.¹⁵⁰ The focus on the economic importance of London has been well demonstrated by the study of the early-modern trade of the Tyne and Wear, portrayed as being almost solely concerned with the export of coal to the capital.¹⁵¹ Historians Nef and Dietz have provided statistics indicating the colossal increase in coal shipments during the final years of the sixteenth century, in part the result of London’s

¹⁴⁵ W.T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English County Town* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 162.

¹⁴⁶ Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁷ F.J. Fisher, *London and the English Economy, 1500-1700* (London, 1990), pp. 61-80.

¹⁴⁸ Sacks, ‘London’s Dominion’, pp. 20-54; Fisher, *London*, pp. 185-198; Wrigley, ‘A simple model’, pp. 44-70.

¹⁴⁹ H. Zins, *England and the Baltic in the Elizabeth era* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 134-137; Willan, *Coasting Trade*, p. 111.

¹⁵⁰ Willan, *The Inland Trade*, p. 31.

¹⁵¹ Dietz, ‘The North-East Coal Trade’, pp. 287-290.

huge increase in population.¹⁵² Although this is not in dispute, the coal trade along the east-coast was only one portion of the much wider and varied trade of the Tyne and Wear. Whereas the collier vessels remained at the mouth of the river, only 10.9 per cent of vessels that reached the Newcastle quayside in 1590-91 originated from London. These accounted for 9.4 per cent in 1596-97 and 10.2 per cent in 1598-99.¹⁵³ Newcastle's import trade was more complex and varied than its export trade in coal to London would suggest. The coal trade and its significance to the daily consumer economy of Newcastle, and the north east, can therefore be exaggerated if studied in isolation from other branches of commerce. As a consequence of this dominance, 'the monotony of...workaday traffic' in fabrics and foodstuffs, which has served as the basis for the study of other ports, has been neglected in relation to Newcastle.¹⁵⁴

The focus upon the economy of London, and the importance of the capital in state formation, has also encouraged the division of the east-coast trade of the British Isles along nationalistic lines. English and Scottish historians have largely concentrated on the coastal trade of their respective nations, and have rarely considered events or processes beyond Berwick.¹⁵⁵ Although a number of port-based studies assess individual elements of the Scottish coastal trade, Scottish historians have largely focused on international commerce, and particularly on Scotland's links with the Baltic.¹⁵⁶ As a result of this, the similarities between the ports and trade of the English and Scottish coasts are frequently overlooked, and

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287; Nef, *British Coal Industry, Vol. I*, pp. 24-31.

¹⁵³ See Appendix I, Table II, Figure X, pp. 336-337, 346.

¹⁵⁴ Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 38; Williams, *Maritime Trade*; MacCaffrey, *Exeter*.

¹⁵⁵ Fisher, *London*, pp. 185-198; Sacks, 'London's Dominion', pp. 20-43, esp. 42-43; J. Thirsk, 'England's Provinces: Did They Serve or Drive Material London?', in Orlin, *Material London*, pp. 97-108; Willan, *Coasting Trade*; M. Rorke, 'English and Scottish overseas trade, 1300-1600', *Economic History Review*, 59:2 (2006), p. 265.

¹⁵⁶ S. Mowat, *The Port of Leith – Its History and its People* (Edinburgh, 1994); Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee*; S.G.E. Lythe, 'Early Modern Trade, c. 1550 to 1707', in G. Jackson and S.G.E. Lythe (eds.), *The Port of Montrose: A History of its harbour, trade and shipping* (Tayport, 1993), pp. 87-101; D. Stevenson, *From lairds to louns: country and burgh life in Aberdeen, 1600-1800* (Aberdeen, 1986); A. Lillehammer, 'Boards, Beams and Barrel-Hoops: Contacts Between Scotland and the Stravanger Area in the Seventeenth Century', in G.G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and Scandinavia, 800-1800* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 100-107; T.C. Smout, 'Scottish Trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic, 16th – 18th Centuries', in A.M. Stewart (ed.), *Scots in the Baltic: Report on a Conference* (Aberdeen, 1977), pp. 31-33.

an in-depth analysis of Scottish economic interaction with an English east-coast outport has yet to be completed.¹⁵⁷ The categorization of Scottish merchants as foreigners in English ports before 1707, despite *post-nati* status after 1603, and their trade being recorded in the overseas port books, has not encouraged inter-linkage to be recognised between the English and Scottish coastal trades by both contemporaries and historians alike.

2.2. *Nature of Anglo-Scottish coastal trade.*

From the surviving port books and customs accounts of Newcastle and the eastern Scottish precincts, some reconstruction can be made of the multifaceted nature of Anglo-Scottish east-coast trade. At its most basic, Anglo-Scottish coastal trade involved the transport of fish and agricultural produce in vessels that were consistently referred to as ‘open boats’ or small creels. These vessels could vary from small fishing cobbles to a vessel of twenty tons requiring several crew and were ‘probably square-rigged, single-sailed vessels’.¹⁵⁸ Although these small vessels usually only carried modest quantities of produce, such trading could constitute a considerable proportion of a Scottish port’s trade.¹⁵⁹ These vessels moved over short distances and were often recorded as trading between creeks belonging to the same precinct. With their bias towards localised trade in Scottish waters, these smaller ‘open boats’ were only sporadically recorded as trading to north-eastern England.

Far more common was the engagement of vessels in “coastal hopping”, the movement of a vessel between multiple ports on a single voyage, breaking bulk at several of these and loading a myriad of cargoes as it progressed along the coast. The nature and extent of a vessel’s cargo could therefore change frequently on a single voyage. Such movements are

¹⁵⁷ Watson, ‘Scottish Overseas Trade’, p. 4; Whyte, *Scotland’s Society and Economy*, p. 141.

¹⁵⁸ Willan, *Coasting Trade*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁹ S.G.E. Lythe, ‘Early Modern Trade, c. 1550 to 1707’, in Jackson and Lythe (eds.), *Montrose*, p. 99.

often the hardest to detect in contemporary documentation due to variations in the spelling of the names of both vessel and crew, and the problems in correlating overseas and coastal port books for the same precinct and those between ports. Vessels conducting coastal hopping would often be recorded as residing at the quayside for several weeks whilst loading and unloading various commodities. This was especially true as vessels, and their cargoes, grew in size over the course of the seventeenth century, with coastal hopping frequently demonstrating a profound lack of specialisation in the cargoes carried. A variant of coastal hopping was “direct trading”, where a vessel was recorded as trading between two ports, often showing a degree of specialisation in its route and in the commodities it traded. Specialisation could depend both on the nature of the vessel and its cargo, the coal trade encouraging a degree of concentration due to the unsuitability of colliers to carry perishable commodities. Finally, the fourth level of coastal trade, apparent in the port books, was that of “triangular” or “indirect trading”. Invariably more complicated than the other forms, this involved the merger of international and coastal commerce, with a vessel trading between two ports along the east coast via a port abroad, often in Norway or the Baltic.¹⁶⁰ Scottish vessels frequently entered Newcastle (and later Sunderland) with wooden deals and hardware from Norway and the Baltic before they returned to Scotland with north-eastern English produce. The range and complexity of this trade can only be fully appreciated when a combination of English and Scottish port books is used.

Although these categorisations are apparent within the primary source material herein considered, it is important to note that none of the above was exclusive to an individual group of merchants or traders. Robert Schorswood, the owner of the *Hart* of Dundee, conducted a modest trade in agricultural produce along the east coast in 1597. In addition to this, he also

¹⁶⁰ R. Davis, ‘Merchant Shipping in the Economy of the Late Seventeenth Century’, *Economic History Review*, New Series, 9:1, (1956), p. 60, fn. 2.

conducted a triangular trade with Flanders and Norway.¹⁶¹ Beyond individual merchants, a vessel could display a degree of specialisation in direct trading between two ports only then to disappear from the port books and reappear engaged in “triangular” trading with a port abroad. Such examples do, however, illustrate the complexity of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century commerce, and the frequent overlap between coastal trade and overseas commerce. Likewise, the cargoes carried in all of these transactions, although less so in the case of localised trading, were likely to have multiple origins within Scotland and abroad. As noted by Lythe in relation to Montrose, a cargo of wine and timber had very different origins and provides ‘glimpses of the breaking-up and the trans-shipment of cargoes from overseas, or, in the opposite direction, the building-up of cargoes’.¹⁶² Countless problems can therefore be faced when attempting to identify the movements of a single vessel, not least due to the changing of masters, crews and merchants. As a consequence of these variables, voyage reconstructions are only used with the utmost of caution to recreate the trading interests of individual merchants.¹⁶³ Establishing the precise ownership of a vessel is also difficult. The probate inventories of merchants are often filled with a host of percentage shares, fractions and divisions pertaining to individual vessels, which reveal little about their other owners or their trading activities. Where possible, vessel ownership is therefore established through mercantile correspondence, rather than an analysis of probate.

2.3. Anglo-Scottish coastal trade, 1580-1603.

Scottish overseas trade expanded significantly during the second half of the sixteenth century. The value of Scottish exports increased by one-third between 1558-62 and 1593-97,

¹⁶¹ A.H. Millar, (ed.), *The Compt Buik of David Wedderburne, Merchant of Dundee, 1587-1630, Together with the Shipping Lists of Dundee, 1580-1618* (Edinburgh, 1898), pp. 53, 106, 132.

¹⁶² Lythe, ‘Early Modern Trade’, p. 100.

¹⁶³ See below, Table 50, p. 247; Appendix I, Table I, p. 335.

fuelled by a rise in woollen and cloth exports to the Netherlands.¹⁶⁴ The increase in Scottish overseas trade reflected the broader changes occurring within the Scottish economy, with a major expansion of the salt and coal trades to England, the Netherlands, and the Baltic in exchange for commodities which could be subsequently re-exported.¹⁶⁵ Although an increasing proportion of Scottish exports was now destined for England, encouraged by the partial reduction of hostile economic barriers on both sides, the vast majority of exports were still 'headed for Europe rather than England or Ireland'.¹⁶⁶ In a number of cases where English ports recorded large increases in their Scottish trade in the late sixteenth century, specific and attributable circumstances were often the cause, rather than any magnetic attraction between the two economies. In her study of the late sixteenth-century trade of East Anglia, N.J. Williams identified a sizeable increase in Scottish trade along the east coast, encouraged by the shortage of salt at Lynn following the disruption of Bay salt supplies by the French Wars of Religion.¹⁶⁷ In 1575-6 alone, 777 tons of Scottish white salt were imported into Lynn, compared to only 548 tons from Newcastle, with this trade growing to such a level that Williams suggests that Lynn outstripped Veere as a Scottish staple town by the 1580s.¹⁶⁸ This interruption in French supply also coincided with the disruption of Scottish trade with Dutch ports with the coming of unrest and revolt in the United Provinces from the 1570s onwards.¹⁶⁹ The boom in Scottish trading along the east coast can therefore be seen to be in reaction to very specific circumstances following the disruption of foreign salt supplies for English ports, and the closure of alternative export markets in Holland for Scottish

¹⁶⁴ Rorke, 'English and Scottish overseas trade', pp. 281-282; Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', p. 1; I. Blanchard, 'Northern Wool and the Netherlands Markets at the Close of the Middle Ages', in G.R. Simpson, (ed.), *Scotland and The Low Countries, 1124-1994* (East Linton, East Lothian, 1996), pp. 85-86.

¹⁶⁵ Rorke 'English and Scottish overseas trade', pp. 282.

¹⁶⁶ Act rescinding an Act of the Burghs against importing English cloth, 15 September 1599, *R.P.C.S.*, 1599-1604, p. 32; I. Guy, 'The Scottish Export Trade, 1460-1599', in T.C. Smout, (ed.), *Scotland and Europe, 1200-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 62.

¹⁶⁷ Williams, *Maritime Trade*, p. 82.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

¹⁶⁹ C.G.A., Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500-1700 – Industry, Trade and Government, Vol. II* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 115-116.

merchants. Such periodic demand had a beneficial impact on the Scottish salt industry, and encouraged a rapid increase in production during the 1570s and 80s.¹⁷⁰ Although the Tyne and Wear side salt industries experienced similar expansion in the late sixteenth century, Scottish pans continued to enjoy a competitive advantage over them, attributable to the latter's significantly lower labour costs associated with the near serf-like conditions in which its panners worked.¹⁷¹ Although Williams concludes that this Scottish trade with Lynn was 'an extension of the coasting trade to the ports of northern England', in many ways it exhibited fundamental differences in both its scale and nature.¹⁷²

Whereas Scottish trade had increased massively with Lynn, that with the north-east of England was not of a similar significance. Only eighteen Scottish vessels were recorded as entering Newcastle in 1590-91 (from which its first port book survives), compared to the thirty-nine which entered Lynn in 1586-87.¹⁷³ Newcastle's Scottish trade remained modest across the 1590s, and vessels from Scotland only accounted for 4.2 per cent of those entering the Tyne in 1590-91, 6.1 per cent in 1596-97, and 2.8 per cent in 1599-00.¹⁷⁴ The concentration in the salt trade by Scottish merchants trading with Lynn was not possible for those trading with Newcastle, owing to the abundant supplies of Tyneside salt. Instead, Scottish trade to the Tyne was overwhelmingly concerned with the shipment of fish and low-volume agricultural produce, conducted by small vessels with only a limited capacity. Scottish trade with Newcastle was therefore heavily influenced by seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in agriculture, whereas that with elsewhere was more responsive to international market conditions, though still obviously affected by domestic fluctuations in the availability of coal, manpower and shipping. It is due to the importance of agricultural produce amongst

¹⁷⁰ Whatley, 'Important and Necessary Article', pp. 24, 26, 43; Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, pp. 142, 144; Guy, 'Scottish Export Trade', pp. 66-67.

¹⁷¹ M.M. Meikle, and C.M. Newman, *Sunderland and its Origins: Monks to Mariners* (London, 2007), pp. 96-102; Adams, 'Salt Industry of the Forth Basin', p. 161.

¹⁷² Williams, *Maritime Trade*, pp. 80-81.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 84; TWAS, 543/17, 1590-1591.

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix I, Table II, pp. 336-337; TWAS, 543/17, 1590-1591; 543/20, 1596-1597; 543/20, 1599-00.

Scottish cargoes entering Newcastle that trade fell in late August and September during the harvest time and peaked once it had been gathered [Figure 1].¹⁷⁵ Similarly the fishing industry appeared to demonstrate a degree of seasonality, with D.G. Adams suggesting that many east-coast fishermen would work in seasonal employment in the coal mines during the summer months, returning to fishing during the winter.¹⁷⁶

Table 3: Scottish agricultural produce imported into Newcastle, 1590-1600.

	1590-91		1593-94		1597-98		1599-00		Measure
	Cargoes	Vol.	Cargoes.	Vol.	Cargoes	Vol.	Cargoes	Vol.	
Fish	6	12,100	13	275,200	6	9,400	1	3,000	loose
Bigg	5	17							chaldrons
Corn	3	8.5			1				chaldrons
Wine	1	12			1	1	4	58	tuns

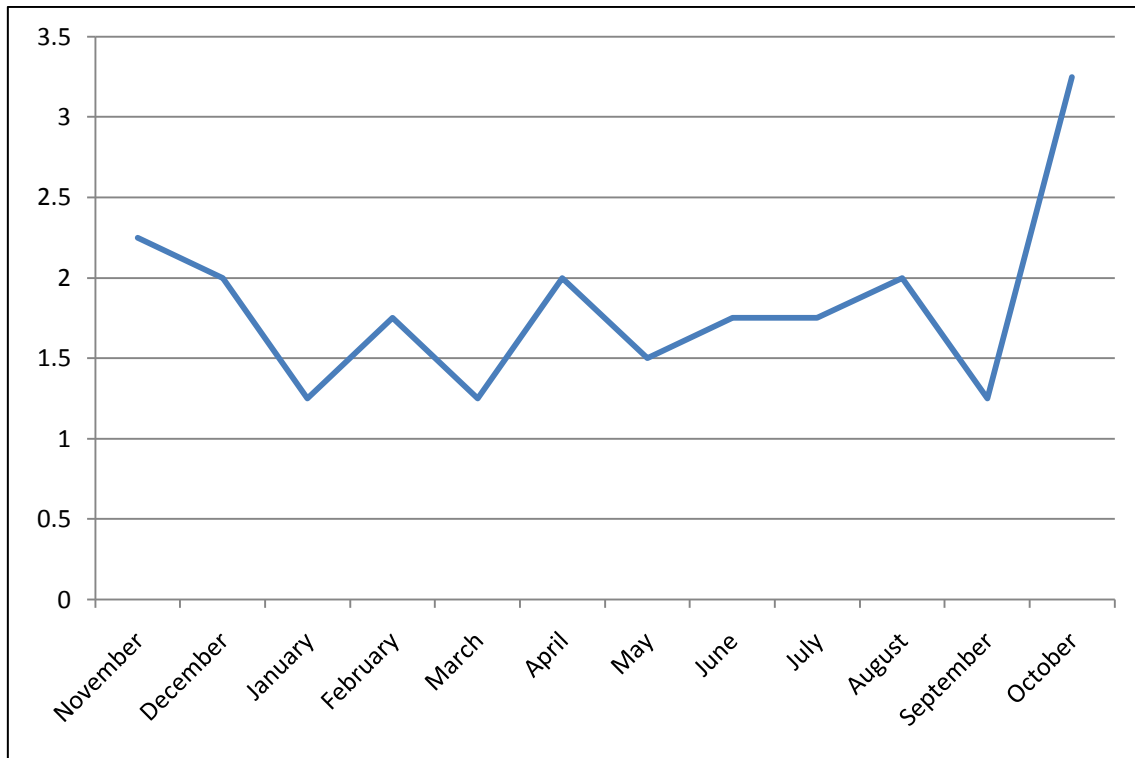
Key: cargoes = the number of vessels on which this commodity appears, Volume i.e. caldron, ton, wey, fother = the physical amount of commodity imported in total.

Source: TWAS, 543/17, 1590-1591; 543/20, 1597-1600; TNA, E190/185/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1593-Xmas 1594.

¹⁷⁵ See below, Figure 1, p. 50; Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, p. 88.

¹⁷⁶ D.G. Adams, "'Abundant with all kinde of fishes': Sea-fishing before 1800", in Jackson and Lythe (eds.), *Montrose*, pp. 230-231.

Figure 1: Seasonality of Scottish trade entering Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1590-1600 (mean number of vessels per month).



Source: TWAS, 543/17, 1590-1591; 543/20, 1597-1600; TNA, E190/185/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1593-Xmas 1594.

The prominence of grains and victual amongst Scottish cargoes was symptomatic of the wider importance of agriculture to the economy of Scotland. In her research into Scotland's late-medieval and early-modern export trade, Isabel Guy calculated that the shipment of agrarian produce accounted for over 60 per cent of Scottish customs revenue between 1460 and 1599.¹⁷⁷ Despite the overall importance of agriculture to the economy of Scotland, the volumes of grain and victual shipped to Newcastle were still relatively modest, as were the number of vessels recorded as conducting this trade. Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade

¹⁷⁷ Guy, 'Scottish Export Trade', p. 63; R.A. Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland, 1500-1800', in Houston, and Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 120; I.F. Grant, *The Social and Economic Development of Scotland Before 1603* (Edinburgh, 1930), pp. 305-315.

should not, however, be dismissed as insignificant. Even the prosperous Scottish burgh of Aberdeen only recorded an average of twelve vessels trading overseas per annum in the 1570s and 1580s.¹⁷⁸

Unlike Scottish trade with Lynn, which was dominated by vessels from Kirkcaldy, the majority of Scottish vessels entering Newcastle originated from Dundee. These accounted for 28 per cent (nineteen vessels) of all Scottish vessels entering the Tyne between 1590 and 1600.¹⁷⁹ This is somewhat unsurprising owing to Dundee's prominence as a major trading port, having grown to equal the size of Norwich over the course of the sixteenth century and experiencing a degree of urbanisation similar to the Forth-side ports.¹⁸⁰ With extensive overseas connections, especially with the Baltic, Dundee had demonstrated great agricultural and proto-industrial development, a process aided by the import of Newcastle coal.¹⁸¹ Being outside the Forth and Scotland's main coal fields, vessels from Dundee were recorded as leaving Newcastle with modest quantities of coal in the 1590s. Rather than being motivated by fiscal discrepancies between Newcastle coal and the Forth mining districts, as would develop in the eighteenth century, this trade appears to have been demand driven.¹⁸² In doing so, it went beyond Dundee to a variety of Scottish east-coast ports, with Newcastle coal being preferred to some Scottish varieties due to its more economical and consistent burning, whilst also acting as a convenient ballast for vessels returning to Scotland [Map 2].¹⁸³ This trade was

¹⁷⁸ Rorke, 'The Scottish Customs Books as a source for sixteenth-century mercantile studies', *Scottish Archives*, 11 (2005), pp. 95-96.

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix I, Table II, pp. 336-337; TWAS, 543/17, 1590-61; 543/20, 1596-97; 543/27, 1599-1600; Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee*, pp. 5-7.

¹⁸⁰ Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, p. 115.

¹⁸¹ Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁸² In the eighteenth century a 3s 8d duty on all coal exported from the Forth gave Tyneside coal a great advantage over the Scottish coal trade outside the Forth's boundaries, see B.F. Duckman, *A History of the Scottish Coal Industry, Vol. I, 1700-1815: A Social and Industrial History* (Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 37.

¹⁸³ For destinations see below, Map 2, p. 53; Anon., 'The Compleat Collier, Or, The Whole Art of Sinking, Getting, and Working, Coal-Mines, &c. As Is now used in the Northern Parts, Especially about Sunderland and New-Castle (London, 1708)', in *Reprints of Rare Tracts (Imprints of Ancient Manuscripts), Chiefly Illustrative of the history of the northern Counties; and Printed at the Press of M.A. Richardson* (Newcastle, 1849), pp. 16-17; Nef, *British Coal Industry, Vol. I.*, pp. 44-47.

also encouraged by a shortage of coal within Scotland, with the Scottish Privy Council outlawing the export of coal to England in 1586 and again in 1597.¹⁸⁴

Table 4: Mineral related imports onboard Scottish vessels from Newcastle, 1590-1600.

	1590-91		1593-94		1597-98		1599-00		Measure
	Cargoes	Vol.	Cargoes	Vol.	Cargoes	Vol.	Cargoes	Vol.	
Coal	13	321	12	200	24	426	6	138	chaldrons
Ballast	13	210			11	159	6	72	ton
Salt	1	12							wey
Lead	4	35					1	1	fother

Key: cargoes = the number of vessels on which this commodity appears. Volume (i.e. chaldron, ton, wey, fother) = the physical amount of commodity imported in total.

Source: TWAS, 543/17, 1590-1591; 543/20, 1597-1600; TNA, E190/185/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1593-Xmas 1594.

These Scottish imports of Newcastle coal were minute in comparison to the quantities shipped to London and demand was periodically reduced by regional increases in Scottish coal production.¹⁸⁵ Even at its height in 1597-98, Newcastle coal exported to Scotland only accounted for 0.56 per cent of the total coal exported from the Tyne, the majority of which went to London, Hull and Kings Lynn.¹⁸⁶ Scotland was therefore only a minor destination for Newcastle coal and was likely to only have contributed a small proportion to the total level of Scottish coal consumption. Whether for reasons of ballast or demand within Scotland, the trade northwards in coal is revealing of the divergence and complexity of east-coast coal trade.

¹⁸⁴ Act against exporting certain goods to England, 23 September 1586, *R.P.C.S., 1585-1592*, p. 104; Act Anent export of coal, 13 May 1597, *R.P.C.S., 1592-1599*, p. 386.

¹⁸⁵ Nef, *British Coal Industry, Vol. I*, pp. 42-45.

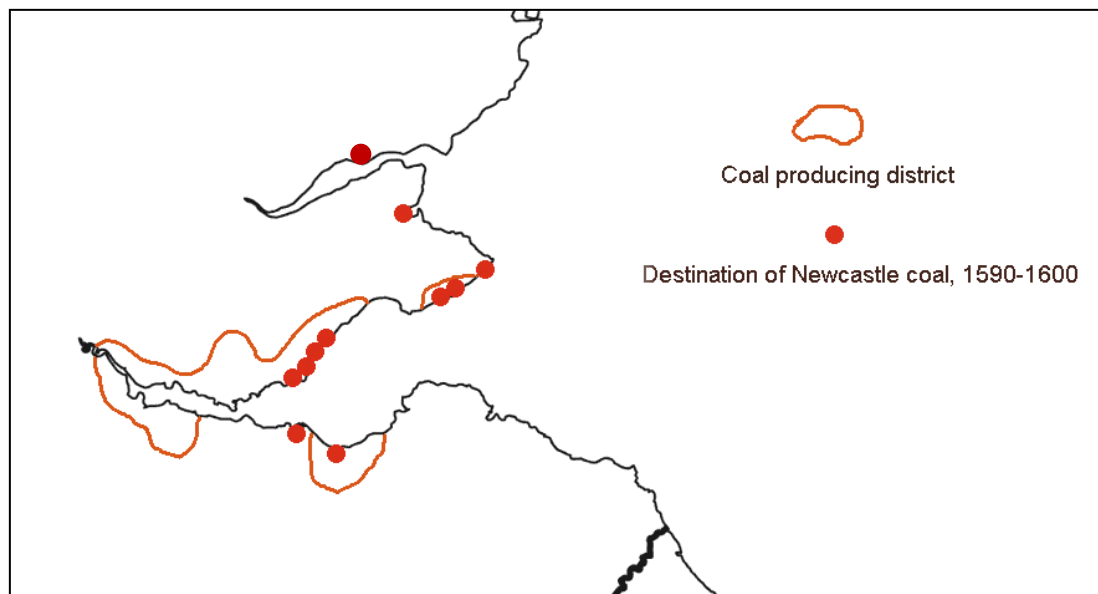
¹⁸⁶ Dietz, 'The North-East Coal Trade', p. 286.

Table 5: Coal exports onboard Scottish vessels from Newcastle divided by port of destination, 1590-1600.

	1590-91		1593-94		1596-97		1599-00	
	Cargo	Chaldron	Cargo	Chaldron	Cargo	Chaldron	Cargo	Chaldron
Aberdeen	1	5	1	10				
Anstruther	2	38	5	94				
Burtisland					2	72	1	24
Crail			1	16	1	12		
Dumfries							1	38
Dundee	5	147			7	145	2	26
Dysart					3	27	2	50
Fisherow					1	10		
Kinghorn	1	8			1	18		
Kirkaldy	1	14	2	23	4	52		
Leith			1	23	2	55		
Pettenweam			2	34	1	22		
Prestonpans	1	22						
St Andrews	2	87			2	13		
<i>Total</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>321</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>200</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>426</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>138</i>

Source: TWAS, 543/17, 1590-91; 543/20, 1597-1600; TNA, E190/185/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1593-Xmas 1594.

Map 2: Destination of Newcastle coal, 1590-1600.



Source: Placement of coalfields taken from Nef, *British Coal Industry, Vol. I*, p. 18; location of Newcastle coal destinations, TWAS, 543/17, 1590-91; 543/20, 1597-1600.

Beyond coal, other aspects of Newcastle's carboniferous economy were represented in cargoes destined northwards, notably small quantities of salt for the curing of fish for which Scottish salt was frequently unsuitable owing to its poor quality.¹⁸⁷ Additionally, the appearance of lead in Scottish cargoes leaving Newcastle was evidence of the wider north-eastern English economy, this having been mined in Weardale and Teesdale in the west of County Durham, and shipped from Newcastle before the ports of Hartlepool and Stockton became sizeable alternatives. This is a further sign of how a port's trade could stretch far beyond its immediate rural hinterland to the wider regional economy. It also shows that lead, like north-eastern coal, could constitute a profitable form of ballast for Scottish merchants returning northwards.¹⁸⁸

Beyond the trade with Dundee, the smaller ports of Crail and Leven were important in the fish and grain trade to Newcastle. Much of this agricultural produce was likely to have originated from the agricultural hinterlands of such ports, with Crail experiencing a consolidation of its surrounding field strips as a means of agricultural improvement and a shift away from subsistence farming in the late sixteenth century.¹⁸⁹ As a result of this, merchants could have a mix of commercial and agricultural interests, again causing a seasonal slump in coastal trade during harvest time [Figure 1].¹⁹⁰ The dominance of these agricultural products, particularly fish and grains, helps to explain the sudden decline in Scottish trade with the north-east of England in the late-1590s, corresponding with famine north of the border culminating in 1597.¹⁹¹ It was during this period of poor harvests that the

¹⁸⁷ Grant, *The Social and Economic Development*, p. 316; B. Walker, "'Full Reid and Sweit and of the Rycht Bind of Monros': the Salmon Industry", in G. Jackson and S.G. Lythe (eds.), *The Port of Montrose: A History of its harbour, trade and shipping* (Tayport, 1993), p. 193.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

¹⁸⁹ J.E.L. Murray, 'The Agriculture of Crail, 1550-1600', *Scottish Studies*, 1964, p. 92.

¹⁹⁰ See above, Figure 1, p. 50; *Ibid.*, p. 92; Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, p. 123.

¹⁹¹ Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, p. 88; Brown, *Kingdom or Province*, p. 86.

Scottish Privy Council went so far as to outlaw the export of salted herring until the fate of the harvest was known on 15 September of each year.¹⁹²

Scottish trade entering Newcastle went beyond the domestic produce of the Scottish economy to include a range of re-exported commodities, a sector of the Scottish export trade that would grow to substantial heights across the seventeenth century. The range of re-exported commodities could be wide, but most notable for English merchants were the Scottish re-exports of French wine, centred on Leith and Dundee. Quantities of wine were imported into Newcastle onboard Scottish vessels throughout the 1590s, reaching a modest height in 1599-00 when fifty-eight tuns (14,616 gallons) of wine were imported onboard four vessels.¹⁹³ These were often accompanied by other commodities from the Mediterranean, including seventy-nine pounds of raisins and eighty-six pounds of figs in 1593-94.¹⁹⁴ Although Scotland's 'French Connection' has usually been seen as being on the wane following the French defeat in Scotland in 1559-60, considerable economic vestiges of the 'auld alliance' continued into the seventeenth-, and arguably, even until the early eighteenth century embodied by the Wine Act of 1703.¹⁹⁵ This relationship was cemented by a barrage of Scottish exemptions from French duties, something of great interest to the English authorities when considering the economic implications of the 1603 Union of the Crowns. These privileges had been confirmed in 1597 following the appointment of John Lindsey of Balcurras (the king's secretary) as ambassador to France to negotiate the continuation of 'the old liberties and privileges'.¹⁹⁶ Foremost amongst his tasks was to obtain a 'discharge of customs and imposts raised on goods imported into that realm [France] or transported furth

¹⁹² Act anent the barrelling and salting of herring, 3 August 1596, *R.P.C.S., Vol. V, 1592-1599*, p. 308.

¹⁹³ TWAS, 543/20, 1599-00.

¹⁹⁴ TNA, E190/185/6, Xmas 1593-Xmas 1594.

¹⁹⁵ J. Durkan, 'The French connection in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', in Smout, (ed.), *Scotland and Europe, 1200-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 19; See below, p. 253.

¹⁹⁶ Anent imposts on Scottish goods imported into France, 4 March 1596-97, *R.P.C.S., Vol. V, 1592-1599*, p. 369.

thereof' by Scottish merchants.¹⁹⁷ It was during investigations associated with the Union negotiations of 1603 that a comprehensive account of Scottish privileges in France was given. The English commissioners reported that '...the said subjects of Scotland are not onely capable of benefittes, dignities of office... but also may here buy, purchas & enjoy all manner of goods as freely as any naturall borne Subject of this Kingdome [France]'.¹⁹⁸ Scottish merchants had a significant competitive advantage over their English rivals and were only required to pay 4d in the pound export duty, compared to the 12d paid by English merchants.¹⁹⁹

The trade with France was only one part of a wider re-export trade mastered by Scottish merchants, with a significant trade also occurring across the North Sea with Norway and the Baltic. Apparently a product of the final third of the sixteenth century, this included the exchange of salt, fish and grain for flax and iron from Gothenburg, and timber from Norway and Sweden.²⁰⁰ Dominated by merchants from Leith and Dundee, and supported by a sizeable Scottish population in Bergen, Scottish trade with the Baltic was characterised by the exchange of Scottish coal and herring for Norwegian timber and Swedish iron.²⁰¹ Although partially destined for the domestic market, many of these commodities were subsequently re-exported. Between 1618 and 1626 an average of 7 per cent of all of the Norwegian deals that were entered into Leith were subsequently re-exported, 89 per cent of which were destined for France and 11 per cent for England.²⁰² Several of the Scottish vessels trading with north-east England also traded with Norway and the Baltic. One vessel, the *Angel* of Dundee, was recorded as trading with Danzig and Norway in fish and skins in return for timber and

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*,

¹⁹⁸ BL, Add Ms 48,163 (Yelverton), 'Certificate of the Marchants that were sent into France to enquire of the difference in the payments betweene Scotch & English Marchants', f. 64.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*,

²⁰⁰ Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', p. 129; Smout, 'Scottish Trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic', p. 31.

²⁰¹ Mowat, *Port of Leith*, p. 160; T. Riis, 'Long Distance or Tramping: Scottish Ships in the Baltic, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in T.C. Smout, (ed.), *Scotland and the Sea* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 62; N. Ø. Pedersen, 'Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in Grosjean, and Murdoch, (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, pp. 135-168.

²⁰² Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', p. 132, fn. 26.

hardware during the summer months of 1588.²⁰³ It was then recorded as trading with Newcastle and the east-coast during the winter of 1589.²⁰⁴ A degree of seasonal triangular trading was common and reflected the merger of north-eastern England with wider patterns and networks of commerce.²⁰⁵ This re-export trade to the Tyne was dominated by vessels originating from Dundee and Burntisland which, when combined, accounted for 35 per cent of Scottish vessels entering Newcastle compared to only 4 per cent from Leith (1590-1600).²⁰⁶ The importance of Dundee and Burntisland in this trade adds a variable to Whyte, Mowat and Guy's suggestion that Edinburgh was the dominant force in sixteenth-century Scottish foreign trade.²⁰⁷ Although this was true in terms of total overseas trade, significant variations existed between Leith's re-export of Norwegian commodities to France, and Dundee and Burntisland's shipment of a portion of theirs along the English east-coast.

In the closing two decades of the sixteenth century the coastal trade between the eastern ports of Scotland and Newcastle were representative of wider movements within both economies. The agricultural bedrock of Scottish cargoes was complemented by a wide array of other produce including an increasing variety of re-exports. Anglo-Scottish trade along the east coast was multifaceted and differed widely between ports. Scottish trade with Kings Lynn and the coal trade from Newcastle to Scotland were important elements of coastal trading, which were relatively independent from that with London. Trade could be influenced and directed by short-term and specific circumstances, with the supply of East Anglia with salt being both a reaction to the restriction of supply in French salt for English consumers and the closure of Dutch markets for Scottish suppliers. The fact that peaks in trade were often attributable to specific circumstances, the dislocation of continental markets in particular,

²⁰³ Millar, (ed.), *Shipping Lists of Dundee*, pp. 215, 220.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

²⁰⁵ Davis, 'Merchant Shipping', p. 60, fn. 2.

²⁰⁶ See Appendix I, Figure V, p. 333; TWAS, 543/17, CA, 1590-91; 543/20, CA, 1597-1600; TNA, E190/185/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1593-Xmas 1594.

²⁰⁷ Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, p. 118; Guy, 'Scottish Export Trade', p. 129; Mowat, *Port of Leith*, pp. 144-146; T. Riis, 'The Baltic Trade of Montrose in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries: from the Danish Sound Toll Registers', in Jackson, and Lythe, (eds.), *Montrose*, pp. 102-114.

would suggest that Scottish economic interests continued to lie with the continent and the Baltic rather than with England. Both English and Scottish mercantile attention was largely directed elsewhere; the economic vestiges of the 'auld alliance' ensured strong commercial links between Scotland and France were maintained, while England was occupied by its trade with Holland and its developing trades through the Sound.²⁰⁸ The increase in Anglo-Scottish trade associated with the thawing of political tensions in the late sixteenth century therefore only appears to have been creeping. There is little evidence of Anglo-Scottish economic convergence or integration at the inter-regional level.

2.4. The Union of the Crowns and free trade, 1603-10.

On 26 March 1603, James VI of Scotland was informed of the death of the childless Queen Elizabeth and was declared king five days later on 31 March 1603.²⁰⁹ The economic implications of his accession were almost immediate and included the establishment of an Anglo-Scottish exchange rate, and the introduction of measures to free up the movement of commodities and trade.²¹⁰ In June 1603, the Scottish Privy Council declared that 'Inglishman [be] maid frie of all outward custum', with this amounting to the establishment of virtual free trade on the commencement of James' journey south.²¹¹ These measures reached a culmination in November 1604 when it was proclaimed that while negotiations pertaining to Union were ongoing, both English and Scottish merchants would be permitted to transport goods between ports in either kingdom as they could in their own.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Zins, *England and the Baltic*.

²⁰⁹ Wormald, 'O Brave New World?', p. 14.

²¹⁰ Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', pp. 20-21; I.D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c. 1500-c. 1760* (London, 1997), p. 141; Wormald, 'O Brave New World?', p. 16; Lythe, 'The Union of the Crowns', p. 221.

²¹¹ Inglishman maid frie of all outward custum, 16 June, 1603, *R.P.C.S.*, 1599-1604, p. 577.

²¹² BL, Add Ms 48,163 (Yelverton), 'A memorial of the proceedings this day concerning the point of Com[m]erce until the whole Article may be perfected', November 10 1604, f. 53.

Although ideas of commercial Union were ‘surrounded with the similar rhetoric of the oneness of the isle’, Anglo-Scottish free-trade remained a tangible consequence of the ongoing Union negotiations of 1604-07.²¹³ Initially suggested as one of the four proposals put forward by the Union commissioners in 1604, the institution of free trade across the border and the subsequent negotiations surrounding commercial Union acted as a considerable morale boost to Scottish negotiators.²¹⁴ At the centre of these negotiations was the reduction of barriers to trade on either side of the border, veiled in the language of removing ‘hostile laws’.²¹⁵ Yet although some efforts were made at easing commercial relations across the border, negotiations were almost immediately ‘grounded upon an inequality of the privileges w[hi]ch the Scottish are supposed to have in forraine parts above the English’.²¹⁶ Both English and Scottish merchants were summoned to give accounts of Scottish privileges abroad, principally in France, the conclusion being that Scottish merchants possessed a significant competitive advantage over their English rivals. These privileges included the Scottish payment of domestic French duties and their exemption from a wide array of additional payments.²¹⁷ As a result of these, the report concluded that Scottish merchants were ‘not so heavily taxed as are Englishmen in the Customes, But are naturalized in ffrance’ and thus were exempt from a wide variety of duties, which were ‘intolerable to English Marchants, And hath bin the undoeing of many of them’.²¹⁸ The continued survival of Scottish privileges in France demonstrates that Anglo-Scottish commercial proximity was not inevitable with Union. Indeed, there was considerable hostility to commercial Union from

²¹³ Galloway and Levack, (eds.), *The Jacobean Union*, p. 61.

²¹⁴ Russell, ‘1603: The End of English National Sovereignty’, p. 2; Wormald, ‘Happier Marriage Partner’, p. 79.

²¹⁵ BL, Add Ms 48,163 (Yelverton), ‘A Calendar of lawes of England prohibiting or restraining any points of Commerce or Trade’, ff. 41-45; ‘Minute of the Actes of Parliament of Scotland concerning ye trade of commerce’, ff. 48-49; ‘Report made by Sir Francis Bacon and Thomas Hamilton, Lord Advocate of Scotland on the service performed by the subcommittee on hostile laws’, 2 November 1604, ff. 51-52.

²¹⁶ BL, Add Ms 48,163 (Yelverton), ‘A memorial of the proceedings this day concerning the point of Com[m]erce until the whole Article may be perfected’, 6 November 1604, f. 52.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ‘Certificate of the Marchants that were sent into France to enquire of the difference in the payments betweene Scotch & English Marchants trading in that Realme’, f. 64.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 66.

Scottish and English writers alike. The Scottish Privy Council were concerned that any treaty would inevitably damage Scottish privileges in France, whereas English writers feared that foreign imports would be diverted through Scotland due to its lower customs, thus building a significant Scottish carrying trade at England's expense.²¹⁹

Discerning the actual impact of this period of free trade is difficult in the case of Newcastle due to the lack of any useable port books between 1594 and 1616. Some information is available for the port of Berwick, although this relates to the period after free trade was initiated, making it difficult to assess whether any noticeable change occurred in either the volume or nature of exchange across the period of free trade. The cargoes recorded as arriving and leaving Berwick do differ significantly from those previously recorded for Newcastle. The Scottish trade with the northern-most English precinct can effectively be divided into two categories. Firstly, Scottish trade entering Berwick was a southern extension of the Scottish coastal trade. This involved small vessels of ten tons burthen or less, shipping small quantities of grain from ports south of the Forth. Secondly, a more geographically extensive passing trade was present involving English vessels stopping at Berwick *enroute* to Scottish ports, with Berwick also being included in triangular trading patterns between Scotland, England and the Baltic.²²⁰ The division of this trade between two tiers meant that Scottish cargoes entering Berwick were a mix of continental re-exports and domestic Scottish produce. These commodities were only traded in modest quantities however, and therefore reflected how Scottish trade with Berwick, and north-east England more generally, was often only an minor extension of Scottish coastal and overseas trading. Scottish mercantile interest remained largely outside north-eastern England despite the existence of free trade.

²¹⁹ Charge to the Commissioners of Burghs for the appointment of commercial commissioners to be sent to France, 7 August 1605, *R.P.C.S., 1604-1607*, p. 113; H. Spelman, 'Of the Union' (1604) reprinted in Galloway and Levack (eds.), *The Jacobean Union*, pp. 171-172, xxiv-xxv.

²²⁰ TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, January – November 1606.

Table 6: Scottish coastal trade with Berwick upon Tweed, January – November 1606.

Scottish exports to Berwick			
Commodities	Jan-Nov 1606		
	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Bay Salt	1	4	wey
Deals	4	1	cwt
Herrings	1	8	barrels
		1,000	loose
Rye	2	7	lasts
Salt	5	50	wey
Spanish Salt	1	4	wey
Wheat	1	40	quarters

Scottish imports from Berwick			
Commodities	Jan-Nov 1606		
	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Carboniferous			
Coal	1	10	chaldrons
Foodstuffs			
Barley	1	40	quarters
Herrings	1	36,000	loose
Oats	6	195	quarters
Pease	1	100	quarters
Textiles			
Devonshire cloth	1	7	pieces
Frieze	1	1	pieces
Sheep skins	1	1,100	
Yorkshire cloth	1	32	pieces

Source: TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, January – November 1606.

The continued preference of traditional continental trade routes by some Scottish merchants was confirmed by the low-level of Scottish trade with London across the period of free trade [Table 7].²²¹ Despite a modest peak in Scottish vessels leaving London in 1605-06, accounting for 5 per cent of London's total coastwise trade, little change occurred in either the volume or nature of Scottish trade with the English capital across the period of free-trade. No Scottish vessels were recorded as entering the Thames in either 1599-00 or 1608-09 according to the London port books.²²² Although the survival and quality of these port books is sporadic, those which have survived, and permit the volume and nature of trade to be established, portray a Scottish coastal trade with the English capital in fish and basic agricultural produce in exchange for luxury cloth, fabrics and a wide range of miscellaneous

²²¹ See below, Table 7, p. 62.

²²² TNA, E190/11/3, London, Mich. 1599-Mich. 1600; E190/13/4, London, Xmas 1605-Xmas 1606; E190/14/5, London, Xmas 1608-Xmas 1609.

produce.²²³ This was largely conducted by Scottish vessels of a modest burthen, *enroute* to, or returning from, the continent.

Table 7: Scottish trade with London, 1593, 1605-06.

Scottish exports to London			
Commodities	East.-Mich. 1593		
	Cargo	Vol.	Meas.
Fabrics			
Scotch cloth	7	4,049	ells
Foodstuffs			
White salt	5	83	weys

Scottish imports from London			
Commodities	Xmas 1605 - Xmas 1606		
	Cargo	Vol.	Meas.
Apparel			
Buttons	1	6	gross
Feather fans	1	6	loose
Gloves	1	4	doz
Hats	1	6	doz
Stockings	2	174	pair
Velvet girdles	1	18	loose
Fabrics			
Broad cloth	5	307	yards
Cloth	1		
Cottons	4	250	yards
Devonshire dozens	3	58	pieces
Devonshire singles	2	52	pieces
Fustians	1	4	ells
Northern singles	1	6	pieces
Short cloths	1	12	tuns
Foodstuffs			
Beer	5	55	tuns
Figs	1	5	cwt
Oil	1	1	barrel
Pepper	1	180	pounds
Raisons	1	105	pounds
Miscellaneous			
Drinking glasses	1	6	barrels
Pewter	2	42	pounds
Scythe guards	1	11	loose

Source: TNA, E190/9/5, London, Eas-Mich 1593; E190/13/4, London, Xmas 1605-Xmas 1606.

²²³ TNA, E190/13/4, London, Xmas 1605-Xmas 1606

Elsewhere along the east-coast, a more distinctive change was witnessed in Scottish trade in the first decade of the seventeenth century. The port books of Boston, which have survived extensively between 1601 and 1640, demonstrate a distinct peak in Scottish vessels entering the port in 1604-05, the first year that free trade was introduced, and show a collapse in 1609-10 when it was rescinded.²²⁴ Although this peak corresponds with the period of free-trade, it related specifically to the trade in salt from Kirkcaldy [Table 8]. The rise and subsequent collapse of this trade not only corresponded with Anglo-Scottish free trade, but also with the disruption of Dutch markets for Scottish salt and their re-opening following the truce of 1609.²²⁵

Table 8: Scottish exports to Boston, Lincolnshire, January 1602 – December 1610.

Scottish exports to Boston							
Commodities	Jan - Sep 1602		Nov 1604 - Sep 1605		Jan-Dec 1610		Measure
	Cargo	Vol.	Cargo	Vol.	Cargo	Vol.	
Fish	2	1,300					loose
Flax					1	40,000	pieces
Glass					1	10.5	wey
Iron					1	1	tons
Linen	3	1,000	6	1,310			yards
Pitch					1	6	lasts
Prunes					1	2	tons
Rye					1	10	lasts
Salt	13	166	17	214	0	0	wey
Vinegar					1	2	tons

Source: Hinton, (ed.), *The Port Books of Boston*, pp. 4-45.

Increased Scottish salt trading to England was therefore encouraged by the removal of restrictive duties on Anglo-Scottish trade and the disruption of Scottish continental markets.

²²⁴ Appendix I, Figure VI, p. 334; Hinton, (ed.), *The Port Books of Boston*, pp. 4-45.

²²⁵ Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship*, p. 52.

It was the combination of these factors, which caused Scottish salt exports to Boston to collapse in 1609-10 when Dutch markets were re-opened and free trade privileges were rescinded.²²⁶ It is unfortunate that no Newcastle port books survive in a usable state until 1616 and, therefore, the impact of the regal Union upon inter-regional coastal trade is open to conjecture. It does appear that continental markets remained a preference for Scottish merchants, but that these increasingly merged with Scottish trade along the English east-coast both through the presence of triangular trading and also the growth of Scottish re-export trading more generally. The trading differences between Newcastle, Boston and London suggest that if the English and Scottish economies were gradually becoming closer, they were doing so at different rates for different places and trades. This would continue to become apparent in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, from which a greater array of quantitative trading data survives.

2.5. Trade as separate kingdoms, 1610-25.

By the parliament of 1610, it had become clear that James' vision of a 'perfect Union' would not come to fruition, and by 1611-12, the free trade privileges that existed between England and Scotland were quickly disappearing.²²⁷ The removal of free trade created the need to define Anglo-Scottish commercial relations and calls were eventually made that Scottish vessels should be treated the same as those from Ireland.²²⁸ At the centre of English fears was that, with their lower duties and lax customs collection, Scottish ports would haemorrhage English goods to their international competitors. Attempts were therefore made to outlaw both the illegal smuggling of goods to Scotland for potential re-shipment and for

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ Lythe, 'The Union of the Crowns', p. 226.

²²⁸ Letters Patent commanding that no greater customs be taken from Scottish men or Scottish ships than from English and Irish, 12 April 1615, *C.S.P.D., 1611-1619*, p. 282.

the prevention of goods destined for England travelling through Scottish ports.²²⁹ Although the number of vessels entering Newcastle from Scotland rose in 1615-16, the range and variety of commodities they carried contracted, and became solely concerned with the export of fish, with these being joined by some grain and victual in 1618-19.²³⁰ Crail and Anstruther dominated the trade in marine and agrarian produce although small quantities of grain and wheat were also recorded as being shipped from Leith.²³¹ This narrowing of the range and scale of Scottish trade entering Newcastle was not reflective of its trade along the rest of the English east coast. The port books of Boston witnessed a modest recovery in the level of Scottish trade after the fall of 1609-10, reaching a peak in 1615 with sixteen entries.²³² Although these vessels were labelled with the frustratingly vague origins of 'Scotland', all of them gave Kirkcaldy as their home port and carried substantial quantities of salt.²³³ While these shipments of salt still dominated Scottish cargoes, the breadth of Scottish trade to Boston had increased substantially [Table 9].²³⁴

²²⁹ Examinations of... [the] Comptroller of Customs at Berwick, ? February 1624, *C.S.P.D.*, 1623-1625, p. 172; Act explaining that a prohibition of the importation of foreign alum into England applies to Scotsmen, 8 February 1610, *R.P.C.S.*, 1607-1610, p. 410.

²³⁰ TNA, E190/188/4, Newcastle, Xmas 1615-Xmas 1616; E190/188/8, Newcastle, Xmas 1618-Xmas 1619.

²³¹ Appendix I, Figure V, p. 333.

²³² Hinton, *The Port Books of Boston*, pp. 90-103.

²³³ *Ibid.*,

²³⁴ See below Table 9, p. 66.

Table 9: Scottish Trade with Boston, Lincolnshire 1615.

Scottish exports to Boston, 1615				Scottish imports from Boston, 1615			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Carboniferous				Fabric			
Coal	1	10	chaldrons	Cotton	1	100	goads
Fabric				Lamb skins	2	7,500	loose
Coarse twill	2	280	yards	Northern single doz	1	4	Loose
Linen	2	600	ells	Sheep skins	1	400	loose
	2	250	yards				
Twill	1	60	ells				
Yarn	2	9	cwt				
Foodstuffs							
Fish	1	1	last				
Rye	1	12	lasts				
Salt	13	200	wey				

Source: Hinton, (ed.), *The Port Books of Boston*, pp. 4-45.

The second decade of the seventeenth century had therefore witnessed a recovery in the Scottish trades of both Newcastle and Boston to varying degrees. Whereas the former had seen a contraction in the range of commodities traded, Boston had experienced a considerable growth in the breadth of its Scottish trade. The reasons for this are complex, in part the result of the realignment of the Scottish salt trade following the reopening of continental markets, but also possibly a sign of the general narrowing of Anglo-Scottish ‘commercial distance’ as the seventeenth century progressed, something confirmed by Watson’s analysis of the Scottish Exchequer rolls.²³⁵ This would continue to be evident into the 1620s when the level of Newcastle’s Scottish trade became increasingly aligned with that of the east coast more generally.

²³⁵ Watson, ‘Scottish Overseas Trade’, pp. 192-197, 201.

2.6. Economic slump and crisis, 1620-38.

In what has been described as a ‘European economic crisis’, the early 1620s witnessed repeated currency devaluations (in England, to combat the growing royal debt) leading to a state of hyperinflation, which in turn undermined local, regional and national economies across the continent.²³⁶ In England, the 1620s were marked by a serious slump, in part attributable to the collapse of cloth exports provoked by the Dutch retaliation to Cockayne’s scheme by outlawing the import of English wool.²³⁷ This collapse in the export of England’s principal commodity combined with war with France and Spain in 1626-29, a succession of poor harvests, and the joint visitation of plague and poverty, provoked a sustained depression that lasted throughout much of the 1630s.²³⁸ Things were better north of the border. In Scotland, the 1620s have sometimes been described as a ‘boom’ period, with trade expanding significantly with London while that with England was only second in importance to that with the Netherlands.²³⁹ This increase in trade was shadowed by economic and industrial development at home, with the Scottish glass and tanning industries receiving official encouragement between 1619 and 1622. This support came not only through increased investment, but also the import of skilled labour from England, and north-eastern England in particular.²⁴⁰

In 1625-26, Scottish trade along the east-coast was increasingly characterised by coastal hopping and several Scottish vessels entered Newcastle *enroute* to, or on their return from, the English capital. Scottish trade with Newcastle had therefore become palpably more integrated within its wider east-coast trade. Between April and September 1626, 220 wey of

²³⁶ C.P. Kindleberger, ‘The Economic Crisis of 1619 to 1623’, *Journal of Economic History*, 51 (1991), pp. 149-75; Wilson, *England’s Apprenticeship*, pp. 124-125.

²³⁷ Wilson, *England’s Apprenticeship*, p. 52.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²³⁹ McNeill and MacQueen, *Atlas*, p. 270; Watson, ‘Scottish Overseas Trade’, p. 197.

²⁴⁰ Petition of many Glaziers to the King, ? March 1620, *C.S.P.D., 1619-1623*, p. 134; Appointment of English tanners, 22 June 1620, *R.P.C.S., 1619-1622*, pp. 293-294.

north-eastern English salt were exported onboard Scottish vessels from Newcastle, not destined for Scotland, but specifically ‘of London freight’.²⁴¹ These shipments formed a substantial carrying trade in English salt and became the specialised trade of several Scottish merchants. The *Good Fortune* of Kirkcaldy, under William Brown, was recorded as entering Newcastle on five occasions between April and August 1626, and left with salt.²⁴² This shipment of north-eastern salt to London by Scottish merchants did not yet coincide with the disruption of supplies of French Bay salt, which resulted from the Anglo-French conflict of 1627. This trade in salt was specifically aimed at the English capital, bypassing Boston which saw the complete collapse of both its Scottish and coastal trade by 1626-27, partially due to the attractions of the London market.²⁴³ The carrying trade in salt between Newcastle and London conducted by Scottish vessels was joined by a more general and localised trade entering Newcastle in fish and victual.²⁴⁴ The latter, conducted from a variety of Scottish ports, was more congruous with the established Scottish trade of the Tyne.

Although the Scottish carrying trade in salt was flourishing, the coming of Anglo-French war (1627-29) caused considerable disruption to the Scottish wine trade following Charles’ proclamation that all French goods were to be prohibited whether in foreign or Scottish vessels.²⁴⁵ The effects of this were devastating. France as the destination of vessels leaving Leith fell from 41.2 per cent in 1611-12 to a mere 5 per cent 1626-28.²⁴⁶ As a consequence, French and continental re-exported commodities were absent from Scottish cargoes entering Newcastle. The fall in Scotland’s French trade therefore saw the reduction in the number of

²⁴¹ TWAS, 543/23, 1625-1626, ff. 59, 65, 69, 81, 86, 105, 125.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, ff. 59, 69, 86, 105, 125.

²⁴³ Appendix I, Figure VI, p. 334.

²⁴⁴ TWAS, 543/23, 1625-26, ff. 60, 61, 65, 81, 93, 125.

²⁴⁵ P. Hume Brown, *R.P.C.S., Vol. II, 1627-1628*, p. xxxiii.

²⁴⁶ McNeill and MacQueen, *Atlas*, p. 270.

vessels originating from Dundee with re-exports, in contrast to a rise in those from Kirkcaldy and Leith carrying agrarian produce.²⁴⁷

The changing nature of Scottish trade, and its continued decline in English ports during the early 1630s, was of obvious concern to contemporaries. It is unfortunate that only limited quantitative source material survives from the 1630s for either England or Scotland. The few that do survive reflect a decline in Anglo-Scottish east-coast trade, especially between Newcastle and Leith.²⁴⁸ Recognising the stagnation of trade, and in an attempt to remedy the situation, Charles issued an order in March 1630 that all duties were to be removed from English and Scottish goods trading between the two nations and that, in respect to England, Scottish vessels should again be treated like Irish.²⁴⁹ Despite such efforts, the depression continued into the 1630s, witnessing only a partial recovery in 1635-36 when ten Scottish vessels were recorded as leaving the Tyne.²⁵⁰ The trade that did exist demonstrated a continuation of trading patterns established over the preceding forty years. Scottish exports to Newcastle consisted predominately of fish and agricultural products from around the Forth basin. These peaked in 1635-36 when a mere thirty barrels of oysters (c. 43,000 shells) were exported to the Tyne from Leven alongside the modest shipment of 2,000 fish and sixteen chaldrons of corn.²⁵¹ These were not accompanied by other commodities of agricultural origin, with a succession of poor harvests in Scotland prompting the Privy Council of Scotland to outlaw the export of oats and meal in 1629, and all victual in 1630.²⁵²

In return for these Scottish exports to the north-east of England, significant quantities of coal were shipped from Newcastle and Sunderland destined for Scotland's east coast [Table

²⁴⁷ Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee*, p. 26; See Appendix I, Figure V, p. 333.

²⁴⁸ Such records include the Leith Prime Gilt collection, a local sum on river traffic for charitable purposes; see McNeill and MacQueen, *Atlas*, p. 271.

²⁴⁹ Proclamation...that there should be equality of imports between England, Scotland, and Ireland, 29 March, 1632, *R.P.C.S., Vol. IV, 1630-1632*, p. 457.

²⁵⁰ See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329; See below, Table 10, p. 71.

²⁵¹ TNA, E190/191/3, Newcastle, 1635-1636; TWAS, 543/26, 1635-36.

²⁵² P. Hume Brown, *R.P.C.S., 1629-1630*, pp. xi-xii.

10, Map 3].²⁵³ Although coal had been traded to Scotland from Newcastle in the 1590s, what made this unusual in the mid to late 1630s was the greater volume destined to some Forth ports, the latter being the main area of coal production in Scotland.²⁵⁴ The increase in the coal trade between the Tyne and the Forth was the combined result of duty changes on both sides of the border, and an apparent shortage of coal within Scotland. In December 1631, in an attempt to improve crown finances, an additional export duty of four shillings was placed on every chaldron of coal exported from England destined outside of the king's dominions.²⁵⁵ Alternatively, Scottish export duties on coal were doubled to eight shillings per caldron in 1634.²⁵⁶ The proviso that these duty increases only applied to coal shipped outside the 'king's dominions' encouraged north-eastern coal merchants to increase shipments to the Forth. These fiscal incentives were combined by the market opportunities created by the 'great skarsetie' in Scotland at the time.²⁵⁷ In reaction to this shortage, several vessels specialised in the coal trade between Newcastle and Scotland. One such vessel, the *St John* of St Andrews, was recorded as entering and leaving Newcastle and Sunderland on eight separate occasions between January and September 1636.²⁵⁸ Although importing a variety of cargoes, including rye, tow (a form of rope) alongside Norwegian deals, the *St. John* exclusively exported coal, to a total of 192 chaldrons (508 tons), averaging twenty-seven chaldrons (seventy-two tons) per voyage.²⁵⁹ It therefore appears that although the mines of the Forth and those on Tyne- and Wearside have been viewed as distinctly separate as coal fields, there was a substantial

²⁵³ See below, Table 10, Map 3, p. 71.

²⁵⁴ Nef, *British Coal Industry*, pp. 43-49.

²⁵⁵ The King and the Attorney General...for an increase of impost of 4s. per chaldron on coals exported to foreign parts, 14 December 1631, *C.S.P.D., 1631-1633*, p. 200

²⁵⁶ P. Hume Brown, *R.P.C.S., Vol V., 1633-1635*, p. xvi.

²⁵⁷ Levelling of 6s sterling on every chaldron of coal exported, 22 February 1634, *R.P.C.S., Vol V., 1633-1635*, p. 217.

²⁵⁸ TNA, E190/191/3, Newcastle and Sunderland, 1635-1636.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Sunderland, 25 June, 25 July, 26 August 1636; *Ibid.*, Newcastle, 9 May, 20 May, 17 September 1636; TWAS, 543/26, 6 January, 12 February 1636.

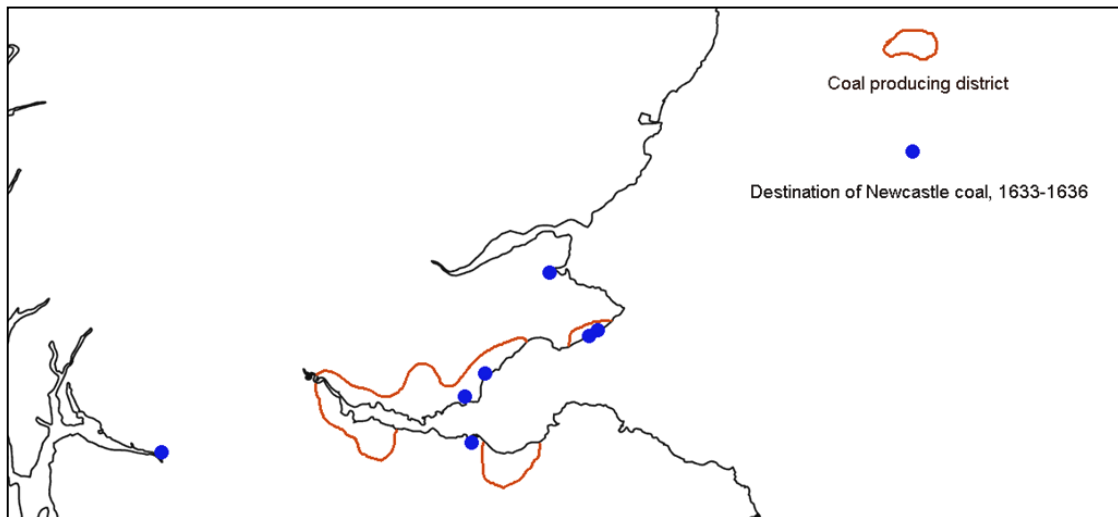
interaction between them in reaction to specific fiscal policies and the threat of temporary shortage [Table 10, Map 3].²⁶⁰

Table 10: Scottish shipments of coal out of Newcastle and their port of destination, 1633-34 and 1635-36.

	Newcastle, 1633-34		Newcastle, 1635-36		Sunderland, 1635-36	
	Cargoes	Chaldrons	Cargoes	Chaldrons	Cargoes	Chaldrons
Burntisland			2	49		
Glasgow			1	25		
Kirkaldy	2	85	3	144		
Leith			1	15		
Leven	1	32				
Pittenweam			1	88		
St Andrews			2	51	3	78
<i>Total</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>117</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>372</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>78</i>

Source: TNA, E190/190/12, Newcastle, 1633-34; TWAS, 543/26, 1635-1636; TNA, E190/191/3, Sunderland, 1635-36.

Map 3: The destination of Newcastle and Sunderland coal, 1633-36.



Source: Placement of coalfields taken from Nef, *British Coal Industry, Vol. I*, p. 18; location of Newcastle coal destinations, TWAS 543/26, 1633-36; TNA, E190/190/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1633-Xmas 1634; E190/191/3, Newcastle, Xmas 1635-Xmas 1636.

²⁶⁰ See below, Table 10, Map 3, p. 71.

Despite this increase in the coal trade, the trading climate at both the inter-regional and international level was bleak by the mid-1630s. For Newcastle, this situation was worsened by the arrival of plague in 1635, which caused trade to plummet. In June 1635, Henry Brereton lamented that the city's spacious haven and quayside were now 'naked in ships', whereas by 1637, neither County Durham nor Northumberland were able to pay their ship money assessment 'by reason of the heavy visitation of the plague, which still remains among them'.²⁶¹ The presence of plague profoundly altered the level of inter-regional trade. In May 1636, the Scottish Privy Council ordered that no coal workers recently employed at Newcastle should be allowed to find employment in Scottish mines for fear of spreading infection.²⁶² In 1635, two vessels were forbidden to unload in Scotland having broken their journey in Tynemouth and Newcastle when returning from London for fear that they were infected.²⁶³ The problems of the plague, and the mass unemployment it caused, were only further confounded by the presence of Dunkirk pirates along the east coast.²⁶⁴

The combination of these events caused a fall in both the number of vessels conducting trade and the range of commodities they carried. In 1636-37, Scottish trade entering Newcastle only consisted of 10,500 fish, whereas in 1637-38, it was limited to 100 Norwegian deals and 80,000 pounds of dressed flax.²⁶⁵ These events were combined with the growing political crisis in Scotland embodied by the Covenanting movement which began in 1637. The movement provided a political distraction to an already pre-occupied economy and brought further restrictions to coastal and overseas commerce.²⁶⁶

²⁶¹ W. Brereton, 'Notes on Journey Through Durham and Northumberland In the Year 1635', in M.A. Richardson (ed.), *Reprints of Rare Tracts (Imprints of Ancient Manuscripts), Chiefly Illustrative of the history of the northern Counties* (Newcastle, 1849), p. 24; Reports of plague in Newcastle, June, October 1637, *C.S.P.D. 1636-1637*, pp. 256, 505.

²⁶² Proclamation forbidding any coal workers of Newcastle...to gain employment in Scottish mines, 26 May 1636, *R.P.C.S. 1635-1636, Vol. VI.*, pp. 246-247.

²⁶³ Orders to prevent the landing of persons from suspected ships, 1635, *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²⁶⁴ Reports of the Dunkirk pirates, 21 October, 1637, 2 November, 1637, *C.S.P.D. 1636-1637*, pp. 490, 511.

²⁶⁵ TNA, E190/191/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1636- Xmas 1637; E190/192/4, Newcastle, Xmas 1637- Xmas 1638.

²⁶⁶ McNeill and MacQueen, *Atlas*, p. 272.

2.7. Conclusion – Anglo-Scottish east-coast trade, 1580-1638.

Anglo-Scottish coastal trade along the east coast between 1580 and 1638, whether with Newcastle, Boston or London, was multifaceted and complex. Carrying a wide variety of commodities, the trade along the east coast of Britain embraced not only the economies of individual ports, and their hinterlands, but also international markets through the presence of re-export and triangular trading. All of these tiers of trade were vulnerable to external influences. Coastal trade was highly sensitive to market fluctuations and, in particular, meteorological changes owing to the agricultural foundation of the Scottish economy. In years of poor harvests and threatened famine, agricultural produce fell from Scottish cargoes, with trade itself slumping. The presence of plague would restrict a vessel's movements, locking a master and crew into unprofitable periods of quarantine if they were suspected of trading with an infected port whilst slashing the value of their cargo. The relative correlation between trade and cyclical economic fluctuations has also been noted, with the depression of the late 1620s and 30s affecting both the English and Scottish economies at a time of international economic downturn.

Yet beyond the impact of plague and pestilence, trade was also heavily influenced by international events. The war with France, for example, altered the nature and extent of vessel cargoes and impinged directly on the interests of individual ports. Dundee witnessed the collapse of its re-export trade in French wines with the onset of hostilities, whilst simultaneously Leith saw its customs receipts fall in reaction to the embargo on French goods. Such a situation illustrates how the political actions and foreign policy decisions of Westminster had a direct influence upon the economic fortunes of many Scottish merchants in the post-regal Union period. Yet although the regal Union's creation of a joint Anglo-Scottish foreign policy damaged Scottish economic interests, the temporary period of free-trade it

introduced between 1603 and 1610/11 witnessed an increase in Anglo-Scottish trade when combined with other events. The 1606 port book for Berwick and the 1605 book for London portray a modest Scottish trade south, whereas that with Boston appears to have taken advantage of the removal of duties and the dislocation of continental markets. These changes in the level of trade were only to be short-lived however, with Scottish trade to London collapsing in 1608-09 and that to Boston in 1610. Yet despite the period of free trade only having a limited impact, it was in the 1620s that Scottish inter-regional trading with Newcastle became more integrated with that along the English east coast, marked by Scottish coastal hopping between Scotland, Newcastle and London. In witnessing the integration of inter-regional trade with wider networks of commerce, similarities existed between the Anglo-Scottish coastal trade and that conducted across the border.

3. Anglo-Scottish Border Trade, 1580-1638.

3.1. *The border as a physical, historiographical and archival entity.*

The Anglo-Scottish borders have frequently been at the heart of relations between the two kingdoms. Dotted with defensive bastles and pele towers, the borders have earned the reputation as a barren land of moss troopers, reivers and raiders throughout the sixteenth century.²⁶⁷ More recently, they have been interpreted as unique in their respective kingdoms whether legally, in the existence of march law, or politically as being a physical stage for the representation of British dynastic and political ambition.²⁶⁸ Below the level of state formation, the more peaceful eastern borders have also been interpreted as both a political boundary and a permeable social membrane, permitting socio-cultural osmosis on both sides to create a distinct border identity and culture.²⁶⁹ In her work on the gentry and lairds of the eastern border region, Maureen Meikle has charted considerable social interaction between families on both sides, which lead to inter-marriage and a complex network of kinship ties across the border. In addition to this, Krista Kesselring has identified a unique border mentality and identity that was independent of any strict notions of Englishness or Scottishness.²⁷⁰ Certainly the border should not be seen as a social or migratory barrier, with there being a significant blurring of nationalities on both sides.²⁷¹

These unique and idiosyncratic features of border society add additional complications to such an 'inter-regional' study as proposed here, with 'regions' themselves being described as multifaceted and, in the case of north-east England, 'kaleidoscopic'.²⁷² The frontier itself was

²⁶⁷ Tough, *Frontier*, pp. 87-94; S.G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 30-31.

²⁶⁸ Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, p. 37; K.J. Kesselring, "Berwick is our England": Local and National Identities in an Elizabethan Border Town', in N.L. Jones and D.R. Woolf, (eds.), *Local identities in late medieval and early modern England* (2007), pp. 92-112.

²⁶⁹ Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, pp. 182-183, 252.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 267; see also Kesselring, "Berwick is our England", pp. 92-112.

²⁷¹ Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, p. 32.

²⁷² A. Green, and A.J. Pollard, 'Conclusion', in A. Green, and A.J. Pollard, (eds.), *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300-2000* (Woodbridge, 2007)

frequently difficult to identify, with Meikle summarizing that ‘it could be highly visible in political or religious terms, yet invisible in a social, economic and military context’.²⁷³ Beyond this, Catherine Ferguson has concluded that the regions on either side of the border should be treated as a whole, ‘for although divided by man-made divisions, they were united geographically, topographically, economically and socially’.²⁷⁴ Within the social sphere, the presence of loose kin formations, known as ‘surnames’, cut across the border and formed extended and complex entities which embraced large portions of the population and society.²⁷⁵ Examples of cultural homogeneity across the borders were noted by Daniel Defoe when he recorded that the practice of building houses, ‘with the stairs (to the second floor) going up the outside’, and the heaping of corn into ‘great numbers of small stacks without doors’, were similar on both sides of the border.²⁷⁶

Such unique and idiosyncratic social and cultural constructions can make the borders a complex and difficult entity to study. The same can be said of the economic and commercial interaction across the border, much of it being socially specific between kin groups and falling far below the radar of state control or regulation.²⁷⁷ This was most evident in what Tough described as the ‘dual economy’ of many borderers, with theft and agriculture corresponding to the highs and lows of the pastoral economy.²⁷⁸ The isolated moors and hidden valleys of the eastern borders were a haven for those traders wishing to go about their business undetected, something that, when combined with the absence of formal Scottish

²⁷³ Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, p. 1.

²⁷⁴ Ferguson, ‘Law and Order’, p. ix.

²⁷⁵ Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, p. 60; Watts, and Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 28; Goodare, *State and Society*, pp. 257-258.

²⁷⁶ D. Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, (London, 1724-26, Penguin reprint, 1971), South-Eastern Scotland, Letter 11, p. 564; see also, J. Taylor, ‘The Pennyles Pilgrimage’ (1618), in J. Chandler, (ed.), *Travels Through Stuart Britain: The Adventures of John Taylor, the Water Poet* (Stroud, 1999), p. 26.

²⁷⁷ I. Whyte, ‘The Growth of Periodic Market Centres in Scotland, 1600-1707’, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 95:1, (1979), p. 13.

²⁷⁸ Tough, *Frontier*, pp. 87-94; Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, pp. 47-48.

customs precincts before 1612, makes the analysis of border trade difficult.²⁷⁹ Likewise, on the English side, there were problems in tracing and regulating trade. A report of 1597 cited these as key grievances of local officials, whereas the reliance upon traders to declare their goods at either Berwick or Carlisle was open to gross abuse.²⁸⁰

Despite such problems in identifying the nature of border trade, a significant literature exists on certain aspects of cross-border commerce and the border economy more generally. A.R.D. Haldane has written extensively on the cross-border cattle trade and has recognised the important relationship between cross-border trade and landscape topography, which was pivotal to the movement of goods overland.²⁸¹ Such work has been developed further by A.J. Koufopoulos who went beyond the movement of cattle to study related facets of the trade, including those in hides, leather and flesh.²⁸² In doing so, Koufopolis presented cross-border trade as intimately related to the political state of the border and heavily reliant upon peaceful conditions to permit trading.²⁸³ Both of these works, however, largely focus upon the western border trades through Carlisle where the cattle trade was most prominent. In addition to these individual cases of overland commerce, the general border economy has been studied by A.J.L. Winchester, who portrays the latter as being entwined with the agricultural calendar based on customary right and seasonal movements.²⁸⁴

Beyond the cattle trade, and those commodities associated with it, very little work has been produced analysing the nature and extent of the eastern border trade in its entirety. In part, this is due to the scarcity of archival sources, especially for the late sixteenth century. Many of the sources that do survive are circumstantial accounts of border trade, which

²⁷⁹ Act for appointing certain places on the borders for payment of custom, 18 June 1612, *R.P.C.S., 1610-1613*, pp. 394-395.

²⁸⁰ D. Newton, “‘Dolefull dumpes’: Northumberland and the Borders, 1580-1625”, in R. Colls (ed.), *Northumbria: History and Identity 547-2000* (Chichester, 2007), p. 93; BL, Add Ms 41,613, Bacon, ‘Certain Articles’, f. 38.

²⁸¹ Haldane, *Drove Roads*, pp. 150-16, 177-178.

²⁸² Koufopoulos, ‘Cattle Trades’, pp. 58-67, 99-107,

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²⁸⁴ Winchester, *Harvest of the Hills*, pp. 5-25.

usually correlated with border unrest. They therefore often provide a distorted view of the extent and nature of overland trade. Beyond these circumstantial reports, a series of aggregate accounts have survived for Scottish trade passing into England from Edinburgh.²⁸⁵ Although these are useful in revealing the overland trade of the Scottish capital, they frequently fail to provide details of individual transactions and often mingle overland and overseas entries with one another. It is fortunate, therefore, that a small number of relatively well preserved customs books survive from Berwick for 1606 and 1637.²⁸⁶ It is when these are combined with the reports contained within the Calendars of State Papers and the Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland that an illustrative assessment of inter-regional cross-border trade can be made.

3.2. The nature of overland trade.

Like that along the coast, the overland trade consisted of several layers that related uniquely to the economy of the borders and reflected the economies of northern England and southern Scotland more broadly. At its core, overland trade was conducted and recorded through a series of border customs precincts: Berwick and Carlisle in England, and after 1612, at Gretna, Hawick, Jedburgh, Kelso, Ayton and Duns in Scotland.²⁸⁷ Each of these exhibited a significant passing trade, acted as a regional market centre in its own right, and sat at the heart of an extensive rural hinterland.²⁸⁸ Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade across the border therefore demonstrated a tripartite division between a localised trade amongst

²⁸⁵ NAS, E71/29/5, 1611; E71/29/6, 1611-1612; E71/29/7, 1621-1622; E71/29/8, 1622-1623; E71/29/9, 1626-1627.

²⁸⁶ TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, Jan-Nov 1606; E190/161/16, Berwick, Easter-Michealmas 1637.

²⁸⁷ Act for appointing certain places on the border for the payment of custom, 18 June 1612, *R.P.C.S. 1610-1613*, pp. 394-395.

²⁸⁸ C. Dyer, 'Trade, urban hinterlands and market integration, 1300-1600: a summing up', J.A. Galloway, (ed.), *Trade, Urban Hinterlands and Market Integration c. 1300-1600* (London, 2002), p. 103.

border settlements, a regional trade to the borders, and a passing trade *enroute* to destinations outside the border region.

The first of these, a localised border trade, involved the movement of small quantities of agricultural produce between border settlements. Traders frequently appeared multiple times between border centres, giving this trade a circuitry nature. Owing to the lack of customs books for Scottish precincts before 1612, and only their partial survival immediately afterwards, the true nature and volume of localised border trading is difficult to establish until the more bountiful source survival of the later seventeenth century. Despite such poor source survival, the position of the customs precincts as market centres in their own right revealed the presence of a flourishing border economy. Craig Muldrew, Christopher Dyer, Richard Hoyle and Ian Whyte have each identified the importance of late sixteenth-century market centres as an interface between urban and rural economies, the significance of a rural hinterland to a market's commerce, and the role of urban-rural trade in creating complex chains of credit and commercial interconnection.²⁸⁹ The late sixteenth century was also a time when border markets increased, both in their number and importance, something which goes against Alan Everitt's depiction of their overall contraction in England across the period.²⁹⁰ It therefore appears that a degree of regional variation existed in the prosperity and continued dominance of fairs and markets between the contraction of those in southern England as studied by Everitt, and the survival of those in northern-reaches. This process of commercial expansion was intimately related, and embodied, by the growth of more informal fairs and markets throughout the borders.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ C. Muldrew, 'Rural credit, market areas and legal institutions in the countryside in England, 1550-1700', in C. Brooks, and M. Lobban, (eds.), *Communities and Courts in Britain 1150-1900* (London, 1997), pp. 157-158; Dyer, 'Trade, urban hinterlands and market integration', p. 103; R.W. Hoyle, 'New Markets and Fairs in the Yorkshire Dales, 1550-1750', in P.S. Barnwell, and M. Palmer, (eds.), *Post-Medieval Landscapes, Landscape History after Hoskins, Vol. 3* (Macclesfield, 2007), p. 96; Whyte, 'periodic market centres', pp. 14-15.

²⁹⁰ A. Everitt, 'Country, county and town: patterns of regional evolution in England', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 29 (1979), pp. 90-91.

²⁹¹ Whyte, 'periodic market centres', p. 16; K. McAlpine, "'Those Having Business There": Fairs in Scottish Almanac Lists', *Scottish Studies*, 33 (1999), pp. 76-88.

The presence and proliferation of periodic fairs and markets represented a second tier of border trade. Although frequently seasonal, these fairs and markets could represent a significant medium of trade for local and passing traders. With a concentration of Scottish fairs in the eastern lowlands, corresponding with ‘the most high-quality arable land, and probably the highest population densities’, these could form ‘market rings, in which groups of centres had circuits of staggered market days, allowing traders to visit each centre in turn’ [Map 4].²⁹² This was encouraged by the presence of several major fairs and markets in north-eastern England, with regular meetings being held at Alnwick, Morpeth, Bellingham, Haltwhistle and Hexham, which created a cross-border web of periodic and informal commercial interaction.²⁹³ Roger Leitch has highlighted the importance of these fairs to the informal economy of chapmen and peddlers in Scotland. He stated that these permitted ‘unfreemen a less restricted environment than the tightly controlled weekly markets’ of the burghs, and therefore attracted buyers and sellers from ‘a wide cross-section of society and served as the main mechanism for attracting longer-distance trade’.²⁹⁴ Fairs and weekly markets acted as important places of retail and wider wholesale trading. Willan has identified these as key suppliers of Elizabethan shopkeepers, whereas Koufopoulos has stated the importance of cattle trysts in fuelling the long-distance cattle trade.²⁹⁵ In doing so, they could produce an additional circuitry trade throughout the borders, complementing that between local settlements, whilst also attracting a passing trade. The extent and number of informal, unregulated, and technically illegal fairs and markets within Scotland was demonstrated by the belief that they could be exploited fiscally by James VI; a tax ‘on forestalling (sales outside official markets)’ was credited with the ability to raise as much as £500,000 (Scots) in

²⁹² See below, Map 4, p. 82; Whyte, ‘periodic market centres’, pp. 14-15; see also, I.M. Ronald Black, ‘Scottish Fairs and Fair-Names’, *Scottish Studies*, 33 (1999), p. 8.

²⁹³ Watts and Watts, *Border to Middle Shire*, p. 51.

²⁹⁴ R. Leitch, ‘“Here Chapman Billies Tak Their Stant”: A Pilot Survey of Scottish Chapman, Packmen and Pedlars’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 120 (1990), p. 174.

²⁹⁵ Willan, *Inland Trade*, pp. 76-77; Koufopoulos, ‘The Cattle Trades’, p. 49.

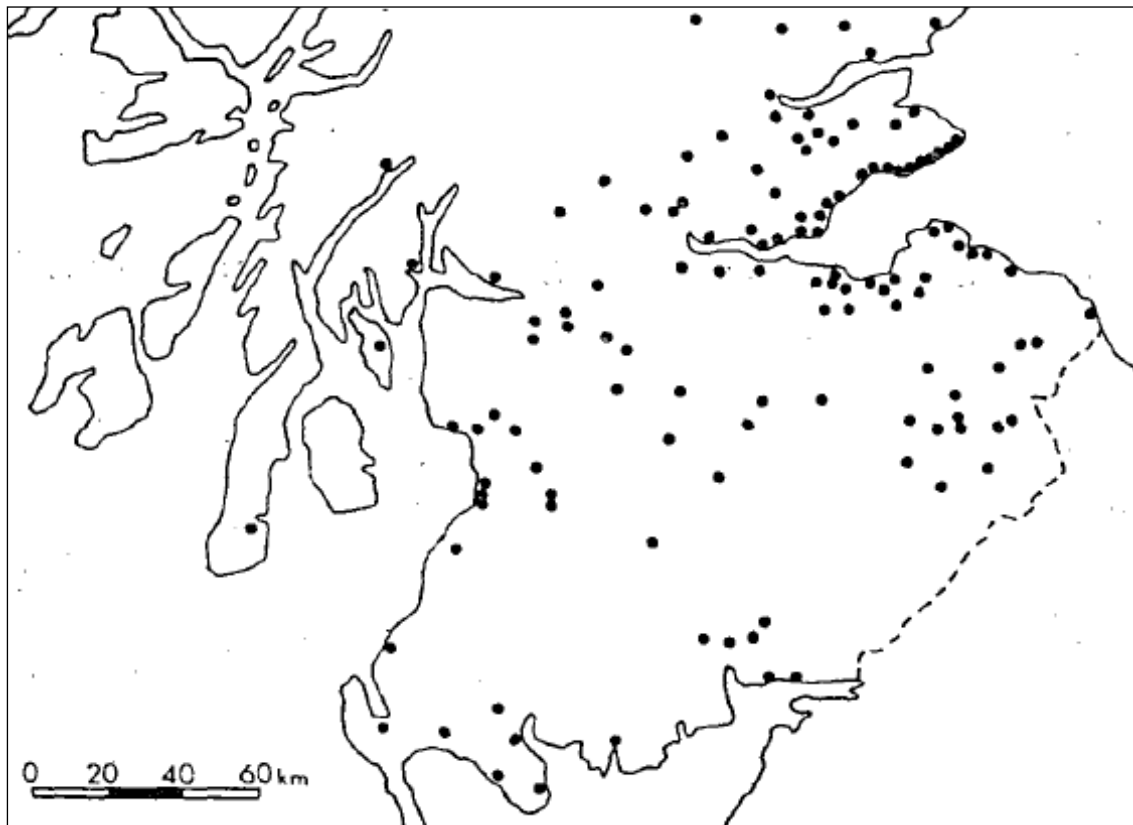
December 1599.²⁹⁶ The growth in the number of these fairs and markets during the final years of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was a defining characteristic of economic change within the borders and the proliferation of wider trade.²⁹⁷

Beyond the localised trading between border settlements and the transitory trade through fairs and markets, the third level of commerce was that passing through the border *enroute* to another destination. Such a trade was broadly divided into two geographical movements: a trade between north-western England and south-eastern Scotland via Kelso, Jedburgh and Berwick, and that between London, Newcastle and Edinburgh through the eastern-routes of Berwick, Ayton and Duns along the Great North Road. Although the trade in agricultural produce was important to both of these, that from north-west England became increasingly concerned with the trade in Lancashire cloth types, such as Manchester fustians, whereas that along the Great North Road consisted of Yorkshire varieties. As the seventeenth century progressed, and accounts of border trade become more plentiful, a greater divergence can be seen between the trade passing along the Great North Road and that conducted through the border routes from north-west England. The full assessment of these various levels of border trade is therefore hindered by a lack of quantitative documentation from the late sixteenth century.

²⁹⁶ Goodare, *State and Society*, p. 116.

²⁹⁷ Whyte, 'Growth of Periodic Market Centres', pp. 16-17; Willan, *Inland Trade*, pp. 76-77.

Map 4: The distribution of authorised market centres in southern Scotland, 1600.



Source: Whyte, 'Periodic Market Centres', p. 16.

3.3. 'From Border to Middle Shire', 1580-1610.

Late sixteenth-century cross-border trade paralleled, and was often integral to, efforts towards state formation on both sides of the border.²⁹⁸ This was most noticeable in the development of the Scottish fiscal state during the personal rule of James VI, with the last two decades of the sixteenth century showing an increased concern with the supervision of Scotland's commercial borders.²⁹⁹ In September 1586, an Act of the Scottish Privy Council forbade 'the export of nolt, sheep, coal, salt, and other victuals to England', whilst attempts

²⁹⁸ Goodare, *State and Society*, pp. 40-42, 48, 62; Wormald, 'The Happier Marriage Partner', p. 71; S.G. Ellis, 'Tudor Northumberland: British History in an English County', in S.J. Connolly, (ed.), *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500: Integration and Diversity* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 29-42; Watts and Watts, *Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 126-129.

²⁹⁹ Goodare, *State and Society*, pp. 102-132; A.L. Murray, (ed.), 'A Memorial on the Customs, 1597', *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, Fifth Series, 14 (2004), pp. 66-82.

were also made to tighten the regulation of English cloth imports via the stamping of fabrics.³⁰⁰ The process of stamping imported goods was re-affirmed in 1598, when it was ordered that all commodities which had crossed the border should be marked to show that customs had been paid before sale.³⁰¹ Although these acts were part of a wider package of measures aimed at protecting Scottish commodities from competition abroad, or shortage at home, they also represented the increasing state involvement in controlling and directing cross-border commerce. Such attempts only enjoyed partial success owing to the difficulties of enforcing them over the border landscape. Repeated calls were therefore made for the closer supervision of overland trading, calls which were echoed by English commentators on the approach to the regal Union.³⁰²

The Anglo-Scottish borders were to feature prominently in the negotiations regarding the regal Union of 1603. James' remarks of the two kingdoms being 'separated neither by sea nor great river, mountain nor strength of nature, but only by little small brooks or demolished little walls' was an apparent rallying cry for the borders, and their political and cultural significance, to be disregarded.³⁰³ Suggestions were made to transform the border counties into the 'middle shires' of a united Great Britain. A border commission was created to replace the former system of border marches and the once burgeoning garrison of Berwick was reduced to a mere 100 infantrymen.³⁰⁴ A great deal of time was spent investigating the 'hostile laws' which outlawed commercial exchange between the two kingdoms in the opening months of 1604.³⁰⁵ These resulted in the removal of duties on English cloth imports

³⁰⁰ Act against exporting certain goods to England, 23 September 1586, *R.P.C.S., 1585-1592*, p. 104; 27 Regulations for securing that all English cloth imported into Scotland henceforward shall pay the due custom, ? February 1590, *R.P.C.S., 1585-1592*, pp. 461-462.

³⁰¹ Act anent the customing of English goods imported to this country, 22 July, *R.P.C.S., 1592-1599*, pp. 470-471.

³⁰² Act anent Border thefts, 31 July 1599, *R.P.C.S., 1599-1604*, p. 17; Newton "'Dolefull dumpes": p. 93.

³⁰³ James I quoted in, R. Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England, 1603-1642* (London, 1989), p. 161.

³⁰⁴ Watts and Watts, *Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 133-158; Kesselring, "'Berwick is our England", p. 108.

³⁰⁵ BL, Add Ms 48,163 (Yelverton), 'A Calendar of lawes of England prohibiting or restraining any points of Commerce or Trade', ff. 41-68.

over the border and the wholesale revocation of duties whilst Union negotiations were ongoing.³⁰⁶

Despite the fears of English commentators, such as Henry Spelman, this initial period of free trade did not result in the flooding of English markets with Scottish commodities.³⁰⁷ Indeed, although the removal of duties on cross-border trade was ordered periodically between 1603 and 1607, confusion continued over whether the declaration of free trade obviated previous statutes restricting trade on both sides.³⁰⁸ In 1605, a Scottish merchant, John Taylor, was stopped whilst exporting skins to England due to this going against a 1593 Act of the Scottish Parliament.³⁰⁹ In July 1605, two Englishmen complained that their sheep had been seized by one Herbert Maxwell, a Scottish customs searcher, despite 'seing be the Unioun of the kingdoms the commerce of all things wes frie betuix the kingdoms', once again due to it contravening a previous Act of the Scottish Parliament.³¹⁰ There therefore appeared to be considerable confusion concerning the removal of hostile charges and restrictions on cross-border trade. This may have been encouraged by hesitancy on both sides of the border to allow free trade in those goods which were perceived as competing with local producers.

In addition to the survival of cross-border restrictions, a record continued to be kept of overland commerce. Although this was proposed in February 1607, it appears to have been in place by 1606 as the Berwick customs accounts from the latter continued to record overland

³⁰⁶ Act rescinding an Act of the Burghs against importing English cloth, 15 September 1599, *R.P.C.S., 1599-1604*, p. 32; 10 November 1604, BL 48,163, (Yelverton), 'A Calendar of lawes', f. 53; Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', p. 4.

³⁰⁷ Spelman, 'Of the Union', pp. 171-173.

³⁰⁸ Order that Inglisman be maid frie of all outward, 16 June 1603, *R.P.C.S., 1599-1604*, p. 577; BL 48,163, f. 53, 10 November 1604; Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', pp. 20-21.

³⁰⁹ Act Against the transporting of calf, kid and certain other skins, 21 July 1593, in K.M. Brown (ed.), *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* (St Andrews, 2007-2010), 1593/4/55; King's Treasurer and skinner craft against John Taylor, 15 August 1605, *R.P.C.S., 1604-1607*, p. 117; Act against certain fraudulent devices for defrauding the King of his customs on exports and imports, 26 April 1602, *R.P.C.S. 1599-1604*, p. 375.

³¹⁰ 'Scheip boght be Englishmen escheated in their transport', 11 July 1604, *R.P.C.S., 1604-1607*, p. 80.

trade.³¹¹ Between January and November 1606, a buoyant overland trade was recorded, with 107 customs book entries for traders entering England and sixty-three for those travelling northwards into Scotland.³¹² The relative modesty of these figures may have reflected a general decline in the border economy following its dissolution as an international frontier. The reduction of the Berwick garrison from a sizeable force during the final years of Elizabeth to a mere 100 men would have severely dislocated the well established trade in grain and victual aimed at its provision from both sides of the border.³¹³ Similarly, the gradual decline of border hostilities which followed 1603 also caused the contraction in the manufacture of buckles, stirrups and iron goods at Bywell for the supply of border horsemen.³¹⁴ Despite a fall in the demand for grain and victual associated with the garrison, the ebb and flow of trade was highly sensitive to the agrarian economy of the borders, and was dependent on the seasonal agricultural calendar. The Scottish export trade through Berwick had a weighted seasonality in relation to the harvest, with Scottish exports slumping in August and September reflecting the highly agrarian nature of the border economy [Figure 2].³¹⁵ The gathering of the harvest was likely to have attracted many traders onto the land in patterns of temporary employment.

³¹¹ Earl Dunfermline and Lord Balmerinoch to Salisbury, 15 February 1607, *C.S.P.D., 1603-1610*, p. 348.

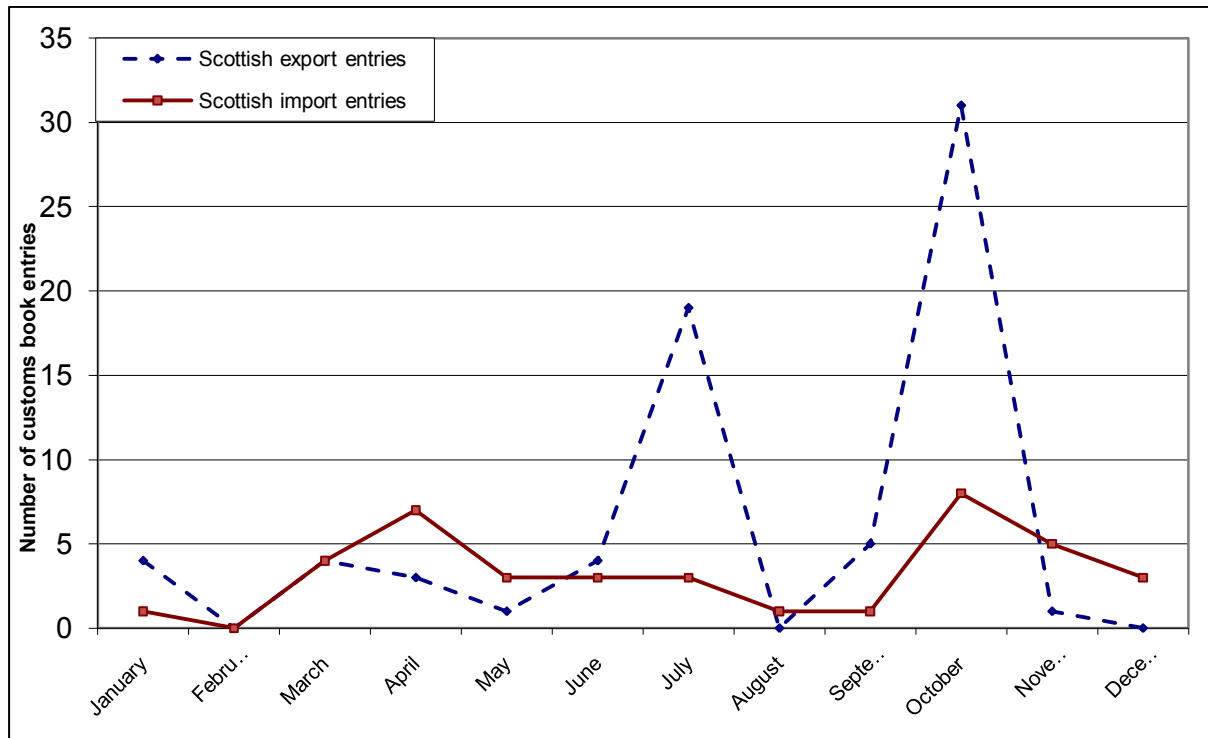
³¹² TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, Jan-Nov 1606.

³¹³ Kesselring, "Berwick is our England", p. 108.

³¹⁴ Watts and Watts, *Border to Middle Shire*, p. 159; D. Newton, 'The Impact of James I's Accession on the North-East of England', *Renaissance Forum: an electronic journal of Early-Modern Literary and Historical Studies*, 7 (Winter, 2004); Newton, "'Dolefull dumpes'", pp. 88-103.

³¹⁵ See below, Figure 2, p. 86; Ferguson, 'Law and Order', p. 6.

Figure 2: Seasonality of the entry of Scottish traders passing through, and trading with, Berwick, January-November 1606.



Source: TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, Jan-Nov 1606.

The seasonality of cross-border trade was also likely to have been affected by the calendar of fairs and markets held on both sides of the border. In his research into English fairs, John Chartres found a seasonal weighting of fairs and periodic markets concentrated in May, September and October, suggesting that these correlated with the spring time sale of livestock and the post-harvest exchange of consumer goods, such as cloth.³¹⁶ It is therefore plausible that the peak in trade in October was a reflection of increased economic activity through such fairs.³¹⁷ Although the localised trade through the borders was heavily dependent upon the agricultural calendar, that passing through the precincts *enroute* to destinations outside the borders was less affected. The geographical origins of these traders are hard to

³¹⁶ J.A. Chartres, *Internal Trade in England 1500-1700* (London, 1977), p. 48.

³¹⁷ See below, Map 11, p. 236.

establish and the majority of them were recorded simply as ‘Scottishmen’, although individual traders were recorded from Prestonpans and Edinburgh.³¹⁸ Despite such difficulties, it has been possible to reconstruct the activities of other cross-border traders with some partial success [Table 11].

Table 11: The recorded movements of Thomas More in the Berwick port books.

Scottish...	Date	Entry for	Commodity	Measure	Volume
EXPORT	12/3/1606	Thomas Moore	Linen yarn	cwt	200
IMPORT	7/4/1606	Thomas More	Stockings	loose	200
			Hides	loose	70
IMPORT	17/4/1606	Thomas More	Yorkshire kersies		50
			Yorkshire duffens ?		14
EXPORT	25/7/1606	Thomas More	Linen cloth	ells	1,200
EXPORT	11/9/1606	Thomas Moore	Linen cloth	ells	800
IMPORT	16/10/1606	Thomas More	Yorkshire cloth	doz	22

Source: TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, March-October 1606.

Recorded as moving across the border on six occasions, Thomas More was accompanied on one occasion by ‘Elizabeth More – widow’, with the two of them carrying seventy hides and 200 stockings from England in April 1606.³¹⁹ Like the new draperies, increased stocking manufacture was also a product of the sixteenth century.³²⁰ Likely to be of a coarse woollen variety, Scottish and northern English stockings were generally favoured by labourers and peasants ‘who had to be out in all weathers’ and, despite the increasing commercialisation of the industry, they could still be produced by peasant cottagers.³²¹ The existence of a widow trading in hosiery was not restricted to this one example. Another widow, Muriel Jackson,

³¹⁸ TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, Jan-Nov 1606.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 April 1606;

³²⁰ S. Chapman, *Hosiery and Knitwear: Four Centuries of Small-Scale Industry in Britain c. 1589-2000* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 1-11.

³²¹ J. Thirsk, ‘The Fantastical Folly of Fashion: the English Stocking Knitting Industry, 1500-1700’, in N.B. Harte, and K.G. Ponting (eds.), *Textile History and Economic History: essays in honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann* (Manchester, 1973), pp. 56-57, 60.

appeared in the Berwick customs books on two separate occasions trading in short cloths and Devonshire kerseys.³²² The assigning of widow status to such women appears to have been significant throughout the seventeenth century, with no woman being recorded as a cross-border trader without it. The commercial importance of mercantile wives has been identified by Sue Mowat in relation to seventeenth-century Leith. She argued that they played a pivotal role in conducting business affairs when their husbands were absent and frequently continued to trade after his death.³²³ Rab Houston has also shown how the women of the east-central lowlands of Scotland were integral to the workforce, whether in the area's mines, paper mills or households.³²⁴ Elsewhere, A. Abram noted the importance of widows in the economic life of medieval London whilst, more recently, Martin Roarke has explored the importance of female traders generally in sixteenth-century Scottish overseas trade.³²⁵ In particular, Rorke notes how trading was a popular outlet for many widows in order for them to avoid becoming burdensome to the local community and due to the need for economic maintenance.³²⁶ In the case of Elizabeth More, such a decision may have been encouraged by the pre-existing trading activities of a relation, in this case her trading companion, Thomas.

³²² *Ibid.*, 30 March 1606, 1 June 1606.

³²³ Mowat, *Port of Leith*, p. 182.

³²⁴ Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society', pp. 121-123, 138.

³²⁵ A. Abram, 'Women Traders in Medieval London'. *Economic Journal*, 26 (1916), pp. 276-85; M. Rorke, 'Women overseas traders in sixteenth-century Scotland'. *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 25:2 (2005), pp. 81-96.

³²⁶ M. Rorke, 'Women overseas traders', p. 84.

quantities also far surpassed those recorded through Gretna in 1665-66.³²⁹ The absence of Scottish customs registers from the period of free trade makes any exact calculation of the prominence of these linen exports through Berwick impossible. It is clear, however, that these represented substantial volumes, and ones that would not be repeated in the other surveyed years for Berwick of 1637 or 1683-84.³³⁰ The period of free-trade therefore correlated with a boom in Scottish linen exports through Berwick.

In return, Scottish merchants and peddlers imported a wide variety of commodities, although these were still dominated by cloth and examples of the ‘new draperies’. The appearance of the latter represented an important development in the English manufacturing economy and constituted a major advance in English production techniques.³³¹ Of these, Devonshire kerseys were significant, and were exported to Scotland in six cargoes and accounted for eighty-five individual pieces of cloth. These were dwarfed by the exports of Yorkshire cloth, however.³³² Although cloth manufacture was not unique to any part of the country *per se*, the inclusion of geographical prefixes to cloth names such as *Manchester* friezes, *Devonshire* kerseys, *Yorkshire* cloth alongside *Richmond* capes, not only reflected the sixteenth-century regional specialisation in cloth production, but also the wider-geographical remit of this cross-border trade [Map 5].³³³

Alongside these semi-processed and specialised commodities came hides and skins, the basic and staple goods of the late medieval English and Scottish economies. The early seventeenth-century border trade therefore had a ‘Janus-like’ appearance between the skins and hides of the fifteenth-century economy and the products of sixteenth-century

³²⁹ See below Table 27, pp. 180-181.

³³⁰ See below Tables 14 and 41, pp. 99, 224.

³³¹ B.A. Holderness, ‘The Reception and Distribution of the New Draperies in England’, in N.B. Harte (ed.), *The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England, 1300-1800* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 217-243.

³³² Watson, ‘Scottish Overseas Trade’, pp. 191-192.

³³³ See below, Map 5, p. 92; Clay, *Economic Expansion, Vol. II*, p. 14.

innovations.³³⁴ The cross-border trade depicts this transition in its infancy, and the 1611 Edinburgh port books continued to record a trade that was dominated by agricultural produce and semi-processed fabrics [Table 13].

Table 13: Edinburgh’s overland exports, January-November 1611.

Commodities	Jan-Nov 1611		
	Cargo	Volume	Measure
Foodstuffs			
Oats	2	78	bolles
Skins			
Goat skins	1	300	loose
Textiles			
Firking	1	200	ells
Linen cloth	3	1,600	ells

Source: NAS, E71/29/5, Edinburgh, Jan-Nov 1611.

Unfortunately, details of Edinburgh’s imports overland have not survived in a quantifiable state.³³⁵ The prominence of linens and fabrics in overland trade also offers a modest counter-point to the current historiography which has focused on the movement of cattle across the border.³³⁶ Cattle and livestock were absent from the port books of Berwick, thus illustrating the wide variation in the nature of trade along the border’s length. Although the majority of livestock movements appeared to be concentrated along western routes via Carlisle, Haldane admits that ‘it is probable that a large proportion of the traffic [before the Union of 1707] kept down the east side of the Pennines by Corbridge’.³³⁷ Certainly, this appears to be the case when more abundant records are available from border precincts later

³³⁴ Whyte, ‘The growth of periodic market centres’, p. 13.

³³⁵ NAS, E71/29/5, Edinburgh overland, Jan-Nov 1611.

³³⁶ Haldane, *Drove Roads*, pp. 168-186; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 212-214; Woodward, ‘Livestock Trades’, pp. 147-164; Koufopoulos, ‘Cattle Trades’.

³³⁷ Haldane, *Drove Roads*, p. 178.

in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, due to the lack of quantitative material, such assertions cannot be substantiated for the earlier period.

Map 5: Main areas of cloth production and specialisation, c. 1550.



Adapted from: Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change, Vol. II*, Map 7, p. 20; Ordnance Survey Map, Crown Copyright, edited without permission.

In terms of both the quantity of customs entries and the volume of individual commodities, the period of Anglo-Scottish free trade between 1604 and 1610 appears to have bolstered Scottish trade entering England. The Berwick port book for 1606 witnessed record

volumes of Scottish linen exports alongside substantial quantities of agricultural produce. Although some local markets were likely to have experienced hardship following the reduction of the border as a fortified barrier, overland commerce generally responded well to free trade. The 1606 Berwick port books have also revealed some of the breadth and nature of trade conducted, particularly the circuitry movement of localised traders and the presence of long-distance commerce along the Great North Road. Similarly, although little quantitative information survives in relation to the border fairs and markets, it is likely that a substantial portion of border commerce was channelled through them. At all tiers of trade, the importance of agricultural produce was combined with the growing significance of the fabric and linen trades, thus reflecting the increasing importance of linen as a Scottish export and the development of the new draperies in England. Both of these were to develop as the seventeenth century progressed, and were given specific encouragement by both the English and Scottish privy councils, whereas the creation of Scottish border precincts in 1612 provides additional documentary evidence to chart this development.

3.4. Signs of mercantilism and the fiscal state, 1610-25.

It was following James' failure to unite England and Scotland in a 'perfect Union' that border customs were once again reintroduced on overland trade, with 'the cessation from such customs being found injurious' by the English Privy Council.³³⁸ The end of free trade also witnessed the creation of formal Scottish border precincts in 1612 under crown control. Although the motivation for the creation of these precincts was monetary, the royal coffers having been 'greatlie defraudit' by the lack of 'certane places designit upoun the Bordouris' for the paying of customs, their creation was also an admission that any attempt at

³³⁸ Warrant to levy the same customs on merchandise passing between England and Scotland, as on that passing between England and Ireland, 26 November 1610, *C.S.P.D., 1603-1610*, p. 647.

commercial Union was dead.³³⁹ Initially aimed at the collection of duties from livestock, categorised as ‘hor, nolt, sheip, swine, lambis, veallis, calffis, gayttis, and kidis caryed out of Scotland to England and from thence to Scotland’, the subsequent act created a string of precincts stretching the full length of the borders.³⁴⁰ In the west this included the payment of duties at Gretna, in the middle marches at Hawick, Jedburgh and Kelso, and in the eastern portions at Mers, Ayton and Duns.³⁴¹ The establishment of multiple precincts along the length of the borders went far beyond the extent of English customs collection, based at the extremities of the border at Berwick and Carlisle, and represented a significant extension of the Scottish fiscal state that was to have a profound effect on border trade. These precincts were supported by a system of searchers and customers who patrolled the borders to intercept smugglers and to seize any goods that were discovered as not paying the relevant duties.³⁴² The establishment of formal border precincts reflected the growing recognition of the commercial importance of overland trade by the Scottish crown and was a part of a wider fiscal initiative embracing Scottish overseas trade, notably in the revision and reissuing of the Scottish Book of Rates in 1611.³⁴³ This was heavily modelled on the English book of 1608, and represented a considerable expansion in the number and variety of duties charged on commodities compared to the previous book of 1597.³⁴⁴

The end of the first decade of the seventeenth century can therefore be seen as important, both in terms of Anglo-Scottish commercial relations and in the extent of the English and Scottish states’ control of these. By 1611-12, the privileges enjoyed during the period of free trade were increasingly disappearing and any hope of commercial Union would depend on allaying English commercial fears over Scottish competitiveness overseas. These fears

³³⁹ Act appointing certain places on the Borders for payment of custom on horses, nolt, and sheep, passing between England and Scotland, 18 June 1612, *R.P.C.S., 1610-1613*, pp. 394-395.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ NAS, E1/10, *Book of Rates* (Edinburgh, 1611).

³⁴⁴ NAS, E76/1 – *Book of Rates*, (Edinburgh, 1597); Anon., *The Rates of Merchandize* (London, 1608); *ibid.*

focused largely upon the English suspicion that Scotland's loose fiscal apparatus, and the commercial cunning of its merchants, would allow English goods to be carried across the border only to be re-shipped to England's international competitors, notably Holland.³⁴⁵ In particular, fears surrounded the shipment of wool, which could amount to a significant organised crime. In February 1624, thirty-seven packs of wool destined for Scotland were seized by John Greenhead, Comptroller of Customs at Berwick. Whilst the latter was 'seeking assistance' from fellow customs officers, 'some of the wool was carried over the Tweed, and Luke Kirklyn, servant to Sir Wm. Grey, obtaining aid from the servants of Werke, rescued the remainder by force, and conveyed it to his master's castle of Werke, whence it was afterwards secretly conveyed to Scotland, thence to be carried beyond seas'.³⁴⁶ Such actions represented a major logistical operation and demonstrated the frequent powerlessness experienced by customs officials in completing their duties. This was particularly the case in relation to wool due to its apparent popularity as a lucrative and relatively accessible commodity for traders from all levels of society.³⁴⁷

Despite the rise in overland trade during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, Anglo-Scottish cross-border relations were increasingly defined by prohibitive duties and trade restrictions. A number of individuals in Selkirk forest complained that they were struggling to pay the king's taxes as 'thair guidis not having sail in Inland as they were accustomed in tymes bygane, thair woll, skynis, or utheris wairis geive an small price quhairby they might make money'.³⁴⁸ Additional complaints were heard from those whose livelihoods depended on a mixture of wool combing and trading, notably one nameless 'widow of a deceased person' who petitioned the Scottish Privy Council in 1623 'anent the

³⁴⁵ Act granting the petition of the Tacksmen of the Customs for leave to export wool, 17 November 1614, *R.P.C.S. 1613-1616*, pp. 287-288.

³⁴⁶ Examinations of... [the] Comptroller of Customs at Berwick ? February 1624, *C.S.P.D. 1623-1625*, p. 172.

³⁴⁷ Willan, *The Inland Trade*, p. 2.

³⁴⁸ Proceedings of the Justices of the Peace, with suggestions to the Council as the employment of the poor, 16 October 1623, *R.P.C.S. 1622-1625*, pp. 827-828.

restraint of the export of wool'.³⁴⁹ Rather than being a wool trader herself, her concerns reflected the importance of wool combing and processing to the household economies of the border region. These complaints also demonstrate the division of labour, and Scottish exports, between the 'old' export wares of wool, fells and woollen cloth and those newer varieties of linen yarn and cloth.³⁵⁰ Despite these complaints, however, restrictions on the export of cattle, sheep and woollens continued into 1627-28.³⁵¹ Overland trade was also reduced by the poor harvests of the late 1620s and the subsequent hardship they brought on both sides of the border.³⁵² With the importance of agrarian produce to border trade, overland commerce was naturally vulnerable to harvest failure.³⁵³ The restrictive impact of such hardship was evident when oat and meal exports were prohibited by the Scottish Privy Council in January 1629, with this being extended to all victual once the severity of the subsequent harvest of 1630 was known.³⁵⁴ The 1637 Berwick port book demonstrates that much of this hardship continued into the following decade.

3.5. Overland trade through Berwick, 1637.

Those records that do survive for 1637 portray a border trade which had substantial differences to that in 1606 and 1611. These included a levelling in the number of Scottish import and export entries. Whereas in 1606 a higher number of entries for Scottish exports to England was recorded, by 1637 import and export entries were almost equal, at seventy and seventy-four respectively.³⁵⁵ This was largely due to a fall in the number of Scottish exports

³⁴⁹ Petition of the widow of a deceased person anent the restraint of the export of wool, Undated, *R.P.C.S. 1622-1625*, p. 839.

³⁵⁰ Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', pp. 192.

³⁵¹ Continuance of the restraint on the exportation of cattle, sheep, and wool, 18 September 1627, *R.P.C.S. 1627-1628*, pp. 73, 90-91.

³⁵² Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship*, p. 52.

³⁵³ Winchester, *Harvest of the Hills*, pp. 18-21.

³⁵⁴ P. Hume Brown, *R.P.C.S. 1629-1630*, pp. xxi-xxii.

³⁵⁵ TNA, E190/161/16, Berwick, Eas-Mich 1637.

entered in the Berwick customs books, in part a reflection of the reduced economic importance of Berwick as a border garrison, combined with hardship experienced north of the border owing to poor harvests and economic depression. This fall in entries was accompanied by a contraction in the number of times an individual trader was recorded as trading through Berwick. Whereas in 1606, a single trader was often recorded as passing through or trading with the precinct on multiple occasions, in 1637 traders were usually only recorded on one occasion, or occasionally twice. The reasons for this perceived contraction in trader activity through Berwick were likely to have been multiple, in part the consequence of the shorter chronology of the 1637 Berwick customs book, which spanned between Easter and Michaelmas, compared to that of 1606.³⁵⁶ The Scottish precincts established in 1612 would have also provided additional avenues through which legitimate trade could pass, removing Berwick's monopoly on customs collection in the eastern borders. It is therefore likely that a number of merchants who had previously traded directly through Berwick were now trading elsewhere.

The breadth and volume of trade may have been reduced further by less favourable circumstances. The border commission of oyer and terminer was reaffirmed in February 1636 following reports that 'divers malefactors go armed.... to commit wicked and lewd attempts, by assaulting divers and robbing others...committing murders and ravishments, besides burning houses and barns full of corn, and menacing on pain of life and death'.³⁵⁷ The impact of such depredations on the local economy was worsened by the onset of plague in the borders. In June 1636, it was reported that 'the middle shires upon the English side are infected with the contagious sicknes of the pest' and that, as a result, 'the daylie and frequent

³⁵⁶ TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, Jan-Nov 1606.

³⁵⁷ Confirmation of the border commission of oyer and terminer, 9 February 1636, *C.S.P.D., 1635-1636*, p. 219; Commission for the peace of the borders, 30 November 1635, *C.S.P.D., 1635*, p. 510.

commerce and intercourse interteanned betuix the twa kingdoms' should be curtailed.³⁵⁸ The Scottish Privy Council ordered a number of measures to reduce cross-border contact, and thereby contamination, including the outlawing of fairs and markets in January 1638, and the banning of all trade in the eastern borders without licence.³⁵⁹ Despite these proclamations, some level of contact was maintained through Berwick although this is likely to have been at a reduced level.³⁶⁰

Beyond the volume of customs entries a significant change can also be seen in the nature of trade, notably in the cloth types recorded in 1637 compared to those in 1606. For the former, there was a total absence of cloth types with wider geographical prefixes and associations such as Devonshire, Suffolk and Yorkshire cloth. These were now replaced by Manchester wares [Table 14].³⁶¹ A total of 702 packs of 'Manchester stuff' passed through Berwick between Easter and Michaelmas 1637, something which represented a significant expansion of the trade from north-west England across the borders.³⁶² The true nature of this trade is difficult to establish due to the absence of trader origins from the book of 1637, although it is likely that a portion of the 4,600 yards of frieze and the 4,950 yards of cottons entered in that year also originated from Manchester as they had in 1606.³⁶³ These were exchanged for a wide variety of cloth products including linen, linen yarn, and pladding and were also accompanied by 320 sheep and 97 quarts of barley.³⁶⁴

The prominence of cloth and draperies as both imports and exports illustrates the great variety and number of cloth types, but also their various stages of production. Scottish exports

³⁵⁸ Commission to sheriffs and justices of the peace on the Borders to take measures for the staying of the plague, 21 June 1636, *R.P.C.S.*, 1635-1637, p. 268.

³⁵⁹ The banning of fairs, markets and keeping the infected away from the healthy, 6 January 1638, *R.P.C.S.*, 1638-43, p. 2; Directions anents the plague which has appeared at Newcastle and Morpeth, 14 November, 1638, *R.P.C.S.*, 1638-43, pp. 82-83.

³⁶⁰ TNA, E190/161/16, Berwick, December 1636-June 1637.

³⁶¹ See below, Table 14, p. 99.

³⁶² TNA, E190/161/16, Berwick, December 1636-June 1637.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*; TNA, E190/161/1, Berwick, Jan-Nov 1606; J. Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects – The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978), p. 145.

³⁶⁴ TNA, E190/161/16, Berwick, December 1636-June 1637.

consisted almost solely of linen, linen yarn and pladding, whereas English exports featured cloth types that required a greater degree of processing and manufacture.³⁶⁵ Despite Watson's suggestion that the Scottish export trade experienced the dawning of 'a new age' in the volume of commodities traded by the second decade of the seventeenth century, the figures for Berwick in 1637 actually demonstrate a fall in linen exports, although those in linen yarn increased.³⁶⁶ Once again, this is a likely reflection of the changing status of Berwick as a border precinct following the foundation of others, and the dislocation of the border trade more generally due to plague and restlessness.

Table 14: Anglo-Scottish trade passing through Berwick, Easter-Michealmas 1637.

Berwick, Scottish Exports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Foodstuffs			
Barley	1	94	quarts
Livestock			
Sheep	1	320	head
Skins			
Hides	1	110	loose
Textiles			
Cloth	3	600	ells
Linen cloth	34	9,295.25	ells
Linen yarn	32	7,703	pounds
Pladding	1	800	ells
Yarn	4	405	pounds

Berwick, Scottish Imports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Hardware			
Bridles and stirrups	3	3	pack
Hardware	9	19	packs
Stuff	4	13	packs
Textile			
Cottons	18	4,950	goads
Frieze	13	4,600	yards
Manchester stuff	6	702	packs

Source: TNA, E190/161/16, Berwick, December 1636-June 1637.

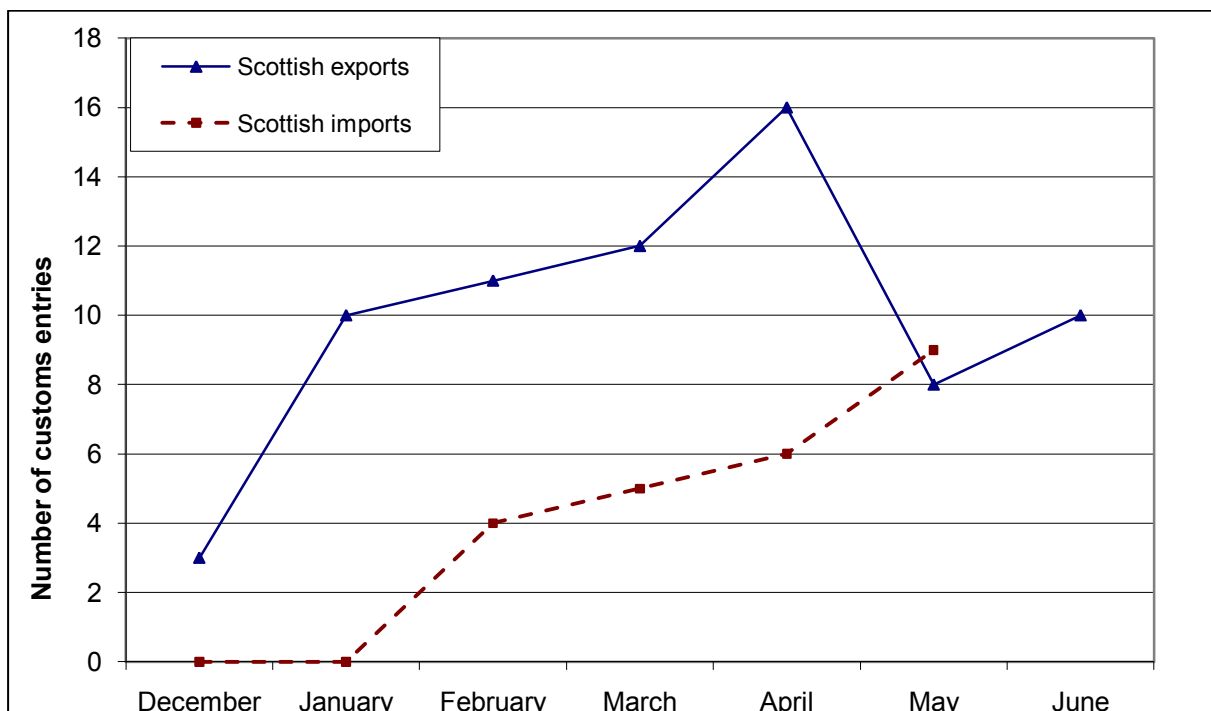
The presence of sheep and skins travelling through Berwick in 1636-37 reflected the freeing up of this trade from its close regulation and restriction earlier in the decade. Movements of livestock and quantities of barley also help to demonstrate the easing of

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*,

³⁶⁶ Watson, 'Scottish Overseas Trade', p. 192.

conditions north of the border following the poor harvests of the early 1630s. The volume of both of these increased as the seventeenth century progressed, and represented the recovery and reintegration of agricultural concerns to overland trading. No direct comparison can be made in terms of the seasonality of trade between 1606 and the trade of 1637, although the peak in Scottish exports during the spring months may have reflected the seasonality of agricultural fairs and markets that Chartres indentified [Figure 3].³⁶⁷

Figure 3: Seasonality of customs entries for overland trade through Berwick, 1636-37.



Source: TNA, E190/161/16, Berwick, December 1636-June 1637.

The Berwick port book of 1637 therefore demonstrates wide variations when compared to those from earlier in the seventeenth century. Changes can be seen in the nature of trade, with the significant growth of Manchester as a major source of fabrics alongside the presence

³⁶⁷ Chartres, *Internal Trade*, p. 48.

of livestock, and in the movements of traders themselves. The foundation of additional customs precincts on the border, and Berwick's own decline as a garrison town, appears to have affected the ebb and flow of border commerce. Such changes included the reduction in the localised trade to Berwick in grains and victual and a fall in the repetitive entry of individual merchants. Instead, Anglo-Scottish trade entering Berwick was increasingly defined by passing trades, whether of livestock and linen from Scotland, or cloth from north-western England. In doing so, Anglo-Scottish trade passing through Berwick partially reflected general economic changes occurring on both sides of the border, notably the development of Manchester and north-western England as major cloth producing areas. In addition to these long term changes, circumstantial events can also be seen to have changed the ebb and flow of border commerce, notably the increase in border unrest and the arrival of plague during the late 1630s.

3.6. Overland trade across the border and between middle shires, 1580-1638.

Large fluctuations existed in the nature and extent of border trade over the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These not only shed light on overland commerce itself, but also its relation to the wider economies of both kingdoms. Contrary to what is often suggested, the overland trade, and border economy more generally, were not dominated by agrarian or pastoral concerns.³⁶⁸ Instead the trade passing across the border was of a mixed and varied nature, including large quantities of cloth, fabrics and basic manufactures, much of which were produced within the immediate vicinity of the border. The complaints which were heard when an individual trade was restricted demonstrates how the border trade not only involved traders passing between precincts, but also could descend to

³⁶⁸ Ferguson, 'Law and Order', p. 6; Winchester, *Harvest of the Hills*, pp. 18-21; Watts and Watts, *Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 159-178.

numerous small producers and wholesalers throughout northern England and southern Scotland.

Beyond the immediate vicinity of the border, the geographical reach of overland trade was extensive, and commodities originated from across England and Scotland. Although Meikle might be correct in suggesting the essential ‘separateness’ of borderer society and culture from the rest of England and Scotland, it should not be forgotten that the border was dissected by social, cultural and commercial corridors, which placed it within national economic and transitory networks.³⁶⁹ Such networks were not only channels for goods and commodities, but also news, gossip and cultural interaction. The social construction of the borders should not be based solely on surname groupings and its permanent residents, but also on a sizeable moving population of traders, merchants and peddlers which passed through them.

The years 1580 to 1638 are blighted by a general lack of quantitative documentation, although this does not reflect any lack of state interest in the overland trade or its various facets. Despite the failure of Anglo-Scottish commercial Union in 1610 and the paucity of primary sources, the Union of the Crowns had a two-tiered effect on overland trade. Firstly, the period of free trade witnessed substantial quantities of Scottish linen passing through Berwick in volumes that would not be seen again in its customs books. These were impressive even when compared to the later export figures provided by Watson.³⁷⁰ They were also accompanied by quantities of grain and victual, which continued to pass through Berwick despite the fall in its own demands. In addition to its exports, Scottish imports from England demonstrated a diverse array of fabrics, embracing much of the English rural economy. Trade was therefore conducted in significant volumes and embraced a wide portion of both national economies. Secondly, the failure of Union negotiations in 1610 witnessed a

³⁶⁹ Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, pp. 3, 9-24, 25-38.

³⁷⁰ Watson, ‘Scottish Overseas Trade’, pp. 191-192.

new fiscal nationalism in Scotland, which saw enhanced state interest in the level and nature of the border trade.³⁷¹ It was the implementation of enhanced duties on both sides, plus the general disruption of the borders through unrest, which caused overland trade to plateau by 1637.

Anglo-Scottish overland trade between 1580 and 1638 can therefore be seen as multifaceted. The trade across the border embraced local, regional and national patterns of trading, and conveyed a wide variety of produce between the border precincts and the markets beyond. The importance of these tiers of trade also fluctuated, with the removal of Berwick's role as a garrison town following the Union of the Crowns appearing to distort localised trading. Yet, more broadly, the border trade also reflected wider changes within both national economies and demonstrated the embryonic beginnings of trading patterns that would develop throughout the seventeenth century. These included the increasing movement of livestock through the eastern precinct of Berwick alongside the wide geographical origins of its traders. These developments would be obscured by the events of the mid-seventeenth century however.

³⁷¹ Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship*, pp. 25, 57; Petition of many Glaziers to the King, ? March? 1620, *C.S.P.D., 1619-1623*, p. 134.

4. Anglo-Scottish Inter-regional trade, 1638-48.

4.1. Introduction – 1638-48.

The years between the beginning of the Covenanting movement in 1637 and the end of the second civil war in 1648 were some of the most turbulent and unsettled in Anglo-Scottish history. They represented a time when English and Scottish histories were ‘more closely interwoven than at any other time between the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the Treaty of Union of 1707’.³⁷² Between these years the Atlantic archipelago witnessed seismic shifts in the level and nature of interaction between its component kingdoms and entities, giving rise to the regularly coined phrases of ‘multiple monarchy’, the ‘British wars’, and the ‘war of three kingdoms’.³⁷³ The causes and consequences of the conflict have been much debated amongst historians. Following the arrival of Marxism, these have included a greater recognition of economic factors and a focus upon the emergence of a capitalist society at odds with the landed aristocracy.³⁷⁴ General works, which include the mid-seventeenth century within their chronology, have also made important contributions to the economic history of the civil wars.³⁷⁵ These are complemented by a number of class-based economic studies, particularly of the gentry, alongside those which explore the economic lives and fortunes of individual families and ‘county communities’ during the conflict.³⁷⁶ In addition to these, localised and regional studies have also emerged as detailed and useful accounts of the

³⁷² Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, p. 3.

³⁷³ See for example, Pocock, ‘Atlantic Archipelago’, pp. 172-191; also for the general state of the ‘New British History’ see, J. Morrill, ‘The British Problem, c. 1534-1707’, in Bradshaw and Morrill (ed.), *The British Problem*, pp. 1-38.

³⁷⁴ R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1926); C. Hill, *Reformation to Industrial Revolution: a social and economic history of Britain, 1530-1780* (London, 1967)

³⁷⁵ Clay, *Economic Expansion, Vol. II*, pp. 141-181, 263-268; M.J. Braddick, *The Nerves of State: Taxation and the Financing of the English State 1558-1714* (Manchester, 1995) esp. pp. 111-119.

³⁷⁶ J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969); B.G. Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion 1640-1660* (Manchester, 1978); B. Coward, *The Stanleys: Lord Stanley and Earls of Derby 1385-1672* (Manchester, 1983); C. Holmes, ‘The county community in Stuart historiography’, *Journal of British Studies*, 19:2 (1980), pp. 54-73; A.M. Everitt, ‘The local community and the Great Rebellion’, in R.C. Richardson, (ed.), *The English civil wars: local aspects* (Sutton, 1997), pp. 14-36; A.M. Everitt, *The community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966).

everyday civil war experiences of certain areas in both England and Scotland.³⁷⁷ In Scotland, these are accompanied by works which focus upon the ecclesiastical, political and military proceedings of the Covenanting movement.³⁷⁸

North-eastern England also has an abundant civil war historiography, partly due to its early experience of military hostility and occupation during the Bishops' wars and the Scottish invasion of 1640.³⁷⁹ This regional historiography began in the modern age with Howell's comprehensive, *Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution – A Study of the Civil War in North England*.³⁸⁰ Such a relatively early work has since been complemented by additional studies, which have assessed civil, religious and commercial life in Newcastle, Sunderland and north-eastern England more generally during its occupation by Scottish forces in 1640, 1644 and the years that followed.³⁸¹ The intention here is not necessarily to challenge these works, which are comprehensive in both their analysis of the effects of war and in their use of the sources, but to place the study of the economic life of Newcastle and the north-east more broadly within the framework of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade already established above. In particular, it will shed light on Howell's extensive use of the

³⁷⁷ Arguably the first local study was that of J. Corbet, *An Historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester* (London, 1645) and M. Carter, *The Most True and Exact Relation of that as Honourable as Unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex and Colchester* (London, 1650); More recently P. Styles, 'The City of Worcester during the Civil Wars, 1640-1660', in R.C. Richardson (ed.), *The English civil wars: local aspects* (Stroud, 1997), 187-238; D. Eddershaw, *The Civil War in Oxfordshire* (Stroud, 1995); P. Tennant, *The Civil War in Stratford upon Avon: Conflict and Community in South Warwickshire 1642-1646* (Stroud, 1996); M. Stoye, *From Deliverance to Destruction: Rebellion and Civil War in an English City* (Exeter, 1996); J. Lynch, *For King and Parliament: Bristol and the Civil War* (Stroud, 1999); in Scotland, Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee*; S. Mowat, *Port of Leith*, pp. 171-204; Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee*; Mowat, *The Port of Leith*, pp. 171-204; Stewart, *Urban politics*.

³⁷⁸ H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'Scotland and the Puritan Revolution', in H.E. Bell and R.L. Ollard (eds.), *Historical Essays 1600-1750 presented to David Ogg* (New York, 1973), pp. 78-130; M.C. Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars – Charles I's campaigns against Scotland 1638-1640* (Cambridge, 1994); P.H. Donald, 'The Scottish National Covenant and British Politics, 1638-1640', in J. Morrill, (ed.), *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 1638-1651* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 90-105.; E.M. Furgol, 'Scotland Turned Sweden: The Scottish Covenanters and the Military Revolution, 1638-1651', in Morrill, *The Scottish National Covenant*, pp. 134-154.

³⁷⁹ For an account of the Bishops' wars including the Covenanters' progress in Scotland and through the north-east of England, see Fissel, *The Bishops' wars*, pp. 1-39.

³⁸⁰ R. Howell, *Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution – A Study of the Civil War in North England* (Oxford, 1967)

³⁸¹ J. De Groot, 'Commerce, Religion, Loyalty: Royalist Newcastle upon Tyne, 1642-1644', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fifth Series, 27, 1999, pp. 133-144; P. Whillis, 'The Experience of Scottish Occupation in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Bishopric of Durham 1640-1647' (Durham University, Unpublished MA dissertation, October 2002); Meikle, and Newman, *Sunderland and its Origins*, pp. 121-144.

Newcastle chamberlains' accounts by comparing these with Newcastle's abundant port books and a range of miscellaneous sources from Scotland.³⁸² It will also add a broader economic element to Scottish Covenanter historiography by assessing cross-border connections between the north-eastern English mercantile classes and the Covenanting movement.

4.2. The outbreak of hostilities and the economy of north-eastern England, 1637-40.

The late 1630s were years of economic slump and recession for both southern and eastern Scotland and north-east England. In May 1637, Thomas Liddell, the Mayor of Newcastle, complained that the combined efforts of Dunkirk pirates and the presence of plague had caused a near cessation of trade from the port.³⁸³ Social conditions appear to have deteriorated, and the mass unemployment of colliers and keelmen gave considerable unease to the town's authorities.³⁸⁴ In Scotland, an existing economic slump had been worsened by the fiscal initiatives of the crown, placing additional strain upon the kingdom's merchants through heightened taxation.³⁸⁵ Unease on the borders, both social and economic, was aggravated by the advance of plague throughout much of north-eastern England. As a result of these, Scottish trade entering Newcastle fell to near negligible levels and only consisted of a single recorded vessel in 1638-39.³⁸⁶ To some, the economic decline of Newcastle was intimately intertwined with the crisis of religious conscience that was engulfing much of the country in reaction to Laudianism. Writing in 1643, the keen Covenanter and Newcastle merchant, John Fenwick, lambasted the city for its loose morals, stating it was divine judgement which had brought 'that great plague *Anno*. 1636, when there died in half a yeere

³⁸² For Howell's extensive treatment of the contents of the Newcastle chamberlains' accounts see Howell, *Puritan Revolution*, pp. 274-334, 355.

³⁸³ Thomas Liddell to Henry Anderson, May 1637, *C.S.P.D., 1637-1638*, p. 76.

³⁸⁴ Statement of the condition of the keelmen, watermen, and labourers in the coal works at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1638?, *C.S.P.D., 1638-1639*, p. 260.

³⁸⁵ Brown, *Kingdom or Province*, pp. 106-107.

³⁸⁶ Richard Graham to the King, 1638?, *C.S.P.D., 1638-1639*, p. 259; See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

about seven thousand, which made thee almost desolate, thy streets growne greene with grass, thy treasure wasted, thy trading departed, as thou never yet recovered it'.³⁸⁷

Although not a native of Newcastle, John Fenwick had spent much of his adult life in the city and had become one of its dominant merchants.³⁸⁸ A suspected supporter of the Covenanters, he had frequently made visits into Scotland on business and had allegedly taken the Covenant. These allegations made him worthy of investigation for the city's authorities. During questioning, his wife, Jane Fenwick, attempted to explain his frequency north of the border by a debt owed to him by a Scottish merchant, although the existence of this was later denied by one of his servants.³⁸⁹ These investigations revealed the apparent frequency with which Newcastle merchants travelled overland to Scotland and several other witnesses confirmed they had met Fenwick whilst also doing so.³⁹⁰ These reports also reflected the increasing fear over the summer of 1640 that Newcastle was under threat from Scottish designs. There were suspicions that the Scots would use any invasion to their commercial advantage by setting alight the Tyne- and Wear-side coal mines in an act of economic warfare.³⁹¹ Further concern was caused by the presence of several hundred Scottish families on Tyneside who had been involved in working its mines and the conveying of coal along the Tyne as keelmen, and that 'these may be of dangerous consequence' if hostilities should break out.³⁹² As a consequence, the news that Scottish forces were amassing north of the border had 'put this place [Newcastle] into great fright', with preparations being ordered for

³⁸⁷ J. Fenwick, *Christ Ruling in midst of his Enemies, or, some fruits of the Churches Deliverance* (London, 1643), p. 2.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³⁸⁹ Examinations of Jane Fenwick, wife of John Fenwick, and George Basnett, servant, 24 January 1639, *C.S.P.D., 1638-1639*, pp. 359-360.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Examination of Andrew Barker of Newcastle, merchant.

³⁹¹ Sir John Conyers to [Sec. Windebank], 15 July 1640, *C.S.P.D., 1640*, pp. 478-479; Viscount Conway and Killultagh to Earl of Northumberland, 23 April 1640, *C.S.P.D., 1640*, p. 64; Report from the Scotch camp near Dunse-law, 4 August 1640, *C.S.P.D., 1640*, p. 556.

³⁹² Viscount Conway and Killultagh to Archbishop Laud, 29 April, *Ibid.*, p. 81; D.J. Rowe, 'The Keelmen of Tyneside', *History Today*, 19 (1969), pp. 248-254.

the defence of the city, although this only appeared to stretch to the provision of a few pistols, many of which were close to being antiques.³⁹³

Yet despite the increasing political temperature nationally, and anxiety locally, some of the daily cross-border trade appeared to go on normally. Edward Viscount Conway and Killutagh complained to the Earl of Northumberland, Lord General of the Army, of how ‘the English who go into Scotland to market are not forbidden, but all others [are] stayed and their letters seized’.³⁹⁴ The breeding of familiarity in the market centres of the borders between traders appeared to allow the Scottish Covenanters to identify those regular English merchants with sincere economic reasons for crossing the border and those sent by the English authorities to ‘espy what they are doing there’.³⁹⁵ These regular traders identified by the Scots were named explicitly as ‘divers Englismen of the Borders’ who went ‘constantly to market without interruption’, indicating that localised border trading may have continued, whereas the passing trade suffered from disruption.

Despite this apparent continuity in border exchange, Anglo-Scottish coastal trade experienced significant disruption in the months immediately before hostilities began. Initially, this came in the form of the proclamation of 7 April 1640 outlawing Scottish vessels from entering English, Welsh and Irish ports with the order also stating that their cargoes were to be seized.³⁹⁶ A month after the proclamation in May 1640, one Captain Fielding made the seizure of two ‘Scotch ships, one laden with salt, hemp, and flax, and such kind of lading, the other was a tall ship, laden with ammunition’, both of which he brought into Berwick.³⁹⁷ Later in the same month, also writing from Berwick, William Marquis of Douglas reported that there were ‘sundry Scotch ships taken and brought into the harbours hereabouts; I think it were not amiss if the King would be pleased to redress the losses we

³⁹³ Viscount Conway and Killutagh to Sec [Windebank], 8 June 1640, *C.S.P.D., 1640*, p. 275.

³⁹⁴ *Idem.* to Earl of Northumberland, 29 April 1640, *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*,

³⁹⁶ Warrant to the Lord Admiral, 7 April 1640, *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁹⁷ Edmund Rossingham to Viscount Conway and Killutagh, 12 May 1640, *Ibid.*, p. 154.

sustain by the Covenanters with the spoil of these ships'.³⁹⁸ Reports of seizures continued throughout May and June 1640, rather worryingly for the English Admiralty, with sizeable cargoes of arms and ammunition from Holland and Gottenburg.³⁹⁹ The capture and loss of so many merchant vessels was unprecedented in Scottish maritime history and, as a result, 'the Covenanters repine very much that their ships are taken; there are at least forty of their ships taken since the pacification of Berwick, they value those ships with the goods in them at 400l., which is such a sum as was never heard before in Scotland'.⁴⁰⁰ In particular, the Covenanters saw this as a betrayal of the terms of the regal Union; 'their ships are laid up and unrigged, which they all much grudge at, that they cannot have their trading as free subjects'.⁴⁰¹ Scotland's interests appeared to have been betrayed by its English monarch.

The effect of this blockade on Scottish east-coast trade was noted by the Scottish Commissioners' report to the House of Commons, which stated that 'a great part of the merchants have employed their whole stock for public use, and many of their ships have been utterly spoiled, whereby all trade will cease no less after the concluding of peace than in the time of troubles'.⁴⁰² The fact that so many merchants had dedicated themselves to the 'public use' indicates how the Covenanting movement had gone far beyond the stool-throwing hooliganism of the St Giles' prayer book riot to embrace the Scottish mercantile classes. The seizure of Scottish merchant vessels and their removal to English ports appears to have had a significant impact upon the direction of hostilities that has seldom been recognised by historians.

Although the long-held grievances of the Covenanters against Laudianism have been the focus of scholars of the Bishops' Wars for some time, the alleged provocation of the invasion

³⁹⁸ William Marquis of Douglas to his cousin, Mr. Archibald Guthrie, at St Giles, 21 May 1640, *Ibid.*, p. 199.

³⁹⁹ Sir Michael Ernle to Sec. Windebank, 30 May, *Ibid.*, p. 244; Sec. Windebank to Earl of Northumberland, 13 October 1640, *C.S.P.D., 1640-1641*, p. 167.

⁴⁰⁰ Edmund Rossingham to Edward Viscount Conway, 23 June 1640, *C.S.P.D., 1640*, p. 334.

⁴⁰¹ News letter from Scotland, 30 June 1640, *Ibid.*, p. 362.

⁴⁰² The Scots Commissioners' answer to the Resolutions of the House of Commons...touching the Scotch army, 21 May 1640, *C.S.P.D., 1640-1641*, p. 583.

of northern England was in part economic. Having amassed an estimated force of 40,000 – 50,000 men just north of the border, and having failed to receive a reply from the king to a petition calling for the return of the Scottish vessels, the Covenanters ‘publicly profess[ed] that if they have not redress for those ships which the English have taken, which are said to be about 80 sail, they will [march] for England’.⁴⁰³ If such reports are to be believed, the Scottish Covenanter invasion of 1640 was not just a reaction against Laudianism, or an attempt to cajole Charles into calling an English parliament in allegiance with English opposition, but a reaction against a specific economic grievance and the apparent betrayal of Scottish commercial interests by her monarch.⁴⁰⁴ The immediate pretence of the physical conflict can be seen as economic. This was confirmed following the invasion of the Scottish Covenanter army in August 1640 when a printed justification of its actions stated that it was the ‘want [of] all trade by sea, which would not only deprive the kingdom of many necessities, but utterly undo our boroughs, merchants, mariners, and many others who live by fishing and by commodities exported and imported...’.⁴⁰⁵ As may have been expected in light of the seizure of Scottish vessels, the invasion was presented as a defensive action and one of necessity.⁴⁰⁶

The attempted isolation of the Scottish overseas and coastal economy by Charles did not stop following the invasion of northern England and there was a protracted royal attempt to blockade the Scottish coast during October 1640, this time to little avail. The trade in coal and salt in return for arms and ammunition largely continued between the Scottish east-coast ports and Holland. This caused Sir Patrick Drummond to lament that it would ‘be more credit to his Majesty to recall his ships than suffer them to remain there to be laughed at’.⁴⁰⁷ This trade for arms and ammunition from Holland diverted several merchants away from inter-

⁴⁰³ Intelligence from Scotland, July 1640, *C.S.P.D. 1640*, p. 540.

⁴⁰⁴ News Letter From Scotland, 30 June 1640, *Ibid.*, p. 362.

⁴⁰⁵ Manifesto of the Scotch Covenanters, 12 October 1640, *C.S.P.D. 1640-1641*, p. 162.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁴⁰⁷ Sir Patrick Drummond to Sir John Hay [clerk-register of Scotland], 13 October 1640, *Ibid.*, p. 135.

regional trade. John White, master of the *Fortune* of Kirkcaldy, was recorded as trading with Newcastle both in 1635 and 1644 in a combination of ballast and agricultural produce in return for coal.⁴⁰⁸ He was then recorded in October 1640 as entering Campveere, carrying coals and hardware in return for ammunition.⁴⁰⁹ With the meteoric rise in Scottish trade with ports such as Gothenburg alongside the movement away from trading with Newcastle, the Covenanted movement of 1640, and the royal reaction to it, distorted both Scottish inter-regional trade and that overseas. This stretched to Scottish trade along the English east coast more generally, and Boston witnessed the continued decline of its Scottish trade throughout the late 1630s until no vessels were recorded in 1640.⁴¹⁰ The Covenanted invasion had a deep and profound impact upon the economy of north-eastern England, arguably narrowing the commercial proximity between Newcastle and southern and eastern Scotland to the closest they had been to date.

4.3. The Scottish Invasion of Northern England, 1640.

North-eastern England experienced a degree of economic dislocation in the months that followed the Scottish invasion in August 1640 and the taking of Newcastle in October. Following the capture of Newcastle, the Covenanted army reported that ‘all people of any worth, their money and goods were transported before we came’ with all bakers, brewers and millers also having fled so that the Scots reported that ‘hardly anything was left but empty houses’.⁴¹¹ Such a situation was unlikely to bode well for the resumption of trade. The dislocation of the city’s economy began shortly before the Scottish invasion, with the initial freezing of trade and mining activity when news arrived of the Scottish approach, along with

⁴⁰⁸ TWAS 543/26, 22 September 1635; 543/27, November 1644.

⁴⁰⁹ Drummond to Hay, 3/13 October 1640, *C.S.P.D. 1640-1641*, p. 135.

⁴¹⁰ Appendix I, Figure VI, p. 334.

⁴¹¹ The Scots answers to the complaints of the Bishopric and county of Durham, the county of Northumberland and town of Newcastle, 5 October 1640, *C.S.P.D. 1640-1641*, p. 142.

the flight of several merchants.⁴¹² In an attempt to quell the fears of its merchants and to encourage the resumption of trade, the Scottish army under Leslie issued a proclamation declaring that their intention was not to disrupt river traffic or destroy the coal trade, and that those merchants who had fled should dispense with their ‘needless fears’ and return to trading.⁴¹³

Despite the absence of some of its mercantile class, the presence of the Scottish army was likely to have brought some additional trade to Newcastle, most evidently in relation to its supply. Shipments of victual were made into north-eastern ports for the supply of the Scottish forces, although its precise level and extent cannot be substantiated from the port books. Yet despite Leslie’s pleas for normality and the presence of the army encouraging trade, some economic dislocation was potentially caused by additional duties levied upon the coal trade for the support and supply of the Scottish army. These duties brought revenues of £1052 17s sterling in 1641 alone.⁴¹⁴ The level and impact of civil war taxation has been debated at length amongst historians, with Michael Braddick downplaying the importance and negative economic impact of increasing taxation.⁴¹⁵ In Parliament-held London, complaints were made of the relative burden of taxation and not its absolute weight, although Ben Coates has rightly pointed out that ‘expressions of reluctance to pay are not necessarily evidence of real economic hardship’.⁴¹⁶ Yet these duties upon the coal trade were also coupled with extractions from the local population equalling an estimated £28,000 by July 1641, although how much of this was then reinvested in the regional economy by the soldiery is

⁴¹² J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections. The Second Part, Containing the Principal Matters Which happened from the Dissolution of the Parliament on the 10th March, 4. Car.I. 1628/9 Until the Summoning of another Parliament which met at Westminster, April 13. 1640, Vol. II, Part I* (London, 1680), p. 1239.

⁴¹³ Rushworth, *Historical Collections, Vol. II, Part II*, p. 1259.

⁴¹⁴ Reported as being from ‘the committee residing with the Scottish army at Newcastle in money and coales’, E.J. Courthope, *The Journal of Thomas Cuninghame of Campvere, 1640-1654* (Edinburgh, 1928), pp. 54-55.

⁴¹⁵ Braddick, *The Nerves of State*, pp. 111-119.

⁴¹⁶ B. Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 22-23.

incalculable.⁴¹⁷ It is important therefore not to overstress the disruption that the Scottish invasion brought to the local and regional economy of Newcastle and north-eastern England in 1640. Some economic continuity was apparent, with a survey of the guild apprenticeship and finance books of the Newcastle Company of Butchers, alongside that of the Bakers and Brewers, noting little difference in their apprenticeship or income levels before and after the Scottish invasion.⁴¹⁸

Within the wider economic sphere, it is clear that the Bishops' war had transformed trade and exchange onto a war footing. As has been outlined, Scottish economic interest shifted to the supply of the army, notably with the import of arms and ammunition from Gothenburg and Holland.⁴¹⁹ Some attempt was also made at restoring traditional Scottish privileges abroad through the establishment of a commission to investigate the former rights and exemptions enjoyed in France.⁴²⁰ It would be easy to suggest that the remaining Scottish commitment to commercial patterns that predated the regal Union was evidence that Anglo-Scottish economic incorporation was still incomplete. Yet such a desire for greater economic privileges across the channel was also a reflection of the enhanced market opportunities that re-exported commodities, such as French wine, now enjoyed in the burgeoning English market. A pervasive commitment to the Franco-Scottish economic alliance should not necessarily be seen as contradictory to Anglo-Scottish regal Union or the narrowing of commercial relations between the two kingdoms.

⁴¹⁷ Henry De Vic to Sir John Pennington Admiral of the Fleet, 5 July 1641, *C.S.P.D. 1641-1643*, p. 43.

⁴¹⁸ Howell, *Puritan Revolution*, p. 133; Whillis, 'Scottish Occupation', pp. 39-40.

⁴¹⁹ Drummond to Hay, Windebank to Northumberland, 13 October 1640, *C.S.P.D. 1640-1641*, pp. 135, 167.

⁴²⁰ Expenses paid to the Earl of Lothian, 2 December 1642; Confirmation of Scottish privileges in France, 8 December 1642, *R.P.C.S. 1638-1643*, pp. 356, 571-72.

4.4. Economic exchange and contact, 1641-44.

Despite the Scottish army withdrawing from north-eastern England in September 1641, the economic stress which its occupation had brought upon the region did not immediately disappear. Even following the payment of the £80,000 sum agreed as ‘brotherly assistance’ between the English Parliament and the Scottish army, disturbances continued amongst the withdrawing Scottish forces over issues of pay.⁴²¹ Such unrest was combined with a resumption of tension upon the border, reports from Jedburgh complaining of ‘thifts, slaughter, depredations, breaking of ministers houssis, wichecraft, charming and others odious crimes’.⁴²² Beyond such sporadic unrest, wholesale disruption to trade was renewed following the royalist Earl of Newcastle’s order to fortify the city in June 1642.⁴²³ As a consequence, parliament issued a proclamation in January 1643 ‘that no Shippe, Shippes, Or Barques, make any Voyage for the fetching of Coales, or Salt, from Newcastle, Sunderland, or Blyth, or carrying of Corne, or other Provisions of Victuall, Untill the Towne of Newcastle shall be free of, and from the [royalist] Forces there now raised’.⁴²⁴ The impact of this parliamentary blockade can be seen in the surviving files of the Newcastle chamberlains’ accounts which resume in late 1642.⁴²⁵ Only eight Scottish vessels were recorded as entering the port in 1643, with this falling to zero between February and November 1644 once the blockade had been tightened [Figure 4].⁴²⁶ The blockade of the Tyne and Wear did not just

⁴²¹ Order of the House of Commons for brotherly assistance, 9 August 1641; Sir Michael Ernle to Sec. Vane, 21 August 1641, *C.S.P.D. 1641-1643*, pp. 80, 100.

⁴²² Order for courts to be held at Jedburgh and Dumfries, 29 November, 1642, *R.P.C.S., 1638-1643*, pp. 353-354.

⁴²³ Howell, *Puritan Revolution*, p. 144.

⁴²⁴ Anon., *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, 14th January 1642[43]* (London, 1643).

⁴²⁵ TWAS, 543/27, 1642-1646.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*; See below Figure 4, p. 116.

have a negative impact upon their economies however, but intentionally caused a serious coal shortage in London.⁴²⁷

The hardship that the blockade caused in the capital once again revealed the close relationship between London and Newcastle in relation to the coal trade. Despite being destined for London, the blockade of the east-coast coal trade would also have had a deep impact on the shipping of other ports, with vessels from Ipswich accounting for 33.9 per cent of those recorded as trading with Newcastle between December 1643 and May 1644, with Great Yarmouth (8.9 per cent) and Kings Lynn (9.9 per cent) also being significant.⁴²⁸ The cessation of the coal trade between London and Newcastle during the period of the parliamentary blockade was therefore likely to have had an impact far beyond the bounds of these two ports, instead affecting the prosperity of the entire east-coast economy. This is one example of how the east-coast trade had bounds beyond that with London, and embraced a variety of ports, not only in direct trade, but also in vessel ownership and staked interest. As would be expected, the blockade also had a negative impact upon the general trade of Newcastle, with a fall both in guild incomes and apprenticeships being recorded.⁴²⁹ The shortage of fuel in the capital was in part alleviated by the capture of Sunderland by parliamentary forces in March 1644, although this alone did not resolve the coal shortage, with the blockade on Newcastle being lifted exclusively for London trade in March 1644.⁴³⁰ It would only be following the second Scottish invasion of north-eastern England in August 1644, and the capture of Newcastle on 19 October, that trade would resume with relative normality.

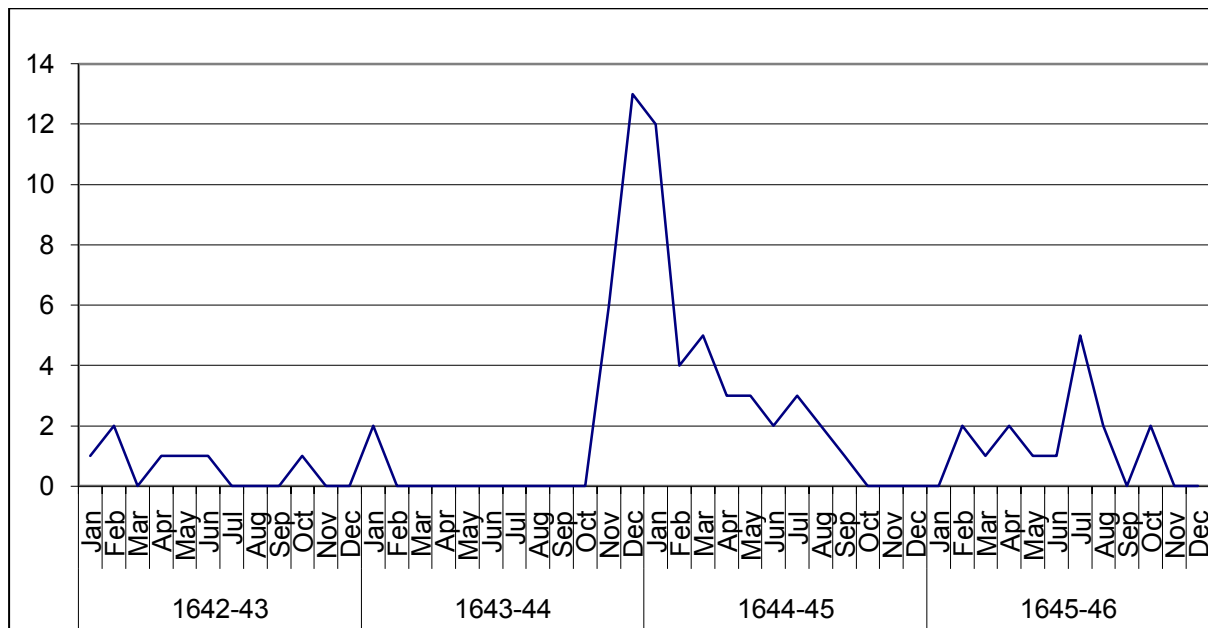
⁴²⁷ Anon., 'An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, 21st February 1642', *Reprints of Rare Tracts (Imprints of Ancient Manuscripts), Chiefly Illustrative of the history of the northern Counties; and Printed at the Press of M.A. Richardson* (Newcastle, 1849), p. 1.

⁴²⁸ TWAS, 543/27, December 1643-May 1644.

⁴²⁹ De Groot, 'Commerce, Religion, Loyalty', p. 141.

⁴³⁰ Meikle, and Newman, *Sunderland and its Origins*, p. 158; Derby House, 11 March 1643-44, *C.S.P.D., 1644*, p. 46.

Figure 4: Monthly entry of vessels from Scotland into Newcastle, Jan 1642-Dec 1646.



Source: TWAS, 543/27, 1642-1646.

4.5. *The Scottish invasion of northern England, 1644.*

The Scottish invasion of 1644 differed from that of 1640 in both its scale and nature. Unlike in 1640, in October 1644, Newcastle was taken by storm after a siege, therefore allowing its Scottish occupiers to take full advantage of its conquered status. This was quick to have economic ramifications as in November 1644, the city's Scottish occupiers laid claim to 'all ships in the river as well belonging to friends, as others, they becoming thereupon, as is said, lawful prize'.⁴³¹ The seizure of the city's merchant marine by Leslie's forces would have unnerved many in the city and could have devastated an already vulnerable local economy. Yet it appears that the wholesale seizure of the city's vessels for the service of the

⁴³¹ Sir Lionel Maddison to Sir Henry Vane, 14 November 1644, *C.S.P.D. 1644-1645*, p. 122.

army was largely avoided, with a recovery in trade also being provoked by the removal of prohibitive duties by Newcastle's mayor, Henry Maddison.⁴³²

As a result of the capture of Newcastle by Scottish forces in October 1644, and the consequent lifting of the parliamentary blockade, there was a palpable increase in Anglo-Scottish exchange passing along the Tyne as represented in the Newcastle chamberlains' accounts. The monthly entry of Scottish vessels into Newcastle spiked sharply in October 1644 and represented an early clamber for coal after eight months of negligible trade [Figure 4].⁴³³ In the closing three months of 1644, 765 chaldrons of coal were exported onboard fifteen Scottish vessels [Table 15].⁴³⁴ These not only represented the largest annual shipment of coal from Newcastle to Scotland to date, but also the greatest individual cargoes, averaging fifty-one chaldrons (135 tons) per voyage compared to twenty-one chaldrons (fifty four tons) per voyage the following year.⁴³⁵ This enhanced level of the coal trade was likely to have directly benefited the coffers of the occupying forces following the imposition of a four shilling duty on every chaldron of coal for the maintenance of the soldiery.⁴³⁶ This came alongside the traditional duties paid to, and recorded by, the Newcastle chamberlains on behalf of the hostmen. Such levies were not unusual during the occupation of a city, especially a port, and Bristol, Gloucester and Exeter all experienced similar impositions by their occupiers on their trade and commerce.⁴³⁷ Yet despite the additional impositions on trade and the repositioning of the local economy to cater for military occupation, ports like Newcastle, and also Gloucester, do appear to have enjoyed an economic revival from previous pre-war slumps owing to their military occupations.⁴³⁸

⁴³² De Groot, 'Commerce, Religion, Loyalty', p. 139.

⁴³³ See above, Figure 4, p. 116.

⁴³⁴ See below, Table 15, p. 118.

⁴³⁵ TWAS, 543/27, 1643-44, 1644-45.

⁴³⁶ Sir Lionel Maddison to Sir Henry Vane, 6 November 1644, *C.S.P.D. 1644-1645*, p. 98.

⁴³⁷ Lynch, *For King and Parliament*, p. 125; D. Evans, 'Gloucester's Civil War Trades and Industries, 1642-1646', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, Volume 110, 1992, pp. 140-141; Stoye, *Deliverance to Destruction*, p. 100.

⁴³⁸ Evans, 'Gloucester's Civil War Trades', pp. 140-141.

Table 15: Scottish coal and ballast shipments from Newcastle, 1642-46.

	1642-43		1643-44		1644-45		1645-46	
	Cargoes	Vol.	cargoes	Vol.	cargoes	Vol.	cargoes	Vol.
Coal (chaldrons)	7	217	15	765	28	570	6	183
Ballast (tons)	5	98	15	514	20	502	5	192

Source: TWAS, 543/27, 1642-46.

In Newcastle, the Scottish occupation of 1644 appears to have brought a significant increase in trade and, although this was partly associated with the end of the previous blockade, the occupation bolstered Anglo-Scottish trade in particular. Inter-regional trade cumulatively peaked in the year 1644-45, reaching thirty-seven vessels entering the port of Newcastle from Scotland, which equalled 7 per cent of Newcastle's overall trade, the highest percentage of the early seventeenth century.⁴³⁹ Although coal remained an important commodity, exports of it fell from 765 chaldrons (2,027 tons) in 1643-44 to 570 chaldrons (1,510 tons) in 1644-45.⁴⁴⁰ Although these still represented relatively high levels of trade in relation to vessel numbers, and the volume of coal carried by Scottish merchants, it only constituted a minute portion of Newcastle's revived coal trade of less than 1 per cent according to Dietz's figures.⁴⁴¹ The high level of coal exports between 1643 and 1645 did cause considerable problems in the navigation of the Tyne, owing to the large quantities of imported and subsequently jettisoned ballast associated with the trade.⁴⁴² Alongside the import of ballast in return for coal, a variety of more exotic cargoes featured onboard Scottish vessels in the Newcastle chamberlains' accounts, which indicated a return to previous lines

⁴³⁹ TWAS, 543/27, 1644-45.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; See Table 15, p. 118.

⁴⁴¹ Dietz, 'The North-East Coal Trade', p. 281.

⁴⁴² Petition of divers masters of ships trading to Newcastle for coals, 23 March 1647, *C.S.P.D. 1645-1647*, pp. 541-542.

of commerce. Notably this included the import of 127 tuns of wine onboard five Scottish vessels, forty pounds of prunes, twenty pounds of raisins and nine barrels of apples from Leith, Kirkcaldy and Prestonpans.⁴⁴³ The reappearance of wine amongst Scottish cargoes again helps to demonstrate the re-establishment of Scottish continental trading and mercantile interest in the trade with Bordeaux. It also represents the return to a degree of normality within both the regional and national economic spheres.

The months following the occupation of Newcastle by Scottish forces after October 1644 not only saw changes in the nature of trade, particularly the reappearance of continental cargoes alongside the rise in the coal shipments, but also a shift in the Scottish ports recorded as trading southwards. Between 1642 and 1648, the port of Kirkcaldy maintained its position as the second port of importance after Leith in Anglo-Scottish inter-regional coastal exchange. Owing to the presence of dearth and plague in Leith during 1644 and 1645, alongside the economic stresses of wartime, Kirkcaldy was able to capitalise on its strong economic footing and increased its trade with the Tyne.⁴⁴⁴ This trade was almost exclusively in coal, whereas Leith began to concentrate on the re-export of wines and continental fruits. The rising prominence of Kirkcaldy was well represented in the tonnage of its vessels, with a report of 1656 recording that the twelve vessels belonging to the port had the average tonnage of ninety-seven tons each, far above the Scottish average of sixty-seven tons.⁴⁴⁵ Some sense of Kirkcaldy's trade can also be gauged from the papers of the Kirkcaldy sea box, a charitable collection gathered for the aid of disabled and elderly seamen.⁴⁴⁶

For the year of 1644, a total of 121 voyages were made from Kirkcaldy under the title of 'for coales', some of these vessels making up to ten voyages per year.⁴⁴⁷ Although the

⁴⁴³ TWAS, 543/27, 1644-45.

⁴⁴⁴ Mowat, *The Port of Leith*, pp. 178-179.

⁴⁴⁵ Appendix I, Table III, pp. 337-38.

⁴⁴⁶ Fife Archives, Kirkcaldy Sea Box, Voyages 1641-1660. Thanks should be given to Sue Mowat for the supply of data from the Sea Box files and for the advice given for its use.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

ongoing parliamentary blockade prevented these from trading directly with Newcastle until after October 1644, one merchant, Alexander Boswell, was recorded as having come from Sunderland in September 1644.⁴⁴⁸ Following the lifting of the blockade, nine vessels were recorded as entering Newcastle from Kirkcaldy carrying ballast in return for coal, although only four of these subsequently returned to Kirkcaldy.⁴⁴⁹ The fact that five of these vessels were not recorded as returning may suggest that they conducted a transit and carrying trade to other Scottish ports.

Beyond the trade in coal and continental produce, some of the Scottish trade passing through north-eastern ports was dedicated to supplying the army. In 1644, a sizeable cargo of 10,000 muskets and bandoliers, 12,000 swords and belts, 4,000 pikes, 500 pairs of pistols and holsters, 7,000 pounds of powder and 130,022 lb of match was loaded onboard six ships in the Netherlands and ‘sent to Leith and Newcastle for the use of the Scottish army employed by the Parliament of England’.⁴⁵⁰ General ‘provisions for the armie’ were also shipped from Newcastle to Hartlepool onboard the *John* of Leith in April 1646.⁴⁵¹ Beyond the trade in weaponry, imports of grain and victual into Newcastle also reached new heights in 1645 with 126 chaldrons of bigg, ninety-two chaldrons of malt and seventy-four chaldrons of oats all appearing, potentially to complement local produce in supplying the resident garrison.⁴⁵² However, despite the recovery of the coal trade and that which was generated by the presence of an occupying army, the trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland was restricted by the presence of plague throughout much of 1644-45.⁴⁵³ The situation in Scotland appeared to be even worse ‘by reason of the late defeat [of the

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁰ Courthope (ed.), *Cunningham’s Journal*, p. 95.

⁴⁵¹ TWAS, 543/28, April 1646.

⁴⁵² TWAS, 543/27, 1645-46.

⁴⁵³ Sir Nicholas Cole to his wife the Lady Cole, 22 April 1645, *C.S.P.D., 1644-1645*, p. 125.

Covenanters by Montrose] and the furious raging of the plague'.⁴⁵⁴ The combination of military conflict, the ongoing political crisis and the presence of plague caused the number of vessels entering Newcastle from Scotland to half in 1645-46.⁴⁵⁵

4.6. The impact of conflict and occupation upon Anglo-Scottish exchange, 1640-47.

The years between 1640 and the Scottish withdrawal from Newcastle in February 1647 witnessed great fluctuation in the economies of north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. With the seizure of goods and property, the presence of plague and the cost of occupation falling directly onto the populace and the city's trade, the taking of Newcastle by the Scots in 1644 had a far greater economic impact than that of 1640.⁴⁵⁶ This was exacerbated by the apparent deliberate destruction of north-eastern economic infrastructure by the invading Scottish forces, which included the region's salt-pans.⁴⁵⁷ Certainly salt production was one area where both north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland competed directly, and such actions had a sustained economic legacy during the late 1640s and into the 1650s, with salt makers from South Shields complaining bitterly of how 'the Scots did hold trade with the English in serving the Markets at London'.⁴⁵⁸ Damage to local infrastructure and property was not unusual during the fortification, siege and occupation of a city, with Bristol and Exeter both experiencing war-time hardships. Yet such targeted destruction of specific industries and infrastructure was unusual and particularly damaging to the local economy. Beyond the region's salt pans, the Tyneside glass houses were also

⁴⁵⁴ Thos. Fauconbery to Sir Henry Vane, 9 September, 1645, *C.S.P.D., 1645-1647*, p. 125.

⁴⁵⁵ TWAS, 543/27, 1645-46; See Figure 4, p. 116; See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

⁴⁵⁶ Whillis, 'Scottish Occupation', pp. 59-60, 64.

⁴⁵⁷ DUL, DCM/K/LP9/10-11, Report on the salt-trade, c. May 1662; Howell, *Puritan Revolution*, pp. 288-289.

⁴⁵⁸ DUL, DCM/K/LP9/22, Statement showing the difference between the cost of salt in England and in Scotland (undated, c. 1668)

ravaged, and had been as early as the invasion of 1640.⁴⁵⁹ Beyond Newcastle, other ports involved in inter-regional trade suffered from disruption and destruction. Dundee experienced considerable material damage during Montrose's campaign of April 1645, and this destruction was quickly followed by the onset of plague.⁴⁶⁰ This had a direct impact upon the trade between Dundee and Newcastle, a number of vessels from the Tay entering and remaining in Newcastle when Montrose's forces attacked their home port.⁴⁶¹ It was the harassment and destruction of such ports as Dundee and Leith that enabled Kirkcaldy to extend its position as a major trader with the north-east of England.⁴⁶² The years from 1638-47 had also reaffirmed multiple tangents of the regional and national economies of both kingdoms. The importance of the north-east's relationship with London for coal provision had been demonstrated by the parliamentary blockade, the hardship this had brought, and its premature lifting in relation to the capital's need for coal. The surge in vessels entering Newcastle from Great Yarmouth, King's Lynn and Ipswich also demonstrates how the wider east-coast economy had been disrupted by the blockade of Newcastle. In terms of Anglo-Scottish relations, trade had been both disrupted and enhanced by the events of the late-1630s and the 1640s.

Evaluating the impact and consequences of the 1640s upon Anglo-Scottish political and economic proximity is a difficult task. The still evident Scottish desire to maintain close commercial relations with France was seen by the appointment of commissioners in 1642 to treat with the French authorities for the re-establishment of Scottish privileges across *la manche*. Yet this should not be seen as any preference for the commercial climate of the mid-sixteenth century on behalf of Scotland's overseas-economy, but instead that the trade with France represented a profitable outlet in an otherwise still struggling economy. It could also

⁴⁵⁹ Howell, *Puritan Revolution*, p. 287.

⁴⁶⁰ Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee*, p. 28.

⁴⁶¹ TWAS, 543/27, 1644-45.

⁴⁶² Mowat, *The Port of Leith*, pp. 178-179.

be suggested that greater commercial contact with England following the Union of the Crowns would have made this 'French connection' even more profitable for Scottish merchants as the re-establishment of privileges coincided with the growing demand for continental commodities in England. In these circumstances, the sixteenth-century Scottish-French connection re-established in 1642 should not be seen as diametrically-opposed to increasing Anglo-Scottish trade. This lack of conflict between Scottish continental connections and narrowing commercial proximity with England was again confirmed by the Covenanter desire to protect the economic elements of the Union of the Crowns, in particular their right to trade as free subjects, whilst simultaneously requesting these international privileges be resurrected and maintained. There appeared scant desire for the dissolution of the regal Union *per se* and calls were even made for its strengthening through the introduction of Anglo-Scottish free trade and Presbyterianism.⁴⁶³ Regardless of these desires however, the Bishops' wars represented the failure of multiple monarchy under Charles I. It would be the glaring short-comings of such a system that would encourage the adoption of an incorporative Union during the 1650s.

⁴⁶³ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, pp. 3-4.

5. The Cromwellian Union, 1648-60.

5.1. *Prelude to Union, 1648-54.*

From the beginnings of the Covenanting movement and throughout the civil war years, Anglo-Scottish relations were continually sculpted by religious, political and economic negotiations. Whether it was the Solemn League and Covenant in defining Covenanter-Parliamentary co-operation, or the Propositions of Newcastle in outlining the desire for Scottish Presbyterianism to be established in England, negotiations were epitomised by the desire to create a degree of Anglo-Scottish unity on one side or the other. As has already been demonstrated, economic relations between the two kingdoms played a pivotal role in the rise of the Covenanting movement in Scotland and in the subsequent invasion of north-eastern England, something that profoundly altered the volume and nature of inter-regional trade. The economic relationship between England and Scotland was a topic of debate in the final months before the execution of Charles I. A reaction to rising Anglo-Scottish commercial tensions, these debates centred on the ability of Scottish merchants to undercut their English rivals due to Scotland's lower import and export duties, and the ability of the latter's merchants to develop a significant carrying trade in English produce. Discussions were held in 1648 for the equalisation of customs duties between the two kingdoms, with English fears centring on the Scottish export of northern English cloth to the United Provinces.⁴⁶⁴ Cloth, particularly that originating from Manchester, had featured amongst Scottish exports from England during the late 1630s and fears increased during the 1650s that this was ultimately destined for Scottish overseas markets.⁴⁶⁵ Scotland was perceived as the economic backdoor to England just as it became the political one with the Restoration of

⁴⁶⁴ Notes in support of the project for equalizing the customs of England and Scotland , undated, 1648, *C.S.P.D.*, 1648-1649, p. 431.

⁴⁶⁵ See above, Table 14, p. 99; TNA, E190/161/16, Berwick, Eas. – Mich. 1637.

Charles II as King of Scots and Great Britain in June 1650.⁴⁶⁶ Once the political threat had been dented, but not defeated, after the battle of Dunbar in September 1650, the Republican administration in Whitehall was anxious to curb Dutch economic infiltration into Scotland, ‘who not only bring unhealthy brandy, wines, and other strong waters, but also soap, French wines, and all sorts of grocery and other commodities, for which they pay little or no custom...’.⁴⁶⁷ Certainly this Dutch presence appears to have stretched beyond the trade in groceries to the export of considerable quantities of coal from almost all the Forth-side ports.⁴⁶⁸ This Dutch infiltration into Scotland contributed towards the wider commercial tensions between the United Provinces and England which would eventually result in the First Dutch War of 1652-53. Already by 1651, the Republican regime had passed its first Navigation Act in order to eliminate the Dutch carrying trade that it so obviously feared, although this did not as yet apply to Scotland.⁴⁶⁹

The years between the execution of Charles I and the coming of the Republican Union of 1654 were bleak for the Scottish economy. Economic ruin had taken a huge toll upon Scotland by the early 1650s. The east-coast trade had also been continually dogged by high levels of privateering, which played havoc with Anglo-Scottish shipping.⁴⁷⁰ Although this caused disruption to trade, it appears some Scottish merchants formerly involved in the coastal trade to Newcastle benefited from the level of uncertainty. One Leith merchant who had formerly traded with Newcastle, Henry Bell, was recorded in November 1648 as having captured a ‘Hamburger’ from which was stripped ‘4 brass guns, 800 weight of powder, 4

⁴⁶⁶ Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, p. 135.

⁴⁶⁷ Council of State to the Lord General, 30 July 1651, *C.S.P.D., 1651*, p. 300.

⁴⁶⁸ T. Tucker, ‘Report by Thomas Tucker upon the Settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Custom in Scotland A.D. MDCLVI’, in *Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Record Society* (Edinburgh, 1881), pp. 18-21 (hereon listed as Tucker, ‘State of Scotland’)

⁴⁶⁹ E.J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton, 2002), p. 11.

⁴⁷⁰ Council of State to the Generals at Sea, 7 August 1649, *C.S.P.D., 1649-1650*, p. 264.

packets of lint, 34 swords, 4 carriages, 48 cannon balls, 20 muskets, [and] 20 pikes'.⁴⁷¹ It is clear by its load of arms and ammunition that this was a sizeable vessel, and undoubtedly was worth a considerable amount either monetarily at re-sale, or in use as a merchantman. This case highlights the flexibility of some seventeenth-century merchants who were able to adapt their vessels and activities to the most profitable or politically viable outlet available at the time.

Additional hardship and commercial dislocation was caused by the military ramifications of Charles II's declaration as King of Scots, and also King of Great Britain, in June 1650. The resultant Cromwellian invasion led to the destruction of innumerable Scottish ports, which had traded with north-eastern England. On 1 September 1651, Dundee was taken by force and all of the vessels in its harbour were seized. Such seizures were accompanied by great human losses, with estimates of around 500 soldiers and townsmen killed, and 500 taken prisoner.⁴⁷² The destruction of 1651 contributed to the negative legacy of Montrose's attack of 1645 and the devastating plague that had followed in 1648.⁴⁷³ The combination of these events cast a long and depressing shadow over the trade of Dundee, which was still reported as being decayed in 1656.⁴⁷⁴ Certainly Dundee's trade with Newcastle was never to recover to the 16 per cent it accounted for between 1580 and 1640, and it never reached above 8 per cent of Newcastle's Scottish trade between 1640 and 1750.⁴⁷⁵

The damage suffered by many Scottish ports was evident in their pleas of poverty when the Parliamentary assessment was introduced in 1652. Dysart complained that it had suffered a 'greate losse...since ye English Army came to Fyfe' and that 'ye harbour is fallen downe,

⁴⁷¹ TWAS, 543/27, May 1645, Henry Bell, master of the John of Leith was recorded as entering 2 tuns of wine, 5 lasts of flax and 4 tons of ballast in return for 20 caldrons of coal; NAS, GD 226/18/47, Discharges concerning Henry Bell, skipper in Leith, 14 November 1648, f. 20.

⁴⁷² Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, p. 14.

⁴⁷³ Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee*, pp. 28-30.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴⁷⁵ Appendix II, Map I, II, III, pp. 358-360.

which will make the Towne vnprofitable vnles it be repaired'.⁴⁷⁶ This desperate plea ended with the chilling vision that unless relief and abatement was given, 'Dysart will turne an Desert'.⁴⁷⁷ From a formerly significant trading position with north-eastern England, Dysart disappeared from both the port books and the chamberlains' accounts during the 1650s. Other areas, more remote from Monck's army, had also suffered. In a petition from Orkney and Shetland, calls were heard for the relief of wartime levies, and for some encouragement and protection to be given to the islands' trade with Norway 'for importinge of boates for fishinge and other Timber requisite for ploughinge of ye ground'.⁴⁷⁸ The majority of these pleas to the commissioners for Union stated that economic dislocation, hardship and the destruction of infrastructure were threatening the livelihood and existence of the local population. It is reasonable to imagine that some of these accounts were exaggerated in order to avoid taxation, yet it should be recognised that a degree of economic hardship was experienced as a result of Monck's campaign and occupation as is illustrated by the declining trade of a number of ports. Following the invasion of Scotland, the question arose as to what the permanent political relationship between England and Scotland would consist of. Although Scottish annexation to England was briefly considered, the Rump Parliament soon opted for full-political incorporation as the safest way to exclude any royalist threat from Charles Stuart.⁴⁷⁹

5.2. *Anglo-Scottish Union considered, 1651-54.*

Initial preparations were made for Union between England and Scotland shortly after the latter's conquest, and the Committee of Parliament was instructed to meet with deputies from

⁴⁷⁶ 'Desires of Dysart, 16 March 1652', Terry, (ed.), *Cromwellian Union*, p. 127.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴⁷⁸ 'Desires of Orkney and Shetland, 15 March 1652', in *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁴⁷⁹ Hirst, 'The English Republic', p. 200.

Scotland to discuss arrangements in October 1652.⁴⁸⁰ The documents and negotiations relating to the Union were heavily imbedded with economic clauses and concerns. In a letter of February 1652, submitted to the Commissioners for affairs in Scotland at Westminster, a number of individuals outlined the ‘Desires of Edinburgh and other Burghs’ [Table 16].⁴⁸¹ Five out of the eleven ‘desires’ were economic, and included a call for Scottish merchants to enjoy ‘their full Liberties and freedoms of trade by Sea and Land in all things as free as those in England doe’, that the trade in fish be advanced, and that the burghs listed ‘may be exempted from paymt of cesse in regard of the totall losse of the trade occasioned by takeing of their shippes and stocks thereon’.⁴⁸² Such desires were echoed from across Scotland and, in doing so, demonstrated a degree of geographical variation. The representatives of Jedburgh and Roxburghshire requested both the removal of ‘the border customes of four footit beastis and all vther kind of merchandize may be dischaired’, and also that ‘a present course settled and apoyntit for suppressing the vnsufferable robberies and stouthis [thefts] daylie committit on both sides of the border’.⁴⁸³ It appears that the events of the 1640s and 1650s had allowed the borders to descend, once again, into lawlessness. Such unrest stretched beyond the borders and into the lowlands of Scotland. The Governor of Leith, George Fenwick, issued a proclamation in August 1651 against ‘divers lewd and wicked Persons, named MossTroopers [who], rove up and down the Country, Rob, spoile and Murther upon the High-way’.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁰ Deputies of parliament confer with deputies from Scotland, 15 October 1652, *C.S.P.D., 1651-1652*, p. 441.

⁴⁸¹ See below, Table 16, p. 129.

⁴⁸² ‘Desires of Edinburgh and other Burghs, 28 February 1652’, in Terry, *Cromwellian Union*, pp. 53-55.

⁴⁸³ ‘Desires of Roxburghshire and Jedburgh, 28 February 1652’, in *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁸⁴ ‘A Proclamation against Moss-Troopers’, in C.H. Firth, (ed.), *Scotland and the Commonwealth: Letters and Papers Relating to the Military Government of Scotland From August 1651 to December 1653* (Edinburgh, 1895), pp. 318-319.

Table 16: The presence of economic grievances within the ‘petition of desire’ of selected Scottish burghs, February-March 1652.

	Wartime losses	Expense of coal	Parliamentary extraction	Want of industries	Freedom to trade (generally without restriction)	Free trade (with England)	Quelling disturbances
<i>Dysart</i>	x	x	x				
<i>Rox. & Jedburgh</i>						x	x
<i>Orkney & Shetland</i>	x		x		x		
<i>Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Banff, Montrose, Jedburgh, Brechin, Forfar, Arbroath & Wigtoun</i>	x	x	x	x	x		

Source: Terry, *The Cromwellian Union*, pp. 53, 60, 123, 127.

Beyond the quelling of unrest on the borders, there were also calls for Anglo-Scottish free trade to be included in any eventual Union. The suggestion that the customs on border trade, in particular those relating to cattle, should be removed caused concern in north-west England. The Mayor and Aldermen of Carlisle registered their fears of the damage the removal of the 1d. per beast toll they had farmed ‘for several centuries’ would do to the revenues of the town.⁴⁸⁵ Likewise the residual fear that Scotland could act as the ‘economic backdoor’ to England, supplying her with cheap imports in return for English exports which would subsequently be traded to foreign competitors was a cause for concern. Despite such

⁴⁸⁵ Thos. Cholmley, Mayor, and 20 aldermen and citizens of Carlisle, to the supreme authority of Parliament, 16 November 1653; The Ordinance for uniting Scotland and England, 23 January; An Ordinance for erecting Courts baron in Scotland, 26 January 1654, *C.S.P.D., 1653-1654*, pp. 255, 365, 369.

fears, ‘An Ordinance for uniting the people of Scotland into one Commonwealth with England’ was read on 20 January 1654 and was confirmed in April.⁴⁸⁶

5.3. *The Cromwellian Union and its consequences, 1654-60.*

In part a reflection of the hardship north of the border, economic and commercial considerations were prominent amongst the provisions of the Cromwellian Union. These included the declarations that ‘all goods [are] to pass free between the 2 countries, and all prohibitions of imports and exports in England to hold good in Scotland...’ and that ‘all taxes to be borne henceforth proportionably by the whole people of the united commonwealth’.⁴⁸⁷ Economic and fiscal Union appears to have caused immediate problems for many merchants and their accounts offer some light into the state of trade on the immediate eve of the Union’s conclusion. One merchant, William Burton, wrote to the Admiralty Commission from Yarmouth complaining that, now ‘commodities forbidden in England are also forbidden in Scotland’, he feared for the cargo of ‘6 [Scottish] ships at Bordeaux, laden with French wine’.⁴⁸⁸ In a further letter of 5 May, Burton recounted that in the voyage in question ‘we freighted 3 months ago, 6 small vessels with herrings and other goods to Bordeaux, to bring back wines to Leith, but they have been detained there by winds 9 weeks with French wine value 6,000l [600 tuns, 126,000 imperial gallons]’.⁴⁸⁹

The Commonwealth’s relations with France, and the implications this now had for Scotland, again cast Scottish commercial allegiances into question. Fears of Anglo-French war abounded towards the end of 1654 and caused great commercial insecurity for many Scottish merchants. In December 1654, Henry Bell, this time as master of the *Hope of Bristol*

⁴⁸⁶ 20 January 1654, *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁴⁸⁷ Ordinance for uniting England and Scotland into one commonwealth, 12 April 1654, *C.S.P.D., 1654*, pp. 90-91.

⁴⁸⁸ Wm. Burton to the Admiralty Committee, 1 May 1654, *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴⁸⁹ Wm. Burton and other merchants of Great Yarmouth to the Protector, 8 May 1654, *Ibid.*, p. 154.

anchored in Le Croisic, received word from an acquaintance in Nantes that ‘itts thought wee shall have open war with England verie shortly’, and that he should be prepared to dispose of any incriminating letters revealing his trade with France, ‘for you knowe papers will many tymes doe more hurt than good’.⁴⁹⁰ Henry Bell was not alone in his fears. Two months earlier, one Robert Beattie had part of his ship’s cargo confiscated because it belonged to his French ship’s surgeon and was still being pursued through the English Admiralty Court when Bell was throwing his papers to the sea.⁴⁹¹ The Scottish-French commercial connection was again disrupted by Anglo-Scottish Union. Yet the outlawing and subsequent search for prohibited goods was only one element of the new regime’s interest in Scottish trade and commerce.

The Cromwellian Union of 1654 promised a major overhaul of the Scottish fiscal state, the likes of which had not been seen since the establishment of border precincts and the reissuing of the book of rates in 1611-12. Although unity in the organisation of Anglo-Scottish customs was ordered by the ordinance of Union of 1654, little progress appears to have been made until the appointment of Thomas Tucker to assess ‘the settlement of the revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland’ in 1656.⁴⁹² Beyond giving a valuable description of the state of Scotland at the time, Tucker turned his attention to assessing the unification of the English and Scottish customs system, which effectively meant the imposition of the former upon the latter.⁴⁹³ The first major elements of this had been ordered shortly after the declaration of Union in 1655 when the revenue ‘in England and Ireland for maintaining the army and navy, by customs and excise amongst other things’ was extended into Scotland, and that all goods listed in the book of rates ‘except bullion, coin, victuals,

⁴⁹⁰NAS, GD 226/18/80, Letter from John Boutlar to Henry Bell, about Robert Beattie’s process. 10/20 December 1654.

⁴⁹¹ NAS, GD 226/18/79, Claim made in the English court by Robert Beattie in respect of the seizure of the “Loyaltie” and the goods in same by the “Sucklie”, 11 November 1654.

⁴⁹² Tucker, ‘State of Scotland’, p. 1.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

arms, ammunition, ordnance, and wool' were to be charged at 5 per cent of their value on importation.⁴⁹⁴ There was some uncertainty surrounding the initial implementation of the new customs regime in Scotland and the customs farms granted were unusually short at four months duration.⁴⁹⁵ The merger of the two customs systems only enjoyed limited success, and Tucker exposed the large, and for him insurmountable, differences between the two fiscal systems, notably in relation to the weights and measures they used.⁴⁹⁶

Beyond these differences, the Scottish customs system was noted as being more idiosyncratic and sporadic in its operation compared to England's. The lack of any official at the small port of Eyemouth had allowed the situation to develop that 'the Scots and English both did usually shippe out Skyns, Hides, Wooll, and other prohibited comodityes, and again bring in such, which were there landed, and afterward carried away for the consumption and expence of the northerne parts of England'.⁴⁹⁷ The scarcity of Scottish officials in certain ports, and the link between illegal coastal shipping and the inter-regional trade between south-eastern Scotland and north-eastern England, must have enabled much of the trade and commerce between the two areas to go un-detected. Such is an effective reminder that the data presented in the quantitative sources used in this study, whether chamberlains' accounts, port books or charitable sea boxes, should only be seen as indicators of trade rather than any conclusive gauge.⁴⁹⁸ Tucker also shed valuable light on the reasons for the absence of any extensive Scottish port book data from the early-to-mid-seventeenth century. He painted a bleak picture where 'the masters of ships, neither inwards nor outwards, were called upon to declare any contents of theyr vessels, nor any shipper's booke kept for either; noe notice taken of any goods comeing, by cocquet, by certificate, nor any regard of fileing or keeping them; noe goods were ever weighed at landing, little notice taken of what was shipped

⁴⁹⁴ Declaration by the Protector for collecting the Excise in Scotland, 5 May 1655, *C.S.P.D., 1655*, pp. 164-165.

⁴⁹⁵ Tucker, 'State of Scotland', p. 2.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; Mowat, *The Port of Leith*, pp. 203-205.

⁴⁹⁷ Tucker, 'State of Scotland', p. 18.

⁴⁹⁸ See above, pp. 31-40.

out'.⁴⁹⁹ It is therefore understandable why so few Scottish port books have survived comprehensively from before the Restoration.⁵⁰⁰

5.4. *Anglo-Scottish economic and commercial contact, 1654-60.*

The only Newcastle port book to survive from the 1650s is that for 1654-55 and, within this, only the Scottish exports to the Tyne are in a useable condition. As a result, the rest of the quantitative commercial data from the 1650s has to come from the surviving Newcastle chamberlains' accounts. These survive for 1651-52, 1652-53, 1654-55 and 1657-58, and are complemented by surviving Scottish sources including the Kirkcaldy sea box alongside Tucker's account of the general state of Scotland.⁵⁰¹ Between 1651 and 1653, only a low level of trade was recorded between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland, most likely reflecting the disruption of Scotland's trade by the Cromwellian invasion. Some of the Scottish ports foremost in the trade with north-eastern England were severely affected by the civil war years and the Cromwellian invasion that followed, notably Dunbar and Dundee. Both of these fell from the Newcastle port books during the 1650s and inter-regional trade was increasingly conducted by vessels from Leith.⁵⁰² In 1651-52, only two Scottish vessels were recorded as entering Newcastle, the *David* of Borrowstoness and the *Providence* of Leith, the latter arriving empty. The *David* was more representative of the overall coastal trade to Newcastle by entering thirteen chaldrons of corn for the 'releefe of the towne of Newcastle and to ye Countries and places adjacent' in an apparent time of

⁴⁹⁹ Tucker, 'State of Scotland', pp. 29-30.

⁵⁰⁰ Of the few that have survived the following are the most comprehensive; NAS, E71/12/12, Dundee Imports and Exports, 1611; E72/29/5, Edinburgh Exports, 1611; E71/15/1, Forth Imports and Exports, 1618; E71/15/2, Forth Imports and Exports, 1620; E71/11/1, Dunbar Imports and Exports, 1629.

⁵⁰¹ TWAS, 543/32, 1651-52; 543/33, 1652-53; 543/34, 1654-55; 543/37, 1657-58.

⁵⁰² See Appendix I, Figure V, p. 333.

shortage.⁵⁰³ Yet despite this shipment, Anglo-Scottish coastal trade was negligible between 1651 and 1653. This was in contrast to the large increases in Newcastle's trade more generally as identified by Howell, further underlining the insignificance of the volume of Scottish trade at that time.⁵⁰⁴

It was this lull in inter-regional trade at the beginning of the decade, which made the upsurge following the Cromwellian Union so apparent. From the two Scottish vessels which were recorded as entering Newcastle in 1651-52 and 1652-53, fourteen were recorded in the port book of 1654-55.⁵⁰⁵ The commodities traded also varied more than in previous years, and reflected the state of the Scottish economy following military conquest and occupation [Table 17].⁵⁰⁶ Beyond the small quantities of fish and butter exported to Newcastle by Scottish merchants, were a large number of boots, shoes and items of general apparel alongside increased quantities of linen. These quantities of apparel and fabric were joined by unprecedented cargoes of money and plate. Although perplexing, the appearance of both of these may have been reflections of an inter-regional trade still intimately related to the provision of the army. In relation to the shipments of specie, it could reasonably be assumed that some finance would have flowed northwards for the payment of Monck's army and forces currently occupying much of Scotland. Certainly orders to this effect were given in May 1655 by the Council of State.⁵⁰⁷ Yet as has been noted, this specie was recorded as having 'arrived' in Newcastle from Scotland, rather than being shipped northwards. The fact that Newcastle was recorded as the destination of this specie, and not simply as a port-of-call *enroute* to London, could suggest that this seized plate was either to be smelted down on Tyneside in order to turn it into coin to then pay Monck's forces in Scotland or otherwise

⁵⁰³ TWAS, 543/32, 13 July, 21 October 1652; TWAS, MD NC/D/4/5/26, Depositions taken before the Council of Trade on Behalf of Newcastle, 28 April 1651, f. 50.

⁵⁰⁴ Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p. 355.

⁵⁰⁵ TWAS, 543/32, Xmas 1651-Xmas 1652; 543/33, Xmas 1652- Xmas 1653; TNA, E190/192/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1654-Xmas 1655; see Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

⁵⁰⁶ See below, Table 17, p. 136.

⁵⁰⁷ Council of State, Day's Proceedings, 10 August 1655, *C.S.P.D.*, 1655, p. 278.

was destined for local benefactors. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be validated by the survival of any export entries for the Newcastle port book or chamberlains' accounts for 1654-55 to chart any coinage flowing northwards.

These cargoes of specie were carried onboard Scottish vessels and those originating from the north-east. The *Providence* of Shields was recorded as entering Newcastle from Scotland in February 1655 with 300 pounds 'starling' [sterling], two papers of 'broken and burnt silver', 230 ounces of silver, and sixty pounds of 'monie'.⁵⁰⁸ Another English vessel, the *Repair* of Harwich, was also recorded as entering Newcastle with 140 ounces of 'plate and broken silver' in March 1654.⁵⁰⁹ The presence of English vessels is in itself unusual; as previously the majority of Scottish trade conducted with the north-east had been carried onboard Scottish vessels.⁵¹⁰ These English vessels were manned by Scottish crews however and the master of the *Providence* of Shields was a Robert Boswell, recorded in the port book as 'Scotus' or Scottish. The same was apparently true for the *John and Francis* of Ipswich, which entered Newcastle in April 1654, again mastered by a Scotsman, this time Andrew White.⁵¹¹ In total, six out of the fourteen vessels recorded as trading with Newcastle from Scotland were recorded as belonging to an English port. The appearance of these English vessels, and their manning with Scottish crews, reflected the substantial loss of merchant vessels in Scotland during the turmoil of the 1640s and 50s.⁵¹² It also resulted from Scotland's inclusion within the remit of the English Navigation Act of 1651, which made the declaration of a master and crew as Scottish devoid of any negative commercial ramifications, in particular, the payment of alien duties.

⁵⁰⁸ TNA, E190/192/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1654-Xmas 1655, 24 February 1655.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*,

⁵¹⁰ It is generally assumed that the place name given to a vessel, i.e. The Repair of 'Harwich', relates to the residence of her main shareholder(s) and was thus the location where she was 'registered'.

⁵¹¹ TNA, E190/192/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1654-Xmas 1655, 24 April 1655.

⁵¹² See Appendix I, Table III, pp. 337-38.

Table 17: Commodity break-down of Anglo-Scottish imported goods into Newcastle, Xmas 1654-Xmas 1655.

Newcastle - 1654-55			
Commodity	Cargoes	Volume	Measure
Apparel			
Bedding	1	2	chests
Boots	2	155	pairs
Linen	7	36 11,708	ells pounds
Norwegian short cloths	1	64	loose
Shoes	2	420	pairs
Sole leather	2	30 18	pounds bushels
Starch	1	350	pounds
Stockings	1	20	pairs
Wearing apparel	1	2	boxes
Woollens	1	124	pounds
Foodstuffs			
Butter	2	19	firkins
Cod	1	5,760	loose
Miscellaneous			
Broken and burnt silver	4	2 30 378	papers rialls ounces
Money	3 3	414 13 8	£ s d
Skins			
Calf	1	120	loose
Fulmer	1	40	loose
Goat	1	30	loose
Rabbit	2	1,680	loose

Source: TNA, E190/192/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1654-Xmas 1655.

Table 18: Scottish coal exports from Newcastle following Union, 1651-58.

	1651-52		1652-53		1654-55		1657-58	
	Cargoes	Vol.	Cargoes	Vol.	Cargoes	Vol.	Cargoes	Vol.
Coal (chaldrons)	1	3	3	32	6	260	22	426
Ballast (tons)	1	4	2	15	5	194	6	64

Source: TWAS, 543/32, Xmas 1651-Xmas 1652; 543/33, Xmas 1652-Xmas 1653; 543/34, Xmas 1654-Xmas 1655; 543/37, Xmas 1657-Xmas 1658.

The year 1654-55 witnessed the partial recovery of Scottish coal imports from Newcastle, which reached 260 chaldrons onboard six vessels.⁵¹³ It was also in this year that continental commodities made a brief reappearance with half a tun of wine being imported into Newcastle onboard the *Truelove* of Leith, under one Thomas Glover.⁵¹⁴ The presence of wine amongst Scottish cargoes entering Newcastle, alongside Norwegian short cloths, suggests the skeletal re-emergence of the northern-European trading network between Scotland, Norway, the continent, and the English east-coast. This was also confirmed by the direct entry of Scottish vessels into Newcastle from Hamburg *enroute* back to Scotland, once again, suggesting that the wider commercial patterns of the pre-civil war years had returned.⁵¹⁵ In 1657-58, imports of corn accounted for a significant volume of Scottish exports to Newcastle, with 527 chaldrons of corn being entered onboard twenty-nine vessels. This reflected the increasing recovery of the Scottish agricultural economy following six years of peace and the demand for victual in Newcastle. These shipments of corn replaced ballast as the main commodity exported to Newcastle by Scottish merchants in return for coal.

5.5. Conclusion - Anglo-Scottish trade, 1648-60.

The overall impact of the Cromwellian Union upon economic and commercial contact between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland was mixed. Although trade did not reach its mid-1640s levels, it did show a modest increase after 1654, partially associated with the shipment of post-conflict provisions, whether specie, broken plate or surplus apparel. Arguably more significant than its increase in volume were the substantial changes in the nature of inter-regional trade, notably the infiltration of Scottish masters upon

⁵¹³ TWAS, 543/34, Xmas 1654-Xmas 1655.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 January 1655.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 8 February 1655.

English vessels, which created a short-lived British merchant marine. The mid-late 1650s therefore demonstrated the integration of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade with the English east-coast economy and Scottish overseas commerce. This merger was embodied by the presence of Scottish masters onboard vessels belonging to a variety of English ports, the return of French wine and Norwegian deals as Scottish exports, and the growth of the Scottish carrying trade in English wool to the United Provinces.

Yet despite the increasing prosperity of inter-regional trade and its association with wider networks of commerce, the Cromwellian Union and the free trade it brought also enhanced inter-regional industrial competition, particularly in relation to salt and cattle. Although this is difficult to quantify during the 1650s, the torrent of complaints against the ‘unhappy Union’ from north-eastern salt makers following the Restoration would suggest that, for many, it had not been a positive experience.⁵¹⁶ The granting of Scottish access to English colonies during the Cromwellian Union would also provoke a storm of protest following 1660. It was the campaign against Anglo-Scottish free trade following the Restoration that reveals the contemporary perceptions of the Cromwellian Union and how it altered inter-regional economic relations.

⁵¹⁶ DUL, DCM/K/LP9/53, Draft petition that trade between England and Scotland must be balanced and controlled, (undated, c. 1665-68).

6. Anglo-Scottish Economic Relations, 1660-74.

6.1. Introduction.

The fourteen years between 1660 and 1674 were some of the most varied and fluctuating in early-modern Anglo-Scottish political and economic relations. The Restoration opened with a barrage of English protectionist measures aimed at eradicating any trading advantage that Scottish merchants had enjoyed during the Republican Union of 1654-60. Duties were placed on a host of products upon which the Scottish export economy depended, including linen, salt, cattle and victual, alongside Scottish goods more generally through the revised English book of rates of 1660 and 1664.⁵¹⁷ Additionally, Scottish trade abroad, and that with the English North American and Caribbean colonies in particular, was curtailed through the re-issuing and re-enforcement of the Navigation Act in 1660 which, unlike that of 1651, now excluded Scottish merchants from its remit. The determined application of English fiscal policy and protectionism against Scottish trade and merchants marked a new age in Anglo-Scottish relations, and wider economic thinking. At the early court of Charles II, tentative ideas of mercantilism found new definition, encouraging and being embodied by the Second Dutch War of 1665-67.⁵¹⁸ With the wartime embargo on both English and Scottish trade with Holland, alongside the loss of continental markets and shipping due to wartime disruption, historians have seen English mercantilism and the Dutch wars as devastating for Scottish

⁵¹⁷ P. Hume Brown, *R.P.C.S., 1661-1664*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv; A tax of 8d. per head on all Scottish cattle, from 1 August 1662, *C.S.P.D., 1663-1664*, p. 412; Woodward, 'Anglo-Scottish Trade and English Commercial Policy during the 1660s', *Scottish Historical Review*, 66:2 (October, 1977), p. 153; Graham, *Maritime History*, pp. 17-18; Chandaman, *English Public Revenue*, pp. 12-13.

⁵¹⁸ For a discussion of the growing mercantilism of the Caroline court see: J.R. Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (Harlow, 1996), p. 4; G.M. Walton, 'The New Economic History and the burdens of the Navigation Acts', *Economic History Review*, 24:4 (1971), p. 534; T. Leng, 'Commercial Conflict and Regulation in the Discourse of Trade in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, 48:4 (2005), pp. 933-935, 945; J.O. Appleby., *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth Century England* (Princeton, 1978), p. 103; Graham, *Maritime History*, pp. 2-17; D. Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 31-59.

overseas trade.⁵¹⁹ These economic concerns, combined with the wide scale persecution of dissenters north of the border in what became known as the ‘killing times’, has given the Restoration a poor reputation amongst Scottish historians.⁵²⁰

Despite the hardship endured by many portions of the Scottish population in these years attributable to the disruption of war, specific duties and government persecution, Anglo-Scottish coastal and border trade reached its highest level before the coming of the parliamentary Union of 1707. Far from devastating inter-regional trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland, the Second (1665-67) and Third (1672-74) Dutch wars coincided with sizeable peaks in Scottish trade entering and leaving Newcastle as Scottish merchants sought alternative markets to those currently under threat on the continent. In these years, inter-regional trade not only reached its highest levels, but also its greatest diversity in the commodities traded. Additionally, the dislocation of London due to plague and fire between 1665 and 1666 provides us with a unique opportunity to analyse the extent of national economic integration on a British scale when the English metropolis was removed as a major market force.

Beyond the shifts in the extent and nature of trade that are attributable to specific events, the years immediately following the Restoration also demonstrated the changing nature of both the English and Scottish economies more generally, described as the beginnings of the ‘consumer revolution’.⁵²¹ Anglo-Scottish trade increasingly included a wide variety of colonial produce, greater volumes of continental re-exports, and the products of developing home manufacture. These years therefore exhibit evidence of the growth of domestic industries in both kingdoms, the absorption of these into the national economies and markets,

⁵¹⁹ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 185; Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p. 153.

⁵²⁰ Goldie, ‘Divergence and Union’, pp. 224-225; D. Stevenson, ‘Twilight Before Night or Darkness before Dawn? Interpreting Seventeenth-Century Scotland’, in R. Mitchison, (ed.), *Why Scottish History Matters* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 53-64; Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, pp. 150-152.

⁵²¹ J.M. Ellis, ‘Consumption and Wealth’, in Glassey, *Charles II and James VII & II*, pp. 192; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 28-32; Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, pp. 106-107.

and the development of wider international networks of trade.⁵²² It is therefore in these years that Anglo-Scottish commercial proximity and economic integration can be most clearly gauged.

Foremost amongst the historians who have studied these economic and commercial developments following the Restoration is T.C. Smout in his 1963 work, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*. Focusing broadly upon the Scottish economy in its entirety between 1660 and 1707, Smout offered the first conscientious quantitative survey of Anglo-Scottish trade in the late seventeenth century within the frameworks of continental commerce and political Union. Although impressive in its remit, Smout was soon heavily criticised by W. Ferguson for his ‘fundamental failure to close with the evidence’ in a debate which centred upon the relationship between political events and economic processes.⁵²³ Although somewhat unfair in his judgement of Smout, Ferguson’s marriage of these two strands was central to his assessment of post-Restoration Scotland. Despite their disagreements however, both historians saw the Restoration as a definitive period in Anglo-Scottish relations, bringing closure to the Cromwellian Union of 1654-60, whilst also exhibiting the beginnings of far-reaching commercial change, which would define itself in the ‘commercial revolution’ of the late seventeenth century.

Although recognising the importance of the Restoration, recent historiography has doubted the economic significance of the 1640s and 50s in contributing to commercial change after the Restoration. Keith Wrightson has stated that the civil wars and interregnum ‘did not constitute a watershed in economic development’, and that economic and commercial change should be examined in the *longue durée*.⁵²⁴ Likewise, other English historians have seen the Restoration as part of a wider process of economic development, suggesting that the economic advances of the period had their foundations in the policies and

⁵²² Clay, *Economic Expansion, Vol. II*, p. 154.

⁵²³ Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p. 153.

⁵²⁴ Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, pp. 227-228.

projects of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁵²⁵ Despite such an assessment, much of the early Restoration can be seen as a reaction to the Cromwellian Union which preceded it.

6.2. 'In the wake of the Republic': Anglo-Scottish coastal trade, 1660-64.

The opening months of the Restoration saw the renewal of English economic hostility towards Scotland, in part caused by the close, sometimes uncomfortably close, Anglo-Scottish economic Union under the Republic.⁵²⁶ During the 1650s, Scottish salt producers had enjoyed a competitive advantage over their English rivals at North and South Shields, being able to manufacture a wey of salt for £1 8s 2d cheaper than in north-eastern England.⁵²⁷ The benefits of a readily available coal supply, and the use of near-serf labour, had enabled Scottish salt makers to penetrate English markets with some success, having 'drawn the maine body of the trade of cole and salt' to themselves according to those at Shields.⁵²⁸ In addition to Scottish salt, northern farmers had also complained of a flood of Irish cattle that had passed through Scotland, introducing further competition into both local and national markets within England.⁵²⁹ Partly due to these regional concerns, alongside English mercantile hostility more generally, duties were imposed in 1660 on a wide variety of commodities including Scottish coal, linen cloth, yarn, cattle and skins.⁵³⁰ These were then joined by additional duties on Scottish salt in 1662 and live cattle in 1663, causing a storm of

⁵²⁵ C. Wilson, *Profit and Power: A Study of England and the Dutch Wars* (London, 1957), pp. 61-77, 90-126; Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, pp. 1-2, 123-132.

⁵²⁶ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 230; Whatley, "That Important and Necessary Article", p. 28.

⁵²⁷ DUL, DCM/K/LP9/22, 'A state of the Case between the price yt a Waygh of salt cost in Scotland, and what it cost in England' (undated, 1662).

⁵²⁸ C.A. Whatley, 'A Caste Apart? Scottish Colliers, Work, Community and Culture in the era of "Serfdom", c. 1606-1799', *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, 26 (1991), pp. 3-20; DUL, DCM/K/LP9/4, 'Note of charge of halfpenny per gallon on salt from Scotland imposed by an Act of May 1662'; DCM/K/LP9/21 (undated), 'Account of comparing the cost of salt manufacture at Shields and in Scotland'.

⁵²⁹ Treasurer Southampton [to the Customs Commissioners, ? May 1661, *C.T.P., 1660-1667*, pp. 244-245.

⁵³⁰ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 195-196.

protest from north of the border.⁵³¹ The Scottish reaction was not restricted to mere protestation however, and retaliatory duties were placed on English goods crossing into Scotland.⁵³² Although reactionary, these duties upon English trade do seem to have had the desired effect. In June 1664, a petition was presented to the king from the ‘English Merchants and Shopkeepers trading to Scotland’, which complained that ‘much distress is occasioned’ by the additional duties introduced.⁵³³ The English Council of Trade also noted that the increased English duties on Scottish goods, and the Scottish retaliatory measures to these, were acting against English interest as ‘the imports from England to Scotland greatly exceed the exports thence to England, and therefore the trade should be encouraged; recommend a reduction in the taxes lately laid on Scotch goods’.⁵³⁴ Although these suggestions represent a thawing of Anglo-Scottish commercial hostility, the opening years of the Restoration still witnessed a rise in Anglo-Scottish commercial confrontation and reactionary protectionism on both sides. A general decline was subsequently noted in Scottish overland and coastal trade with England, and the ports of Newcastle, Berwick, Carlisle and Whitehaven all recorded a fall in the number of Scottish vessels entered in their port books.⁵³⁵

Between 1657-58 and 1660-61, Scottish vessels entering Newcastle fell from thirty-two to fifteen, a fall of 53 per cent.⁵³⁶ The decline was also accompanied by a significant change in the nature of Scottish trade, which moved away from the now heavily taxed commodities to those which paid a lower duty.⁵³⁷ In 1660-61, almost 130,000 fish were entered onboard

⁵³¹ Anent a petition presented by the commissioners of the royal burghs, 8 July 1664, *R.P.C.S., 1661-1664*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv, 563; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 195; Woodward, ‘Anglo-Scottish Trade’, pp. 160-162.

⁵³² An Act passed doubling the tax on English cloth and other goods, 22 August 1663, *C.S.P.D., 1663-1664*, p. 250.

⁵³³ Petition of English Merchants and Shopkeepers trading to Scotland to the King, ? June 1664, *C.S.P.D., 1663-1664*, p. 651.

⁵³⁴ Report by the Council for Trade on the Petition of English Merchants and Shopkeepers trading to Scotland, ? July 1664, *C.S.P.D., 1663-1664*, p. 651.

⁵³⁵ TNA, E190/193/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661; Woodward, ‘Anglo-Scottish Trade’, p. 155.

⁵³⁶ TWAS, 543/37, Receipts and Disbursements, 1657-58; TNA, E190/193/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661.

⁵³⁷ See Appendix I, Table V, pp. 342-343.

Scottish vessels, dominated by herring.⁵³⁸ Although these quantities were significant for Scottish trade with Newcastle, they did not reflect a boom in the Scottish fishing industry generally, which continued at a low ebb throughout the 1660s.⁵³⁹ In part, this was a result of the devastation experienced amongst Scottish east-coast ports during the civil wars and commonwealth, with Kirkcaldy having lost ninety-four ships between 1644 and 1660, whereas the Fife fisheries had also suffered extensively.⁵⁴⁰ Trading modest quantities of fish to ports such as Newcastle was a reflection of this reduction in capacity. Further strain was placed on the Scottish fisheries by the loss of Baltic and continental markets during the civil wars, coupled with the increasing competition and dominance of the Dutch fishing fleet.⁵⁴¹ Scottish merchants, and those from Leith, Crail and Kirkcaldy in particular, therefore fell back onto the geographically proximate and modestly-sized markets of northern England. Beyond fish, skins also dominated Scottish exports to Newcastle, despite the increased duties placed on them. Possibly to avoid paying higher duties, these were recorded as being ‘in hair’ and therefore untanned, having undergone only minimal processing and thus paying lower duties according to the book of rates.⁵⁴² The presence of large quantities of fish and unprocessed skins represents a major shift back to the primary sector amongst Scottish cargoes, possibly a reflection that Scottish manufacturing and industry were still reeling from the after-effects of the civil wars and Cromwellian conquest of the previous decades [Table 19].⁵⁴³ In return for these commodities were some small quantities of Tyneside produce, notably glass, lead, and victual.⁵⁴⁴

⁵³⁸ TNA, E190/193/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661.

⁵³⁹ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 221-223.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

⁵⁴² See Appendix I, Table V, pp. 342-343.

⁵⁴³ See below, Table 19, p. 145; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 239-240.

⁵⁴⁴ TNA, E190/193/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661.

Table 19: Scottish skin exports to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1660-61.

1660-61		
	Cargoes	Skins
Buck	1	36
Goat	2	668
Hides	1	44
Kid	2	3,460
Lamb	2	13,200
Roe	1	60
Selk	1	80

Source: TNA, E190/193/1, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661.

Beyond this trade with Newcastle, it was after the Restoration that Scottish trade with Sunderland increased. In 1660-61, seven Scottish vessels were recorded as leaving the Wear laden with 113 chaldrons of coal destined for Dunbar, Leith and Inverness, all having entered the port with a combination of ballast and herring.⁵⁴⁵ Scottish trade passing through Sunderland would remain limited as its growth was hampered by its poor harbour, described in 1664 as a ‘barren haven’ and liable to be choked up by sand.⁵⁴⁶ Although Scottish trade with the sub-ports of north-eastern England would remain only slight when compared to Newcastle, they would account for a growing proportion of inter-regional trade during the early eighteenth century.⁵⁴⁷

Despite the Scottish trade with Sunderland, the opening years of the Restoration had witnessed an overall decline in Anglo-Scottish coastal trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. The causes of this appear to have been multiple, and the reports of Thomas Tucker portray Scottish traders and merchants struggling to recoup the losses of the previous twenty years.⁵⁴⁸ Likewise, any pre-existing hardship was likely to have been exacerbated by English economic protectionism. The combined effects of these, coupled

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Sunderland, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661.

⁵⁴⁶ Willan, *Coasting Trade*, p. 117.

⁵⁴⁷ See below, p. 258.

⁵⁴⁸ Woodward ‘Anglo-Scottish Trade’, p. 160.

with the dislocation of Scottish markets in the Baltic and north-sea fisheries, caused a profound alteration in post-Restoration Scottish trade along the east coast. The nature of inter-regional trade was to change further in reaction to the events of the mid-1660s.

6.3. *Closer in Crisis – Plague, Fire and the Dutch Wars, 1665-74.*

The mid-1660s witnessed some of the most remarkable and unforeseen events of the seventeenth century which, when combined, led to the near total paralysis of the English east-coast trade centred on London and a large peak in Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade. Throughout the seventeenth century, London had been rising as the *entrépot* extraordinaire of the English, and wider British, economy, combining the interests of multiple regional trades alongside international networks of commerce at its core.⁵⁴⁹ E.A. Wrigley has highlighted the increasing role played by England's provinces in supplying the capital with its needs, whether through encouraging the growth of market gardening in the counties surrounding London or increasing coal production in north-eastern England.⁵⁵⁰ In relation to the latter, Wrigley has suggested that the rising demand for coal in the capital created a near umbilical economic and cultural fusion between Newcastle and London, the consumption habits of the former being dictated by its relationship with the latter.⁵⁵¹ More broadly, F.J. Fisher examined the influence of London as an 'engine of economic growth' for England at large, whereas Smout and Lenman have also noted its considerable influence upon the Scottish economy by the late seventeenth century.⁵⁵²

As has been demonstrated, the coastal trade with the English capital encompassed a wide variety of shipping and directly affected the trade of several ports along the east coast,

⁵⁴⁹ Sacks, 'London's Dominion', pp. 20-26; Fisher, *London*, pp. 105-118, 185-198.

⁵⁵⁰ Wrigley, 'A simple model', pp. 55-56, 58-59; see also, Thirsk, 'England's Provinces', pp. 97-108.

⁵⁵¹ Wrigley, 'A simple model', p. 62.

⁵⁵² Fisher, *London*, pp. 185-198; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 196; Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 23.

whether through their own direct trade or as integrated components in the wider east-coast economy.⁵⁵³ The increasing domestic orientation around London therefore makes the events of the mid-1660s all the more important, as between 1665 and 1666, London initially witnessed its trade decline, then slump due to the onset of plague and fire. This stagnation in trade was then worsened by the activities of Dutch privateers along the east coast during the Second Dutch War, which raged between 1665 and 1667. These years therefore provide a rare opportunity to see the domestic English, and wider British economy, when its ‘engine of growth’ was in a low gear and provincial and regional markets were forced to re-adjust by increasingly looking to one another for trade and supply.⁵⁵⁴

The history of the great plague of 1665 needs little repetition and has been immortalised by both contemporaries and historians alike.⁵⁵⁵ Originating from Holland, the plague struck London in the spring months of 1665.⁵⁵⁶ Amongst the panic that ensued, large proportions of the capital’s population fled, notably the court alongside many of the wealthier mercantile classes.⁵⁵⁷ The ravages of the plague through London, and the implied threat the city now posed to the wider country, caused trade to plummet as cautious merchants steered clear, fearing infection or lengthy (and unprofitable) quarantine on their return home from the London dockside.⁵⁵⁸ As a result, London’s trade with Newcastle slumped across 1665 and accounted for only 15 per cent of the entries in Newcastle’s coastal port books, less than half its usual figure.⁵⁵⁹ The presence of plague had all but severed the flourishing Tyne-Thames link cited by Wrigley.⁵⁶⁰ The same was true of Scottish trade with the English capital and the

⁵⁵³ Appendix I, Table II, pp. 336-337.

⁵⁵⁴ Fisher, *London*, pp. 185-198.

⁵⁵⁵ Most famously by Samuel Pepys, S. Sim (ed.), *The Concise Pepys* (Ware, 1997), 7 June 1665-5 April 1666, pp. 332-387.

⁵⁵⁶ D. Defoe, *A Journal of a Plague Year* (London, 1722; 2003), p. 3.

⁵⁵⁷ A.M. Moote, and D.C. Moote, *The Great Plague: The Story of London’s Most Deadly Year* (Baltimore, 2004), pp. 158-176.

⁵⁵⁸ Chandaman, *English Public Revenue*, p. 23.

⁵⁵⁹ See Appendix I, Figure X, p. 346; TNA, E190/193/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1665-Xmas 1666; TWAS 543/27, Newcastle Chamberlains’ Receipts, Dec 1644-May 1645.

⁵⁶⁰ Wrigley, ‘A simple model’, pp. 55-56, 58-59.

Scottish Council of State outlawed trade with London in July 1665, renewing the embargo in December 1665 and again in March 1666 with some success. Not a single case of plague was recorded in Scotland.⁵⁶¹

With all those Scottish merchants trading with England now requiring a licence, it appears that Newcastle, which had remained plague free despite its contact with the capital, became a partial substitute for the export of Scottish commodities and as a source of consumables previously obtained from the vast warehouses of the English metropolis. Licences were granted between January and July 1665 by the Scottish Privy Council for merchants to trade specifically with Newcastle, albeit with restrictions on crew sizes to lessen the risk of infection should it occur.⁵⁶² This departure from established trading patterns was also encouraged by the removal of the United Provinces as a suitable trading destination from the summer of 1664, following the onset of plague there. The Scottish Privy Council outlawed trade with Holland in July of that year, which was then followed by the outbreak of the Second Dutch War in March 1665.⁵⁶³

The embargo which followed the eruption of hostilities was well represented in the Newcastle port book for 1665-66 with a dramatic fall in the number of Dutch vessels recorded as entering the Tyne from 47 per cent of Newcastle's overseas trade in 1660-61 to 4 per cent in 1665-66.⁵⁶⁴ A moderate fall was also seen in the number of vessels from France and the port of Hamburg, caused by extensive privateering, and the disruption of both the English Channel and North Sea economies.⁵⁶⁵ If Newcastle's trade with the continent was disrupted by the outbreak of hostilities, Scotland's east-coast ports were said to have been devastated. Both Ferguson and Smout stress the economic depression caused in Scotland by

⁵⁶¹ Council of State, 12 July 1665, 21 December 1665, 2 March 1666, *R.P.C.S., 1665-1669*, p. xlv.

⁵⁶² Licence to James Philip and Robert Young to trade to Newcastle, 27 July 1665, *R.P.C.S., 1665-1669*, p. 85; Licence to John Brown to trade to Newcastle, 31 January 1665, *R.P.C.S., 1665-1669*, p. 13.

⁵⁶³ Proclamation anent trading with Holland, 8 July 1664, *R.P.C.S., 1661-1664*, p. 561.

⁵⁶⁴ See Appendix I, Figure VII, p. 339.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; Graham, *Maritime History*, pp. 19-25; Jones, *Anglo-Dutch Wars*, pp. 148, 160, 178.

the outbreak of the Second Dutch War and the corresponding decline in trade, with that of Leith being particularly affected.⁵⁶⁶ Yet whilst both Ferguson and Smout acknowledge the decline in continental trading during the Dutch wars, they fail to recognise the corresponding rise in English trade as a partial and temporary substitute.⁵⁶⁷ With the decline in the number of vessels from European ports, a disproportionate increase was witnessed in the number of Scottish vessels recorded as entering Newcastle, rising from an average of 17 per cent of Newcastle's overseas trade in 1660 to 62 per cent in 1665-66.⁵⁶⁸ Although a portion of this increase may have been made up of Dutch merchants trading under Scottish colours to avoid the wartime embargo, the majority of the Scottish vessels now recorded as trading with Newcastle had periodically done so before. They also carried commodities typical of the Scottish domestic and re-export economy. For the majority of these vessels, the events of 1665-66 therefore offer the clearest example of merchants from north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland using each others' markets for auxiliary trading when their preferred markets were dislocated.

6.4. Interpretations of coastal-trading fluctuations, 1665-67.

The dramatic changes occurring within the coastal trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland were not restricted to the volume of Scottish vessels entering the Tyne, but also by substantial changes in the nature of trade, in particular in the breadth and variety of commodities traded. Initially, this was evident in the cargoes carried onboard Scottish vessels leaving Newcastle [Figure 5].⁵⁶⁹ In 1660-61, eleven individual commodities were imported by Scottish merchants from Newcastle, which increased to sixty-

⁵⁶⁶ Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p. 153; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 244.

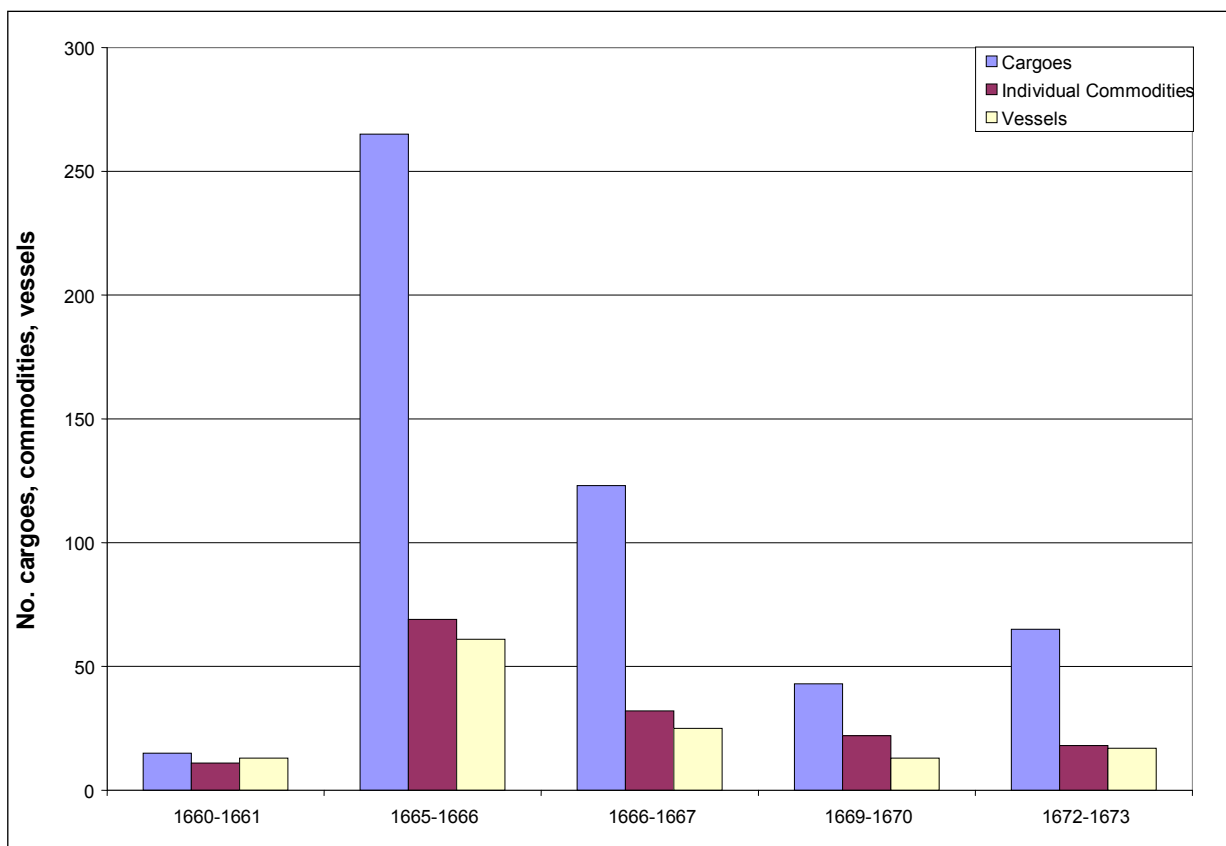
⁵⁶⁷ Woodward, 'Anglo-Scottish Trade', pp. 154-155.

⁵⁶⁸ See Appendix I, Figure VII, p. 339.

⁵⁶⁹ See below, Figures 5 and 6, pp. 150, 151; see also Appendix I, Figures II, III and Table IV, pp. 330, 331, 340-41.

eight in 1665-66.⁵⁷⁰ As a result of this, Scottish vessels were recorded as carrying a greater variety of commodities in their holds, averaging 4.3 separate commodities per hold in 1665-66 compared to 2.6 in 1660-61. These combined figures demonstrate not only an increase in the Scottish import trade from Newcastle for 1665-66, but also a reduction in the specialisation of trade, with vessels now being more likely to carry multiple commodities on a voyage rather than specialising in one.

Figure 5: Trade variables for Scottish imports from Newcastle, 1660-72.



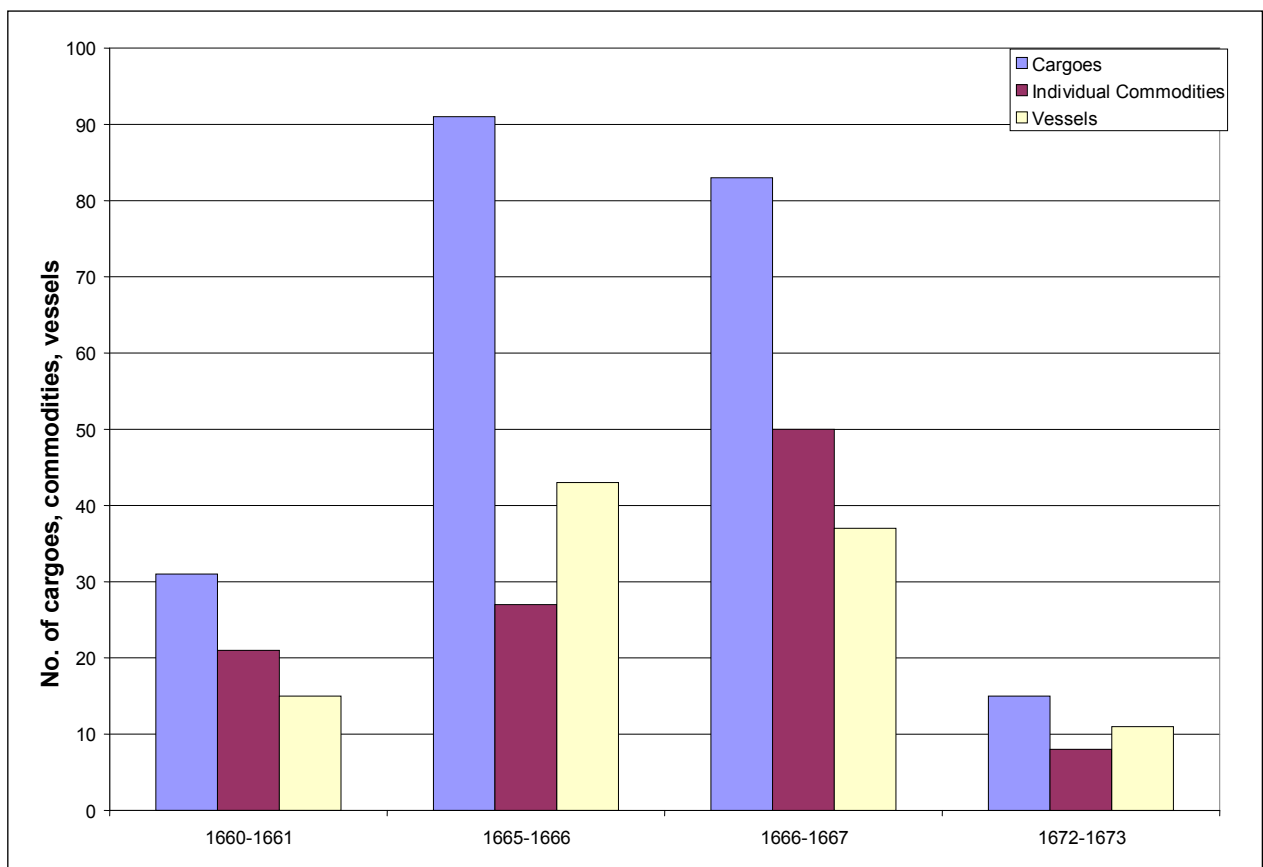
NB. Cargo: the number of times an individual commodity appears in a vessel's hold; Commodity: a unique item of trade, e.g. 'linen cloth', 'linen yarn', 'sugar'; Vessel: a single entry in the port book.

Source: TNA, E190/193/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661; E190/193/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1665-Xmas 1666; E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666 – Xmas 1667; E190/195/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1672-Xmas 1673.

⁵⁷⁰ Commodity: a unique item of trade, e.g. 'linen cloth', 'linen yarn', 'sugar'; See Appendix I, Tables IV and V, pp. 340-341, 342-343.

These changes in the Scottish import trade from Newcastle are in contrast to the export trade to the Tyne [Figure 6].⁵⁷¹ This witnessed a modest expansion in the variety of commodities traded in 1665-66 and a significant peak in 1666-67, at fifty individual commodities. Although the actual number of commodities traded increased markedly between 1665-66 and 1666-67, a parallel rise in vessel numbers was also witnessed. The Scottish export trade to Newcastle therefore retained a degree of specialisation in the cargoes carried onboard individual vessels, the average hold still carrying 2.2 commodities in 1666-67 compared to 2.1 in 1665-66.

Figure 6: Trade variables for Scottish exports to Newcastle, 1660-72.



Source: TNA, E190/193/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661; E190/193/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1665-Xmas 1666; E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666 – Xmas 1667; E190/195/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1672-Xmas 1673.

⁵⁷¹ See below, Figure 6, p. 151.

The chronological discrepancy between the breadth of the import and export trades to and from Newcastle reflected the two-tiered disruption of trade afforded by the Anglo-Dutch war and the dislocation of the London markets. Scottish merchants turned to Newcastle, and potentially other east-coast ports, as temporary substitutes to trading with the English capital. This followed the Scottish Privy Council's ban on trade with the Thames in July 1665. The Scottish import trade from Newcastle in 1665-66 consisted of a broad array of produce, with noticeable concentrations in apparel and fabrics, alongside glassware, iron and lead.⁵⁷² Despite their cumulative volume however, the majority of these were traded in meagre quantities and partially represented an extension of localised coastal trading by Scottish merchants at a time of domestic shortage. These were in contrast to the large shipments of colonial and continental re-exports which were exported to Newcastle by Scottish merchants in 1665-66. This caused a division in Scottish trade with the Tyne between a localised coastal import trade, and a more substantial export trade in continental and colonial re-exports, the latter having not been seen before. The peak in the breadth of Scottish exports to Newcastle in 1666-67 reflected the increasing dislocation of the southern portions of the English east-coast economy following the further reduction of London's trading capacity after the destruction of the fire of 1666, and the complete dislocation of coastal and continental trade before and after the Dutch victory at Medway in June 1667.⁵⁷³ With the associated disruption of Newcastle's trade with the English capital, Scottish merchants were thus able to take advantage of an abundant market within a relatively close geographical proximity.

Although the greatest shift in the nature of Scottish exports to Newcastle occurred in 1666-67, changes were evident the year before.⁵⁷⁴ Notably, these included the appearance of substantial quantities of alcohol. Foremost amongst these were cargoes of French wine, which accounted for 39,186 gallons in 1665-66 and were accompanied by 7,083 gallons of

⁵⁷² Appendix I, Table IV, pp. 340-341.

⁵⁷³ Jones, *Anglo-Dutch Wars*, p. 178.

⁵⁷⁴ Appendix I, Table V, pp. 342-343.

aquavitaе and 308 gallons of brandy.⁵⁷⁵ Such quantities represented a major expansion in Scottish wine exports to the Tyne and accounted for 59 per cent of Newcastle's total wine imports for that year. Such re-exports suggest that despite rampant Dutch privateering, and the seizure of three Scottish vessels off the coast of France by the Dutch in March 1665, Scottish trade with the continent continued.⁵⁷⁶ Indeed, although it is difficult to quantify, this included an illegal trade between Scotland and the Dutch Republic.⁵⁷⁷

The continental re-exports carried by Scottish vessels, both legally from Scotland and illegally from Holland, were joined by additional commodities which Newcastle had formerly received from London. Foremost amongst these were large quantities of colonial produce. Scottish merchants re-exported 52,461 pounds of sugar and 416 gallons of molasses to Newcastle in 1665-66, neither of which had been recorded amongst Scottish cargoes in 1660-61.⁵⁷⁸ These shipments continued at a reduced level in 1666-67, with Scotland's share of Newcastle's wine trade falling to 40 per cent with the entry of 24,003 gallons of French wine, 2,200 gallons of aquavitaе and 720 gallons of brandy.⁵⁷⁹ Similarly, Scottish re-exports of colonial produce also fell, with sugar only amounting to 2,808 pounds in 1666-67, a fall of 94 per cent on the previous year.⁵⁸⁰ The prominence of Scottish continental and colonial re-exports to Newcastle coincided with the growth of Leith as a major re-exporting port.⁵⁸¹ The early years of the Restoration saw Leith develop as a major re-exporter of colonial and continental commodities, and as a commercial gateway to the Scottish capital through which localised and regional trades could flow.

⁵⁷⁵ TNA, E190/193/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1665-Xmas 1666.

⁵⁷⁶ Robert Mein [Edinburgh postmaster] to Henry Muddiman, 1 March 1665, *C.S.P.D., 1664-1665*, p. 232; Jones, *Anglo-Dutch Wars*, pp. 29-30.

⁵⁷⁷ Mein to Joseph Williamson [Secretary to Lord Arlington], 23 April 1667, *C.S.P.D., 1667*, p. 49.

⁵⁷⁸ See Appendix I, Table V, pp. 342-343.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*,

⁵⁸⁰ TNA, E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666-Xmas 1667.

⁵⁸¹ T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (Bungay, Suffolk, 1972), p. 146; W. Makey, 'Edinburgh in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', in M. Lynch, (ed.), *The Early Modern Town in Scotland* (London, 1987), p. 194.

Figure 7: Origin of Scottish vessels entering Newcastle, 1660-74.

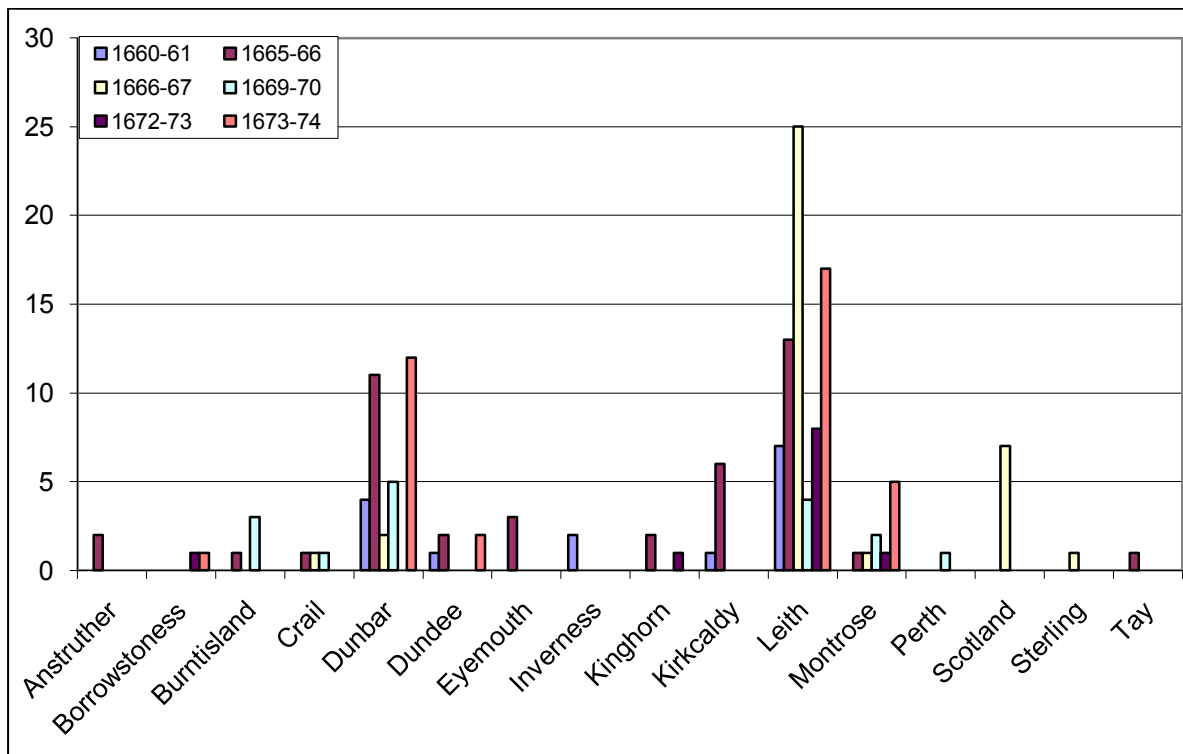
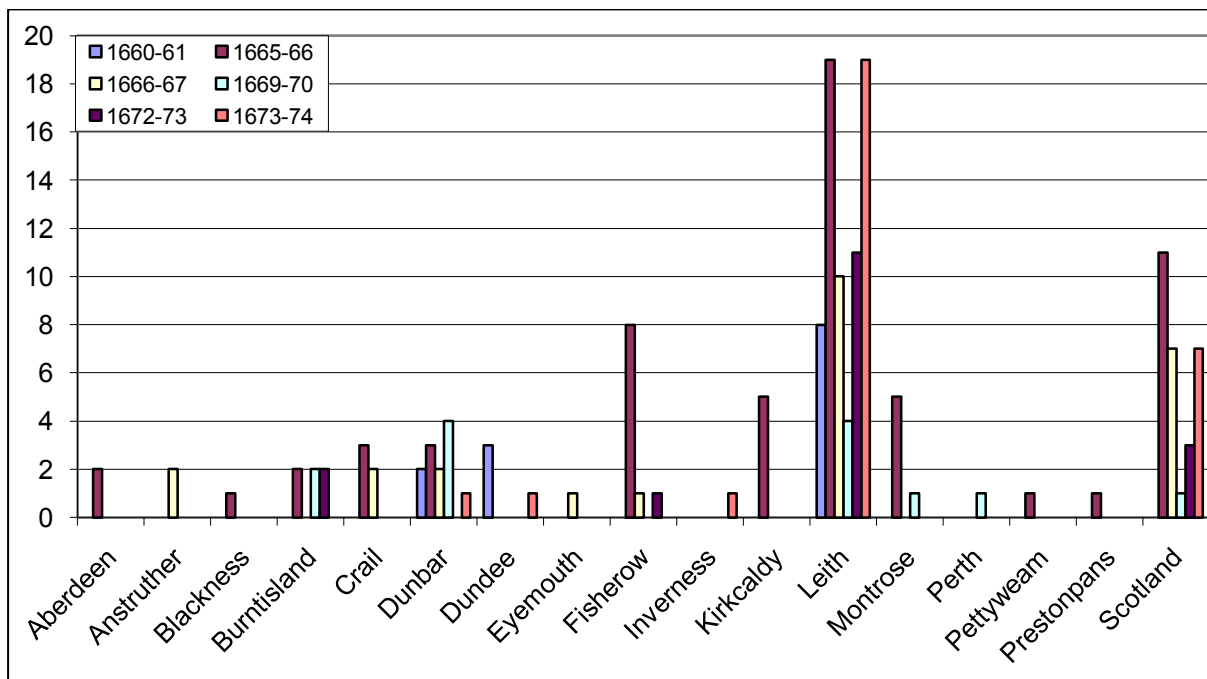


Figure 8: Destinations of Scottish vessels leaving Newcastle, 1660-74.



Source, Figure 7, 8: TNA, E190/193/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661; E190/193/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1665-Xmas 1666; E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666 – Xmas 1667; E190/195/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1672-Xmas 1673; E190/195/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1673-Xmas 1674.

Beyond the rising prominence of Leith, the increase in continental and colonial produce in inter-regional trading in 1666-67 can also be attributed to the presence of several London vessels trading between Newcastle and Scotland. These appear to have turned their trading activities away from the smouldering capital and to alternative domestic routes following the fire in September. This increase in the number of London vessels trading between Newcastle and Scotland corresponded with the collapse of trade between the Tyne and the Thames in October and November 1666.⁵⁸² Instead, it appears that a number of London vessels plied their trade between Newcastle and other ports during these months rather than with the capital itself. These vessels were particularly conspicuous as their cargoes included large quantities of timber and colonial produce.⁵⁸³ The presence of London vessels profoundly altered the inter-regional coastal trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland for the year 1666-67, particularly in relation to the import of timber and hardware, which increased markedly.⁵⁸⁴ The export of 169 ships masts from Scotland by these London vessels may have been a desperate attempt at naval procurement for the ongoing Dutch war at a time when Denmark, Holland's ally, had closed Baltic markets to English merchants.⁵⁸⁵ Certainly James Jones has cited the shortage of such provisions as restricting the movements of the English fleet, particularly in 1667.⁵⁸⁶

Although the export of timber from Scotland increased, 1666-67 witnessed an overall contraction in the volume, but not the variety, of Scottish exports. Scottish trade entering Newcastle was overwhelmingly characterised by the isolated entry of individual commodities in relatively small quantities. Whereas much of this trade was an extension of the Scottish coastal trade, in a number of cases shipments of goods appeared to have been the reaction to

⁵⁸² Appendix I, Figure VIII, p. 344.

⁵⁸³ TNA, E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666 – Xmas 1667, 23 September 1667; 25 November 1667.

⁵⁸⁴ Appendix I, Table IV and V, pp. 340-341, 342-343.

⁵⁸⁵ Jones, *Anglo-Dutch Wars*, p. 26.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*,

specific consumer demands, such as the entry of three windmill spares in May 1667.⁵⁸⁷ Some of the diversity witnessed amongst Scottish cargoes in 1666-67 may therefore be attributed to bespoke purchasing at a time when normal supply was disrupted [Figure 6].⁵⁸⁸ The nature of inter-regional trade in 1666-67 may also have been the temporary reaction to the re-emergence of Newcastle's trade with London, which although sluggish in the early spring of 1666, reached a minor peak in May at twelve vessels entering from the capital, before the disruption of the Four Days Fight between the Dutch and English fleets in early June and the Great Fire in September.⁵⁸⁹

The trade recorded in the port books was only one avenue through which Scottish merchants could profit from the unsettled domestic and international events of the mid-1660s. The Second Dutch War had brought considerable opportunities for mercantile profit via privateering, and Scottish merchants in particular had shown themselves willing to risk capture in order to take Dutch vessels. A new facet of Anglo-Scottish trade was evident in 1666-67 when Scottish merchants brought eighteen captured Dutch vessels into Newcastle between August and September alone.⁵⁹⁰ A number of these were English vessels which had been captured by the Dutch only then to be recaptured by Scottish merchants, such as the *Alexander* of London which was brought into Newcastle in August 1667.⁵⁹¹ Although Smout stresses the economic hardship caused for Scotland by Anglo-Dutch conflict, he cannot deny that the flourishing success of Scottish privateering greatly enhanced the level and quality of Scotch shipping, which would act as the foundation of its future trading survival.⁵⁹²

The historiographical treatment of the mid-1660s therefore requires revision. Although Smout and Lenman are right to identify the disruption of certain elements of Scottish

⁵⁸⁷ TNA, E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666-Xmas 1667, 26 May 1667.

⁵⁸⁸ See above, Figure 6, p. 151.

⁵⁸⁹ See Appendix I, Figure VIII, p. 344; Jones, *Anglo-Dutch Wars*, p. 170.

⁵⁹⁰ TNA, E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666 – Xmas 1667.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹² Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 185; Graham, *Maritime History*, pp. 22-25.

overseas trade with the coming of the Second Dutch War, it should be recognised that this was in part compensated by an increase in trade elsewhere. The years 1665-67 are the clearest representation of an auxiliary trading relationship between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland, when merchants from both regions looked to one another when their preferred markets elsewhere were dislocated. The two-tiered nature of disruption, the limitations of the port books and the presence of illegal trade in contravention of wartime embargos makes it impossible to positively correlate the intricate fluctuations in trade with specific events. The dislocation of east-coast trade with London and overseas markets had caused inter-regional trade to increase and substantially alter in its nature. The shifts and changes in Anglo-Scottish trade attributed to the events of the mid-1660s were only temporary however.

6.5. *'Slump to Spike', inter-regional coastal trade, 1668-74.*

Following the extraordinary peaks in Anglo-Scottish coastal trade attributable to the events of 1665-67, both the scale and nature of commerce contracted following the coming of peace and the re-establishment of previous trading practices.⁵⁹³ Notably, this included the re-emergence of London into both the English, and wider-British economy, its trade being enhanced by efforts at supplying the English capital with the resources for its initial recovery and rebuilding.⁵⁹⁴ This was combined with the declaration of peace with Holland in July 1667, which ended the Second Dutch War and subsequently re-opened continental markets, particularly those in the Baltic for English and Scottish merchants. The resumption of Anglo-Scottish trade along previous patterns, and the consequent fall in that passing through Newcastle, underlines the auxiliary nature of the inter-regional trade between north-eastern

⁵⁹³ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 185.

⁵⁹⁴ P. Gauci, *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660-1800* (London, 2007), pp. 5-12, 17-19, 23-24.

England and southern and eastern Scotland. Scottish and north-eastern merchants returned to trading with their preferred markets elsewhere, rather than with one another, following the resumption of normal trading conditions.

The extent of the commercial separation between the two economies was reflected by the decline in the number of vessels trading between Newcastle and the Scottish east-coast ports, and also by the contraction in the breadth of trade. In particular, this included the re-emergence of specialisation, with the presence of single commodity cargoes. In terms of Scottish exports to Newcastle, these were dominated by agricultural produce, notably barley and oats with some small quantities of herring and wheat [Table 20].⁵⁹⁵ These were in return for a variety of commodities, both products of the Tyneside economy alongside re-exported produce from elsewhere. Amongst the former were significant quantities of Tyneside glassware, competing directly with that of the Forth, a variety of hardware and some limited quantities of colonial produce. Less than two years after the conclusion of the Second Dutch War, Scottish trade with north-eastern England lapsed into its traditional parameters, falling to negligible levels and characterised by a modest Scottish trade imbalance.

⁵⁹⁵ See below, Table 20, p. 159.

Table 20: Anglo-Scottish trade recorded in the Newcastle port books, 1669-70.

Scottish imports from Newcastle 1669-70				Scottish exports to Newcastle 1669-70			
Commodity	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Cargoes	Vol.	Measure
Colonial				Foodstuffs			
Loaf sugar	1	0.25	cwt	Barley	13	279.5	lasts
Fabrics						340	quarters
Bayes	1	32	loose	Herring	1	1	lasts
Children's stockings	1	4	doz	Oats	4	11.5	lasts
Clothes	1	36	pounds	Pease	1	1	lasts
Old woollen cards	5	98	doz	Wheat	1	4	lasts
Serges	1	20	pound				
Woad	2	1.5	cwt				
	1	20	pound				
Glassware							
Glass	2	1	firkins				
		2	chest				
Window glass	3	8	firkins				
		12	chest				
Grains & Foodstuffs							
Cheese	1	3	cwt				
Hops	9	35	pounds				
Hardware							
Bark	1	15	bushels				
Galley pots	1	700	parcels				
Leather manufactures	1	28	pound				
Nails	1	3	cwt				
Sole leather	1	4	pound				
Metals							
Alum	1	1	tun				
Iron	1	0.5	cwt				
Lead	7	13.8	fathers				
		12	cwt				
Skins							
Calf	1	0.25	cwt				

Source: TNA, E190/194/7, Newcastle, Xmas 1669- Xmas 1670.

The 1670s therefore opened in the economic doldrums in terms of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional coastal trade when compared to the wartime peaks of the previous decade. In 1672-

73, this slump in trade was most evident in relation to the number of vessels recorded as entering and leaving Newcastle from Scotland, at eleven and seventeen respectively.⁵⁹⁶ Yet although vessel numbers had fallen in 1672-73 compared to 1668-69, the quantities of the commodities they carried had increased. In terms of Scottish exports to Newcastle, this increase was largely restricted to the commodities of linen and oysters, and Scottish cargoes were overwhelmingly dominated by the primary sector. Totalling 83,000 shells in four cargoes, the oyster trade with Newcastle was an important product of the Scottish fishing economy.⁵⁹⁷ With the need to pickle oysters when being shipped to the continent for reasons of preservation, Newcastle and the ports of north-eastern England represented a geographically proximate and ready market for fresh Scottish oysters that required minimal processing.⁵⁹⁸ Beyond oysters, the large quantities of skins and hides imported into Newcastle came without any processing, being recorded as 'in hair'. The increase of this skin trade with eastern England was a reflection of a decline in Scottish hide and skin exports to the Baltic across the late seventeenth century due to increased competition.⁵⁹⁹ Although these oysters and untanned skins exhibited little added value and processing, they did reflect how Newcastle could act as a geographically proximate depository for basic agricultural and marine produce from the Scottish coastal economy. Alternatively, Scottish imports from Newcastle involved a wide range of commodities, including quantities of glassware, foodstuffs and colonial produce [Table 21].⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁶ TNA, E190/195/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1672-Xmas 1673; see also Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

⁵⁹⁷ Davis, 'Merchant Shipping', p. 59.

⁵⁹⁸ Mowat, *Port of Leith*, p. 219.

⁵⁹⁹ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 217-218.

⁶⁰⁰ See below, Table 21, p. 161.

Table 21: Breadth and range of commodities recorded as being traded between Leith and Newcastle as imports and exports, 1672-73.

Leith imports 1672-73				Leith exports 1672-73			
(from Newcastle)				(to Newcastle)			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Colonial				Apparel			
Indigo	1	24	pound	Stockings	2	237.5	doz
Pepper	1	50	pound	Skins	2	700	
Tobacco	1	450	pound	Fabrics			
Foodstuffs				Linen	2	7,500	ells
Apples	1	5	barrels	Foodstuffs			
Figs	3	675	pound	Oysters	4	83,000	loose
Ginger	3	340	pound	Miscellaneous			
Oil	4	9.8	gallons	Feathers	1	200	pound
Prunes	4	900	pound				
Raisons	2	575	pound				
Hardware							
Earthenware	3	185	pound				
Gunpowder	3	750	pound				
Starch	11	2,765	pound				
Tar	1	3	barrels				
Manufacture							
Alum	2	1,400	pound				
Glass	1	1	chest				
Glass bottles	1	3	doz				
Lead	7	14,430	pound				
Paper	5	166	reams				
Soap	4	56	barrels				
Window glass	5	18.75	chests				

Source: NAS, E72/15/16, Leith, 1672-73.

The sheer range of goods imported from Newcastle by Scottish merchants sheds some light upon the Scottish economy at the time and its demand not only for foreign luxuries, but also basic subsistence products such as earthenware. The import of colonial produce from English ports was significant in demonstrating the growing complexity of Scottish trade, the

rising consumerism of the Scottish population, and the growing importance of Leith as a re-export centre.⁶⁰¹

This trade in colonial produce from Newcastle by Scottish merchants came alongside a direct trade between the English colonies and western Scotland, despite the Navigation Act outlawing this.⁶⁰² It was the increasing volume of this direct trade, particularly in sugar from the Caribbean into Glasgow, which was likely to have caused the decline in Scottish sugar shipments leaving Newcastle in 1672-73. Substantial quantities of sugar were now arriving into Glasgow, both for Scottish consumption and further processing. In 1672-73, 292,650 pounds of sugar were imported into Glasgow, 60,000 pounds of which was destined for ‘ye use of ye manufactories here’.⁶⁰³ These quantities were undoubtedly then supplemented by illegal and undeclared imports of colonial produce, much of which was then carried along the Kindairne pass to Borrowstounness [Map 6].⁶⁰⁴ Like in 1665-67, the fluctuating presence of re-exports not only reflected general changes occurring within both the English and Scottish economies as part of the ‘consumer revolution’, but were also in reaction to specific events, notably the disruption of continental markets with the coming of international conflict. It was with the presence of traditional and basic articles of trade, such as earthenware and victual, coupled with increasing quantities of colonial produce and consumables, that Anglo-Scottish trade reached an important juncture between established and developing patterns of trade.

⁶⁰¹ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 38.

⁶⁰² Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 188, 192-193.

⁶⁰³ NAS, E72/10/3/1, Glasgow, Nov 1671-Feb 1672; E72/10/3/2, Glasgow, Feb-May 1672; E72/10/3/3, Glasgow, May-Aug 1672; E72/10/3/4, Glasgow, Aug-Nov 1672.

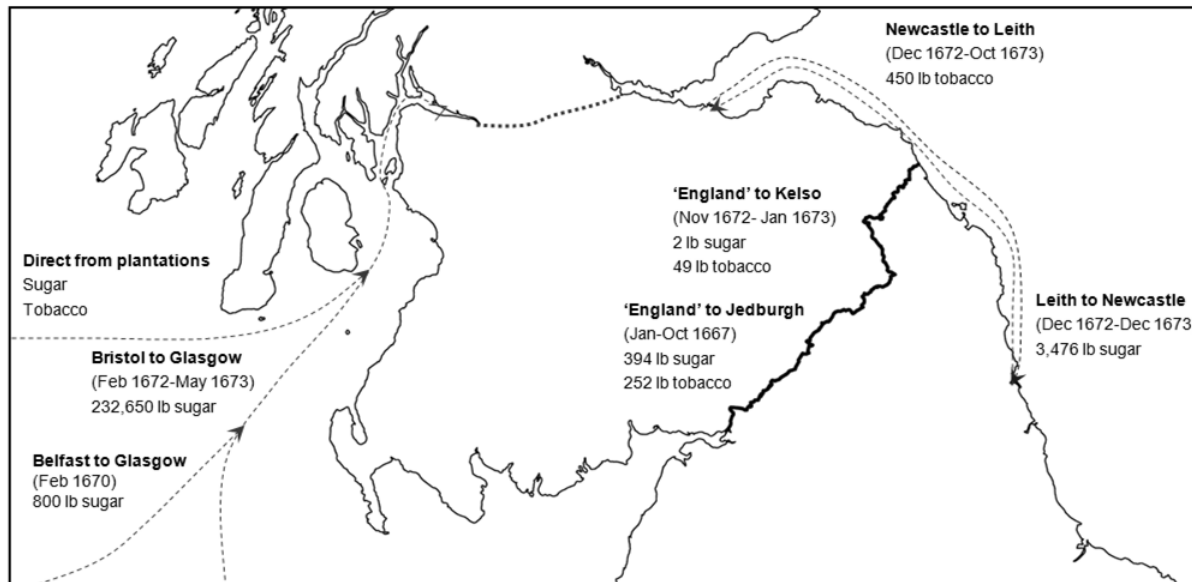
⁶⁰⁴ See below, Map 6, p. 163; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 188-189.

Table 22: Scottish sugar imports and exports with Newcastle, 1665-74.

	1665-66		1666-67		1672-73		1673-74	
	Cargo	Pounds	Cargo	Pounds	Cargo	Pounds	Cargo	Pounds
Scottish imports (from Newcastle)								
Brown sugar	6	52,461	1	2,808			4	39,960
White sugar					1	3,456	2	22,572
Scottish exports (to Newcastle)								
Loaf sugar	7	2,593	9	5,157				
Molasses	1	324	1	86.4				
Sugar	1	270						

Source: TNA, E190/193/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1665- Xmas 1666; E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666-Xmas 1667; E190/195/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1672-Xmas 1673; E190/195/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1673-Xmas 1674.

Map 6 –The inter-regional trade in colonial produce, 1667, 1672-73.



Source: TNA, E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666-Xmas 1667; E190/195/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1672-Xmas 1673; E190/195/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1673-Xmas 1674; NAS, E72/10/1, Glasgow, 1666-1667; E72/10/2, Glasgow, 1669-1670; E72/13/1, Jedburgh, January-October 1667; E72/14/1, Kelso, November 1672- January 1673.

Beyond the rise of Leith and its multi-directional trade in colonial produce, there were also changes in the profile of ports present in inter-regional trade, which resulted from the removal of the royal burgh's official monopoly on Scottish overseas trade in 1672. Holding monopoly rights over Scotland's foreign trade, the royal burghs had dominated Scotland's commercial landscape, much to the annoyance of its burghs of barony, which were technically restricted to domestic commerce. The immediate impact of the removal of such privileges was represented by the increased presence of non-royal burghs trading with Newcastle from 1672 onwards, notably, Borrowstounness and Eyemouth.⁶⁰⁵ Yet the penetration of burghs of barony into Scottish overseas trade had occurred before this point and they had been present in inter-regional trade throughout much of the seventeenth century.⁶⁰⁶ With its geographical proximity and ready markets, north-eastern England could act as a suitable entry-point to the world of overseas commerce for small Scottish traders resident in a burgh of barony. Some appear to have taken advantage of the unprecedented opportunities of the mid-1660s to begin such trading, notably merchants from Fisherow and Kinghorn in agricultural and marine produce.⁶⁰⁷ This practice would become more visible as the seventeenth century progressed.

6.6. Inter-regional trade during the Third Dutch War, 1672-74.

The product of Charles II's secret negotiations with Louis XIV, the conflict of the 1670s, unlike its predecessor, was largely confined to the continent under French direction, rather than 'the grim maritime struggle of 1665-67'.⁶⁰⁸ As a result, both the English and Scottish economies did not suffer to the same extent as a decade earlier, although Dutch privateers did

⁶⁰⁵ See above Figure 7, p. 154.

⁶⁰⁶ Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, pp. 146-148.

⁶⁰⁷ See above, Figure 7, p. 154.

⁶⁰⁸ Chandaman, *English Public Revenue*, p. 31.

plague English and Scottish shipping with some success.⁶⁰⁹ Whilst milder in its economic consequences, some similarities existed between the impacts of the two conflicts. As in 1665-67, the Third Dutch War produced a spike in the level, and a change in the nature, of inter-regional coastal trade. With a fall in Dutch vessels entering Newcastle due to the wartime embargo and trading restrictions, the portion of Newcastle's overall trade with Scotland increased, accounting for 20 per cent of all overseas entries into Newcastle in 1672-73 compared to only 10 per cent in 1669-70.⁶¹⁰ With this rise in vessel numbers came a modest increase in the range of commodities traded. In both 1672-73 and 1673-74, this expansion in the range of commodities traded was fuelled by Scottish domestic produce. In 1672-73, this included the Scottish export of twenty lasts of herring, 6,100 ells of linen and 6,900 pounds of linen yarn.⁶¹¹ In 1673-74, Scottish cargoes entering Newcastle were dominated by 1,756 quarters of grain, 946 quarters of big and 3,800 ells of linen.⁶¹² As seen in Table 22, both years also included the Scottish re-export of colonial produce.⁶¹³ Absent were the large and diverse quantities of hardware that had been present in 1665-67. The changes in the volume and nature of inter-regional trade between 1672 and 1674 were slight when compared to those between 1665 and 1667 for a variety of reasons. In part this was due to the continuation of Dutch trade with both Newcastle and Scotland.⁶¹⁴ In May 1672, reports abounded on the continent that 'the Dutch give out they have an offer from Scotland of their willingness to trade with them and to receive their ships, notwithstanding the war with England'.⁶¹⁵ Such an offer was a clear representation of Scottish unease with English foreign policy and the negative consequences it would have upon their commercial interests.⁶¹⁶ Such reports were

⁶⁰⁹ Jones, *Anglo-Dutch Wars*, p. 192.

⁶¹⁰ See Appendix I, Figure VII, p. 339.

⁶¹¹ TNA, E190/195/11, Newcastle, Xmas 1672-Xmas 1673.

⁶¹² TNA, E190/195/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1673-Xmas 1674.

⁶¹³ See above, Table 22, p. 163.

⁶¹⁴ See Appendix I, Figure VII, p. 339.

⁶¹⁵ Reports from Frankfurt, 8 May 1672, *C.S.P.D., 1671-1672*, p. 496.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*,

substantiated by the attempted detention of all Dutch vessels in Scottish waters.⁶¹⁷ It appears therefore that Scottish overseas trade routes did not suffer from the same disruption in 1672-74 as in 1665-67.

English merchants also continued to trade with the continent. A significant rise was recorded in Newcastle's trade with France, England's wartime ally, in 1672-73 which now accounted for 20 per cent of all entries in the Newcastle overseas port-book. In addition to this, some trade also continued between Newcastle and the State of Holland in 1672-73 despite the existence of war. This not only represented the strength of mercantile interest, but also the internal divisions that existed within the Dutch Republic itself in relation to the conflict.⁶¹⁸ The disruption of Newcastle's overseas trade in 1672-74 was therefore less than it had been in 1665-67. This trade with the continent was coupled with the continuation of the Tyne-Thames trade in 1673-74, whereas this had been largely absent in 1665-67. Vessels from the capital accounted for 31 per cent of Newcastle's coastal port-book entries in 1673-74, compared to only 15 per cent in 1666-67.⁶¹⁹ The commercial opportunities to expand Scottish trading with Newcastle in 1672-74 were simply fewer than they had been in 1665-67.

The impact of the Third Dutch War, like the Second, only appears to have been temporary. Dutch vessels once again resumed their trade with Newcastle with greater frequency on the conclusion of peace, whereas the share of Newcastle's trade held by Scottish vessels fell from 17 per cent in 1673-74 to 5 per cent in 1675-76.⁶²⁰ It is difficult to establish whether any of these Scottish vessels trading with Newcastle in 1673-74 were in fact Dutch vessels flying Scottish colours. However, the dominance of domestic produce amongst Scottish cargoes entering Newcastle in 1673-74 would suggest that these vessels had

⁶¹⁷ Warrant to the Chancellor of Scotland to arrest all Dutch vessels in Scotch ports, 16 March 1672, *C.S.P.D.*, 1671-1672, p. 210.

⁶¹⁸ See Appendix I, Figure VII, p. 339; Jones, *Anglo-Dutch Wars*, pp. 183, 186-187.

⁶¹⁹ See Appendix I, Figure X, p. 346.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*

largely originated from Scotland. The extent of Scottish-Dutch trading collusion should also not be exaggerated, despite the reports from the continent. As with that the decade before, the conflict of the mid-1670s resulted in the Scottish seizure of Dutch vessels, three of which were brought into Newcastle in July 1674.⁶²¹ The impact of the Second and Third Dutch Wars can therefore be seen as broadly similar; both provoking short-term peaks in inter-regional trade whilst also supplying the Scottish marine interest with much need tonnage that would prove useful in the long term.

6.7. Conclusion – Anglo-Scottish eastern-coastal trade, 1660-74.

The wartime peak in Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade questions the assumption that the Second and Third Dutch Wars were necessarily and automatically damaging to the Scottish economy. The large peak in 1665-67, and the more modest increase in 1672-74, suggests that as trade fell along one route, mercantile efforts were increasingly channelled along others. This was particularly evident in 1665-67 when the disruptions of war were combined with the dislocation of the London economy. English and Scottish merchants demonstrated a remarkable elasticity in their trading activities and were capable of adapting both the commodities traded, and routes travelled, as wider circumstances dictated. Vessels from London also experienced a degree of commercial readjustment by trading between the Tyne and Forth when that from the Thames had been reduced by calamity. Beyond the short-term impact of the dislocation of London and the Anglo-Dutch conflicts, the years between 1660 and 1674 were a period of transition for both the English and Scottish coastal economies, and the contact between them. The initial efforts at the outset of the Restoration to reintroduce English fiscal control over the nature and extent of Anglo-Scottish trade

⁶²¹ E.J. Graham, 'In Defence of the Scottish Maritime Interest, 1681-1713', *Scottish Historical Review*, 71:1 (April, October 1992), p. 89; TNA, E190/195/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1673-Xmas 1674; Warrant From Treasurer Danby to the Customs Commissioners, 12 September 1674, *C.T.B., 1672-1674*, p. 580.

largely failed in the face of the development of British colonial enterprise during the Republican years. Colonial produce became a significant facet of coastal trade between the Tyne and the Forth, with exports of sugar from Scottish ports reflecting the greater involvement of their merchants in English colonies. Tobacco and sugar were both traded directly, and illegally, by Scottish merchants from the Caribbean and North American colonies back to Scotland. These were not only imported as raw commodities, but also received a degree of processing once in Scotland, with sugar refineries developing in Glasgow and Leith. The emergence of colonial wares amongst Scottish cargoes did not, therefore, represent the addition of another trade to the national commercial portfolio, but rather an entire industry. Whereas Scottish re-export trading in colonial produce to Newcastle was dominated by Leith, ports such as Crail and Aberdeen continued to concentrate in the export of Scottish agrarian and marine produce. As a result, skins, victual and basic hardware were all still important commodities amongst Scottish cargoes entering to Newcastle.

In avoiding the remit of the Navigation Act and adapting to the changing trading circumstances dictated by war, plague and fire, Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade demonstrated a high level of elasticity. Both English and Scottish merchants turned to this inter-regional trade, especially that between Newcastle and Leith, when preferred markets were dislocated. Trading with continental markets therefore remained a preference for many merchants. Yet despite this, Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade was becoming increasingly similar in both its imported and exported commodities in the years following the Restoration. The 1660s and early 1670s witnessed a creeping similarity in Anglo-Scottish cargoes, both as a sign of their merger with international frameworks of trade, and also as a representation of the industrial similarity between the Tyne, Wear, Forth, and Tay. This similarity was embodied by the presence of glassware, lead and various items of hardware as both imports and exports between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. Colonial

produce also increasingly provided a mutually acceptable article of trade between the two regions that was not associated with their carboniferous-based economies. Although embryonic and clouded by the affects of war, these similarities in inter-regional trade were to grow throughout the late seventeenth century.

7. The Border Trade, 1660-74.

Somewhat shielded from the impact of continental conflict and with a weaker linear trade to London, the Anglo-Scottish border trade exhibited wide and varying differences from that along the east-coast between 1660 and 1674. As has been detailed above, the opening years of the Restoration witnessed a barrage of hostile commercial legislation aimed at curbing Scottish competitiveness within English markets following the end of the Cromwellian Union. With additional duties being placed upon Scottish cattle, salt and linen, the English protectionism of the early Restoration was keenly felt in cross-border trade. With its reliance upon the coastal trade for many of its international commodities, the overland trade through the eastern Anglo-Scottish borders was dominated by the produce of the domestic English and Scottish economies. In this respect, the cross-border trade has a greater potential to reveal the inner workings of both national economies, and their relation to wider networks of international trade, alongside the interaction between them.

7.1. *The border trade, 1660-68.*

The overland customs book of Edinburgh for the period from November 1661 to September 1662 provides an important comparison to the coastal trade. As with that along the coast, skins dominated the trade overland from Edinburgh as a reflection of its growing tanning industry. This had been encouraged by the increasing inflow of cattle into the Scottish capital to feed the needs of its growing population, which had reached around 30,000 inhabitants by the late seventeenth century.⁶²² Yet the overland trade to Edinburgh from north-eastern England appeared markedly different to that conducted along the coast with

⁶²² Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 5.

Leith. In its overland imports from England, the Edinburgh customs book of 1662-63 documented large volumes of English cloth with a variety of geographical prefixes including from London, Yorkshire and Manchester [Table 23].⁶²³ These were accompanied by a range of apparel including sixty-five pairs of stockings and 684 pairs of gloves, a reflection in Scotland of what Gregory King stated was the increasing disposable income of families to spend on clothing in England.⁶²⁴

The appearance of increasing quantities of consumables was not restricted to the customs book of Edinburgh, or to ready-made apparel, but can be seen as a developing strand of the entire border trade as the seventeenth century progressed. The Jedburgh customs book for 1667 lists a variety of petty-consumables destined for the Scottish capital and for distribution throughout the lowlands; mass ownership being encouraged by a low retail price and novelty value [Table 26].⁶²⁵ This was most evident through the presence of fabrics, including silk and hair buttons, small pieces of lace and, in one case, five pieces of ‘two penny ribboning’.⁶²⁶ Not only desirable and affordable for a large proportion of the population, such commodities also formed the backbone of the hawking and peddling trades.⁶²⁷ Margaret Spufford has gone into great detail of how such commodities were the workaday produce carried across England by pedlars and tradesmen, both to be sold from the pack, but also through established shops.⁶²⁸ She has also emphasised how, far from being isolated products of trade, these items had resulted from a great ‘diversification of English industry in the sixteenth century’, which by the seventeenth century had led to the ‘spread of new rural occupations demanding little capital and much labour, from pinmaking to copperas-boiling, from starch-making and lace-

⁶²³ See below, Table 23, p. 172; NAS, E72/8/1, Edinburgh, November 1661-September 1662.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*; Wrightson, *Early Necessities*, p. 241.

⁶²⁵ See below, Table 26, p.177; M. Spufford, *The Great Reclotting of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1984), pp. 5, 52, 64.

⁶²⁶ NAS, E72/13/1, Jedburgh, January 1667-October 1667.

⁶²⁷ Clay, *Economic Expansion, Vol. II*, p. 31.

⁶²⁸ Spufford, *Great Reclotting*, pp. 69-83; Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, pp. 122-123.

making, to tobacco and flower growing’, all of which (apart from the latter) were represented in the border trade.⁶²⁹

Table 23: Scottish overland imports into Edinburgh from England, 1662-63, 1665-66.

Edinburgh – imports						
Commodities	1662-63			1665-66		
	Cargo	Volume	Measure	Cargo	Volume	Measure
Apparel						
Gloves	2	684	pair			
Stockings	4	65	pair			
Colonial						
Sugar	1	40	pound	1	50	pound
Tobacco	5	638	pound			
Hardware						
Belts	3					
Saddles	1	2	loose			
Miscellaneous						
Cheese	1	500	pound			
Hangings	2	10	loose			
Hops	2	200	Pound	3	800	pound
Starch	2	39	Packs			
Wine	1	1	gallon			
Textiles						
Baise	39	6,046	ells	13	3,159	ells
Calicos	2	Not recorded				
Chise	1	10	ells			
Cloth	13	4,043	ells	7	856	ells
Friese	6	686	ells			
London cloth	7	780	ells	3	570	ells
Manchester ware	1	0.5	part			
Serges				5	40	pieces
Stuff				3	515	pound
Worsted stuff				8	1,356	ells
Yorkshire baise	8	1,674	ells	7	3,554	ells
Yorkshire cloth	73	13,629	ells	21	4,406	ells

Source: NAS, E72/8/1, Edinburgh, November 1661-September 1662; NAS E72/8/2, Edinburgh, November 1665-October 1666.

⁶²⁹ Spufford, *Great Reclathing*, p. 5.

Beyond apparel and small consumables, a number of luxury commodities were also recorded as travelling overland to Edinburgh, including ten ‘hangings’ and a significant volume of colonial produce including 638 pounds of tobacco and forty pounds of sugar.⁶³⁰ The presence of tobacco, which commanded a healthy price, conforms to the standard notion that land carriage was only suitable for modest quantities of high value goods.⁶³¹ In addition to these, bulkier items were also recorded which must have been less economical to carry overland, including a gallon of wine, 500 pounds of cheese and 200 pounds of hops.⁶³² These imports into Edinburgh for 1662-63 demonstrated the wide variety of commodities which were carried overland, stretching beyond livestock and small quantities of high priced luxuries.

The border, just like the coastal trade, was vulnerable to disruption which could influence which commodities were traded and in what quantities. In 1664-65, when the borders were said to be thick with ‘mosstroopers, robbers and thieves’, colonial produce and foodstuffs declined in the customs books and trade rested almost solely on the import of fabrics, and in reduced quantities.⁶³³ The pillaging of cross-border trade by thieves was a lucrative undertaking. In June 1665, reports were heard of one Harry Pott ‘whose only study and practice’ was to ‘steall from and oppresse Scotsmen in their travel to and frae Newcastle’.⁶³⁴ It is partially as a result of such periodic and somewhat cyclical lawlessness in the borders that the quantity of individual commodities fell, as did the number of entries. Edinburgh saw a 45 per cent fall in the number of overland customs entries between 1662 and 1665 corresponding with this increase in lawlessness.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁰ NAS, E72/8/1, Edinburgh, November 1662-September 1663.

⁶³¹ Willan, *Inland Trade*, pp. 1-13.

⁶³² NAS, E72/8/1, Edinburgh, November 1662-September 1663.

⁶³³ Appointment of a commission for the apprehension and trial of mosstroopers, robbers and thieves on the Borders, 3 May 1665, *R.P.C.S., 1665-1669*, p. 43; NAS, E72/8/1, Edinburgh, November 1662-September 1663.

⁶³⁴ Complaint of sheriff of Roburgh against John Kerr and others for resisting the law in preventing the apprehension of Harry Pott, an Englishman and notorious robber, 19 June 1665, *R.P.C.S., 1665-1669*, p. 65.

⁶³⁵ See below, Table 24, p. 174.

Beyond the disruption of trade through unrest, a fall in the number of customs entries can also be attributed to the dislocation of the overland trade with London. The entry of ‘London cloth’ fell by 26 per cent between 1662 and 1665, from 780 ells to 570 ells, such a fall being encouraged by the outlawing of Scottish trade with the English capital during the plague.⁶³⁶ It is unfortunate that the customs books of Edinburgh only give details of those commodities and merchants who were trading directly with the Scottish capital, and do not provide an accurate picture of the state and nature of the Anglo-Scottish overland trade at the physical point of the border. Many of the commodities passing through the Anglo-Scottish border precincts would soon have been siphoned off into the wider border region rather than being traded directly to Edinburgh. Despite this, it appears that there was a significant fall in the volume of overland commerce associated with unrest on the borders at a time when, due to the reduction and removal of some of the prohibitive cross-border duties, trade should have been increasing.

Table 24: Volume of overland customs entries for Edinburgh, Jedburgh and Kelso, 1662-73.

	Edinburgh		Jedburgh				Kelso			
	Import entries (total)	Mth Avg	Import entries (total)	Mth Avg	Export entries (total)	Mth Avg	Import entries (total)	Mth Avg	Export entries (total)	Mth Avg
1662-63	103.0	9.4								
1665-66	57.0	5.2								
1667			56.0	5.6	258.0	25.8				
1673							36.0	12.0	274.0	22.8

Source: NAS, E72/8/1, Edinburgh, November 1662-September 1663; E72/8/2, Edinburgh, November 1665-October 1666; E72/13/1, Jedburgh, January-October 1667; E72/14/1-2, Kelso, November 1672-January 1673.

Further light is shed upon the nature of the overland trade at the physical point of the border through the survival of the customs books for the border precinct of Jedburgh for

⁶³⁶ See above, pp. 146-149.

1667.⁶³⁷ As was demonstrated from those of Edinburgh, the Scottish imports through Jedburgh contained frequent quantities of English fabrics and apparel. Although Jedburgh and Edinburgh recorded some of the same cloth types, notably Yorkshire cloth, Jedburgh exhibited a greater variety of fabrics of differing values, from hair to fine lace. A degree of specialisation can be seen in the trade of these commodities, with the Jedburgh customs book for 1667 being unusual in recording some of the origins and occupations of those carrying goods across the border [Table 25].

Table 25: Trader origins and occupations recorded in the Jedburgh customs books, 1667.

Trader Origins		
Origin	No. Traders	Percentage of total
Creling	3	6
Hawick	2	4
Jedburgh	36	71
Richmond	2	4
Rulewater	1	2
Unknown	7	14

Trader Occupation		
Occupation	No. of Traders	Percentage of total
Glover	4	8
Lister	2	4
Merchant	18	35
Shoemaker	7	13
Unknown	21	40

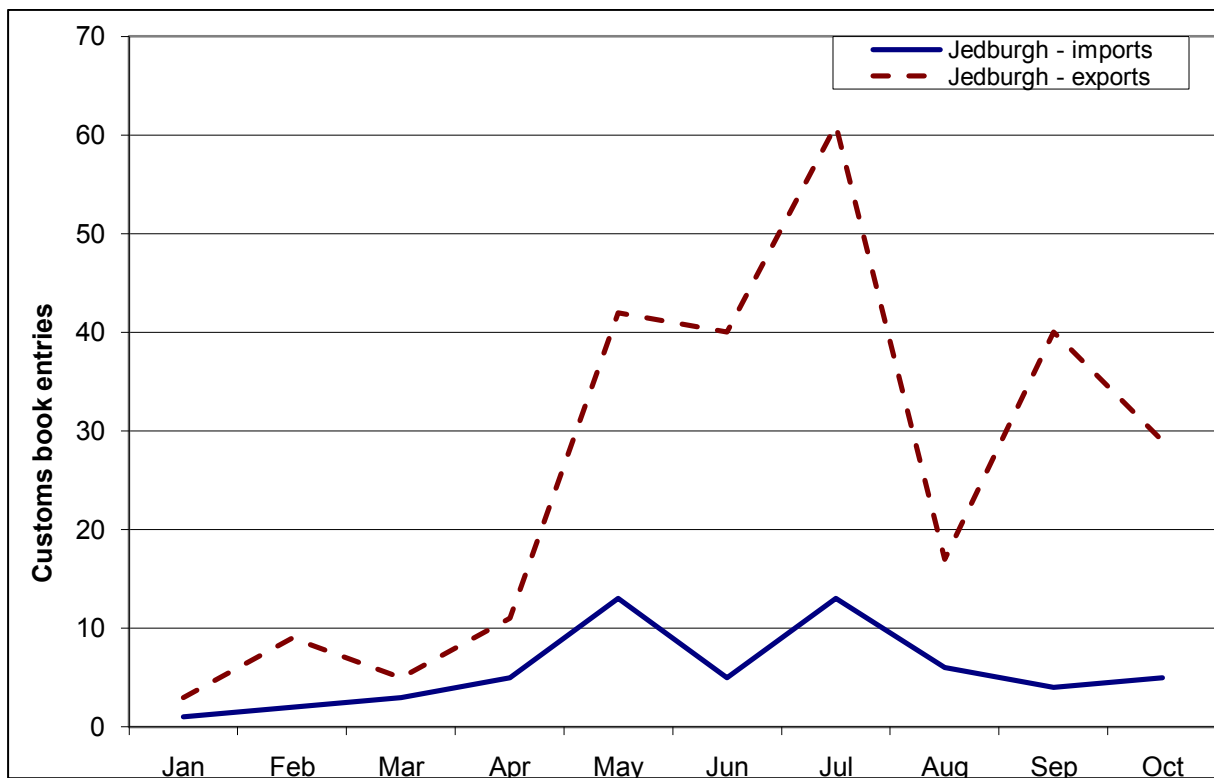
Source: NAS, E72/13/1, Jedburgh, January-October 1667.

This information shows the link between the individual occupations of entrants and the commodities they carried. 87 per cent of all hides (202 loose hides) in the Jedburgh customs books were entered by shoemakers, whereas the majority of wool and woollen cards were entered on behalf of glovers. These raw materials relating to an individual's livelihood were often accompanied by the tools of their trade. Shoemakers, for example, frequently entered jumps, sheers and knives for the cutting and shaping of leather. The relationship between the commodities carried by an individual and their occupation did not always correlate however.

⁶³⁷ See below, Figure 9, p. 176.

One glover, Andrew Hardy of Jedburgh, was recorded as importing twenty dozen hooks but also ten pounds of tobacco in July 1667.⁶³⁸ Unsurprisingly, the occupation with the largest and most diverse entries in the customs books belonged to the eighteen merchants recorded. Thomas Partis, a merchant from Jedburgh, was typical when he recorded a diverse cargo of sugar, vinegar, confectionary, tobacco, woollen cards, powder, glass, lead, soap, iron and paper amongst other things in May 1667.⁶³⁹ Whereas Partis was an individual who traded in any commodity that would be profitable, others demonstrated a degree of specialisation and market targeting. One merchant, John Douglas, entered Jedburgh in July 1667 carrying a variety of apparel including stockings, mittens and starch.⁶⁴⁰

Figure 9: Seasonality of Anglo-Scottish border trade through Jedburgh, 1667.



Source: NAS E72/13/1, Jedburgh, January-October 1667.

⁶³⁸ NAS, E72/13/1, Jedburgh, 24 July 1667.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, 25 May 1667.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 4 July 1667.

Table 26: Overland trade passing through the Scottish precinct of Jedburgh, 1667.

Jedburgh - imports 1667			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Alcohol			
Aquavitae	1	2	gallons
Strong water	3	6	gallons
Apparel			
Buttons	2	4.5	gross
Stockings	6	26	doz
Colonial			
Sugar	7	394	pound
Tobacco	13	252	pound
Hardware			
Allom	4	6.5	cwt
Brass	1	3	stone
Hooks	7	106	doz
Iron	8	26	cwt
Knives	1	4	doz
Lead	2	4	cwt
Redwood	5	1.4	cwt
Saddles	2	6	loose
Scythes	5	6.5	doz
Sheers	1	1	doz
Starch	4	3.5	cwt
Textiles			
Cotton	1	26	ells
Hair	1	12	ells
Hides	8	232	loose
Lace	1	2	pieces
Malego	2	2.25	cwt
Plading	2	0.75	stone
Wool	1	8	stone
Woollen cards	10	492	doz
Yorkshire cloth	1	14	ells
Metal			
Copperas	8	10.25	cwt
Iron	8	26	cwt
Miscellaneous			
Glass	1	3	firkins
Paper	8	15	reams
Powder	2	40	pound
Small ware	3	?	
Vinegar	5	76	pints

Jedburgh - exports 1667			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Foodstuffs			
Bear	77	272.5	bolts
Meal	171	1,250.5	fulls
Textiles			
Linen	2	340	ells
Yarn	16	1,260	ells

Source: NAS, E72/13/1, Jedburgh, January-October 1667.

By comparing the Jedburgh books of 1667 to those of Edinburgh for 1662-63 and 1665-66, it is possible to judge the penetration of English overland trade from the point of the border into East and Mid Lothian. When the two are compared, luxury and colonial commodities had the greatest penetrative durability in reaching the Edinburgh market. Whereas the latter were predominantly carried by ‘Englishmen’, apparel and agricultural produce were largely dispersed into the local border markets and centres by Scottish traders.⁶⁴¹ A three-tiered cross-border trade therefore existed that was intimately related to the economy of the borders. Firstly, the localised border trade supplied primary-sector produce to local border markets through Jedburgh and Kelso. Secondly, a broader trade in hardware and petty consumables was conducted by ‘glovers’, ‘shoemakers’ and some ‘merchants’ to the border region itself and its industries. Thirdly, a larger trade in consumables and colonial produce passed through the borders destined for the urbanised centres of the Forth basin, notably Edinburgh, conducted almost solely by ‘merchants’. It is likely that a large portion of the latter moved along the more direct route through Berwick, Ayton or Duns, as was visible in the later seventeenth century.⁶⁴²

The great variety and abundance of cargoes recorded as crossing the border by land, some of which were bulky and of a relatively low value, highlights the need for a reassessment of the Anglo-Scottish border trade and of historical attitudes to early-modern land transport. Renowned for their decayed and treacherous state, the roads of seventeenth-century Britain have earned the reputation for being impassable for long stretches of the year and suitable only for either small luxuries, which could be carried on a trader’s back and command a high profit, or alternatively, for the transport of cattle and other livestock on the hoof.⁶⁴³ Even the western border trade, usually symbolised by the vast numbers of cattle passing through

⁶⁴¹ NAS, E72/8/1, Edinburgh, 1662-63.

⁶⁴² See below, pp. 227-236.

⁶⁴³ Willan, *The Inland Trade*, p. 1-13; Wilson, *England’s Apprenticeship*, p. 43; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 9-12.

Carlisle, demonstrated a greater complexity than has often been realised.⁶⁴⁴ The Scottish precinct of Gretna witnessed colossal imports of English cloth and apparel in 1665-66 in exchange for only modest quantities of Scottish linens and fabrics [Table 27].⁶⁴⁵ The absence of cattle passing through Gretna is likely to have been both a result of Carlisle's position as the major point of entry, and the prohibition and restriction of Scottish cattle imports into England by the Act of 1663, which was only lifted in 1667.⁶⁴⁶

The Anglo-Scottish border trade that passed through the western precinct of Gretna for 1665-66 was markedly different to that of Jedburgh and Edinburgh, and thus serves as a reminder that the border trade should not be seen as a homogeneous entity [Table 27].⁶⁴⁷ Although the large Scottish trade imbalance remained, the quality and variety of Scottish imports were more varied and diverse in the west than in the eastern precincts. Amongst these, were a wide variety of English cloth, fabrics and cottons, many of which appear to have originated from north-western England, in particular from the areas surrounding Manchester. Although recorded as travelling through eastern precincts as early as 1606, it appears the diverting of Manchester cottons through Gretna (and their disappearance from the customs books of Berwick, Kelso and Jedburgh) was the result of the colossal seventeenth-century growth of Glasgow. Having reached around 14,000 inhabitants by the late seventeenth century, Glasgow had now become a major alternative market and centre of consumption to Edinburgh.⁶⁴⁸ The scale and variety of trade through the western borders was enhanced further by the sheer volume of hardware, colonial produce and petty-consumables passing through Gretna, the latter being important in the growing manufacture of apparel north of the border.⁶⁴⁹ The process of urban and market development in western Scotland can

⁶⁴⁴ Lenman, *Economic History*, pp. 23-25.

⁶⁴⁵ See below, Table 27, pp. 180-181; NAS, E72/2/1, Gretna, December 1665 – October 1666.

⁶⁴⁶ Woodward, 'Anglo-Scottish Trade', p. 153.

⁶⁴⁷ See below, Table 27, p. 180-181.

⁶⁴⁸ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 5, 144-146.

⁶⁴⁹ Spufford, *Great Reclotting*, pp. 5, 52, 64.

therefore be seen to have had a tangible impact upon the direction, ebb and flow of English commodities across the border.

Table 27: Scottish imports and exports through the western precinct of Gretna, 1665-66.

Gretna - Imports			
Commodities	Cargoes	Vol.	Measure
Alcohol			
Strong water	10	89	gallons
Apparel			
Shoes	4	145	pairs
Stockings	2	6	pairs
Colonial			
Sugar	2	20	pound
Tobacco	4	53	pounds
Tobacco stalks	1	5	stone
Foodstuffs			
Barley	1	40	pound
Currents	2	846	pounds
Hops	21	5,341	pounds
Liquorice	5	9	pounds
Raisons	2	3	pounds
Hardware			
Bindings	4	2,448	loose
Bridles	12	86	doz
Candle	1	3	load
Saddlerware	6	62	packs
Scythes	6	226	packs
Starch	1	36	pound
Sickles	9	12	packs
		480	loose
Metals			
Alum	3	350	pound
Miscellaneous			
Buttons	13	490,332	loose
Carpets	1	24	doz
Chester ware	2	15	packs
Combs	15	11,394	loose
Flax	2	73	stone
Furniture	1	2	loose
Haberdashery	3	6	pound

Gretna - Exports			
Commodities	Cargoes	Vol.	Measure
Textiles			
Linen	72	4,440	ells
		1,068.5	packs
Yarn	16	2,600.5	pounds
		39	packs
Pladding	2	180	ells

Leathers	7	3,361	doz
Needles	1	1,000	loose
Paper	9	3,310	reams
Seeds	1	1	pounds
Soap	4	5	firkins
Whale bone	2	40	pound
Woollen cards	3	19	doz
Textiles			
Baise	1	2,690	ells
Cloth	7	264	ells
Cotton	1	2,016	ells
Dimity	5	3,216	pieces
Frieze	15	6,828	ells
Hides	5	70	loose
Serge	6	280	ells
Stuff	3	26	ells
Thread	2	4,560	yards
Thread points	2	1,842	
Yorkshire cloth	10	1,591	ells

Source: NAS E72/2/1, Gretna, December 1665-October 1666.

The nature and extent of Anglo-Scottish border trade in the first decade of the Restoration was multifaceted. The presence of duties and restrictions on Scottish exports was more visible in the border trade, which did not enjoy the temporary peaks in trade associated with the wartime dislocation of continental markets as seen in that along the coast. Beyond the fluctuations in the scale of trade, overland commerce was diverse in its contents. Colonial produce travelled in either direction across the border, an increasing sign of how both English and Scottish merchants were taking advantage of the produce and trade of North America and the Caribbean.⁶⁵⁰ The nature of Anglo-Scottish border trade had therefore changed. This reflected the exploitation of new avenues of international trade, and the further development of industry and consumerism on both sides of the border.

⁶⁵⁰ See above, Map 6, p. 163.

7.2. Border Trade 1668-74.

The late 1660s were marked by the revision of Anglo-Scottish trading relations, centred on a series of negotiations for a commercial Union. Although it has been suggested that these discussions had overtly political motivations in diverting ministerial attention away from Charles II's ongoing secret negotiations with Louis XIV, they did lead to the reduction and removal of several duties on cross-border trade, including those on cattle and victual in May 1669.⁶⁵¹ Despite the declaration that cross-border trade 'should remain free and open', reports were heard of the seizure of Scottish victual on the border, in one case Lord Gray seizing 'a hundredth horse laden with corne' despite the clear intent of the statute.⁶⁵² The hesitancy to remove the higher duties on Scottish commodities was not restricted to the trade in victual and Lauderdale lamented that 'the Duties in *England* still continue' as late as October 1669.⁶⁵³ With the continued seizure and taxation of Scottish produce, and the problems of the implementation of legislation, trade was also disrupted by periodic unrest upon the borders. In May 1672, the situation had escalated to such an extent that a commission was appointed 'for the suppression of the borders' and given powers to arrest anybody suspected of a crime.⁶⁵⁴

Such disturbances and only the partial removal of duties on selected commodities contributed to a meagre cross-border trade being recorded for the Scottish precinct of Kelso in 1672-73 [Table 28].⁶⁵⁵ Although the chronology of the surviving book is limited to three months in the depths of winter, the thirty-six entries for Scottish imports and sixty-four

⁶⁵¹ Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p. 156; Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, pp. 154-155; Act of the Privy Council of England prohibiting duties on Scottish cattle imported into England, 6 May 1669, *R.P.C.S., 1669-1672*, pp. xxvii, 16.

⁶⁵² Act of the Privy Council of England commanding the Restoration of Scottish corn seized in England and prohibiting all such seizure in future, 6 May 1669, *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶⁵³ Anon., *The Speech of His Grace the Earl of Lauderdale, His Majesties High-Commissioners for Parliament of Scotland, 10 October 1669* (Edinburgh, 1669), p. 6.

⁶⁵⁴ Appointment of a commission for the suppression of the borders, 1 May 1672, *R.P.C.S., 1669-1672*, pp. 517-518.

⁶⁵⁵ See below, Table 28, p. 183; NAS, E72/14/1, November 1672-January 1673.

entries for Scottish exports in 1672-73 were low compared to the eighty-eight import entries and 124 export entries for the same months eight years later in 1680-81.⁶⁵⁶ This depression in trade was also reflected in the range and breadth of commodities traded, with Scottish imports being largely restricted to skins and saddles whereas exports to England from Kelso only included meagre quantities of textiles, victual and livestock.

Table 28: Breadth of import and export trade through Kelso, 1672-73.

Kelso - Imports				Kelso - Exports			
Commodities	Nov 1672 - Jan 1673			Commodities	Nov 1672 - Jan 1673		
	Cargo	Vol.	Measure		Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Colonial				Apparel			
Tobacco	1	49	pounds	Stockings	1	10	doz
Sugar	1	2	pound	Foodstuffs			
Tobacco boxes				Bear	8	14.5	bolts
Coffee	1	1	box	Rye	11	44	bolts
Foodstuffs				Oats	1	2	bolts
Hops	1		pound	Peas	3	3	bolts
Hardware				Corn	12		
Saddles	2	86	loose	Livestock			
Knives	1		doz	Swine	1	8	head
Miscellaneous				Sheep	2	84	head
Indigo	2	8	pound	Textiles			
Lime	2	314	pound	Pladding	8	630	ells
Skins				Linen	6	160	ells
Hides	5	80	loose	Yarn	2	1,900	pound
Skins	19	281	loose				
Textiles							
Silk	1	2	pound				
Calico	1	30	ells				

Source: NAS E72/14/1-2, Kelso, November 1672-January 1673.

Although the level of trade was relatively low in both directions compared to what came later, the Scottish trading imbalance which dominated the customs books of Edinburgh,

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid*; NAS,E72/14/4, November 1680-August 1681.

Jedburgh and Gretna during the 1660s was less apparent in Kelso. This is evident not only in the level of trade, but also in its breadth, with the appearance of a variety of fabrics, but also livestock, amongst Scottish exports. This also coincided with larger quantities of victual being exported, potentially the result of the reduction of duties alongside a series of good harvests north of the border. These exports of victual were in return for imports of hops from England. The small quantities in which these were transported indicated that they were probably destined for local border markets within Scotland. Likewise, the relatively small amounts of colonial produce traded were also likely to be for local retail or for the personal use of the trader. It appears the border trade recorded through Kelso in 1672-73 was generally limited in scale and localised in nature as the result of increased border unrest.

7.3. Conclusion: Border Trade 1660-74.

Anglo-Scottish border trade through the eastern precincts was diverse in both its scale and nature between 1660 and 1674. The differences between the trade recorded as passing through Kelso, Jedburgh, Edinburgh and Gretna is an important reminder that the border trade was not an homogeneous entity, but exhibited wide variations depending both on geographical proximity to the major centres of consumption and the size of local markets. Three broad tiers of cross-border trade were witnessed. Firstly, large numbers of customs book entries consisted of small quantities of victual, fabrics and petty-consumables destined for localised border markets. Secondly, modest quantities of hardware, which were likely to have been drawn from throughout northern England, were entered on the behalf of specific occupations. It was these commodities that were increasingly integral to the border economy, supplying local industries, such as glove making, with the necessary resources of production in return for exporting their finished articles. Thirdly, quantities of consumables, fabrics and

colonial produce were entered on behalf of merchants at the border precincts *enroute* to Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle or London. The absence of a cross-border trade attributable to fairs and markets, as identified in 1580-1638, is partially due to source survival, the winter-time chronology of the 1672-73 Kelso customs book and the irregularity with which such trading was recorded.⁶⁵⁷

Despite the absence of cross-border trading through fairs and markets, the overland trade was still multi-faceted and complex. Although Smout may have been correct when he stated ‘economic life in the hills [of Kelso and Jedburgh] was not very dramatic, or very diverse’, the same cannot be said for the trade passing through them.⁶⁵⁸ Trade ranged from the carriage of petty-consumables, such as buttons, ribbons and strands of lace by peddlers’ pack, to the transporting of significant quantities of grains and victual which could require up to a dozen packhorses and thus formed major logistical operations. With the pronounced fall in London cloth in 1665, the border trade was also affected by wider events within the British economy. The slower rate of transport associated with overland trade should not necessarily be seen as isolating cross-border commerce from wider economic changes and events.

⁶⁵⁷ See above, pp. 78-82.

⁶⁵⁸ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 8.

8. Anglo-Scottish inter-regional coastal trade, 1674-1701.

8.1. Introduction, 1674-1701.

The years between 1674 and 1701 demonstrated great variation in both the nature and extent of Anglo-Scottish trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. Following the end of the Third Dutch War in 1674, Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade was placed against the backdrop of international peace and relative prosperity in both the English and Scottish economies.⁶⁵⁹ In witnessing a period of prolonged international calm, English and Scottish merchants reverted to traditional channels of commerce with continental Europe and continued to develop colonial trade with North America. The years between 1674 and 1688 therefore witnessed a reduction in inter-regional coastal trade as merchants traded elsewhere. This was to change following the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which altered Anglo-Scottish relations and saw the arrival of near-continual conflict with France between 1688 and 1697. Inter-regional trade increased during the Nine Years War as international trade routes were disrupted and continental markets were dislocated. This rise in inter-regional trade was further confirmation of the auxiliary trading relationship that existed between both economies as witnessed during the Second and Third Dutch Wars. Trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland was highest when preferred markets elsewhere were dislocated. This increased inter-regional trade was against the backdrop of famine, hardship and a shortage of specie on both sides of the border in the 1690s.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁹ Davis, 'English Foreign Trade', p. 161; Whatley, 'Economic Causes and Consequences', p. 152; Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, p. 163; Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, p. 71.

⁶⁶⁰ Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p. 200; Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, p. 103; Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, pp. 119-120, 142; C.A. Whatley, 'Taking Stock: Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century', Smout, (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, p. 108; Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 46.

8.2. *A slump in inter-regional coastal trade, 1674-85.*

The years following the Restoration were turbulent in terms of Anglo-Scottish coastal trade. The Second and Third Dutch Wars had provoked unparalleled peaks in the number of Scottish vessels entering and leaving Newcastle, alongside a greater degree of diversification in their cargoes. With the re-opening of preferred continental markets, and with the capture of Dutch vessels during these conflicts adding to the Scottish maritime interest, the Scottish economy experienced a boom following the declaration of peace in 1674.⁶⁶¹ As a consequence of this, Scottish trade was diverted away from north-eastern England following the resumption of peace, whereas Dutch trade with the Tyne returned to its former levels, rising to a 36 per cent share of Newcastle's overseas trade in 1674 compared to Scotland's 17 per cent.⁶⁶² The years immediately following peace therefore confirmed the auxiliary trading nature of Anglo-Scottish commercial interaction, and Scottish vessels fell from the Newcastle port books as overseas markets were re-opened to be replaced by the formerly excluded Dutch.

The fall in Anglo-Scottish trade entering Newcastle, which followed the declaration of peace in 1674, was reflected in the number of vessels recorded and in the breadth and diversity of the trade conducted. The vessels entering the Tyne from Scotland became increasingly specialised in the import of fish and basic agricultural commodities, which formed the bedrock of the Scottish agrarian and marine economies. Absent were the large quantities of continental and colonial re-exports, which now formed the basis of much of Scotland's overseas commerce.⁶⁶³ Despite the absence of such commodities onboard Scottish vessels entering Newcastle, Leith continued to dominate Scottish trade with the Tyne. This reflected its joint role as the gateway for Scotland's re-export trades and as a distribution

⁶⁶¹ Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p. 197; Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, p. 124.

⁶⁶² Appendix I, Figure VII, p. 339.

⁶⁶³ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 38.

centre for Scottish agrarian produce.⁶⁶⁴ This parallel position would continue between 1676 and 1678 when, like in 1675-76, Leith dominated Scottish trade with north-eastern England through significant exports of fish.⁶⁶⁵

In the majority of its cargoes, the Scottish export trade to Newcastle in the mid-1670s represented a significant regression to the basic and staple commodities of Scotland's agricultural and maritime economies. The fact that this regression and slump in trade was not reflected in the overall performance of the Scottish economy, with the 1670s having witnessed the best trading environment for Scottish merchants since 1603, was further confirmation of the auxiliary nature of Scottish trading with north-eastern England.⁶⁶⁶ Scottish merchants were increasingly attracted to the lucrative markets of London and the continent rather than the geographically proximate markets of the Tyne and Wear.⁶⁶⁷ This reversion to traditional patterns of trade was embodied by Scotland's trade with the Baltic. Studies of the Danish sound toll registers recorded the highest number of Scottish vessels passing through the Sound in the late 1670s since 1643, whereas the third quarter of the seventeenth century also saw large increases in Scotland's trade with Norway.⁶⁶⁸

Table 29: Scottish exports of fish to Newcastle, from Leith and Dunbar, 1675-78.

	1675-76			1676-77			1677-78		
Fish	Cargo	Quantity		Cargo	Quantity		Cargo	Quantity	
Cod							1	20,160	bulk
Herring	1	156,000	bulk	5	130,320	bulk	2	60,240	bulk

Source: TNA, E190/196/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1675-Xmas 1676; E190/197/2, Newcastle, Xmas 1676-Xmas 1677; E190/197/7, Newcastle, Xmas 1677-Xmas 1678.

⁶⁶⁴ Makey, 'Edinburgh in Mid-Seventeenth Century', p. 194.

⁶⁶⁵ TNA, E190/197/2, Newcastle, Xmas 1676-Xmas 1677; E190/197/7, Newcastle, Xmas 1677-Xmas 1678; E190/196/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1675-Xmas 1676.

⁶⁶⁶ Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, p. 71.

⁶⁶⁷ The Kirkcaldy sea box presents almost an immediate transition on the coming of peace to trade with London and Holland, thanks is given to Sue Mowat for alerting me to this source and providing transcriptions of her own research, Fife Archives, 1/9/4, Trade Minute Books, 1612-74.

⁶⁶⁸ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 242; Whatley, 'Economic Causes and Consequences', p. 152; Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 37.

Newcastle's own trading interests reverted to established and traditional channels following the declaration of peace in 1674. The Newcastle port book of 1675-76 depicted the continued resurgence in Dutch vessels entering the Tyne, which now accounted for 47 per cent of Newcastle's total overseas trade, compared to only 5 per cent from Scotland.⁶⁶⁹ Scotland's share of Newcastle's overseas trade remained at a low ebb and fell to a paltry 3 per cent share, or five vessels, in 1676-77. A modest increase was recorded in 1677-78 when Scottish vessels accounted for 6 per cent of Newcastle's overseas trade, equating to ten vessels.⁶⁷⁰ At a time of national prosperity in both economies, inter-regional trade can therefore be seen to have declined and stagnated in absolute and relative terms. Scottish imports from Newcastle also reverted to traditional commodities including lead, basic hardware and small quantities of apparel. The trade in lead was the most consistent Scottish import from Tyneside. Lead acted as convenient ballast for Scottish vessels returning north, but also found a ready market in Scotland due to the inefficiencies and export orientation of the Scottish lead mining industry.⁶⁷¹ The lead trade from Newcastle had a penetrative reach far into the north-eastern English economy. Lead was first extracted from the North Pennines and was then transported overland to the Tyne, and later the Wear and Tees. In doing so, it represented a major logistical exercise which employed hundreds of packhorses.⁶⁷² Reaching a sizeable 863 fothers (841 tons) in 1677-78, north-eastern lead was regularly recorded as entering Leith, with 360 pigs of lead (forty-four tons) being imported by one anonymous merchant in December 1675.⁶⁷³ In addition to lead, colonial produce also remained a Scottish import from Newcastle in 1675-76 and 1676-77.⁶⁷⁴ A small snap shot of this trade can be gleaned in a treasury warrant to the customs commissioners presented in 1693 for the

⁶⁶⁹ Appendix I, Figure VII, p. 339.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*,

⁶⁷¹ T. Smout, 'Lead Mining in Scotland, 1650-1850', in P.L. Payne (ed.), *Studies in Scottish Business History* (London, 1967), pp. 103-135.

⁶⁷² DUL, DPRI/1/1703/T1/1, Inventory of Thomas Teasdale, packhorseman 1703.

⁶⁷³ NAS, CS96/1575 – Anon, merchant, Leith, waste book, 1675-1678, December 28 1675, pp. 33, 35.

⁶⁷⁴ See below, Table 30, p. 191.

customs drawback on 36,906 lbs of tobacco shipped in 1678. Imported into London by one George Richards, the parcel of tobacco was sold to ‘Joseph Hudleston, merchant, of Newcastle, and shipped thither’.⁶⁷⁵ Having arrived safely in Newcastle, Hudleston then ‘exported thence to Scotland by way of Berwick’ whereby he became eligible for a drawback of customs duty.⁶⁷⁶ It is unfortunate that the Berwick port book of 1678 has only partially survived. Some impression of the activities of Hudleston can be gained from the surviving Newcastle port books however, where he is recorded as exporting six and a half fothers (six tons) of lead to Scotland in October 1674 [Table 30].⁶⁷⁷ Such a process sheds light upon the logistics of trade and the interaction between merchants and the customs system, which is often obscured by port-book entries. Although this case attests to the movement of tobacco in Anglo-Scottish cargoes, only shipments of sugar were recorded in the Newcastle port books between 1675 and 1677 [See Table 30].⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁵ Treasury warrant to the Customs Commissioners, 25 October 1693, *C.T.B., 1693-1696*, p. 377.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*,

⁶⁷⁷ See below, Table 30, p. 191; TNA, E190/195/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1673-Xmas 1674, 23 October 1674, *The Patience* of Hartlepool.

⁶⁷⁸ See below, Table 30, p. 191.

Table 30: List and quantities of Scottish imports from Newcastle, 1675-78.

Commodities	1675-76			1676-77			1677-78		
	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel									
Children's stockings	1	35	doz						
Men's stockings	1	11	doz						
Cloths									
Bays	2	14	loose				1	5	loose
Cordage							1	2	cwt
Haberdashery	1	1	cwt				1	2	cwt
Half short clothes							1	2	loose
Kerseys	2	134	yards						
Old woollen cards							1	8	doz
Woad	1	5	cwt				1	5	cwt
Colonial									
Loaf sugar	1	4	cwt						
Sugar				1	1	cwt			
Foodstuffs									
Liquorice	1	1	cwt						
Glassware									
Glass	1	4	case				2	27	chests
Glass bottles				1	500	casks			
Window glass	1	11	chest	1	5	chest	3	18	firkins
								15	chests
Grains									
Hops	2	245	pounds	1	10	bag	3	21	pounds
Hardware									
Bridles							1	3	doz
Calf skins	1	6	doz						
Chairs							1	12	loose
Grindstones	1	10	caldrion						
Leather							1	2	cwt
Ropes	1	2	cwt						
Soap							1	5	barrels
Metallic									
Iron							1	32	cwt
Lead	9	63	fathers	2	3.5	fathers	7	864	fathers
								15	cwt

Source: TNA, E190/196/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1675-Xmas 1676; E190/197/2, Newcastle, Xmas 1676-Xmas

1677; E190/197/7, Newcastle, Xmas 1677-Xmas 1678.

The relatively low levels of inter-regional trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland between 1675 and 1678 continued into the 1680s when Newcastle's trade with Leith declined yet further. No Scottish vessels were recorded as entering Newcastle in 1681-82 and only seven as leaving.⁶⁷⁹ Of this meagre trade, lead once again dominated cargoes (amounting to sixteen fothers) and was accompanied by 300 glass bottles, both of which had fallen in their volumes compared to 1677-78. The movement of Scottish overseas trade away from that along the east coast with north-eastern England to the Baltic and the continent was confirmed by the Eyemouth port book for 1680-81. This was dominated by trade in continental re-exports from Holland and timber from Norway [Table 31].⁶⁸⁰ In addition to this generic timber trade, there was a shipment of thirty-six apple trees from Bergin, which was likely to be in reaction to specific consumer demands.

Table 31: Commodity profile of Imports and Exports into Eyemouth, 1680-81.

Eyemouth – Imports				Eyemouth - Exports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Fabrics				Fabrics			
Dressed flax	1	50	pounds	Hides	1	36	dicker
Foodstuffs				Foodstuffs			
Westphalia hams	2	1,100	pounds	Victual	1	12	chaldrons
Hardware							
Nails	1	2,020	loose				
Miscellaneous							
Bed stoups	1	2	doz				
Old woad	1	2,000	pounds				
Woods							
Apple trees	1	36	loose				
Deals	7	5,700	loose				
Double trees	5	12,854	loose				
Half deals	1	100	loose				
Hazel coattes	1	300	loose				
Single trees	5	16,008	loose				
Spars	1	100	loose				

Source: NAS, E72/4/1, Ayton, November 1680 – August 1681.

⁶⁷⁹ TNA, E190/200/2, Newcastle, Xmas 1681 – Xmas 1682.

⁶⁸⁰ See below, Table 31, p. 192.

In the eleven years following the end of the Third Dutch War in 1674, Scottish inter-regional trade can be seen to have reverted to a reliance upon the primary produce of the agrarian and marine economies of Scotland. Alternatively, Scottish imports from Newcastle continued to be dominated by quantities of lead, glassware and petty hardware. In part, this reflected the Scottish economy's continued weakness in manufacture before a concerted attempt was made at improvement by the Scottish Privy Council during the final two decades of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸¹ The decline and near absence of re-exported commodities amongst Scottish cargoes demonstrated the regression and separation of inter-regional trade from larger networks of international, and particularly continental, commerce. Instead, inter-regional trade exhibited the features and characteristics of a more localised coastal trade involving the domestic produce of both regional economies. This reduction in inter-regional trade stood at odds with the wider prosperity of the English and Scottish economies at the time.

8.3. The recovery of inter-regional coastal trade, 1685-96.

It was not until the mid-1680s that Anglo-Scottish trade along the east coast recovered to some sort of nominal level and corresponded with the overarching national historiography of economic buoyancy. At Berwick, this was characterized by Scottish vessels leaving with a wide array of apparel and fabrics. These included examples of the new draperies, which although modelled on continental designs, were manufactured largely in southern England.⁶⁸² Notable amongst these were significant quantities of 'Spanish' silks and gloves.

⁶⁸¹ Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, p. 116.

⁶⁸² Clay, *Economic Expansion, Vol II*, p. 19.

Table 32: Scottish imports from Berwick (by sea), 1683-84.

Commodity	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Fabric and Apparel			
Haberdashery	5	1,152	pounds
Northern singles	3	270	doz
Plain gloves	3	13	doz
Spanish cloth	4	21	loose
Spanish gloves	1	6	doz
Stuffs	3	55	pounds
Throne silk	2	40	pounds
Worsted stockings	2	60	doz
Wrought silk	10	376	pounds
Miscellaneous			
Box	1	1	loose
Chairs	1	6	loose

Source: TNA, E190/162/1, Berwick, Xmas 1683-Xmas 1684.

Beyond the rising Scottish trade with Berwick, the number of vessels entering Newcastle from Scotland increased in 1685-86 to eleven, although these were outstripped by thirteen vessels recorded as leaving.⁶⁸³ Both of these figures represent a modest recovery in trade compared to previous years and an increase in Scotland's share of Newcastle's overseas trade, which rose from 6 per cent in 1676-77 to 13 per cent in 1685-86.⁶⁸⁴ This increase in Scotland's share of Newcastle's overseas trade was only relative however, as the Newcastle port book for 1685-86 recorded fewer overseas entries than that of 1677-78. Yet despite this, the port book for 1685-86 did witness an intensification of Scottish trade both in vessel numbers and in the size of cargoes carried.⁶⁸⁵ The commodity foremost amongst Scottish cargoes continued to be fish, particularly herring, which reached 219,120 individual fish (18.3 last) in 1685-86, representing a 576 per cent rise on the last available figures for 1677-78.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸³ Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Figure VII, p. 339.

⁶⁸⁵ Newcastle overseas entries: 195 vessels, 1685-86; 220, 1677-78.

⁶⁸⁶ TNA, E190/201/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1685-Xmas 1686; E190/197/7, Newcastle, Xmas 1677-Xmas 1678.

This increase in the fish trade provoked significant changes in the way inter-regional commerce was conducted and named vessels were increasingly replaced by ‘open boats’ in port book entries.⁶⁸⁷ The appearance of open boats reveals the logistics associated with transporting modest quantities of marine produce. These open boats carried herrings loose in bulk whereas named vessels did so by the barrel, with fish often coming alongside a host of other commodities onboard the latter. The dominance of fish in 1685-86 did cause a degree of specialisation amongst Scottish cargoes entering Newcastle and only three other commodities were recorded.⁶⁸⁸ These open boats demonstrated a similar specialisation in the commodities they exported from Newcastle and were solely concerned with the shipment of glass, glass bottles and hardware. Alternatively, named vessels (and apparently enclosed) were recorded as exporting a range of perishables.⁶⁸⁹ This would suggest that the allocation of a name to a vessel in the port books went beyond administrative procedure, and actually related to the vessel’s construction and capacity. Alongside the absence of a vessel name, ‘open boats’ were recorded generically as from ‘Scotland’.

With the specialisation in fish, their open nature, and the lack of association with any particular Scottish port, these Scottish vessels trading to north-eastern England were an extension of the Scottish coastal economy. This was possibly encouraged by the lifting of trading restrictions on the burghs of barony in 1672, and by a fall in the number of vessels entering Newcastle from Hamburg and the Baltic. The absence of the latter provided Scottish merchants with a temporary, but relatively lucrative, market opening in north-eastern England.⁶⁹⁰ This reasoning would correlate with the notion of the auxiliary trading relationship in inter-regional trade, with the volume of Scottish trade entering Newcastle

⁶⁸⁷ When the term ‘named vessel’ is used, it is referring to a vessel with a specifically attributed name which often included its home port, e.g. ‘The Anne of Dunbar’ as compared to simply ‘open boat’ from Scotland.

⁶⁸⁸ These were 198 yards of linen, 28 pounds of yarn and 50 ells of ‘cloth’, TNA, E190/201/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1685-Xmas 1686.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁰ See Appendix I, Figure VII, p. 339.

peaking when disruption was experienced elsewhere. Beyond such suggestions, it also appears that, in specific cases, named vessels were diverted to more lucrative trades. In February 1687, a petition was received by the English treasury on behalf of the owners of the Scottish vessel, the *Hollandia*, requesting that they should be granted freedom to ‘employ her as a free ship for the East and other parts of commerce’.⁶⁹¹ Having recently been ‘of little use by reason of her constant trading to Newcastle in the time of Mr. Hutton’s being master’, the owners of the *Hollandia* clearly saw this inter-regional trade to Newcastle as parochial when compared to the riches which could be gained in international trading. This fall in the number of named vessels in 1684-85, and their replacement by open boats, was only modest when compared to that which followed. These patterns intensified following the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the disruption of continental markets, which followed the outbreak of the Nine Years War.

The four years between 1688 and 1692 were some of the most depressed for Scottish merchants in a generation. War with France disrupted Scottish markets abroad, and highlighted the disparity between English foreign policy initiatives and Scottish commercial concerns at home.⁶⁹² At the level of inter-regional coastal trade, the late 1680s and the beginning of the 1690s witnessed a modest recovery in Anglo-Scottish trade passing between the Tyne and the Forth. Twenty-nine vessels were recorded as entering and leaving Newcastle in 1693-94.⁶⁹³ This rise in vessels from Scotland also corresponded with a fall in those arriving from London, which had fallen from 33 per cent of Newcastle’s coastal trade in 1684-85 to only 14 per cent in 1693-94; partly due to the presence of French privateers along the south-east coast. This recovery in vessel numbers was characterised by a greater number of open boats trading with Newcastle, and almost the complete absence of any named, and apparently enclosed, vessels. Although cargoes of fish still dominated this trade,

⁶⁹¹ Treasury reference to the customs commissioners, 11 February 1687, *C.T.P., 1685-1689, III*, p. 1190.

⁶⁹² Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p. 206.

⁶⁹³ See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

oysters were notable in their absence. This correlated with the destruction and poor maintenance of oyster beds and complaints were heard in 1693 of the ‘great scarcity of oysters within their ancient kingdom of Scotland, to the great prejudice of many poor subjects’.⁶⁹⁴ In the absence of formerly dominant commodities, several ‘open boats’ carried alternative cargoes, which included quantities of victual during the summer months and even half a cwt of unbound books.⁶⁹⁵ These miscellaneous cargoes corresponded with a fall in the total volume of fish entered in 1693-94 in comparison to 1684-85. This fall in the inter-regional fish trade corresponded with a 50 per cent increase in Scottish fish exports to the Baltic in the 1690s.⁶⁹⁶ Once again, the extent and nature of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade were heavily influenced by market forces elsewhere.

When the cargoes of the named vessels are considered alongside these small open boats, it becomes clear that a multifaceted trade existed. This ranged from the localised coastal trade in fish to larger logistical operations, which operated within the remit of international trade and were conducted by named vessels. Although there were only five examples of the latter, the contrast in cargoes with the open boats was stark. One example, the *St George* of Leith, conveyed sixty-six tons of Swedish iron, 350 Norwegian deals, 1800 pounds of rough hemp, and 100 small oars in August 1694 from Leith, all of these commodities reflecting increased Scottish trade with the Baltic.⁶⁹⁷ Belonging to Robert Fenwick of Newcastle, these items were typical of Fenwick’s trading portfolio. In 1699-1700, he was recorded as trading with Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Tunning, Norway and the Baltic in a combination of lead, coal and grindstones.⁶⁹⁸ These not only represented the mixed interests of a general and highly

⁶⁹⁴ Petition to establish oysters-beds by Sir George Hamilton of Barnetoun, 28 February 1693, *C.S.P.D.*, 1693, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁹⁵ TNA, E190/204/5, Newcastle, Xmas 1693-Xmas 1694.

⁶⁹⁶ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 223, 255.

⁶⁹⁷ TNA, E190/204/5, Newcastle, Xmas 1694-Xmas 1695, August 25 1694 (post entry August 30 1694).

⁶⁹⁸ TNA, E190/207/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1699-Xmas 1700.

established merchant within Newcastle, but also demonstrated the significance of Leith's re-export trade in Baltic produce.

Table 33: Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade through Newcastle, 1693-94.

Newcastle - Scottish exports to				Newcastle - Scottish imports from			
Commodity	Cargo	Volume	Measure	Commodity	Cargo	Volume	Measure
Fish		77,575	bulk	Glassware			
Cod	12	1,875	bulk	Drinking glasses	1	200	loose
Herring	27	75,700	bulk	Glass	3	2	cases
Grains						3	chests
Rye	1	2	last	Glass bottles	19	31,600	loose
Hardware				Looking glasses	1	1	box
Iron	5	57	tons	Metallic			
Norway deals	2	350	loose	Brass	1	112	pounds
Rough hemp	1	1,800	pounds	Lead	3	52	fathers
Small oars	2	100	loose			476	pounds
Fabrics				Fabrics			
Scotch ticking	1	50	ells	Cordage	1	300	pounds
Skins				Indigo	2	320	pounds
Rabbit	1	7	doz	Kerseys	1	2	yards
Miscellaneous				Stuffs	1	3	pounds
Kelp	1	24	tons	Throne silk	1	2	pounds
Unbound books	1	0.5	cwt	Apparel			
				Felt hats	2	24	loose
				Grains			
				Hops	2	152	pounds
				Foodstuffs			
				Butter	1	1	firkins
				Hardware			
				Bark	14	128	bushels
						2	parcel
						11	barrels
				Saddles	1	6	loose
				Shot	2	2,300	pounds
				Soap	1	2	firkins
				Skins			
				Leather	5	2,862	pounds

Source: TNA, E190/204/5, Newcastle, Xmas 1693 – Xmas 1694.

The Newcastle port book for 1693-94 therefore represents a significant continuation in the pattern of inter-regional coastal trade established in 1677-78, albeit at an enhanced level.

With the recovery in the number of vessels trading along the east coast, and between the Tyne and the Forth in particular, an increase in the trade in Scottish agrarian and marine produce was witnessed. This correlated with the disruption and dislocation of continental markets associated with the coming of the Nine Years War. Open boats continued to dominate Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade in the final years of the seventeenth century as a reflection of the serious contractions experienced in the Scottish economy. This was caused by the combined effects of war, famine and English protectionism, alongside a general shortage of specie on both sides of the border.

8.4 Disparity in inter-regional coastal trade, 1696-1701.

The 1690s have traditionally been interpreted as a bad time for Scotland and its economy due to the ill effects of famine, enhanced English protectionism and a shortage of specie, the latter exacerbated by the Darien fiasco.⁶⁹⁹ Beginning with the harvest failure of 1695, the following four years witnessed continued hardship attributable to the ‘mini-ice age’, which plunged much of Western Europe into ‘a global cycle of bad weather’.⁷⁰⁰ Although this has traditionally been seen as crippling for Scotland’s economy and society, becoming infamous as ‘King William’s seven lean years’, recent historiography has revised the severity of the crisis, restricting its chronology between 1695 and 1699, and citing the presence of wide-scale regional variations in its impact.⁷⁰¹ Beyond such agricultural challenges, Scotland’s merchants were also afflicted by enhanced English protectionism, a shortage of specie and a general rise in mercantilistic tension throughout Europe during the final decade of the

⁶⁹⁹ Whatley, ‘Taking Stock’, p. 104.

⁷⁰⁰ Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, pp. 119-120; Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, p. 103; Lenman, *Economic History*, pp. 46-47.

⁷⁰¹ Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, pp. 198-199; Devine, ‘Scottish Merchant Community’, p. 27; Whatley, ‘Economic Causes and Consequences’, pp. 166-167; Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, p. 142; see also, Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, p. 146; Lenman, *Economic History*, pp. 35, 46; Stevenson, *From lairds to louns*, pp. 10-31; R.A. Dodgshon, ‘The Removal of the Runrig in Roxburghshire and Berwickshire 1680-1766’, *Scottish Studies*, 16:2 (1972), pp. 122, 126-127.

seventeenth century. In a calculated attempt to retain coinage within the English economy, the years between 1690 and 1704 saw a quadrupling of English import tariffs. Targeted duties were placed on Scottish coal, salt and linen cloth, whilst export duties were lowered on Tyneside coal to attract Dutch buyers away from the Forth.⁷⁰² These were joined by the renewal of the English Navigation Act in 1696, which succeeded in tightening the regulation of colonial trade. Although previous attempts at excluding Scottish merchants from English colonial trade had failed, the renewed act of 1696 appears to have caused genuine concern amongst the Scottish mercantile community. In 1697, Edinburgh merchant John Watson wrote that ‘... tobacco will be dear this season because ther[e] is about 200 ships arr[e]sted in the plantations upon the Late act of parliament ordering all Ships to be stop[p]ed ther[e] that are not regrat in England’.⁷⁰³ With a considerable interest in re-export trading, Watson attempted to hire an English vessel in order to get around these restrictions.⁷⁰⁴

Although there is a considerable debate as to the extent and nature of Scotland’s economic decline in the 1690s, the impact of such hardships on inter-regional trade is hard to gauge due to the absence of any comprehensive port books for either Newcastle or Scottish ports until 1699-1700.⁷⁰⁵ Rather than showing a collapse in Scottish trade, which might be expected considering the economic circumstances, the Newcastle port book for 1699-1700 demonstrates a continuation and intensification of pre-existing patterns of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional coastal trade. With the continued dominance of open boats, 1699-1700 witnessed a 48 per cent increase in the volume of fish traded to Newcastle from Scotland compared to 1693-94 (reaching a modest 166,320 individual fish). These were accompanied by four tons of kelp and half a last of tar [Table 34].⁷⁰⁶ Although this volume exported to

⁷⁰² Graham, *Maritime History*, p. 102; Whatley, ‘Crisis of the Regal Union’, p. 80.

⁷⁰³ NAS, CS/96/3309, John Watson to Mr James Fouls, 22 June 1697, f. 24.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁵ Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, pp. 116, 164; Whatley, ‘Crisis of the Regal Union’, pp. 76-77; Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 46.

⁷⁰⁶ See below, Table 34, p. 202; TNA, E190/207/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1699-Xmas 1700.

Newcastle is not as high as those recorded previously, it still represented 27 per cent of all Scottish fish exports (by volume) to English outports in 1699.⁷⁰⁷ The expansion of the Scottish fish trade to Newcastle was a reflection of the extensive regional variation of the famine's effects in Scotland, the continued importance of Newcastle as a market for Scottish marine produce, and of the hardship also experienced within north-east England.⁷⁰⁸ In 1698 reports came from Newcastle that the harvest was 'backward, and corn scarce', and that this situation was worsened by the 'abundance of poor come out from Scotland, for want of corn there'.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁷ TNA, CUST3/3, National Import and Export ledgers of London and the English outports, 1699.

⁷⁰⁸ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 46; Whatley, 'Taking Stock', p. 108.

⁷⁰⁹ J. Ellis to Lord Ambr. Williamson, 28 October 1698, *C.S.P.D.*, 1698, p. 409.

Table 34: Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade through Newcastle, 1699-1700.

Scottish exports to Newcastle			
Commodity	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Fish			
Herring	15	166,320	loose
Miscellaneous			
Kelp	1	4	tons
Tar	1	0.5	Last

Scottish imports from Newcastle			
Commodity	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Alcohol			
Aquavitae	1	10	gallons
Fabrics			
Haberdasher wares	1	14	pounds
Hemp	4	1,456	pounds
Indigo	4	700	pound
		17	boxes
Muslin	1	4	pounds
Serges	1	4	pounds
Foodstuffs			
Beans	1	12.5	lasts
Liquorice	2	1,344	pounds
Pease	4	112	pounds
		13	lasts
		2.5	quarters
Starch	6	5,208	pounds
Fruits			
Oranges	1	300	loose
Glassware			
Glass bottles	6	15,645	loose
Grains			
Bear	1	10	barrels
Hops	6	20.5	pounds
Hardware			
Apothecary wares	1	3	cwt
Bark	12	261	bushels
Iron mongers wares	1	0.25	cwt
Shot	1	1	stone
Soap	2	1	firkins
		1.5	barrels
Wrought pewter	7	810	pounds
Metallic			
Lead	6	32	fathers
		2,072	pounds
Oils			
Fish oil	1	2.75	hogshead

Source: TNA, E190/207/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1699 – Xmas 1700.

The inter-regional trade of 1699-1700 therefore reflected the common experience of poor harvests and regionalised shortage in both north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. It also revealed the particular shortage of victual in Scotland, with Scottish merchants exporting fish to Newcastle in return for much needed grain. Whereas the majority of English outports shipped hops to Scotland, Newcastle was relatively unique in exporting substantial volumes of poorer types of victual, including pease, bear and beans.⁷¹⁰ Despite their poorer quality, such shipments were likely to have commanded a high price in Scotland. Smout and Gibson found that between 1690 and 1699 the price of bear had risen by 37 per cent in Aberdeen, 30 per cent in Edinburgh, and 42 per cent in Fife, whereas the price of pease and beans had also increased dramatically.⁷¹¹ Although the Newcastle port book for 1699-1700 does not record the specific Scottish ports these shipments were destined for, simply recording 'Scotland', it appears they would have commanded a high price wherever they were landed. Such shipments of victual were almost exclusively confined to the spring months of 1700, before the good harvest of that summer had alleviated the shortage in Scotland. It also witnessed the appearance of merchant groups previously unseen in inter-regional trade who were possibly seeking to profit from the high prices in Scottish markets. One such group was the 'merchant adventurers of Whitby' who carried twelve and a half lasts of beans from Newcastle bound for 'Scotland' in May 1700.⁷¹²

Beyond the shipment of much needed victual, Scottish merchants also imported a range of manufactures from Tyneside, notably glass bottles in competition with their own domestic manufacture. The partial decline of the Scottish glass industry during the late seventeenth century made its markets particularly vulnerable to English imports and 15,645 glass bottles

⁷¹⁰ TNA, CUST3/3, 'From outports to Scotland', 1699.

⁷¹¹ A.J.S. Gibson, and T.C. Smout, *Prices, food and wages in Scotland 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 110-111, 122-123.

⁷¹² TNA, E190/207/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1699-Xmas 1700, 9 May 1700.

were imported from Newcastle by Scottish merchants in 1699-1700.⁷¹³ These imports caused consternation amongst Scottish glass producers and complaints were heard from Montrose in 1700 of the large quantities of Tyneside glass bottles ‘which will overstock the whole country’.⁷¹⁴ This flood of north-eastern glassware into Scottish markets, and the fall in Scottish vessels entering Newcastle in 1699-1700, differed from the general trading picture between Scotland and the English outports. In comparison to the Scottish trade entering the Tyne, the English national import and export ledgers recorded a peak in the value of Scottish exports to England in 1699-1700, with Scottish merchants enjoying a sizeable trade surplus.⁷¹⁵ Although heavily distorted by high volumes of Scottish cattle passing across the border (coastal trade not being distinguished from overland trade in these ledgers), the discrepancy between the state of Anglo-Scottish trade at the inter-regional level and that nationally is an important reminder that one should not be seen to be representative of the other.⁷¹⁶ The 1690s had therefore demonstrated important and revealing variations in nature and extent of inter-regional trade and how it related to the wider economies of both kingdoms.

The balance of trade between England and Scotland was of particular concern in the 1690s due to the chronic shortage of specie on both sides of the border. In Scotland, this was the result of repeated and erratic devaluations in its currency throughout the seventeenth century, a trade deficit with continental Europe, and the pressures of the Darien fiasco. In England, it had been ‘aggravated by the recoinage of the currency as well as the pressures of war finance’.⁷¹⁷ With the shortage reaching its height in 1696-98, petitions were received from throughout England and Scotland complaining of its negative effects on society and

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, Xmas 1699-Xmas 1700.

⁷¹⁴ TNA, CUST 3/3, ‘From outports to Scotland’, 1699; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 200.

⁷¹⁵ Appendix I, Figure XI, p. 347.

⁷¹⁶ Appendix I, Figures I and XI, pp. 329, 347.

⁷¹⁷ Minutes of the proceedings of the Lords Justices of England, 6 June 1696, *C.S.P.D.*, 1696, p. 218;

commerce.⁷¹⁸ Despite the eruption of a ‘tumult’ in Newcastle, due to the combination of the shortage of specie and the stretching of the food market, the situation on the Tyne appears to have been eased by the arrival of the coal fleet. This regularly brought a supply of bills from London and recapitalised the local economy towards the end of 1696.⁷¹⁹ Despite this alleviation for Newcastle, Scottish merchants continued to rely heavily on credit relationships during the final decade of the seventeenth century.⁷²⁰

Such shortages were worsened in Scotland by the financial demands and subsequent collapse of the Darien scheme. At this stage, it would be easy to concentrate on the Darien scheme which gathered pace throughout 1694-96, drawing large volumes of capital to the ill-fated expedition to Panama. There are however, extensive accounts of the expedition itself, and its consequences to both Scotland’s finances and the national psyche.⁷²¹ In relation to inter-regional trade between southern and eastern Scotland and north-eastern England, little tangible impact can be seen beyond potentially worsening the already crippling shortage of specie in Scotland. It was this shortage which elevated the importance of credit as a means of facilitating trade. Scottish merchants were able to obtain credit in Newcastle with relative ease as the coal trade from the Tyne provided a ready supply of London bills, which could be subsequently traded between merchants.⁷²² Such bills of exchange would prove a convenient ‘auxiliary currency’ for many merchants during periods of shortage.⁷²³ In enabling the continuation of trade, credit exchanges present an element of inter-regional trade unrecorded

⁷¹⁸ Lord Murray to the Earl of Portland, 18 July 1696, *Ibid.*, p. 296; The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Mayor of Newcastle, 11 June 1696, *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁷²⁰ See below, pp. 205-206, 248-250; NAS, CS96/1726, Letter Book of Gilbert Robertson of Edinburgh, 1690-1694.

⁷²¹ D. Watt, ‘The Management of Capital by the Company of Scotland, 1696-1707’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 25:2 (2005), pp. 97-118; Watt, *Price of Scotland*; Whatley, ‘Taking Stock’, pp. 103-125; D. Armitage, ‘The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture’, in J. Robertson (ed.) *A Union for Empire: Political thought and the Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 97-120.

⁷²² NAS, RH15/14/65/21H, Obligation John Yates to Andrew Brown, 11 January 1698.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*; T. McAloon, ‘A Minor Scottish Merchant in General Trade: The Case of Edward Burd 1728-39’, in Butt and Ward, (eds.), *Scottish Themes*, p. 22.

in the port books and underlined the importance of reputation between merchants.⁷²⁴ It was as a result of such relationships that, despite the hardship and shortage of the 1690s, inter-regional trade could continue with only a modest decline.

8.5 Conclusion.

The years between 1674 and 1701 offer one of the clearest insights into the auxiliary trading relationship between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. Falling into two periods, the years 1674-88 were marked by international peace and national commercial prosperity for both England and Scotland. Alternatively, the years of 1688-1701 were dominated by the Nine Years War (1688-97), hardship and famine in Scotland and northern England (1696-99), the peak of the specie shortage (1696-98), and tensions on the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702). During both of these periods, the state of inter-regional trade stood at odds with the national economic picture perceived by historians. The trade between the Tyne, Forth and Tay slumped during the earlier period of national overseas prosperity and prospered during the years of international warfare after 1688. As had been demonstrated previously, Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade was highest when preferred markets were dislocated elsewhere.

This wartime peak in inter-regional trade was tempered by the worsening of the agrarian shortage after 1695 and the re-opening of continental markets. With the Navigation Act of 1696 placing additional restrictions on Scotland's colonial trade, the final years of the seventeenth century represented a time of relative hardship for the Scottish economy and its merchants. Yet, as has been demonstrated by Whatley, Devine and Dodgson, the famine of the 1690s was highly regionalised and its negative effects were lessened by agricultural

⁷²⁴ Devine, 'Scottish Merchant Community', p. 32.

improvement and the erosion of regional markets throughout the late seventeenth century.⁷²⁵ Trade between eastern Scotland and the Tyne reflected these variations. Fish was exported from Scotland's east-coast ports to north-eastern England in exchange for much needed grain and victual required in the interior. Beyond the impact of harvest failure, the specie shortage did not completely restrict the activities of Scottish merchants. A bountiful trade in bills existed between merchants, and the reliance on credit and mercantile networks ensured the continuation of commerce.⁷²⁶ Despite the challenges facing both the English and Scottish economies, it was in the final years of the seventeenth century that inter-regional trade intensified. Ballast was replaced by Scottish fish exports, whereas Tyneside manufacture found a sizeable market in Scotland. In this respect, inter-regional trade between 1674 and 1701 was reflective of changes within both national economies, whether agrarian shortage or industrial decline. It was still overwhelmingly influenced by events abroad and international trading conditions however, its auxiliary trading nature being dictated by the presence of war. Yet as has been shown previously, coastal trade was only one element of inter-regional trade. The cross-border trade was different in both its extent and nature from that conducted along the coast.

⁷²⁵ Devine, 'Scottish Merchant Community', p. 27; Whatley, 'Economic Causes and Consequences', pp. 166-167; Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, p. 142; Dodgshon, 'Removal of the Runrig', pp. 122, 126-127.

⁷²⁶ See below, pp. 248-250.

9. The Border Trade, 1674-1701.

9.1. Introduction, 1674-1701.

Although an integral part of the wider British economy, cross-border trade was not as severely affected by international war and the dislocation of continental markets as that conducted along the coast, being partially shielded from the depredations of privateers and foreign trade embargos. Although the volume of cross-border trade was relatively unaffected by fluctuations in overseas commerce in the short term, its nature was increasingly characterised by the presence of international commodities, particularly tobacco and sugar. Reports also increased in the late seventeenth century of the illicit import of English commodities into Scotland for subsequent re-export abroad, notably English wool. The border trade was therefore intimately related to international commerce and formed part of a wider network of legal and illicit trade throughout Europe. In addition to its role in macro-economic exchanges abroad, the cross-border trade also remained integral to local and regional economies, and it retained its tripartite division between local, regional and national trading. Whereas trade at the local level was dominated by modest quantities of agricultural produce, regional trading became increasingly orientated around the supply of specific industries on both sides of the border. Large quantities of petty hardware were traded to Kelso to supply its glove making and leather working industries, whereas thousands of eggs were gathered and exported from Scotland to supply the Tyneside sugar refining and salt panning industries. Overland commerce was increasingly integrated with, and complementary towards, the regional economies of north-eastern England and south-eastern Scotland.

This increasing integration did not lead to a greater homogeneity in the contents of overland trade however. The survival of chronologically comparable custom books from four

border precincts reveals the wide and varied differences in the nature of cross-border trade between precincts.⁷²⁷ Trade passing through Jedburgh was defined by the regular entry of small quantities of agricultural produce; Kelso's by the presence of bulky commodities associated with local manufacture, whereas Ayton and Duns' trade were characterised by colonial and luxury produce passing along the Great North Road. The survival of these books reveals the importance of topography and the Great North Road in influencing the direction of trade. Finally, although the existence of additional customs books help to recreate a degree of legitimate cross-border trade, the survival of seizure accounts allows an assessment of the illicit trade to be gauged. In addition to this, material charting the continued operation and expansion of border fairs and markets permits a wider sense of the border economy to be assessed.

9.2. *The border trade, 1674-88.*

As with coastal trade, Anglo-Scottish overland trade can be seen to have differed between the 1670s and 1680s-90s. During the late 1670s, the cross-border trade was dominated by the agricultural produce of the Scottish agrarian economy. Although this is hard to quantify due to poor custom book survival, victual continued as an important Scottish export. In 1676 Berwick requested the annual supply of 6,000 quarters of barley, 4,000 quarters of oats and 550 quarters of wheat, pease and rye from Scotland.⁷²⁸ Although victual had frequently appeared in the Berwick customs books previously, this annual movement was to be made duty free for the supply of the town, provoking a host of complaints from Northumbrian

⁷²⁷ NAS, E72/4/2, Duns, November 1680-July 1681; E72/4/1, Ayton, November-July 1681; E72/13/3, Jedburgh, February-July 1681; E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680-August 1681, TNA, E190/162/1, Berwick, Xmas 1683-Xmas 1684.

⁷²⁸ Order to import grain and victual into Berwick from Scotland, 27 November 1676, *C.T.B., 1676-1679, I*, p. 88.

farmers who feared that local markets would be flooded.⁷²⁹ Such a consignment can be placed within the wider context of border trade from the customs books that survive from 1680-81. It was in this year that a near complete snap shot of the eastern Anglo-Scottish border trade can be seen, with customs books surviving for Jedburgh, Kelso, Ayton and Duns for 1680-81, and Berwick for 1683-84.⁷³⁰ All of these demonstrate that, by the later seventeenth century, the Anglo-Scottish border trade had stretched far beyond movements of victual and fabrics to incorporate a wide variety of produce not only from the Anglo-Scottish domestic economies, but also from international trading.

Symptomatic of this was the trade recorded as passing through Kelso. The Scottish export trade through Kelso had expanded significantly in 1680-81 in comparison to the previous survey of 1671-72, both in the number of entries passing through the precinct and in the variety of commodities recorded [Table 36].⁷³¹ The abundance of victual and the variety of exported foodstuffs reflected the economic buoyancy that lowland Scotland was enjoying in the early 1680s owing to a series of good harvests, something that was not reflected in the inter-regional coastal trade. Although mainly due to favourable seasonal conditions, this increase in grains and victual may also have been a reflection of the process of agricultural improvement that was undertaken at the time in Berwickshire and Roxburghshire.⁷³² Alongside victual came significant quantities of livestock and animal carcasses, which although modest in comparison to the numbers passing through western routes, still accounted for a considerable trade through eastern precincts and revealed the logistics of livestock trading in relation to different animals [Table 35].⁷³³ Whereas those individuals who traded cows or calves only entered a single animal for each customs book entry, those who

⁷²⁹ Treasurer Danby to the Justices of the Peace of Northumberland, undated, *C.T.B., 1676-1679, II*, p. 1217.

⁷³⁰ NAS, E72/4/2, Duns, November 1680-July 1681; E72/4/1, Ayton, November-July 1681; E72/13/3, Jedburgh, February-July 1681; E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680-August 1681, TNA, E190/162/1, Berwick, Xmas 1683-Xmas 1684.

⁷³¹ See below, Table 36, p. 213.

⁷³² Dodgshon, 'Removal of the Runrig', pp. 121-137.

⁷³³ See below, Table 35, p. 211; Haldane, *Drove Roads*, p. 178; Koufopoulos, 'Cattle Trades', p. 131.

traded swine or sheep entered an average of twelve or fifty animals respectively in each entry. In doing so, they represent the spectrum of logistics which constituted overland border commerce, from the movement of single animals to modest herds.

Table 35: Average livestock and carcass entry per trader per customs book entry through Kelso, November 1680-August 1681.

Commodity	Average	Measure
Meats		
Beef	1	carcasses
Mutton	3	carcasses
Pork	1	Leg
Livestock		
Beasts	6	head
Calf	1	head
Cow	1	head
Ox	1	head
Sheep	50	head
Swine	12	head

Source: NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680 – August 1681.

The means of transporting carcasses cannot be identified with any strict certainty, but it appears that they were either transported over the shoulder, or via pony or horseback. The fact that each customs book entry was for one carcass at a time would suggest that these were small independent traders, supplying local border markets, only trading as much as they could carry. Owing to the smaller size of cuts, a greater volume of mutton appears to have been carried by individual traders, with an average of three carcasses per entry. Establishing the precise value of this trade is relatively difficult. If Smout and Gibson's estimates are used, the annual mutton trade passing through Kelso would amount to a modest £230 (sterling), each mutton carcass being worth twenty-nine shillings in 1680.⁷³⁴ Similarly at thirty shillings

⁷³⁴ Gibson, and Smout, *Prices, food and wages*, p. 209.

each in 1682, the sheep trade passing through Kelso would have been worth £502 6s.⁷³⁵ Both of these values are from places distant from Kelso and therefore should be treated with caution although, as has been already cited, this period did witness the erosion of regional price differentials.⁷³⁶

Both the movement of animals and the trade in victual exhibited a strong degree of seasonality, with 80 per cent of sheep movements occurring in November and December, 78 per cent of entries for oats between November and May, and 82 per cent of bear and rye between May and July.⁷³⁷ Not only did these movements represent seasonal variations within the agrarian economy of the borders, but also demonstrated that transporting quantities of produce, whether livestock or oats, during the winter months was not as unfeasible as Lenman has suggested.⁷³⁸ This trade was aided by the development of a wide network of roads and pathways that had grown up in the years following the pacification of the borders, allowing overland commerce to be a viable venture regardless of the season.⁷³⁹ Additionally, although the volume of customs entries rose dramatically during the summer months, this rise can be attributed to the large volume of relatively small entries of victual, the average entry only being 2.8 bolls, rather than due to the mass-movement of bulky produce during the summertime.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁷³⁶ Devine, 'Scottish Merchant Community', p. 27.

⁷³⁷ See, Appendix I, Figure IX, p. 345; NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680 – August 1681.

⁷³⁸ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 27.

⁷³⁹ Koufopoulos, 'Cattle Trades', pp. 70-77.

⁷⁴⁰ See, Appendix I, Figure IX, p. 345; NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680 – August 1681.

Table 36: Anglo-Scottish trade through Kelso, November 1680-August 1681.

Kelso - Imports				Kelso - Exports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel				Apparel			
Hats	2	10	loose	Gloves	5	1,068	loose
Muffs	2	30	loose	Thread	2	169	pounds
Colonial				Foodstuffs			
Sugar	1	100.5	pounds	Bear	182	472	bolts
Tobacco	9	280	pounds	Corn	3	9	bolts
Tobacco boxes	4	28	doz	Eggs	3	4,800	loose
Foodstuffs				Meal	21	Not given	
Hops	8	2,150	pounds	Oats	48	153	bolts
Lemons	1	500	loose	Pease	5	6	bolts
Hardware				Rye	90	230.5	bolts
Combs	7	1,136	loose	Victual	5	8.5	bolts
Files	3	340	loose	Wheat	27	106	bolts
Knives	5	14	doz	Wurt	55	166	bolts
Nails	1	12,000	loose	Wurtwall	79	224.5	bolts
Needles	2	140,000	loose	Livestock			
Pins	6	276,030	loose	Beasts	16	94	head
Saddles	2	6	doz	Calf	4	4	head
Scythes	1	20	doz	Cow	5	5	head
Spurs	3	11	doz	Oxen	3	3	head
Livestock				Sheep	4	201	head
Horses	4	16	loose	Swine	13	160	head
Miscellaneous				Meats			
Buttons	2	10,368	loose	Beef	17	17	carcasses
Indigo	2	480	pound	Mutton	33	95	carcasses
Paper	4	19	reams	Pork	1	1	legs
Spectacles	1	4	doz	Skins			
Stuff	1	Not given		Hides	1	2	loose
Skins				Skins	7	2,160	loose
Calf skins	7	917	loose	Textiles			
Hides	21	189	loose	Cloth	8	700	ells
Wool skins	79	3,779	loose	Firking	7	1,320	ells
Textiles				Linen	41	1,974	ells
Calico	3	19	pieces	Plaiding	9	1,006	ells
Flax	1	200	pounds	Wool	2	1	stone
Fringes	1	9	pounds	Yarn	22	597.5	pounds
Serges	4	50	ells				
Silk	8	179	pounds				
Wool	23	6,400	pounds				
Yorkshire cloth	6	1,753	ells				

Source: NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, Imports and Exports, November 1680 – August 1681.

Beyond the transport of victual and livestock, the presence of almost 5,000 eggs also revealed an additional export of the Scottish agricultural economy [Table 36, 46].⁷⁴¹ It is unlikely that such quantities of eggs were simply destined for domestic sale in the fairs and markets of north-eastern England. A report of 1720 suggests that many of these were destined for either the Tyneside sugar refineries, or the salt pans of North and South Shields. Henrik Kalmeter reported the process of boiling sugar solution ‘in large copper pans so that it may cast up all impurities in a scum on the surface, to which end they throw in a lot of raw eggs three or four times’.⁷⁴² Alternatively, the use of eggs was recorded in salt manufacture, something which resulted in numerous complaints from the residents of South Shields of the great ‘smoake and styth [smell] comeing and aryseing from the salt works’.⁷⁴³ Not only did such conditions make life uncomfortable, but in a number of cases had actual commercial implications on tenants, with one William Corney complaining that the planting of hay in the church close at South Shields was impractical because ‘the styth of the smoake would soe choake it and spoile it that cattle would scarsly eate it’.⁷⁴⁴ The gathering of such numbers of eggs in Scotland to use in sugar and salt production on Tyne- and Wearside inevitably required a large degree of organisation. It would be unlikely that such quantities of perishable and delicate produce could be carried along border passes if they really were as dangerous or as impassable as Lenman has suggested.⁷⁴⁵

In return for a wide variety of Scottish exports to England, an equally broad range of English commodities was transported northwards. These included the traditional commodities of cross-border exchange, such as wool and apparel, alongside the lucrative goods of the English colonial economy. Beyond these, the English trade to Kelso was increasingly

⁷⁴¹ See above, Table 36, and below, Table 37, pp. 213, 216.

⁷⁴² Smout, ‘Kalmeter’s Travels’, p. 50; Such a trade was seen to continue into the nineteenth century, T. Barrow, ‘Corn, Carriers and Coastal Shipping’, *Journal of Transport History*, Third Series, 21:1 (2000), p. 19.

⁷⁴³ George Carr, curate of St Hilda’s South Shields, 1637 quoted in M. Knight, ‘Litigants and Litigation in the Seventeenth Century Palatinate of Durham’, (Durham University, unpublished PhD thesis, 1990), p. 423.

⁷⁴⁴ William Corney, *Ibid.*, p. 424.

⁷⁴⁵ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 27.

integrated with the local economy of the borders. The entry of large quantities of pins, needles and buttons were likely to have supplied the Scottish textile and glove making industries with the necessary materials of production, and were in exchange for over 1,000 pairs of gloves in 1680-81.⁷⁴⁶ Inter-regional trade through Kelso was therefore increasingly integral to local industry as both a supplier and consumer, and encouraged a degree of industrial integration across the border. The increasing quantities of pins, needles and buttons carried overland were also likely to have provided the growing class of Scottish pedlars with valuable articles of exchange, as had been witnessed in 1667.⁷⁴⁷ The increased entry of petty consumables through Kelso coincided with a perceived peak in the activity of Scottish pedlars throughout England and Europe.⁷⁴⁸ Such commodities may therefore have been important not only to local industries, but also for individual traders conducting overland trade.

Such a variety of commodities traded overland, and their intimate relationship to the local border and regional economies, gives reason to question Smout's dismissal of the border economy around Kelso and Jedburgh as 'not very dramatic, or very diverse'.⁷⁴⁹ Even though Jedburgh did not display the same variety of produce as Kelso, its concentration in a number of commodities made its trade highly distinctive. In particular, this can be seen in the industrial scale of Scottish egg exports through Jedburgh, which reached over 20,000 eggs in four months.⁷⁵⁰ Once again, this presented a major logistical operation and is an example of the link between the predominately agrarian Scottish border economy and the industrial foundation of Tyne and Wearside. The need to transport a large number of eggs per

⁷⁴⁶ See above, Table 36, p. 213; NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, Imports and Exports, November 1680 – August 1681.

⁷⁴⁷ See above, Table 26, p. 177.

⁷⁴⁸ John Playters to the Earl of Arlington, 4 February 1684, *C.S.P.D., 1683-1684*, p. 260; Middlesex, 14 January 1684, *C.S.P.D., 1683-1684*, p. 211; Salisbury, 25 October 1683, *C.S.P.D., 1683-1684*, pp. 58-59; S. Murdoch, 'Scotland, Europe and the English "Missing Link"', *History Compass*, 5:3 (2007), p. 895.

⁷⁴⁹ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 8.

⁷⁵⁰ NAS, E72/13/3, Jedburgh, February – July 1681

transaction in order to provide a significant return is reflected in their entry within the customs books, with the average entry per trader being sixty dozen, or 720 eggs.⁷⁵¹

Table 37: Anglo-Scottish imports and exports through Jedburgh, February-July 1681.

Jedburgh – Imports				Jedburgh - Exports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Colonial				Foodstuffs			
Tobacco	23	507	pound	Bear	573	1,513	bolles
Miscellaneous				Meal	155	530	bolles
Creamrie ware	12	Not given		Livestock			
Furniture	1	1		Lambs	4	230	head
Soap	1	1	firkins	Sheep	29	2,353	loose
Textiles				Miscellaneous			
Hides	6	45	loose	Eggs	29	20,580	loose
Skins	4	76	loose	Textiles			
Wool	3	1,684	pounds	Cloth	13	1,850	ells
Woollen cards	7	52	doz	Firking	3	22	ells
				Pladding	12	1,110	ells

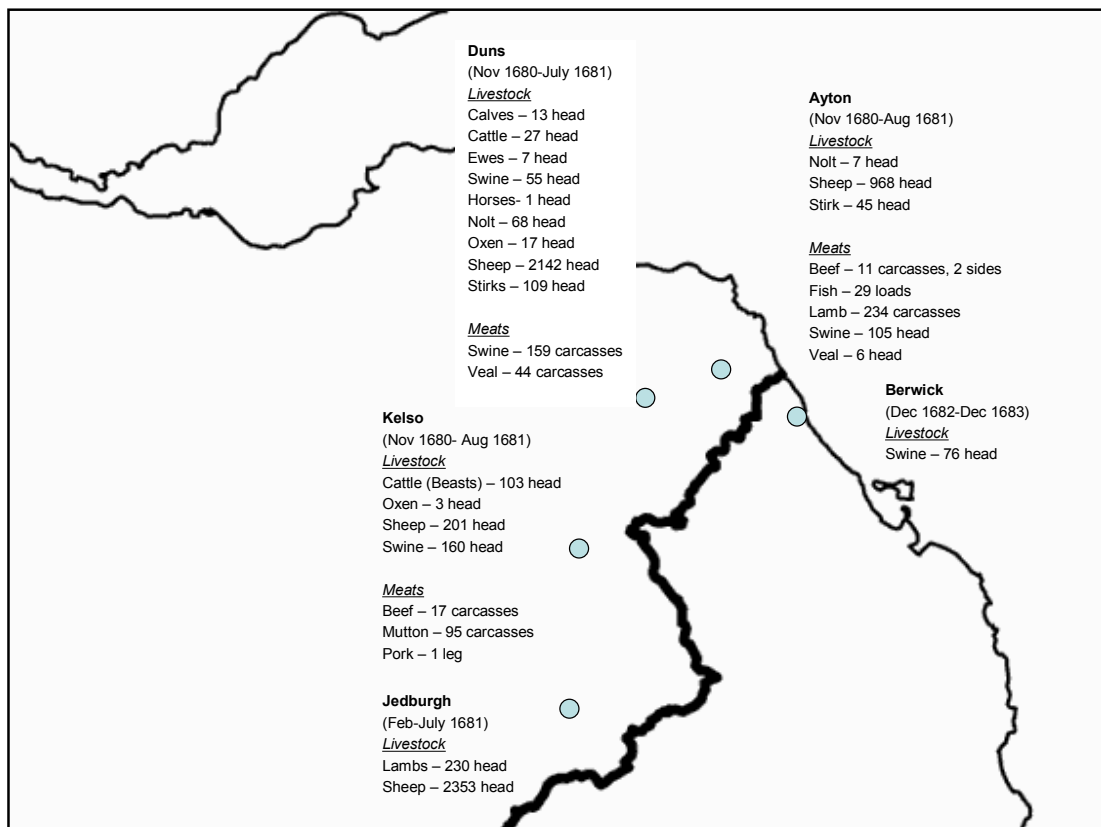
Source: NAS, E72/13/3, Jedburgh, February – July 1681.

The sheep trade through Jedburgh was also higher than that recorded as passing through Kelso, and included 2,353 sheep and, once in spring, 230 lambs. The lack of animal carcasses entered through Jedburgh was a reflection of the precinct's position along the border in comparison to Kelso, it being further away from the main areas of population on the English side of Alnwick, Berwick, Morpeth, and Newcastle. Although the quantities of Scottish exports had generally increased within the Jedburgh precinct compared to Kelso, the nature of trade had remained relatively the same, with victual continuing to be transported by individual traders in relatively small quantities. This trade in livestock and animals through

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*,

Jedburgh and Kelso was modest in comparison to that passing along eastern routes, notably via Ayton and Duns for the same period.

Map 7: Scottish livestock and meat exports relating to the geographical location of the individual precincts, 1680-83.



Source: NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680 – August 1681; E72/13/3, Jedburgh, February – July 1681; E72/4/1, Ayton, November 1680 – August 1681; E72/4/2, Duns, November 1680 - July 1681; TNA, E190/162/1, Berwick, Xmas 1683 – Xmas 1684.

Owing to the presence of the Great North Road and the lowland plateau of Berwickshire and north-eastern Northumberland, livestock and carcass numbers were highest in the Scottish precincts of Ayton and Duns. Despite higher numbers, the nature of trade remained largely the same as in Kelso and Jedburgh. Relatively small numbers of animals and

carcasses were entered through Ayton and Duns in each customs entry, and only cumulatively formed a modest trade. The trade in livestock and cattle through the eastern border precincts therefore appears to have been far more egalitarian than the substantial ‘gang’ droving witnessed along western routes, which often included hundreds of cattle in one drove.⁷⁵² Partly as a result of this egalitarian nature, eastern trades were only slight when compared to those passing through the west. Although these were very modest movements of cattle, they do demonstrate that the cross-border cattle trade could stretch far beyond the established drove roads in the western and middle borders. Although Haldane recognised the use of the Great North Road for transporting Scottish cattle once they were in England, it appears it was also used within Scotland, particularly for the transport of sheep.⁷⁵³ It was the smaller size of such movements along eastern routes, alongside the greater ease of transit afforded by the Great North Road and the border drove roads, which allowed a greater diversity in the seasonality of trade. Whereas Lenman stated that the spring and summer months were ‘the only sensible time to move goods in any bulk by land’, and Koufopoulos identified the period from August to October as a peak in the cross-border cattle trade, Ayton and Duns also recorded modest peaks in January and December respectively.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵² Koufopoulos, ‘Cattle Trades’, pp. 109, 130; Haldane, *Drove Roads*, pp. 150-161.

⁷⁵³ Haldane, *Drove Roads*, p. 180.

⁷⁵⁴ See Appendix I, Figure IX, p. 345; Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 27; Koufopoulos, ‘Cattle Trades’, p. 134.

Table 38: Scottish average monthly cattle exports through the precincts of Duns and Ayton, November 1680-July 1681.

Duns			Ayton		
Livestock			Livestock		
Calf	1.0	head	Lamb	6.3	loose
Cow	1.0	head	Nolt	2.3	loose
Ewes	3.5	head	Sheep	8.9	loose
Gryces	5.5	loose	Stirk	1.4	loose
Horse	1.0	head	Swine	1.8	loose
Nolt	1.5	head	Veal	1.5	loose
Oxen	1.7	head			
Sheep	13.0	loose			
Stirk	1.4	head			
Swine	2.1	dead			
Veal	1.3	head			

Source: NAS, E72/4/1, Ayton, November 1680-July 1681; E72/4/2, Duns, November 1680-July 1681.

The relative ease of transport along the eastern routes also encouraged a further expansion of the trade in Scottish victual and fabrics, both of which amounted to substantial volumes and far outstripped those quantities carried through the other eastern precincts.⁷⁵⁵ The proximity to the coastal economy, with the port of Eyemouth being within the precinct of Ayton, also led to the presence of substantial quantities of oysters, herrings and small quantities of salt in cargoes carried overland into England. The influence of the coastal economy was most clearly demonstrated in the Scottish imports from north-eastern England. Amongst those commodities registered as passing through Ayton and Duns were quantities of colonial tobacco, alongside European re-exports including oranges, lemons and ‘coffee berries’.⁷⁵⁶ These commodities associated with the rise in late seventeenth-century consumption were almost solely destined for Edinburgh, having been entered by, or on behalf of, merchants from the Scottish capital.⁷⁵⁷ These were joined by other consumer items,

⁷⁵⁵ See below, Map 8, p. 223.

⁷⁵⁶ See below Table 39 and 40, pp. 221, 222.

⁷⁵⁷ NAS, E72/4/1, Ayton, November 1680 – August 1681; E72/4/2, Duns, November 1680 – July 1681.

including three playing tables, which were likely to have been specific purchases rather than examples of speculative trading, and by quantities of Yorkshire cloth and baise. The destination of Edinburgh for consumables was confirmed by the Edinburgh customs book of 1681-83. This recorded the entry of eighty-seven pounds of silk, 123 pounds of wrought silk, and fifty-six silk buttons into the Scottish capital from England.⁷⁵⁸ It also recorded the complete absence of skins and victual, which dominated much of the localised border trade.

Unlike that passing through Jedburgh and Kelso, the overland trade through Ayton and Duns did not exhibit the same tripartite division between a localised trade in agricultural produce, a regional trade to the borders in hardware, and a passing trade in consumables. Owing to the presence of the Great North Road, both Ayton and Duns demonstrated a greater passing trade than other eastern precincts. Within these, important differences were noticeable between the two precincts. Whereas the overland trade through Ayton was characterised by colonial and continental consumables, luxury manufactures, and petty hardware, that passing through Duns was largely agrarian, and was dominated by a substantial trade in livestock and victual [Table 39, 40].⁷⁵⁹ With the regular entry of small quantities of agrarian produce and livestock, the trade through Duns demonstrated not only the greatest similarity with the trade recorded through Jedburgh and Kelso, but also the largest number of customs entries.

⁷⁵⁸ NAS, E72/8/10, Edinburgh, Overland Imports, August 1681 – November 1682; NAS, E72/8/11, Edinburgh, Overland Imports, November 1682-November 1683.

⁷⁵⁹ See below, Table 39 and 40, pp. 221, 222.

Table 39: Scottish imports and exports through the border precinct of Ayton, November 1680-July 1681.

Ayton – Imports			
	1680-81		
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel			
Buttons	1	6,840	loose
Ceramics			
Cremerie ware	1	1	parcels
Earthen plates	1	1	load
Earthen vessels	1	1	load
Colonial			
Coffee berries	2	104	pounds
Roll tobacco	5	1,534	pounds
Tobacco boxes	2	7	doz
Foodstuffs			
Hops	5	900	pounds
Oranges and lemons	2	800	loose
Hardware			
Alum	1	450	pounds
Penknives	2	1,026	loose
Pins	1	60,000	loose
Miscellaneous			
Barrel staves	1	800	loose
Combs	5	1,368	loose
Cornetts	1	3	loose
Dressed flax	1	50	pounds
Fire wands	1	6	loose
Hoops	26	3,250	loose
Pistol belts	1	684	loose
Playing table	2	3	loose
Soap	1	1	firkins
Skins			
Rabbits	21	21	loose
Textiles			
Worsted stuff	3	150	ells
Wrought silk	4	19	pounds
Yorkshire baise	3	465	ells
Yorkshire cloth	8	557	ells

Ayton - Exports			
	1680-81		
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel			
Linen	22	13,105.5	ells
Foodstuffs			
Beef	12	11	carcass
		2	side
Fish	26	29	load
Herring	6	21	loads
		4,100	loose
Meal	9	7	bolts
Oysters	15	7,500	loose
Salt	2	2	bolts
Victual	344	1,814.5	Bolts
		92	chalders
		39	forpit
Hardware			
Tallow	24	161	pound
Tobacco pipes	1	2,280	loose
Livestock			
Lamb	37	234	loose
Nolt	3	7	loose
Sheep	109	968	loose
Stirk	33	45	loose
Swine	58	104.5	loose
Veal	4	6	loose
Textiles			
Finegrams	1	16	loose

Source: NAS, E72/4/1, Ayton, November 1680 – August 1681.

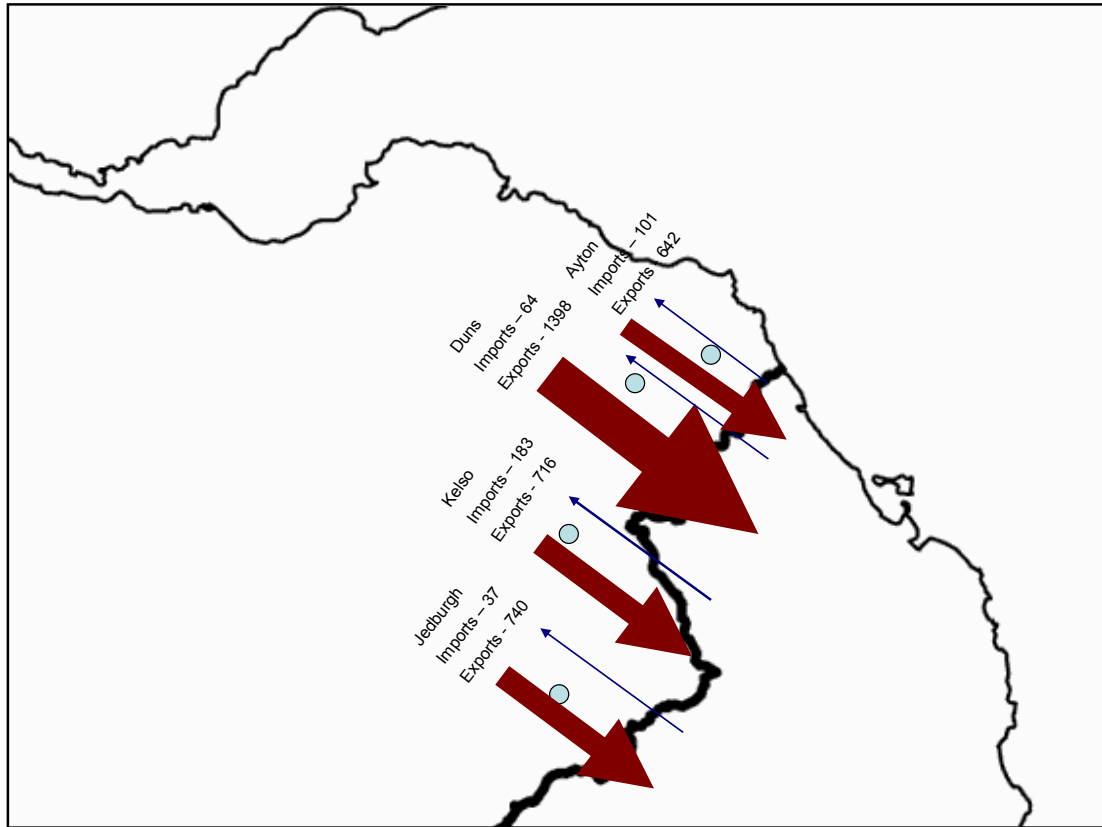
Table 40: Scottish imports and exports through the border precinct of Duns, November 1680-
July 1681.

Duns – Imports			
	1680-81		
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel			
Thread buttons	2	110	gross
Ceramics			
Earthen vessels	1	1	load
Colonial			
Tobacco	1	50	pounds
Foodstuffs			
Hops	7	1,012	pounds
Hardware			
Alum	1	0.5	cwt
Miscellaneous			
Clapboard	5	5	loose
Deals	1	100	
Jumps	13	83	doz
Scythes	1	12	loose
Shearing hooks	2	150	
Tar	1	2	barrel
Thread buttons	2	110	gross
Skins			
Hides	2	32	loose
Sheep skins	1	60	loose
Textiles			
Linen cloth	1	150	ells
Wool	2	428	pounds
Woollen skins	5	1,898	loose

Duns – Exports			
	1680-81		
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel			
Woollen cloth	10	165	ells
Linen	14	770	ells
Foodstuffs			
Apples	6	6	furlots
Beef	21	28	carcass
Eggs	4	1,850	loose
Oats	3	10	bolts
Victual	885	4,305.5	bolts
		116.5	caldron
		147	furlots
Wheat	1	2	bolts
Meal	9	15	bolts
Oysters	5	1,000	loose
		194	barrels
Livestock			
Calf	13	13	head
Cow	27	27	head
Ewes	2	7	head
Gryces	10	55	loose
Horse	1	1	head
Nolt	44	68	head
Oxen	10	17	head
Sheep	165	2,142	head
Stirk	79	109.25	head
Swine	77	159	dead
Veal	34	44	head
Skins			
Rabbit skins	1	600	loose
Textiles			
Firking	4	105	ells
Yarn	1	5	pounds
Tallow	51	938	pounds

Source: NAS, E72/4/2, Duns, November 1680-July 1681.

Map 8: Proportional arrow diagram representing the comparative volume of customs entries for the Anglo-Scottish eastern border precincts, 1680-81.



Source: NAS, E72/4/2, Duns, November 1680-July 1681; E72/4/1, Ayton, November 1680-August 1681; E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680-August 1681; E72/13/3, Jedburgh, February-July 1681.

The geographical variation in the nature of cross border trade was again demonstrated in the customs book of Berwick for 1683-84, with the continued presence of agricultural produce with some re-exported and colonial commodities. The continuation in Scottish egg exports, amounting to 14,600 eggs through Berwick and 1,850 through Duns, demonstrates how this trade embraced all of the eastern Scottish borders, whilst also illustrating the pull of industrial Tyne and Wearside on surrounding resources [Table 41].⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁶⁰ See below, Table 41, p. 224; above Table 40, p. 222.

Table 41: The range of English imports and exports passing through Berwick, Xmas 1683-Xmas 1684.

Berwick Imports				Berwick Exports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel				Apparel			
Stockings	7	95.5	doz	Haberdashery	23	172.3	cwt
Foodstuffs				Hats			
Eggs	12	14,600	loose	Plain gloves	4	8	doz
Herrings	3	3	barrels	Worsted stockings	8	17.3	doz
Oat meal	8	103	quarts	Hardware			
Livestock				Household stuff			
Swine	7	76	head	Livestock			
Skins				Horses			
Dog skins	3	8.5	doz	Skins			
				Wrought leather			
Rabbit skins	2	68	doz	Textiles			
Skins	1	36		Silk			
Textiles				Spanish cloth			
Linen cloth	28	12,810	ells	Throne silk			
Linen yarn	18	14,390	pounds	Wrought silk			

Source: TNA, E190/162/1, Berwick, Xmas 1683-Xmas 1684.

The extent, range and nature of the overland trade through Jedburgh, Kelso, Ayton and Duns for 1680-81, Edinburgh for 1681-83, and for Berwick in 1683-84, represented only a portion of the total overland trade passing through the eastern borders. The prevalence of smuggling across the border had long been a problem for the English authorities in particular. This was recognised in 1679, when customs waiters were appointed at Wooler, Fallstone and Norham 'to prevent the great frauds there'.⁷⁶¹ These were complemented by the appointment of riding surveyors to patrol the borders in December 1680.⁷⁶² Beyond the movements of grain and victual to Berwick without paying customs, the extent of trade portrayed through the port books in 1680-84 would also have excluded the duty-free movement of north-eastern

⁷⁶¹ Treasury instructions to the Customs Commissioners, 26 August 1679, *C.T.B., 1679-1680*, pp. 193

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, 20 December 1680, p. 773.

English coal to the eastern border shires of Scotland.⁷⁶³ Such a trade had been established for ‘many generations past all memory of men’, and although this had traditionally been duty free, since 1668 it had been subject to a charge of 6 d. on each load. Despite a brief respite in these duties following the complaint of Scottish borderers, they were reinstated in 1682 ‘upon pretence of an Act of Parliament of Queen Elizabeth which imposed a duty on coal exported in bottoms’.⁷⁶⁴

It was in a petition from ‘the Scotch noblemen and gentlemen of Berwick, Roxburgh and other [people] lying on the borders’ that fiscal differences between the coastal and border trades were clearly recognised, and the petition cited that the duty listed in the book of rates only applied on coal ‘exported by sea in ships’.⁷⁶⁵ Awareness was shown of the fiscal legalities of Anglo-Scottish trade alongside a determined wish to protect a specific privilege of those dwelling within the borders. Due to the imposition of these duties being associated with the self-interest of the customs collectors, ‘several tumults...between the said customers and the country people’ had only narrowly been avoided, with the renewal of the duty threatening to ‘breed an interference and discord betwixt the subjects of the two nations, whereupon tumults and broils may arise’. As a result, it was ordered that ‘no force [be] used in levying the duty’ until it be fully considered. This case reveals the inter-section of several factors: the relationship between what was perceived as a local and unique privilege, the role of the customs officials in restricting these, and the intimate awareness by the petitioners of how the book of rates related to the coastal and border trades separately. It is also another reminder that the trade represented in the border customs books did not reflect the entirety of cross-border commerce.

⁷⁶³ Representation to the Lord Chancellor [of Scotland] from the Scotch noblemen and gentlemen of Berwick, Roxburgh and other lying on the borders of England, 4 January 1683, *C.T.B., 1681-1685, II*, p. 677.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Even without smuggling and duty-free trade being considered, overland commerce between 1681 and 1683 can be seen to have flourished. This was evident in the volume of commodities traded and in the number of corresponding customs entries. The overland trade through the eastern borders appears to have been highly egalitarian, and was defined by the frequent entry of small quantities of agricultural produce, whether grains, victual or cattle. This was in contrast to the large wholesale transport of livestock as witnessed in the western borders, as was the more extensive seasonality of trade through eastern precincts permitted by the Great North Road. Beyond the transport of cattle, victual and petty hardware, the eastern border trade witnessed a substantial trade in sugar between 1681 and 1685. Unusually, some information relating to the overland trade in colonial produce was recorded within the coastal port book for Newcastle for 1685-86.

Table 42: Scottish exports overland from Newcastle, Xmas 1685 – Xmas 1686.

Commodity	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Copperas	1	2	ton
Glass bottles	1	400	loose
Loaf sugar	4	205	pounds
Pewter	1	0.75	cwt
Redwood	1	1	stone
Shot	2	24.5	pounds
Soap	1	1	barrel
Sugar	1	107	pounds
Sugar candy	1	0.75	cwt

Source: TNA, E190/201/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1685 – Xmas 1686.

With the addition of this overland trade recorded from Newcastle, the border trade through the eastern precincts between 1674 and 1688 demonstrated a ‘three-tiered’ construction between the localised trade of the borders, the wider regional trade between northern England and southern Scotland, and the passing trade in consumables destined for

Edinburgh, Newcastle and beyond. The regional trade through the borders supplied the industrial needs of Tyne and Wearside with the produce of the agrarian economy of southern Scotland, notably hundreds of thousands of eggs. Alternatively, the output of England's petty industries of pin and needle manufacture, and the production of basic hardware, fuelled existing Scottish industry with the materials needed for its continued expansion and prosperity, including glove making around Kelso. The late seventeenth century witnessed the increasing integration of inter-regional overland trade with the wider regional economies of southern Scotland and northern England, a process which narrowed the commercial proximity between them.

9.3. The border trade, 1688-1701.

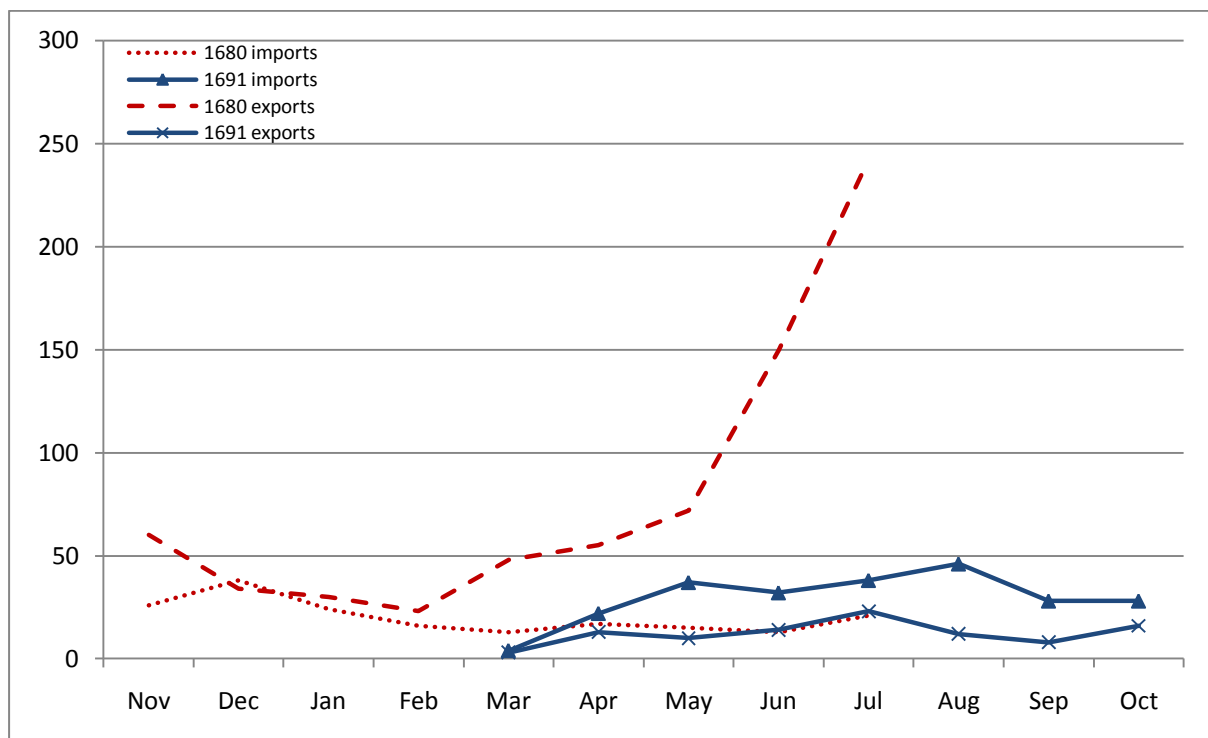
The border trade at the beginning of the 1690s shifted markedly in its nature compared to the decade before. Whereas the number of customs entries relating to Scottish imports fell by 19 and 48 per cent for Jedburgh and Kelso respectively between 1680-81 and 1691, the number of customs entries for Scottish exports plummeted by 90 per cent for Jedburgh and 86 per cent for Kelso in the same period.⁷⁶⁶ This fall in customs entries for Scottish exports reflected a fall in traffic (measured by the number of customs entries) passing through Kelso *enroute* to England, but not necessarily a fall in trade overall. This becomes evident when the value of Scottish exports recorded between March and July 1681 and 1691 are compared, their value increasing from £343 11 s. in 1681 to £414 5 s. in 1691.⁷⁶⁷ Although such a chronological comparison is imperfect due to its concentration in the spring and summer months, when it is combined with the commodity breakdown of trade for both years, it becomes evident that the nature of cross-border trade had changed markedly. The border

⁷⁶⁶ NAS, E72/13/3, Jedburgh, February – July 1681; E72/13/17, Jedburgh, March – November 1691; E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680 – August 1681; E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691.

⁷⁶⁷ NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680 – August 1681; E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691.

trade of 1691 witnessed the replacement of agricultural produce, which had defined the cross-border trade in 1680-81, with the export of more valuable skins and textiles, particularly linen.

Figure 10: Seasonality of customs entries for Kelso, 1680-81 and 1691.



Source: NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680 – August 1681; E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691.

Table 43: Imports and exports recorded passing through Kelso, March-November 1691.

Kelso – Imports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel			
Hats	4	5.8	doz
Shoes	4	8.5	doz
Stockings	7	96	loose
Colonial			
Sugar	1	8	pound
Tobacco	3	382	pound
Foodstuffs			
Hops	10	2,042	pound
Hardware			
Combs	9	254	loose
Files	1	2	doz
Knives	16	4	doz
Needles	4	14,000	loose
Pins	13	330,000	loose
Scythes	3	52	doz
Spurs	1	24	loose
Livestock			
Horses	18	41	loose
Miscellaneous			
Boxes	7	21.5	doz
Buttons	39	167,886	loose
Hair	4	32	ells
Household stuff	10	120	ells
Indigo	4	642	pound
Ink horns	7	891	loose
Pewter spoons	1	570	loose
Spectacles	1	1	hamper
Skins			
Hides	57	2,725	pound
Skins	7	541	loose
Textiles			
Calico	7	141.75	pieces
Crape	11	24.5	pieces
Cravats	3	14	pieces
Fringes	3	600	ells
Fustings	2	47	pieces
Gold thread	2	4	inches
Sayes	4	66	ells
Silk	50	810.5	pound
Wool	20	17,800	pound
Worsted stuff	28	1,506	ells
Yorkshire cloth	26	698	Ells

Kelso – Exports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Apparel			
Gloves	1	6	Doz
Stockings	1	40	Doz
Foodstuffs			
Rye	1	4	Bolls
Livestock			
Oxen	14	61	Head-
Sheep	2	80	Head
Swine	2	10	Head
Skins			
Hides	6	3,400	Loose
Skins	2	210	Loose
Textiles			
Cloth	2	100	ells
Firking	3	290	ells
Linen	52	13,270	ells
Yarn	11	4,878	pound

Source: NAS, E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691.

Beyond the movement of victual, the trade in gloves and basic manufacture also witnessed a significant decline in 1691 despite the continued Scottish import of pins, needles and buttons, suggesting they had other uses beyond the gloving trade. Rather than gloves or victual, Scottish exports through Kelso were increasingly dominated by fabrics and skins, with linen becoming the staple export at 13,270 ells.⁷⁶⁸ It was this concentration in fabrics and their higher rate of duty, combined with the presence of livestock, which caused the increase in the value of Kelso's overland trade in 1691. The dominance of fabrics in Kelso's export trade was in contrast to the wide variety of imports which passed through the precinct. These included a mix of continental and colonial re-exports, English cloth and fabrics, and a variety of Tyneside hardware. It was as a result of these high value commodities from overseas that the customs revenue from Scottish imports increased to £938 between March and July 1691 compared to £364 in 1680-81.⁷⁶⁹ Whereas Yorkshire cloth continued as an import into Scotland, it was now joined by an unprecedented volume of illicitly traded English wool and fabrics. In February 1699, it was reported by the commissioners of customs that 'great quantities of wool were carried over the borders out of England into Scotland, and thence shipped to Holland, France and other parts of Europe'.⁷⁷⁰ It was these legal and illegal Scottish imports of English wool across the border that stood at the head of a pan-European network of exchange which undercut English sellers. Scotland once again acted as a commercial backdoor to England through which the latter's goods could be traded and this illicit trade would continue into the early eighteenth century.⁷⁷¹ In 1700, reports were heard in England 'of the great trade driven with our wool at Rotterdam, which is brought to them from Scotland', and riding officers were appointed on the border 'to prevent the carrying out [of]

⁷⁶⁸ NAS, E72/14/22, Kelso, March -November 1691.

⁷⁶⁹ NAS, E72/14/4, Kelso, November 1680-August 1681; *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁰ The opinions of the Commissioners of Customs, 16 February 1699, *C.S.P.D., 1699-1700*, p. 62; James Vernon to Ambassador Williamson, 17 January 1699, *C.S.P.D., 1699-1700*, pp. 22-23.

⁷⁷¹ For earlier examples of this, see above, pp. 95-96, 129-130.

English wool and returning tobacco'.⁷⁷² This trade was further evidence that overland commerce was often intrinsically related to overseas trade.

Beyond imports of English wool, the trade through Kelso in 1691 did record some repetition of imported and exported commodities, with stockings, skins and hides all appearing in both directions as a reflection of their importance to the local economies on either side of the border. Despite such similarity in both its exports and imports, the most remarkable characteristic of the inter-regional trade passing through Kelso was the sheer variety of consumable goods recorded as being imported from England. These included pewter spoons, spectacles, buttons and inkhorns, all of which were absent from the cross-border trade elsewhere.⁷⁷³ Whereas Jedburgh concentrated on agrarian trading, Kelso developed as a centre for the trade in consumables through the eastern borders, retaining its role as a market centre [Table 44].⁷⁷⁴ Although Kelso recorded increasing volumes of consumables in 1691, it is likely that even greater numbers were smuggled illicitly across the border due to their higher than average value. It was for the years of 1689-91 that a clearer picture can be gained of the nature and extent of cross-border smuggling owing to the survival of the Edinburgh and Kelso seizure books [Table 45].⁷⁷⁵ As might have been expected, many of the commodities smuggled across the border were done so in modest quantities and were of a high value, notably parcels of silk, tobacco and brandy. Alternatively, there were also quantities of more workaday produce, including coarse knives, oats and cloth. The presence of agrarian produce amongst smuggled goods suggests that individuals were not sufficiently concerned with high returns to outlay the potential costs of capture, and that the risk of the latter was therefore relatively low. The presence of relatively

⁷⁷² James Vernon to Ambassador Williamson, 17 January 1700, *C.S.P.D., 1699-1700*, pp. 22-23; Treasury warrant to the Customs Commissioners, 18 February 1698, *C.S.P.D., 1697-1698*, p. 252.

⁷⁷³ See above, Table 43, p. 229.

⁷⁷⁴ For Jedburgh, see below, Table 44, p. 232.

⁷⁷⁵ See below, Table 45, p. 232; NAS, E72/8/19, Edinburgh Seizure Accounts, November 1689 – March 1690; E72/14/21, Kelso Seizure Accounts, November 1690 – March 1691.

humble commodities amongst smuggled goods also suggests that overland smuggling may have had a profound impact on the comprehensiveness of the customs books, going beyond the illicit trade in high-taxed luxuries. Once again, the customs books should be seen to offer a conservative estimate of trade.

Table 44: Imports and exports recorded of Jedburgh, March-November 1691.

Jedburgh – Imports				Jedburgh - Exports			
Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Foodstuffs				Livestock			
Hops	3	200	pound	Nolt	14	1,729	loose
Hardware				Miscellaneous			
Alum	2	100	pound	Sheep	41	3,838	loose
Tar	3	4	barrels	Textiles			
Metal				Eggs	12	1,780	doz
Tin	3	220	pound	Cloth	2	150	ells
Textiles				Leather	2	491	pieces
Hides	4	25	loose				
Wool	5	15	packs				
Yorkshire cloth	1	6	ells				

Source: NAS, E72/13/17, Jedburgh, March – November 1691.

Table 45: Commodity seizures from overland trading for Edinburgh and Kelso, 1689-91.

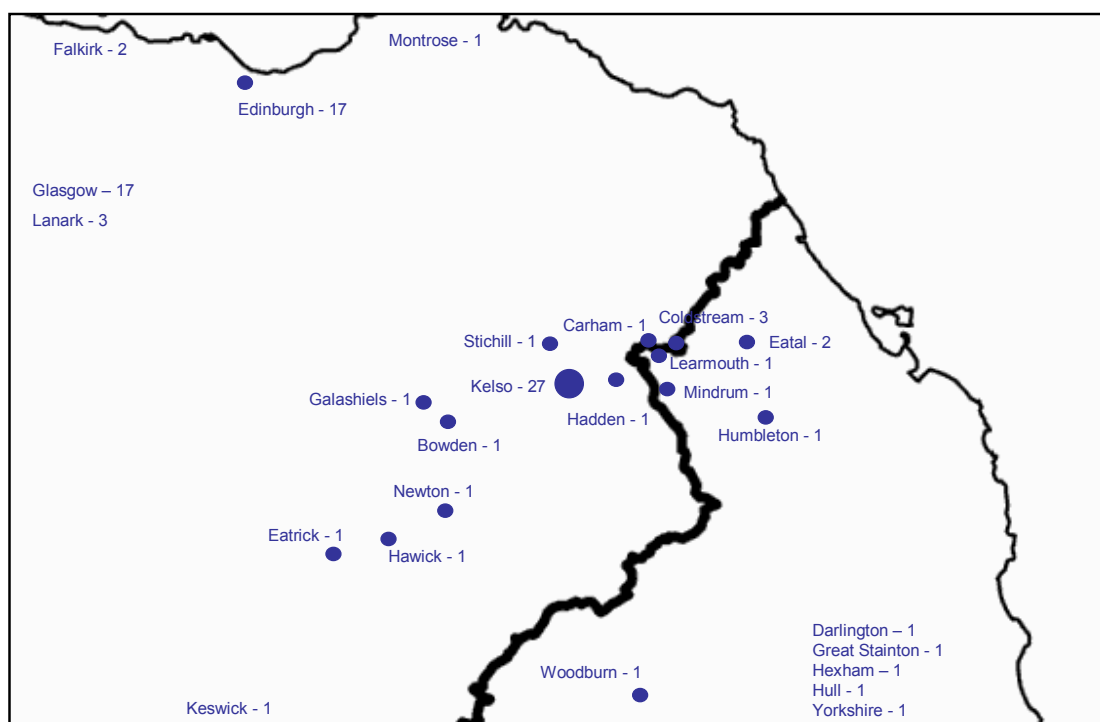
Kelso			Edinburgh		
November 1690 - March 1691			November 1689 - March 1690		
Commodities	Vol.	Measure	Commodities	Vol.	Measure
Brandy	20	pints	Black coat	1	suit of
Cloth	9	pairs	Blue velvet	1	parcel
Course gloves	Not given	loose	Camlet	1	pair
Course knives	60	loose	Knitting and tweed	1	not given
Oats	8	bolts	Linen	1	piece
Tobacco	5	bundles	Muslin	10	pieces
			Searges	1	pair
			Silk	1	piece

Source: NAS, E72/8/19, Edinburgh Seizure Accounts, November 1689 – March 1690; E72/14/21, Kelso Seizure Accounts, November 1690 – March 1691.

Beyond the Kelso seizure accounts, its customs book for 1691 also reveals the nature and logistics of cross-border trade. In providing the origins and occupations of just under half of

all traders, the Kelso customs book for 1691 adds further weight to the idea of a multi-tiered border trade. Clear ‘corridors of commerce’ can be established in relation to the origin of those traders who entered Kelso. Most clearly visible in relation to the import of hardware and fabrics, the majority of traders originated from around Kelso or in a linear concentration from along the Tweed valley.⁷⁷⁶ Alternatively, the trade in colonial produce and consumables was largely conducted by traders who originated from outside the borders. These formed a more geographically extensive trade route along the Great North Road, which subsequently crossed the border at Kelso. Whereas the localised border trade attracted traders from the immediate vicinity of the borders, that along the Great North Road attracted those from further afield. These intersecting ‘corridors’ of commerce cannot be seen as clearly in relation to Scottish exports through Kelso due to its lower number of entries.

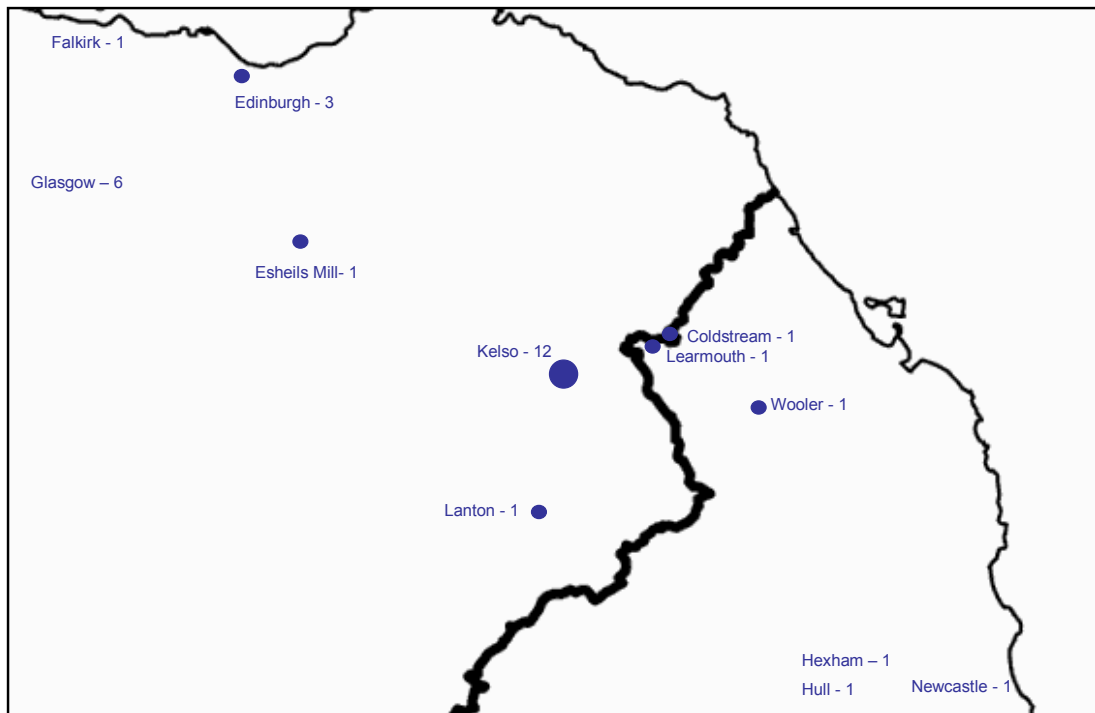
Map 9: Geographical origins of traders importing commodities into Kelso, 1691.



Source: NAS, E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691.

⁷⁷⁶ See above, Map 9, p. 233.

Map 10: Geographical origins of traders exporting commodities from Kelso, 1691.



Source: NAS, E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691.

As might be expected, those traders who originated from Kelso were recorded most frequently in the precinct's customs books. Each individual entered the precinct an average of seven times between March and November 1691. As a result, although traders from Kelso only formed 32 per cent of those individuals entered, they accounted for 45 per cent of import entries. Alternatively, in relation to exports, they formed 41 per cent of individuals entered and 67 per cent of entries. The Kelso customs book of 1691 therefore presents a Scottish export trade that was largely conducted by traders from within the precinct or the neighbouring settlements of Gallashields, Carham, Hadden and Stichill. This localised trade was centred on the export of linen and victual in return for hides, with the latter being particularly prevalent amongst shoemakers. Further specialisation was seen in relation to specific occupations; all of the fleshers passing through Kelso were recorded as exporting

oxen. Beyond these, it was the occupation of ‘merchant’ that appeared most frequently, with these individuals also demonstrating the most varied trade.⁷⁷⁷

Table 46: The range of trader occupations as presented in the customs books of the border precinct of Kelso, 1691.

Occupations	Imports	Exports
Chapman		1
Flesher		7
Merchant	83	55
Shoemaker	12	
Stabblers	4	

Source: NAS, E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691.

Beyond trader origins and occupations, both the Kelso and Jedburgh customs books for 1691 also reveal the continued importance of border fairs and markets as facilitators of cross-border trade. Several individuals were recorded in the customs books as purchasing commodities at fairs. It was at several of these, notably at Kelso market and St. Boswell’s fair, that sheep and nolt were recorded as being purchased by groups of people rather than individual traders.⁷⁷⁸ Also popular with cattle farmers, the fairs and markets of the border proved important occasions at which to sell cattle to drovers, with these generally correlating with the end of summer fattening.⁷⁷⁹ It is worth noting that the main concentration of fairs and markets around Kelso in Scotland, and along the Great North Road in north-eastern England, correlates with the ‘corridors of commerce’ established through the analysis of trader origins [Map 9, 11].⁷⁸⁰

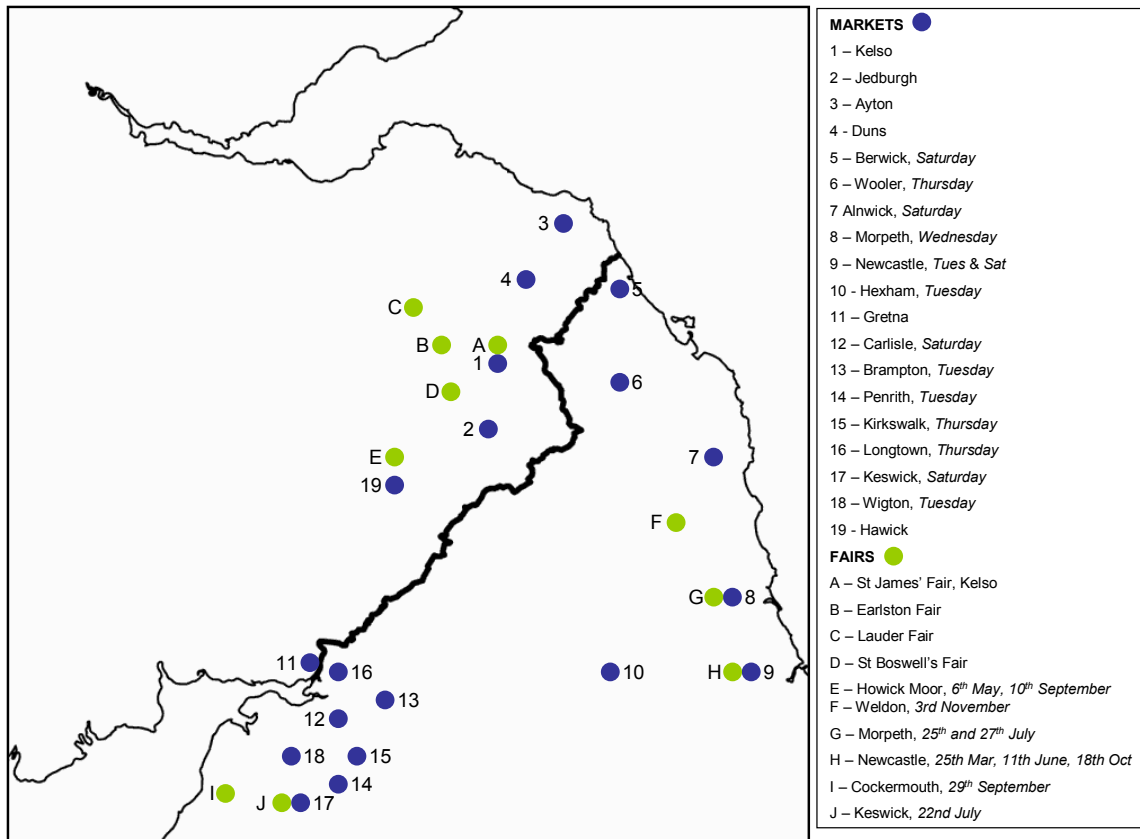
⁷⁷⁷ See below Table 46, p. 235; NAS, E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691.

⁷⁷⁸ NAS, E72/14/22, Kelso, March-November 1691, 28 May, 29 June, 7 July, 25 July 1691.

⁷⁷⁹ Koufopoulos, ‘Cattle Trades’, pp. 49, 58.

⁷⁸⁰ See above, Map 9, and below, Map 11, pp. 233, 236.

Map 11: location of the primary border fairs and markets in the late seventeenth century.



Source: NAS E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691; Anon., *The Chapmans and Travellers Almanack For the Year of Christ 1695* (London, 1695).

Although Everitt has suggested that the number of English fairs and markets fell across the seventeenth century, they continued to be important facilitators of trade throughout the borders.⁷⁸¹ Their dispersal throughout the border region, and a greater national awareness of their existence through the publication of chapmans' almanacs, does support Everett's claim that there existed 'a widespread network of "regional" or "cardinal" markets through which the market trade of this country [England] came to be increasingly channelled'.⁷⁸² At the same time as the consolidation of English fairs and markets as described by Everitt, those in

⁷⁸¹ Everitt 'Country, county and town', pp. 90-91; Willan, *Inland Trade*, p. 101; Hoyle, 'New Markets and Fairs', p. 96; Whyte, 'periodic market centres', pp. 14-15.

⁷⁸² Anon., *The Chapmans and Travellers Almanack For the Year of Christ 1695* (London, 1695); Everitt, 'Country, County and Town', pp. 95-96; C.W. Chalklin, *Seventeenth-Century Kent: A Social and Economic History* (London, 1965), pp. 161-162.

Scotland were seen to have experienced a positive renaissance, with Whatley concluding that between 1660 and 1707 an additional 346 weekly and annual markets were authorised by the Scottish parliament, ‘extending trade at district and regional level’.⁷⁸³ Whyte has urged caution in the identification of active fairs and markets, however. Instead, he has cited the declaration of gatherings for reasons of local prestige and status, rather than for commercial need or pragmatism, and thus their non-existence in reality.⁷⁸⁴ Although a number of border fairs were likely to be largely inactive, their representation within the customs books of the border precincts would suggest a certain degree of activity, with goods having been entered from Kelso market, St James’ fair, St Boswell’s fair and Earlston fair.⁷⁸⁵ These fairs and markets in the borders can be seen to have channelled both local and regional trades, whilst also having been intersected by wider patterns and movements of commerce.

9.4. *The border trade, 1691-1701.*

Many of these fairs and markets were likely to have suffered from the periodic dearth Scotland experienced between 1696 and 1700, particularly in relation to agrarian produce. Yet despite the absence of customs books from the border precincts after 1691, which prevent any quantitative and qualitative analysis of border trade, the survival of national trade statistics suggest that Scottish cattle exports dominated the cross-border trade in the final decade of the seventeenth century.⁷⁸⁶ In 1699, 18,132 head of cattle were recorded as entering the English outports from Scotland, having a value of £33,997 10s. (sterling).⁷⁸⁷ This accounted for 63 per cent of the total value of Scottish trade to the English outports (both

⁷⁸³ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 19.

⁷⁸⁴ Whyte, ‘Periodic Market Centres’, p. 21.

⁷⁸⁵ NAS, E72/14/22, Kelso, March – November 1691, Kelso market, 29 June, St James’ Fair, 25 July, St Boswell’s Fair, 7 July, Earlston Fair, 28 May.

⁷⁸⁶ TNA, CUST 3/3, 1699, Imports from Scotland: outports and London.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

overland and seaborne) and 39 per cent to England as a whole, once the trade to London had been included.⁷⁸⁸ Although these figures appear substantial, they actually represent a relative decline on those recorded earlier, with 18,534 head of cattle having entered Carlisle from Scotland between August 1662 and August 1663.⁷⁸⁹ The actual decline in the total cattle trade was likely to be larger than these figures suggest. The earlier figure only related to the trade passing through Carlisle, whereas that for 1699 was for the entire cross-border trade, including the modest numbers passing through central and eastern precincts. This decline is at odds with the figures presented by Defoe in his fifth essay, which cited that in 1699 England imported 31,608 head of Scottish cattle.⁷⁹⁰ This discrepancy may be attributable to Defoe's position as state propagandist for the Union, encouraging the exaggeration of Scotland's trade with England and the benefit that the removal of cross-border duties would bring. This relative decline of the Scottish cattle trade reflected the agricultural hardship experienced within Scotland during the late 1690s and the consequential increase in domestic demand for meat.⁷⁹¹ This decline in the volume of cattle exports continued in 1701 when 13,839 head were imported into English outports from Scotland. These were valued at for £24,218 5s. (sterling), and accounted for 57 per cent of Scottish trade to the English outports and 32 per cent of that with England overall.⁷⁹²

It is difficult to establish the exact nature of border trade during these final years of the seventeenth century due to the absence of customs books from either side of the border. Despite this, the border trade between 1691 and 1701, like that before it, was intimately related to the domestic economies of both regions and kingdoms, but also more broadly, it had an close relationship with overseas commerce. The illicit cross-border trade in wool, for

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁹ Account of cattle brought in from Scotland to the port of Carlisle, 1 August 1663, *C.S.P.D., 1663-1664*, p. 226.

⁷⁹⁰ D. Defoe, *A Fifth Essay at removing national prejudice with a reply to some authors, who have printed their objections against An Union with England* (London, 1707), pp. 10-11.

⁷⁹¹ Gibson and Smout, *Prices, food and wages*, p. 212.

⁷⁹² TNA, CUST 3/5, 1701, Imports from Scotland: outport-s and London.

example, was the fountain-head of a wide and elaborate network of illegal trade to Holland and France. The significance of this illegal border trade was demonstrated by the English appointment of additional customs officers to the border precincts. Such attempts at fiscal control increased with the coming of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702 and the heightened risks of illicit trading it brought.

9.5. Conclusion – the border trade 1674-1701.

The 1691 customs books for Jedburgh and Kelso have provided a valuable insight into the nature and extent of Anglo-Scottish overland commerce across the border, how this trade related to the regional economies on either side, and how these correlated with wider geographical networks of trade and commerce at a supra-regional level. This has been most clearly demonstrated in the presence of a multi-tiered border trade, between a localised trade in grains, livestock and hardware centred along the Tweed valley and in the immediate vicinity of the borders, a regional trade to the borders, and a more geographically extensive trade stretching along the Great North Road to the east. More generally, and in relation to the six customs books from 1680-81, wide variations and differences have also been seen between precincts. Whereas the trade passing through Jedburgh was largely agrarian, that through Ayton and Duns was more closely associated with the coastal trade and that along the Great North Road. Alternatively, the presence of fairs and markets offered a more informal dimension to overland trade, tying border trading into a larger network of commerce.

These characteristics question the claim that the economy of the eastern borders was not ‘very dramatic, or very diverse’.⁷⁹³ The eastern border trade between 1674 and 1691

⁷⁹³ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 8.

embodied the local economy of the borders, whilst interacting closely with that of Tyne and Wearside, whether through the import of hardware and coal, or by the export of thousands of eggs for its industrial works. The late seventeenth-century border trade therefore embodied the increasing integration between the agrarian economy of southern Scotland and the industrial development of Tyne and Wearside. It is unfortunate that no other customs books for the late seventeenth century, on either side of the border, have survived in an adequate condition to permit the qualitative and quantitative survey of their nature. It is therefore with the 1691 Kelso customs books that we get a final glimpse of the varied and fluctuating trade that was conducted through the eastern borders. Despite the absence of customs books, the national trade statistics suggest that during the late 1690s, cross-border trade, and Anglo-Scottish trade more broadly, became concentrated in the movement of cattle, mainly through western precincts but with smaller eastern tangents. Despite cattle forming the bulk of Anglo-Scottish trade, the late seventeenth-century cattle trade had declined when compared to 1662-63, and was substantially lower than presented by Defoe during the Union debates. Due to the absence of cross-border customs books, and the abolition of border precincts in 1707, the consideration of inter-regional trade that now follows will be in relation to that conducted along the coast.

10. Inter-regional trade and Union, 1701-16.

10.1. Introduction, 1701-07.

The years spanning either side of the Parliamentary Union of 1707 have been much studied by historians searching for its causes and consequences.⁷⁹⁴ Stress has been placed on the events of the 1690s as revealing the inability of the regal Union to guarantee stability in Anglo-Scottish relations.⁷⁹⁵ In addition to the hardships of the final decade of the seventeenth century, associated with its ‘four disasters’, the opening years of the eighteenth century were also bleak for the Scottish economy.⁷⁹⁶ The legacy of the commercial weakness of the 1690s, the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702, and the heightening of English protectionism which followed the 1703 Scottish Wine Act, all contributed to a major disparity in Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade.⁷⁹⁷ Yet although the years between 1701 and 1707 were pivotal in providing economic and political arguments for and against a treaty, they should not necessarily be seen as the inevitable springboard for Union. Anglo-Scottish Union was not inevitable and did not appear so to contemporaries. Indeed, between 1703 and 1705, it could be suggested that Anglo-Scottish war was almost as likely as Anglo-Scottish Union.⁷⁹⁸ The fluctuations in inter-regional trade between 1701 and 1707 will therefore be examined in their own right and not necessarily as a prelude to the eventual treaty.

⁷⁹⁴ Whatley, ‘Economic Causes and Consequences’, pp. 150-181; R.H. Campbell, ‘The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. II. The Economic Consequences’, *Economic History Review*, New Series, 16:3 (1964), pp. 468-477; Goldie, ‘Divergence and Union’, pp. 220-245; A.I. Macinnes, ‘The Treaty of Union: Made in England’, in T.M. Devine, (ed.), *Scotland and the Union, 1707-2007* (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 54-76; Smout, ‘The Economic Background’, pp. 455-467; C. Storrs, ‘The Union and the War of the Spanish Succession’, in S.J. Brown, and C.A. Whatley, (eds.), *Union of 1707: New dimensions* (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 31-44; Watt, ‘The Management of Capital’, pp. 97-118; Whatley, ‘The Crisis of the Regal Union’, pp. 74-89; Whyte, ‘Is a British Socio-Economic History Possible?’, pp. 174-197; K. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (London, 2007).

⁷⁹⁵ Goldie, ‘Divergence and Union’, pp. 234-236; Whatley, ‘The Crisis of the Regal Union’, pp. 74-89.

⁷⁹⁶ Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p. 199; Whatley, ‘The Crisis of the Regal Union’, pp. 86-87; see above, pp. 207-214, 245-247.

⁷⁹⁷ Devine, ‘Scottish Merchant Community’, pp. 26-27, 31, 37; Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 96-99; Whatley, ‘Economic Causes and Consequences’, pp. 166-167; Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 19; Whatley, with Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 214.

⁷⁹⁸ Goldie, ‘Divergence and Union’, pp. 236-245.

10.2. *Anglo-Scottish trade, war and Union.*

The hardships of the first decade of the eighteenth century were reflected in the level and nature of inter-regional trade, with the development of a substantial Scottish trade imbalance with Newcastle. In 1701-02, twenty-nine vessels were recorded as leaving Newcastle with cargoes destined for Scotland, compared to only fifteen that were recorded as arriving.⁷⁹⁹ Of those vessels entering the Tyne from Scotland, cargoes continued to be dominated by agrarian and marine produce, although in reduced volumes. The quantity of Scottish fish exported to the Tyne fell by 55 per cent in 1701-02 to 74,440 fish compared to 1699-1700.⁸⁰⁰ Other Scottish exports consisted of a variety of miscellaneous items including 500 eggs, 168 pounds of dressed flax and 1,400 ells of twill.⁸⁰¹ The agrarian foundation of these Scottish exports was also seen in the logistics of trade, with open boats continuing to account for over half of all Scottish vessels entering the Tyne, the majority of which were simply recorded as originating from 'Scotland'.

The twelve basic and relatively low-value commodities exported to the Tyne by Scottish merchants in 1701-02 were in contrast to the greatly expanded number and variety of Scottish imports from Newcastle, which now numbered forty-five separate commodities or a 50 per cent increase on the previous year.⁸⁰² The year 1701-02 therefore witnessed a major expansion in the breadth of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade, with the rising prominence of Tyneside glassware and basic hardware amongst Scottish imports from the Tyne [Table 47].⁸⁰³ These goods were also joined by 130 chaldrons (344 ½ tons) of coal, which although only a modest quantity, would have helped to alleviate the shortage experienced in Scotland

⁷⁹⁹ See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

⁸⁰⁰ TNA, E190/208/4, Newcastle, Xmas 1701-Xmas 1702 compared to E190/207/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1699-Xmas 1700.

⁸⁰¹ TNA, E190/208/4, Newcastle, Xmas 1701-Xmas 1702.

⁸⁰² See Appendix I, Figure II, p. 330.

⁸⁰³ Including 42 pounds of glue, 20 ells of tow rope and 82 whips, for glassware see Table 47, above; TNA, E190/208/4, Newcastle, Xmas 1701-Xmas 1702.

in 1700 due to the problems of extraction and the estimated exhaustion of four-fifths of Scotland's coastal collieries.⁸⁰⁴

Table 47 – Scottish glass imports from Newcastle, 1701-05.

	1701-02 Quantity		1702-03 Quantity		1704-05 Quantity	
Drinking glasses	300	loose	700	loose	1,584	loose
Glass	1	firkins			3	chests
	1	case				
	2.25	chests				
Glass bottles	8,400	loose	13,074	loose	26,939	loose
Glass webs	132	loose				
Looking glasses			12	loose		
Window glass					2	chests

Source: TNA, E190/20/4, Newcastle, Xmas 1701-Xmas 1702; E190/209/5, Newcastle, Xmas 1702-Xmas 1703; E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705.

Table 48 - Scottish coal imports from Newcastle, 1701-05.

1701-02			1702-03			1704-05		
Cargo	Quantity		Cargo	Quantity		Cargo	Quantity	
2	130	chaldron	5	384	chaldron	3	100	chaldron

Source: TNA, E190/20/4, Newcastle, Xmas 1701-Xmas 1702; E190/209/5, Newcastle, Xmas 1702-Xmas 1703; E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705.

These commodities were in exchange for reduced volumes of a restricted and narrow band of Scottish agricultural produce, with the absence of continental re-exports. The Newcastle port book of 1701-02 therefore recorded a contraction in Scotland's trade with Newcastle and the growth of a trade imbalance between them. This was demonstrated in terms of vessel numbers and in the quantity and value of the commodities traded. The causes of this contraction were multiple. The outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in May

⁸⁰⁴ See Table 48, p. 243; Whatley, with Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, pp. 187-188.

1702 disrupted Scottish overseas trade both by its wartime closure of markets and also by the increased threat of privateering.⁸⁰⁵ The scale of this disruption increased as the war progressed. A total of 3,250 British merchant ships were captured during the War of the Spanish Succession and the waters around Newcastle were particularly prone to attack due to the presence of the coal fleet.⁸⁰⁶ Beyond north-east England, reports abounded of privateers plaguing the Scottish coast, Bo'ness reporting the loss of sixteen vessels to privateers whereas the coast around Aberdeen was said to be 'greatly infested by French privateers'.⁸⁰⁷ The disruptions of war were also joined by the continuation of poor climatic conditions, with reports of 'terrible hurricanes of winde and rain' afflicting southern Scotland in 1701-02.⁸⁰⁸ As a result of these negative factors, the slump in the Scottish export trade to the Tyne was shadowed by a continued decline in Scotland's small trade surplus with England as a whole in 1701-02.⁸⁰⁹

It was against this backdrop of a Scottish trade surplus with the majority of England, but a growing trade imbalance with the Tyne, that Union negotiations began during the winter of 1701-02.⁸¹⁰ These negotiations were important in outlining many of the commercial facets which would become prominent in the discussions surrounding the eventual Union of 1707.⁸¹¹ Of these, the importance of trade and the economic hardship of the 1690s were cited as key catalysts to negotiations.⁸¹² The potential economic and commercial benefits of a Union with England had been well noted since 1700, with William Seton stating that

⁸⁰⁵ The Queen's Letter to the Parliament of Scotland, 10 May 1702, *C.S.P.D., 1702-1703*, p. 58.

⁸⁰⁶ J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (London, 1989), pp. 195, 197.

⁸⁰⁷ Whatley, with Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 196; NLS, MF.N.221, *Edinburgh Courant*, No. 39, 18-21 May 1705, p. 2.

⁸⁰⁸ Whatley, with Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 187.

⁸⁰⁹ Appendix I, Figure XI, p. 347.

⁸¹⁰ Act appointing commissions to treat for a Union with Scotland, 6 May 1702, 25 June 1702, *C.S.P.D., 1702-1703*, pp. 51, 137.

⁸¹¹ Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, pp. 91-95.

⁸¹² B. Fairfax, *A Discourse upon the Uniting of Scotland with England* (London, 1702), pp. 4-5.

Scotland's trade 'will increase, having as free a Trade over the whole World as *England*'.⁸¹³ Great weight was placed on the possibilities of free-trade with England through which Scotland would 'be able to regain our Riches, and re-establish our Happiness' and calls were made for an incorporative Union to enable full commercial access to England's plantations.⁸¹⁴ Great debate surrounds the importance of these requests for access to England's colonial commerce, with Scottish merchants having already benefitted from a large illicit trade with the colonies without legal recognition, although this had recently been disrupted by the reissuing, and enforcement, of the Navigation Act in 1696. It was the scope and potential for illicit trade that may explain why some of the greatest opposition to Union came from Scottish burghs that were directly associated with colonial trading, notably Glasgow.⁸¹⁵ Instead, the largest stumbling block during the 1702 negotiations in relation to colonial trade was not access to English colonies, but the Scottish desire for reimbursement for the Darien fiasco.⁸¹⁶ Although some progress was made during discussions, the negotiations proved largely abortive due to English intransigence.⁸¹⁷

More important to the state of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade than the Union negotiations themselves was the political entrenchment that followed their failure. The passing of the Scottish Wine Act in 1703, which permitted Scottish merchants to trade with France despite the ongoing war, unleashed a series of English retaliatory measures and demonstrated the continued importance of the French trade for many Scottish merchants.⁸¹⁸ It would be the increased English protectionism as a reaction to such moves, and the placing of

⁸¹³ W. Seton, *The Interest of Scotland in Three Parts* (Edinburgh, 1700), pp. 57-58.

⁸¹⁴ Anon., *Speech in Parliament touching the Communication of Trade* (Edinburgh, 1700), p. 1; Anon., *A Discourse upon the Uniting Scotland with England* (London, 1702), pp. 24-25.

⁸¹⁵ Levack, *Economic History*, p. 55.

⁸¹⁶ Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 73.

⁸¹⁷ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 53; Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, pp. 94-95, 102; Macinnes, 'Treaty of Union: Made in England', pp. 61-63.

⁸¹⁸ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 54-57.

duties on Scottish linen, coal and cattle in particular, that would prolong the Scottish trade imbalance with north-eastern England and provoke one with England more generally.⁸¹⁹

The worsening trading relationship was evident in 1702-03, when only eight vessels entered the Tyne from Scotland, against twenty-seven vessels which were recorded as leaving.⁸²⁰ The disparity in vessel numbers was also reflected in the breadth of trade, with the range and quantity of commodities imported by Scottish merchants from the Tyne continuing to outstrip those exported.⁸²¹ Although the range of Scottish imports from Tyneside stayed relatively consistent with those of 1701-02, and were dominated by Tyneside glassware, basic hardware and coal, 1702-03 also witnessed the colossal rise in Scottish lead shipments from the Tyne, something which would be maintained until 1705. The shipment of lead by Scottish merchants was a specific reaction to international events, all of these shipments being destined for Holland, England's ally during the War of the Spanish Succession [Table 49].⁸²² This carrying trade in north-eastern lead to Holland to supply the allied army was not in isolation however, with Scottish merchants recognising a substantial commercial opportunity for their own lead industry by simultaneously shipping Scottish lead to France.⁸²³ Such shipments to France caused obvious concern in England, with Defoe estimating that this trade was high enough to balance the Scottish wine trade.⁸²⁴ Although this appears to have been an exaggeration, influenced by Defoe's role as a government propagandist rather than an impartial economist, the shipment of both north-eastern lead to Holland and Scottish lead to France demonstrates the commercial astuteness of Scottish merchants in recognising and exploiting obvious sources of profit. Beyond the level of trade, these shipments profoundly

⁸¹⁹ Graham, *Maritime History*, p. 102; Whatley, 'Crisis of the Regal Union', p. 80; Appendix I, Figure I and XI, pp. 329, 347.

⁸²⁰ See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

⁸²¹ See Appendix I, Figure II and III, pp. 330, 331.

⁸²² See Table 49, p. 247.

⁸²³ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 231.

⁸²⁴ Reports of Richard Warre, 4 January 1704, *C.S.P.D., 1703-1704*, p. 486; Report of Mr Robert Gordon, Scotch Factor at Bordeaux, 12 January 1704, Whitehall, *M.H.L. 1704-1706*, p. 191; D. Defoe, *The Advantages of Scotland by an incorporating Union with England* (Edinburgh, 1706), pp. 6-7.

altered the logistics of commerce with the re-emergence of triangular trading between Scotland, north-eastern England and Holland.⁸²⁵

Table 49: The Scottish carrying trade in north-eastern English lead destined for Holland, 1701-03, 1704-05.

	1701-02		1702-03		1704-05	
	Cargoes	Cwt	Cargoes	Cwt	Cargoes	Cwt
Lead	7	159 (9 tons)	13	1,584 (89 tons)	9	2,817 (158 tons)
Lead shot	2	9 (0.5 tons)	3	33 (1.7 tons)	3	31 cwt (1.6 tons)

Source: TNA, E190/208/4, Newcastle, Xmas 1701-Xmas 1702; E190/209/5, Newcastle, Xmas 1702-Xmas 1703; E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705.

Table 50: The triangular trading of the *Orange Tree of Borrowstounness*, 1702-05.

Newcastle	Entry date	Master/Merchant	Origin/Destination	Commodity	Vol.	Measure
OUT	14/10/1702	Edward Hodges	Amsterdam			
		Henry Peareth		Coal	92	caldron
OUT	18/8/1703	William Hodges	Borrowstounness	Coal	99	caldron
		Thomas Dawes				
OUT	28/8/1703	William Hodge	Amsterdam	Lead	6	fother
		David Poyen		Lead	12	cwt
OUT	19/4/1705	Edward Hodge	Rotterdam			
		Robert Hay		Lead	6	fother
				Lead	7.5	cwt
				Glass bottles	2,200	
OUT	27/4/1705	Edward Hodge	Rotterdam?	Coals	82	chaldrons
				Grindstones	7	chaldrons
OUT	15/10/1705	Edward Hodge	Rotterdam	Lead	15.25	tons
		John Hewett				
OUT	17/10/1705		Rotterdam	Coals	83	chaldrons
				Grindstones	10	chaldrons

Source: TNA, E190/209/5, Newcastle, Xmas 1702-Xmas 1703; E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705.

The resumption of triangular trading, and the merger of inter-regional trade with wider networks of international commerce, was a welcome relief to many specie-starved merchants

⁸²⁵ See Table 50, p. 247.

in Scotland and north-eastern England. In May 1707, Newcastle merchant, Robert Fenwick, wrote to Alexander Campbell in Edinburgh requesting that he ‘procure & send me 400, 600 or 800 Dollars’ from Holland in return for the shipment of 200 pounds of lead.⁸²⁶ The activities of such merchants and their ability to take advantage of wartime opportunities to procure additional coinage, questions Whatley’s statement that by 1703 Scottish society was experiencing havoc ‘at all social levels as commercial transactions were brought to a virtual stop’ due to a lack of specie.⁸²⁷ Although the shortage of hard currency was inconvenient for many merchants, Newcastle was relatively well placed due to the supply of currency and bills from the London coal trade.⁸²⁸ Concentration on the shortage of specie also overlooks the role played by the development of Scottish credit networks to facilitate the continuation of trade.⁸²⁹ It was the use of the latter, and particularly the procurement of bills of exchange, which underlay the trade of several Scottish merchants with Newcastle and enabled them to continue trading despite the shortage of specie.⁸³⁰ An examination of merchant letters illustrates how credit, and the inter-personal relationships it spawned, could facilitate inter-regional trade. Bills were also traded between merchants as a part of their wider trading interests, being added to their portfolio of goods, and providing opportunities for speculation and quick witted trading.⁸³¹

The reliance upon credit to facilitate trade was not without its critics. In 1705, John Spruell, an anti-Unionist merchant from Glasgow and former Covenanting hero, noted with disdain of how he ‘abhorred to send a Ship in her Ballast to purchase Goods on Credit, which hath destroyed many unthinking Men, when Bills of Exchange has come upon them like an

⁸²⁶ NAS RH 15/14/86, Robert Fenwick to Alex Campbell, Newcastle 2 May 1707.

⁸²⁷ Whatley, *Scots and Union*, pp. 188-189.

⁸²⁸ Minutes of the proceedings of the Lords Justices of England, 6 June 1696, *C.S.P.D.*, 1696, p. 218; The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Mayor of Newcastle, 11 June 1696, *C.S.P.D.*, 1696, p. 221.

⁸²⁹ Devine, ‘Scottish Merchant Community’, p. 32.

⁸³⁰ NAS, RH 15/14/86, Robert Fenwick to Alexander Campbell, 6 April 1700, 11 February 1707, 2 May 1707, 1 July 1707.

⁸³¹ NAS, CS96/3309, John Watson to Thomas Froster [London], Edinburgh, 30 December 1698, f. 47.

Thunder-clap’.⁸³² Certainly the arrival of Scottish vessels in ballast to purchase goods from Newcastle was a familiar sight, demonstrated by the regular payments made to the Newcastle chamberlains by Scottish merchants for the dumping of ballast at the mouth of the Tyne. The trade deficit which inevitably resulted from such transactions was heavily criticised by Defoe, Scottish merchants ‘hastening to be Rich, not respecting the Interest of the Nation; their Import exceeds their Export, as far as their Credit in the Countries they Trade with, will reach’.⁸³³ More broadly Spruell and Defoe’s accusations were borne out by the abundance of debt litigation cases presented to the Scottish Admiralty Court between 1677 and 1750. These accounted for 38 per cent of all presentments between English and Scottish merchants involved in inter-regional trade [Table 51].⁸³⁴ Although facilitating inter-regional trade, there were obvious risks of indebtedness and defaulting on repayments.

Table 51: Case types presented to the Scottish Admiralty Court between north-eastern English and southern and eastern Scottish merchants, 1677-1750.

Reasons for case	No. of cases	Percentage of total
Debt	28	38
Broken agreement	12	16
Failed payment for goods	9	12
Failed delivery of goods	7	10
Dispute over bill of exchange	7	10
Damage of goods	3	4
Cautioner	3	4
Compensation	1	1
Prize declaration	1	1
Seizure of goods	1	1
Damage to vessel	1	1
Total	73	

Source: S. Mowat and E.J. Graham (eds.), *Guide to the records of the Scottish High Court of Admiralty, 1627-1750* (Electronic resource, 2005).

⁸³² Spruell, *An Accompt Betwixt Scotland & England Ballenced*, p. 14.

⁸³³ Defoe, *The advantages of Scotland*, pp. 5-6; for the problem of excessive luxury and English influence see, W. Black, *Short View of Our Present Trade and Taxes* (Edinburgh, 1706), pp. 2-3; Defoe, *Fifth Essay*, pp. 9-10.

⁸³⁴ See Table 51, p. 249; NAS, AC8/1-77, ‘Decrees in Absence’, in Mowat and Graham (eds.), *Scottish High Court of Admiralty*.

Although credit could alleviate some of the strains of the specie shortage, inter-regional trade was now threatened by the enhanced English protectionism which followed the failed Union negotiations of 1702. It was the imposition of additional duties and the disruption of Scottish re-export markets by the War of the Spanish Succession that caused the imbalance of inter-regional trade to grow to its greatest extent in 1704-05. This was also the year when Anglo-Scottish political hostilities peaked, marked by the Scottish Act of Security and the English Alien Act. These political tensions were given economic expression on both sides of the border through the outlawing of Scottish linen imports into English markets ‘until such time as the succession to the Crown of Scotland be declared and settled’ and a counter ban on English salt exports to Scotland.⁸³⁵ The connection between the prevailing Scottish trade deficit, and English political hostility and protectionism, was well known to the critics of Union.⁸³⁶ Following these impositions, the Scottish Parliament calculated that the total Scottish trade deficit amounted to £2,060,000 Scots (or £171,700 sterling) in 1704.⁸³⁷ Yet when this figure is compared to the English import and export ledgers, they suggest that only a small proportion of this deficit was attributed to Scottish trade with England, which only accounted for a deficit of £33,157 (sterling), or 19 per cent of the total Scottish deficit recorded by the Scottish parliament.⁸³⁸ Much of this deficit was therefore attributed to Scotland’s trade with France which, despite Defoe’s suggestions, does not appear to have been balanced by Scottish lead exports. With an estimated value of £8,000 in 1704, Scottish lead exports fell far short of the £26,667 value of Scotland’s wine and brandy trades.⁸³⁹ Admittedly not all of these originated from France, and substantial quantities were re-

⁸³⁵ N.B. Harte, ‘The Rise and Protection of the English Linen Trade, 1690-1790’, in Harte and Ponting, (eds.), *Textile History and Economic History*, p. 92; Whatley, ‘Salt, Coal and the Union’, p. 29.

⁸³⁶ Spruell, *An Accompt*, p. 3.

⁸³⁷ R. Saville, *The Bank of Scotland: a history 1695-1995* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 59-60; Whatley, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 194.

⁸³⁸ TNA, CUST 3/8, England: import and export ledgers, 1704.

⁸³⁹ All figures in £ sterling, Saville, *Bank of Scotland*, p. 60.

exported via Holland and Norway in order to avoid detection by the English admiralty.⁸⁴⁰ Despite these alternative sources, reports abounded of Scottish vessels trading directly with Bordeaux throughout 1704-05.⁸⁴¹

Although this trade in wine was seen as one of the key underlying causes of Scotland's trade deficit, such accounts ignore the fact that a portion of this wine trade was balanced by Scotland's lead trade to France, and by the large and growing illicit export trade in English wool to the continent.⁸⁴² Such movements caused consternation amongst Yorkshire clothiers who petitioned for riding officers to patrol the borders. In September 1705, they complained of 'the great decay of their trade occasioned by vast quantities of wool carried into Scotland from cos. Durham, Northumberland and Cumberland and from thence transported into France and other foreign parts'.⁸⁴³ As a result of such complaints, determined attempts were made to restrict this trade through the appointment of additional land carriagemen at Newcastle and along the borders as the absence of 'proper inspection and regulation gives great and frequent opportunities for the practice of frauds'.⁸⁴⁴

The continuation of substantial levels of Scottish illegal trading in English wool across the border and overseas, although not new, was a wider consequence of the prohibitive duties placed on Scottish trade by the English parliament alongside the continuation of commercial opportunities in France for Scottish merchants despite the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession. Although Scotland's overseas trading cannot be described as healthy, the development of a sizeable and illicit carrying trade in English produce, to complement that already established in English lead, alongside the utilisation of credit by Scottish merchants

⁸⁴⁰ Spruell, *An Accompt*, p. 9.

⁸⁴¹ Reports of a clandestine trade between France and Scotland, *M.H.L., 1704-1706*, pp. 111-112, 191, 195, 200, 202; Whatley with Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 200.

⁸⁴² Defoe, *Scotland's Advantages*, p. 9; Seton, *Interest of Scotland*, p. 74.

⁸⁴³ Petitions of the Clothiers of Leeds, Yorks., 27 April 1704, 1 November 1704, *C.T.P., 1704-1705*, pp. 209, 401; Warrant by Treasurer Godolphin to the Customs Commissioners, 19 September 1705, *C.T.P., 1705-1706, II*, pp. 414-415.

⁸⁴⁴ [Appointment of] John Griffees as land carriageman in Newcastle port, 30 October 1704, *C.T.P., 1704-1705, II*, p. 394.

to allay the worst impacts of the specie shortage, would suggest that historians have exaggerated the degree of Scottish economic hardship on the immediate eve of Union. Certainly Riley has suggested that the Scottish economy prior to Union was far more resilient than is often suspected.⁸⁴⁵ The established patterns of inter-regional trade continued in 1704-05 despite the alleged intensity of Scotland's difficulties, with the presence of Norwegian deals amongst Scottish cargoes entering the Tyne and the continued shipment of north-eastern lead to Holland by Scottish merchants.⁸⁴⁶ In addition to lead, Scottish vessels also left the Tyne with modest quantities of basic hardware, glassware and a reduced quantity of north-eastern coal, the reduction in the latter reflecting the improved conditions for Scottish mining by 1704.⁸⁴⁷

What the statistics and figures reveal between 1701 and 1705 is that, although Scottish imports into Newcastle and north-eastern England had generally contracted, Scottish shipments leaving Tyneside, whether destined for Scotland or elsewhere, were taking advantage of international market opportunities. As a result, during the early years of the eighteenth century, Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade moved from being a low-level coastal trade in basic agricultural and marine produce, to one immersed in international networks of exchange characterised by triangular trading. With the coming of the War of the Spanish Succession, Scottish merchants moved away from the trade in agrarian produce to become wholesalers and middlemen in trading Tyneside lead to war-orientated Holland and Scottish lead to absolutist France. Although these years witnessed an increasing Scottish trade deficit, in focusing upon the transitory trade of English commodities, Scottish mercantile interests were partially shielded from the increasing commercial insecurity and economic protectionism provoked by English politicians. Such protectionism would, however, only come to an end following the confirmation of the Union of 1707.

⁸⁴⁵ Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p. 245.

⁸⁴⁶ TNA, E190/211/2, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705.

⁸⁴⁷ Whatley, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 193.

10.3. Anglo-Scottish Parliamentary Union.

The prolonged debates surrounding the Union reached their conclusion in July 1706 and the final articles were outlined in February 1707. The Union treaty attached clear importance to economic issues, which accounted for fifteen of the twenty-five articles agreed by the commissioners.⁸⁴⁸ Foremost amongst these was Article IV, which declared that Anglo-Scottish free trade should exist ‘from any Port or Place within the said United Kingdom, and the Dominions and Plantations thereunto belonging’.⁸⁴⁹ Although calls had been made by Scottish merchants for Anglo-Scottish free trade and access to English plantations throughout the seventeenth century, free trade was actually opposed by the Convention of Royal Burghs as late as November 1706, its members fearing it would bring a huge increase in taxation for Scotland.⁸⁵⁰ Central to their fears was that the proposed harmonisation of Anglo-Scottish duties associated with free trade would seriously undermine the price competitiveness of Scottish merchants over their English rivals. Comparatively low import and export duties, a relatively weak fiscal apparatus, and the light taxing of individual Scottish industries had not only enabled Scottish merchants to develop lucrative re-export trades, but also to compete with English salt and coal in continental markets. The harmonisation of Anglo-Scottish duties, as outlined in Article VI of the Union treaty, therefore posed a direct risk to this competitive advantage. This risk was not lost on anti-Unionist William Black, who stated that ‘a Communication of Trade, is the great bait, made us of to engage us in the *English* debts and taxes’.⁸⁵¹

⁸⁴⁸ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 50; Allan, *Scotland*, p. 86.

⁸⁴⁹ The House of Lords, *Commissioners of Articles of Union Agreed*, p. 3.

⁸⁵⁰ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 49; R.W. Lennox, *Lauderdale and Scotland: A Study in Restoration Politics and Administration, 1660-1682* (Columbia University, published PhD, 1977), pp. 254-260; Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 96; Whatley, *Scottish Society*, pp. 49-50.

⁸⁵¹ W. Black, *Overtures and Cautions in Relation to Trade and Taxes*, (Edinburgh, 1706), p. 4.

In response to such Scottish fears, and particularly those surrounding an increase in the duty upon Scottish salt, which would be ‘prejudiciall to the Fishers, who are generally poor, and to a great many Families’, individual and staggered duty exemptions were included within the treaty.⁸⁵² Contained in Articles X-XIII, specific exemptions were given to Scottish paper, coal, windows, malt, culm and cinders when consumed within Scotland, whereas Article VIII exempted Scottish salt from increased and harmonised duties for seven years when consumed within Scotland and from additional duties thereafter.⁸⁵³ Although Defoe argued passionately that these exemptions would result in a fiscal reduction for Scotland following Union, Whatley is right to identify that they were in direct contradiction to the ‘principles of free trade and equal taxation, which were enshrined in the IVth and VIth Articles’.⁸⁵⁴ In addition to these exemptions which undermined free trade, their actual implementation on the border was problematic and Scottish complaints were heard in June 1707 that ‘the officers belonging to the Customs House in Berwick, and elsewhere on the border continue to stop goods of all kinds, even linen cloth and other goods manufactured here’.⁸⁵⁵ The implementation of a uniform customs system was also delayed and customs officers were still being appointed to Scottish precincts in 1712.⁸⁵⁶ The introduction of free trade and an English customs system into Scotland was therefore a prolonged process, making Rössner’s assessment of the immediate fiscal impact of the Union over-simplistic.⁸⁵⁷

In terms of free trade and the establishment of a common customs Union, the treaty of May 1707 should not, therefore, be seen as an immediate turning point, but the beginning of a prolonged process of incremental change and re-alignment. Partly as a result of its staggered implementation, the Union has been interpreted as having little immediate economic

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 5

⁸⁵³ Whatley, ‘Salt, Coal and the Union’, pp. 26-27, 31, 38.

⁸⁵⁴ Defoe, *Scotland’s Advantages*, pp. 15-16; Whatley, ‘Causes and Consequences’, p. 162; Whatley, ‘Salt, Coal and the Union’, p. 26.

⁸⁵⁵ Letter from Scotland dated 31 May [? To the Earl of Mar], *C.T.P., 1706-1707*, Pt II., pp. 319-320.

⁸⁵⁶ Establishment of the officers of the Customs in North Britain, 12 May 1712, *M.H.L., 1710-1712*, pp. 141-146.

⁸⁵⁷ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 37-42.

significance on the Scottish economy before the 1730s.⁸⁵⁸ Yet this conclusion has been the product of historians seeking to establish the ‘advantages’ or ‘disadvantages’ that the Union brought to Scotland, rather than simply assessing its impact. In reaction to this, Whatley has argued that such a consensus concerning the Union’s delayed impact is ‘based on relatively little hard evidence’ due to the fact that ‘the first three post-Union decades have attracted little interest from economic and social historians’.⁸⁵⁹ Despite the recognition of this, the historiographical parameters of Union have largely ignored the ebb and flow of daily commerce to focus upon the structural economic changes encouraged by Union in the long term.⁸⁶⁰ Historians have therefore taken a sectional approach to studying the post-Union Scottish economy, concentrating upon the progress of individual industries following the Union and concluding that as neither the linen nor the black cattle trades experienced a marked increase in their prosperity until the 1730s, the impact of the Union was only slight until that point.⁸⁶¹ Alternatively, Rössner has gone further by suggesting that if British economic integration is assessed, the Union had little impact until the 1750s.⁸⁶²

Even when change was witnessed, historians have disagreed as to the importance of Union in encouraging it. Foremost amongst these has been Devine, who has argued that the Union was only one influence amongst many upon the Scottish economy, and that it only served to hasten agricultural and economic processes already underway in the late seventeenth century.⁸⁶³ Changes formerly identified as a result of Union have now been traced into the seventeenth century. Macinnes has identified a significant Scottish colonial trade long before 1707 and that the subsequent increase in Scotland’s colonial trade following

⁸⁵⁸ Devine, ‘Modern Economy’, p. 22; Whatley, ‘Causes and Consequences’, p. 162; Whatley, ‘Salt, Coal and the Union’, p. 26.

⁸⁵⁹ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 52.

⁸⁶⁰ T. Dickson, *Scottish Capitalism: class, state and nation before the Union to the present* (London, 1980), pp. 89-90; Whyte, ‘Early Modern Scotland’, p. 136; Devine, ‘Modern Economy’, pp. 22-23.

⁸⁶¹ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 99; Lythe and Butt, *Economic History*, p. 85; Allan, *Scotland*, p. 86; Lenman, *Economic History*, pp. 62-67.

⁸⁶² Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 40; Finlay, ‘Caledonia or North Britain?’, p. 145.

⁸⁶³ Devine, ‘Scotland’, p. 396-397; Devine, ‘Scottish Merchant Community’, p. 26; Devine, ‘Modern Economy’, pp. 13-33; Devine, *Transformation*, pp. 21-22, 32.

Union was an extension of this.⁸⁶⁴ Similarly within the domestic sphere, Devine has argued that the increase in Scottish grain exports after 1707 were equally as attributable to late seventeenth-century agricultural reform as they were to post-Union free trade.⁸⁶⁵ Beyond these developments in Scottish export trades, Campbell has suggested one of the immediate impacts of Union was the flooding of Scottish markets with cheap English imports.⁸⁶⁶ Although all of these recognise changes in Scottish trade following Union, they do so from a national perspective. Little acknowledgement is given to regional fluctuations or changes in Anglo-Scottish trade, which were likely to have been ‘enormously varied and complex’.⁸⁶⁷

The main exception to this has been the recognition by almost all historians of the large increase in illicit trade following the Union, encouraged by increased taxation through the harmonisation of Anglo-Scottish duties. The three months between the announcement of the Union in February of 1707, and its actual implementation in May, witnessed a major distortion in Anglo-Scottish trade. With the threat of increased taxation, but with the promise of free trade, Scottish merchants imported large quantities of continental and colonial produce into Scotland at the lower pre-Union customs from February onwards, with the hope of transporting these otherwise heavily taxed commodities duty-free into England following the establishment of free trade in May.⁸⁶⁸ The scale of this trade is hard to establish exactly although Defoe estimated that it equalled 6,000 hogsheads of tobacco (c. 6,000,000 pounds weight), whereas that passing between north-west England and Solway was said to have

⁸⁶⁴ Allan, *Scotland*, p. 99; Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, p. 138; Dobson, ‘Scottish Communities’, pp. 105-134.

⁸⁶⁵ Devine, ‘Modern Economy’, p. 24.

⁸⁶⁶ Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, p. 38; Campbell, ‘The Economic Consequences’, p. 468.

⁸⁶⁷ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 53.

⁸⁶⁸ Bill for the better payment of Customs for goods imported through Scotland by Englishmen and foreigners, 7 April 1707, *M.H.L., 1706-1708*, pp. 91-92.

Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 61; Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, pp. 308-309; Defoe, *History of the Union, Appendix, pt I.*, p. 2.

doubled to 1,500,000 pounds (weight) in the spring of 1707.⁸⁶⁹ Such movements produced a major distortion in Anglo-Scottish trade in the months shortly before Union.

Attempts were made to curb this trade in April 1707 when the House of Lords proclaimed that any goods imported into Scotland between 1 February and the 1 May 1707, and which were subsequently exported to England, were to pay the same duties as if they were imported directly into England.⁸⁷⁰ Further action was taken after the implementation of the Union and petitions were presented by several Scottish merchants who complained that their cargoes had been seized following their entry into an English port. In their defence, they often stated that it was their intention to enter the port before 1 May and pay the usual duty had in not been for contrary winds.⁸⁷¹ The threatened seizure of colonial commodities in particular, plus their high level of duty, encouraged an explosion in Scottish smuggling after the Union's implementation.⁸⁷² As a result of this, between 1710 and 1722 it has been estimated that between 47 per cent and 62 per cent of Scotland's tobacco imports were smuggled.⁸⁷³ Whereas colonial commodities appear to have been prominent amongst smuggled goods, significant quantities of French wine were also seized, these being contraband during the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession.⁸⁷⁴ The ability of merchants to engage in such a level of illicit trade was a further example of the weakness of the post-Union fiscal machinery in Scotland. This weakness continued, demonstrated by the low level of seizures of smuggled goods despite the apparent boom in smuggler activity.⁸⁷⁵ It would only be following the 1723 reform of the customs system that significant improvements would be made to its

⁸⁶⁹ Defoe, *History of the Union, Appendix, pt. I*, p. 2; M.J. Robinson, 'Cumbrian Attitudes to Union with Scotland: Patriotism or Profit?', *Northern History*, 39:2 (September 2002), pp. 233-234.

⁸⁷⁰ Bill for the better payment of Customs for goods imported through Scotland, 7 April 1707, *M.H.L., 1706-1708*, p. 93.

⁸⁷¹ Customs Commissioners seizure report, 12 June 1707, *C.T.P., 1706-1707*, Pt. II., pp. 319-320.

⁸⁷² Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, p. 318; Devine, 'Modern Economy', pp. 23-30.

⁸⁷³ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 54.

⁸⁷⁴ William Lowndes to the Customs Commissioners in Scotland, 18 April, 24 August 1710, *C.T.P., 1710*, Pt. II, p. 425; Petition of Charles Hay, riding surveyor, to the Treasury, 28 December 1710, *C.T.P., 1710*, Pt. II., p. 556; Treasury warrant of Scottish wine seizures, 5 April 1711, *C.T.P., 1711*, Pt. II., p. 238.

⁸⁷⁵ Appendix I, Figure XII, p. 356.

effectiveness.⁸⁷⁶ This increase in illicit trading was only one result of the Union however, with a distinct change also occurring in Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade as recorded in the port books.

10.4. The impact of Anglo-Scottish Union upon inter-regional trade, 1707-09.

The 1707 Union had a four-fold impact on the relationship between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland between 1708 and 1714. Firstly, it produced a modest increase in the number of vessels entering Newcastle from Scotland. Secondly, these vessels from Scotland were recorded as carrying a greater variety of commodities, notably large quantities of colonial produce. Thirdly, and in relation to the breadth of trade, a distinct change in the logistics of inter-regional trade was witnessed, with the complete absence of open boats in favour of apparently enclosed, named and larger vessels. Fourthly, it was following Union that a greater number of Scottish ports became involved in inter-regional trade, whereas both Stockton and Sunderland also recorded growing trades with Scotland. The previous dominance of the Forth and the Tyne on inter-regional trade was therefore weakened.

A noticeable and distinctive change therefore occurred in inter-regional trade after May 1707. The Newcastle port book of 1708-09, which is the first following the Union from which a quantitative survey of inter-regional trade can be made, recorded a rise in vessel numbers entering Newcastle from Scotland, rising from five in 1704-05 to seventeen in 1708-09. It did, however, witness a fall in those leaving, halving from thirty-two in 1704-05 to sixteen in 1708-09.⁸⁷⁷ The recording of seventeen vessels as entering the Tyne, and sixteen as leaving, was not a dramatic change in the level of trade. It did, however, correspond with an

⁸⁷⁶ Devine, 'Modern Economy', p. 30.

⁸⁷⁷ Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

intensification of trade and all of the vessels recorded in 1708-09 were named, attributable to a specific Scottish port, and were recorded as carrying a wide array of commodities. There was a complete absence of either ‘open boats’ from ‘Scotland’ or shipments of ballast.⁸⁷⁸

The presence of named and apparently larger vessels, without any ballast, correlated with a distinctive change in the breadth of trade, particularly in Scottish imports from Newcastle, which increased from an average of one commodity per vessel in 1704-05 to almost five in 1708-09 (from thirty-six individual commodities traded annually to seventy-eight).⁸⁷⁹ These shipments included increased quantities of alcohol, particularly English ale and cider, alongside more traditional articles of inter-regional trade, such as a greater variety of English colonial produce.⁸⁸⁰ The increase in Scottish shipments of tobacco and sugar from north-eastern England reveals that, despite direct access to the English plantations which followed Union, pre-existing sources of colonial goods were also expanded by Scottish merchants. These shipments therefore question Defoe’s pre-Union assertion that the direct ‘Import of Tobacco [and] Sugar...from the West Indies’ would reduce the Scottish reliance upon England for these commodities since ‘you will have them directly from thence, in return for your own Manufactures’.⁸⁸¹ Whereas inter-regional shipments of colonial goods increased above the level expected, the trade in other commodities remained modest, with the 200 quarters of English wool imported from Newcastle in 1708-09 falling far below the quantities feared by some Scottish clothiers.⁸⁸² Despite relief being felt by some, other Scottish industries were exposed to increased competition, with the Forth-side glass industry now having to compete with the shipment of over 61,000 glass bottles from Newcastle in 1708-09.⁸⁸³ In addition to these came 4,200 drinking glasses, which helped fill a void in Scottish

⁸⁷⁸ TWAS, 543/81, Receipts and Disbursements, 1708-09.

⁸⁷⁹ See Appendix I, Figure II, p. 330.

⁸⁸⁰ TNA, E190/214/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1708 - Xmas 1709; see Appendix I, Table VI, p. 348-350.

⁸⁸¹ Defoe, *Fifth Essay*, pp. 21, 25-26.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 20; TNA, E190/214/1.

⁸⁸³ TNA, E190/214/1; Turnbull, *Scottish Glass*, pp. 179-181.

glassware manufacture, and Tyneside glassware was both price competitive and superior in quality compared to those glasses made at the Leith or Glasgow works.⁸⁸⁴ The increasing variety of Scottish imports was not confined to its trade from north-eastern England however. In her study of the port of Carlisle, Robinson noted although ‘from 1707 to 1709, the number of boats making the trip to Scotland stayed much the same. What did change were the cargoes’.⁸⁸⁵ Both north-eastern and north-western England witnessed an expansion in the variety of their export trades to Scotland immediately following Union.

The same was evident for the Scottish export trade to Newcastle which also increased in its breadth, from eight commodities in 1704-05 to twenty in 1708-09. Due to a parallel increase in the number of vessels entering the Tyne, this expansion in the variety of commodities was not reflected onboard individual vessels. Each vessel carried an average of one commodity. As a result of this, the Scottish export trade to the Tyne was relatively specialised on a vessel by vessel basis. The cumulative impact of this specialisation was most visible in relation to the linen trade, which rose from 189 ells in 1704-05 to 1000 ells in 1708-09.⁸⁸⁶ The expansion in linen exports had been offered as a key advantage of Union, with Defoe projecting that, following 1707, ‘*England* will take as much from us, as we are able to make’.⁸⁸⁷ Although such predictions would be disappointed, the rise in Scottish linen exports would be a key feature of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade after the Union, despite its exposure to increased English competition.⁸⁸⁸ Alongside linen also came increased quantities of fish, victual and skins.⁸⁸⁹ This increase in the prominence of the agrarian produce of Scotland correlates with Whatley’s suggestion that ‘the immediate beneficiaries of Union

⁸⁸⁴ Turnbull, *Scottish Glass*, pp. 44-46, 179-181.

⁸⁸⁵ M. Robinson, ‘The Port of Carlisle: Trade and Shipping in Cumberland, 1675-1735’, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, Third Series, 8, (2008), p. 152.

⁸⁸⁶ See below, Table 62 and Figure 12, pp. 294, 295.

⁸⁸⁷ Defoe, *Advantages of Scotland*, p. 20.

⁸⁸⁸ *idem.*, *Tour*, pp. 560-561; Lenman, *Economic History*, pp. 62, 67; Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, pp. 48-49.

⁸⁸⁹ TNA, E190/214/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1708 - Xmas 1709; Appendix I, Table VI, pp. 348-350.

were the landowners and merchants who engaged in the seaborne grain trade'.⁸⁹⁰ Devine has also suggested that these increases in the Scottish grain trade were the result of the general improvement in Scottish agricultural efficiency through enclosure and increased fertilisation during the late seventeenth century.⁸⁹¹ The presence of such traditional staples of the Scottish agrarian economy accompanied by the developing produce of the eighteenth century, notably increased quantities of linen, gave inter-regional trade a Janus-like appearance in the years immediately following Union.

Beyond broad changes within the Scottish economy, the expansion of the breadth of trade recorded in 1708-09 can also be attributable to a shift in the Scottish ports recorded as trading with Newcastle. Although Leith continued to be prominent amongst them, it was now joined by vessels from along the banks of the Forth alongside Eyemouth and Aberdeen. The naming of vessels, their apparent enclosed nature and the near-balancing of vessel numbers in 1708-09, would suggest that both the logistics and geography of inter-regional trade had changed following Union. The removal of duties also encouraged a greater level of direct trading between smaller Scottish ports and north-eastern England. This was confirmed in 1708-09 by the presence of a Scottish trade with Stockton, with two vessels belonging to the Tees recorded as leaving for Kirkcaldy in June and September of 1709 carrying alum, victual and hardware.⁸⁹² The fact that both of these vessels belonged to Stockton is in itself significant, as previously Scottish trade with Newcastle and the rest of England had largely been conducted by Scottish vessels.⁸⁹³ Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade can therefore be seen to have embraced a wider portion of both inter-regional coastal economies following Union.

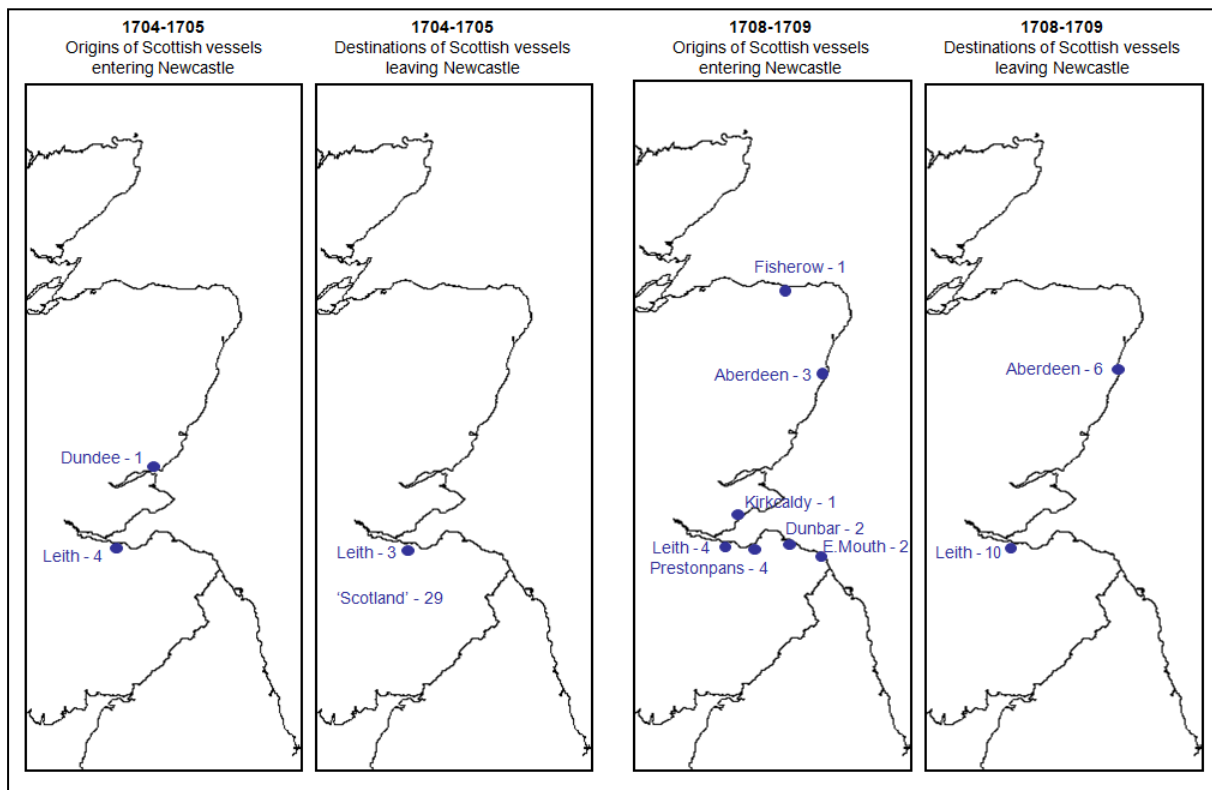
⁸⁹⁰ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 53.

⁸⁹¹ Devine, 'Modern Economy', pp. 19, 24-; Dodgshon, 'Removal of the Runrig', pp. 121-137.

⁸⁹² TNA, E190/214/1, Stockton, Xmas 1708-Xmas 1709, The *Endeavour* of Stockton, 25 July 1709, the *Goodwill of Stockton*, 25 September 1709.

⁸⁹³ TNA, CUST 3/7, Import and Export ledgers, 1703.

Map 12: Origins and Destinations of Scottish vessels trading with Newcastle, 1704-05 and 1708-09.



Source: TNA, E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705; E190/214/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1708-Xmas 1709.

Although all of these changes appear to be intimately related to the removal of restrictions upon Anglo-Scottish trade, the full impact of the Union was clouded by the continuation of the War of the Spanish Succession. Whereas continental conflict restricted the volume of Scottish re-exports, especially wine and brandy, it did encourage the continuation of trade specifically associated with the conflict. The Scottish shipment of north-eastern English lead to Holland continued in 1708-09, and accounted for 8,063 cwt (451 tons) of lead and 34.5 cwt (1.7 tons) of lead shot. Despite this substantial trade in north-eastern lead, the eastern-coastal economy was severely disrupted by the periodic activities of French

privateers.⁸⁹⁴ Such disruption continued until the end of the conflict, with merchants along the Firth of Forth complaining in May 1712 ‘that trade is exceedingly interrupted by small privateers of four to twelve guns’.⁸⁹⁵ It is therefore hard to distinguish whether all of the changes in inter-regional trade in 1708-09 were associated with the Union or whether they were yet another representation of the auxiliary trading relationship which had been shown to have existed during the Second and Third Dutch Wars and the Nine Years War. The fact that the War of the Spanish Succession had been ongoing since 1702 without producing the changes witnessed in 1708-09, and would not peak as a conflict until the following year, would suggest that part of the transition that occurred was a direct result of the Union.⁸⁹⁶ The continuation of continental conflict restricted the full impact of Union however, particularly due to the prevalence of privateering disrupting trade.

10.5. The impact of Union upon inter-regional trade, 1709-14.

The changes in inter-regional trade that were evident in 1708-09 continued into the following year. Most obviously, this included the growth in the numbers of vessels trading between Newcastle and Scotland, with twenty-four vessels arriving in the Tyne and seventeen leaving.⁸⁹⁷ This rise in entries into Newcastle in 1709-10 was accompanied by a small trade between Stockton and Scotland, with the entry of one vessel carrying 150 bowls of bear from Inverness in May 1710.⁸⁹⁸ Alongside this also came a small Scottish trade with Sunderland, the *William and Thomas* of Inverness leaving with 360 glass bottles in June 1710.⁸⁹⁹ Yet despite the cumulative rise in vessels trading with north-eastern England, the

⁸⁹⁴ NAS, RH15/15/43, Letter from John Douglas to Lord Kimmergham, Newcastle, 19 March 1707.

⁸⁹⁵ J. Taylour to Mr. Burchett, Secretary to the Admiralty, 13 May 1712, *C.T.P.*, 1712, Pt. II, p. 279.

⁸⁹⁶ J. Black, *European Warfare 1600-1815* (London, 1994), p. 109.

⁸⁹⁷ See Appendix I, Figures II and III, pp. 330, 331.

⁸⁹⁸ TNA, E190/215/1, Stockton, Xmas 1709-Xmas 1710, 15 May 1710.

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Sunderland, Xmas 1709-Xmas 1710, 21 June 1710.

range and breadth of Scottish commodities exported to the Tyne, Wear and Tees remained largely restricted to quantities of skins, linen and victual. All of these appeared in relatively minor quantities, with the Scottish trade in fish to Newcastle falling by 58 per cent to 37,000 fish compared to the previous year.⁹⁰⁰ Scottish re-exports were also shown to be largely absent, only amounting to 3,506 bars of Swedish iron, with the complete absence of colonial commodities.⁹⁰¹

Like Scottish trade entering north-eastern England, that recorded as leaving demonstrated a degree of continuity in 1709-10 compared to the previous year. In particular, glassware continued to be an important commodity amongst Scottish cargoes leaving the region, accounting for 37,080 glass bottles, 2,740 drinking glasses and twenty-four cases of glass.⁹⁰² As in previous years, the continuation of the War of the Spanish Succession also encouraged substantial lead shipments from Newcastle to Holland by Scottish merchants. These equalled 1,092 cwt of lead (55 tons), 210 loose pieces of lead, and fourteen cwt (0.7 ton) of lead shot in 1709-10.⁹⁰³ The cessation of Britain's direct involvement in the conflict in 1711 would therefore witness a profound change in the nature and extent of inter-regional trade, causing a fall in these lead shipments, but alternatively provoking a resurgence in continental and colonial re-exports once the disruption of trade has ceased.

Large changes were witnessed in both the scale and nature of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade after the Treaty of Utrecht of April 1713. Most obviously, this included a rise in the number of vessels conducting inter-regional trade, with the entry of thirty-two vessels and the departure of twenty-one in 1713-14.⁹⁰⁴ This rise in vessel numbers translated into an increase in Scotland's share of Newcastle's total trade, accounting for 14 per cent of the total domestic trade of the Tyne in 1713-14, its highest level since 1673-74 during the Third Dutch

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Newcastle.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*,

⁹⁰² TNA, E190/215/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1709-Xmas 1710.

⁹⁰³ *Ibid.*,

⁹⁰⁴ See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

War.⁹⁰⁵ In doing so, this reversed the established pattern of auxiliary trading. The number of vessels trading, and the variety of the commodities they carried, peaked once peace had been declared. The Union appears to have weakened the inter-regional auxiliary trading relationship between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. Foremost in this process was the enhanced availability of colonial produce to Scottish merchants following the granting of access to the English colonies, something which provided mutually acceptable articles of trade which were independent of either region's carboniferous based economy [Table 52]. In this respect, Scottish inter-regional trade became a part of Scotland's rapidly growing *entrepôt* trade in colonial produce, 'requiring relatively few Scottish products for export and requiring few markets in Scotland for the disposal of goods'.⁹⁰⁶

Table 52: Scottish exports of colonial produce to Newcastle, 1713-14.

	Pounds
Leaf tobacco	520
Plain sugar	23,107
Sugar candy	12,178
Sugar loaf	1,905
Sugar powder	9,904
Total sugar exports	47,094 (21 tons)

Source: TNA, E190/219/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1713-Xmas 1714.

These volumes reflected an expansion of the Scottish colonial economy and the activities of Glasgow in particular. Partly encouraged by the end of continental conflict and the disruption to trade it brought via privateering, the growth of colonial trade through Glasgow was also a direct consequence of Union. In her study of the trade of Cumbria, Robinson noted that Whitehaven saw an immediate decline in its colonial trade following Union. The number

⁹⁰⁵ See Appendix I, Figure X, p. 346.

⁹⁰⁶ Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, p. 38.

of ships which arrived from Virginia fell from twenty-two in 1707 to just twelve in 1708, the rest having been lured away to the Clyde.⁹⁰⁷ The logistical exercise of transporting colonial produce overland from Glasgow to the Scottish east coast was described in May 1712 when the Scottish customs commissioners wrote that ‘all the tobacco that is exported on this [east] side is first imported at Glasgow and brought by land to some of said eight ports (especially Borrowstounness) and there re-shipped for transportation’.⁹⁰⁸ Such a process was confirmed in 1719 when Kalmeter reported ‘sugar arrives coarse, just as it is made in the Barbadoes etc., from when it goes to Glasgow, and then overland to Leith’.⁹⁰⁹ These quantities of tobacco and sugar were in exchange for Holland goods, it being ‘from Borrowstounness [that] Glasgow and the west of Scotland is chiefly supplied with Holland goods, which after they are landed on this [east] side are by land carriage conveyed thither’.⁹¹⁰ As a result of such a plentiful supply of colonial produce from the west coast of Scotland, Scottish merchants only shipped 702 pounds of tobacco and 896 pounds of sugar from Newcastle in 1713-14.⁹¹¹ This exchange between colonial produce and Holland goods illustrated the tangible overland trading links between the east and west coast economies of Scotland, whilst also questioning the assertion of Lythe and Butt that relatively little increase was witnessed in Scotland’s colonial trade in the immediate aftermath of the Union.⁹¹² The rise of Glasgow and the infiltration of its colonial trade into eastern markets also potentially reduced Newcastle’s reliance upon London for much of its colonial produce.

Beyond the large increases in tobacco and sugar, 1713-14 also saw unprecedented volumes of alcohol re-exported to the Tyne by Scottish merchants. This was not restricted to

⁹⁰⁷ Robinson, ‘Cumbrian Attitudes to Union’, pp. 236-237.

⁹⁰⁸ Customs Commissioners in Scotland to Mr Lowndes, 8 April 1712, *C.T.P.*, 1712, Pt. II, p. 279.

⁹⁰⁹ Smout, ‘Kalmeter’s Travels’, p. 50.

⁹¹⁰ Commissioners to Lowndes, 8 April 1712, *C.T.P.*, 1712, Pt. II, p. 279.

⁹¹¹ TNA, E190/219/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1713-Xmas 1714.

⁹¹² Lythe, and Butt, *Economic History*, p. 85.

the east coast, but was also replicated by Scottish coastwise trade with Carlisle.⁹¹³ Foremost amongst these were quantities of French wine and brandy, demonstrating the continuation of traditional Scottish patterns of trade with the continent despite the increased importance of colonial goods [Table 53].⁹¹⁴ These commodities were also accompanied by domestically produced ‘spirits’, which had grown from Scotland’s increased colonial trade. Reports from 1711 stated that substantial volumes of these were produced by the sugar works at Glasgow and were then subsequently brought into England.⁹¹⁵

Table 53: The entry of alcohol into the Tyne onboard Scottish vessels, 1713-14.

	Gallons
Brandy	11
French wine	1,323
Rum	63
Scotch brandy	69.5
Sherry	567
Spanish wine	126
Spirits	132

Source: TNA, E190/219/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1713- Xmas 1714.

Beyond the continuing variety in the commodities traded between Scotland and Newcastle also came a greater diversity of both the English and Scottish ports involved in this trade. Like in 1709-10, Scottish vessels were recorded as entering Stockton, this time amounting to five vessels entering the Tees and four leaving.⁹¹⁶ Despite only being modest in terms of vessel numbers, they represented a major expansion of Stockton’s Scottish trade, particularly in relation to the volume, breadth, and value of the commodities they carried. As with that entering the Tyne, Scottish trade entering the Tees was dominated by continental

⁹¹³ Robinson, ‘The Port of Carlisle’, p. 152.

⁹¹⁴ Levack, *Formation of the British State*, p. 166.

⁹¹⁵ William Lowndes to Baron Scrope, 26 June 1711, *C.T.P., 1711*, Pt. II, p. 334.

⁹¹⁶ TNA, E190/219/12, Stockton, Xmas 1713- Xmas 1714.

and colonial re-exports [Table 54].⁹¹⁷ Some important differences can be noted in the origins of the continental re-exports entering the Tyne and the Tees. Although all shipments of wine were from Leith, those entering Stockton were dominated by Spanish varieties rather than the French wines familiar with Newcastle. The resurgence of Spanish wines, in Newcastle, but especially in Stockton, may also have related more broadly to international relations. Christopher Storrs has suggested that a key commercial advantage offered to Scotland following Union was its inclusion within English international treaties. The final Peace of Utrecht of April 1713, for example, offered commercial advantages in Spain to the ‘subjects of Great Britain’, rather than just England as was contained in earlier drafts.⁹¹⁸ The inclusion of Scotland within such treaties, and particularly the Peace of Utrecht, is a relatively unexplored and unrecognised benefit of Union, and one that appears to have been visible at the inter-regional level.

The increase in Stockton’s wine imports, which outstripped those to Newcastle in 1713-14, also reflected the commercial development of the Tees itself as a major recipient of consumables in the early eighteenth century.⁹¹⁹ These quantities were in exchange for a variety of regional produce, including haberdashery and woollens from Darlington and Richmond, alongside a host of agricultural produce from Stockton’s own rural hinterland.⁹²⁰ In addition to these, Stockton increasingly became a major export centre for Teesdale lead across the early eighteenth century, displacing Newcastle in the inter-regional lead trade to Scotland.⁹²¹ The increased inter-regional trade passing through Stockton therefore reflected changes in Anglo-Scottish relations, the declaration of peace in Europe, and the development of Stockton itself in the early eighteenth century. The Scottish trade entering the Tees also

⁹¹⁷ See below, Table 54, p. 269.

⁹¹⁸ Storrs, ‘The Union and the War of the Spanish Succession’, p. 44.

⁹¹⁹ T. Barrow, *The Port of Stockton-on-Tees, 1702-1802* (Newcastle, 2005), p. 19.

⁹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁹²¹ C. Phythian-Adams, ‘Frontier Valleys’, in J. Thirsk, (ed.), *Rural England: An Illustrated History of the Landscape* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 251-253; L. Turnbull, *The History of Lead Mining in the North-East of England* (Alnwick, 1987), p. 43.

questions Tony Barrow's assertion that Stockton depended on London for its colonial and continental consumables as the 'emporium of national commerce', but that instead many of these were obtained from Scotland.⁹²²

Table 54: Scottish inter-regional trade with Stockton, 1713-14.

Stockton - Scottish exports to			Stockton - Scottish imports from		
Commodity	Volume	Measure	Commodity	Volume	Measure
Victual			Metal		
Barley	100	quarters	Alum	17.6	tons
Big	350	quarters	Lead	150	pigs
Skins			Alcohol		
Calf skins	244	loose	Ale	10	casks
Deer skins	150	loose	Cider	63	gallons
Raw hides	124	loose	Small beer	2	casks
Colonial			Foodstuff		
Brown sugar	3	boxes	Butter	10	firkins
Loaf sugar	20	pound	Cheese	3.3	tons
Pepper	25	pound	Potatoes	10	bushels
Alcohol			Haberdashery		
Brandy	24	bottles	Buttons and hair	1	bag
Florence wine	315	gallons	Woollen cards	1	bag
	528	bottles	Woollen cloth	9	tons
Rum	1	barrels	Miscellaneous		
Sherry	2,928	bottles	Clocks	2	loose
Spanish wine	3,024	gallons	Saddlers ware	1	bundle
	237	bottles	Saddles	2	packs
Spirits	24	gallons			
Miscellaneous					
Soap	252	gallons			
Tar	24	barrels			

Source: TNA, E190/219/12, Stockton, Xmas 1713- Xmas 1714.

In addition to this increased trade entering the Tees, Sunderland also recorded an expansion in its Scottish trade with the entry of eight vessels. These vessels originated from Inverness and Dunbar with the produce of the Scottish agrarian economy including twenty barrels of herring, 148 barrels of beef, and 2,208 skins and hides.⁹²³ In contrast, these were also joined by the re-exported cargo of 2,600 small deals, 463 large deals and 200 planks of wood from Norway, correlating with the subsidence of plague in the Baltic which had raged

⁹²² Barrow, *Stockton-on-Tees*, p. 24.

⁹²³ TNA, E190/219/12, Sunderland, Xmas 1713-Xmas 1714.

from May 1710.⁹²⁴ The entry of large quantities of Norwegian deals into Sunderland would not only provide valuable pit props for Wearside's growing coal industry, but also supply the rapidly expanding ship building industry on the Wear.⁹²⁵ A noticeable split had therefore developed between Scottish trade in colonial and continental consumables entering Newcastle and Stockton, and the more work-a-day and functional produce entering Sunderland. The inclusion of Sunderland into the wider patterns of Scottish triangular trading with the Baltic represents a reaction to specific local demands, the recession of plague in the Baltic, and the end of continental conflict. What this increase in trade to Sunderland does not appear to reflect was any improvement in its notoriously poor harbour, something which had previously hampered the port's trade, with a petition for improvement not being accepted by Parliament until 1717.⁹²⁶

It is hard to establish the exact impact of Union on inter-regional trade due to the effects of European war. Yet despite this obscurity, the Union does appear to have profoundly altered Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade both in the ports it involved and the commodities traded between 1708 and 1714. Although only showing a modest expansion in 1708-09, the number of vessels involved in this trade increased substantially, particularly after the declaration of peace in 1713. The peacetime increase in inter-regional trade was seen in relation to Newcastle, Sunderland and Stockton, and represented a reversal of the traditional auxiliary trading relationship which had existed between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. Scottish trade entering the Tees and the Wear was not only encouraged by external events, including the Union and the declaration of peace, but also changes within the regional economy itself. The development of Sunderland's ship building industry made it a major recipient of Norwegian deals, whereas Stockton was emerging as a significant port,

⁹²⁴ Treasurer Godolphin to the Customs Commissioners in Scotland, 15 May 1710, *C.T.P. 1710*, Pt. II, p. 293.

⁹²⁵ E. Hughes, *North Country Life on the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1750* (London, 1952), p. 12; Meikle and Newman, *Sunderland*, pp. 161-164; Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, p. 197.

⁹²⁶ Meikle and Newman, *Sunderland*, pp. 167-168.

not only for Teesdale, but also for northern Yorkshire and southern County Durham. Significant changes were also seen in the commodities traded between Scotland and north-eastern England, as was also the case with Carlisle and Whitehaven.⁹²⁷ An immediate change was seen in the breadth of Scottish trade with north-eastern England which correlated with the free and legal access Scottish merchants now had to the English colonies. A change was also witnessed in the logistics of inter-regional commerce, embodied by the absence of open boats carrying Scottish domestic produce in favour of larger, enclosed, and named vessels transporting colonial and continental commodities. It is possible that some of these larger vessels were the result of Scottish privateering during the War of the Spanish Succession, large gains having previously been made during the Second and Third Dutch Wars.⁹²⁸ In terms of cargoes though, Scottish trade with Newcastle and Stockton formed part of Scotland's wider *entrepôt* trade in colonial and continental commerce, whereas Sunderland was in receipt of a greater proportion of Scottish domestic produce in addition to Norwegian re-exports to support its own ship building industry. This differentiation related specifically to the developments within the economy of north-eastern England.

10.6. Union Confirmed – Inter-regional trade, Rebellion and Recession, 1715-16.

The relative buoyancy of inter-regional trade seen in 1713-14 was brought to a relative halt in 1715-16. In that year, both Newcastle and Stockton witnessed sizeable falls in the number of vessels entering from Scotland, whereas none were recorded for Sunderland.⁹²⁹ This slump corresponded with the dislocation of the Scottish agrarian economy due to the harvest failure of 1715 and the Jacobite rebellion which, although largely defeated by

⁹²⁷ Robinson, 'The Port of Carlisle', p. 152.

⁹²⁸ See above, pp. 164-165.

⁹²⁹ See Appendix I, Figure I and Figure X, pp. 329, 346; TNA, E190/220/9, Stockton, Sunderland, Xmas 1715-Xmas 1716.

February 1716, continued to rumble on in the highlands.⁹³⁰ In consequence, grain and victual disappeared from Scottish cargoes entering the Tyne and Tees and the breadth of trade also contracted, the number of commodities entering Newcastle falling by 63 per cent to twenty individual commodities in 1715-16.⁹³¹ As was the case in 1699-1700, the decline in agrarian commodities amongst Scottish cargoes did not prohibit a growth in marine produce, and the number of fish entering the Tyne witnessed a 261 per cent increase in 1715-16 compared to 1713-14. This increase in fish also witnessed the return of ‘open boat’ trading between Dunbar and Newcastle, something which had been absent since 1704. In some respects, Scottish trade with the Tyne in 1715-16 lapsed into pre-Union patterns. Yet although these traditional commodities of the Scottish marine economy had increased, the largest concentrations continued to be in colonial and continental re-exports, carried onboard enclosed vessels from Leith.

Table 55: Commodities exported to Newcastle and Stockton from Scotland, 1715-16.

Newcastle			Stockton		
Commodity	Volume	Measure	Commodity	Volume	Measure
Alcohol			Alcohol		
British Spirits	1,684	gallons	British Spirits	120	gallons
French wine	1,890		French wine	189	
Spanish wine	272		Sherry	252	
Colonial				500	bottles
Colonial			Colonial		
Leaf tobacco	4,666	pounds	Sugar	90	pounds
Sugar	6,804		Fabrics		
Sugar candy	3,996		Linen cloth	1,068	yards
Fabrics			Pladding	2	pieces
Linen	8,875	yards	Serge	1	bundle
Foodstuffs			Foodstuffs		
Fish	354,940	loose	Butter	55	firkins
Barley	448	quarters	Herrings	2,880	loose
			Skins		
			Buck skins	2	loose
			Calf skins	10	
			Kid skins	60	
			Lamb skins	2	
			Sheep skins	264	

Source: TNA, E190/220/9, Newcastle, Stockton, Xmas 1715-Xmas 1716.

⁹³⁰ D. Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (London, 2006), p. 16; Gibson and Smout, *Prices, food and wages*, p. 103; See Appendix I, Figure X, p. 346.

⁹³¹ Appendix I, Figure III, p. 331.

Although Scottish trade entering Newcastle and north-eastern England slumped, the number of vessels leaving for Scotland increased from twenty-one in 1713-14 to twenty-three in 1715-16. In addition to this increase in vessel numbers, there was an expansion in the breadth of trade, from sixty-nine commodities in 1713-14 to ninety-five in 1715-16.⁹³² Foremost amongst these Scottish imports from the Tyne were large quantities of Tyneside glassware, metals and hardware. In keeping with previous patterns of trade, these were also joined by considerable volumes of English alcohol and a reduced quantity of English colonial produce.⁹³³

Table 56: Scottish imports from Newcastle and Stockton, 1715-16.

Newcastle			Stockton		
Commodity	Volume	Measure	Commodities	Volume	Measure
Alcohol			Alcohol		
Ale	4,536	gallons	Ale	63	gallons
	984	bottles	Foodstuff		
Cider	480	bottles	Butter	81	firkins
Rum	56	gallons	Cheese	11	tons
Spanish wine	1	cask	Potatoes	100	bushels
Spirits	120	gallons	Hardware		
Carboniferous			Steel mills	2	loose
Cinders	24	chaldron	Metals		
Coal	36	chaldron	Alum	12	tons
Colonial			Miscellaneous		
Sugar	40	cwt	Bark	110	pounds
Tobacco	40	pound	Leather	4	bands
Glassware			Tanned hides	20	loose
Cut glass	3	boxes			
Drinking glasses	600	loose			
Glass	1,598	cases			
Glass bottles	78,196	loose			
Viols	10	hampers			
Metals					
Alum	5.65	tons			
Copperas	1	ton			
Iron	22.25	tons			
Lead	46.3	tons			
	68	pieces			
Steel	2	tons			

Source: TNA, E190/220/9, Newcastle, Stockton, Xmas 1715-Xmas 1716.

⁹³² Appendix I, Figure II, p. 330.

⁹³³ See Appendix I, Table VIII, pp. 352-355.

These quantities of glassware and alcohol were joined by a wide variety of miscellaneous produce which considerably expanded the breadth of trade. These included modest quantities of apparel, basic foodstuffs and petty hardware. As a result of this, several Scottish vessels had wide and eclectic cargoes, showing a profound lack of specialisation. In 1715-16, Anglo-Scottish east-coast trade was therefore divided between a greater specialisation in Scottish exports to the Tyne and Tees, and a greater diversification in their imports from these ports. Both of these can then be subdivided further, with the Scottish export trade to north-eastern England reflecting the domestic marine economy of Scotland's east coast in terms of fish exports and its re-export trade in colonial produce. Despite the hardship experienced by elements of the Scottish economy, inter-regional trade continued at above pre-Union levels and exhibited a greater variety of commodities traded, especially in Scottish imports from north-east England, which appeared as a permanent result of the Union.

10.7. Conclusion: Anglo-Scottish Economic relations, International Conflict and Political Union, 1701-16.

The years between 1701 and 1716 witnessed varied and marked changes in the nature and extent of Anglo-Scottish political interaction, economic exchange, and inter-regional trade. The level and nature of inter-regional trade was not only heavily influenced by the progress of Anglo-Scottish political machinations, but also by circumstantial events, whether changes within the regional economies or the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession. The individual impacts of these cannot be easily untangled from one another and the limitations of port book survival makes definite attribution impossible. Instead, it was a combination of factors which altered trade. It was the coming of free trade, the cessation of plague in the Baltic, and the development of Sunderland's ship building industry that

profoundly altered Scottish trade to the Wear, for example. Yet despite the existence of multiple influences affecting inter-regional trade, the Union had a broad effect on the level, nature and destination of commerce. The breadth of trade expanded rapidly as Scottish merchants gained full and legal access to English colonies and were included within the commercial privileges of international treaties. Scottish trade with the Tyne and Tees therefore reflected the wider development of Scotland's *entrepôt* trade and, although traditional articles of exchange reappeared in 1715-16, the nature of inter-regional trade had changed permanently. The findings presented here have therefore both confirmed and challenged the existing historiography. The trade in linen and colonial produce increased substantially, and immediately, after Union against the findings of Lythe and Butt nationally.⁹³⁴ Alternatively, Campbell's suggestion that Scottish markets were flooded by cheap English imports has been partially confirmed by the large increase in Tyneside glass exports.⁹³⁵

In addition to these specific findings, the evidence assembled here also suggests that the Scottish economy was more robust on the eve of Union than is traditionally believed. Scottish merchants demonstrated their ability to circumvent some of the worst effects of English protectionism between 1702 and 1705 through the creation of a sizeable carrying trade in north-eastern lead to Holland, English wool to the continent, and Scottish lead to France. The majority of these transactions were unrecorded in the port books or official customs accounts, and therefore were not considered when compiling the level of Scotland's trade deficit. As a consequence, they are also difficult to quantify with any certainty. Yet if contemporary reports are to be believed, the illicit trade in these goods is an important reminder that one of the major outcomes of the harmonisation of Anglo-Scottish duties following Union was an increase in smuggling. The scale of this illicit trade appears hard to exaggerate or determine,

⁹³⁴ Lythe and Butt, *Economic History*, p. 85.

⁹³⁵ Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, pp. 48-49.

with Devine stating that it was central to Scotland's long-term economic survival after the Union.⁹³⁶ As has been demonstrated though, this did not just exist after Union, but had also been essential both to Scotland's seventeenth-century colonial trade and its ability to weather English economic hostility in the opening years of the eighteenth century. It is also an important reminder that the level of trade presented in the port books is at best a conservative illustration rather than an authoritative account. Despite this evidence, the short-term impact of the Union is best judged when it is compared to the decades that followed 1707, to which the majority of historians attribute its greatest impact.

⁹³⁶ Devine, 'Modern Economy', p. 25.

11. 1707 in the long term.

11.1. Introduction.

The long term impact of the Anglo-Scottish Parliamentary Union of 1707 has occupied historians as much as its immediate causes and consequences have. An awkward historiographical dichotomy has developed between a treaty that has been interpreted as concerned with economic issues, progress and free trade, and a period of perceived continuity in the Scottish economy before the take-off of the industrial revolution towards the end of the 1760s.⁹³⁷ As has already been seen with regard to inter-regional trade, the Union of 1707 had a definitive and distinctive impact upon the ebb and flow of trade. Having continually evolved and shifted throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland continued to do so, and at a greater pace, in the first half of the eighteenth century. Such a revelation lies awkwardly against the dominant historiography, which has argued that little impact was felt from the Union until the 1730s, or at worst the 1750s.⁹³⁸ Although this is partly a product of the historiographical ignorance of Scottish economic reality between 1707 and 1730 cited by Whatley, it is also a reflection of the benchmark of study being the ‘success’ of the Union in transforming the Scottish economy.⁹³⁹ Such parameters of study are clearly outlined by Finlay when he states that ‘the facts speak for themselves. The Union did not witness any dramatic up turn in Scottish economic fortunes in the first half of the eighteenth century which again shows the minimal impact that the Union had on Scottish society’.⁹⁴⁰ Yet just because the Union did not produce a ‘dramatic up turn’, does not mean it did not have an impact. In searching for the consequences of the Union, historians have therefore largely focused upon structural

⁹³⁷ For a discussion of the historiography of Union see, above, pp. 8-10.

⁹³⁸ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 40; Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 99.

⁹³⁹ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 52.

⁹⁴⁰ Finlay, ‘Caledonia or North Britain?’, p. 145.

economic change, or the lack thereof, rather than assessing Anglo-Scottish trading relations. Even when trade has been considered, it has focused upon the cattle, linen, and colonial trades, to the neglect of the great expansion in the volume and breadth of Scottish coastal trading.⁹⁴¹

Beyond downgrading any analysis of the Union's long term impact to one described as either 'success' or 'failure', fair assessment has also suffered from a rise in nationalist works, which have dismissed the Union as a positive influence upon the Scottish economy. Finlay's assessment is an extreme representation of these views in stating that 'when the Scottish economy does begin to flourish, the key factors in expansion are due to Scottish initiative and expertise. In short, the Scottish economy boomed because the Scots made it boom'.⁹⁴² The dismissal of the Union as 'unsuccessful' and any progress the result of indigenous efforts, although containing some truth, offers a skewed perception of the impact of Union which is unrecognisable when one takes account of the port books.

11.2. Legacy of Rebellion and the spiralling 'underground economy', 1716-22.

Although the Jacobite Rebellion only had a modest impact upon inter-regional trade in 1715-16, it did have a significant legacy in relation to the customs system. Throughout 1716, several customs officials were replaced due to their involvement in the uprising, some of whom had fled with the rebels. In October 1716, lengthy lists were produced of those who were to be dismissed from office, these being from a multitude of positions within the customs hierarchy.⁹⁴³ The dismissal of so many officers also coincided with a general awareness of the scale and seriousness of Anglo-Scottish, and inter-regional, smuggling

⁹⁴¹ Devine, 'Scottish Merchant Community', p. 31.

⁹⁴² Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain?', p. 145.

⁹⁴³ Treasury warrant to the Customs Commissioners in Scotland to appoint customs officers, 1 October 1716, *C.T.P., 1716, Pt II*, pp. 504-507.

which was perceived to have increased towards the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century. Reports were heard in 1716 that the ‘great quantities of uncustomed and prohibited goods run in Scotland are carried by land into England’, and that there was therefore the need for a riding surveyor to prevent such movements.⁹⁴⁴ These reports demonstrate that the coming of Union, the associated increases in fiscal duty, and the sluggishness in establishing a uniform customs system, all encouraged smuggling to become the ‘national vice’ of eighteenth-century Scotland.⁹⁴⁵ Such activities undoubtedly received support and encouragement from northern England.

In addition to these goods travelling illegally overland, there were also reports of great quantities travelling coastwise. In 1716, a customs sloop was requested to patrol the Forth as ‘the masters [of ships] by order of their merchants constantly run all their fine goods, brandies and many times wine there and seldom import anything but plank, timber, deals, masts and other sorts of coarse foods (which pay little custom)’.⁹⁴⁶ Prominent amongst such ‘fine goods’ was tobacco, of which between 47 and 62 per cent entering the Scottish market was said to be smuggled (1710-22).⁹⁴⁷ Beyond merchants and masters, some customs officials were also compliant in smuggling. In 1718, it was reported that there existed ‘a sort of confederacy between sundry merchants and the Custom House officers [of Scotland]... the Frauds appear to amount to 11,000l. and upwards and are so flagrant and notorious in their nature that the future safety of the revenue will depend upon bringing the persons concerned to punishment’.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴⁴ Appointment of James Wallace as Riding Surveyor and Examiner of the Land Carriages, 1 October 1716, *Ibid.*, p. 508.

⁹⁴⁵ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 54.

⁹⁴⁶ Treasury warrant to the Customs Commissioners in Scotland for the provision of a customs sloop, 14 March 1716, *C.T.P., 1716, Pt. II*, pp. 140-141.

⁹⁴⁷ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 54; Nash, ‘Tobacco Trades’, p. 357.

⁹⁴⁸ Report to the King from the Treasury Lords on the petition of Thomas Robertson, merchant of Inverness, 1 May 1718, *C.T.P., 1718, Pt. II*, p. 334.

Given the frequency of such illegal activities, it is unsurprising that requests were made for additional boatmen to patrol the Forth.⁹⁴⁹ Despite additional patrols, the reports suggest that as late as 1717, a fully uniform and effective Anglo-Scottish customs system as envisaged at the Union remained elusive. This extended beyond the detection of frauds to the general bureaucratic administration of the customs system. In 1717, complaints were heard that Scottish customs officials had been ‘very remiss of late in sending to the Officers in Edinburgh the accounts of the shipping and trade in Scotland in order to their being sent to... the Custom House in London’.⁹⁵⁰ The appointment of new personnel and the provision of additional patrols appeared to have a positive effect on the detection of smuggling. The customs revenue generated by the seizure of smuggled goods increased markedly and reached an average of £916 (sterling) a month in 1719-20.⁹⁵¹ Despite these improvements, and the reduction of export duties to encourage the legal re-export trade, wide scale smuggling continued in inter-regional trade throughout the 1720s and 1730s.⁹⁵² A proportion of this was recorded by the Newcastle customs collectors [Table 57].⁹⁵³

Conforming to the reports of 1717, the vast majority of the goods smuggled were luxury commodities, which not only paid a high duty, but also commanded a good market price. The vast majority of these commodities were seized either for an incorrect dispatch cocquet, indicating a fraudulent passage or voyage between ports, or were simply condemned for not paying duty. Detection depended both on the presence of customs officials and them being highly alert and conscientious. The under-provisioning of customs precincts, as occurred at Blythnook in May 1729, was particularly troublesome due to the highly organised and armed

⁹⁴⁹ C. Stanhope to the Customs Commissioners in Scotland, 18 October 1717, *C.T.P., 1717, Pt. III*, p. 618.

⁹⁵⁰ William Lowndes to the Customs Commissioners in Scotland, 27 December 1717, *Ibid.*, p. 727; for the absence of Scottish port books generally, see above, pp. 38-41.

⁹⁵¹ See Appendix I, Figure XII, p. 356.

⁹⁵² Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 51-52.

⁹⁵³ See below, Table 57, p. 281.

nature of some smuggling groups.⁹⁵⁴ In 1725, the customs surveyor at Shields reported that ‘the smugglers go armd both by land and water’ and ‘that they are not able to do their Duty without Great Hazard’.⁹⁵⁵

Table 57: Range and variety of smuggled goods seized from Scottish vessels by the Newcastle customs collectors, 29 May 1724 – 7 November 1728.

Commodity	Cargoes	Volume	Measure
Alcohol			
Brandy	7	6,199	gallons
	2	6	ankers
French wine	4	232	bottles
	1	60	ankers
Geneva wine	1	4	gallons
Red wine	1	2,604	bottles
	1	10	gallons
White wine	2	51	gallons
Wine	3	263	bottles
	1	36	gallons
Colonial			
Chocolate	1	13	pounds
Coffee	1	2	pounds
Pepper	1	6	pounds
Sugar candy	1	52	pounds
Tea	3	19.5	pounds
Tobacco	1	30	pounds
Foodstuffs			
French prunes	1	2	casks
Scottish manufacture			
Gloves	1	31	Pairs
Linen	3	82	yards

Source: TNA, CUST 84/1, Collector to board, 29 May 1724 – 7 Nov 1728.

The inefficiencies of the Scottish customs system, and the under provisioning of north-eastern England’s small and remote inlets, were likely to have made inter-regional trade particularly vulnerable to any increase in smuggling. The combination of these factors with the relative proximity of Newcastle as a major market for smuggled produce encouraged the

⁹⁵⁴ See above, p. 34; TNA, CUST 84/2, 27 May 1729.

⁹⁵⁵ TNA, CUST 84/1, Collector to board, 19 June 1725.

continued smuggling along the coast and across the border. Although much of the smuggling was in tobacco and colonial produce, at the inter-regional level it also involved quantities of linen and apparel, suggesting that such movements could stretch beyond those in lucrative luxuries.⁹⁵⁶ It also illustrated that the regulation and recording of inter-regional trade relied on a customs system that was neither uniform nor extensive, even a decade after the Union. Despite the limitations of such a system, the port books still recorded wider changes in inter-regional trade that are worthy of consideration.

11.3. Widening Divisions within inter-regional trade, 1719-29.

The second and third decades of the eighteenth century demonstrated a degree of continuity in the patterns of inter-regional trade established in the years immediately following the Union. This included the continued growth of Scottish re-exports of continental alcohols and colonial produce from Leith, both of which were symptomatic of the wider expansion of the Scottish re-export economy described by Rössner [Table 58].⁹⁵⁷ Beyond Leith, other Scottish ports became increasingly specialised in their trade with the Tyne. The trade from Aberdeen to Newcastle became concentrated on the shipment of vast quantities of linen and agricultural produce, whereas that from Dundee centred on flax.⁹⁵⁸ The end of the second decade of the eighteenth century therefore witnessed the greater specialisation of individual ports in specific trades, alongside an increase in the number of these trading with Newcastle [Map 13].⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵⁶ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 54; Nash, 'Tobacco Trades', p. 357.

⁹⁵⁷ See below, Table 58, p. 283; Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 57.

⁹⁵⁸ See below, p. 291.

⁹⁵⁹ See below, Map 13, p. 284.

Table 58: The changing profile of colonial imports entering the Tyne onboard Scottish vessels, 1719-49 (all quantities are in pound weight).

	1719-20	1724-25	1728-29	1736-37	1744-45	1747-48	1748-49
Coffee berries					110		49
Leaf tobacco	35,679		5	16,581	9,585	8,128	2,185
Snuff		511		2,798	9,546	2,247	4,307
Spanish snuff		10					
Sugar			41,929	50			
Sugar (powder)				13,540		120	
Sugar candy	1,632						
Tea				289		686	351
Tobacco	12,526	14,364	1,608			49	4

Source: TNA, E190/224/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720; E190/229/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1724-Xmas 1725; E190/243/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1728-Xmas 1729 E190/241/1, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737; E190/234/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748; E190/249/10, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1748-Xmas 1749.

A clear division in inter-regional trade existed in 1719-20 between re-exported commodities from Leith, and Scottish agrarian produce from Aberdeen and Lerwick. Despite this division of trade, the number of vessels entering the Tyne from Scotland fell to twelve in 1719-20, compared to fifteen in 1715-16.⁹⁶⁰ Similar falls were seen in the number of Scottish vessels entering Sunderland, where only two entries, the *Richard* and *Susanna* of Sunderland, were recorded as leaving the port exporting coal destined for Dunbar and Inverness respectively.⁹⁶¹ Although Stockton had demonstrated a relatively prosperous trade with Scotland in 1715-16, only one vessel was recorded as conducting inter-regional trade in 1720. The *Frances* of Stockton left the Tees with 278 and 664 pounds of wool in January and September 1720, and returned with a wide and varied cargo from Leith in December 1720.⁹⁶²

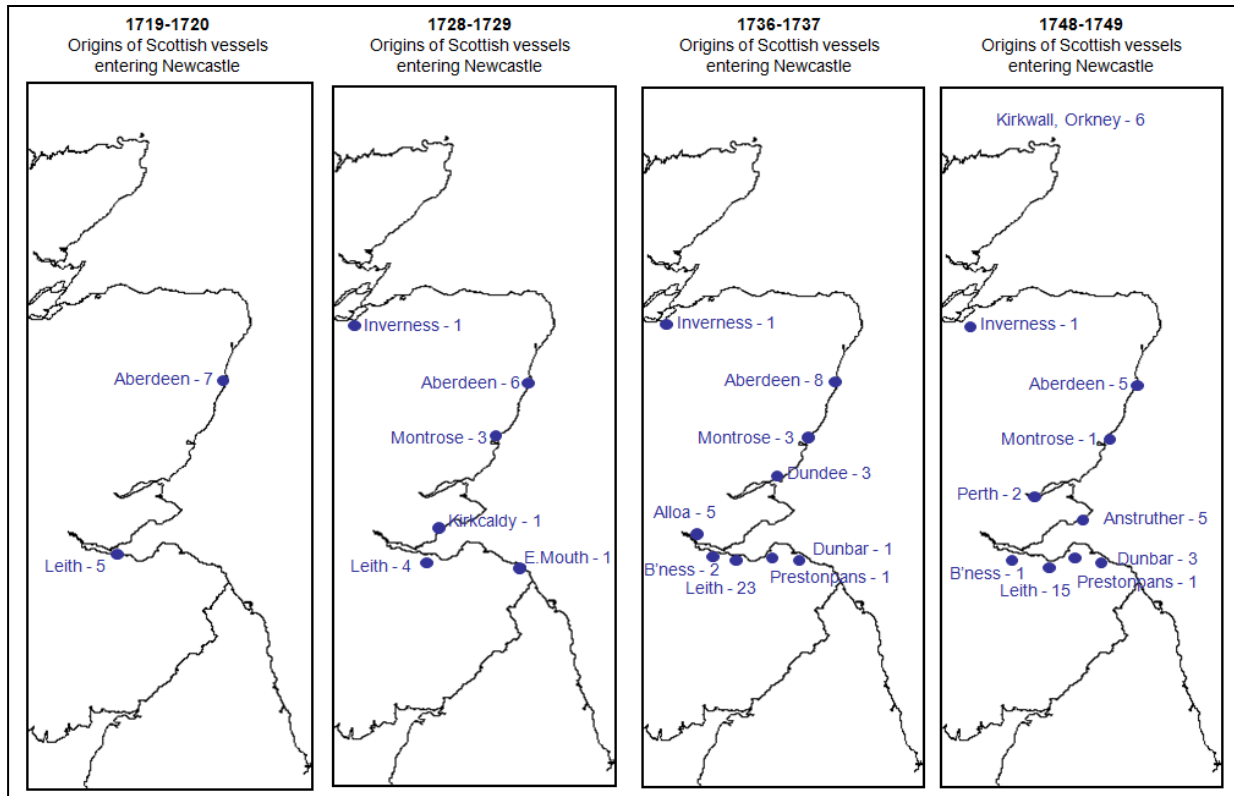
⁹⁶⁰ See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329; TNA, E190/224/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720; E190/220/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1715-Xmas 1716.

⁹⁶¹ TNA, E190/224/9, Sunderland, Outwards, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720, 17 January and 23 June 1720.

⁹⁶² *Ibid.*, Leaving Stockton on 26 January, 9 September 1720, returning on 21 December 1720.

Despite these falls in the number of Scottish vessels entering north-eastern ports, a cumulative increase can be seen in the range and variety of the commodities they carried. These increased from twenty commodities in 1715-16 to forty in 1719-20.⁹⁶³

Map 13: The geographical origins of Scottish vessels entering Newcastle (1718-49).



Source: TNA, E190/224/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720; E190/243/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1728-Xmas 1729 E190/241/1, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737; E190/249/10, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1748-Xmas 1749.

Unlike in 1715-16, foremost amongst the commodities traded in 1719-20 were tobacco and snuff. Tobacco now replaced sugar as the main re-exported commodity traded by Scottish merchants into north-eastern England. This reflected the growing importance of

⁹⁶³ See Appendix I, Figure III, p. 331.

tobacco to the economy of Scotland and the massive increase in Clyde-tobacco imports, something which Devine has stated was ‘without question the most dramatic factor in eighteenth-century Scottish commerce’.⁹⁶⁴ With the existence of substantial import duty draw-backs for re-exported colonial produce, of up to 89 per cent for muscovado sugar and 100 per cent for tobacco, historians have been quick to state that the vast majority of these colonial imports into Scotland were subsequently shipped abroad.⁹⁶⁵ Yet despite this, the domestic coastal trade in colonial produce should not be disregarded as insignificant and coastwise tobacco shipments reached 1,200,000 pounds in 1722.⁹⁶⁶

These increases in Scottish coastal trading, particularly in tobacco, reflected the development of the Clyde economy in colonial trading and the growing role of Leith in distributing re-exports along the east coast. It was also the result of concerted efforts by Scottish merchants to control the tobacco trade at its source. In December 1721, reports came from Virginia of the ‘purchase by Scotchmen of tobacco in large quantities at greater prices than others. The casks were more weighty than those of English merchants. Their object was to get the trade into their own hands’.⁹⁶⁷ Whereas in the late seventeenth century the Scottish trade in colonial produce was either the product of illegal trading or the Scottish re-export of colonial goods initially imported into an English port, those quantities entering the Tyne in the early eighteenth century were the product of a chain of trade frequently controlled by Scottish merchants. These encompassed not only multiple merchant-factors and purchasers in the colonies, a string of trans-Atlantic merchants to transport colonial produce to Glasgow, but also the packmen to carry much of this overland from the Clyde to Borrowstoness.⁹⁶⁸ The Scottish re-export trade to the Tyne went beyond colonial produce and extended to that from

⁹⁶⁴ T.M. Devine, ‘Colonial Commerce and the Scottish Economy, c. 1730-1815’, in Cullen and Smout., (eds.) *Comparative Aspects*, p. 177.

⁹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; Nash, ‘Tobacco Trades’, pp. 360-361; Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 45; for a discussion of the drawback system see above, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁶⁶ Nash, ‘Tobacco Trades’, p. 365.

⁹⁶⁷ Three Reports from Virginia, 27 December 1721, *C.T.P., 1720-1728*, p. 94.

⁹⁶⁸ Smout, ‘Kalmeter’s Travels’, p. 50.

the Baltic, including 3,454 pounds of Swedish iron and 500 Norwegian deals. Re-exports of wines and brandies also increased from the continent and would continue to grow over the course of the early eighteenth century [Table 59].⁹⁶⁹

Table 59: Changing composition of Scottish wine imports into the Tyne, 1719-49 (gallons).

	1719-20	1724-25	1728-29	1736-37	1744-45	1747-48	1748-49
Ale				60			
Brandy	40	18		2,895.5	1,785	2,594.5	2,342.5
Canary wine	2	1,071		10			
Cider		693			120		
Claret		882					
Corsica wine					262		
Dutch wine				50			
French wine	756	264	441	5,325.25			
Geneva wine				45.5	29.5	93.5	146
Levant wine							1,105.5
Madeira wine				7		22	341
Portuguese wine		1,134			520	1,383.75	135
Rhenish wine			8				
Rum	315	6		120	302	788.75	446.5
Sherry		441		8			
Spanish wine		1,034.5		301.5		188	1,019.5
Spirits			1,107	671	125	20	123
Wine	1,239	2,394	579	387			

Source: TNA, E190/224/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720; E190/229/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1724-Xmas 1725; E190/243/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1728-Xmas 1729 E190/241/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737; E190/234/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748; E190/249/10, Newcastle, Xmas 1748-Xmas 1749.

The increasing re-export trade in colonial and continental produce from Leith correlated with a decline in the variety and volume of its trade in agrarian produce. The first half of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of several other ports which specialised in the trade in grains, victual and fish. These were spearheaded by Aberdeen, which outstripped Leith in the number of vessels recorded as trading with Newcastle in 1719-20. Although Devine is right to draw attention to the broad changes occurring within the Scottish export economy

⁹⁶⁹ TNA, E190/224/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720

following the Union, he over-simplifies affairs when he states that, by 1700, ‘the old sixteenth-century raw material staples of skins and fish exports were now being replaced c. 1700 by linen, coal and live cattle’.⁹⁷⁰ Although at the broad national-level of the Scottish economy this may have been apparent, it ignores the substantial regional variations which are evident at the inter-regional level.

In 1719-20, fish, skins, and oil continued to be staples of Scottish trade entering the Tyne, Wear and Tees. These were recorded in much reduced quantities than in 1715-16 however, with a complete absence of grains and victual amongst Scottish cargoes. This absence was not due to the shift in Scotland’s export economy as cited by Devine but attributable to the serious, although temporary, dearth that was felt along Scotland’s east coast in 1720.⁹⁷¹ Partly to alleviate such hardship, 1,900 pounds of hops and 1,904 pounds of cheese were shipped from Newcastle to Leith, the latter having been particularly hit hard.⁹⁷² In addition to these quantities of victual, Scottish merchants also exported volumes of Tyneside produce, notably glassware and coal [Table 60, Figure 11].⁹⁷³

Table 60: Scottish imports of glassware from Newcastle, 1719-20.

Commodity	Volume	Measure
Choppen bottles	12	boxes
Glass	111	cases
	40	firkins
Glass bottles	164,896	loose
Window glass	10	chests

Source: TNA, E190/224/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720.

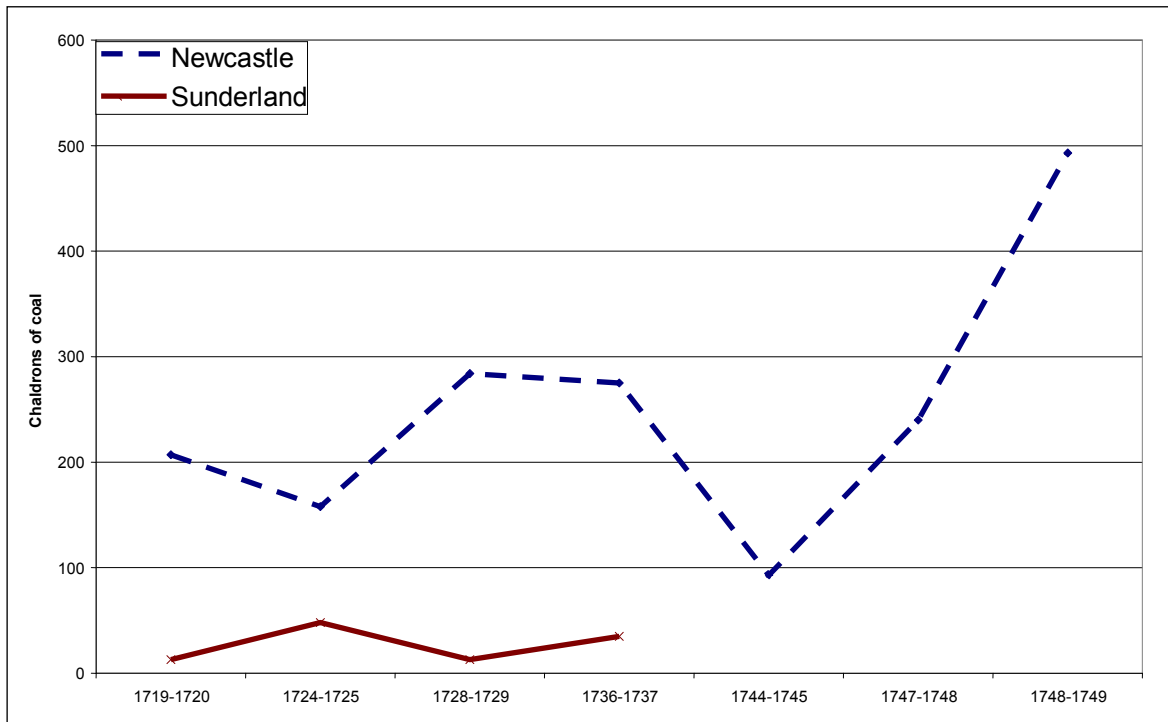
⁹⁷⁰ Devine, ‘Scotland’, p. 394.

⁹⁷¹ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 185.

⁹⁷² *Ibid.*,

⁹⁷³ See below, Table 60 and Figure 11, pp. 287, 288.

Figure 11: North-eastern English coal exports to Scottish ports outside the Forth, 1719-49.



Source: TNA, E190/224/9, Newcastle, Sunderland, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720; E190/229/9, Newcastle, Sunderland, Xmas 1724-Xmas 1725; E190/243/9, Newcastle, Sunderland, Xmas 1728-Xmas 1729 E190/241/1, Newcastle, Sunderland, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737; E190/234/9, Newcastle, Sunderland, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748; E190/249/10, Newcastle, Sunderland, Xmas 1748-Xmas 1749.

Shipments of Tyneside coal reached 207 chaldrons (549 tons), which although modest when compared to Newcastle’s coal trade with London, was significant at the inter-regional level. This trade resulted from the Scottish demand for north-eastern English coal and the placement of a 3 s. 8 d. duty on every chaldron of Forthside coal leaving the Forth.⁹⁷⁴ In return for an exemption from taxation within the Forth, this duty gave Tyneside coal a great advantage over its Forthside rivals along the Scottish east coast.⁹⁷⁵ As a result of this, north-

⁹⁷⁴ Duckman, *Scottish Coal Industry*, p. 37.

⁹⁷⁵ See above, p. 254; Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 45; C.A. Whatley, ‘New Light on Nef’s Numbers: Coal mining and the first phase of Scottish Industrialisation, c. 1700-1850’, in A.J.G. Cummings, and T.M. Devine, (eds.), *Industry, Business and Society in Scotland since 1700* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 8.

eastern English coal was destined to ports outside the Forth, including Inverness, Aberdeen and Dundee.⁹⁷⁶

Whereas the nature of trade leaving Newcastle for Scotland had become more specialised, the vessels conducting it had become more varied in their origins. In 1719-20, 35 per cent of vessels leaving the Tyne for Scotland were English, originating from Newcastle (8), South Shields (3), Berwick (1) and Alnmouth (1).⁹⁷⁷ The presence of English vessels in substantial numbers was largely a post-Union phenomenon, having previously only been recorded to this extent during the Republican Union and following the dislocation of the London trade in 1665-67. The presence of English vessels conducting inter-regional trade was one of the most notable changes following the Union and one that intensified in 1719-20. These vessels were concerned solely with the shipment of Tyneside glass and hardware, although two of them returned from Leith with tobacco, French wine and a wide selection of miscellaneous produce.⁹⁷⁸ Beyond the appearance of vessels registered to ports in England, the second decade of the eighteenth century had witnessed some profound and semi-permanent changes in the nature of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade, including an increased similarity in the cargoes carried by vessels in both directions, and a wider variety of English and Scottish ports involved in inter-regional trade. Such characteristics were not isolated to the port book of 1719-20, but were also recorded in that of 1724-25.

Inter-regional trade demonstrated a degree of continuity in 1724-35 with that apparent four years earlier. Trade leaving the east coast of Scotland exhibited an increasing division between that in colonial and continental re-exports from Leith, and those in grain, victual and fabrics from Aberdeen, Dundee and Montrose. Such a division represented the continual development of Leith's *entrepôt* trade, or 'warehouse economy', in re-exported produce

⁹⁷⁶ See below, Map 14, p. 308.

⁹⁷⁷ TNA, E190/224/9, Newcastle, Outwards, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720.

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 10 June and 11 August 1720, *The Friendship* of Newcastle; 5 September 1720, *The Neighbours Love* of Shields.

alongside Aberdeen's emergence as a major distributor of Scottish agrarian produce within inter-regional trade. Beyond the port of origin of Scottish vessels, increasing divisions were also seen in their port of destination. Whereas Newcastle recorded substantial quantities of re-exports from Leith in 1724-25, the Scottish trade entering Stockton and Sunderland concentrated upon industrial produce and basic manufacture. Notable amongst Scottish exports to the Wear were three tons of kelp and two tons of broken glass onboard the *Thomas* of Aberdour in April 1725, both of which were used in the Wear-side glasshouses.⁹⁷⁹ Kalmeter gave an account of this process in his journal of 1719 when he described that 'the "seawear" (a kind of wrack or big reed thrown up by the sea) [is] burnt, till it comes to a very hard body, and broken glass of bottles, is likewise mixed in with it'.⁹⁸⁰ Not only was this process economical in terms of recycling broken and otherwise useless bottles, but also productive in encouraging fusion between the various components of the mixture.⁹⁸¹ In return for the entry of broken glass, Scottish merchants shipped 10,060 glass bottles from Sunderland and thus can be seen to have acted as both a supplier and consumer to the Wearside glass industry.⁹⁸² In doing so, Scottish trade to north-eastern England had become increasingly complementary to the regional economy, a key feature of post-Union Anglo-Scottish trade cited by Whatley in relation to linen.⁹⁸³ A small quantity of coal was also shipped from Sunderland to Aberdeen and Dunbar [Figure 11].⁹⁸⁴

The year 1724-25 therefore witnessed the continued polarisation of inter-regional trade, characterised by a strong trade in continental and colonial commodities between Leith and Newcastle, and agrarian produce and hardware between several eastern Scottish ports and Newcastle, Stockton and Sunderland. As was the case in 1719-20, much of this inter-regional

⁹⁷⁹ TNA, E190/229/9, Sunderland, Inwards, Xmas 1724-Xmas 1725, 19 April 1725, *The Thomas* of Aberdour; Turnbull, *Scottish Glass Industry*, p. 10.

⁹⁸⁰ Smout, 'Kalmeter's Travels', p. 24.

⁹⁸¹ Turnbull, *Scottish Glass Industry*, p. 10.

⁹⁸² TNA, E190/229/9, Sunderland, Inwards, Xmas 1724-Xmas 1725

⁹⁸³ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, pp. 96-97, 109.

⁹⁸⁴ See above, Figure 11, p. 288; *Ibid.*,

trade was conducted by English vessels which continued to account for 34 per cent of those vessels leaving Newcastle destined for Scotland. The inter-regional trade in both 1719-20 and 1724-25 demonstrated an incremental shift away from that witnessed in the early eighteenth century. Scotland became an increasingly significant destination within the coastal hopping and triangular trading of north-eastern merchants, whilst inter-regional trade itself became more fractured and differentiated depending on the ports it involved.

Although the 1728-29 port book recorded wide and varied fluctuations in vessel numbers, the nature of trade remained similar to that in 1724-25.⁹⁸⁵ Scottish trade entering Newcastle was still dominated by quantities of colonial produce from Leith. These were joined by a significant trade in victual, linen and fabrics from Aberdeen, and the re-export of 1,120 pounds of dressed flax from Dundee. The entry of the latter reflected Dundee's wider development as a major importer of continental flax during the eighteenth century, something which shaped its trade with England more generally.⁹⁸⁶ In return for these commodities, those goods leaving the Tyne were largely representative of the Tyneside economy and its glass industry in particular. The Scottish import of Tyneside glass increased by 70 per cent in 1728-29, rising to 179,220 bottles, compared to that in 1724-25.⁹⁸⁷ The influx of such volumes of north-eastern English glass into Scottish markets would have damaged Scotland's already struggling glass industry, with the works at Morison's Haven having declined in the 1720s, whereas those at Leith ceased operations between 1733 and 1745.⁹⁸⁸ Scottish imports also included 284 chaldrons of Tyneside coal destined for Dunbar, Dundee, Montrose, and Aberdeen, in exchange for a combination of ballast and kelp.⁹⁸⁹ Trade between southern and eastern Scotland and north-eastern England was therefore divided between the burgeoning re-

⁹⁸⁵ See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

⁹⁸⁶ W.H.K. Turner, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Developments in the Textile Region of East Central Scotland', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 69:1 (April, 1953), p. 14; A.L. Durie, 'The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century: Some Aspects of Expansion', in Smout and Cullen, (eds.), *Comparative Aspects*, p. 88.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Newcastle, Outwards, Xmas 1728-Xmas 1729.

⁹⁸⁸ Turnbull, *Lead Mining*, pp. 185-186.

⁹⁸⁹ TWAS 543/91, 1728-1729, returning vessels bringing a total of 319 tons of ballast.

export trades and that in agrarian and agricultural produce. Although the 1720s had witnessed harvest failure, hardship and economic slump, the greater specialisation in Scottish exports to north-eastern England, and their complementary nature to north-eastern industries, would suggest some of the post-Union economic structural change cited by historians was already underway.⁹⁹⁰ This was confirmed by major changes in inter-regional trade during the 1730s.

11.4. Post-Union structural economic change and inter-regional trade, 1729-45.

The port book of 1736-37 demonstrates that major changes had occurred in Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade since 1728-29. Both Newcastle and Sunderland witnessed a rise in their trade with Scotland in terms of vessel numbers, and in the share they represented of overall port traffic. Vessels from Scotland now accounted for 16 per cent of Newcastle's coastal trade in 1736-37, compared to only 6 per cent in 1724-25.⁹⁹¹ These increases in vessel numbers, and the share of trade they accounted for, were also joined by a large expansion in the breadth of trade. Most significantly, this included an increase in the number of commodities entering the Tyne from Scotland from thirty-three in 1728-29 to seventy-four in 1736-37. Such an increase in the range of commodities traded was a reflection of the determined efforts made at improving Scottish industry throughout the late 1720s and into the 1730s through the allocation of funds from the 'Equivalent' agreed at the Union. These payments constituted a partial rebate of Scotland's post-Union fiscal contributions to England's national debt, the repayment for the Darien fiasco, and the clearing of the backlog in official salaries.⁹⁹² It also repatriated valuable funds back to Scotland for the improvement of Scottish industry. All of the major articles of Scotland's trade received financial support and the employment of foreign expertise in what Devine has termed a process of 'technology

⁹⁹⁰ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 67.

⁹⁹¹ See Appendix I, Figure I and Figure X, pp. 329, 346.

⁹⁹² Whatley, with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, pp. 12, 16, 50, 251, 254-6.

transfer'.⁹⁹³ Following the foundation of the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures in 1727, attention was given to the generic state of Scotland's economy, whereas specific industries were aided by individual initiatives. Although the results of such attempts were often piecemeal, and improvement to the fisheries remained fruitless as late as 1733 despite the annual allocation of £2000 a year since 1719, they still represented a serious attempt to enact structural economic change following the Union.⁹⁹⁴

The results of such attempts at improvement were well represented in inter-regional trade, with Scottish textiles, victual, glassware and fish all witnessing a substantial rise in their volume or variety. Although non-existent in 1728-29, by 1736-37, Scottish fish exports from Leith to Newcastle had increased to over 760,000 pieces, whereas grain and victual exports from Aberdeen, Montrose, Inverness and Alloa amounted to 3,849 quarters into Newcastle and 1,355 quarters into Sunderland.⁹⁹⁵ Beyond improvements to Scottish agriculture and fishing, significant advances were made in the secondary manufacturing and processing sectors. Chief beneficiaries of these improvements were the Scottish tanning and textile industries [Table 61], with the rise in linen being cited as one of the few success stories of the Union and one intimately related to attempts at improvement [Table 62].⁹⁹⁶ This was despite the fact that the production of finest quality linens was initially injured by the influx of superior English produce with the coming of Union.⁹⁹⁷

⁹⁹³ Devine, 'Scotland', p. 410; Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 114.

⁹⁹⁴ Report of the Commissioners and Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures of Scotland, 1733, *C.T.P.*, 1733, p. 422; Report of the Attorney General (Lechmere) to the Lords of the Treasury, 8 November 1719, *C.T.P.*, *Vol V.*, 1714-1719, (1883), pp. 479-491.

⁹⁹⁵ TNA, E190/241/1, Newcastle, Sunderland, Inwards, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737.

⁹⁹⁶ See below, Tables 61 and 62, p. 294; Turner, 'Eighteenth-Century Developments', p. 10; Harte, 'English Linen Trade', p. 93.

⁹⁹⁷ Campbell, *Scotland*, p. 48.

Table 61: Scottish skin exports, 1728-29 and 1736-37.

Loose Skins		
Skins	1728-29	1736-37
Bladders		34
Calf	180	288
Deer		22
Lamb		1,100
Leather		7.5
Ox horns		1,000
Sheep		1,700

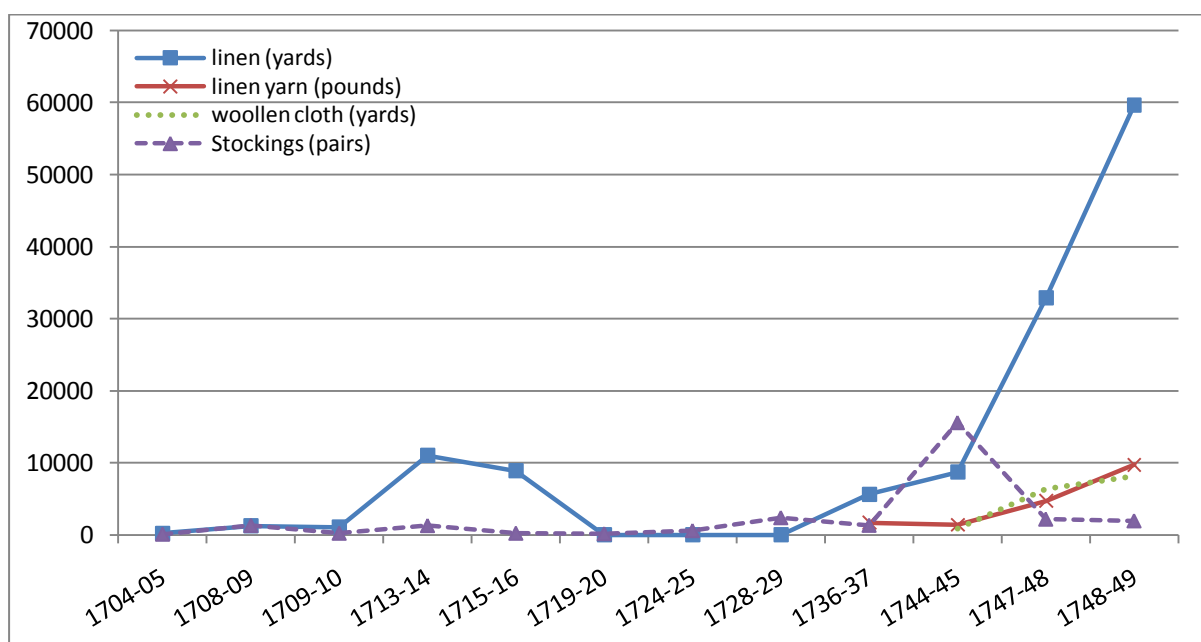
Source: TNA, E190/234/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1728-Xmas 1729; E190/241/1, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737.

Table 62: Scottish linen and cloth export to Newcastle, 1704-49.

	linen (yards)	linen yarn (pounds)	woollen cloth (yards)	Stockings (pairs)
1704-05	236			108
1708-09	1,250			1,320
1709-10	1,063			240
1713-14	11,037			1,300
1715-16	8,875			240
1719-20	0			174
1724-25	0			600
1728-29	0			2,400
1736-37	5,634	1,690		1,342
1744-45	8,719	1,400	850	15,600
1747-48	32,884	4,700	6,406	2,196
1748-49	59,658	9,730	8,130	1,962

Source, TNA, E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705; E190/214/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1708-Xmas 1709; E190/215/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1709-Xmas 1710; E190/219/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1713-Xmas 1714; E190/220/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1715-Xmas 1716; E190/224/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720; E190/229/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1724-Xmas 1725; E190/243/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1728-Xmas 1729; E190/241/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737; E190/245/10, Newcastle, Xmas 1744-Xmas 1745; E190/234/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748; E190/249/10, Newcastle, Xmas 1748-Xmas 1749.

Figure 12: Scottish linen, cloth and apparel exports to Newcastle, 1704-49.



Source, TNA, E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705; E190/214/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1708-Xmas 1709; E190/215/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1709-Xmas 1710; E190/219/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1713-Xmas 1714; E190/220/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1715-Xmas 1716; E190/224/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1719-Xmas 1720; E190/229/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1724-Xmas 1725; E190/243/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1728-Xmas 1729; E190/241/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737; E190/245/10, Newcastle, Xmas 1744-Xmas 1745; E190/234/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748; E190/249/10, Newcastle, Xmas 1748-Xmas 1749.

The majority of these shipments originated from Aberdeen and Dundee, and corresponded with the main area of linen production ‘from the Forth to Aberdeen and westwards to Highland Perthshire’.⁹⁹⁸ These linen and apparel exports were accompanied by lower grades and smaller sized cloths, including 2,900 diapers and 9,088 handkerchiefs.⁹⁹⁹ The improvement in the linen industry provided valuable employment for much of rural Scotland. This would increase in the 1740s when, owing to the combination of foreign

⁹⁹⁸ Turner, ‘Eighteenth-Century Developments’, p. 10.

⁹⁹⁹ E190/241/1, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737.

expertise and improved financing, the linen industry entered a major period of expansion.¹⁰⁰⁰ This was well perceived by contemporaries and it was reported in 1738 that ‘the linen manufacture is thriving. The total stamped for sale in the above year [1737]... was 4,721,240 $\frac{3}{4}$ yards, an excess of 182,762 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards over the preceding year’.¹⁰⁰¹ This rapid expansion in Scottish linen production meant that the 5,634 yards of linen exported to Newcastle still only represented 0.12 per cent of the total produced in that year. Beyond the increase in the volume of linen produced, a report of 1738 suggested that ‘the quality of the linen cloth now produced is vastly improved, owing to the introduction of foreigners to disseminate the mystery’.¹⁰⁰² Another example of Devine’s ‘technology transfer’, the employment of English and Dutch workmen appeared to have produced direct results, Defoe writing that the introduction of these around Haddington had produced ‘very good cloth, well mixed, and good colours’.¹⁰⁰³ The attempts at improvement, particularly within the cloth and linen industries, were important economic outlets for the Scottish economy. The focus on the mass production of linen also contributed to the decline in the manufacture of finer Scottish linen varieties, which had previously competed with those from Manchester. These improvements therefore led to greater complementary trading between England and Scotland.¹⁰⁰⁴

The growth of the linen industry did have positive effects on the Scottish economy more broadly and similar attention was paid to the development of commercial bleaching, which in turn encouraged the trade in starch and ashes, both of which were Scottish imports from north-eastern England.¹⁰⁰⁵ The development of Scottish bleach fields may have affected inter-regional trade in other respects, notably by reducing the geographical pull of Darlington as a

¹⁰⁰⁰ Devine, ‘The English Connection’, p. 12; Devine, ‘Scotland’, p. 402.

¹⁰⁰¹ Money spent on improvements, 20 January, 1738, *C.T.P.*, 1735-1738, p. 465.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.*,

¹⁰⁰³ Defoe, *Tour*, p. 569; Royal warrant to employ foreign skills, 2 June 1736, *C.T.P.*, 1735-1738, p. 170; Campbell, *Scotland*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, pp. 96-97, 109.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 95; Durie, ‘Textile Bleaching’, pp. 337-338, 340.

centre for bleaching linen, something which Defoe had described in the 1720s.¹⁰⁰⁶ Although the Scottish bleaching industry struggled to develop, its association with the improvements in the linen and cloth making industries demonstrates the possibility of industrial agglomeration within the Scottish economy.

Beyond the linen industry, segments of the Scottish glass industry also developed along lines which would complement those on Tyne- and Wearside. This included the specialisation in the production of a variety of glass bottles. Whereas Scottish vessels leaving Newcastle and Sunderland frequently recorded large cargoes of generic ‘glass bottles’, from the 1730s onwards Scottish vessels entering the Tyne and Wear carried specialised categories including ‘choppen’, ‘quart’ and ‘mitch’ bottles, all of which corresponded to different sizes. Such were seen across 1736-37, when 5,602 choppen bottles, 132 quart bottles and 112 mitch bottles were recorded as entering the Tyne onboard Scottish vessels from Leith.¹⁰⁰⁷ These quantities of glassware shipped from Leith are surprising when Turnbull stated that the Leith works had ceased operating between 1733 and 1745.¹⁰⁰⁸ It would therefore be possible to suggest that these bottles originated from the Glasgow works, which had continued to prosper despite the decline of the eastern Scottish works, and specialised in the manufacture of bottles.¹⁰⁰⁹ The import of specific articles of glassware into the Tyne by Scottish merchants was in exchange for a broad array of similar items, notably 6,075 dozen bottles from Sunderland, and 17,714 dozen bottles and 1000 drinking glasses from Newcastle.¹⁰¹⁰ It therefore appears that specific types of Scottish glassware were carried from Glasgow to Leith for re-shipment, notably well made and specifically sized glass bottles, whereas Leith merchants imported cheap, mass produced bottles from Tyne- and Wearside, the likes of which their own manufacture had formerly made. Although dependent upon the ceasing of

¹⁰⁰⁶ Defoe, *Tour*, p. 533.

¹⁰⁰⁷ TNA, E190/241/1, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Turnbull, *Scottish Glass Industry*, pp. 185-186.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 266-273.

¹⁰¹⁰ TNA, E190/241/1, Newcastle and Sunderland, Inwards, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737.

the Leith works, this was another example of complementary economic development between the two economies as the eighteenth century progressed.

Whereas the increased presence of Scottish domestic industry was evident in the cargoes carried by Scottish vessels in 1736-37, continental and colonial re-exports continued to act as the mainstay of Scottish inter-regional trade, particularly that originating from Leith. Quantities exported to Newcastle included 16,581 pounds of leaf tobacco and 2,798 pounds of snuff, alongside 13,540 pounds of sugar and 289 pounds of tea.¹⁰¹¹ Some of these were well represented within Newcastle's consumer market, with the *Newcastle Courant* advertising 'the best Scotch SNUFF, sold by wholesale or at 1s. at the Black Boy at the Sandhill Corner' in 1733.¹⁰¹² Beyond colonial re-exports, there was also a large increase in the standard commodities of Scotland's re-export trades, including continental wine. Amongst these, French varieties once again resumed their prominence and amounted to 1,356 gallons of wine and 2,895 gallons of brandy. Accompanying these were 238 gallons of Spanish wines, seven gallons from Madeira and forty-five gallons from Geneva [Table 59].¹⁰¹³ Notable in their absence were Portuguese varieties, which had previously been popular during Britain's lengthy wars with France and Spain. These disappeared from cargoes now that tastes had returned to the heavier varieties of France. The continued importance of Scottish economic association with France, and the means of Scottish merchants procuring wines in particular, caused unease amongst some contemporaries. In 1730, John Clerk lamented that of Scottish imports, 'the chief of these are French wines and brandies, but here a very black and scandalous scene will appear... Firstly, a good deal of these liquors imported are really run [smuggled]... These liquors have been imported into this poor country with an incredible disadvantage, for in regard the French take little or

¹⁰¹¹ See Table 58, p. 283; TNA, E190/241/1, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1736-Xmas 1737.

¹⁰¹² DUL, HO342.000 MF Reel 07, 1732-1737, *Newcastle Courant*, No. 434, 18 August 1733.

¹⁰¹³ See above, Table 59, p. 286.

nothing from us by the way of barter'.¹⁰¹⁴ The continued inequalities in trade between France and Scotland, and the concern this generated in relation to the circulation of specie, continued into the eighteenth century.

The mid-1730s were a period of transition within Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade, which correlates with existing historiographical opinion. Not only had the trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland reached its highest level in terms of vessel numbers and the individual commodity types traded, but it reflected the wider changes occurring within the Scottish domestic economy. This included the promotion of Scottish industry and the movement of some of these to complement those within England rather than to compete with them directly. Such a process correlates with that described by historians who identified the 1730s as the main period of economic development and transition following the Union.¹⁰¹⁵ Yet the changes that occurred within the Scottish economy, and subsequently within inter-regional trade, did reflect a degree of continuity. The quantities of continental and colonial produce continued to be accompanied by agrarian produce and the products of Scotland's developing industries. These would continue to feature heavily in inter-regional trade, but in reduced quantities owing to the disruption of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and the War of the Austrian Succession of 1740-48.

¹⁰¹⁴ J. Clerk, 'Observations on the Present Circumstances of Scotland' (1730), in Campbell and Dow, *Source Book*, p. 106.

¹⁰¹⁵ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 99.

11.5. *A slump in inter-regional trade, 1745.*

The high levels of trade witnessed in the late 1730s were all the more noticeable when compared to the substantial slump and collapse in commerce which followed in 1745. Inter-regional trade was, however, likely to have fallen before this year associated with the poor harvest of 1739, the consequent shortage of victual and the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48). The combination of these 'caused a severe crisis in Scottish coastal shipping with consequent dislocation in the vital inter-regional grain trade [within Scotland]'.¹⁰¹⁶ Although the shortage of grain and victual was geographically and chronologically restricted to 1739-40, the continuation of continental conflict and privateering were likely to have steadily disrupted Anglo-Scottish exchange, whilst also damaging some of the newly improved domestic industries. Notable amongst these were the east-coast fisheries, which now found themselves prey to French privateers. In 1745, it was reported that 'the fishery is in a declining state. The herring fishery on the coast has failed everywhere' and that 'the vessel fitted out for Zetland for the cod fishing began successfully, but after a few days fishing was taken and plundered by a French privateer'.¹⁰¹⁷ The problems of French privateering were then worsened by the outbreak of the Jacobite rebellion, disrupting coastal and overland trade, and generally undermining commercial confidence.

News of the Jacobite rebellion and the subsequent approach of their army caused panic throughout north-eastern England, a situation which would have clearly restricted trade.¹⁰¹⁸ Although eventually entering England via the western borders, initial reports suggested that the Jacobites intended to capture Newcastle. These rumours caused panic throughout the city during August and September 1745 after Prince Charles had landed in Scotland in late July.

¹⁰¹⁶ Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 71.

¹⁰¹⁷ Report to the King from the Commissioners and Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland, 11 January 1744-1745, *C.T.P., 1742-1745*, p. 658.

¹⁰¹⁸ P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989), p. 198.

The *London Post* reported that Newcastle was ‘in great confusion... carts and carriages crowding the streets, to carry off the effects of those who think it is safer to remove’.¹⁰¹⁹ Due to its scale, early success, and initial threat to north-eastern England, the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 had a greater impact on inter-regional trade than that of 1715. In September 1745, Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Session in Scotland, reported how ‘communication being stopt, trade is at a stand, and no one will part with the little money he is possessed of’.¹⁰²⁰ The hoarding of ready cash caused concern in Scotland and in north-eastern England. The gentlemen and merchants of Newcastle apprehended that ‘their manufactures must suffer... [and were] apprehensive of a want of current cash to answer the necessary daily demands of the workmen in the several manufactures in their parts’.¹⁰²¹ The shortage of specie, and the order to stop and check all vessels destined for Scotland, were major disruptions to Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade.¹⁰²² This was illustrated by a 43 per cent fall in the number of vessels entering Newcastle from Scotland, and a 59 per cent fall in those leaving, in 1744-45 compared to 1736-37.¹⁰²³ Such a decline in vessel numbers caused a fall of Scotland’s share of Newcastle’s total coastal trade from 16 per cent in 1736-37 to 9 per cent in 1744-45.¹⁰²⁴

Beyond the decline in vessel numbers, the breadth of trade also contracted sharply in both directions. As with vessel numbers, the trade leaving the Tyne bound for Scotland was more adversely affected, the number of commodities carried out of Newcastle falling by 38 per cent in 1744-45 compared to 1736-37, whereas the number of commodities entering fell

¹⁰¹⁹ J. Oates, ‘Reponses in Newcastle upon Tyne to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 and 1745’, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fifth Series, 32 (2003), p. 142; L. Gooch, *The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North-East England 1688-1745* (Birtley, 2001), pp. 143, 160-161.

¹⁰²⁰ Letter from Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Session to Marquis of Tweeddale, Culloden, 28 September 1745, *C.T.P., 1742-1745*, p. 717.

¹⁰²¹ Representation from the Mayor of Newcastle and several gentlemen, 15 October 1745, *Ibid.*, p. 723.

¹⁰²² Letter of the Duke of Newcastle, 3 December 1745, *Ibid.*, p. 737.

¹⁰²³ See Appendix I, Figure I, p. 329.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*, Figure X, p. 346.

by 27 per cent for the same period.¹⁰²⁵ Amongst those which were entered, Scottish domestic manufacture continued to increase in its share of cargo-space, with imports of linen, linen yarn and stockings all reaching modest heights.¹⁰²⁶ These exports filled a void amongst Scottish cargoes left by the decline of the Scottish fisheries and the disappearance of some continental re-exports associated with the technical closure of French markets during the War of the Austrian Succession. As was the case during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13), the continental conflict of the 1740s saw the replacement of heavier French wines with the lighter and sweeter varieties of England's ally, Portugal [Table 59].¹⁰²⁷ Beyond the re-export of continental alcohols, 5,600 Norwegian deals entered the Tyne in 1744-45, alongside quantities of tobacco and snuff [Table 58].¹⁰²⁸ Therefore, despite the onset of continental conflict and much of the east coast trade being disrupted by privateers, some continuity remained amongst Scottish re-export trading.

This decline in inter-regional trade, both in terms of vessel numbers and in the breadth of trade, was restricted to Newcastle and Sunderland. Stockton witnessed an increase in its trade with Scotland in 1744-45 with the entry of eight vessels into the Tees and the departure of five. This was probably because Stockton was not immediately under threat from the Jacobites due to its greater geographical distance from the border. The increased Scottish trade to the Tees also reflected the development of Stockton as a major port for consumables in the early eighteenth century. Scottish exports to the Tees continued to be dominated by colonial re-exports, which included 1,487 gallons of foreign brandy, 5,021 gallons of white Portuguese wine, and 469 gallons of white Spanish wine. Other Scottish entries included 360 yards of linen cloth and 330 pounds of sugar.¹⁰²⁹ Although such commodities usually originated from Leith, six of the vessels entering Stockton in 1744-45 were from Dundee.

¹⁰²⁵ *Ibid.*, Figure II, III, pp. 330, 331.

¹⁰²⁶ See above, Table 62, p. 294.

¹⁰²⁷ *Ibid.*, See also Table 59, p. 286.

¹⁰²⁸ See Table 58, p. 283.

¹⁰²⁹ TNA, E190/245/10, Stockton, Inwards, Xmas 1744-Xmas 1745.

This indicated a shift in Scottish coastal trading in reaction to the commercial insecurity surrounding Leith and Edinburgh following the Jacobite invasion of July 1745, and the taking of the Scottish capital in September.

These Scottish commodities imported into Stockton, and in reduced quantities into Newcastle, were in exchange for a familiar array of north-eastern English produce. Foremost amongst these were the continuing quantities of glassware and 2,160 glass bottles were shipped from the Tyne to Dunbar, Dundee and Aberdeen. In addition to these usual articles of trade were goods for the supply of government forces in Scotland. These included 4,416 pounds of lead shot exported from the Tyne to Dundee, alongside 126 sacks and 42 casks of flour and 13,440 pounds of cheese.¹⁰³⁰ With the fall of Leith to the Jacobites in September, such shipments were increasingly destined for Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness, showing further how the Jacobite Rebellion had skewed inter-regional trade.¹⁰³¹ As was seen by Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade in 1747-48, such disruption was short-lived with both the volume and breadth of trade resuming to former heights.

11.6. Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade in the mid-eighteenth century, 1747-49.

Following the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion in 1746, Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade recovered in terms of vessel numbers and in Scotland's share of Newcastle's coastal trade.¹⁰³² This resumption of Scottish trade with Newcastle to normal levels corresponded with a fall in the number of Scottish vessels trading with Stockton.¹⁰³³ The year between Christmas 1747 and Christmas 1748 therefore witnessed a major expansion in Scottish trade with the Tyne in both directions. The nature of trade continued to be affected by the War of

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*, Newcastle, Xmas 1744-Xmas 1745.

¹⁰³¹ Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, p. 197.

¹⁰³² See Appendix I, Figure I and X, pp. 329, 346.

¹⁰³³ Only four Scottish vessels were recorded as entering Stockton in 1747-1748 two of which were from Dunbar, one from Dundee and one from Leith, TNA, E190/248/9, Stockton, Inwards, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748.

the Austrian Succession, demonstrated by the absence of French wine, and the continued presence of Portuguese and Spanish varieties amongst Scottish cargoes [Table 59].¹⁰³⁴ Both of these fell in their volumes however, due to the introduction of a new duty of £4 per tun on wine and vinegar in 1745 in addition to the general subsidy introduced in 1747.¹⁰³⁵ It may have been this additional taxation that encouraged the export of brandy and rum in 1747-48, which amounted to 2,594 and 788 gallons respectively into Newcastle, and 1,168 and 228 gallons into Stockton.¹⁰³⁶ Despite the increased Scottish export trade in spirits to Newcastle, the combination of international conflict, the disruption of continental markets, and domestic fiscal extractions appear to have limited the inter-regional trade in alcohol.

In comparison to some continental alcohol, 1747-48 did see a revival in Scottish domestic exports to the Tyne, including 151,760 loose fish in 1747-48.¹⁰³⁷ Beyond the fishing industry, others which had experienced a degree of improvement during the 1720s were also seen to resume their trade with north-eastern England, including the linen trade which was helped by the introduction of the linen bounty in 1743.¹⁰³⁸ Scottish exports of linen, yarn, and stockings came ‘to supplant – though not eliminate – imports from continental Europe in the English market’.¹⁰³⁹ Despite the interruption of international conflict and domestic rebellion, Scotland’s domestic industries resumed their prominent position within Scottish inter-regional cargoes. Beyond the produce of the Scottish domestic economy, 1747-48 also saw the resumption of Scottish re-export trading in Baltic produce. This included the re-export of 4,400 Norwegian deals into Newcastle, which indicated the resumption of Scottish triangular trading across the north-sea now that the threat of French privateering had partially receded.

¹⁰³⁴ See Table 59, p. 286.

¹⁰³⁵ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁰³⁶ See Table 59, p. 286; TNA, E190/248/9, Newcastle and Stockton, Inwards, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748.

¹⁰³⁷ TNA, E190/248/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748; M.S. Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748* (London, 1995), p. 188.

¹⁰³⁸ See above Table 62, p. 294; Whatley, *Scottish Society*, pp. 106-108.

¹⁰³⁹ Harte, ‘English Linen Trade’, p. 76.

In addition to these north-sea re-exports, colonial produce once again featured amongst Scottish cargoes entering the Tyne, although in reduced quantities.¹⁰⁴⁰

These Scottish exports to Newcastle were in return for the established produce of the Tyne, Wear, and Teesside economies. The breadth of Scottish trade recorded as leaving the Tyne peaked in 1747-48 at 108 commodities, which included varieties of glassware, woollen cloth, and miscellaneous hardware.¹⁰⁴¹ There were also bespoke commodities imported from Newcastle, notably 20,596 thorn hedges possibly to supply the contemporary enclosure movement in eastern Scotland.¹⁰⁴² In particular, these were destined for Dundee, Dunbar, Montrose and Anstruther, all areas where the pace of enclosure had quickened in the late 1720s and 1730s.¹⁰⁴³ Beyond the provision of thorn hedges, vessels leaving the Tyne carried a host of commodities destined for all segments of Scottish society and its economy. Commodities included those associated with industrial production whether one pair bellows, six malt mills, sixty shovels or seventy-seven spades; of increased genteel consumption including three carriages and a box of looking glasses, alongside the produce of daily life for the majority of Scots whether 2,696 iron pots, 137 parcels of earthenware, sixty gallons of ale or 373 bottles of cider.¹⁰⁴⁴ Inter-regional trade leaving Tyneside destined for Scotland embraced and supplied the full breadth of Scottish economic and commercial life.

The range of commodities would reach an apex in 1748-49 following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the War of the Austrian Succession and the continued improvement of the Scottish economy. The number of vessels trading in both directions increased, those entering the Tyne to forty and those leaving to sixty-four. In addition to vessel numbers, it was in 1748-49 that the range and variety of commodities entering the Tyne from Scotland

¹⁰⁴⁰ See above, Table 58, p. 283.

¹⁰⁴¹ Appendix I, Figure III, p. 331.

¹⁰⁴² It is difficult to obtain the size and proportion of these hedges, whether they were strips of foliage or individual plants/shrubs; TNA, E190/248/9, Newcastle, Outwards, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748.

¹⁰⁴³ Lythe and Butt, *Economic History*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁴⁴ TNA, E190/248/9, Newcastle, Outwards, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748.

reached eighty-five commodities, and outstripped those leaving the Tyne, which had fallen by 30 per cent to seventy-six commodities.¹⁰⁴⁵ Despite the end of the War of the Austrian Succession, this increase in the range and variety of Scottish exports to Newcastle was not spearheaded by the return of French wines, brandies, and spirits. Instead, it was largely fuelled by the produce of the Scottish domestic economy. Amongst these were substantial quantities of linen, yarn, and thread [Table 62, 74].¹⁰⁴⁶ The prominence now accorded to Scottish linens and fabrics amongst cargoes was a testimony to the expansion of these industries. These had been encouraged by the prolonged investment of the early decades of the eighteenth century, structural change within the linen industry away from finer varieties, and the increased market opportunities which had originated with the Union.

Despite such increases in Scottish domestic industry and the continued absence of French wines, continental re-exports remained an important segment of Scottish inter-regional trading. Notably in 1748-49, this included the continuation of war-time patterns of trade, with wine from Portugal, Spain and Madeira all being recorded in addition to thirty-four gallons from the 'Levant'.¹⁰⁴⁷ Brandy and rum both maintained their dominant position amongst alcohol shipments to the Tyne, and equalled 2,342 and 446 gallons respectively [Table 59].¹⁰⁴⁸ It therefore appears that despite the declaration of peace, Scotland's previously large and lucrative trade in French wines was slow to return. Instead, the largest increase in Scottish re-export trading was seen amongst Baltic produce, including 5,717 Norwegian deals, 1,088 Swedish deals, and eighteen and a half tons of Swedish iron.¹⁰⁴⁹ Similarly, a large increase was seen in Scottish colonial re-exports, with snuff now coming to displace leaf tobacco as the main item of trade, accounting for 4,307 pounds entering Newcastle, a

¹⁰⁴⁵ See Appendix I, Figures II and III, pp. 330, 331.

¹⁰⁴⁶ See above, Table 62 and 74, pp. 294, 295; TNA, E190/248/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748.

¹⁰⁴⁷ See Table 59, p. 286.

¹⁰⁴⁸ TNA, E190/248/9, Newcastle, Inwards, Xmas 1747-Xmas 1748.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Ibid.*,

near two-fold increase on the previous year.¹⁰⁵⁰ This increase was not isolated to inter-regional trade and the early-mid years of the eighteenth century witnessed a fall in Scottish tobacco consumption generally associated with the rise of snuff taking.¹⁰⁵¹ Despite this fall however, colonial produce continue to feature amongst Scottish imports from Tyneside in 1748-49, with 2,185 pounds of tobacco and 106 barrels of tea leaving Newcastle. A distinct change had therefore occurred in inter-regional colonial trade. Scottish merchants no longer concentrated upon the export of sugar or leaf tobacco to Newcastle, but on snuff instead, whereas the Scottish trade which left Newcastle was concerned with tea and tobacco. This appears to be another example of the increasing complementary nature of inter-regional trade, with the Tyne-Forth trade in particular coming to specialise in different and complementary segments of the same trade.

In demonstrating a broad concentration on colonial and continental re-exports in both directions, Scottish trade with Newcastle differed markedly from that with Sunderland, which continued to consist of lowly agricultural and work-a-day produce connected with Wearside industry. Such was illustrated by the three vessels which entered Sunderland from Scotland in 1748-49 and carried quantities of kelp, herrings, linen, tallow and grease. The entry into Sunderland of Scottish agrarian produce was again in contrast to Newcastle and Stockton's receipt of Scottish manufacture and continental and colonial re-exports. Yet although Newcastle and Sunderland demonstrated wide differences in the nature of their Scottish import trade, their own exports to Scotland witnessed a degree of similarity. Whereas Newcastle exported staggering quantities of glassware in 1748-49, which equalled 414,891 bottles alongside 159 cases of glass, both the Tyne and the Wear exported substantial volumes of coal to Scotland throughout the 1740s.¹⁰⁵² From Newcastle, these reached new heights in 1748-49, with 493 chaldrons (1,306 tons) onboard thirty-six vessels, the average

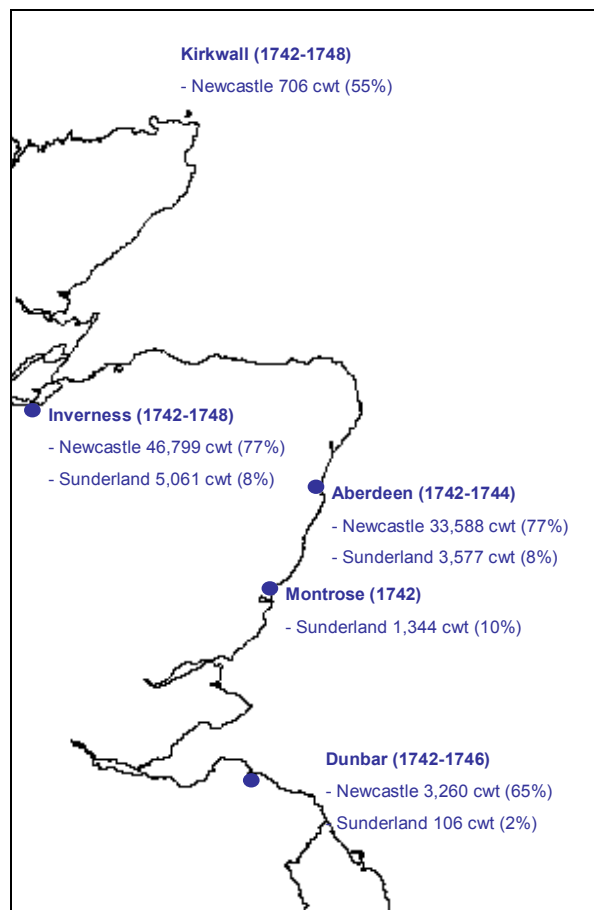
¹⁰⁵⁰ Table 58, p. 283; *Ibid.*,

¹⁰⁵¹ Nash, 'Tobacco Trades', pp. 355-356.

¹⁰⁵² TNA, E190/249/10, Newcastle, Outwards, Xmas 1748-Xmas 1749.

shipment equalling just under fourteen chaldrons (thirty-seven tons). Although this was a modest volume in comparison to that transported to the English capital, it must be remembered that coal came alongside many other commodities onboard vessels bound for Scotland. Once again, all of these shipments were destined to ports outside the estuarial limits of the Forth which were not protected by fiscal barriers [Map 14].

Map 14: Coal shipments from north-east England entering Scottish ports given by weight and the percentage of the port's total coal imports, 1742-48.



Source: NAS, Quarter accounts, E504/1/1 – Aberdeen, 1742-46; E504/10/1 – Dunbar, 1742-48; E504/24/1 – Montrose, 1742; E504/26/1 – Kirkwall, 1744-49; E504/17/1 – Inverness, 1742-48.

The Scottish quarter accounts record that, in the case of Aberdeen and Inverness, coal shipments from Newcastle and Sunderland accounted for 85 per cent of their total coal imports, followed by Dunbar at 67 per cent. These Scottish ports therefore had a definite preference for north-eastern English coal rather than Scottish varieties from the Forth. Once again, the long-burning physical characteristics of Tyne and Wearside coal were likely to make them popular compared to the sluggish small-coal of the Forth, especially as the latter was liable for duties once shipped outside the Forth.¹⁰⁵³

In the years that followed the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, inter-regional trade continued to exhibit many of its traditional characteristics, including the presence of substantial volumes of Scottish agrarian produce in exchange for a variety of Tyneside hardware. Towards the middle years of the eighteenth century, inter-regional trade had become more fragmented however, and demonstrated a greater degree of specialisation between ports. Increasingly, Scottish agrarian trade became concentrated on Sunderland, with substantial shipments of fish, grain and some basic manufactures being destined for the Wear in return for hardware that would assist in continued Scottish economic development. Alternatively, a wide array of re-exported commodities from the Baltic, continental, and colonial spheres were exported from Scotland to Newcastle and Stockton. With the presence of the latter, it is in this period that the Tees emerged from its previous commercial obscurity into a major haven for trade and commerce. The nature of these re-exports changed across the early eighteenth century. Like the War of the Spanish Succession, that of the Austrian Succession saw the disappearance of French wines and brandies from Scottish cargoes. This wartime embargo was also joined by more generalised changes in the nature of Scottish alcohol exports. The trade in rum and spirits was encouraged by the introduction of additional duties on traditional alcohol varieties, newly emerging trade links, and the development of the Scottish sugar

¹⁰⁵³ See above, Figure 11 and Map 3, p. 71.

industry. The declaration of peace in 1748 did not witness the resumption of Scottish re-export trading in French wines to north-eastern England, but instead saw the continued dominance of Spanish and Portuguese varieties. A profound change was recorded in the relationship between inter-regional trade and international commerce in the early eighteenth century. This was shown by the decline in Scottish trading privileges with France, and in a weakening of the wartime auxiliary trading relationship between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. Due to Anglo-Scottish political, and to a lesser extent fiscal, proximity alongside the closer and increasingly complementary trading relationship between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland, international conflict can be seen to have disrupted inter-regional trade rather than encouraging it as it had done in the seventeenth century.

The War of the Austrian Succession had similar effects upon Anglo-Scottish trade along the east-coast as that of the Spanish Succession before it, with privateering undoing some of the progress made within the Scottish fisheries whilst disrupting trade generally. The impact of the War of the Austrian Succession upon inter-regional trade was complicated, and clouded, by the outbreak of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion. Unlike that in 1715, this embraced much of the regional economy, with reports of commercial insecurity and the breakdown of trade in Newcastle. This was worsened by a general shortage of specie and a reduction in market confidence. Yet although Scottish trade with the Tyne decreased, that with Stockton increased, due to its geographical distance from the Scottish border and its development as a major port. The 1740s therefore witnessed the two extremities of inter-regional trade, recording the highest number of vessels and broadest range of commodities in 1748-49, but also illustrating how vulnerable these were to internal and external events demonstrated by the severe slump of 1744-45.

11.7. Conclusion: Anglo-Scottish Union in the long term, 1716-50.

The Union of 1707 did have an impact on the economy of Scotland before the middle decades of the eighteenth century. An immediate change occurred in 1708 in relation to the number of vessels conducting inter-regional trade, the breadth of the commodities they traded, and the ports they moved between. These changes continued into the middle decades of the eighteenth century and Scottish ports became increasingly specialised in their trade with Newcastle. Whereas Leith continued to develop its *entrepôt* trade in colonial and continental re-export commodities, smaller Scottish ports such as Aberdeen, Montrose and Inverness emerged as distribution-centres for local and regional agricultural produce.¹⁰⁵⁴ The emergence of multiple Scottish ports independently of Leith also encouraged the opening of new trading links with north-eastern England. Montrose, for example, developed a modest trade with Sunderland and Stockton in grains and victual, in return for glassware. It was these smaller Scottish agrarian ports which became semi-integrated into the north-eastern English economy, supplying raw materials, such as kelp, ashes and broken glass, in return for finished glassware. The early to middle years of the eighteenth century witnessed a greater polarisation of trade, colonial and continental re-export trading being largely a Leith-Newcastle exchange (and to a lesser extent with Stockton), whereas the parallel trade in the traditional articles of the Scottish economy of victual and skins had shifted to the Scottish outports and to Sunderland. Therefore, in terms of inter-regional trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland, Scotland's old trades did not disappear as suggested by Devine, but merely relocated and were divided between Newcastle, Sunderland and Stockton.¹⁰⁵⁵

¹⁰⁵⁴ Rössner, *Scottish Trade*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Devine, 'Scotland', p. 394.

Although coastal trade is frequently overlooked when judging the economic “success” of Union in favour of studying structural change, the two need not be viewed in isolation from one another. The improvement of Scottish industries, which gathered pace from the late 1720s, caused substantial changes in the nature of trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade became increasingly complementary, especially between 1736 and 1749, something which Whatley has noted more broadly in relation to the linen trade.¹⁰⁵⁶ Merchants from Leith now exported snuff to Newcastle in return for leaf tobacco, or specifically sized glass-vessels, in return for vast quantities of generic glass-bottles from Newcastle. Alternatively, merchants from Montrose exported broken glass and ashes to Sunderland in exchange for finished glassware. Inter-regional trade can therefore be seen to have adapted as the eighteenth century progressed, a reflection of Scotland’s wider economic structural change following the Union and the improvement of the decades that followed.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, pp. 96-97, 109.

12. Conclusion: Anglo-Scottish trade and political Union, an inter-regional perspective, 1580-1750.

12.1. The use of an inter-regional approach.

The present study has attempted to negotiate a number of difficult historical and historiographical pathways. Maintaining an adequate balance between regional, national and international perspectives of Anglo-Scottish trade has been difficult over such a lengthy period, as has the marriage between the overarching political history of Union with the socio-economic analysis of daily commerce and exchange. Due to its inter-regional approach, it has been vulnerable to indulging in excessive description of the nuances of local markets, individual voyages and the meanderings of solitary traders. It has attempted to avoid such a descriptive quagmire through its constant reference to wider economic and political climates. Instead, what this approach has demonstrated is that a focus upon micro-variations within commerce need not represent a ‘tyranny of the discrete’, or be the domain of the local historian, but rather provide an opportunity for small variations to reveal and enrich our knowledge of large and sweeping changes which have previously been presented as uniform and homogeneous.¹⁰⁵⁷ In doing so, it has been a reaction against the prevalent trend of the New British History, not only to neglect economic perspectives of early-modern inter-Archipelagic relations, but also to ignore the significant regional variations within these.

The conclusions to be made regarding Anglo-Scottish economic relations and inter-regional trade are heavily dependent on the sources used. The port books and customs accounts have consciously been placed at the heart of the analysis of early-modern trade, not only influencing the current approach, but also determining the chronology of some of its chapters. Such sources present the economic historian with valuable material relating to the

¹⁰⁵⁷ P.D. Marshall, *The Tyranny of the Discrete : a discussion of the problems of local history in England* (Aldershot, 1997)

extent and nature of taxable and dutiable commerce, providing both a qualitative and quantitative picture of trade unobtainable from other sources. Although the Newcastle port books suffer from numerous omissions in their chronological coverage and contents, they still represent an essential source for recreating the movement of trade when combined with other records. They have demonstrated a higher than average reliability in recording the movements of individual vessels and cargoes, whether when compared to the Swedish Sound Toll registers or the Scottish quarter accounts (1742-49).¹⁰⁵⁸ Yet despite the promising correspondence of the Newcastle port books with other sources, caution must be urged when assuming their accuracy and coverage. These books were vulnerable to the corruption of officials and the prevalence of smuggling. Regardless of such shortcomings, the port books are useful sources for the economic historian to recreate the movements of early-modern merchants and to reconstruct patterns of trade. They have revealed the nuances of local and regional economies, and demonstrate the integration of these within wider national and international economic frameworks. As a result, they represent a viable source through which to complete a national economic study which recognises the important regional variations which existed within the early-modern economy.

The use of an inter-regional focus and quantitative methodology has revealed a number of fundamental issues relating to the study of early-modern trade. Firstly, it has demonstrated that the study of trade within a defined geographical region cannot be done in isolation from events and processes elsewhere. Even trading which initially appears localised and parochial was frequently dependent on long chains of exchange and communication stretching beyond the immediate locality and the wider region. Considerable overlap existed between overland, coastal, and overseas trades, all of which were inter-related and frequently dependent on one another for the supply and exchange of commodities. Secondly, it has demonstrated the scale

¹⁰⁵⁸ See above, pp. 38-40.

of regional variation in Anglo-Scottish trade across a broad chronology. Significant differences existed between the eastern and western border trades, and the Scottish coastal trade with Newcastle, Boston and London. Beyond these variations nationally, wide differences have been noted in the volume and nature of trade at the local level between individual ports and border precincts. Ayton's late seventeenth-century trade in consumables differed markedly from Jedburgh's in agricultural produce and Kelso's in petty hardware.¹⁰⁵⁹ Likewise, the fish trade from Crail and Leven in the early seventeenth century differed from the developing re-export trade of Leith, whereas the eighteenth-century Scottish trade entering Newcastle and Stockton was at odds with that entering Sunderland.¹⁰⁶⁰ It is clear that no single or homogeneous 'Anglo-Scottish trade' existed and that it varied greatly over-time, between ports, and depended on multiple circumstances. This is a warning against national economic studies which fail to recognise regional variation, but also of regional studies which extrapolate their findings outwards and use their geographical focus as a microcosm of the wider nation.

The examination of Anglo-Scottish trade over a prolonged period has revealed the potential for an economic arm of the New British History. Events which have previously been interpreted as 'political' had significant economic and commercial influences. Whether it was the economic motivations for the Covenanter invasion of northern England in 1640, or the impact of the 'war of three kingdoms' more generally on trade, there is considerable scope for a re-evaluation of inter-Archipelagic relations in economic terms. The potential for such a study stretches beyond the chronology of the mid-seventeenth century and there is a general need to abandon the political chronology around which the majority of new British historiography adheres. Political events were often part of, or encouraged by, wider socio-economic processes. The perception that the 'auld alliance' between Scotland and France

¹⁰⁵⁹ See above, pp. 209-239.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See above, pp. 64-65, 267-270, 309-310.

died with the Scottish Reformation in 1560, for example, obscures the survival of its economic vestiges of duty exemptions and trading patterns, which stretched into the late seventeenth century and arguably beyond.¹⁰⁶¹ These economic and commercial relationships continued to sculpt Scottish trade with France, but also tempered its political relationship with England as seen in the Union negotiations of 1603, and most obviously by the Wine Act of 1703.¹⁰⁶² The study of Anglo-Scottish trade over an extended chronology, even between two neighbouring geographical regions, has therefore revealed new complexities in the relations between the two kingdoms, and the need to break down historiographical barriers between political and economic fields.

Beyond these general contributions, this approach has also re-evaluated the importance attached to sub-regional relationships, notably in relation to the economic historiography of north-eastern England. The coal trade between the Tyne, and later the Wear, with the Thames was only part of a wider trade that stretched beyond that with London to include the east coast of Scotland. Even though the volume of coal exported from the Tyne and Wear to Scotland was modest when compared to the total shipped to the English capital, it still provided several eastern Scottish ports outside the Forth with the majority of their sea coal by the mid-eighteenth century, despite the geographical proximity of Scottish supplies.¹⁰⁶³ Beyond its size, this coal trade to eastern Scotland differed logistically from that with London, with coal largely appearing as one commodity amongst many onboard vessels destined for Scotland, whilst also being conveyed overland across the border.¹⁰⁶⁴ The inter-regional coal trade did not, therefore, demonstrate the same highly developed, high volume specialisation that the London bound trade did and thus has often been overlooked. More

¹⁰⁶¹ Siobhan Talbot of St Andrews University is currently completing a PhD thesis examining the extent of Franco-Scottish relations in the seventeenth century which is to be submitted in summer 2010. The present author has not yet seen her completed findings.

¹⁰⁶² See above, pp. 55-56, 59-60, 241.

¹⁰⁶³ See above, pp. 307-308.

¹⁰⁶⁴ See above, pp. 224-225.

broadly, an analysis of the Newcastle chamberlains' accounts for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has revealed that, even when coal was destined to the English capital, it was not a two-dimensional exchange between the Tyne and the Thames, but involved shipping from Ipswich, Hull and Scarborough.¹⁰⁶⁵ The study of the north-eastern coal trade to London should not therefore obscure the wider complexities of Newcastle and Sunderland's trade with other ports.

These complexities stretched beyond the trade in coal. The 'workday' traffic of the Tyne, Wear and Tees were intimately related to their own industrial and consumer economies, and did not necessarily depend on London for their supply. Newcastle, and later Stockton, received much of their continental wine and colonial consumables from Scotland due to the price competitiveness of Scottish merchants before 1707 and the development of the Scottish warehouse economy after Union. Such relationships underline the complexity of the early-modern economy and the interrelation of multiple trades. They demonstrate how inter-regional trade not only embraced the traditional Scottish agrarian economy and the developing industries of north-eastern England, but also continental markets.

12.2. The changing nature of inter-regional trade.

Both the overland and coastal trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland were multi-layered and highly sensitive to external events and influences. That across the border was characterised by a tri-partite division between a localised trade in grain and victual along the Tweed valley, a regional trade to the borders, and a passing trade *enroute* to destinations outside of the border region. Each of these involved different commodities and was undertaken by individuals of differing occupations. Glovers, for

¹⁰⁶⁵ See above, pp. 115-116; Appendix I, Table II, pp. 336-337.

example, frequently conducted regionalised trading for the tools of their trade, whereas merchants were largely involved in the passing trade in consumables. These tiers of trade not only differed markedly from one another, but also engaged differently with the wider economies of north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland.

Beyond the border trade, that along the coast was also multi-faceted. An unusual trading relationship initially existed between the Tyne and the Forth attributable to their industrial similarity. Both shared a carboniferous based economy, and were national and international competitors in the export of coal, salt, and glassware in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a result of this similarity, trade between the Forth and the Tyne differed from Scottish trade with England more generally. It was heavily reliant on continental re-exports from the late sixteenth century, and salt and coal were absent from Scottish cargoes entering the Tyne. Indeed, this trade in re-exports would grow across the early seventeenth century, centred on French wine and Norwegian deals. When combined with agrarian and marine produce, it furnished Newcastle with a proportion of the necessary foodstuffs to maintain its urban growth and the re-exports to fuel its expanding consumer economy. The nature and extent of Scottish re-export trading would shift markedly following the Restoration. With the presence of Scottish trading communities in English colonies, and the availability of drawbacks on colonial produce, the commercial and fiscal mechanisms existed for the development of Scotland's 'warehouse economy' and a significant re-export trade in colonial goods.¹⁰⁶⁶ Although political approval from England was absent, the repeated reissuing of the Navigation Acts merely attempted to curb what was a thriving illicit trade until that of 1696 managed to temporarily restrict supply within the colonies themselves.¹⁰⁶⁷ The fact that colonial produce was represented both in the inter-regional coastal and overland trade, and in the seizure accounts of smuggled goods, demonstrates to what extent it embraced Anglo-

¹⁰⁶⁶ See above, pp. 162-164, 167-169.

¹⁰⁶⁷ See above, p. 199.

Scottish trade in the late seventeenth century. Initially focusing on the export of sugar, it was following the Union of 1707 that Scottish interests shifted to the export of leaf tobacco and, in the mid-eighteenth century, to snuff. These changes were caused both by shifting tastes and fashions, but also the growth of Anglo-Scottish complementary trading between Newcastle and Leith in particular. The post-Union Scottish export of snuff and sugar to the Tyne in exchange for tobacco, was not only an important reminder that there existed a thriving domestic trade in colonial produce, but also one that went beyond Glasgow to embrace the east coast of Scotland. The historiographical attention paid to the drawback system and colonial re-exports of western Scotland may therefore have obscured the growing trade in colonial produce along eastern routes and domestically within Britain.

Beyond the re-export of generic continental and colonial luxuries to feed Newcastle, and later Stockton's, burgeoning market for consumables, Scottish re-export trading was also intimately related to the developing industrial economy of north-eastern England. Although the Scottish trade in Norwegian deals and Swedish iron to Newcastle had been well established in the late sixteenth century, it formed an integral part of Sunderland's developing shipbuilding industry in the eighteenth century. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed a greater integration of inter-regional trade with the economies of north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland. This went beyond the shipment of Norwegian deals to Sunderland's dockyards, but also included the Scottish export of broken glass and ashes to the Tyne and Wearside glasshouses, and the overland trade in eggs to its salt pans and sugar refineries.¹⁰⁶⁸ Alternatively, the export of large quantities of pins, needles and leather working tools to Kelso in the late seventeenth century were in return for substantial quantities of gloves.¹⁰⁶⁹ Inter-regional trade can therefore be seen to have supplied industries on both sides of the border with the necessary components of production, taking

¹⁰⁶⁸ See above, pp. 214-215, 217, 224, 290-291.

¹⁰⁶⁹ See above, pp. 215-216.

from them a variety of finished products in return. In doing so, it acted as both a supplier and customer.

Beyond the integration of inter-regional trade with the regional economies on both sides of the border, Scottish trade became increasingly complementary to existing and developing north-eastern industries as the eighteenth century progressed. Although Whatley identified this on a broader scale in relation to Scottish linen production, at the inter-regional level, this was demonstrated by the concentration on trading in specific commodities, such as snuff in exchange for leaf tobacco, and specifically sized glass-bottles in return for the cheap and generic varieties from the Tyne and Wear. In focusing on separate branches of the same trade, inter-regional trade not only became more complementary to the carboniferous-based economies of both regions, but also reduced the industrial competition between them as the eighteenth century progressed. This growth of complementary trading was not without its casualties, and in part the reduction in competition between the two regions was the result of the collapse or slump of individual, and inefficient, industries. The Leith glass works ceased production between 1733 and 1745 under a deluge of glass imports from Newcastle, whereas the Tyneside salt industry slumped in the 1730s and, unlike its Forthside counterpart, was unprotected from wider competition through fiscal exemptions.¹⁰⁷⁰ The increase in complementary trading was therefore partly the result of economic structural change and the decline of specific industries within both regional economies.

12.3. The impact of political Union.

To what extent political Union contributed to this process of economic and commercial integration is open to conjecture. The evidence suggests that the Unions of 1603, 1654 and

¹⁰⁷⁰ See above, pp. 8, 291; Ellis, 'Tyneside Salt Industry', pp. 53-58.

1707 all had tangible and immediate impacts upon the level and nature of inter-regional trade. Each produced an initial increase in the number of vessels recorded as trading between Newcastle and eastern Scotland, and also caused an expansion in the breadth and variety of the commodities they traded. Although the latter also corresponded with the general development and diversification of the English and Scottish economies, the increasing range of commodities traded also related specifically to the economic provisions of Union. This was evident in 1606 when Scottish linen exports reached unprecedented levels during the temporary introduction of free-trade. Alternatively, the 1707 Union saw the collapse in the staples of fish and victual which had formerly dominated inter-regional trade, to a focus on a more eclectic mix of colonial and continental re-exports in the years immediately following the Union. Whether through free-trade or the access granted to English colonies, political Union encouraged a sizeable expansion in the level and breadth of Anglo-Scottish inter-regional trade. Such findings sit awkwardly against some of the prevalent historiography, which has generally downplayed the immediate economic impact of Union, particularly that of 1707.¹⁰⁷¹ Instead, these findings demonstrate that if trade is used as the key measure of change, rather than the “success” or “failure” of structural economic change, the Parliamentary Union of 1707 had an immediate impact on Anglo-Scottish economic relations. This was not only witnessed in relation to Anglo-Scottish trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland, but also along the west coast as described by Robinson.¹⁰⁷²

Political Union caused wider and more incremental changes in the nature of inter-regional trade. The Union of 1707, and the free-trade it introduced, encouraged a greater number of north-eastern English and eastern Scottish ports to conduct inter-regional trade. Aberdeen, Montrose and Inverness all developed sizeable trades with north-eastern England,

¹⁰⁷¹ See above, pp. 277-278.

¹⁰⁷² Robinson, ‘The Port of Carlisle’, p. 152.

whereas Sunderland and Stockton emerged as major ports in their own right. Parliamentary Union, coupled with the removal of the monopoly of Royal Burghs on overseas trade in 1672, weakened the Forth-Tyne relationship which had formerly dominated inter-regional trade.¹⁰⁷³ Beyond embracing wider portions of both inter-regional coastal economies, the years following all of the Unions caused a greater integration between inter-regional trade and wider networks of exchange along both the English and Scottish coasts. This was notable during the 1620s when a greater number of English vessels conducted inter-regional trade and Scottish merchants developed a sizeable carrying trade in north-eastern salt to London. Similarly, inter-regional coastal trading became increasingly integrated with that along the wider English coast following the Cromwellian Union of 1654. A short-lived British merchant marine was created through the presence of English vessels conducting inter-regional trade and their manning with Scottish crews. Political Union can therefore be seen to have encouraged a degree of integration between inter-regional and national coastal trades. Yet as has already been suggested in relation to the removal of Royal Burgh monopoly status, political Union was not the sole cause of such integration. The growth of London was also a factor and exerted an increasing economic influence over Scottish merchants.¹⁰⁷⁴ This had been demonstrated by the Scottish salt trade to the English capital in the 1620s and by the impact of plague and fire on Scottish shipping in the 1660s. Yet although the removal of the English capital from the east-coast economy can be seen to have affected both English and Scottish merchants, the greatest external influence on inter-regional trade during the 1660s was international conflict.

In order to gauge the full impact of Anglo-Scottish Union upon the trade between the two kingdoms it is essential to look beyond their economic provisions to consider how they altered Anglo-Scottish relations more generally. In relation to inter-regional trade, one of the

¹⁰⁷³ See Appendix II, Maps I, II, III, pp. 358, 359, 360.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Fisher, *London*, pp. 185-198; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 196; Lenman, *Economic History*, p. 23.

greatest legacies of the Regal Union of 1603 was not the introduction of Scottish border precincts or temporary free trade, but the creation of a common Anglo-Scottish foreign policy that would include Scotland within England's wars. International conflict caused profound changes in the volume and nature of inter-regional trade, including a collapse in Scottish wine re-exports to Newcastle during the Anglo-French conflict (1627-29) and a peak in trade during the Second Dutch War (1665-67) when the closure of continental markets was coupled with London's removal from the east-coast economy. The divergence between English foreign policy concerns and Scottish economic interests would drive many Scottish merchants to continue to trade with their technical enemy, whether with Holland during the Third Dutch War (1672-74) or with France during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13). Beyond the continuation of Scottish continental trading, international war frequently acted as a positive stimulant on inter-regional trade until the early eighteenth century. This was most evident during the Second and Third Dutch Wars when the number of Scottish vessels entering the Tyne increased markedly. The rise in inter-regional trade should prompt historians not to see the disruptions of war as immediately negative, but as channelling trade along alternative routes. The Dutch wars benefitted the Scottish marine and the large number of seizures provided Scotland with much needed tonnage following the destruction of the 1650s. International conflict not only encouraged an increase in the volume of inter-regional trade, but would often distort its nature and contents. This was most clearly demonstrated by the substantial Scottish carrying trade in north-eastern English lead to Holland, which was evident in both 1704-05 and 1708-09.¹⁰⁷⁵ Beyond the addition of certain commodities to inter-regional trade during wartime, conflict also caused the collapse of particular trades. Most noticeably, this included the absence of French wine in favour of Portuguese and Spanish varieties during the Wars of the Spanish and Austrian Succession.

¹⁰⁷⁵ See above Table 49, p. 247.

Political Union altered the level and nature of inter-regional trade in multiple ways, both immediately and in the long term. The narrowing of Anglo-Scottish commercial proximity that was brought with successive political Unions should not be seen as inevitable, however. Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many Scottish merchants continued to show a preference for continental trading rather than that with England. Although this initially may have been due to continued political loyalty to the 'auld alliance', such trading was encouraged by the substantial fiscal privileges Scottish merchants enjoyed in France over their English rivals. These advantages not only stood at the centre of Anglo-Scottish commercial tensions in 1603-4, but also encouraged Scottish re-export trading in continental goods to England. Scottish trade with both France and England should not therefore be seen as mutually-exclusive, but as inter-related. The continuation of continental trading remained attractive for many Scottish merchants due to the lucrative market opportunities it provided for them in England. The commercial ramifications of political Union were therefore tempered by a variety of external factors.

The success of political Union, like Anglo-Scottish commercial proximity, was also not assured. The study of political Union at a regional level has revealed the disparity between political will and desire at the centre, and socio-economic reality on the ground. In both 1604-10 and 1707, the removal of cross-border duties and the creation of free-trade were piecemeal and erratic. Duties remained on overland trade and Scottish merchants continued to import contraband goods despite official proclamations to the contrary. Vested interests remained for the continuation of traditional patterns of trade and taxation, demonstrated by the complaints of Carlisle following the proposed removal of cross-border cattle duties in 1653.¹⁰⁷⁶ Beyond the implementation of free trade, the political desire to introduce a harmonised Anglo-Scottish customs system in 1654 and 1707 was fraught with difficulty and

¹⁰⁷⁶ See above, p. 129.

required a prolonged process of re-adaption. In this respect, 1603, 1654 and 1707 should not necessary be seen as events, but rather as the beginning of wide processes of realignment.

12.4. The Evolution of the British Economy?

The history of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century inter-regional trade was largely one of increasing integration, witnessing the growth of complementary trading between the regional economies of north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland, and the encroaching merger between inter-regional trade and wider patterns of British coastal trade and Scottish overseas trading. Establishing to what extent this represented an evolution of a ‘British economy’ and the contribution made towards this by political Union is fraught with difficulty, not least in relation to source survival. Yet after 1603, 1654 and 1707 inter-regional trade increased, involved a greater variety of commodities, and embraced wider networks and patterns of trade along the English and Scottish east coasts. Yet political Union alone did not cause these changes and the importance of other factors should be recognised. These included the presence of international conflict, the role of the customs system, and the enforcement of protectionism after the Restoration. Developments within both regional economies, whether agricultural change in late seventeenth-century Roxburghshire, or the growth of Stockton in early eighteenth-century County Durham, were coupled with these external influences. Political “events” should not therefore be seen in isolation from socio-economic processes, the two often being intimately related to, and dependent on, one another. Although the geographical focus on north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland prevents conclusions being made in relation to the overall “British economy”, trade between north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland was evolving along British parameters by the middle years of the eighteenth century. This did not depend completely on

the existence of a political Britain, and therefore upon Union, but instead on the erosion of regional market differences, the increasing complementary nature of trade, and the merger of previous localised patterns of trading with wider units and networks of commerce. These processes were reliant on multiple factors, both internal and external to the two regional economies studied here. They have, however, revealed the complexity of early-modern trade, the extent of regional variation, and the fallacy of assessing Anglo-Scottish economic relations in terms of 'national' economies or through the use of a strict political chronology.

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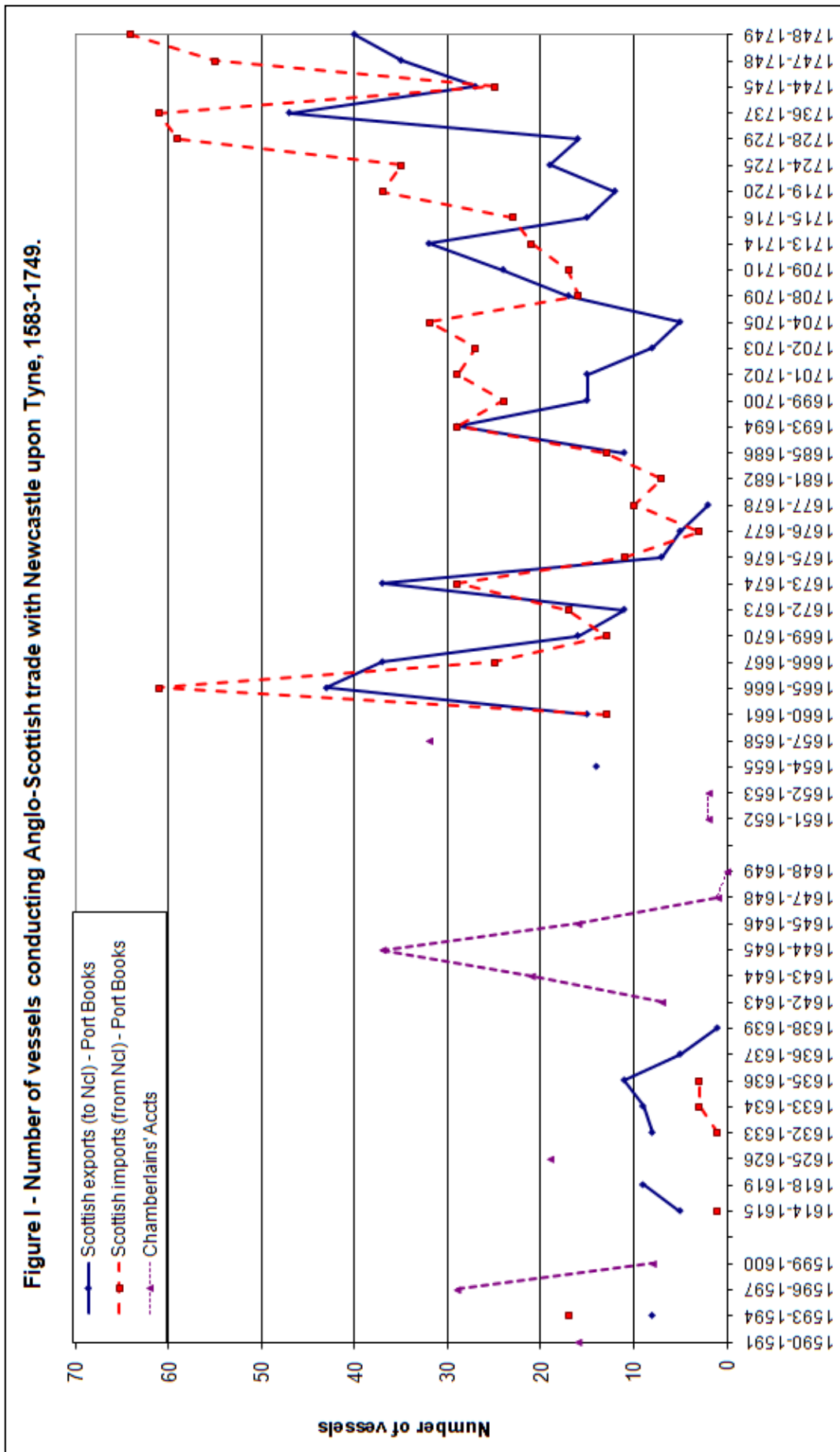


Figure II - Breadth of Scottish IMPORTS from Newcastle, as entered in the Newcastle Port Books, 1593-1749

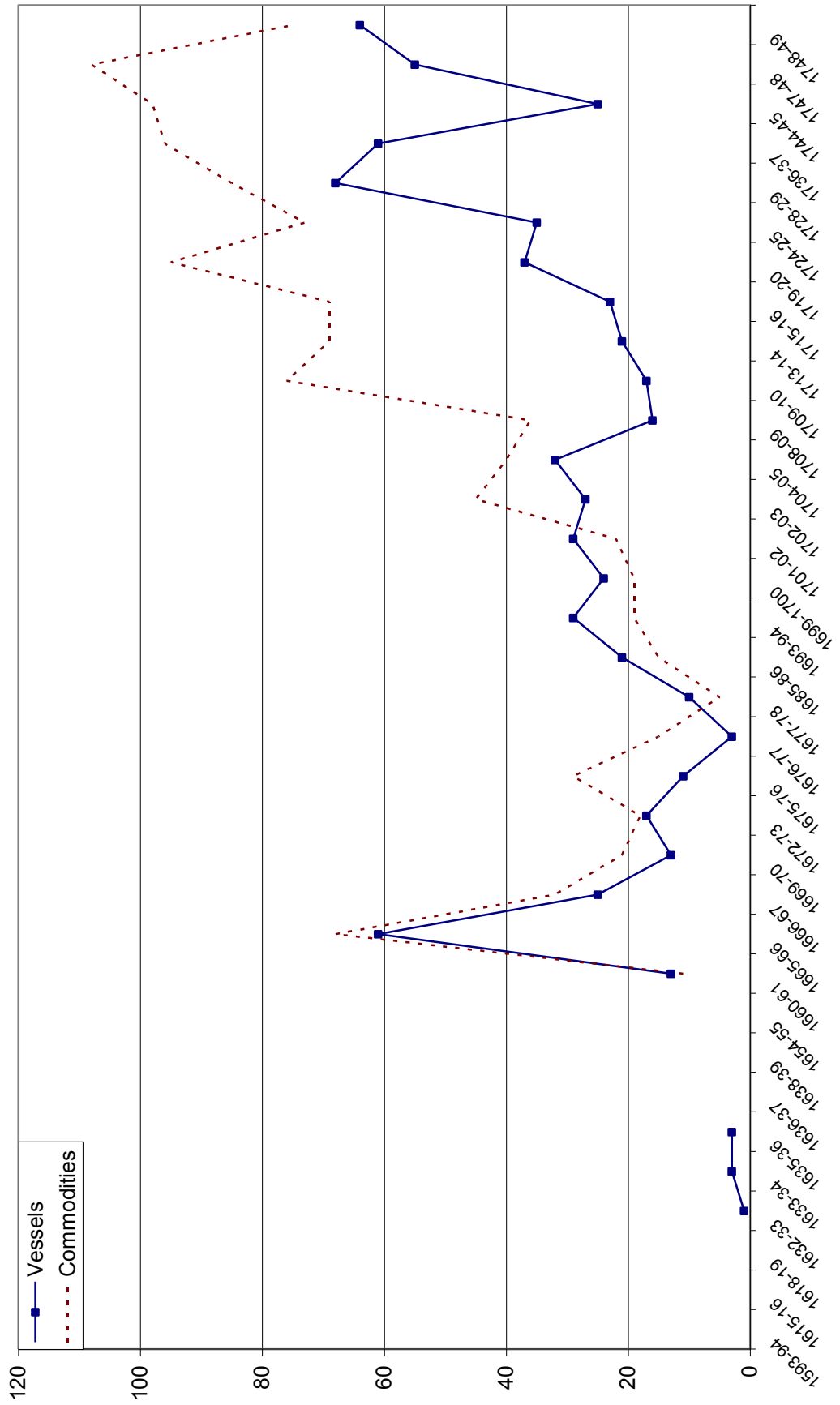


Figure III - Breadth of Scottish EXPORTS to Newcastle, as entered in the Newcastle Port books, 1593-1750

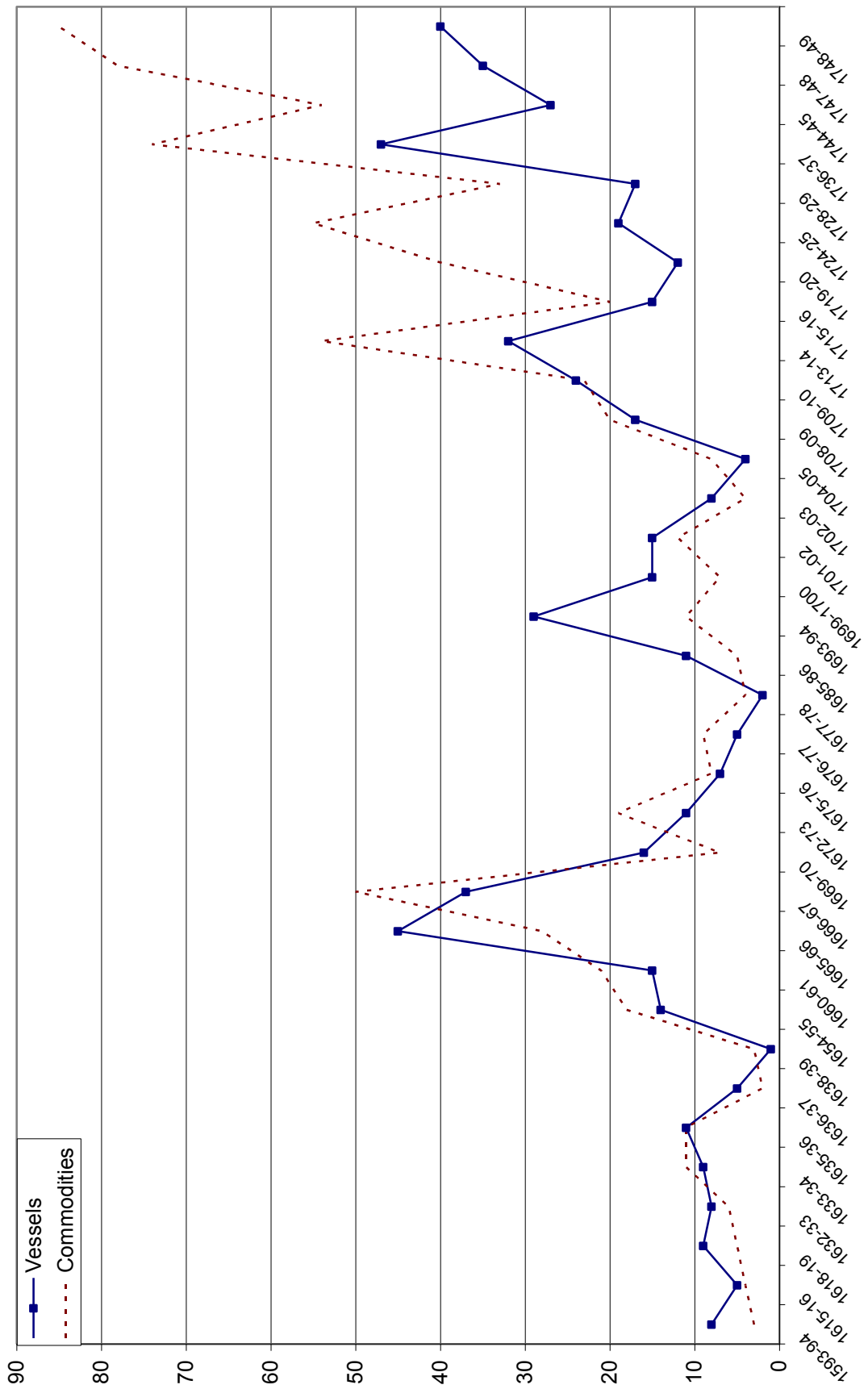


Figure IV - Breadth of Trade - AVERAGE number of vessels and commodities (import and export) onboard Scottish vessels entering and leaving Newcastle, 1593-1749

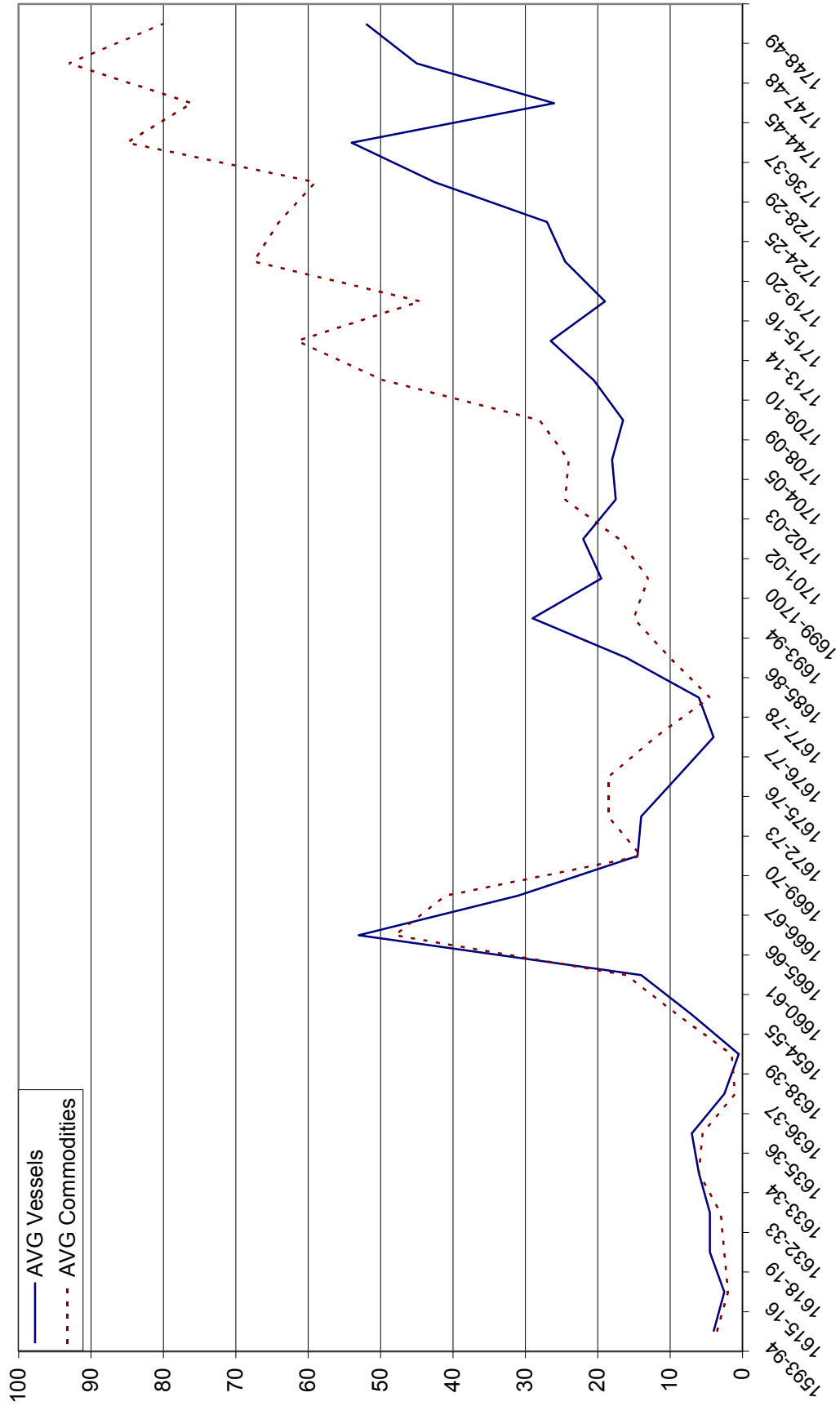
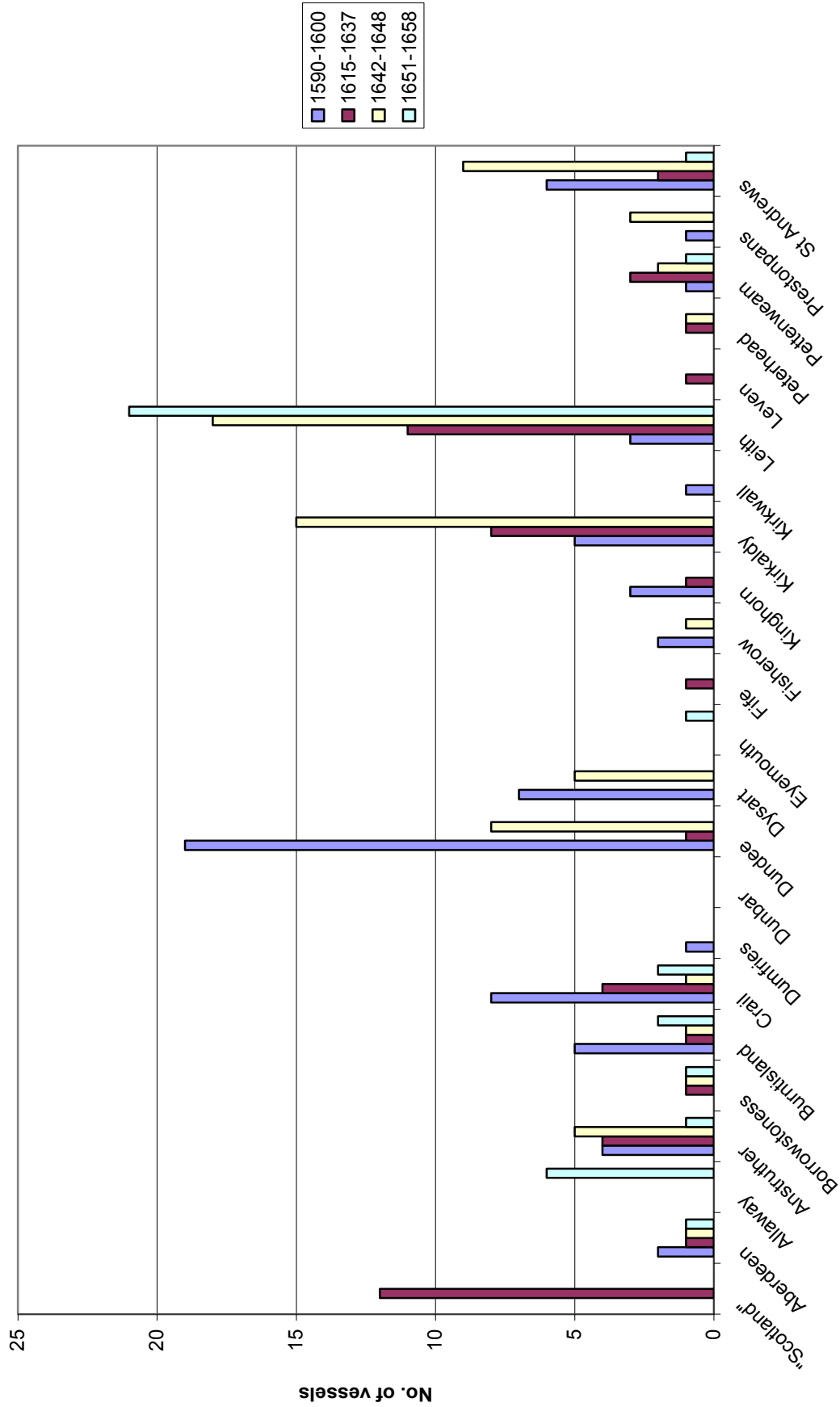


Figure V - Number of vessels trading with Newcastle from Scottish ports, 1590-1658



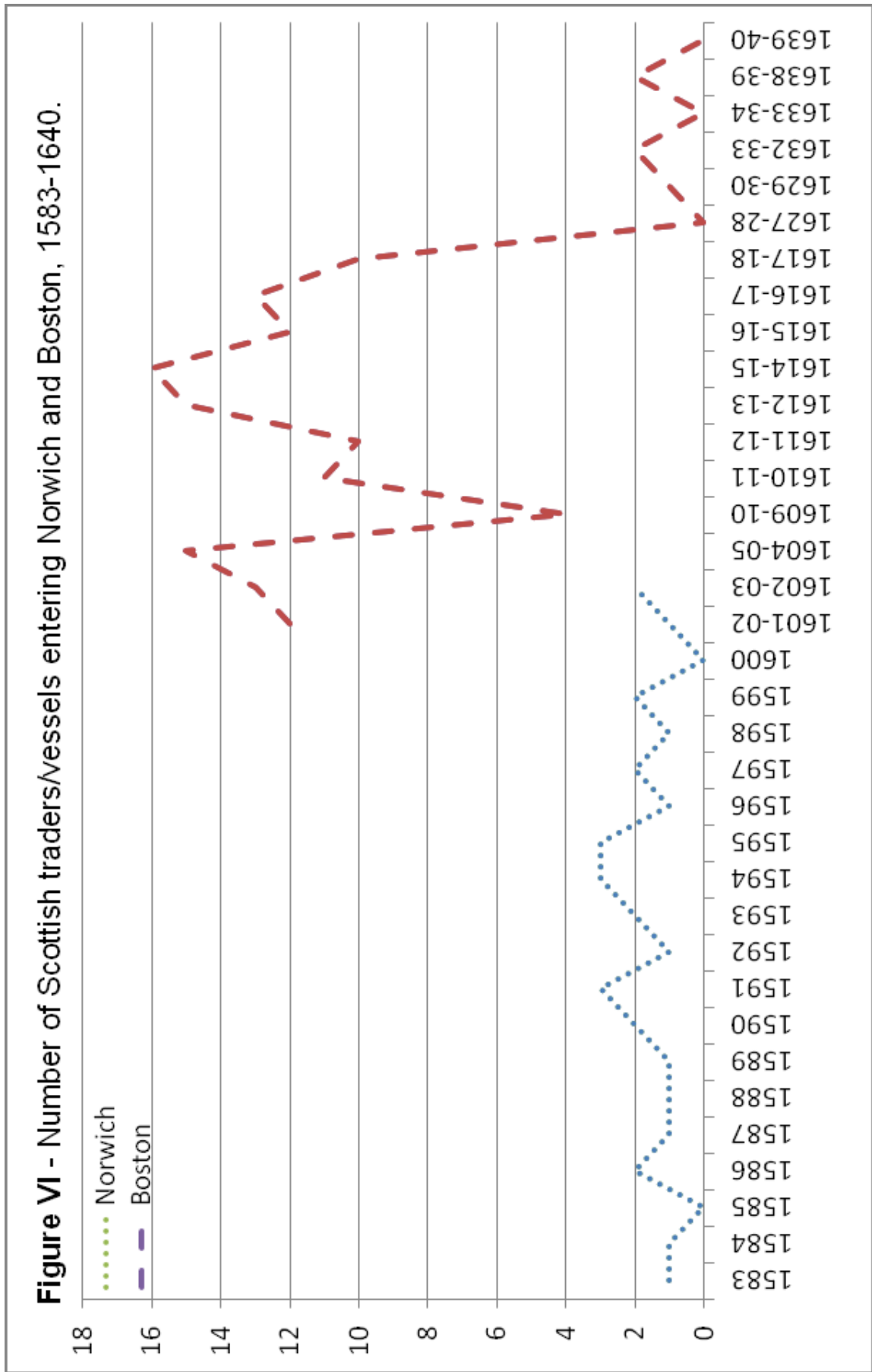


Table I – Voyage Reconstruction of the St John of St Andrews, 1636

Source	Port	Date	Month	Vessel name	Master	Origin/Destination	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
CA	Newcastle in	?	?	St John of St Andrews	John Orke	St Andrews	Ballast	22	ton
	Newcastle out	6/1/1636	January	St John of St Andrews	John Orke	St Andrews	Coal	8	cwt
CA	Newcastle in	?	?	St John of St Andrews	John Creake	St Andrews	Rye	22	chaldrons
	Newcastle out	12/2/1636	February	St John of St Andrews	John Creake	St Andrews	Coal	29	chaldrons
PB	Newcastle in	9/5/1636	May	The John of St Andrews	John Orack - Scot	St Andrews	Norway deals	400	
							Capravens	200	
PB	Newcastle out	20/5/1636	May	The John of St Andrews	John Orrackin	St Andrews	Coal	32	chaldrons
PB	Sunderland out	25/6/1636	June	The St John of St Andrews	John Orrackin - Scot	St Andrews	Coal	26	chaldrons
PB	Sunderland out	25/7/1636	July	The St John of St Andrews	John Orrackin - Scot	St Andrews	Coal	26	chaldrons
PB	Sunderland out	26/8/1636	August	The St John of St Andrews	John Orrack - Scot	St Andrews	Coal	26	chaldrons
PB	Newcastle out	17/9/1636	Sep	The John of St Andrews	John Orrackin - Scot	St Andrews	Coal	31	chaldrons

[Key: CA - Chamberlains Accounts; PB - Newcastle Port Books]

[Source: TWAS, 543/26, Receipts, 1635-36; TNA E190/191/3, Newcastle, Xmas 1635-Xmas 1636]

Appendix I

Table II – Proportions of vessels entering Newcastle per port of origin 1644-45 compared with other years (TWAS, 543/17; 543/20; 543/27)

	543/17		543/20		543/20		543/20		543/27	
	1590-91		1596-97		1599-00		1607-1608		1644-45	
	<i>Oct-May</i>		<i>Oct-May</i>		<i>Nov-April</i>		<i>June-4th wk Aug</i>		<i>Dec-May</i>	
Aberdeen	1	0.3%	1	0.2%				0.0%		
Aldbrough	19	4.9%	16	3.0%	12	4.7%	23	4.2%	10	2.3%
Almouth		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Amland		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.4%		0.0%		0.0%
Amsterdam	4	1.0%	6	1.1%	2	0.8%	7	1.3%	4	0.9%
Anstruther	2	0.5%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	0.7%
Barriston		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Bedlington	1	0.3%		0.0%	2	0.8%		0.0%	2	0.5%
Berwick	2	0.5%		0.0%	1	0.4%	1	0.2%	1	0.2%
Billingham		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.4%		0.0%		
Blackney	11	2.9%	11	2.0%	4	1.6%	10	1.8%	3	0.7%
Boston	4	1.0%	6	1.1%	3	1.2%	6	1.1%	2	0.5%
Bream		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Bremen		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.4%		0.0%		
Brighthemson		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Burlington	2	0.5%		0.0%	1	0.4%	11	2.0%	2	0.5%
Burnham	6	1.6%	6	1.1%		0.0%	5	0.9%	5	1.1%
Burntisland		0.0%	3	0.6%	1	0.4%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Callis	7	1.8%		0.0%	4	1.6%	2	0.4%		0.0%
Colchester	15	3.9%	11	2.0%	9	3.5%	20	3.6%	11	2.5%
Crail	2	0.5%	3	0.6%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Danske		0.0%	2	0.4%	1	0.4%		0.0%	2	0.5%
Debtford		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	0.7%
Deep	16	4.2%	4	0.7%	5	2.0%	6	1.1%		
Dort	1	0.3%	3	0.6%				0.0%		
Dover	2	0.5%	1	0.2%		0.0%	12	2.2%	3	0.7%
Dunbar		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Dundee	5	1.3%	10	1.8%	3	1.2%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Dunkirk		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Dunwich		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Dysert		0.0%	5	0.9%	2	0.8%		0.0%	3	0.7%
Ely		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	0.7%
Fisherow		0.0%	2	0.4%				0.0%		
Fredrickstat		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	0.7%
Gateshead		0.0%	7	1.3%				0.0%		
Grimsby	4	1.0%		0.0%			6	1.1%		
Hamburg	2	0.5%	5	0.9%		0.0%	1	0.2%	11	2.5%
Hartlepool	5	1.3%	2	0.4%	1	0.4%		0.0%		
Harwich	23	6.0%	23	4.3%	20	7.9%	27	4.9%	17	3.9%
Hastings	1	0.3%		0.0%	1	0.4%	5	0.9%	2	0.5%
Horne		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Hull	29	7.5%	40	7.4%	23	9.1%	55	10.0%	7	1.6%
Ipswich	34	8.8%	69	12.8%	42	16.5%	61	11.1%	148	33.9%
Kinghorn		0.0%	1	0.2%				0.0%		
Kirkaldy	1	0.3%	4	0.7%	1	0.4%		0.0%	8	1.8%

Appendix I

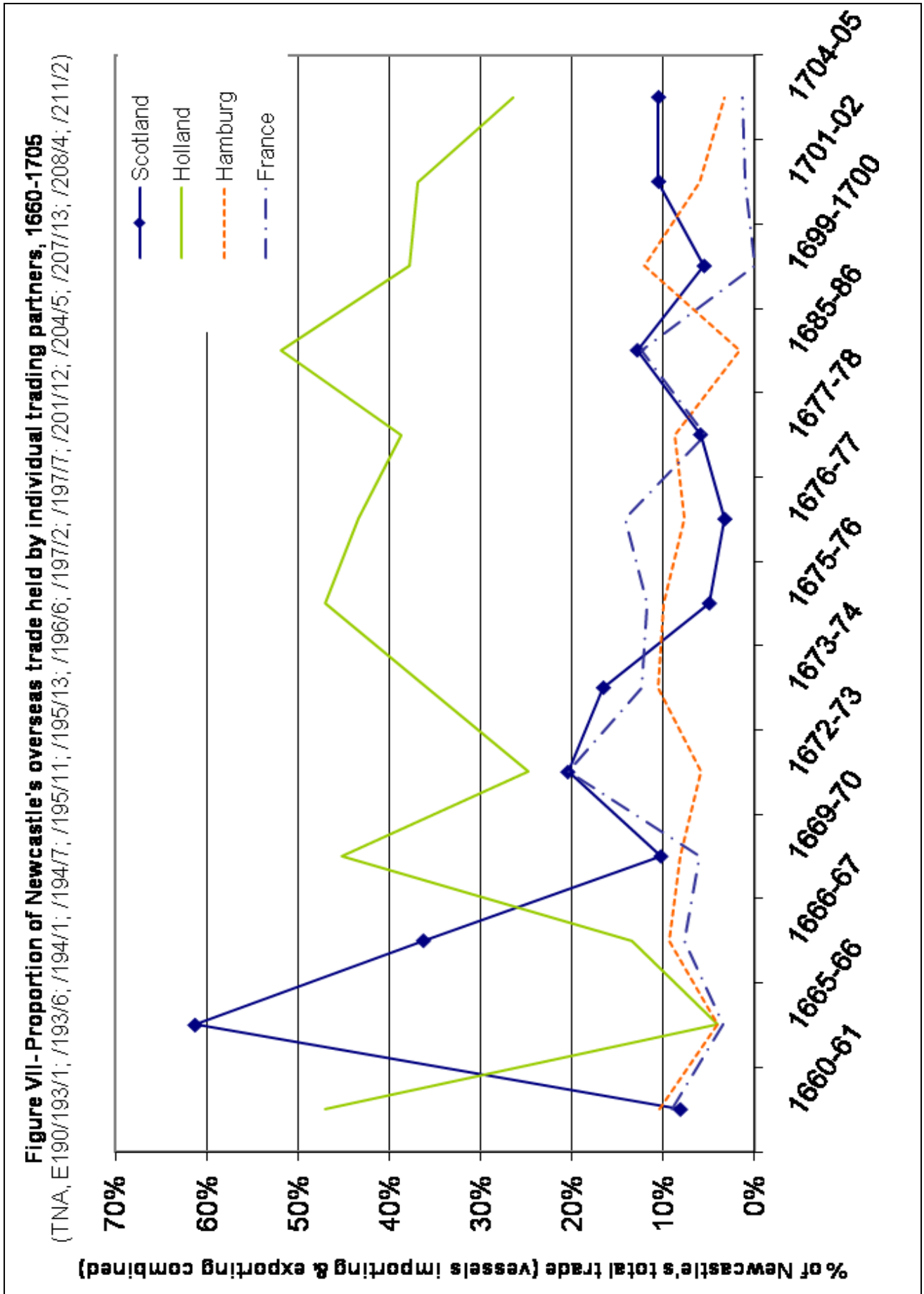
Kirkwall	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	0	0.0%	0		0	0.0%
Leith	1	0.3%	2	0.4%		0.0%		0.0%	6	1.4%
London	42	10.9%	51	9.4%	26	10.2%	51	9.3%	62	14.2%
Lubrick	1	0.3%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	10	2.3%
Lynn	28	7.3%	74	13.7%	20	7.9%	47	8.5%	43	9.9%
Manningtree		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	4	0.9%
Meddelbrough		0.0%	2	0.4%	4	1.6%		0.0%		0.0%
Montrose		0.0%	1	0.2%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Netherley		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.4%		0.0%		0.0%
Newcastle	4	1.0%	2	0.4%	5	2.0%	17	3.1%	37	8.5%
Newhaven	4	1.0%	3	0.6%	2	0.8%	4	0.7%		
Norway		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Other	25	6.5%	58	10.7%	26	10.2%	47	8.5%	12	2.8%
Parmer		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Pettenweam		0.0%	1	0.2%				0.0%		
Plymouth		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Prestonpans	3	0.8%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	0.7%
Queensferry		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Rochester		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	6	1.1%	2	0.5%
Rotterdam	2	0.5%		0.0%	1	0.4%		0.0%		
Sandwich	2	0.5%	6	1.1%	4	1.6%	15	2.7%	3	0.7%
Scarborough	11	2.9%	37	6.8%	23	9.1%	13	2.4%		0.0%
Scotland		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Selby	6	1.6%	10	1.8%			2	0.4%		
Sheilds		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.4%		0.0%	1	0.2%
St Andrews	3	0.8%	2	0.4%		0.0%		0.0%	3	0.7%
St Grosse		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	0.5%
St Vallerie		0.0%	1	0.2%		0.0%		0.0%	2	0.5%
Stockton		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Thornham		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%
Wells	6	1.6%	8	1.5%	13	5.1%	6	1.1%	18	4.1%
Whitby	2	0.5%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.2%	3	0.7%
Woodbridge		0.0%	2	0.4%	2	0.8%	11	2.0%	12	2.8%
Yarm	1	0.3%	2	0.4%		0.0%	1	0.2%	1	0.2%
Yarmouth	42	10.9%	33	6.1%	46	18.1%	53	9.6%	39	8.9%
York	3	0.8%	4	0.7%	1	0.4%	18	3.3%	2	0.5%
	385		541		254		550		436	

Table III – Number of vessels with average tonnage per Scottish port as documented in, Tucker, *Report*, pp. 21-25.

	Total no. Vessels	no. vessels	Tonnes	Total Tonnage	Ave. Tonnage per port
Burntisland	7	1	40	40	46
		2	30	60	
		1	24	24	
		3	20	60	
Kinghorne	1	1	50	50	50
Kircaldy	12	2	100	200	97

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		1	70	70	
		3	40	120	
		3	36	108	
		1	24	24	
		2	30	60	
Dysert	4	1	50	50	34.66667
		2	20	40	
		1	14	14	
Wemes	6	3	20	60	26
		1	18	18	
		1	14	14	
		1	12	12	
Leven	2	1	20	20	19
		1	18	18	
Ely	2	1	50	50	45
		1	40	40	
St Minas	1	1	36	36	36
Pettenweams	2	1	100	100	90
		1	80	80	
Ainster	10	1	20	20	22.5
		2	15	30	
		1	14	14	
		2	13	26	
Crail	1	1	90	90	90
St Andrews	1	1	20	20	20
Southferry	1	1	18	18	18
Dundee	10	2	120	240	76.875
		1	90	90	
		1	60	60	
		1	55	55	
		1	50	50	
		1	40	40	
		1	30	30	
		2	25	50	
Montrose	12	1	26	26	21.14286
		2	18	36	
		2	16	32	
		2	12	24	
		1	7	7	
		3	6	18	
		1	5	5	
Aberdeen	9	1	80	80	73.33333
		1	70	70	
		1	60	60	
		3	50	150	
		2	30	60	
		1	20	20	
Frazerburgh	4	4	20	80	80
Peterhead	1	1	20	20	20
TOTAL	50	82	2016	2869	66.5783



Appendix I

Table IV – Commodities contained in Scottish cargos leaving from Newcastle, 1660-1661 compared with 1665-1666.

	1660-1661			1665-1666			1666-1667		
	Cargo	Quantity	Measure	Cargo	Quantity	Measure	Cargo	Quantity	Measure
Apparel									
Catskin muffs				1	1	doz			
Dimicaster hats				1	2.5	pounds			
Felt hats				1	35	bulk			
Hat bowls				1	3	doz			
					4	loose			
Men's stockings				4	276	doz			
Trousers				1	196	pounds			
Colonial									
Loaf sugar				7	23.75	cwt	9	47.75	cwt
					28	pound			
Molasses				1	3	cwt	1	0.8	cwt
Sugar				1	2.5	cwt			
Fabrics									
Bayes	4	43	loose	4	37.5	loose			
				12	51	yards	3	10	yards
Clothes	1			3	19	yards			
Cordage				3	22.25	cwt	1	5	cwt
Half short clothes				11	334	loose	3	18	loose
					2	chests			
Short clothes				1	2		2	12.5	yards
Spanish cloth				3	5.5	yards			
Old woollen cards	1	24	doz	7	182	doz	2	13	doz
Habberdasher wares				6	9.5	cwt	1	0.25	cwt
					42	pounds			
Manchester bayes				1	1	pack			
Norway stuffs				2	110	pounds			
Silk manufacture				1	0.5	cwt			
Single dozens				5	74	loose			
Serges				3	270	pounds	1	5	pounds
Stuffs				1	20	pounds			
Throne silk				1	4	pounds			
Woad				4	5.5	cwt			
					1.5	tun			
Woollens				4	82	pounds			
					2	cwt			
Wrought silk				1	6	pounds			
Yorkshire cushions				1	2	doz			
Foodstuffs									
Butter				2	60	firkins			
Cheese				2	5	cwt			
Linseed							1	2	bushels
Liquorice	1	112	pounds	6	51.5	pounds	1	4	pound
					4	cwt			
Salt							1	30	wey
Starch				5	12.75	casks	8	29.25	casks
Glassware									
Cut glass	1	3	firkins	2	6	firkins			
Glass	1	8	firkins	7	40	firkins			

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					16	cases			
Glass bottles							1	10	doz
Window glass	1	14	firkins	7	28	firkins	7	56	firkins
		4	box		35	box		21	box
Grains									
Barley	1	24	quart						
Hops	1	768	pounds	11	92.75	cwt	11	55.25	cwt
Hardware									
Apothecary wares				1	2	cwt			
Belts and collars				1	40	pounds			
Bridles				8	63	doz	2	10	
Brown paper				2	1	bundle	1	20	reams
					2	reams			
Cork				1	1	hogshead			
Grindstones				2	15	chaldrons	2	0.5	chaldrons
Gunpowder				20	149	pounds	14	23	pounds
Horns				2	500	bulk			
					1,000	leaves			
Iron chimney							1	6	loose
Iron ordinance				3	14	bulk	1	10	bulk
Match for guns				1	0.5	cwt	2	3.5	cwt
Norway carpet				1	8	loose			
Norway deals				3	747	bulk			
Paper				1	6	bundle			
Ropes				1	0.5	cwt			
Saddles				4	23.5		8	3	12
Shoemaker jumps				2	48	doz			
Soap				8			10	11	firkins
					41	barrels		36	barrels
Sole leather				2	80	pounds			
					1	cwt			
Stirrup leathers				1	20	pounds			
Whips				1	12	doz			
Wrought staves							1	12	bulk
Wrought pewter							3	42	pounds
								1	cwt
Metallurgy									
Alum	2	12	tun	15	2	tun	13	1	tun
					167.5	cwt		100	cwt
Brass				1	0.25	cwt			
Brimstone				1	1.5	cwt			
Copperas				6	80	pound	1	6.75	cwt
					56.5	cwt			
Iron				7	24.25	cwt	3	4.75	cwt
Lead	1	12	fothers	22	24.5	fothers	10	108	fothers
		15	pigs		40	pigs		69	cwt
					420.1	cwt			
Skins									
Calf				3	10.5	doz			
					10	bulk			
Hides				4	104	loose			
Leather				5	30	pound	3	30	pound
					5.75	cwt		0.5	cwt
Sheep				1	100	bulk			

Appendix I

Table V – Shifting commodity concentrations contained in Scottish cargos entering Newcastle, 1660-1661, 1665-1666 and 1666-1667.

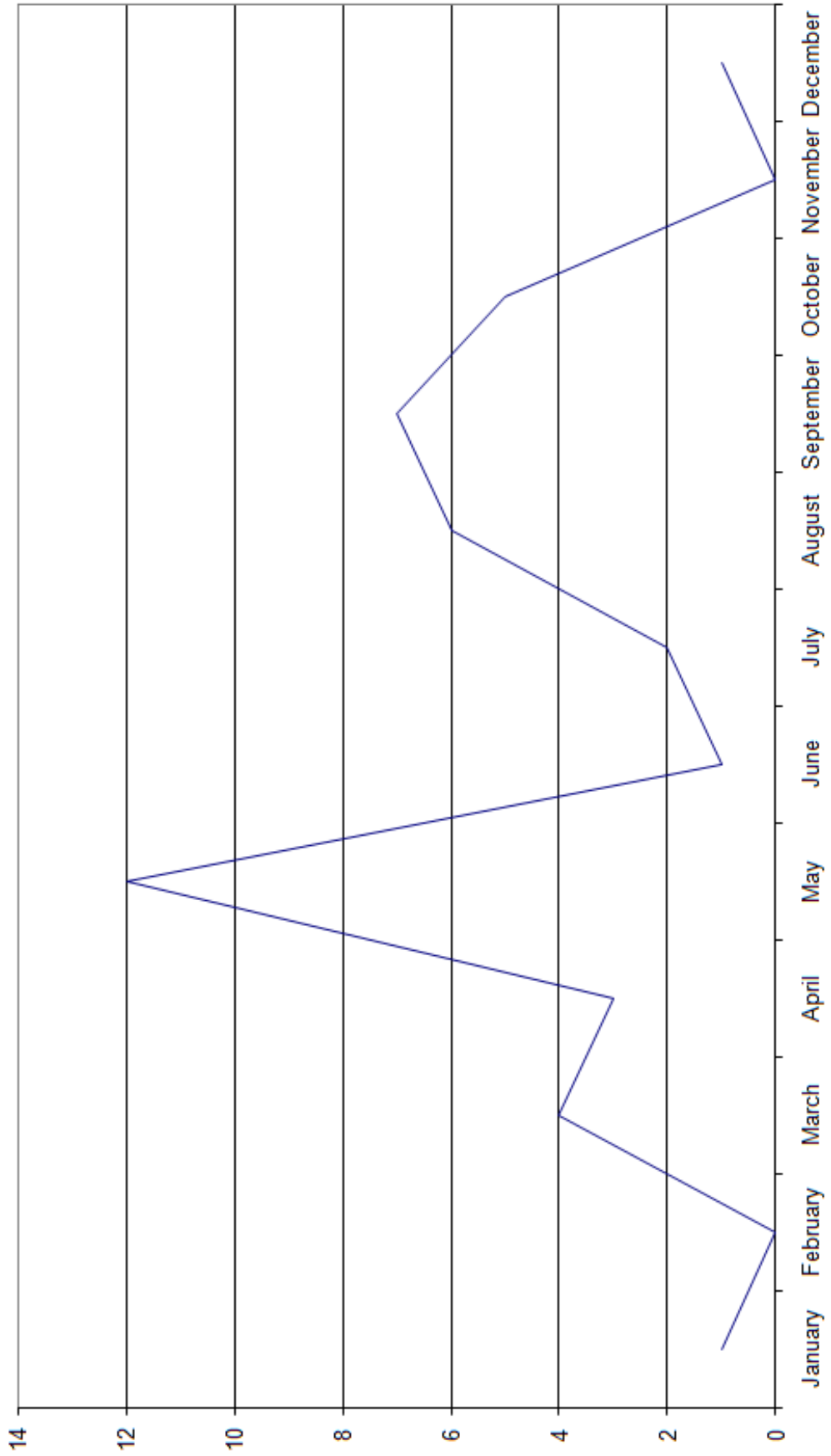
Commodities	1660-1661			1665-1666			1666-1667		
	Cargo	Quantity	Measure	Cargo	Quantity	Measure	Cargo	Quantity	Measure
Alcohol									
Aquavitae				8	7,083	gallons	6	2,200	gallons
Brandy				1	308	gallons	1	720	gallons
Colonial									
Brown sugar				6	52,461	pounds	1	2,808	pounds
Molasses				1	8	hogshead	1	4	tun
Sugar (powder)				1	1	quarter			
Fish									
Cod							1	15	barrels
	1	2	lasts						
Herring	4	8	barrels	6	29	barrels			
		9.5	lasts		3.5	lasts	6	18.75	lasts
Ling	1	1,500	bulk	1	500	bulk			
Salmon				1	58.5	barrels			
Stock							2	7,940	bulk
Foodstuffs									
Butter							1	0.5	pounds
Cheese							2	6,048	pounds
Pease				1	1.5	lasts			
Pepper							1	150	pounds
Grains									
Barley	5	73	lasts	26	118	lasts	2		
					65	quarters		70	quarters
Malt	1	0.5	lasts						
Oats				4	17	lasts	1	20	quarters
Oatmeal							2	3	bowels
								2	bushels
Rye				1	1	lasts	3	119	lasts
Wheat				2	3	lasts	3	4	bushels
								39	quarters
Hardware									
Alum	1	60	barrels				1	216	pounds
Candlewicks							1	0.25	pound
Copperas							2	1	quarter
							2	200	pounds
Firewood							1	16	fathom
Great masts							1	25	bulk
Hair							1	600	yards
Indigo							1	160	pound
Iron	1	0.5	pounds						
Middle balks							1	74	bulk
Norway deals							2	4,550	pounds
Oak timber							1	1	parcel
								140	foot
Rough hemp							1	19,040	pounds
Small masts							1	70	bulk
Tallow				1	140	pounds	3	7,840	pounds
Tar							2	13	lasts
								24	barrels
Undressed hemp							1	560	pounds

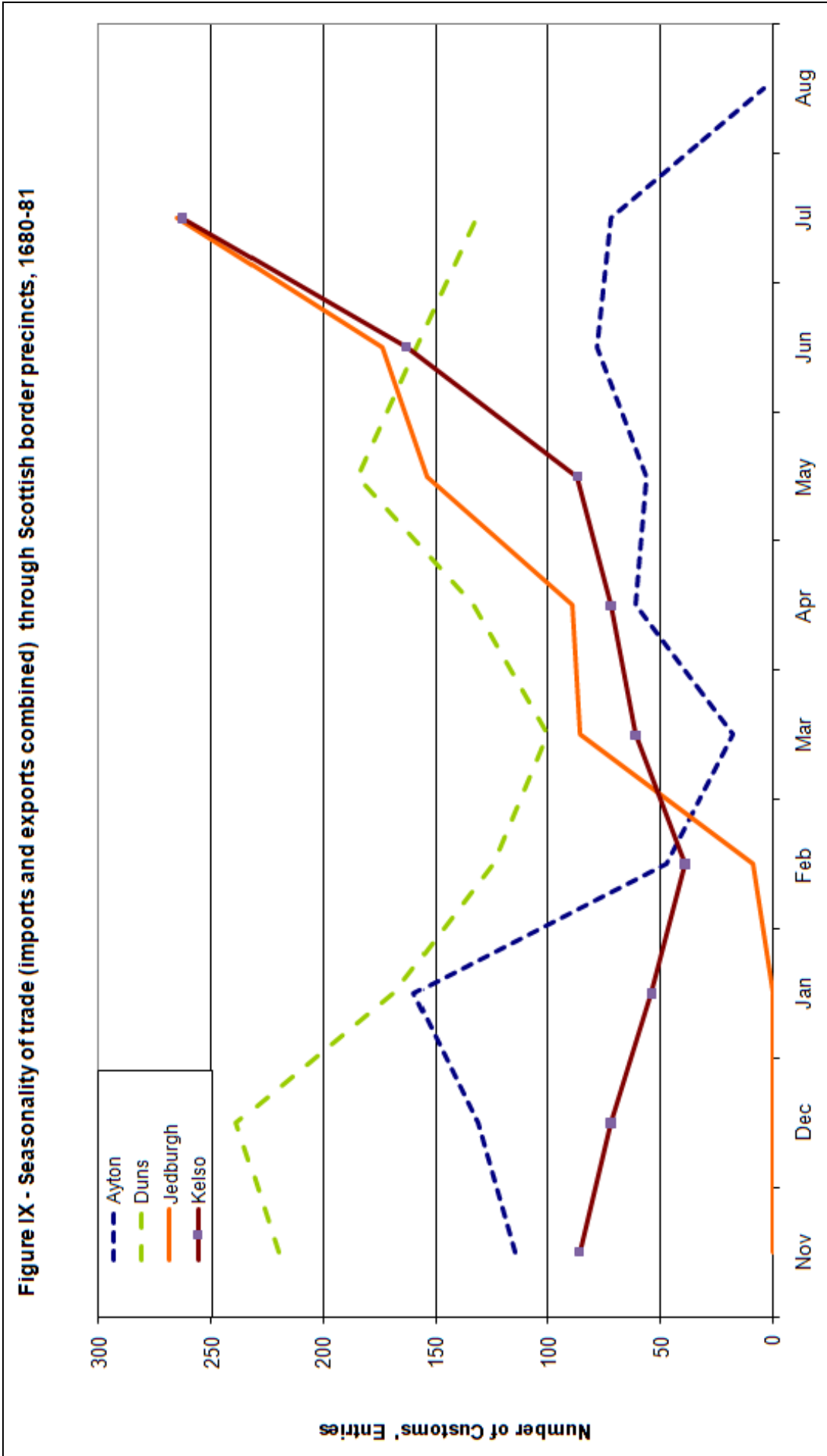
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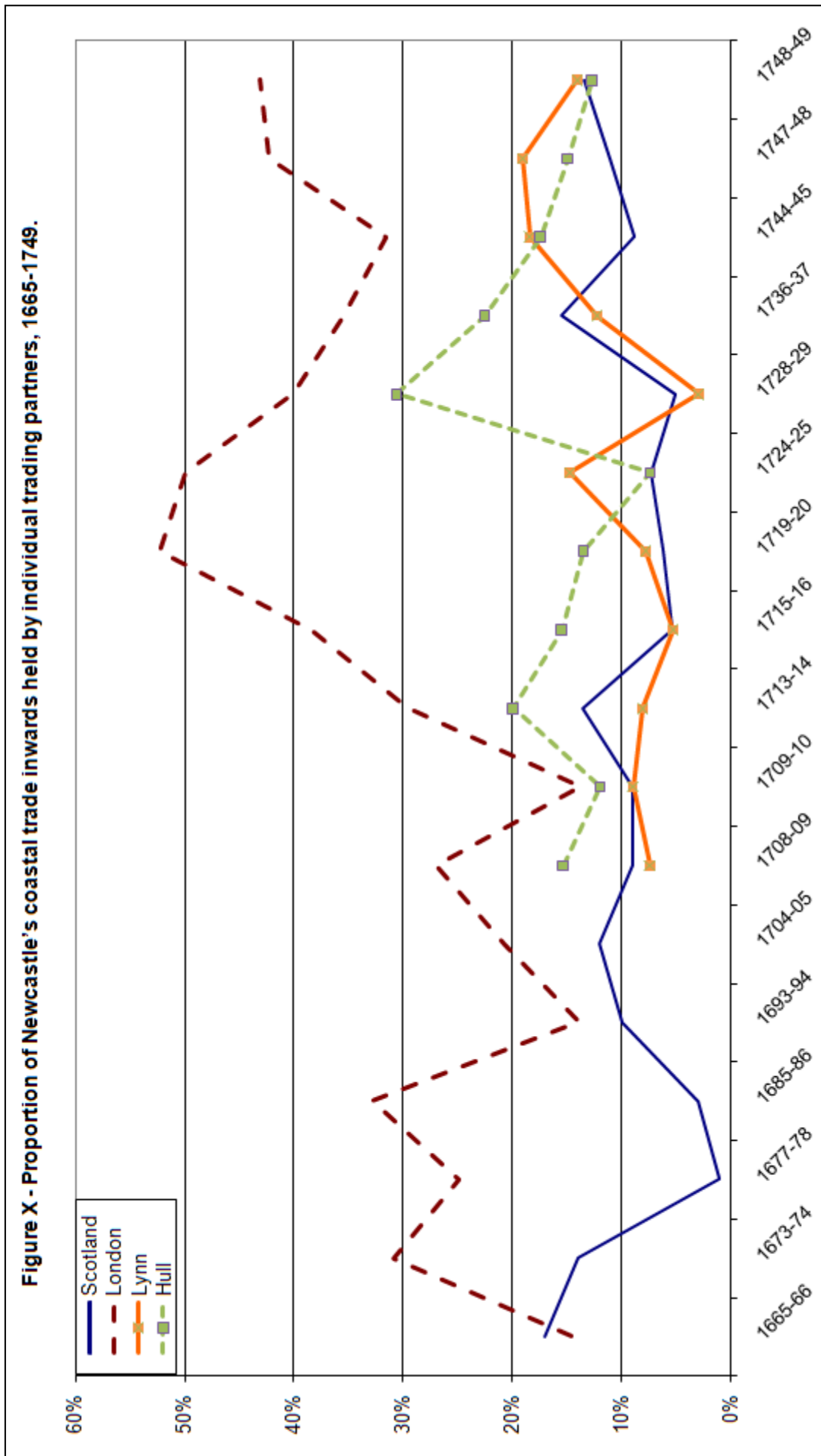
Windmill spares							1	3	bulk
Fabrics									
Aprons				1	8	bulk			
Cloth				1	80	ells			
Cotton wool				1	1,800	pounds			
Feathers for beds				2	1,008	pounds			
Firking				3	464	ells			
Leather gloves				1	2,400	pounds			
Linen				9	2,907	ells	2	570	ells
					90	pounds			
Linen yarn							3	4,496	pounds
Mittens				1	360	pairs	1	480	pairs
Plading	2	2	rolls				3	40	rolls
		150	ells					80	ells
Stockings				1	240	pairs	1	480	pairs
Tallow	1	4,480	pounds				3	3,920	pounds
Yarn	1	34	packs	5	2,168	pounds			
Medicines									
Opium							1	130	pounds
Miscellaneous									
Calico							1	104	pounds
Clapboard							1	500	pounds
Kelp	1	24	barrels						
Onions	1	45	barrels						
Salt	1	5	wey						
Small spars							2	1,000	bulk
Soap							1	17	barrels
Turpentine							2	7,940	pounds
Oils									
Fish oil				3	5.25	tuns	3	1.25	tuns
Oil							1	0.25	quarters
Skins									
Buck	1	36	bulk						
Fox							1	50	bulk
Goat	2	668	bulk	2	2,232	bulk	2	960	bulk
Hides	1	44	bulk						
Kid	2	3,460	bulk	1	180	bulk	1	360	bulk
Lamb	2	13,200	bulk	1	360	bulk	1	240	bulk
Roe	1	60	bulk						
Selk	1	80	bulk						
Skins'							1	248	bulk

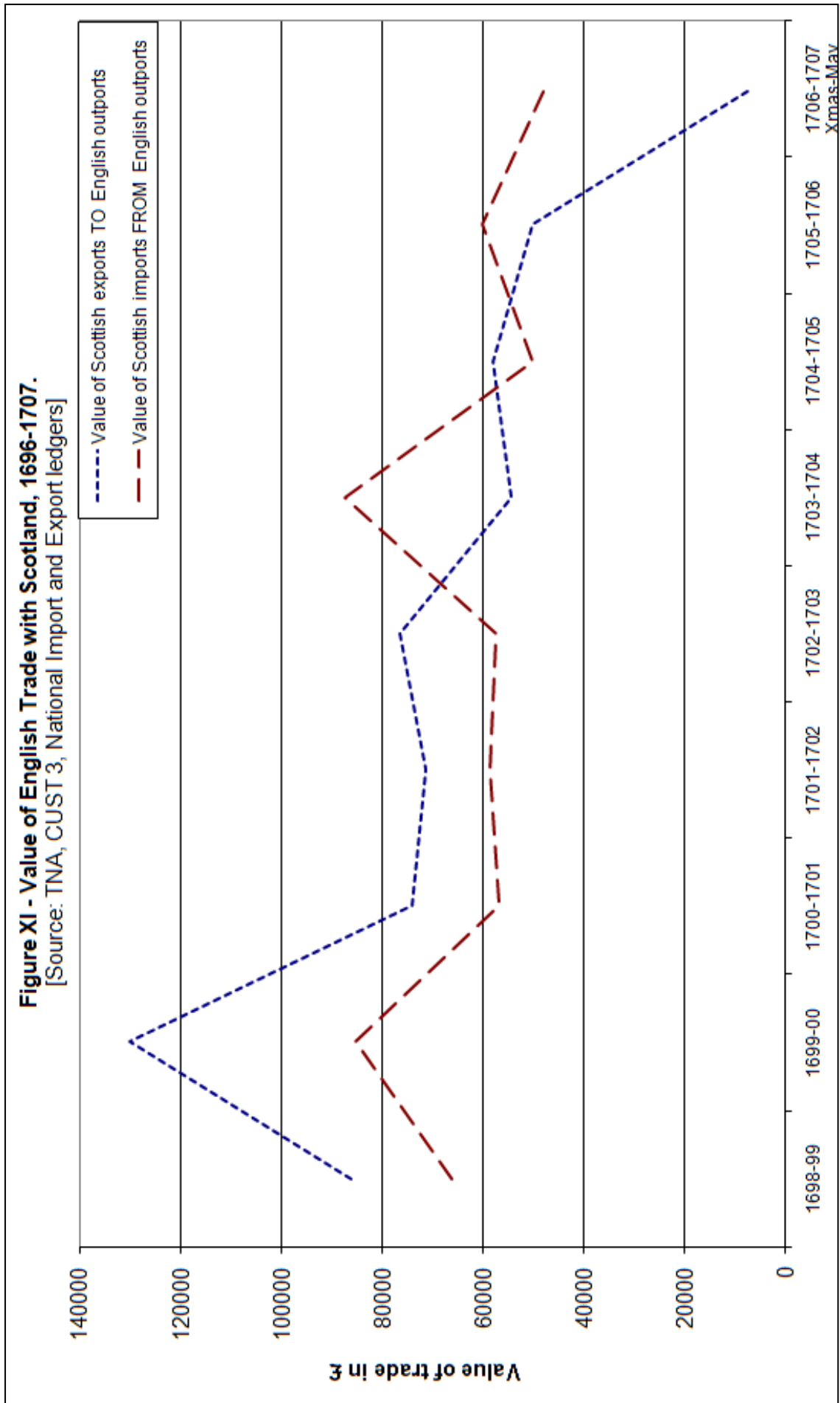
Source: TNA, E190/193/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1660-Xmas 1661; E190/193/6, Newcastle, Xmas 1665-Xmas 1666; E190/194/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1666 – Xmas 1667.

Figure VIII - Newcastle's Trade with London 1666, no. of vessels leaving from London destined for Newcastle (TNA, E190/194/2, xmas 1665- xmas 1666)









Appendix I

Table VI – Commodity profiles of Scottish trade leaving Newcastle 1704-05 compared to 1708-09.

	1704-1705		
	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Alcohol			
Ale	5	4,750	gallons
Cider			
Wine			
Apparel			
Clogs	1	504	pairs
Clothes			
Felt hats			
Pladding			
Stockings			
Carboniferous			
Alum			
Coal	3	100	caldron
Copperas			
Iron	1	896	pounds
Lead	9	338,268	pounds
Steel	1	672	
Wrought tin	1	14	pounds
Glassware			
Drinking glasses	2	1,584	loose
Glass	1	3	chests
Glass bottles	13	26,939	loose
Glass corks			
Quart bottles			
Violes	1	700	loose
Window glass	1	2	chests
Colonial			
Cut tobacco			
Jameco pepper			
Loaf sugar	1	0.75	cwt
Sugar	2	1.5	cwt
Sugar candy			
Grains			
Bear			
Hops	4	756	pounds
Oats			
Wheat			

	1708-1709		
	Cargo	Vol.	Measure
	4	1,636	bottles
	1	3	casks
	13	4,126	gallons
	2	57	gallons
	1	63	gallons
	1	2	casks
	1	36	loose
	1	300	yards
	1	192	pairs
	2	9,520	pounds
	1	1	caldron
	1	6,720	pounds
	10	903,056	pounds
	2	3	faggots
	3	4,200	loose
	2	2	chests
	12	61,044	loose
	1	4	loose
	1	606	loose
	4	9	hampers
	1	1	boxes
	1	13	pound
	1	1	cwt
	8	27.75	cwt
	1	3	boxes
	1	15	hogsheads
	8	4,032	
	1	60	quarters
	1	6	bushels

Appendix I

Fabrics			
Fleece			
Hemp			
Indigo	1	24	pounds
Old woollen cards			
Woollens			
Foodstuffs			
Bacon	2	2	flecks
Butter			
Capers			
Cheese	3	4	cwt
Clove pepper			
Cucumbers			
Ginger			
Grocery			
Liquorice	1	80	cwt
Olives			
Pease	2	2	cwt
Vinegar			
Fruits			
Currents			
Figs			
Pears			
Prunes			
Raisons			
Hardware			
Apothecary wares			
Bark	12	243	bushels
Bridles	1	72	loose
Chairs			
Deals	1	18.5	loose
Dog wheel			
Drugs	1	2	boxes
Earthenware	4	1,250	parcels
Firewood	1	22	fathom
Flax	1	165	pounds
Glue	2	120	pounds
Grindstones	2	118	
Half deals	1	100	loose
Hoops for barrels			
Iron jack			
Nails			
Paper			

1	7	sacks	
2	392	pounds	
1	2	boxes	
1	36	loose	
1	200	quarters	
1	1	fleck	
4	36	firkins	
1	7	pound	
3	9	cwt	
	1,200	loose	
1	1	box	
1	2	casks	
1	1	box	
1	6	boxes	
1	2	cwt	
1	1	box	
2	210	gallons	
3	4.5	cwt	
1	2	cwt	
1	1	bushels	
2	12	cwt	
3	24	cwt	
2	6	boxes	
1	5	loose	
1	1	loose	
2	2	boxes/parcels	
1	1	loose	
7	440	pounds	
	32,200	loose	
1	6	reams	

Appendix I

Pit ropes			
Redwood			
Saddles	1	2	loose
Shoemaker jumps	3	4,524	loose
Shot	3	3,472	pounds
Soap	8	19	barrels
Stools			
Tobacco pipes			
Tobacco staffs			
Tow	4	495	pounds
Household			
Feather bed			
Household goods			
Metal Work			
Frying pans			
Iron candle sticks			
Iron mongers wares	1	0.25	cwt
Saws			
Wrought pewter	4	294	pounds
Oils			
Rape oil			
Sweet oil			
Skins			
Leather			
Leathers	1	504	loose

1	2	loose
1	165	pounds
4	3,864	pounds
1	20	firkins
1	7	loose
6	134	loose
	8	casks/barrels
1	1,000	loose
1	1	loose
5	11	loads'
1	6	casks
1	1	Bag
1	220	
2	301	loose
5	1,100	pounds
2	357	gallons
1	4	gallons
3	2,576	pounds
1	14	bundles

Source: TNA, E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705; E190/214/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1708-Xmas 1709.

Appendix I

Table VII – Commodity profiles of Scottish trade entering Newcastle 1704-05 compared to 1708-09.

Commodity	1704-05			Commodity	1708-09		
	Cargo	Vol.	Measures		Cargo	Vol.	Measure
Fabrics							
Firking	1	112	ells				
Linen	4	236.25	ells	2	1,250	yards	
Stockings	1	108	pairs	1	1,320	pairs	
Twill	1	153	ells				
Undressed flax				1	2,632	pounds	
Wearing apparel				2	14	packs	
Woollens				1	260	ells	
Fish							
Herring				4	74,000	loose	
Oysters				3	14,000	loose	
Foodstuffs							
Almonds				1	150	pounds	
Fruits and crops							
Prunes				1	224	pounds	
Grains							
Barley				4	320	quarter	
Big				2	270	quarter	
Malt				1	84	quarter	
Glassware							
Drinking glasses				1	4	bulk	
Glass corks				1	20	bulk	
Hardware							
Copper kettle				1	1	bulk	
Earthen ware				1	4	crates	
Norway deals	4	20	bulk				
		168	pounds				
Small oars	1	10	bulk				
Spinning wheels	2	1,200	bulk				
Tar	1	15	lasts				
Miscellaneous							
Bees wax				1	50	pound	
Goose quills				1	800	bulk	
Kelp				1	22	barrels	
Skins							
Sheep				2	4,500	bulk	

Source: TNA, E190/210/13, Newcastle, Xmas 1704-Xmas 1705; E190/214/1, Newcastle, Xmas 1708-Xmas 1709.

Appendix I

Table VIII – Scottish trade with Newcastle 1713-1714 and 1715-1716.

Scottish Exports to Newcastle				
	1713-14		1715-16	
	Vol.	Measure	Vol.	Measure
Alcohol				
Brandy	11	gallons		
French wine	1,323	gallons	1,890	gallons
Mum	2	barrels		
Scotch brandy	556	pints		
Sherry	567	gallons	504	gallons
Spanish wine	126	gallons	272	gallons
Spirits	258	gallons	1,684	gallons
Colonial				
Leaf tobacco			4,666	pounds
Sugar'	23,107.28	pounds	4,644	pounds
			51	boxes
Sugar candy	12,178	pounds	3,996	pounds
Sugar (loaf)	1,905	pounds		
Sugar (powder)	9,904	pounds	6,804	pounds
Tobacco	520	pounds		
Fabrics				
Buchanan	3	pieces		
Cloth	11	pieces		
Kersey	22	pieces		
Linen	11,037.5	yards	8,875	yards
Serges	350	yards		
Stockings	1,300	pairs	240	pairs
Wearing apparel	2	boxes	8	boxes
Wool			4	bags
Woollens	1200	pounds		
Fish				
Capers	26	pounds		
Cod	13,489	bulk	228,960	bulk
Herring	122,520	bulk	125,980	bulk
Foodstuffs				
Bacon and hams	4	hogsheads		
Beef	1	barrels		
Pork	27.5	barrels		
Fruits and crops				

Scottish Imports from Newcastle				
	1713-1714		1715-1716	
	Vol.	Measure	Vol.	Measure
Alcohol				
Ale	1,155	gallons	3,780	gallons
Ale	432	bottles	984	bottles
Cider	240	bottles	480	bottles
Mum			56	gallons
Spanish wine			1	cask
Spirits			120	gallons
Animals				
Horns			20,300	bulk
Apparel				
Boots			62	pairs
Clogs			144	loose
Clothes	2	casks		
Felt hats			120	loose
Gloves			1	bundle
Hats	4	boxes		
Shoes			140	pairs
Stockings	1,000	pair	1	bundle
Wearing apparel	3	chests	11	chests
Colonial				
Jameco pepper	60	pounds		
Sugar	880	pounds	40	pounds
Tobacco	706	pounds	40	pounds
Tobacco stalks	440	pounds		
Fabrics				
Broad cloth	6	pieces	14	pieces
Cordage			224	pounds
Drugetts			12	pieces
Fushion	3	pieces		
Haberdasher wares			2	box
Indigo			1	pound
Kerseys			425	yards
Pattons			252	loose
Serges			24	ells
Stuffs			15	packs

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Cumin seeds	56	pounds		
Fennel seeds	26	pounds		
Lemon juice	53	gallons		
Nutmeg	29	bulk		
Grains				
Barley	1,022	quarters	448	quarters
Bear	2,025.75	quarters	95	quarters
Big	180	quarters		
Hops	588	pounds		
Oats	104	quarters		
Pease	50	quarters		
Wheat	30.5	quarters		
Hardware				
Empty casks	6	bulk		
Hardware	1	boxes		
Household furniture			2	trunks
Household goods	2	chests		
Pipes	6	loose		
Tar			65	barrels
Metal				
Pewter			112	pounds
Swedish iron	63	tons		
	5.75	cwt		
Miscellaneous				
Books	2	boxes		
Caraway seeds	280	pound		
Corks	200	bulk		
Kelp			27	barrels
Leather tents and poles	2	bulk		
Oils				
Oil'	73	barrels		
Skins				
Calf	270	bulk		
Dog	288	bulk		
Rabbit	48	bulk		
Selk	30	bulk		
Shamway	1,300	bulk		
Weaponry				
Swords and pistols	1	parcel		

Tallow			3	boxes
Thread			1	chests
Woollens			15	pounds
Yorkshire drab cloth	2	packs		
Fish				
Fish	300	casks		
Herrings	23,040	loose		
Foodstuffs				
Beef	1	barrel		
Butter	2	firkins	3	firkins
Cheese	2,200	pounds	4,928	pounds
Cucumbers			1	casks
Flour	2	casks		
Ginger			10	pounds
Ginger bread	6	cakes	1	hogshead
Grocery			2	boxes
Liquorice	28	pounds	336	pounds
Mustard				
Rice			110	pounds
Vinegar	157.5	gallons	78.75	gallons
Fruits				
Currents			1,320	pounds
Figs			2	casks
Raisons			440	pounds
Glassware				
Cut glass			3	box
Drinking glasses	192	loose	600	loose
	24	box	45	box
Glass	8	firkins	1,598	case
Glass bottles	147,903	loose	78,196	loose
Violes	9	boxes	10	boxes
Window glass	12	boxes		
Grains				
Hops	10	bags	3,304	pounds
Wheat			110	quarts
Hardware	7,056	pounds	6,720	pounds
Ashes	20	tons		
Bricks	5,000	loose		
Brown paper			8	reams

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Clock	1	loose		
Combs			1	hamper
Corn hooks			240	loose
Drugs			2	boxes
Earthen pots	6,000	loose		
Earthenware	8	parcels		
Flax	14	pounds	358	pounds
Glue	112	pounds	672	pounds
Grindstones	1	loose	1	caldron
Ground wood			1	casks
Millstones	2	loose		
Nails	1,210	pounds	7,590	pounds
Norwegian deals			1,680	pounds
Pitch			4	barrels
Rubstones			480	loose
Saddles	7	loose	26	loose
Saddler ware	2	bundles		
Saltpetre	14	pounds		
Shoemaker jumps			1	bag
Shot	5,880	pounds	6,160	pounds
Shovel	1	bundle	36	loose
Soap	2.5	firkins	519	firkins
Tow			275	pounds
Tobacco pipes	14.5	barrels	274	loose
	104	loose		
Tobacco staffs	1,100	pounds		
Whalebone			1	bundle
Whetstones			240	loose
Household				
Household goods			1	hamper
Industrial				
Alum	53	tons	2	tons
Cinders	39	caldron	24	caldron
Coal	55	chaldrons	36	chaldrons
Copperas	3.4	tons	1	tons
Lead	11	tons	49	tons
			68	Pieces
Lead weights	1,500	loose		
Iron	1.5	tons	22.25	tons
Steel	2,240	pounds	7,600	pounds

Appendix I

Tar			2	barrels
Metal Work				
Cutlery			2	box
Iron mongers wares			25	barrels
Iron pots			15	loose
Knives	360	loose		
Saws			1	bundle
Scythes	8	bundles	144	loose
Shearing hooks	240	pounds	1,440	pounds
Sheers			144	loose
Sickles	4	pairs	800	loose
Steel mill	2	loose	6	loose
Wrought pewter	2,548	pounds	7,056	pounds
Oils				
Groundnut oil			26.5	gallons
Oil	2,866.5	gallons	88.5	gallons
Olive oil			26.5	gallons
Rape oil			157.5	gallons
Skins				
Calf	96	loose		
Hides	14	bundles	68	loose
Leather			203	pounds
Leathers	7,000	loose	1	loose
Selk	30	loose		
Whale skins			100	loose

Source: TNA, E190/219/12, Newcastle, Xmas 1713 – Xmas 1714; E190/220/9, Newcastle, Xmas 1715 – Xmas 1716.

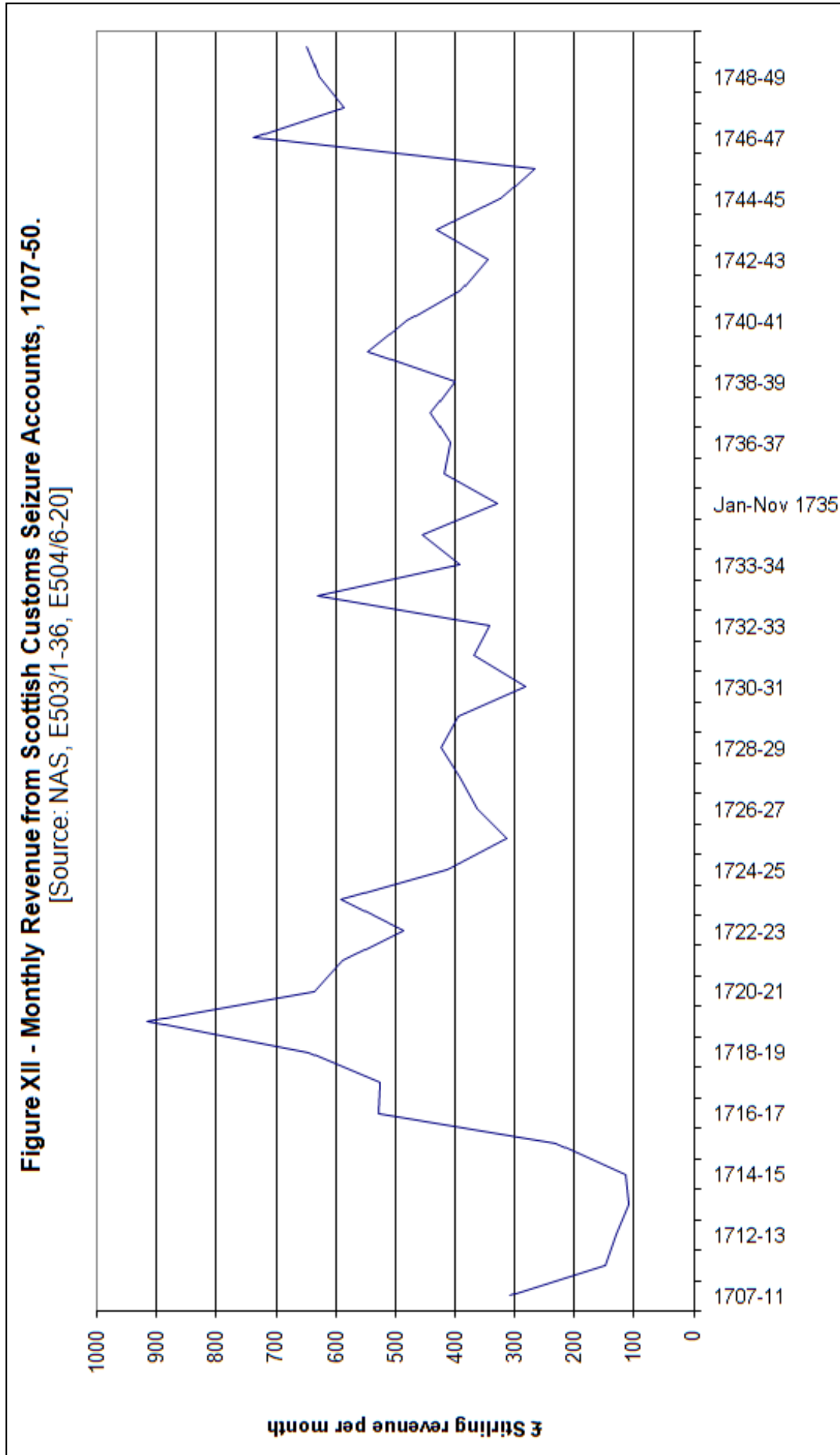
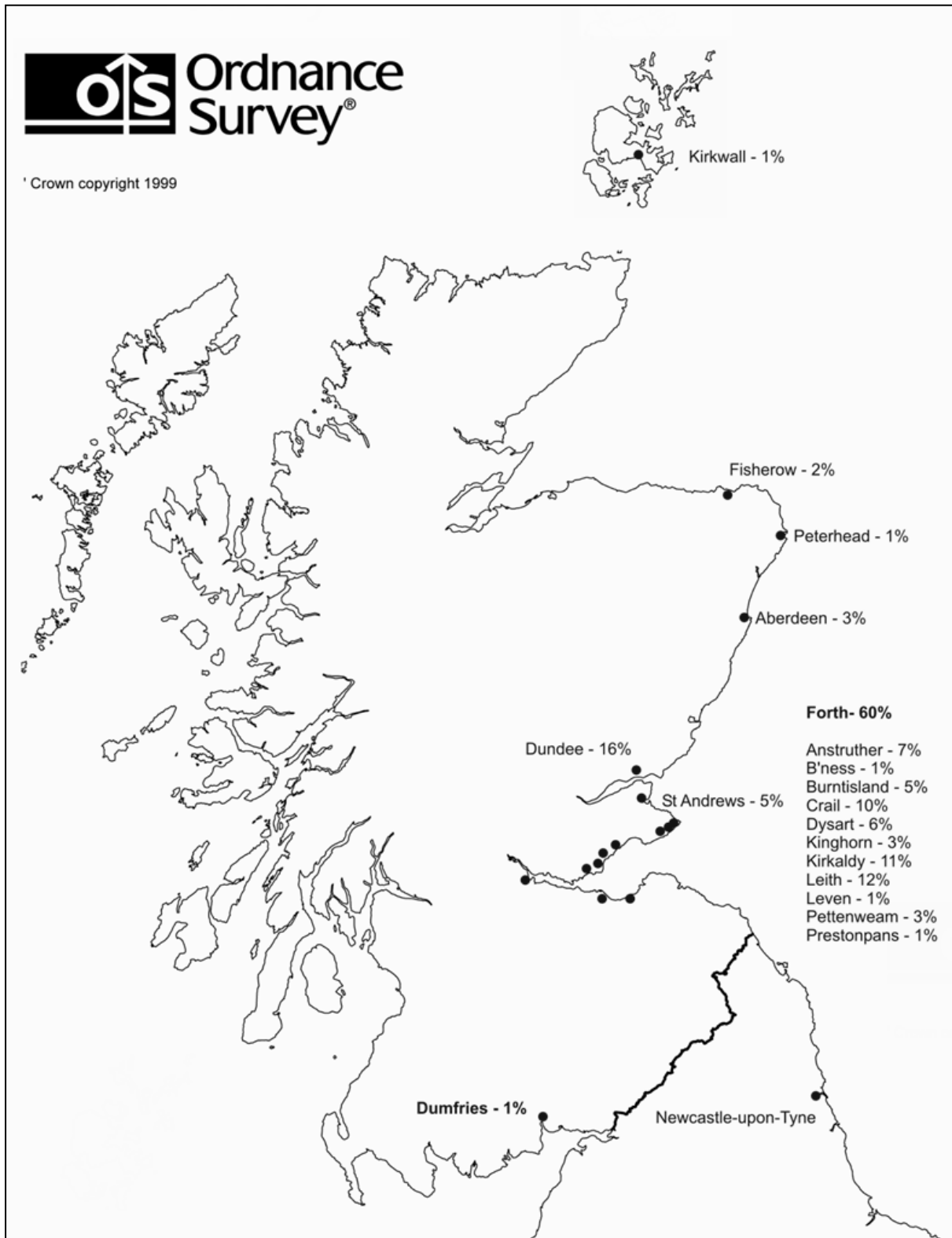


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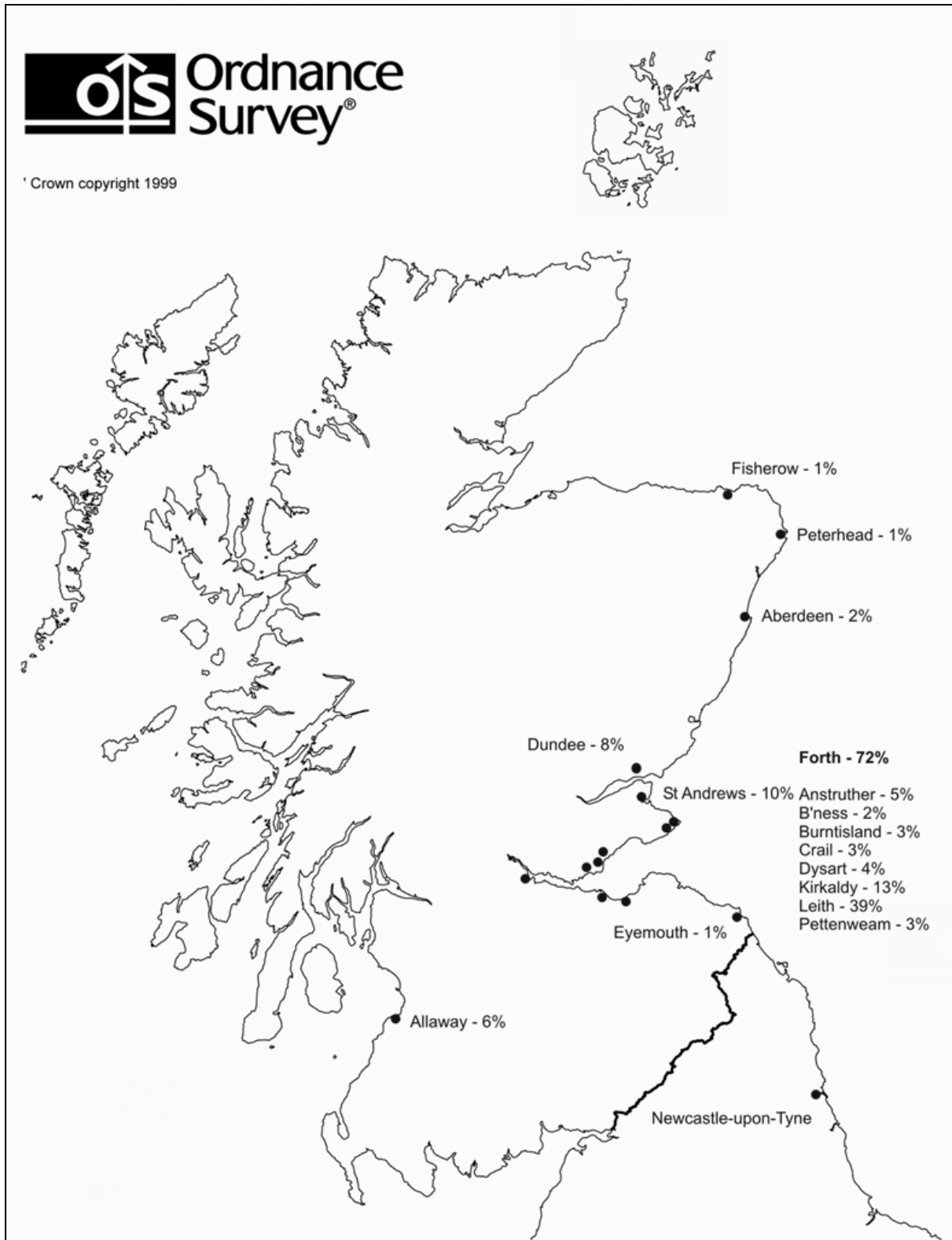
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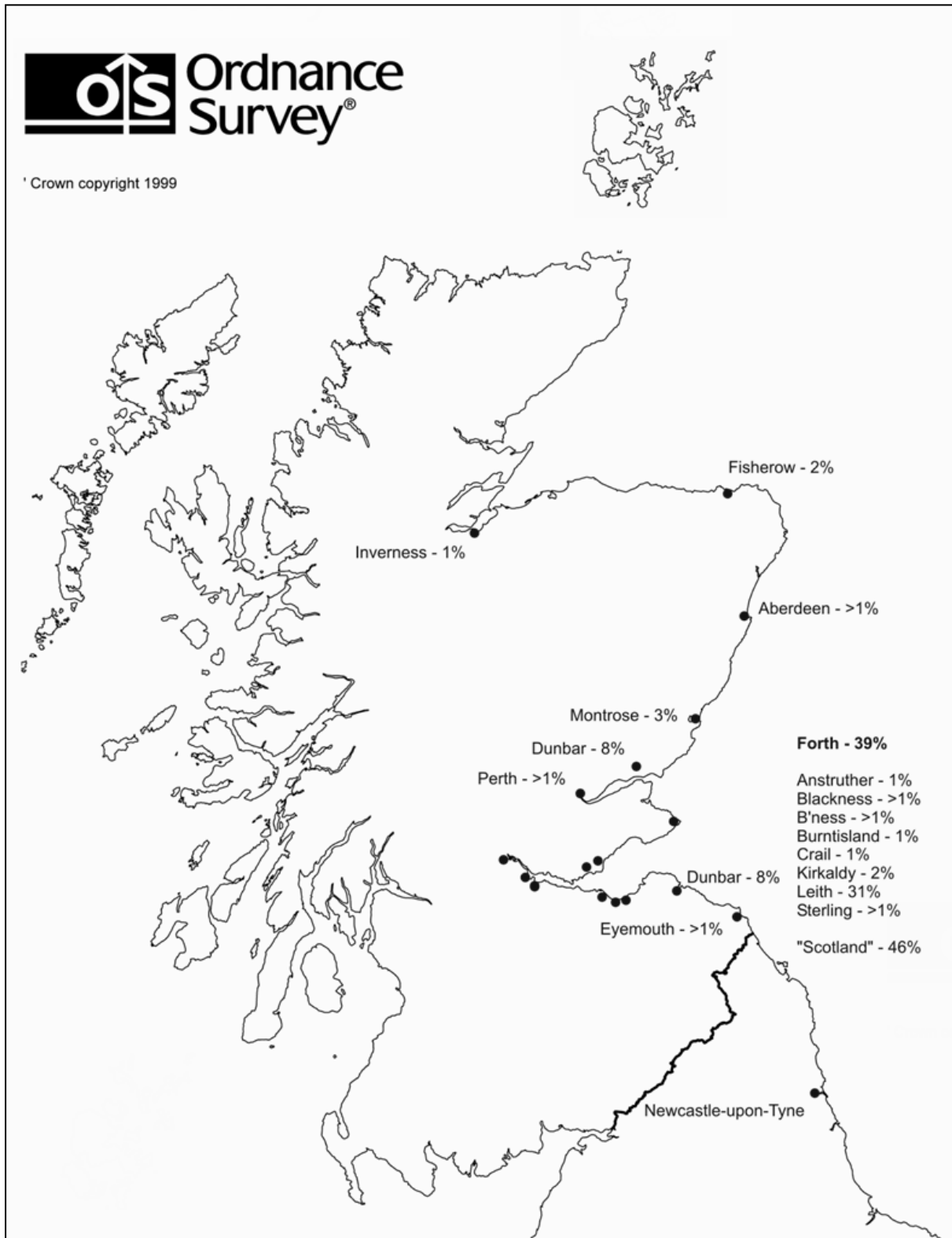
Map I – The origin ports of Scottish vessels entering Newcastle, 1580-1638.



Map II – The origin ports of Scottish vessels entering Newcastle, 1638-1707.



Map III – The origin ports of Scottish vessels entering Newcastle, 1707-1750.



Appendix II

Figure XIII - Commodity profile of Scottish trade entering Newcastle by sea, 1590-1600.

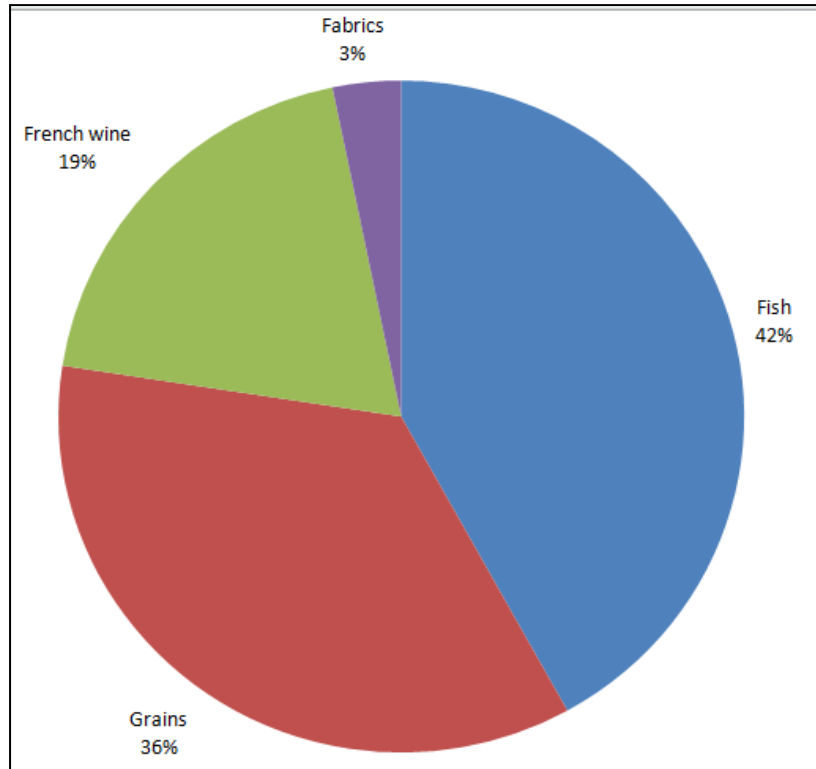
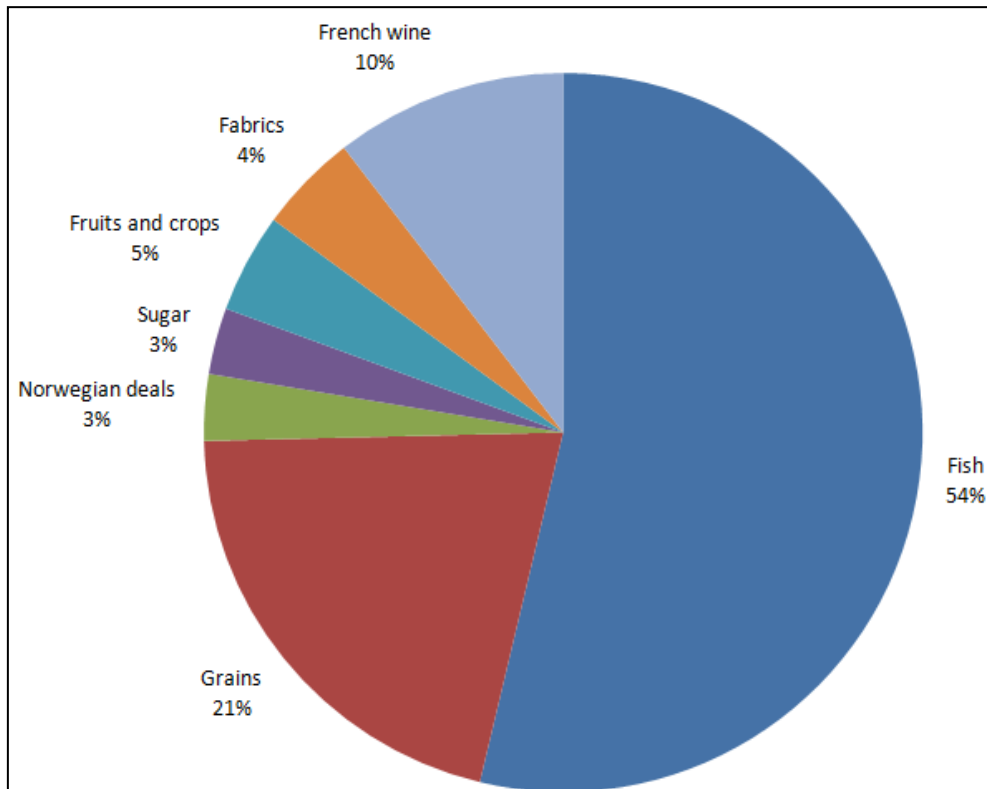


Figure XIV - Commodity profile of Scottish trade entering Newcastle by sea, 1616-37.



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Figure XV - Commodity profile of Scottish trade entering Newcastle by sea, 1660-74.

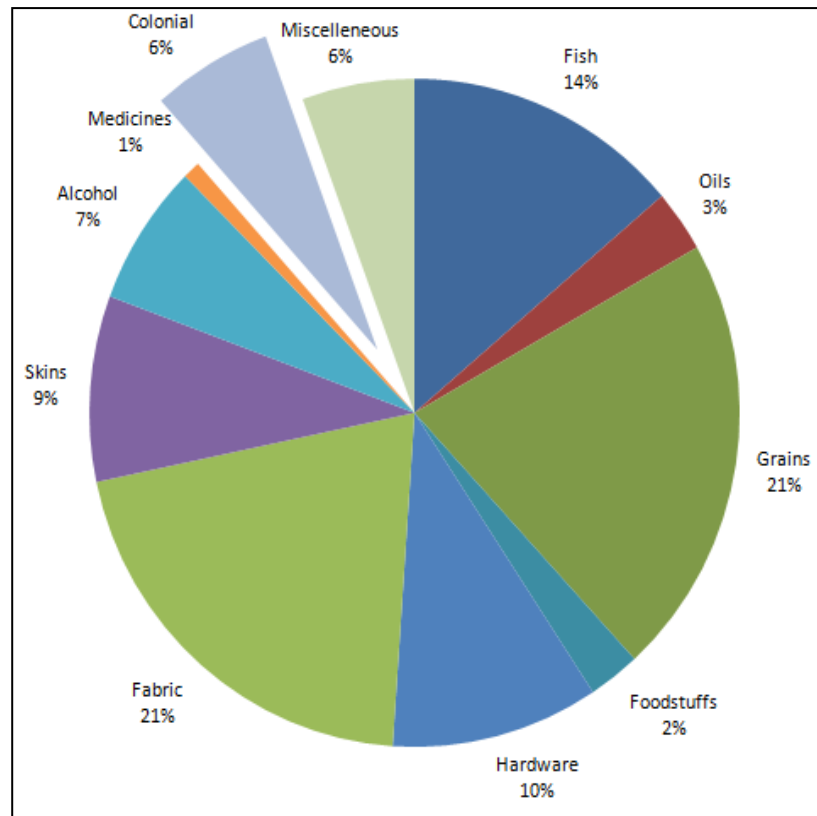
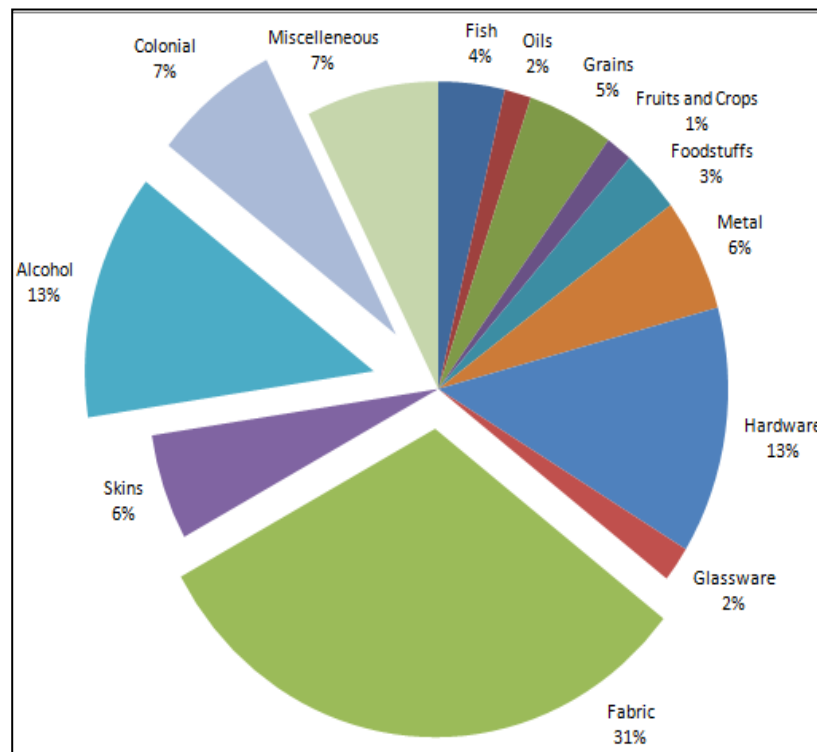


Figure XVI - Commodity profile of Scottish trade entering Newcastle by sea, 1747-49.



15. Bibliography

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Needs repair

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