

A STUDY OF THE MEMORIES AND VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH STIRLING'S LOST HARBOUR

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Figure 1. Stirling Harbour (reproduced with the permission of Stirling Council Archives).

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Abstract

This study takes a biographical approach to Stirling's lost harbour. Through looking at the distinct social ages of the harbour's history, this project discusses the meanings and values associated with the site by the local community. This dissertation looks at the cultural significance to the site, noting the importance of the harbour across various periods. The Old Harbour will first be discussed in relation to the value it held as a medieval port. The significance as a trading port will be analysed, as well as noting the decline in trade. In the following section, the marked impact of the Industrial Revolution on Riverside area is analysed. This period marked expanded use of the harbour beyond its trading function as new leisure pursuits took place at the shore in the nineteenth century. Following a time of dereliction, new claims of ownership are found in the interwar history of the harbour for the Stirling community. The harbour was transferred away from local decision makers to the regional Forth Conservancy Board. Decisions over the future of the site would be contested. This project brings the harbour's history to the present as contemporary uses, values and memories are gauged to get a sense of what the current perceptions are of the place. Finally, this dissertation concludes with a significance assessment of the value of the harbour, considering different aspects of the site as a heritage asset.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction



Figure 2. The Riverside area of Stirling. (© RCAHMS.

<http://canmore.org.uk/collection/1175928>)

The abandoned riverside wall on Shore Road is the sole physical element that remains of the Old Harbour at Stirling. The collapsed wall is part of a picnic area overlooking the River Forth and is the site of one of Scotland's oldest ports. Stirling's lost harbour is situated at the Riverside area of the city, on a loop of the tidal river close to Cambuskenneth. The accessible location of the river provided a natural trade for the area from the medieval period onwards. The Old Harbour, also referred to as Stirling shore, is first mentioned in historic sources beginning in 1129 as part of a document from King David I.¹ The source alludes to a harbour at the site, granting part of the income of ships arriving at Stirling. Historic trade

¹ D. Morris, 'Early Navigation of the River Forth', *Transactions of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society*, (1919-20), p.51.

from the shore was wide, with strong ties to continental markets such as Rotterdam and Veere, then known as Campvere.² Technological advances meant that the status of the port decreased over several centuries to the point of irrelevance as trade imported into Stirling concluded in 1954.³ Yet a century prior, the Riverside area had been one of multiple uses, with a steamboat jetty, quay and shipbuilding works at the shore. Following the conclusion of trade, the contemporary site was used as a picnic area prior to the collapse of the wall in January 2016. This project has been funded by the Inner Forth Landscape Initiative (IFLI). One of the ongoing projects for IFLI is the Forth Crossings project which has explores medieval trade on the Forth.⁴ This project will contribute towards the goal of increasing knowledge of the trade in the area. Another recent development has been the announcement of Stirling Council's plans for the site, included in the 'City Deal' project.⁵ As one of several goals for Stirling, the City Deal has targeted an increase in river traffic on the River Forth. Along with other landmarks in the Stirling area, the Shore Road site, as a 'historic gateway', is included in the project as a base for intercity transport and for tourism purposes in the River Forth. The harbour space is included in plans for increased visitors in the area due to the nearby heritage centre and transport links. A pontoon is also planned in addition to repairing the damage suffered to the wall. This project seeks to understand the values and memories attributed to the site from the local community of Stirling. Through using a biographical approach, the project will analyse the history of the harbour area from early days of shipping to current use and values. As will be discussed, there has been little historical research on Stirling Harbour providing ample opportunity to document the later use of the site. The focus of the last major research, by David Morris, covered up to the mid-nineteenth

² D. Morris, *The Stirling Merchant Guild and Life of John Cowane: Founder of Cowane's Hospital in Stirling* (Stirling, 1919), p.195.

³ *Stirling Observer*, 29 August 1954, p.5.

⁴ See Appendix A.

⁵ Stirling Council, *Stirling City Deal: Masterplan* (2016), p.33. See Appendix B.

century.⁶ As opposed to prior historical studies, the scope of this study allows the opportunity to bring the history of the site to the present. Compared with previous work which outlined the economic and political changes to the site, this project will analyse the changing form, meanings and values associated with the site over the course of its history. Finally, this study will outline the contemporary plans for the Old Harbour and its future potential as a heritage asset.



Figure 3. The harbour site in 2012. (© Copyright Richard Webb and licensed for reuse under the Creative Commons Licence).

1.1 – Aims and objectives

This dissertation will seek to provide a biography of the harbour, from early trade to contemporary use and future potential. Through assessing the cultural biography of the site, the aim of this study is to gain insight into the values associated with the disused harbour at Stirling. The project will include an historical background of the site, examining the cultural biography attached to the harbour at distinct stages of its life. The site has had a multifaceted

⁶ Morris, 'Early Navigation of the River Forth', pp.51-70.

history and through considering the varied uses of the harbour area a greater understanding of its value can be gauged. Part of this objective is to consider the contemporary value of the site and question whether the history of the harbour is understood by the residents of Stirling. Although the historic port has been largely abandoned for much of the post-war period, this project will endeavour to analyse the social memory associated with the harbour from the local community. The project will look to understand the value the harbour had to residents and in what ways this has changed following the closure of the site. The value of the harbour will be assessed through conversations with residents and professionals with a knowledge of the site. These interviews also provide information on how the area is used today whilst also exploring how the knowledge of the harbour has transferred to contemporary residents. This study will also question the existing interpretation of the harbour and ask whether there is any desire to alter the current management of the site in the future.

1.2 - Literature on Stirling Harbour

Before addressing the methods and sources used in this project it is important to consider the existing research in more detail. The literature will be integrated in further detail in the corresponding chapters in relation to medieval trade and nineteenth century activity. Stirling Harbour has been approached from several different spheres of interest within work on the trade on the River Forth and as part of the history of the city of Stirling. A few notable studies have focused directly on the site and activity of the harbour. Firstly, Stirling Harbour has been documented by historians focusing on the river trade of the Forth. These studies have included Stirling's contribution to the activity that took place in the area. Graham's archaeological discussion of Scotland's ports discusses the existence of an early medieval harbour at Riverside.⁷ Existing research on medieval trade of the River Forth notes that

⁷ A. Graham, 'Archaeological Notes on Some Harbours in Eastern Scotland', *The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 101 (1968-69), pp.200-285.

initially there was considerable business conducted at Stirling, but that the influence of the port faded over time. A study of the life of John Cowane discusses the trade conducted at Stirling in the seventeenth century, describing it as appreciable, if not large.⁸ However, other literature suggests that Stirling in this century was losing value as a port.⁹ Stirling's reduced role in the seventeenth century is a point made when comparing the business of the major royal burghs of Scotland. This analysis is agreed upon by Middleton's study on the Port of Alloa which highlights the emergence of other ports along the Forth in place of Stirling. Alloa, in 1710, became the place of collection of dues for Stirling port which provided a growth in trade.¹⁰ Middleton also makes note of the importance of Bo'ness to Stirling, as it is cited as the point of call for goods to be undocked and sent to Stirling.¹¹ Further analysis of east coast harbours coincides with the idea that by the eighteenth-century Stirling, due to the rocky shallows of the Forth had, by the eighteenth century, ceased to be of real importance as a port.¹² Lenman's analysis is limited as the research only mentions Stirling in passing, instead focusing on the ports further downstream. Another approach by Hendrie concerns the navigation of the River Forth and addresses the emergence of pleasure steamers as a transport option.¹³ Hendrie gives a well-documented account of the rise and fall of this endeavour.

Further contributions to the historiography of Stirling Harbour have been conducted as part of wider histories of the city. A discussion point on the history of the harbour is the points in which Stirling became insignificant compared to its rivals in the Upper Forth region. The history of the city has been chronicled by historians who offer opposing viewpoints on

⁸ Morris, *The Stirling Merchant Guild and Life of John Cowane*, p.195.

⁹ T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh and London, 1963), p.45.

¹⁰ I. Middleton, *The Port of Alloa to c.1800*, (Inner Forth Landscape Initiative, 2016), p.29.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.11.

¹² B. Lenman, *From Esk to Tweed: Harbours, Ships and Men of the East Coast of Scotland* (Glasgow and London, 1975), p.45.

¹³ W. Hendrie, *Discovering the River Forth* (Edinburgh, 1996).

W. Hendrie, *Shipping of the River Forth* (Stroud, 2011).

the fall of the harbour's importance. Craig Mair notes a 'golden age' before Alexander III which Stirling was of most importance as a trading point.¹⁴ The relevance of the harbour to Mair was affected by the loss of the Stewart family from Stirling. The loss of association with the royal family hurt the status of the city. As a result, Stirling became less of an attraction for trade. Elspeth King similarly places importance on the period prior to the Stewart family departing from Stirling, labelling the seventeenth century as a turning point.¹⁵ King notes that whilst the harbour once served as an important port on the Forth, the American market became more important following the Act of Union, therefore reducing the impact of Stirling's trade with Europe. Another argument put forward by Lannon is that the economic viability of the harbour was instead hurt by the introduction of the railways to Stirling in 1853.¹⁶ Despite this, Lannon asserts that the harbour continued to serve as a vital artery of trade with the rest of the world. Other histories on Stirling discuss the River Forth and the effect the developments of the city and the effect these had on the harbour.¹⁷ These studies in general are not focused on the social value of the site to the community. Instead, they discuss the wider effect of political and economic changes in Stirling and the effect this had on the harbour. For discussion of the social aspects of the river, Drysdale's collection of stories and pastimes in Stirling includes a brief history of boating competitions in Stirling and pastimes that included salmon fishery, providing wider context of the River Forth and its meaning to Stirling.¹⁸

Finally, there has been one study focusing directly with the history of the harbour at Stirling. A 1921 piece by David Morris is the most complete summary of the activities of the

¹⁴ C. Mair, *Stirling: the Royal Burgh* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.64.

¹⁵ E. King, *Old Stirling* (Catrine, 2009), p.76.

¹⁶ T. Lannon, *The Making of Modern Stirling* (Stirling, 1983), p.18.

¹⁷ D. McNaughton, *A History of Old Stirling* (Stirling, 1980).

B. Durie, *The Story of Stirling* (Stroud, 2003).

¹⁸ W. Drysdale, *Old Faces, Old Places, and Old Stories of Stirling: Second Series* (Stirling, 1899).

port.¹⁹ Morris discusses the early navigation of the river, including the medieval records of the dues collected at Stirling. Alongside this topic is a discussion of the plans over the years to increase river use and access. Morris concludes the piece with a discussion of the nineteenth century pleasure steamer business. The scope of the study, which ends in the mid-nineteenth century, primarily focuses on the navigation of the river, noting the attempts to improve conditions. Trade on the Forth and the history of Stirling as a city has been discussed in several documents. However, the literature lacks work done on the final period of trade from the introduction of the railways to Stirling. This period has been left largely absent by historians as the importance of river borne traffic and cargoes reduced. By contrast, this project will provide a biographical approach that spans the final period of trade. The scope of the study encompasses the twentieth century period of the harbour's life which has not been analysed.

1.3 – Heritage Studies and Memory Theory

In the field of heritage studies, there has been a surge in the incorporation of research relating to memory. As Macdonald discusses, the preoccupation with memory has been an important driver as the number of witnesses fade from the key events of the twentieth century.²⁰ Questions over whether we are forgetting the past, referred to as 'cultural amnesia', has strengthened the interest in preserving collective memory. This in turn has created a desire to acknowledge the past using memorials and museums for public use. Public commemoration is argued to be a notable reason for the surge of memory by Winter, who notes the effects of the Holocaust on reflecting on the past.²¹ However he also adds further explanations of the rise of memory, noting a loss of identity in nation states following the

¹⁹ Morris, 'Early Navigation of the River Forth', pp.51-70.

²⁰ S. Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London, 2013), pp. 1-5.

²¹ J. Winter, 'The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies', *Archives & Social Studies: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 1:0 (March 2007), pp.363-397.

collapse of communism in Europe and that affluence has added to the demand for cultural commodities. For Macdonald, the rise of memory has resulted in a 'memory-heritage-identity' complex as the preoccupation with memory creates a fascination with commemorating the past. Macdonald's study outlines the close connections between memory and heritage and an explanation of the rise of work integrating the two in heritage studies.

The approach to this project comprises of qualitative and archival research. The qualitative research will analyse the memories and contemporary values residents place on the harbour in interviews. Memory has been extensively discussed in the academic literature and has been approached by different disciplines. This dissertation analyses the collective memory of a community towards a monument, in the form of Stirling Harbour. The concept of social memory is largely indebted to the work of Maurice Halbwachs. Collective memory, as outlined by Halbwachs, argues that it is in society where we remember and where we 'recall, recognise and localise'.²² Through discussing memories, a group dynamic provides stimulus and helps to construct identities through the sharing of memories. Much work on collective memory uses this concept as inspiration. It has also been labelled as 'collective remembering' where memory is achieved through the mediated action of remembering.²³ A notable work in memory studies concerns the concept of post-memory, the belief that experiences can be recollected by future generations. Marianne Hirsch's theory uses the example of Jewish experiences to argue that passing memories through transgenerational family ties is possible and that memory can be passed down through generations.²⁴ The

²² M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, L. Coser (ed.) (Chicago, 1992), p.38.

²³ J. Wertsch and H. Roediger III 'Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches', *Memory*, 16:3 (2008), pp. 318-326.

²⁴ M. Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York, 2012), p.41.

concept is important for a monument such as Stirling Harbour, where active trade finished in the mid-twentieth century.

As this study uses an integrated approach of history and memory, literature on how the disciplines interact is of interest. The relationship between history and memory is contentious and divides historians as there is a division on whether the two approaches can be utilised together. The relationship between memory and history has been argued to be incompatible in written work. History and social memory are viewed by some historians as different approaches with reference to the objectivity, style and outcome.²⁵ However, an alternative approach has been argued by Connerton who believes that history and memory should learn from one another and should share a closer connection.²⁶ This approach is also noted by Samuel who argues for the abandonment of staunch searches for objectivity through archival work in the historical field.²⁷ Instead, Samuel hopes historians will engage further with anthropological work. This study will incorporate the integrated approach put forward by Samuel, combining archival analysis and qualitative research. As this study seeks to understand the value of the site, an appreciation of the historical context of the harbour is necessary. As well as this, questioning what social memory exists of the harbour affects how the site is valued today.

1.4 – Methodology and sources

Chapter six will include a significance assessment of the harbour, a process which is recommended in the Burra Charter. In the process of creating a plan of management for a historical site, the Burra Charter is a useful procedure to understand the monument and create steps for conservation.²⁸ The three-stage plan includes first an assessment of the importance

²⁵ Wertsch and Roediger III 'Collective memory', pp. 318-326.

²⁶ P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989), p.14.

²⁷ R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory. Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, 1994) p.269.

²⁸ Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*, 2013.

of a site. Researching the values attributed to it is a major step to take to understand why a site is significant to a group of people. As Smith argues, Burra introduced terminology that is now widely used in heritage management.²⁹ The term cultural significance is defined as the sum of the values attached to a historical place. Describing why a place is important to a group helps to appreciate the importance of a landmark such as Stirling Harbour.

The life of Stirling Harbour will be explored through a biographical approach. Because of the changing uses of the harbour over time, a biographical approach is best suited to analyse what value the site has had throughout its life. As Gosden and Marshall theorise, ‘as people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with one another.’³⁰ The biographical approach to monuments aims to shed light on these processes and key phases in the life of the harbour. Through telling the ‘life-history’ of the shore, the biographical approach will construct a narrative amongst the life of the area, from early trade to contemporary use as a picnic site. Gosden and Marshall argue social interactions between people and objects occur over time and create new meaning. Kopytoff’s life-cycle approach suggests that there is a range of biographical possibilities for objects.³¹ This study focused on how commoditisation affected the relationships between objects and people and how they inform one another. In addition, biographical approaches have been adopted for discussing living landscapes and this is a subset of research on the relationship between people and objects. Sites such as Hadrian’s Wall have been analysed to explore the way in which the structure has been understood since its formation.³² Approaching landscapes in this way allows for greater understanding of the value of the place over time. In the same way that

²⁹ L.J. Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London, 2006), p.103.

³⁰ C. Gosden and Y. Marshall, ‘The Cultural Biography of Objects’, *World Archaeology*, 31:2 (1999), p.169.

³¹ I. Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process’ in A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 64-91.

³² R. Hingley, ‘Living landscape: reading Hadrian’s Wall’, *Landscapes* 12:2 (2012), pp.41-62.

objects can have a multitude of connections with people, the same method can be used for landscapes such as Stirling shore. The concept is included in Hupperetz's 'Biography of a Street' which researches the 'complex and layered memory' that is embedded in cultural landscapes and urban environments.³³ Stirling's Riverside harbour is a space that has a multifaceted history and different meanings across time. The biographical approach can facilitate understanding of what the harbour has meant to the community through exploring the social connections between people and place.

Primary research in this project comprises of a mixture of archival and qualitative research. Historical records and documents provide the knowledge and perspective of distinct stages of the harbour's life. This is to gain a complete perspective of the variety of uses that the harbour area has been involved in over the course of its life. This dissertation also includes research into nineteenth and twentieth century newspapers, which were consulted to provide insight into the harbour's activity. Caution must be taken with quotes attributed to key figures from meetings in which the reporter was not present. Another limitation is the use of personal memories within local newspapers. A 1930 piece in the *Stirling Journal and Advertiser* for example is a piece written from individual experiences and stories told and recalled at a later period.³⁴ Therefore the facts are to be taken with care, as specific points may have been misinterpreted. A variety of newspapers were consulted concerning the trade at Stirling Harbour, particularly the local *Stirling Observer* and *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*. Other primary sources used in this dissertation include the topographical studies that were conducted in Scotland in the nineteenth century. Maps and images are also used to

³³ W. Hupperetz, 'The Cultural Biography of a Street Memory, Cultural Heritage and Historical Notion of the Visserstraat in Breda, the Netherlands (1200-2000)', in J. Kolen, J. Renes and R. Hermans eds. *Landscape Biographies: Geographical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on the Production and Transmission of Landscapes* (Amsterdam, 2015), pp.309-326.

³⁴ *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*, 16 October 1930, p.7.

highlight the changing physical landscape of the shore area. Also, in terms of additional primary sources, valuable primary sources include records of the harbour dues, burgh records and government inquiries, which provide further knowledge of how the harbour was used.

Furthermore, the research conducted focused on the contemporary views of the Stirling community towards the harbour. This included 7 interviews comprising of 10 participants, and observation of sites in the Riverside area of Stirling. The interviews comprise of; 5 semi-structured individual interviews, one written correspondence and a group interview of 4 participants. Interviews were conducted between June and August 2017, taking place at various locations in Stirling and the surrounding area. The participants' consent was sought prior to the recording of the interviews and agreed that they may be quoted anonymously within this study. Approval was sought from the General University Ethics Panel and the fieldwork adhered to the Oral History Society Legal and Ethical Guidance. Participants for the study included; professionals in the fields of history and archaeology, a Project Officer from Stirling Council and residents of the city of Stirling. The interviews followed a designed template, to assess responses to comparable topics relating to the harbour's history, contemporary use and the future of the site.³⁵ Observation was split at two sites close to the harbour. As the harbour site was closed during research in the summer of 2017, observation was carried out on the Forthside Walk and the Riverside Park.³⁶ These sites were chosen to observe the potential impact in terms of the use of the harbour's picnic area following reopening in September 2017.

1.5- Chapter summary.

This dissertation will be structured according to key biographical phases in the life of the harbour, followed by an assessment of significance and recommendations for future

³⁵ See Appendix D.

³⁶ See Appendix G.

development. Chapter two will explore the early phase of the harbour, from early trading to the departure of the Stewart family upon James VI's ascendancy to the throne in London. This period is widely considered the peak of the harbour's importance as a port, providing a logical base for importing products to the castle. Chapter three discusses further exploration of uses for the harbour, particularly focusing on the rise of pleasure steamers on the Forth in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This period marks a change in how the harbour site was used and its importance to the local community. Increasing use for leisure and industry at the site will be explored in this chapter as the site became a wider importance for the town. This is partially due to changes of the industrial revolution, as middle-class leisure time was spent on entertainment and travel. Chapter four explores revival attempts following a period of inactivity because of the First World War. The harbour's dealings became increasingly embroiled in political discussions between the owners of the site, the Forth Conservancy Board, and the town council who sought improvements to the site. The prospect of reviving the fortunes of the site as a trading point were disappointed as elements of the harbour were downgraded before World War Two. The closure of the site for the purposes of trade in 1954 left the site seemingly without purpose. Chapter five analyses how the site has been used since trade ended. The potential social value of the site as a picnic site and as a heritage pathway will be evaluated based off oral testimony and interviews. A significance assessment will be provided in chapter six to sum up the values of the site based off historic and contemporary research.

Chapter 2 – The Values Associated with the Medieval Port.

In this chapter, Stirling Harbour will be assessed in relation to the value it held as a medieval port. Rogers' social archaeological approach to harbours and ports notes how sites like Stirling have a strong connection between people and place.¹ Stirling's port had a significant role in the everyday lives of the people of the city. This link was primarily for trade, providing a connection for the market town of Stirling with other communities. By marking the significance and the decline of trade, this chapter will discuss how the harbour's use was tied into the success of trade in the town. The history of Stirling as a royal residence is a successful period for trade, and by extension, saw increased use of the harbour. The River Forth was a vital resource for the community prior to the advent of other travel options. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss the personal connections between those who used the site and the harbour, including the merchants who were most successful trading at the shore. Finally, this chapter will explore the changing value of the harbour as developments altered the usage of the shore as a trading point. Stirling would become a less favourable option as the period progressed and other ports would emerge as suitable replacements.

2.1- Early Evidence of Trade at Stirling.

Archaeological studies done in the region suggests sites close to Stirling were used as ports prior to historical records. The possibility of Roman occupation has been outlined by Nimmo, who believes that there is good reason to suggest they had a station at Stirling.² Graham suggests that the stronghold of urbs Giudi may correspond to the riverside location

¹ A. Rogers, 'Social Archaeological Approaches in Port and Harbour Studies', in *Journal of Maritime Archaeology*, 8:2 (2013), p. 182.

² W. Nimmo, *History of Stirlingshire* (Glasgow and London, 1880), p.16.

of Stirling Harbour.³ There has been contention over the existence of the link, however Stirling's position allowed the formation of an early community and the opportunity to transport goods into the town.

The historical significance of the harbour is evident through early sources related to the regulation of imports to Stirling. The town's position as the lowest bridging point over the Forth made it an ideal gateway between the north and south of the country. The resulting effect is that Stirling's harbour was a part of the interconnecting network of the town and its use of the river. Existence of the medieval harbour is first brought to light by sources regulating the earnings of the town during the reign of David I. An 1129 document gave the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline Abbey 'five merks of silver for their vestments from the first ships arriving at Stirling or at Perth.'⁴ This was followed in 1147 with the decree that the church of St. Mary's of Stirling be granted 'forty shillings from my rent of Striveling and the cane of one ship and one salt pit.'⁵ These two passages confirm a shipping community, which along with Perth was considered by the crown to be of value. The historical importance of the town was undoubtedly in crossing the Forth. Despite this role of the town, the early medieval period saw Stirling considered as a port of some value in Scotland. A second function noted by Rogers' social-archaeological approach to harbours is the transport option they provide. The harbour and pier at Stirling was a necessary tool as a transport option. Early records make mention of a ferry as a method of crossing the Forth.⁶ Using the medieval Forth as a passage would have been a quicker option than the undeveloped links in this period. The

³ A. Graham, 'Archaeological Notes on Some Harbours in Eastern Scotland', *The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 101 (1968-69), p.278.

⁴ D. Morris, 'Early Navigation of the River Forth', *Transactions of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society*, (1919-20), p.55.

⁵ R. Renwick (ed.), *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1124-1705* (Glasgow, 1884), p.5.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.24.

early evidence has led historians such as Lenman to suggest that by the thirteenth century, Stirling was valued as one of the busiest ports along with Perth in the country.⁷

2.2 – The Importance of Stirling as a Port

The wealth of Stirling in the medieval period is related to the availability of the harbour flowing through the town. The frequent regulation of trade in the medieval period is also used as evidence for Mair, who claims that the shore was a thriving port in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸ The reputation of the town as a trading place allowed the port to outrival other harbours along the Forth in this period. This point of importance as a trading port resembles a significant age in the social life of the harbour. One reason for the use of the harbour was the presence of the royal residence of Stirling Castle, which meant that importing materials to the town was a necessity. The import in trade that was necessary to accommodate the royal family was a part of the attraction of the harbour as a trading place.⁹ Another reason for the standing of the harbour in this period was the role of the Merchant Guildry in Stirling. As the established centre of trade and commerce in the town, the Guildry played a role in the import and export of goods. Through organising markets, the use of the harbour was shaped by the produce dealt by the merchants of the town. Extracts from Guildry records note that the harbour dues themselves were let to William Norie, a merchant in the burgh, for the sum of fifty pounds' following the reopening of the harbour in the seventeenth century, showing that as a market town, Stirling had a strong connection to the harbour.¹⁰

Stirling's domestic trade formed a great deal of its use throughout its life as a harbour. Stirling's harbour at Riverside was one of several medieval ports towards the upper tidal limit

⁷ B. Lenman, *From Esk to Tweed: Harbours, Ships and Men of the East Coast of Scotland* (Glasgow and London, 1975), p.45.

⁸ C. Mair, *Stirling: the Royal Burgh* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.77.

⁹ Morris, 'Early Navigation of the River Forth', p.52.

¹⁰ W.B. Cook and D.B. Morris eds., *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Guild of Stirling: A.D. 1592-1846* (Stirling, 1916), p.30.

of the river. It is undoubtedly part of the value of Stirling's port during this period that the intimate relationship between these ports in the exchange of trade. The value of the site at Stirling can be argued to be a result of the purpose it served to smaller communities in the surrounding area. Smout's study of seventeenth century Scotland discusses the intricate trading relationships that tied Stirling with foreign and domestic partners.¹¹ The goods imported into Stirling can be deduced from the 1641 charter confirming that Stirling was to be a free burgh. The collection of revenue from goods 'leading from and to the said burgh, lands muirs, fishings, ports and harbours' was given to the town.¹² The 1641 document highlights the imports to Stirling as customs were placed on various merchandise. Charles II's charter placed eight pennies on imports of skins and hides, wool lint and hemp and four pennies were placed on fishes, grain and lime.¹³ The fact that these items are the most taxed suggests they are of common import for the town. As an exporting town, goods exported from Stirling included wool and salmon, for which the River Forth is populous.¹⁴ Stirling's domestic trade was a vital tool in the town's reputation as a vibrant market town in the medieval period.

Another aspect of the port's value was as a foreign trading partner. For overseas ports, the value of Stirling can be deduced from a 1525 document from Holland which addresses the 'principle towns of merchandise of this realm, that is to say, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Striveling, St Andrews, St Johnstone and Dundee.' This gives an indication of the importance of Stirling within the context of Scottish trade. Stirling's prestige to foreign merchants suggests the harbour was also highly regarded for the importing and exporting of goods. In terms of foreign links, the Baltics and Holland served as the primary destinations for Stirling

¹¹ T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh and London, 1963), p.100.

¹² Renwick (ed.), *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1124-1705*, p.147.

¹³ Ibid., p.148

¹⁴ Ibid., p.148

merchants. Stirling Harbour had a particularly strong trading relationship with the Dutch town of Campvere, which would be reciprocated throughout Scotland. Mair argues that the limited export trade of the town went to the continent due to the large group of Scottish merchants.¹⁵ The connection with Campvere, as Morris notes, was the result of the union of Mary, the fifth daughter of James I with the Lord of Campvere, Wolfaert von Borselen.¹⁶ The marriage in 1444 resulted in a strong Scottish presence in Campvere along with a trading relationship that meant Campvere functioned as the principal Dutch port for the Scottish kingdom. By the seventeenth century, Smout notes that Rotterdam would replace Campvere as the most important port for Scottish sailors.¹⁷ For Stirling merchants, the trading relationship was vital for their wealth. Another aspect of the relationship was that the Stirling Guildry dictated that merchants must travel to the continent twice with goods before starting an apprenticeship in the town.¹⁸ By making this journey essential it created a constant Scottish presence in Holland. The journey itself acted as a rite of passage for these traders. By undertaking this journey from Stirling, the harbour was a part of the beginning of their careers. A noteworthy relationship with the Baltic and Holland remained until the final years of the active existence of the harbour, as trade continued in the twentieth century.

Rogers' biographical theory of ports acknowledges the role of human interactions with the site as being one of the key ways in which meaning is created.¹⁹ Use of the shore at Stirling contributed to the wealth of the town in the medieval period. Successful merchants could trade within the town and ports further afield. Several successful merchants have been chronicled in terms of their role in cultivating trading routes and relationships with foreign

¹⁵ Mair, *Stirling: the Royal Burgh*, p.107.

¹⁶ D.B. Morris, *The Stirling Merchant Gild and Life of John Cowane: Founder of Cowane's Hospital in Stirling* (Stirling, 1919), p.198.

¹⁷ Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, 1660-1707*, p.189.

¹⁸ Nimmo, *History of Stirlingshire*, pp.369-370.

¹⁹ Rogers, 'Social Archaeological Approaches in Port and Harbour Studies', p. 182.

ports. The human interactions with Stirling Harbour help to create meaning and identities for the harbour. Andrew Russell, a Stirling-born merchant, is an example of the success created by the advantages of the proximity of the river to the town. Russell was a merchant who profited from the trading relationship between the town and the continent. Russell traded significantly from the ports of the Upper Forth, including Stirling.²⁰ The importation of produce into the harbour was sent to Holland, where he permanently settled and was based. Russell was a significant businessman cooperating with other merchants in Stirling and the Upper Forth. Stirling's successful merchants also helped in the creation of other Stirling landmarks, through the success of the Cowane family. The family, especially John Cowane, were businessmen who traded using the harbour. The use and value of the port during this period allowed merchants such as Cowane to trade with ports on the continent. An oft heralded figure in Stirling's history, he was a merchant who gained wealth because of his seafaring trade who then invested his wealth into resources for the town, such as Cowane's Hospital. The Cowane's Trust to this day own lands across the Forth because of the success of the merchants in the family.²¹ The legacy of Cowane is a testament to the relationship between the merchants and the harbour area.

2.3 - Developments Which Affected the Status of the Port.

The departure of the royal family from the Scottish residencies to London resulted in a marked decline in importance of the city, and, consequently, to the harbour. The seventeenth century shows substantial decline despite the reparation work carried out at riverside from 1601 to 1606. Reparation work to the site at the beginning of the seventeenth

²⁰ Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, 1660-1707*, p.100.

²¹ Stirling Council, 'Guildry Projects – Seat and Plaque' [<http://my.stirling.gov.uk/services/tourism-and-visitor-attractions/local-history-and-heritage/stirling-guildry/guildry-projects/guildry-projects-seat-and-plaque>]. Accessed 20/08/2017.

century required funds for the 'biging of their peir and choir.'²² Concern arose over the condition of the harbour, with one account describing it as a 'grete decay.'²³ The alterations made under the direction of James Schorte between 1601-1606 improved the state of the harbour and fixed the dues on goods. However, an important development at the same time was the loss of the royal family as regular residents of Stirling Castle. The importation of supplies to the town was hampered over the course of the seventeenth century. In terms of overall trade in the city, Smout notes that the town's contribution to the tax roll fell by nearly a half, suggesting a notable lack of business conducted in the area.²⁴ For the Guildry of Stirling, 'new regulations with regard to apprentices in consequence of the changed circumstances of the burgh by the great decay within.'²⁵ The loss of the city as a royal residence was a wider historical change that had a substantial impact on the value of the harbour. An analysis of the dues collected at Stirling from the revamped collection system suggests that there was a steady decline in trade. Whilst dues collected totalled £60 scots in 1607 after repair work finished, for most of the seventeenth century the dues declined in revenue.²⁶ Though described as one of the principle harbours in the sixteenth century, the fall in standing of the town was reciprocated through loss of imports to Stirling's harbour.

Part of the decline of Stirling as a trading destination is the shallowness of the river, which prevents large ships to pass through the windings of the Forth. By the mid-seventeenth century this challenge is noted in documents that express the problems of navigating the river. A report during Cromwell's leadership resulted in a document from Thomas Tucker, gives insight into the perception of the site during the seventeenth century. Tucker notes that:

²² R. Renwick (ed.), *Extracts From the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling: A.D. 1519-1666* (Glasgow, 1887), p.101.

²³ Ibid, p.104.

²⁴ Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, 1660-1707*, p.138

²⁵ Cook and Morris eds., *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Guild of Stirling: A.D. 1592-1846*, p.85.

²⁶ Renwick, ed., *Extracts from Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling: A.D. 1519-1666*, pp.306-307.

Here live some merchants, but the shallownesse of the river, with the windeings thereof, makeing the way long, and not permitting a boat of burthen to passe up soe high all goods are entred first, and cleered belowe at Burrostonesse (Bo 'Ness), and thence afterward carryed up in small boates as the merchant hath occasion for them.

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The shallowness of the river prevented Stirling, even at this early stage, to be valued as one of the significant ports of the era. Boats of significant size had to be transported through Bo'ness before goods could sail through the windings of the Forth.

With the decline of Stirling as a trading port in the seventeenth century, this period saw the emergence of other key harbours in the Upper Forth. Economic activity in this period moved away from the traditional royal burghs such as Stirling. As noted, Tucker's report noted that most Stirling goods docked at Bo'ness by the mid-seventeenth century as economic and social developments marked a change in the importance of Stirling as a trading port. Alloa's role on the Forth would also grow in significance as the region was split into two different commercial points. In 1710, Alloa would become the customs port for the region encompassing Stirling.²⁸ A consequence of this was the growth of Alloa as a trading port, as the town exported coal in enormous quantities.²⁹ The development of Alloa, in conjunction with the amount of coal possible, decreased the value of Stirling as merchants were able with technological developments to port at Alloa. By the eighteenth century, historians such as Lenman have stressed that Stirling had ceased to be of real consequence as a port.³⁰ The emergence of other harbours along the River Forth threatened the relevance of

²⁷ T. Tucker, *Report upon the Settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1824), p.29.

²⁸ I. Middleton, *The Port of Alloa to c.1800*, (Inner Forth Landscape Initiative, 2016), p.12.

²⁹ D. Brewster (ed.) *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9, (Edinburgh, 1830), p.483.

³⁰ Lenman, *From Esk to Tweed: Harbours, Ships and Men of the East Coast of Scotland*, p.45.

the port of Stirling. As a result, the port declined in value as advances in shipping made Stirling's shallow passage unnavigable to large vessels.

The values associated with Stirling Harbour in the medieval period are due to the trade, transport and personal relationships that existed at the site. The trading links with domestic and foreign ports were valuable assets of the shore. The prestige of the burgh increased the amount of goods imported. Stirling's wealth as a royal burgh is tied directly to the availability of the port. Notable relationships include merchants who used the site regularly to ship goods to and from the shore. John Cowane and Andrew Russell are notable examples of successful businessmen who profited from the harbour. Despite the modest success that the shore had, social changes would reduce the value of the port. The loss of the burgh as a royal residence hurt the overall trade in Stirling. In addition, the seventeenth century, because of the limitations of the channel between Stirling and Alloa and the rise of other ports, would see trade at the shore diminish. This would have a consequential effect on the use of Stirling as a port.

Chapter 3- Leisure and Industry on the River Forth

The role of the harbour expanded as new activities occurred on the River Forth in the nineteenth century. These developments were a result of the changing characteristics of the community, due in part to the impact of the Industrial Revolution. Leisure pursuits augmented the use of the harbour area, providing more of a social value to the Stirling community. The use of the River Forth was notable as the shallow banks between Stirling and Alloa were eroded because of the increased traffic to the town.¹ This was also apparent as the greater use of the River Forth necessitated the extension of the harbour area. Stirling's role as a trading point was not its only purpose during this phase, as typified through the works carried out to provide new businesses at the shore. The expanded site of the nineteenth century included a shipbuilding yard, a symbol of the industry of the Riverside.² The most popular leisure activity was the pleasure steamer industry on the Forth, supporting competing companies for business.³ It can be argued that the success of this industry, combined with decreasing cargoes visiting Stirling, meant that the harbour area became valued in the community more for the pleasure steamers than as a trading point by the close of the nineteenth century. Trade was ultimately hurt by the introduction of the railways, as a cheaper and quicker method of carrying cargo to Stirling.⁴ The nineteenth century was a distinct period in the life of the harbour as varying uses increased its role in the local community.

¹ T. Lannon, *The Making of Modern Stirling* (Stirling, 1983), p.18.

² Ibid, p.36.

³ W. Hendrie, *Discovering the River Forth* (Edinburgh, 1996), p.26.

⁴ C. Mair, *Stirling: the Royal Burgh* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.186.



Figure 4. Riverside in the 1850s. (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

3.1 Historical Context of Industrial Activity at Riverside

Most writers of eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain point to the Industrial Revolution as having a social consequence for the class system. For historians, the Industrial Revolution is noted as causing a growth of real national income per head.⁵ The consequence for the middle-classes was a rise of the modern professions. There have been many studies on how the Industrial Revolution changed the societal structure of towns such as Stirling. These developments were important as Lannon notes that Stirling became a ‘bourgeois residential area’, which never became a fully industrial town.⁶ This societal change allowed for the privileged classes more opportunities for free time to pursue leisure activities. Mair notes that pleasure steamers became a leisure excursion that was available due to more free time and

⁵ H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (London, 1971), p.134.

⁶ Lannon, *The Making of Modern Stirling*, p.39.

better pay for workers in Stirling.⁷ Those who profited from the Industrial Revolution could pursue new interests, several of which took place on the Forth. In terms of manufacturing, the development of industrial capitalism in this period profited the riverside area. Figure 4, surveyed in the mid-nineteenth century shows the surrounding landscape as a hub of industrial activity. The shore was surrounded by industrial works such as the chemical factories and the engine sheds lined along the River Forth. An 1845 report to the harbour's commission describe the main imports as grain, limestones and wool.⁸ The lime kilns adjacent to the harbour is an example of the industrial impact on the area. The placement at riverside suggest an easy access point for landing and burning the product. Mackay states that the Stirling shore became one of the premier lime ports in Stirlingshire.⁹ Industrial activity changed the nature of Stirling's neighbours on the River Forth. Trade became increasingly reliant on industrial materials as Alloa, due to the nearby pits, traded more coal throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁰ The abundance of minerals available in the areas surrounding the River Forth allowed for the manufacturing of raw materials and trade. Alloa's estimated exportation of 35,000 tons annually highlights the potential for trade in industrial minerals.¹¹ Stirling's role in this trade paled in comparison to the ports further downstream, but the Riverside area became a prominent place for industrial activity.

3.2 – Expansion of Activities at Stirling Shore.

Pleasure steamers were a fixture of the nineteenth century harbour and an example of the increase in leisure pursuits. Traffic is first noted in 1813 with the *Comet* appearing in Stirling.¹² The *Comet* was subsequently a regular vessel on the Clyde, but this appearance

⁷ Mair, *Stirling: the Royal Burgh*, pp. 236-237.

⁸ Royal Commission on Tidal Harbours, *First Report of Commissioners*, 1845, p.91.

⁹ K. Mackay, 'Limestone Working: A Forgotten Stirlingshire Industry', *Forth Naturalist and Historian*, 2 (1977), pp. 81-106.

¹⁰ D. Brewster, (ed.), *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* v.9 (Edinburgh, 1830), p.483.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.483.

¹² Hendrie, *Discovering the River Forth*, p.25.

sparked the idea for entrepreneurs in the Forth area to develop a comparable business as two steamers were ordered by competing rivals in 1815.¹³ This shows the desire to capitalise on new developments of passenger travel and spare time created by the Industrial Revolution. Before the introduction of the railways, pleasure steamers provided an avenue for quicker travel to neighbouring towns than was capable at the time by other methods. The *Lady of the Lake* and the *Morning Star* were the two vessels to be first used as regular passenger vessels at Stirling. The value of the business can be seen when Glasgow owners of these vessels sold their interest to Stirling and Alloa businessmen for £4500.¹⁴ In the mid-nineteenth century, the monopoly on the Stirling industry was challenged by a Glasgow company with the introduction of the *Benalmond* as a rival voyage.¹⁵ The opposing vessels were the subject of documented tails of races between the two companies for custom. The competitiveness between the steaming companies for the custom of the public is recounted in a passage by N.P. Willis from his journey on the *Victoria*. Willis expressed shock when the pilot ‘jammed down the tiller and rammed *Victoria*’s battered bow into the *Benalmond*’s forward quarter’ leaving the *Benalmond* ‘stuck in the mud, her paddles driving her deeper at every stroke.’¹⁶ The competitive streak between the rival companies is indicative of the success that they shared. The ability of both Rival Alloa and Glasgow companies could maintain rival businesses highlights the attraction of the pleasure steamers for the local community. By the middle of the century, the steamers are reported to transport an immense number of passengers, who disembarked at the stops between Stirling and Newhaven.¹⁷ The accessibility of this method of travel is due to the exceedingly low fares asked by the competing firms, which continued to be a cheaper option than other methods as documented

¹³ Ibid., p.25.

¹⁴ D. Morris, ‘Early Navigation of the River Forth’, *Transactions of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society*, (1919-20), p.65.

¹⁵ Hendrie, *Discovering the River Forth*, p.26.

¹⁶ Ibid, p.12.

¹⁷ The *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, v.8 (Edinburgh and London, 1845), p.433.

in later accounts.¹⁸ The increasingly wide range of people utilising the site suggests that the harbour became a more valuable part of the community. The leisure pursuits on the River Forth provided a unique period in the social life of the harbour in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The harbour's role changed because of the success of alternate pursuits on the River Forth. Pleasure steamers, due to the cheap price of the journey, accommodated a vast clientele and brought new groups to the shore.

The harbour's use expanded amidst the Industrial Revolution, as can be seen in the development of a shipbuilding yard at Riverside. The industrialisation of the riverside area provided harbour facilities which were used in the 1850s. The most notable works of James Johnston's yard included the launch of a vessel to Australia, the 500 tons *Stirling* in 1852.¹⁹ This was followed by the *William Mitchell*, a 1000-ton clipper, launched in 1856. Believed to be the largest ship constructed at Stirling, this only 'heightened' the interest in the endeavour.²⁰ For the local community, the launch was a source of interest as reportedly 'four or five thousand' arrived at Riverside to observe the activity.²¹ There was a sense of palpable 'excitement' at the prospect of the launch from the crowd. The interest from the residents of Stirling in the launch signifies the social value and connection with the harbour area. Johnston's shipbuilding yard was one of the several purposes of the shore. Although it was to be of brief significance it provides another base of activity for which the nineteenth century harbour area profited.

The rise of boating activity in the nineteenth century exemplifies the attraction of water-borne activity and the increased contribution of the River Forth to the social life in Stirling. Increased leisure time also resulted in the development of a boating club at Stirling,

¹⁸ *Stirling Observer*, 21 August 1951, p.6.

¹⁹ D. McNaughton, *A History of Old Stirling* (Stirling, 1980), p.135.

²⁰ *Stirling Observer*, 8 May 1856, p.3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.3.

which had its routes in the regattas of the 1850s.²² The River Forth was used by the fledgling Rowing Club, starting with a competition in 1854. With competition from ‘Glasgow, Dumbarton, Dundee, Alloa and Dunmore’ the first competition proved to be a ‘great success.’²³ Regattas along the Forth were another new way to spend the increased leisure time in this period. The success of this first event would lead to a full- time club being established on the Forth, upriver from the harbour. The formation of the rowing club at the end of the nineteenth century signals a rise in appreciation for the Forth and river activity. With ‘thousands of spectators in a grandstand’ for the regattas of the 1850s, passion and interest in leisure activity on the Forth can be surmised.²⁴ Expansion of alternative leisure pursuits at Stirling provided increased options for the River Forth. The route of the rowers often passed the harbour and provides another example of the increase in leisure activity in the area.

3.3 Impact on Trade

The harbour continued throughout this period as a trading port, although trade diminished with the emergence of the railways as a more suitable method of transporting goods to Stirling. This is despite a vested interest to improve the harbour in the nineteenth century. Stirling’s port saw a brief restoration under the control of the Forth Navigation Commissioners (FNC). Prior to 1843 the shore was under the management of the Burgh, who received the revenue of the dues let at the harbour. However, under the provision of an Act of Parliament, a commission was set up comprising of the provost, magistrates and members of the Town Council of Stirling along with representatives from Stirling, Perth and

²² W. Drysdale, *Old Faces, Old Places, and Old Stories of Stirling: Second Series* (Stirling: 1899), p.76.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.75.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.75.

Clackmannan.²⁵ The group lobbied for funds to improve the navigation along the River Forth and increase the chances of shipping larger cargoes to the shore. The government financing of £10000 allowed for alterations to the Stirling to Alloa passage to engineer David Stevenson's plans.²⁶ Because of these improvements, the revenue of the port grew from a regular level of around £140 in 1841-1842 to £350 in 1844-1845 and £480 in 1852, an appreciable gain for the harbour.²⁷ A report from the year 1852 listed substantial improvements in the revenue collected and traffic to Stirling. The improvements carried out allowed for 387 vessels with cargoes of 20,330 tons to dock at the shore besides 252 vessels with cargoes of 10,550 of limestone.²⁸ Through cutting channels through both the Abbey Ford and Town Ford, a smoother passage was assured. The works carried out also removed boulders blocking the channel and allowed the flood tides to arrive earlier and last longer, helping the navigation of the river. Materially, the harbour extended as the Forth Navigation Commissioners were responsible for the construction of the quay and the jetty used for pleasure steamers.²⁹ The impact of the FNC suggests a vested interest in the improvement of the harbour and a desire to view further expansion of the site. In seeking an Act of Parliament to make changes to the site, the Town Council showed commitment to enhancing the prospects of the shore. Overall, the repair work undertaken would have a short-term benefit for the harbour.

The impact of industrialisation in the community was typified by the arrival of the railways to Stirling in 1853. Trade did not immediately decline because of the railway, but over a longer period it would emerge as a far more suitable candidate for importing goods to

²⁵ Royal Commission on Tidal Harbours, 2nd Report, *Appendix C to Second Report of Commissioners with Index* (London, 1847), p.145.

²⁶ Royal Commission on Tidal Harbours, *First Report of Commissioners* 1845, p.89.

²⁷ Royal Commission on Railways, Woods and Forests, *Reports from Commissioners*, 1854, XXXVIII, p.482.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.482.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.482.

Stirling. An 1873 report noted how trade had considerably fallen off in the past 10 years.³⁰ 1872 records indicate that 23 vessels traded to or from Stirling that year, with 3 of those vessels exceeding 100 tons.³¹ This figure was higher than five years previously but the trade to Stirling was becoming a rare occurrence. Another aspect of this decline was the low rates offered by other ports, making Stirling's harbour an unattractive landing point. Reaction to the decline in trade was decried in the local media, as Stirling residents were suggested to have little interest in the fortunes of the harbour. Apathy towards the river from the local community was derided by the *Stirling Observer* in a strongly worded editorial of 1855.³² The public improvements suggested by the likes of John Macfarlane to turn Stirling into a first-class port received little public support. Claimed by the editor to be the 'grandest project ever proposed by any single individual for the advancement and prosperity of Stirling', the project would be a multi-layered link to the Clyde and to the Firth of Forth. MacFarlane's plan would be achieved by 'forming a Tidal Canal from the Forth, near Alloa, to Stirling', then forming a Ship Canal of corresponding dimensions with the Tidal one.³³ Editorials such as these note some apathy to the decline of trade for Stirling residents, but passionate ideas for increasing activity would become an overarching theme for the harbour. The editor's enthusiasm for restoring trade shows that not all Stirling residents were indifferent to the decline the harbour had endured. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the population of Stirling viewed the harbour more for the increasing leisure opportunities rather than as a trading point.

³⁰ Report of the Board of Trade, *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons*, 1873, LVIII, p.392.

³¹ Ibid, p.392.

³² *Stirling Observer*, 19 April 1855, p.4.

³³ Ibid., p.4.



Figure 5. Ordnance survey map of the 1890s, noting the Jetty stores at Forthside, across from the shore. (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland).

Although trade would decline at the Riverside harbour in the second half of the nineteenth century, importation to Stirling would continue through private cargoes at the Forthside estate further downstream. The busiest proponents of trade to Stirling on the River Forth proved to be the armed forces, who acquired land close to Stirling Harbour and shut public access to the Forthside area.³⁴ The Royal Army Ordnance Depot was stationed on the River Forth at Forthside, at a site 200 metres from the riverside harbour, as noted in Figure 5. Wooden remains of the nearby site provide a reminder of the role this landing point played for trade in Stirling as a clear example of the Oil tankers would later become the sole trade in the 1920s to this nearby site. As industry and leisure became of increasing importance at Stirling, the continued use of Stirling as a place to import cargo by the RAOC at Forthside suggests that the potential for importing goods was there, but the Riverside harbour would see few imports as the First World War approached.

³⁴ E. King, *A History of Stirling in 100 Objects* (Gloucestershire, 2011), p.107.

The emergence of alternative uses for the harbour had the result of increasing the meaning the site had for the local community. Changes caused by the Industrial Revolution allowed more leisure time for the middle-class population of Stirling. This in turn created an opportunity for expanding the emerging pleasure steamer business first seen on the Forth with the Comet in 1813. The rival companies could co-exist, a sign of the available business to be had at the harbour. The cheap prices allowed for a wide clientele and as a result, the value of the harbour arguably meant more to residents during the nineteenth century. Due to the expanded uses of the harbour site, there was more social value for an increasingly inclusive group of people. Other changes to the harbour in this period involved the development of a small shipbuilding business that briefly used the riverside site. This period's industrialisation was not all positive for the fortunes of the harbour. The introduction of the railways contributed to a sharper decline of the harbour as an important shipping point for trade. At the eve of the First World War, the harbour's importation was minimal because of the success of the railways. Despite a greater amount of activity in the nineteenth century contributing to increased social value for the community, the impact of the Industrial Revolution resulted in a marked long-term decline as a trading point.

Chapter 4- 'Restored to its former standing.' Post-war attempts at revival and tensions over ownership.

The value of the harbour area to the local community following 1914 was to be diminished through inactivity. The First World War closed the harbour for the purposes of trade and travel, by order of the Admiralty.¹ The struggles of the harbour were exacerbated due to the war, as vessels increased in value and size, making the small vessels used to reach Stirling rarer. The harbour site became derelict through disuse in the 1920s following the conflict of the First World War. Neither imports to Riverside or pleasure traffic re-emerged due to economic developments. Another key change in the immediate post-war period was a change of ownership of the harbour. Control would change in 1919 with the creation of the Forth Conservancy Board (FCB), a body designed for the management of several ports along the Forth.² The post-war period resulted in disputes over the duty of the FCB to implement improvements of the harbour. The Town Council pressed the need for action to enhance the site as a potential trading point, but were met with resistance from the FCB. The disputes gave way to new meaning for the harbour as a political discussion point as the Town Council designed ways to renew trade at Stirling. A contrast in opinion between local Stirling residents and regional decision makers can be found regarding the potential of the site.

4.1- A Lost Harbour

The First World War had a devastating effect on the use of the harbour area. Doubts over the possibility to put forward a steamer for the summer of 1914 shows a potential decline in the novelty of pleasure steamers and the feasibility of finding adequate transport to make the journey from Stirling.³ The losses occurred just before the war of £51 18s 10d highlights the

¹ *Stirling Observer*, 1 December 1914, p.3.

² Stirling County Council Archives, *Stirling Town Council Minutes*, 1919-1920, p. 147.

³ *Stirling Observer*, 2 June 1914, p.2.

loss of shipping activity.⁴ The short-term ramification of the war was that the conflict stopped the limited traffic approaching Stirling. Accounts for 1914 and 1915 highlight the impact of the drop in trade, an almost £50 disparity in income.⁵ Furthermore, the harbour master's wage was cut from 25 shillings to 12 and a half, due to the dwindling revenue expected because of the hostilities. However, the number provided suggests that operating costs were still exceeding the revenue collected through importing trade. The post-war period did not result in a return to productivity for the harbour. The absence of activity in the 1920s can partly be explained as a consequence of the war. It not only closed the Forth for river traffic because of the Admiralty order, but it necessitated the use of the small steamers that frequented Stirling Harbour. The Admiralty order to close the Forth to private cargoes above Queensferry prevented imports, but was seen to have trivial effect as 'there had been little shipping for some time.'⁶ Following the reopening of the harbour, there was a lack of adequate ships to approach Stirling. Cargo vessels of the size necessary to travel the windings of the Forth to the town were no longer readily available.⁷ The war increased the cost of obtaining such small vessels and this further decreased its value as a trading point. The harbour, which had already lost most of the trade imported into the town, became a derelict site without the opportunity for navigating the Forth.

Another key event in the life of the harbour was the change in ownership of the site. Stirling's harbour became one of many operated by the Forth Conservancy Board.⁸ The FCB would transfer power away from the Town Council, who had operated the site under the Forth Navigation Commissioners (FNC). Ownership and control of the harbour was sold to

⁴ Ibid, p.2.

⁵ *Stirling Observer*, 5 June 1915, p.8.

⁶ *Stirling Observer*, 1 December 1914, p.3.

⁷ *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*, 2 October 1930, p.5.

⁸ *Stirling Town Council Minutes*, 1919-1920, p. 147.

the newly created Forth Conservancy Board, which gained control of the harbour network in the River Forth. The FCB included ports as far as Fife amongst its members. Stirling Town Council would have one representative on the board, out of a total of 25, thereby limiting the control over the harbour's future.⁹ The agreement between the Forth Navigation Commissioners and the Forth Conservancy Board exchanged a small fee to the FNC as part of the deal. Included in the contract was a guarantee from the Forth Conservancy Board to spend money on improving the connection between Stirling and Alloa. The lack of action taken on this point became a heated issue between the Town Council and the FCB. The agreement isolated the Town Council on decisions relating to the port and, due to the derelict nature of the site, decreased the connection between the town and the harbour.



Figure 6. Watercolour painting of the Old Salt Works at Stirling Shore (Walter Bain, 1935.

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⁹ Ibid., p. 147.

The absence of activity in the 1920s left the sense of the harbour already being a 'lost' part of the town's history. The absence of activity at the shore resulted in a neglect of the harbour area. The buildings are described to be in poor condition and the land overgrown, which suggests apathy as well as a lack of trading activity.¹⁰ Lamenting the lack of use of the harbour, several columns in the local newspaper recounted the recent history of trade on the Forth, stating that Stirling had lost roughly 95% of its trade.¹¹ Although no cargoes were imported into the Riverside harbour, these articles note that private cargoes were taken at this time, in particular oil-cakes for other docking sites in Stirling. Already in newspaper columns in the local community there was the sense of Stirling harbour's activity as a 'lost' part of the area, which inspired memories to be published in the *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*. David Bucnan recounted his experiences of the riverside of the nineteenth century and it is an example of how the harbour was viewed with affection by former residents.¹² Memories recounted in the article included the excitement at the arrival of the largest cargo steamer to navigate the Forth, the *Cheviot* of Newcastle, which was brought to the government stores. Writings such as these show that fond memories of the harbour existed in the 1930s and that the site held value as part of their childhood.

4.2- Contentions over Restoration

By the 1930s however, the use of continental vessels sparked a small revival in trade for Stirling. Cargoes from the continent begin with the 1931 *Dolphin* of Groningen, the first vessel of any size since 1914, prompting much coverage in the local newspapers.¹³ The relative abandonment is starkly brought to light by the intrigue expressed when ships docked in the harbour. These infrequent arrivals of cargo attracted many visitors to the shore, such

¹⁰ *Scotsman*, 23 November 1928, p.9.

¹¹ *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*, 2 October 1930, p.5.

¹² *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*, 16 October 1930, p.7.

¹³ *Falkirk Herald*, 11 November 1931, p.4.

was the surprise that greeted the docking of vessels at the harbour. The shock and general excitement of the docking was to create much discussion over the next few years on the ownership of the harbour and the potential for reviving trade. As a result, the interwar period was marked by increased newspaper coverage of the attempt to revive trade with the continent. The re-emergence of shipping opportunities highlighted the contentious nature of the relationship between Stirling Town Council and the Forth Conservancy Board that would become a theme throughout the 1930s. This period was marked by unity between the Town Council and local merchants in advocating for funds being made available to improve conditions between Stirling and Alloa. The intermittent voyages became a political point to spark action for change in the approach taken to Stirling Harbour by the FCB. In 1933, a double delivery of fertilisers gained newspaper coverage and was used to highlight the issue of the increased dues demanded by the FCB compared to the Forth Navigation Commissioners. The shore dues that had previously been 3d per ton were now 1s 6d per ton, leaving a representative from the local merchants D & J MacEwan to bemoan that he would take business to South Alloa railway pier, 'where no dues are charged, and have the cargoes brought by rail to Stirling.'¹⁴ The cost of this endeavour would have been 'little more cost than it takes to cart the cargoes from the harbour to our shores.' The level of the shore dues was labelled as 'unreasonable' in the article, stating that the activity of importing to Stirling will continue if fares are reduced. The activity on the Forth was encouraged by Captain Wilson, an experienced navigator of the difficult journey between Stirling and Alloa, who stated that it 'is my ambition to see the trade at Stirling Harbour restored to its former standing.' This showed that there was a combined effort to recapture the trading potential of Stirling from local residents. Response to the decline of the harbour would continue throughout the 1930s and highlights significant concern of the ownership of the site.

¹⁴ *Stirling Observer*, 3 October 1933, p.7.

Further activity on the harbour would continue to pressure the FCB to encourage river trade and to create better access. Letters to the Town Council on the subject of the harbour were received from the companies D & J MacEwan Ltd. and Chilian & Colonial Agencies, Ltd.¹⁵ The passage from Stirling to Alloa is described as ‘unnavigable’ for the safe delivery of trade. Both companies urged the Town Council to take steps to pressure the FCB to deepen the channel. Chilian and Colonial Agencies specified that they wished to import up to 250 tons per vessel. The conclusion of the meeting outlined that the firms sending goods to Stirling would benefit the town. The reply later in 1934 made clear the FCB’s response on the matter.¹⁶ The clerk to the FCB, Duncan Kennedy, argued that the money to be spent, outlined in the handover agreement, would be a waste of resources. Kennedy notes that whilst ‘9 or 10’ vessels had birthed in the last twelve months, it was a trade that would be unlikely to continue. Instead, Kennedy stresses the repairs undertaken by the board to improve the site aesthetically. The tensions between Stirling residents and regional authorities highlight how the harbour site was valued for each of the competing groups. On the one hand, Stirling’s merchants and town councillors believed in the potential for growth of river traffic. The FCB, however, viewed the Stirling site as one of many under their control. For the FCB, the shore at Stirling was an unprofitable resource. However, compared to the apathetic view that the harbour is not a meaningful site for Stirling residents, the pressure from the Town Council highlights a passionate response from the local community. Frustration was made of an alleged agreement of funds to be guaranteed to be spent on the Stirling to Alloa passage, with one Town Council member asking, ‘wasn’t there a certain sum of money given to the board to be spent in five years on keeping the channel clear?.’¹⁷ This gripe was one of many at what appeared to concerned locals as poor management of the site. Ownership of the harbour was

¹⁵ *Stirling Observer*, 1 June 1934, p.7.

¹⁶ *Falkirk Herald*, 17 October 1934, p.6.

¹⁷ *Stirling Observer*, 1 June 1934, p.7

contested through an engaged response of the Stirling residents considering what they viewed as a waste of potential for what had been an historic resource in the town. Through offering this resistance, the harbour can be said to have been valued as an important part of the town's heritage that they were trying to protect.

Concerns over the economic viability of the harbour from members of the FCB shows a more objective view of the harbour's potential success. The general superintendent and engineer at Granton harbour, JH Hannay-Thomson, was quoted as saying of the revival of trade in 1935 that cost had to be considered. He noted that if it was cheaper to bring ships directly to 'Stirling to carry the trade than to carry the goods to places where they would be shipped, Stirling would soon become a port able to take its place among the seafaring towns of Scotland.'¹⁸ Only if the necessary shipping would be guaranteed should the process of deepening the Forth be undertaken. This perspective is one that would be shared by other members of the FCB. The re-emergence of trade can be summed up in the statistics collected in a 1936 article, disclosing the importing totals of 710 tons in 1933, 1246 tons in 1934 and 747 tons in 1935.¹⁹ For Stirling, the continent was the sole place of import in the revival of trade. Stirling's imports focused on fertilisers from Europe, finding a niche market due to the shallow draught of Dutch vessels being able to navigate upriver to Stirling. The numbers between 1933 and 1935 were deemed to be insufficient activity for the FCB, who considered it an unwise investment to spend funds on the deepening of the Forth.²⁰ A decision was taken to spend money astutely in relation to the passage between Stirling and Alloa. The FCB claimed that the niche market of fertilisers was unlikely to continue with customs on these items likely to increase in the future. The board considered it an 'unsound' proposal to place resources in the Stirling area. Besides Stirling, the FCB had obligations to other regional

¹⁸ *Scotsman*, 23 March 1935, p.19.

¹⁹ *Scotsman*, 22 January 1936, p.7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.7

ports and this meant that money ‘should not be spent unnecessarily.’²¹ Decision makers in the FCB doubted that improving Stirling was a sound financial investment with the resources at hand, despite significant local concern.

With the future of the harbour seemingly decided, the removal of features of the harbour began in May 1938. The building which housed the passenger shelter and offices were demolished in favour of a wooden construction.²² Objections were raised by a town councillor, but plans continued nonetheless to replace the ageing building onsite with one more suitable for the sporadic trade. The Forth Conservancy Board opted to replace the dilapidated buildings with ones of ‘lighter construction, sufficient for the needs of the harbour’.²³ The move was later criticised by the *Stirling Observer* during the war, questioning the reasons behind the destruction of the buildings.²⁴ The article commented that support for restarting trade had not ‘received over-much support in official circles.’ The disappointment from the newspaper towards the FCB outlines the belief in the potential of the harbour from the local community. Despite the occasional post-war cargo reaching Stirling, removal of the features of the harbour continued, in part due to damage caused when a boat crashed into the jetty.²⁵ This incident occurred in 1950, with a decision being taken by the FCB in 1951 to demolish the pier. This again brought objection from the Town Council, with the recent appointment to the FCB, Bailee Burt, raising concerns over this choice. His appointment came at a time when as convener of the development committee he was part of the process for repairing the damage.²⁶ However, the FCB accepted a recommendation of the Stirling Harbour sub-committee to demolish the harbour. In this battle over the future of the site, the

²¹ *Dundee Courier*, 20 October 1936, p.4.

²² *Dundee Evening Telegraph*- 10 August 1938, p.7.

²³ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 13 April 1939, p.17.

²⁴ *Stirling Observer*, 14 December 1944, p.2.

²⁵ *Stirling Observer*, 21 August 1951, p.6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.6.

local objections of Bailee Burt highlight the powerlessness felt by some Stirling residents. Burt's position conflicted with the regional perspective of the FCB, who took the action needed to close the site. Although there are instances of boats docking at the area following this decision, the removal of the jetty meant that the harbour became an unfavourable location to land cargo. The *Henriette* is the last known cargo vessel to use the site for the purposes of trade in 1954.²⁷

The 1930s brought the harbour back to the attention of the local community in a battle between local and regional authorities. The abandonment of the site in the post-war period brought apathy and neglect to the site. In the local community, there was the sense that the harbour was a forgotten part of Stirling life. However, a concerted effort to try to restart trade alerted the Town Council to the potential of the site as a trading destination. Discussions throughout the 1930s focused on the Stirling merchants and authorities demanding improvements to the site from the regional Forth Conservancy Board. The value of the harbour to these two groups created a conflict as the FCB resisted attempts to place resources into an area they deemed unprofitable. The protests of the local authorities did not result in a boost in imports and this brief trade in fertilisers did not amount to long-term improvements for the harbour. The site, following the last point of trade in 1954, would take reconstruction into a small picnic site on the banks of the Forth.

²⁷ *Stirling Observer*, 29 August 1954, p.5.

Chapter 5 – Contemporary Memories and Values

LB: What do you think people's awareness is of the site in the community, for its history as a harbour?

Heather: As its history as a harbour, I think there's not much awareness, Duncan would you say the same? Of the importance of it and significance of it?

Duncan: Depends what age you are!

Heather: We do, but to the young people it's not. I mean, to say that it ran as a harbour until the 1950s, which is fair enough. That's in my early childhood, it's probably not in yours at all. But I understand that. I think it's only become of significance to the residents in Riverside since it started falling into the water!

As a picnic site overlooking the River Forth and as part of a heritage trail before the closure of the site, the harbour has taken on new meanings for the contemporary residents of Stirling. Since active trade ceased, the site has been altered into a greenspace along the River Forth. Despite repair work in the 1980s, in January 2016 the wall collapsed following adverse weather conditions. The site was cordoned off and is currently undergoing repair work, expected to be completed in September 2017. Initial repair work will focus on the harbour wall. Future improvements include the creation of a pontoon for the site, to better access the River Forth.¹ This chapter will explore the memories, use and values associated with the site in the present. Furthermore, it will look at the various attitudes towards the future of the site. This chapter seeks to underpin the community attitudes to the site to understand the social value the harbour possesses.

¹ Stirling Council, *Stirling City Deal: Masterplan*, 2016, p.33.



Figure 7. Image of the closed harbour site. (Photography, the author).

With no future as a trading point, the ownership of the site was passed back into the hands of the town council in 1967. Enquiries were made by the Forth Conservancy Board to the council as to the prospect of purchasing the Old Harbour. Records of the Town Council confirm the plans to purchase the land back from the FCB for the agreed fee of £475.² The meeting of the Town Council also mentioned a ‘recreational area’ which was agreed should

² Stirling County Council Archives, *Stirling Town Council Minutes*, 18 December 1967, p.284

be created at the river front.³ The last physical reparation work to elements of the harbour occurred following concerns that the harbour wall was expected to collapse into the river in 1984. This led to several plans being considered to avert the danger. As noted in the *Stirling Observer*, various plans were discussed, with the article also mentioning the ‘potential to turn it into a major tourist attraction.’⁴ This notion has been a running theme throughout the harbour’s history from the council. The desire to include the river as part of widening the appeal of Stirling is an argument that is currently being considered as a part of the Stirling City Deal. The value of the site from the council’s perspective has remained consistent in these years as a potential way to re-use the area for leisure.

Whilst few first-hand memories remain, there have been published accounts of reminiscences that contribute to the current social memory of the harbour. The work of Duncan McNaughton looked back on his youth and how the city has changed. For him, his childhood memories of the shore state that it was ‘deserted even in war time, although small vessels did use the Ordnance pier.’⁵ McNaughton elaborates that in the 1930s saw the ‘occasional coasting vessel with a cargo of grain, piloted by old Captain Wilson.’ First hand recollections of the active harbour are uncommon, as the site is principally known in the contemporary period for its use as one of the picnic sites that run along the Forth. However, important memories highlight identities associated with the harbour. William recalled several of his childhood experiences living in Forth Crescent overlooking the shore. His formative years were spent predominately in Riverside, and recalls fond memories associated with growing up near the site. One story related to William by a friend displays the connection between the residents and the river. When one of the vessels ran aground near Cambuskenneth, in the mud

³ Stirling County Council Archives, *Stirling Town Council Minutes*, 8 January 1968, p.290.

⁴ *Stirling Observer*, 5 September 1984, p.1.

⁵ D. McNaughton, ‘My Stirling as Remembered 70 years ago’, *Forth Naturalist and Historian* Vol 22 (1999), p.126.

banks of the Forth, a group of locals nearby took it upon themselves to help the ship, which managed to finish the journey to the shore. A cabin-boy on board walked through the village the next day and ‘came down with chocolate to all those who had helped get the German captain off the hook, as it were.’ Act like these highlights the community spirit associated with the Forth. The effort in helping the stranded ship was one of the ways in which signified the communal value of the river.

A post Second World War memory highlights the excitement of experiencing the River as a child. When one of the landing craft used on D-Day reached Stirling a few years following the conflict, the local schoolchildren were taken down to the shore, providing the opportunity for William to sail to Alloa. William recalled how ‘it was very interesting for a child of eight to get onboard a military ship’ and that it was ‘exciting to see the Wallace Monument and Dumyat pass by’ from the opposite side of the town. The meaning of the harbour is apparent in the huge interest in the appearance of the ship and the personal pleasure felt at getting the opportunity to sail the Forth.

Other memories concern childhood appreciation for growing up near the shore. The green space along the Forth was described by Ewan as ‘my playground.’ The memories of the post harbour life of the shore reveals the site as one of considerable social value. Playing along the River Forth is also an activity William remembers, particularly swimming in the river at the Abbey Ford. Both cases suggest for the children of Riverside, the harbour area has been a source of communal value in providing a point of activity. A story from William’s past also relates the personal connections that can take place through the harbour and the exploration of trade. In the late 1940s, William was asked to take down to the shore some ‘comic books, Beano’s, and some sweets’ for the young lad on board the ship docked at the harbour. The boy expressed ‘shock and surprise because I don’t think they had chocolate at

that time.’ Although unable to understand one another, this shows the surprising friendships and connections that can take place at harbour is testament to its social value.



Figure 8. Riverside Park. (Photograph, the author).

The current site operates as a small picnic area with the Xplore Stirling heritage trail passing through the Old Harbour.⁶ The trail passes along the former Forth Ordnance through to the Old Stirling Bridge. Before closure, the path was noted in interviews to be a ‘thoroughfare for walkers, cyclists and joggers.’ Along this route is a similar picnic area in the riverside area that is frequented by the local community and visitors. Through fieldwork undertaken in the summer of 2017, observation of the Riverside Park and the Forthside Walk noted that the Riverside contains well-used paths by both locals and visitors to the area.⁷ This work was undertaken to understand the potential of the Old Harbour when it is reopened. From observation, it is clear these two sites are used by for leisure activity. When observing the Forthside Walk, a recent path along the former Ordnance Depot, is that several joggers

⁶ Stirling Heritage Walks, ‘Riverside’ [<https://stirlingheritagewalks.wordpress.com/riverside/>] Accessed 24/08/2017.

⁷ See Appendix G.

headed toward the shore looking for signs for Cambuskenneth Abbey as the next location, passing around the closed off harbour site. The prevalence of activity in these locations highlights the opportunities for the Old Harbour site to play a role in leisure activities when reopened.

One of the aims of this study was to find out what social memory or awareness of the harbour exists amongst the contemporary community of Stirling. The opening exchange highlights several issues regarding knowledge of the shore's past. For those already with a knowledge of the history of the city, especially having grown up in Riverside, the harbour's past is better understood. However, the issue of awareness exists for the harbour. Interviews gauged the perception that the site is not understood for its history by the population of Stirling. Comments from professionals were sceptical that the history of the shore was acknowledged in the city. The site was said to be 'poorly understood', 'not understood well' and that residents are 'not entirely sure it's even there.' Among the professionals, there was the sense that the biography has not been passed down to today and that it may just be valued as a picnic site, signifying a loss in historical importance for the harbour. For residents of Riverside, awareness of, and connection to, the river is a lot stronger. When questioned as to the value of the river and the Riverside area in their lives, the group interview had this response:

Duncan: Well I mean I would say regarding the Riverside, the River surrounds us, except this little bit here. We are completely surrounded by the river so it matters a lot to our community and what happens with it as well.

Heather: That's it because we've got just the one inroad and outroad and if anything happened we'd be in isolation but no it means a lot to us it really does.

Due to the setting of the community, the presence of the Forth is far more prevalent in the mind of residents of Riverside. The river takes a larger role in their life, with the conversation recollecting the former uses of the boating club in the social life of the area and in environmental concerns regarding the Forth. As a community which is surrounded by the river, there is a stronger identity amongst residents of Riverside with it. With few access points, it is a quiet area, noted to have a ‘village community.’ Due to the prevalence of the Forth in their lives, there is more awareness of the history of the river in general. Despite this, Heather’s assertion that ‘for the younger ones it’s not’ important still suggests a problem in that the Old Harbour’s past has not been passed down. Marianne Hirsch’s theory of post-memory, whereby recollections are passed down to future generations, does not seem to have occurred in this example.⁸ Although there are examples of first-hand recollections, the knowledge of the site is limited amongst those who were not alive during the trading life of the harbour.



Figure 9. Interpretation board at the former limekiln adjacent to Forthside Walk.

(Photograph, the author).

⁸ M. Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York, 2012), p.41.

Contemporary interpretation of the area includes the Stirling Guildry's seat and plaque to commemorate the trade that once took place at riverside. The 2005 addition to the site included James Proudfoot's 1972 artist impression of how the site would have looked in the seventeenth century.⁹ The plaque acknowledges the Stirling Merchant Guildry's association with the site. Interpretation boards are placed 50 feet to 100 feet away with one on the site of an old limekiln. The information provided on the board informs the reader of the Riverside area's contribution to Stirling's industrial activity. A point made on the interpretation is that whilst it records the presence of the harbour, it does not include any of the notable names associated with the site. Physical interpretation is currently sporadic for the site. The need for awareness was put forward by Hanna, who believes that:

'I think it's important before you move forward, you've got to know what's been there before to learn a little about that. It would be really, really good if there was more public awareness. And I also think it is sad because people that are older who can give the history of the area if you look at it in the next 10-20 years they will be gone.'

This group interview showed the need to pass history onto the next generation as first-hand accounts become limited.

In part due to the current repair work, the future of the site was an issue discussed in all interviews. A key theme amongst those interviewed was the perception that Stirling's relationship with the River Forth was underutilised. Among many questioned on Stirling's connection to the river, a great deal of disappointment arose that Stirling did not make more use of the potential transport opportunities. A comment that sums up this relationship noted

⁹ Stirling Council, 'Guildry Projects – Seat and Plaque', [<http://my.stirling.gov.uk/services/tourism-and-visitor-attractions/local-history-and-heritage/stirling-guildry/guildry-projects/guildry-projects-seat-and-plaque>] Accessed 21/08/2017.

that ‘Stirling has turned its back on the river.’ By association, the harbour site over time has become undervalued by the city. As well as not using the resource of the river more, there is also a question of accessing the Forth. A complaint from a heritage professional concerned the current lack of physical access to the river for the local community. The current situation in the city is that ‘there’s actually only one place within Stirling where you can access the river from a boat. Which is Stirling Rowing Club.’ The previous access points, such as wharfs and fords, have been dismantled or are in disrepair, such as Forthside’s former ordnance depot. In a similar vein, another comment made of Stirling was that ‘many of the buildings face away from the river’ so that many may not even realise the Forth flows through the city. This shows that the river is not a highlighted aspect of the landscape. In both a physical and emotional sense, Stirling has turned away from its history with the river. Documented experiences of using the river by Angus, published in the 1990s, noted that he ‘could see why pleasure boats had carried passengers’ to the harbour in the nineteenth century.¹⁰ However, the Forth was described as ‘an almost forgotten river’ at Alloa and Cambus. The few places to embark on makes the river an underutilised resource. Besides the clubhouse of the Rowing Club, there are no buildings which are set on the banking in the Riverside area. This contributes to the perception that there is apathy towards the river, as it is not a well-presented attraction of the city.

Stirling’s relationship with the Forth is one that local authorities wish to improve through increasing the connection points throughout the city. Current plans would include a pontoon to provide an access point to the river. This plan will be carried out in conjunction with the reparation of the Old Harbour wall. This process is the first of a series of six access points planned under the City Deal of Stirling County Council. Another aspect related to the

¹⁰ D. Angus, ‘Launching Forth: The River - Alloa to Stirling’, *Forth Naturalist and Historian* Vol. 17 (1994), pp. 113-115.

harbour is a small museum at the civic square to increase tourism to Riverside. For a few of those interviewed, the possibility of having a connection to the River Forth was highly praised. 'For Stirling to have a boat launching ramp would be absolutely wonderful' commented Gavin. Through providing access at the location of the former harbour, Stirling's community could once again connect with the river. Providing a boating landing point re-energises the harbour and returns the site to its original function. Not all attitudes to the future were positive on the impact of changes with the City Deal. Issues brought up include the safety of the tidal river and whether the existing resources can handle these changes. Described as a 'village community', the potential for increased tourism of up to '250,000' more visitors to Riverside and the wider city was said to be of concern. For residents, whilst they would like to see the harbour be used more, resources must also be taken into account.

There has been frustration at the closure of the walkway as it cuts off one of the main access pathways from Riverside to the town centre. Whilst disappointment at the discomfort it has caused, this does not necessarily translate into an increased meaning for the harbour. The belief that 'I don't think people noticed it was there until it fell into the river' sums up the historical awareness of the site for the majority of Stirling. The river is widely seen as an underused and undervalued resource, which may be altered with plans to provide access from the harbour. First-hand experiences of the site, although rare, show a strong connection still exists in the memories relating to the harbour. Current value lies in its use by the community through leisure activities as part of the walkways in the Riverside area.

Chapter 6- Significance Assessment

The processes of assessing the fabric and significance of a historic site contributes to our ability to put forward a plan of action for the conservation and management of a heritage asset. The Burra Charter Process for management includes to start by understanding the significance before developing policy and implementing a conservation plan.¹ This chapter will provide an overview of the cultural significance of the harbour.² Through the analysis of questioning why a place is culturally significant, heritage practitioners can seek to put forward policies to retain those values attributed to the site. A methodology for conducting assessment looks at the key values associated with cultural significance. There are many different methods of assessing value, with the Burra Charter suggesting aesthetic, archaeological, social, historic and spiritual qualities.³ Furthermore, the condition of the site is important in identifying the risks to the cultural significance of the site in the present and future. A conservation plan can therefore be implemented to target these problems.

Condition Assessment

In terms of the current fabric of the site, the lack of physical remains of the historic harbour are part of the problem in recognising the site for its historic past. The harbour has undergone several reparations, most notably in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Features that have survived are in poor condition. The harbour wall, most recently repaired in the 1980s, is currently undergoing repair work that will use steel members as replacement for the existing dry-stone wall. The features will be supported by concrete piles driven into the

¹ Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*, (2013).

² See Appendix C.

³ Australia ICOMOS, *Understanding and Assessing Cultural Significance*, (2013), p.2.

riverbed. Visible timber piles leading down to the river, recently excavated following a project on the harbour, are in poor condition, which further reinforces the idea that the integrity of the site is in question as little remains from a historic perspective.

Archaeological Value

The shore has been repaired and redeveloped on numerous occasions owing to the wear over time on the features of the harbour of the need for deepening of the river. These repairs may have wiped away the deposits when reconstructing the harbour. This makes it uncertain that there is surviving material relation to the medieval port. In terms of excavation, one project on the harbour was undertaken due to the planning application for the repairs at Riverside. The project uncovered Victorian timber structures and a mooring line. This makes it conceivable that further discoveries may be made in the future. By comparison to the shore, nearby Cambuskenneth harbour contained medieval remains of a wharf relating to use of the abbey when recently excavated.⁴

Historic Value

The site is a symbol of a period in the development of the Stirling community and is inextricably linked with the trade of the medieval burgh. The harbour has been associated as a place of transport and supply route along the Forth, acting as a method of trade and transport of goods and people. The harbour site possess links with the lives of Stirling's merchants such as Andrew Russell and John Cowane who profited from the Stirling site among other ports along the Forth. Cowane's importance to the town is notable today through buildings such as Cowane's Hospital. The historical importance of the site is checked by the absence of visible features that link the past of the site as a historic harbour with the present.

⁴ W. Bailie, *ARO25: Abbots, Kings and Lost Harbours: Looking for Cambuskenneth's Watergate, Stirling* (GUARD Archaeology, 2017), p.6.

The marked difference from its zenith as a port affects the presentation of the site as a historic landmark. Through altering of the site in a significant way, the authenticity of the harbour's fabric is under threat. Another notable aspect of the value of the harbour was the repairs undertaken by David Stevenson. The Stevenson family are tied closely with the Stirling, as Robert Stevenson was responsible for the New Bridge crossing the Forth in the 1820s, thereby linking the architectural value of the site with other monuments in the city.⁵ The importance the harbour played in the community, especially the nineteenth century, is of note, as the pleasure steamers and shipbuilding were a part of the history of the site.

Aesthetic value

In terms of setting, the site is situated on the north bank of the River Forth and is part of a picturesque Riverside walkway. It is one of several green spaces along the path, with one of the few unobstructed views of the river. The reparation work still plans to maintain these elements of the aesthetic value of the site. The shore has the potential to have strong aesthetic value when reopened.

Social value

The contemporary site, prior to closure, was enjoyed by many visitors for the leisure opportunity it provided. It was a thoroughfare for walkers, cyclists and joggers. As part of the main walkway between Riverside and the centre of Stirling, it is set on an important road for the community. Because of this, the harbour site and surrounding walkways are well-used by the local population. For visitors, the picnic site was commonly used as one of the green spaces along the Riverside.

⁵ Canmore, 'New Bridge' [<https://canmore.org.uk/site/121536/stirling-causewayhead-road-new-bridge>] Accessed 1/8/2017.

Recommendations

The current interpretation is linked to the Xplore Stirling Heritage Trail stretching across the Forth at Riverside. There is potential for further use of the trail, by expanding onto online and digital platforms. Avenues for online interpretation include QR Codes, applications and websites that could all be used for further enhancing the knowledge of the area and the appreciation for the past. The platforms would provide additional information for walkers and visitors to the Riverside area of some of the historic features along the River Forth. Through providing image of the past at sites that once stood at various places along the trail, further appreciation of the landscape could be achieved. Other areas of interest on this route include Cambuskenneth crossing, the Boating Club and Old Stirling Bridge. Current interpretation of these areas provides an historical background for these sites. However, incorporating digital image would provide additional value to the interpretation of the Riverside area. For the physical interpretation, improved way marking could also allow greater awareness of where the heritage assets are located when walking in the area. As Smith notes, physical objects can act as aids to memory, meaning that memories can be ‘collected, preserved, lost, destroyed or restored’ through commemorating sites such as Stirling Harbour.⁶ The site currently has no physical reminder of its past as a trading port, with the harbour wall the only relic. From a heritage perspective, the absence of any remains means that it is easier to actively forget the historical importance of the area. With the lack of physical remains, the interpretation is more important to preserve and increase the awareness of the harbour.

⁶ L.J. Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London, 2006), p.61.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

The biography of Stirling Harbour covers a vast amount of time and a variety of uses and values over its history. This study has outlined the meanings associated with the site as well as an outline of the potential to become a point of historical and social value in the future.

As a medieval port, one of the values the site developed was as a significant resource for the market town for goods to be supplied to the continent and the Upper Forth region. The value of the port can be broken down into three categories, the importance of the trading activity, transport and personal connections with the harbour. The shore allowed merchants the opportunity to prosper on the trade at Stirling and remained as a valuable tool for businessmen. Economic and social developments would hinder the value of the shore, as the loss of Stirling as a royal residence reduced the trade in Stirling. Combined with this, the technological advancements of shipping limited the types of vessels that could dock at Stirling, further reducing the feasibility of importing large cargoes. Transport options grew limited as shipping vessels were enhanced, making the journey through the winding River Forth difficult. Finally, the emergence of rival ports on the Forth hindered the importance of Stirling by comparison, as Bo'ness and Alloa thrived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The nineteenth century shore experienced expanded activity which in turn increased the social value of the site. The fortunes of the harbour were altered by the introduction of the railways, as trade decreased as transporting goods by rail became a more popular option. The railway line had negated the work done by the Forth Navigation Commissioners, a group which had undertaken improvements to the harbour and increased trade to the area. The social value of the site was evident in this period due to the success and interest in leisure

activities at the site. The impact of the industrial revolution increased leisure time for the middle classes, and activities on the Forth were part of the new pastimes in Stirling. Pleasure steamers were a common sight throughout the year on the Forth, reportedly carrying large numbers of passengers for low prices. Further value in the harbour was due to the role of the shipbuilding yards which provided a brief interest in the creation of new vessels at Johnston's yard on Shore Road. The intrigue of these activities provided the shore with an increased communal value.

The post-war tensions between the Town Council and the Forth Conservancy Board displayed new claims of ownership towards the site from the residents and authorities. Merchants and members of the town council fought for increased expenditure and attention to be brought towards the plight of the harbour as it entered a derelict state. Through lobbying for action to be taken to deepen the Forth, clean the site and lower the cost of using the harbour, this Stirling group hoped to encourage the site to be revitalised. The actions of the locals bring to the fore a new claim of ownership and a reaction against what appeared to be a negligent stance taken by the FCB. In addition, the use of memories in the 1930s to signify that the site was of historical value then as a site of former use. The site held special memories for several writers, who shared their experiences of Riverside. Overall, increased attention the harbour received manifested itself through lobbying for action to be taken, which can be interpreted as an increased interest in the value of the site as a resource for the community.

This study has spelled out the uses and values of the harbour since the closure of the site. There is a lack of knowledge amongst the community of the harbour's knowledge and existence. Contemporary value can be largely summed up as a social space for the community and visitors, as part of the wider Riverside landscape. The current interpretation contains the history, but awareness is low for the city in general. Knowledge of the site is low

for those who were not first-hand witnesses to trading activity, suggesting little social memory for the site. However, there is a section of the community for whom the harbour contains historic value. Important first-hand memories exist and show appreciation for the harbour and the role it has played in the lives of the interviewees. Identities of the Riverside area are shown to be stronger in their connection to the river and awareness of the harbour's history.

A contribution of this study was an analysis of the harbour as an asset for the heritage of Stirling. Chapter six outlined the condition, significance and recommendations for the site in relation to its potential value in the future. There is a lack of existing material due to dismantling and repair work. The cultural significance of the site was outlined, summing up the historic, aesthetic, social and evidential values attached to the site. This project has also outlined suggestions on how to enhance the interpretation of the site. Better placed information boards and digital platforms can augment the experience of visiting the harbour. Stirling's harbour can be better appreciated for its historic and social value, as part of the notable landmarks in the Riverside area.

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Appendix A

Inner Forth Landscape Initiative

This project has been in part funded by the Inner Forth Landscape Initiative (IFLI). The objectives targeted by IFLI are:

- Conserving and restoring the built and natural heritage features that define the Inner Forth Landscape.
- Increasing community participation in our local heritage.
- Increasing access to the landscape and learning about its heritage.
- Increasing training and development opportunities in heritage skills.¹

One of the projects for IFLI is 'Forth Crossings', which focuses on 'historic trading around the Inner Forth area.' This study of Stirling Harbour seeks to add to the historical research that exists of the region's trade.

¹ Inner Forth Landscape Initiative, 'What is IFLI?', [<http://www.innerforthlandscape.co.uk/about/what-is-ifli>]. Accessed 23/08/17.

Appendix B

Stirling County Council's City Deal.

The harbour has been targeted as part of wider development in the city. The three main objectives of Stirling's City Deal Masterplan are:

- Creating world class digital connectivity to allow businesses and residents to flourish.
- Creating a world class active travel network to allow Stirling to operate as a truly sustainable and vibrant city which is attractive for business, residents and visitors.
- Investing in existing buildings and implementing new buildings in a dynamic manner which enables Stirling to deliver the diverse range of spaces and distinct identity, meeting expectations of an International City which is an attractive place to live, work and visit.²

The shore links into various aspects of the six projects, namely those concerning the river and harbour. From a heritage perspective, taking this project into account is crucial for the development outlined in chapter six. The river project proposes to create six stops along the Forth, including a pontoon on the Old Harbour. Developments for the harbour square include further heritage centres to boost tourism. The project is also affected by plans to have a green corridor from the Park through the City Centre and down to the River Forth.

² Stirling Council, *Stirling City Deal: Masterplan*, 2016, p.3.

Appendix C

Statement of Cultural Significance.

This statement follows the guidelines of Australia ICOMOS in the definition and process of drafting a note of cultural significance to historic sites.³

Synopsis

Stirling's Old Harbour, or Stirling shore, is a former port to the north-east of the city of Stirling, located in the area of Riverside. It is an inland port, on a tidal part of the river. Historically the site served as the port to the Royal Burgh, home to the royal residence of Stirling Castle. The contemporary area is a picnic site containing benches and a pathway linking the centre of Stirling with the Riverside area. The site is currently undergoing reconstruction work on the harbour wall, due to reopen in September 2017.

Archaeological Value

Although there has only been a few current discoveries at the site, the harbour possesses some evidential value. One issue is the fact that the shore has been repaired and redeveloped on numerous occasions owing to the wear over time on the features of the harbour of the need for deepening of the river. These repairs may have wiped away the deposits when reconstructing the harbour. This makes it uncertain that there is surviving material relation to the medieval port. In terms of excavation, one project on the harbour was undertaken due to the planning application for the repairs at Riverside. The project uncovered Victorian timber structures and a mooring line. This makes it conceivable that further discoveries may be made in the future. By comparison to the shore, nearby Cambuskenneth harbour contained medieval remains of a wharf relating to use of the abbey when recently excavated.⁴ As opposed to Cambuskenneth's significant evidential value, Stirling Harbour has not yet shown that has the potential for significant discoveries.

³ Australia ICOMOS, *Understanding and Assessing Cultural Heritage*, (2013).

⁴ W. Bailie, *ARO25: Abbots, Kings and Lost Harbours: Looking for Cambuskenneth's Watergate, Stirling* (GUARD Archaeology, 2017), p.6

Historic Value

Stirling Harbour has some historical value, as a 12th century port. However, this history has been devalued by the lack of awareness and physical remains that exist. The site is a symbol of a period in the development of the Stirling community and is inextricably linked with the trade of the medieval burgh. The harbour has been associated as a place of transport and supply route along the Forth, acting as a method of trade and transport of goods and people. The harbour site possess links with the lives of Stirling's merchants such as Andrew Russell and John Cowane who profited from the Stirling site among other ports along the Forth. Cowane's importance to the town is notable today through buildings such as Cowane's Hospital. The historical importance of the site is checked by the absence of visible features that link the past of the site as a historic harbour with the present. The marked difference from its zenith as a port affects the presentation of the site as a historic landmark. Through altering of the site in a significant way, the authenticity of the harbour is under threat. Another notable aspect of the value of the harbour was the repairs undertaken by David Stevenson. The Stevenson family are tied closely with the Stirling, as Robert Stevenson was responsible for the New Bridge crossing the Forth in the 1820s, thereby linking the architectural value of the site with other monuments in the city.⁵ The importance the harbour played in the community, especially the nineteenth century, is of note, as the pleasure steamers and shipbuilding were a part of the social life of the town.

Aesthetic value

In terms of setting, the site is situated on the north bank of the River Forth and is part of a picturesque Riverside walkway. It is one of several green spaces along the path, with one of the few unobstructed views of the river. The reparation work still plans to maintain these elements of the aesthetic value of the site. Current residents valued the site as an area of relaxation and leisure pursuits. As a result, the shore has the potential to have strong aesthetic value when reopened.

⁵ Canmore, 'New Bridge', [<https://canmore.org.uk/site/121536/stirling-causewayhead-road-new-bridge>]. Accessed 1/08/2017.

Social value

The social value of the site is considerable. The contemporary site, prior to closure, was enjoyed by many visitors for the leisure opportunity it provided. It was a thoroughfare for walkers, cyclists and joggers. As part of the main walkway between Riverside and the centre of Stirling, it is set on an important road for the community. Because of this, the harbour site and surrounding walkways are well-used by the local population. For visitors, the picnic site was commonly used as one of the green spaces along the Riverside.

Spiritual Value

The site currently has no spiritual value. The adjacent Riverside parks are a place of peace and quiet for the community.

Integrity

In terms of the current fabric of the site, the lack of physical remains of the site are part of the problem in recognising the site for its historic past. The conversion took place following a dereliction of the features of the harbour were removed. The harbour wall, most recently repaired in the 1980s, is currently undergoing repair work that will use steel members as replacement for the existing dry-stone wall. The features will be supported by concrete piles driven into the riverbed. Visible timber piles leading down to the river are in poor condition, which further reinforces the idea that the integrity of the site is in question.

Appendix D

Interview Designs

Interview— Stirling residents and local community

1. *Research question: What is the interviewee's background?*

a) **Can you please introduce yourself and tell me something about your relationship to Stirling?**

Follow up questions:

- When did you / your family come to Stirling?
 - What brought you here?
 - What is it like living/ working here?
 - How would you describe the Stirling communities?
2. *Research question: How much does the river feature in the interviewee's sense of place/ identity?*

b) **What value does the river and riverside area have in your life?**

Follow up questions:

- How much do you visit the river/ riverside area? How often and in what context?
 - Do you use any of the riverside park locations or heritage walks?
 - Is the river an important aspect of the city?
 - Are you aware of the history of the river and its heritage?
3. *Research question: What is the interviewee's relationship to the harbour?*

c) **Moving on to the site, what is your relationship to the Old Harbour park, if any?**

Follow up questions:

- How often do you see/ use the area?
 - Have you used the (picnic) site personally?
 - If so, in what context have you used the site?
 - Do you interact with any of the groups that use the River?
4. *Research question: Are there any personal memories associated with the site for the interviewee?*
- d) **Are there any particular personal/ family memories that are associated with the site?**

Follow up questions:

- How old were you when these memories took place?
- Are these important memories to you?
- How strong of a connection do you have to the harbour?

- In what context is the site remembered best by you?
5. *Research question: What is the interviewee's views on the harbour site?*
- e) **I am interested in the value of the Old Harbour, what value would you place on the site?**

Follow up questions:

- Is the site significant/ important to you?
 - In what ways and why?
 - Are you aware of the history of the site?
 - Has the closure of the harbour affected your value of the site?
 - Do you find it attractive?
6. *Research question: what does the interviewee believe should happen to the site?*
- f) **Following the damage to the Old Harbour wall, what do you feel should be the future of the site?**

Follow up questions:

- Do you feel the harbour should be used more in the future?
 - If so, in what context?
 - Are you aware of Stirling Council's 'City Deal' and proposals for the site?
 - If so, what do you make of these proposals?
 - How do you feel about the current presentation and interpretation of the site?
7. *Research question: what is the impact of photo elicitation/ walk around the harbour on views of the site?*
- g) **To finish (if time), could we take a look at these images together?**

Follow up questions, to be used as appropriate:

- I'm interested in whether these images/ experience prompted further thoughts.
- Do they (does it) change any of your views or prompt any memories?
- Following visit, what do you feel about the existing interpretation?
- Any further questions? Is there anything you wanted to talk about that we didn't get to?

Interview- Heritage professionals and academics.

1. *Research question: What is the interviewee's biographical background?*

a) **First, can you please introduce yourself and tell me something about your relationship to Stirling?**

Follow up questions:

- What is your role and responsibilities?
- How does Stirling's history/ heritage feature in this?
- What is your personal and professional interest in Stirling?
- How far back does this interest extend?

2. *Research question: How does the riverside area feature in interviewee's work and remit?*

b) **What part of your work do you do in the riverside area?**

Follow up questions:

- what does this involve?
- Is there any specific points in the Stirling area that are an important part of your work?

3. *Research question: What is the interviewee's relationship to the harbour?*

c) **Moving on to the Old Harbour, could you tell me about your relationship with it, if any?**

Follow up questions:

- What place does it have in your life?
- In what capacity, if any, have you worked on the site?
- If so, what did this involve?
- Have you personally visited the site?

4. *Research question: What are the interviewee's views on the values of the harbour site specifically?*

d) **I am interested in the value of the old harbour site, how is it important?**

Follow up questions:

- What meaning does it have to you?
 - In what way is the site important to you? (Aesthetically, historically, socially etc.)
 - In what ways is the site important to the local community?
 - What significance does it have to the city's history?
 - How would Stirling compare to other site's value (Alloa or Cambuskenneth harbours etc.)
5. *Research question: What are the interviewee's views on how the site is understood by the local community?*

e) **What is your sense of how well the monument's biography / history is understood?**

Follow up questions:

- What is your impression of how well its values and significance have been researched and understood?
 - Are there aspects of the site's history that is not understood?
 - If so, why do you think that is the case?
6. *Research question: What is the interviewee's view on the interpretation of the site?*
- f) In terms of presentation, how well has the current site been interpreted? Would you interpret the site differently from a heritage perspective?**

Follow up questions:

- What form would this interpretation take?
 - How does this compare with other historical places of interest in Stirling?
7. *What is the interviewee's view on the future use of the site?*
- g) I am interested in the future of the site, what in your view should happen to the site?**
- Are you aware of Stirling Council plans for the site through the city deal?
 - How would different use (either Stirling Council or interviewee's ideas) affect the value of the site?
8. *What is the impact of photo elicitation/ walk around the area on views of the site?*
- h) To finish (if time), could we take a look at these images together (or walk around the site)?**

Specific follow-up questions, to be used as appropriate:

- Did these prompt any further thoughts?
- Any questions or further thoughts?
- Does this change any of the views you have expressed about the value of the site?
- Any further points? Is there anything you wanted to talk about that we didn't get to?

Appendix E

Table of Interviews

Interview Code	Interviewee(s) Description	General Contents	Length of Interview
SLH1	Historian	Historic significance of the harbour. Potential wharfs at tidal limits. Future of the site.	56:01
SLH2	Archaeologist	Archaeological studies in the area. Existing interpretation of the site.	12:12
SLH3	Resident of Stirling	Experiences growing up near the harbour	14:14
SLH4	Resident of Stirling	Childhood memories. Possibilities of future use of the pontoon at the harbour.	22:22
SLH5	Historian	Historical significance of the harbour. Social value of the harbour.	30:34
SLH6	Council Officer	Written correspondence on current reparation work and future plans for the site. See Appendix F	N/A
SLH7	Community Council members and residents of Stirling	Awareness of the harbour. Specific issues affecting the contemporary residents of Riverside. Concerns of the future development.	53:09

Appendix F

Written correspondence – Interview Code- SLH6

Interviewer: First, can you please introduce yourself and tell me something about your relationship to Stirling?

Participant: [Redacted Text], Stirling Council Sustainable Development Team. I have worked with the Council for 5 & half years.

I: What part of your work do you do in the riverside area?

P: The Sustainable Development Team have been given responsibility for the long term River Programme as part of the wider City Deal economic regeneration of Stirling. The River Programme encompasses a number of projects with the following themes:

Communities; Environmental / wildlife; Recreation / Sport; History / culture; Energy; Connectivity / access

I: Moving on to the Old Harbour, could you tell me about your work on the site?

P: I am currently responsible for the harbour wall restoration project which involves

- developing & implementing a management plan for the project;
- leading & motivating the project delivery team;
- managing the risks, issues & changes;
- monitoring progress;
- managing project budget;
- communicating with stakeholders;
- contractor management;
- closing the project in a controlled fashion

Once the harbour wall restoration is complete I will also be responsible for the installation of the pontoon at Shore Road. Funding has been secured for the project & the initial tender process has begun. This will be the first of 6 planned pontoons that will link key sites across the city.

I: I am interested in the value of the old harbour site, in what ways is it important?

P: In recent years the Old Harbour site has been valued by the local community mainly as a picnic & dog walking area. The value of the space has perhaps been taken for granted until recently, once the area was sealed off for safety reasons the community began to notice its loss & are keen to see it come back into public use.

I: Is the site significant to the local community?

P: In recent community meetings plans to improve access to the river and connect communities, heritage and nature generated a great deal of interest and enthusiasm. Local communities and businesses are keen to see the river return to the heart of city life and play its part in enhancing Stirling's tourist attractions and bolstering the local economy. The community are passionate about restoring the Old Harbour to its former glory. Reinstating moorings at this location will further complement these aspirations and maximise the potential of the river as a valued community asset.

I: In your opinion, is it a valued part of the city's history?

P: Much of Stirling's income and consequent development, came from international trading and use of the harbour, therefore I believe it plays a valuable role in the city's history. The area has been active from medieval times, facilitating the trade of timber, oil, wine, salmon and garments to and from the Netherlands & Nordic countries. This trade was the source of much of John Cowane's wealth and the harbour was considerably invested in by the Cowane family, who in the 17th century donated large sums of money to Stirling, leading to the construction of Cowane's hospital. Later the harbour became an important military ordinance depot and ships were a common sight until the 1940's.

I: What is your sense of how well the monument's biography / history is understood?

P: I think the area's importance is poorly understood and at present the river is viewed as a barrier rather than a potential asset. Most cities situated on a river are recognised as such, with the river environment playing an important role (Paris, London etc.) however many people do not even realise that the River Forth meanders its way through Stirling, many of the buildings face away from the river.

I: In terms of presentation, how well has the current site been interpreted? Would you interpret the site differently from a heritage perspective?

P: The site is included & described in the Xplore Stirling Heritage Trail, however because it is currently impossible to walk along the length of the river, any interpretation boards are sporadic, poorly joined up and not obvious. Many historical photos of the area exist and it would be good to tell the story of Stirling's river heritage through improved way marking and interpretation boards and link to other sites such as Stirling Bridge and Cambuskenneth Abbey.

I: In relation to the City Deal, how does the harbour fit in with this plan for Stirling?

P: City Deal plans for the harbour, with a tourist boat service & small museum, will enhance the current tourism offering. Creating a new water gateway into Stirling has linkages to the City Park Programme as the design has incorporated a green corridor from the Park through the City Centre and down to the River Forth. The improvements that will be made as part of the River and City Park Programmes will improve the quality of outdoor space available to communities, encouraging them to spend more time outdoors and therefore improve health and wellbeing.

Appendix G

Fieldwork notes.

Stirling Harbour August 2017 — Interview Field Sheet. Number: 1

Date: 4/8/17 Location: *Riverside Park*

Field Notes:

located next to the bridge over to Camboonnet,
several people crossing back and forth ~~to~~ over the river.
The picnic ~~side~~ site is used by a few - a family of 4 sat down
on the picnic bench + spent 20 mins before leaving.

overcast day which may have affected use of the site.
several children using the playground area across from
the park and residents walking in the ~~near~~ opposite side of the park.
This Friday afternoon observation was of mostly walkers.
A few joggers and cyclists, ~~also some~~ ~~also some~~.

Tally - walkers 12/1 11/1

- joggers
- cyclists 11
- families -1

Stirling Harbour August 2017 - Interview Field Sheet. Number: 2

Date: 5/8/2017 Location: Forthside walk

Field Notes:

Mostly joggers and walkers using this ~~link~~ link, predominately walking to the shore from Forthside.

A group of joggers ran towards the shore, commenting that "The Cambuskenneth Abbey is supposed to be this way, isn't it?"

Saturday morning, use may be higher due to this as there is a steady stream of walkers.

A couple when asked, said it ~~is~~ was the first time they had used the walk, ~~also~~ ^{noted} the cleanliness of the pathway.

Tally - walkers IIII IIII IIII

joggers IIII

cyclists - 1

Date: 11/8/17 Location: Forthside walk

Field Notes:

sitting on a bench overlooking the harbour - no other
areas to sit in this location. Steady stream of
visitors. When asked, a man said that he used the
walkway regularly and lived in Riverside.

couple ~~commented~~ commented on the harbour, noting the
trucks and the ordering off of the site.

Tally - walkers - 11

- joggers - 1

- cyclists - 1

Stirling Harbour August 2017 — Interview Field Sheet. Number: 4

Date: 13/8/2017

Location: Riverside Park

Field Notes:

photographer taking pictures of the river.

Playground area across the road is also ^{so} being well used

A couple of people sitting on benches, most passing through.

Many dog walkers ~~at times~~ walking across the site and
going back in the same direction.

Fairly regular ~~new~~ walkers that seem to be local residents
using the site.

One or two stopped for a few minutes to enjoy the view
before carrying on down the path.

Tally - walkers IIII IIII IIII

joggers - IIII

cyclists - I