

Inner Forth Landscape Initiative

Forth Crossings

The Port of Alloa

to c.1800



Ian Middleton

Cover image: Detail of a print showing Alloa Tower and ships in the River Forth. Private collection. Date of publication unknown. Thought to be based on John Slezer's engraving (c.1672), which first appeared in *Theatrum Scotiae* (Published 1693).

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Glossary

Aqua fortis – Nitric acid, used by dyers

Aqua vitae – Whisky or spirit

Bark or **Barque** - A small ship

Bear - A kind of barley hardier than the ordinary kind but of inferior quality

Camblet – A type of fabric

Chalder - A measure of capacity for grain, malt, lime, coal, etc.

Cocquet – A customs document

Deals - Softwood planks and sawn timber

Debenture – A document submitted to the Customs for drawback of duty

Deforcement - The crime of forcibly preventing an officer of the law from discharging his duty

Draff – Spent grain; the refuse produced by distillers and brewers

Drawback – Refunded duty on re-exports of tobacco and other goods

Firkin – A small wooden barrel; a unit of capacity equal to nine gallons

Fuller's earth - Any type of clay mixed with water and kneaded into woollen cloth, to remove lanolin, oils and other greasy impurities as part of the finishing process

Geneva – Gin

Hogshead – A large cask. A hogshead of tobacco contained approximately 1,000 lbs

Low wines - In distilling: the low-quality spirit which results from the first distillation of the alcoholic solution or wash

Pearl ashes – A more refined form of potash, used in glass-making

Pow - A small creek, generally at the mouth of a stream, and serving as a landing-place or wharf for small vessels

Run - To smuggle goods ashore

Sack – A class of white wines imported from Spain and the Canaries

Sloop - A small trading-vessel or warship

Sufferance – A customs document

Tearce - A measure of capacity, one third of a Pipe; a cask of this size

Tow - Coarse fibres of, for example, hemp, flax or jute

Verdigris – A dye, chiefly used as a pigment

Wainscot - A good quality imported oak

Wash – Fermented malt and barley; an early stage in the distillation of spirits

Introduction

The story of man's use of the River Forth for trade is rich and complex. To write even a brief summary would be a difficult task. The story of one port in the Inner Forth area: that of Alloa has been attempted here and this only up to c.1800. There are many other towns and villages up and down the Forth coast, each with its own trading history.

Some aspects of this history are shared by many of these places. Coal was mined along both banks of the Forth and further inland for centuries. Dozens of coastal settlements owe their existence to coal and to the salt-making industry with which it was once closely connected. The various trade laws, duties and tariffs, both in Scotland and in the countries with which the Scots traded, were applied equally to most of these towns. The types of main players involved in trade have been largely the same in each place: the merchants, the landowners, the factors, the ship owners and masters, and the customs and excise officers. The tricks of the smuggler were generally the same at each port. A number of wars were fought in the Forth's wider trading area. Scotland was not directly involved in all of them, but their effects were still felt here. This essay touches on all of these subjects and it is therefore hoped that it will be of interest to more people than have a direct association with Alloa itself.



The present day visitor to the town might be forgiven for passing through without becoming aware of its former days as a busy port. Coal mining provided much of the impetus for trade from the sixteenth century onwards and fuelled much of the subsequent growth, but came to an end decades ago. The port itself closed to navigation in 1961. Many of the areas of the town which were formerly associated with trade have been redeveloped. There are a few clues to be seen, such as the burgh's coat of arms, which features a sailing ship (shown here on an old postcard), the orientation board and date stones which mark the last remaining section of quay, or the anchor which sits in the middle of Lime Tree Walk, but these are easily

missed. This lack of evidence on the ground is one reason why this project has been undertaken.

Information has been found scattered in a number of historical sources, including the statistical accounts, customs records, historic newspaper archives, books, journals, pamphlets and private manuscript collections. An aim of the project has been to consolidate some of this material and to draw some conclusions from it where possible. There are, of course, gaps in the available information and some is not easily accessible. Books detailing Alloa's coal industry, glass works, pottery and breweries have already been published by others. These topics have therefore been covered briefly.

The essay has been split into three sections. Each begins with one or more descriptions of Alloa and places nearby, taken from contemporary accounts. Section one describes the origins and early development of trade prior to the 1707 Union. Section two takes us from the Union to 1750 and includes details of the customs collection, smuggling, the tobacco trade, and the two main Jacobite Rebellions, insofar as they impacted on trade. The story of Walter Grosett, collector of customs at the time of the 1745-6 Rebellion, has been appended to this section. Section three takes us from 1750 to the close of the century. It outlines some of the developing local industries and the ways in which the River Forth was important to them, concluding with a more in depth description of the distilleries at Kennetpans and Kilbagie.

The most detailed information concerning Alloa port for the period after the 1707 Union is to be found in the customs records. Various categories of record for Alloa have survived the centuries. Those used here are the Class I and II letter books. These reveal many details about what was shipped, where it was shipped to or from and by whom. They also contain descriptions of smuggling attempts and other events, along with details of the day to day operation of the custom house. The Class I letter books are from Alloa Custom House to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh. Those from the Board to Alloa (Class II) include information sent to the collector about various frauds which had come to the attention of the commissioners of customs. There are surviving letter books for Alloa from 1718 to 1910, but only those for 1718 to 1750 have been studied for this project. The books for these years were transcribed by the late Jim Sharp, as was a series of nine newspaper articles, detailing various aspects of the port during the eighteenth century. The latter were written by G.C. Coats,

collector of customs at Alloa in the nineteenth century, and appeared in the Alloa Advertiser between 1868 and 1870.

The collector's quarterly accounts are another important source of information, containing detailed descriptions of goods entered and cleared, including quantities and the amounts of duty levied on them. The surviving accounts date from 1742 to 1830, but have not been studied in detail here for practical reasons: that is another project entirely.

The phrase 'port of Alloa' can be interpreted in two different ways: one being the actual harbour area of the town; the other being the wider, post-1710 customs precinct of Alloa, which stretched from Stirling to Kincardine and Higgins Neuk. This essay focuses on the former, but some aspects of trade in the latter, wider area are included.

Two appendices follow the essay: one a list of people involved in trade, including merchants, shipmasters and customs officers; the other a list of shipments into and out of Alloa precinct, and other trade involving Alloa-based ships. These have been compiled from available data in the customs records and historic newspaper archives.



Alloa Wet Dock c.1885.¹

¹ By kind permission of the Earl of Mar and Kellie.

Section 1: Alloa before 1707

1655: Thomas Tucker's report for Oliver Cromwell on the state of customs and excise collection in Scotland.

On the north side of the Firth, there is a pretty fine burgh called Alloway (Alloa), having a fine harbour, and an excellent coal, which is for the most part shipped out and carried away by the Dutch, there being no vessel belonging to the place. Nevertheless, there hath usually been a pretty trade for that commodity, but interrupted of late by some difference happening among some of the proprietors of the coal haughs. Here is a waiter constantly resident, to take care of this and the town of Kennett, where likewise is a very good great coal, but chiefly sent from port to port, and never or seldom outwards.

... Elphinstone (is) a small town, where there is a pretty store of great coal shipped for beyond the seas. And although there be never a vessel belong to this place, yet the Dutch mostly, and some others, choose to lade there because of the goodness of the coal and its measure. The river here being narrow, the waiter on the opposite side takes care as well as account of what is shipped here.

... Stirling, a pretty burgh, famous for the strength of the castle and bridge, which is laid over the Firth at that place, this being the head of it, and tide flowing not a mile above it. Here live some merchants, but the shallowness of the river, with the windings thereof, making the way long, and not permitting a boat of burthen to pass up so high, all goods are entered first and cleared below at Bo'ness, and thence afterward carried up in small boats, as the merchant hath occasion for them.²

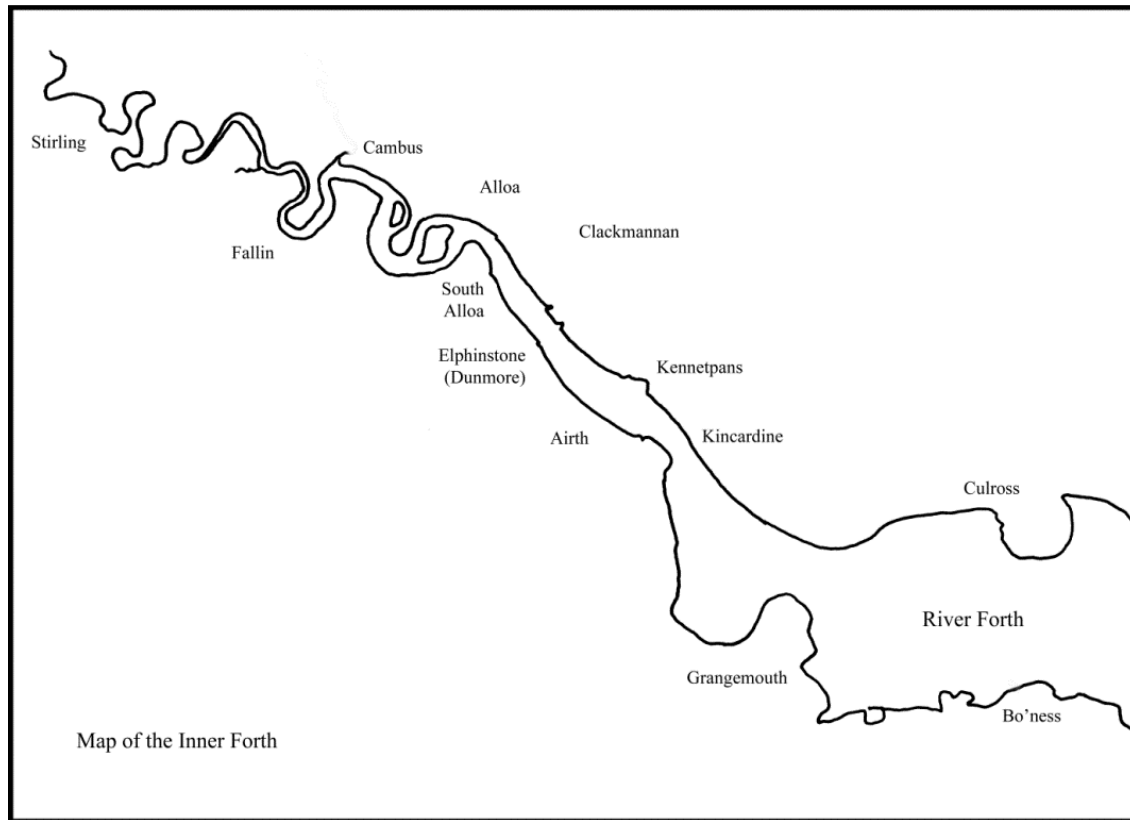
1693: Robert Sibbald, physician and geographer; appointed Geographer Royal for Scotland in 1682.

Allowa, a Town in Clackmannon-shire, and seems to be the same Ptolomy calls Allauna, is situated on a pleasant Plain to the North of Forth; and hath a convenient Harbour for Ships of Burthen, many of which come thither for Salt and Coals. Here the Earl of Marr, Chief of the Areskins, hath a pleasant Dwelling with a Wood adjacent.³

² Thomas Tucker, *Report upon the Settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland*, reprinted in P. Hume Brown (editor), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 167-8. [Hereafter: Thomas Tucker's Report].

³ *Theatrum Scotiae*, published in 1693. [Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website. <http://digital.nls.uk/slezer/engraving.cfm?sl=8>]. [Date accessed 4/5/2015].

Origins of the port



Looking at a map of the area, one might wonder why a busy port existed as far up the River Forth as Alloa. Several reasons for this have been identified, the main one being Alloa's position at the western edge of the coal field, as it runs on the north side of the Forth. Coal was mined by the local landowners from at least the early sixteenth century and was a spur to trade from that time forward until the mid-twentieth century. It was useful to all sorts of people, even in the pre-industrial days: from brewers and salt makers to iron workers and soap boilers. Peat moss was plentiful in the Forth valley and remained in use as a fuel source until the mid-eighteenth century, but coal was also used for cooking and heating, particularly in winter, by those who could afford it. Before the railways were built, the most viable method of moving bulky and heavy goods, such as coal, was by water. Early roads, where they existed at all, were rutted, muddy tracks, which could be impassable at times. Once extracted from the ground and if not consumed locally, coal was carted to the shore for shipping. This added to costs, so it made good sense to ship from a point near to the mines.

The oldest building of historical importance in Alloa is its tower, which is thought to have been completed by the late fifteenth century or earlier.⁴ It was built to defend the ford and ferry at Alloa; two of several vulnerable crossing points on the river between Stirling and Kincardine.⁵ The tower, which was at the heart of the early town, drew in tradespeople to supply its needs. It belonged to the Earl of Mar, head of the Erskine family. They were the main landowners in Alloa.

The Brathie Burn, which ran through the old town, formed a sheltered creek, known as a pow, at the point where it entered the Forth. This was a suitable place for landing and harbouring boats. The earliest known mention of shipping at Alloa dates from 1502, when King James IV paid for the victualling of a boat, the *Unicorn*, bound for Alloa Pow.⁶ The earliest harbour appears to have been a natural one with an unimproved foreshore.⁷ It is not possible at present to be precise about any early, manmade harbour structure, due to a lack of surviving maps and plans, and because the harbour was revised and rebuilt later on.

The salt-making industry, which was a major user of coal, grew greatly from the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁸ Salt was at that time a more valuable commodity than coal and was used to cure and preserve fish and meat, among other uses. Water from the river was heated in large, flat metal pans. The water boiled off, leaving salt crystals. Small coals, known as panwood or dross, were used to heat the pans. These were the bits left behind once the larger, more valuable pieces, known as great coals, had been extracted. At one time there were salt pans all along the Forth, from near Alloa to the sea, including at Kennetpans, Elphinstone, Kincardine, Culross and Bo'ness. At the industry's height there were over fifty at work in Culross alone and thirty five in Kincardine.⁹ Large quantities of coal were required; perhaps

⁴ Alasdair Ross, *Historical Report (to c.1600) for Ochils Landscape Partnership*, 33-35. A manor house at Alloa is mentioned as late as 1448 and there is no specific mention of a castle or tower until 1502.

⁵ To the west of Stirling lay peat mosses, while to the east of Kincardine the river widens to an estuary. Both sections were difficult for large armies to cross. In between were several fords and ferries, which were watched over by fortified buildings, including Stirling Castle, Alloa Tower, Clackmannan Tower and Tulliallan Castle. Clackmannanshire Field Studies Society and Friends of Alloa Tower, *Alloa Tower and the Erskine's of Mar*, 1.

⁶ Angus Graham, *Archaeological notes on some harbours in Eastern Scotland*, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, volume 101, 212.
<http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/psas/volumes.cfm> [Date accessed 4/5/2015].

⁷ Angus Graham, *Archaeological notes on some harbours in Eastern Scotland*, 213.

⁸ T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union*, 7.

⁹ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Perth/Culross/10/144/> [Date accessed 1/5/2015];
<http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Perth/Tulliallan/11/549/> [Date accessed 1/5/2015].

in the region of 11 tons to make just one ton of salt.¹⁰ It is said that impurities were removed by adding clotted animal blood which, the theory went, joined with them, forming a scum, which could be skimmed off.¹¹

Alloa sits about as far up the river as was accessible to larger, sea-going vessels. Further upstream the river loops and meanders in several places, which make it impossible to have a fair wind when sailing between Alloa and Stirling. In addition, there are shallows which obstruct navigation. Some boats could reach Stirling with the help of the tide, but few vessels larger than about 60 or 70 tons burden could proceed further than Alloa.¹² Bo'ness is usually cited as the port where Stirling's goods were landed or shipped. An important early trade road ran between Bo'ness and Glasgow.

The early coal industry

Coal mining in Clackmannanshire on a systematic basis is thought to have been undertaken first by several of the local landowners. The Bruces of Clackmannan and Kennet, the Shaws of Sauchie and the Erskines of Alloa are all known to have organised a coal trade from their estates. Coal was mined at Alloa from as early as 1519.¹³ The tenants of the estates provided the manual labour, under conditions akin to slavery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If not consumed locally, coal was sent to the shore in handcarts. A typical cart could hold about three or four cwt. It was made into piles, known as 'leets,' of ten cartloads each at the shore. A leet weighed about two tons.¹⁴ There it was sold and sent coastwise or abroad by ship.

The Erskines controlled the port and harbour of Alloa. They owned a semi-private road running through their estate, which was the only means of transporting coal from Sauchie, Coalsnaughton and Tillicoultry to the shore. They charged 'gate mail' for every chalders of coal carried along the road.¹⁵ Several licences for this have been documented. For example,

¹⁰ Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, 31/5/1786. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk]. [Date accessed 17/7/2015].

¹¹ William F. Hendrie, *Discovering the River Forth*, 53.

¹² John Francis Erskine, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Clackmannan*, 8. Accessed via e-book version.

¹³ John L. Carvel, *One Hundred Years in Coal. The History of the Alloa Coal Company*, 3.

¹⁴ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 33. (Alloa Advertiser, 16/7/1870).

¹⁵ J. P. Day, *Clackmannan and Kinross*, 47.

Sir Alexander Shaw of Sauchie was granted permission in 1638 to use the road and coal gate to Alloa Pow, in return for payment of 5 shillings per chalders.¹⁶ In 1656 a similar contract was agreed with Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, Robert Bruce of Kennet, Sir Alexander Schaw of Sauchie and others, this time for 5d per chaldron.¹⁷ This may have been the resolution of the ‘difference’ between the coal proprietors, referred to by Thomas Tucker in 1655 and quoted on page 8.

Mining operations in Clackmannanshire before the 1707 Union were on a smaller scale than was subsequently the case, but the quantities extracted were still significant. Between December 1640 and June 1641, a total of 6,499 chalders of coal (5,416 tons) were extracted from the Earl of Mar’s mines around Alloa alone.¹⁸ An indication of the price of coal may be found in a contract from 1656, when the Earl of Mar sold 1,050 chalders of great coals to Patrick Craingelt of Alloa and others for 5,000 merks Scots.¹⁹

The early shipping trade

Leith was the first customs port on the Forth, covering all places between Berwick on Tweed and Stirling. The precinct is thought to have been divided in two around the time of Thomas Tucker’s report, as it was found to be too large to manage as one area. An increase in trade at Bo’ness was another factor. The Upper Forth was made a separate customs port, from Cramond on the south side and Limekilns on the north, as far up river as Stirling.²⁰ The custom house for this area was initially sited at Blackness, on the southern shore of the Forth, where the King’s duties for the royal burgh of Linlithgow were collected. A longstanding rivalry between Blackness and nearby Bo’ness, which became more prosperous over time, saw the custom house move to Bo’ness, then back to Blackness in 1678 and back again to Bo’ness before 1707.²¹ Alloa was a creek of Bo’ness port, meaning a subsidiary port for customs purposes, until 1710.

¹⁶ National Records of Scotland, GD124/17/512.

¹⁷ W. Downing Bruce, *Collections Toward A History Of Clackmannan*, 22. [Accessed online at National Library of Scotland, www.nls.uk Histories of Scottish Families on 2/2/2016].

¹⁸ Ross, *Historical Report (to c.1600) for Ochils Landscape Partnership*, 19.

¹⁹ National Records of Scotland, GD124/17/519.

²⁰ Thomas Tucker’s Report, reprinted in P. Hume Brown (editor), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 163-167.

²¹ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty’s Customs and Port of Alloa*, 1. (Alloa Advertiser, 9/5/1868).

Information pertaining to pre-1707 shipping at Alloa is quite scarce. The 1665-1691 custom books for Bo'ness have survived and include details of Alloa shipping, but have not been studied here for reasons of time. The fact that there were no ships belonging to Alloa harbour in 1655, rising to only 18 by 1707, points to trade of a fairly limited extent.²²

Coal is known to have been shipped coastwise at Alloa Pow from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. In 1558 a shipment went from Alloa to Inch Keith, an island in the Forth.²³ This is thought to be the earliest surviving record of the town's coastal coal trade. A few other documents exist which give glimpses of this commerce from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. In 1643 Alexander White, skipper in Kirkcaldy, lodged a complaint with the Convention of Estates, after being refused coal at Alloa.²⁴ In 1694 the Earl of Strathmore requested that Thomas Ross, skipper in Dundee, be paid a debt of coal from Alloa.²⁵ In 1700 John Arthur younger, skipper in Alloa, supplied coal to Alexander Inglis, merchant in Edinburgh.²⁶

Some crops were also shipped from Alloa before 1707. An undated seventeenth century letter details a shipment of 530 bolls of meal sent on a barque belonging to David Morrison of Alloa.²⁷ By the start of the eighteenth century, a few Alloa-based ships were taking part in the coastal trade at other ports. In 1705 bear was sent from Portsoy to Leith on the *Katherine* of Alloa, Andrew Kerr master.²⁸

Significant levels of trade between the east coast of Scotland and mainland Europe are said to have been established by the end of the thirteenth century. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, a papal envoy who visited eastern Scotland in 1435, remarked on Scottish exports of wool, hides, salt fish and pearls to Flanders.²⁹ He also noted Scotland's abundant coal reserves: the 'black stanis' which gave off such heat when burned that they could melt iron.³⁰

²² Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland 1650-1790*, 124.

²³ Angus Graham, *Archaeological notes on some harbours in Eastern Scotland*, 212.

²⁴ National Records of Scotland, GD124/6/75.

²⁵ National Records of Scotland, GD124/15/196.

²⁶ National Records of Scotland, GD305/1/153/57.

²⁷ National Records of Scotland, GD255/3/13/18.

²⁸ National Records of Scotland, GD305/1/147/56.

²⁹ Rev. Charles Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, volumes I-III, 193-4.

³⁰ John L. Carvel, *One Hundred Years in Coal. The History of the Alloa Coal Company*, 3.

There was a thriving trade with the Dutch in particular. Initially the city of Bruges had a large share of this.³¹ In 1541 the small port of Campvere (now known as Veere) was fixed as the ‘Scottish staple,’ where merchants were permitted to land goods without paying import duties. Campvere drew trade away from Bruges, being easily accessible to ships and at no great distance from the large and thriving city of Antwerp. Among the ‘privileges’ (i.e. duty-free goods) were salt, grain, coal, lead, woollen goods, salted fish and provisions.³²

Culross, Bo’ness and Alloa all established trade links with Campvere and with other ports on the Continent. Culross was the leading coal-and-salt-exporting town early in the seventeenth century, under the direction of Sir George Bruce and his famous Moat Pit. In 1631 Peter Breware is recorded as an exporter of coal from Alloa to Flanders. He also imported goods to Scotland.³³ This was common sense, as there was no profit in Scottish ships returning empty. Evidence of this reciprocal trade can still be seen along the Forth coast, in the form of red clay roofing tiles, which were often used as ballast on the journey from Holland.³⁴

Tucker commented in 1655 that Bo’ness had lately been the second busiest port in Scotland, next to Leith.³⁵ About 15% of boats arriving in Scotland between 1680 and 1686 went to the Upper Forth, mainly to Bo’ness.³⁶ Most of these were Dutch vessels. They brought a wide variety of goods, from Delft pottery and iron, to luxuries such as silks, spices and Flemish linen. The bulk of these imports were sent by land from Bo’ness along the east-west trade route to the markets at Glasgow, Ayr and Dumfries. Smout commented

This growth of trade at Bo’ness was one of the most important economic developments in Scotland during the seventeenth century, for it brought the west coast onto the east and thus tied the two halves of Scotland more tightly together than had ever been possible in the past. The Upper Forth consequently became a place of great commercial moment.³⁷

Alloa no doubt benefitted from its close proximity to Bo’ness in the seventeenth century. It would be little additional effort for Dutch ships arriving at Bo’ness to sail up to Alloa, once

³¹ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty’s Customs and Port of Alloa*, 19. (Alloa Advertiser, 12/9/1868).

³² F. Wilkins, *The Smuggling Story of Two Firths*, 29.

³³ National Records of Scotland, GD124/17/511.

³⁴ William F. Hendrie, *Shipping of the River Forth*, 7-8.

³⁵ Thomas Tucker’s Report, reprinted in P. Hume Brown (editor), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 167.

³⁶ T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, 139.

³⁷ T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, 139.

their cargo had been unloaded, in order to take on coal for the return to Holland. The Dutch used coal for brewing, salt-making, soap-boiling, metal-working and other trades.³⁸ The Earl of Mar paid particular attention to the Dutch trade. In 1706 George Erskine, his factor at Alloa, wrote to him, 'I hope the great coal shall go well this winter, for I hear they are giving a better price in Holland than formerly.'³⁹

There is a suspicion that this early foreign trade went unregulated to an extent. In 1575 the crown was concerned about foreign ships carrying coal out of the country from Alloa without paying customs duties.⁴⁰ As Thomas Tucker commented in 1655, one solitary officer was responsible for overseeing all shipping at Alloa, Elphinstone and Kennet.⁴¹ The more trade increased, the harder it would be for this officer to take account of all shipping. The pre-1707 customs collection is known to have been inadequate in other ways: shipmasters were accustomed to leniency in the application of rules and regulations; customs officers could be unreliable and a tolerant attitude towards smuggling prevailed.

Some towns, individuals and groups of people were granted trading monopolies at various times by the crown. Examples include the royal burghs, among them Culross, Dunfermline, Linlithgow and Stirling, which held formal monopolies for most foreign trade until 1672, and the Culross hammermen, whose monopoly for the manufacture of iron girdles (a type of cooking griddle) was recognised and re-established in 1599 by King James VI.⁴² Alloa was not a royal burgh, but was made a burgh of barony and regality in 1620.⁴³ This gave the main landowner, the Earl of Mar, certain privileges, including the right to hold weekly markets and the right to hold trials for all local crimes except treason. These minor burgh towns were prohibited from participating in most foreign trade and became known as 'unfree' burghs. In granting monopolies, the crown was often primarily concerned with the collection of taxes and duties. Royal burghs collected the cess (local) tax in return for their trading privileges. The restrictions on foreign trade at unfree burghs no doubt slowed their growth, even if the rules were sometimes ignored: as in 1573, when Alloa Pow was used for the export of

³⁸ *Mar and Kellie Manuscripts*, 212-3 (15/3/1683).

³⁹ National Records of Scotland, GD124/15/427/2.

⁴⁰ Ross, *Historical Report (to c.1600) for Ochils Landscape Partnership*, 18.

⁴¹ Thomas Tucker's Report, reprinted in P. Hume Brown (editor), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 168.

⁴² *Culross*, National Trust for Scotland booklet, 3.

⁴³ John, Marquess of Bute, J. H. Stevenson & H. W. Lonsdale, *The Arms of the Baronial and Police Burghs of Scotland*, 17. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1903. www.archive.org [Date accessed: 19/10/2015].

contraband and unfree traders' goods.⁴⁴ The ban on foreign trade at unfree burghs was ratified by parliament as late as 1633.⁴⁵ Exceptions were made for coal, lime and stone.⁴⁶ Coal was exported by the proprietors of coal mines, including the Erskines, the Bruces and the Shaws.⁴⁷ There are indications that taxes and rents were paid by the coal proprietors to the crown, at rates which were set according to a valuation of the mines. These rates were lowered in 1649, after much protesting by the Forth coal proprietors to the Scottish Parliament. Sir Alexander Shaw of Sauchie had been a prominent campaigner for this revaluation.⁴⁸

Coal exports were prohibited at various times by the Scottish Parliament. In 1563, for example, a ban was in place, due to a scarcity of coal (or perhaps a fear of one) at home, caused by an increase in demand, both for domestic fuel and from salt works.⁴⁹ Most Forth coal proprietors are said to have ignored these bans.⁵⁰

A number of legal disputes took place between the royal burghs and the unfree burghs from 1669 to 1710, over access to foreign trade. In 1672 burghs of barony and regality were formally permitted to export and import most goods, in return for relieving the Convention of Royal Burghs of a proportion of the cess tax.⁵¹ Most ignored this option, because by doing so they attracted merchants who wished to avoid paying both the tax and also customs duties, which were based at the head port.⁵² Consequently, some of the monopolies of royal burghs were reinstated in 1690. Noblemen were still permitted to import goods for their own use.⁵³ It was not a return to the pre-1672 situation, however, and it was clear to some that a new trading and taxation structure was needed in order to promote the growth that was so desperately sought.

⁴⁴ Angus Graham, *Archaeological notes on some harbours in Eastern Scotland*, 212.

⁴⁵ RPS, 1672/6/13. [Date accessed: 16 October 2015].

⁴⁶ RPS, 1567/12/69. [Date accessed: 16 October 2015].

⁴⁷ W. C. Dickinson & G. Donaldson (editors), *A Source Book of Scottish History, Volume 3*, 314.

⁴⁸ John L. Carvel, *One Hundred Years in Coal. The History of the Alloa Coal Company*, 5.

⁴⁹ RPS, A1563/6/22. [Date accessed: 4 May 2015]; And. S. Cunningham, *Romantic Culross, Torryburn, Carnock, Cairneyhill, Saline and Pitfirrane*, 35.

⁵⁰ John L. Carvel, *One Hundred Years in Coal. The History of the Alloa Coal Company*, 5.

⁵¹ RPS, 1672/6/13. [Date accessed: 16 October 2015].

⁵² Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, 56.

⁵³ RPS, 1690/4/61. [Date accessed: 16 October 2015].

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Scotland risked and lost a significant proportion of its collective capital in a speculative trading venture. The Company of Scotland aimed to establish trading colonies in Africa and the Indies. The failure of the Darien colony on the Isthmus of Panama brought serious financial repercussions for investors and for the nation. Perhaps less well known locally is the fact that a number of sailors from Alloa, Clackmannan and Airth were among the crews of vessels which sailed with the first and second expeditions. The crew of the *Caledonia* included three men from Airth: Edward Dick, John Dick (the cook's assistant) and Andrew Nimmo. The vessel returned to Scotland in 1699. Also part of the first convoy was the *Unicorn*, which was abandoned at New York. Robert Buchanan of Alloa was one of its crew. The second expedition, which was sent to find out what had happened at Darien, included the *Hope* and the *Rising Sun*. Walter Mitchell of Alloa was a sailor on the former vessel, which was sold at Cartagena. The *Rising Sun* crew included two local men: James Turner of Alloa and Archibald Whytt of Clackmannan. This ship was lost in a hurricane off Charleston in August 1700, with all hands.⁵⁴

Scotland veered close to economic collapse after the failure of this venture. The Treaty of Union between Scotland and England was proposed in part as a solution to this crisis. It was backed by John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar, who served as one of the Scottish commissioners for its passage through Parliament. It is probably true that few worked as hard as he did to secure it. Others were less enthusiastic: addresses against it were drawn up in Clackmannan, and in Stirling, where a copy of the Articles of Union was burned in 1706.⁵⁵ The Act of Union was passed in 1707. It brought profound changes to the way in which trade was administered in Scotland.

⁵⁴ Scotland's People Wills and Testaments index.

⁵⁵ National Records of Scotland GD124/15/457/2; *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling 1667-1752*, 109-110.

Some pre-1707 shipmasters and merchants at Alloa.⁵⁶

George Adame [Adam], merchant (1702 will)
William Alexander, shipmaster (1679 will)
John Andersone [Anderson], merchant (1684 will of spouse)
John Arthur, younger, skipper in Alloway (Alloa) (1687 instrument of sasine)
James Bruce, merchant (1696 will)
James Chalmers, merchant (1662 will)
William Horne, merchant (1639 will of spouse)
David Kirk, merchant in Alloa (1701 feu document)
Francis Kirk, merchant in Alloa (1701 property document)
Patrick Meall, shipmaster (1675 will)
John Nicol, skipper in Alloa (1704 debt document)
William Nicol, skipper in Alloa (1704 debt document)
James Rennie, merchant (1679 will)
John Short, merchant (1623 will of spouse)
John Spalding, merchant (1707 will)
James Talbert, skipper in Alloway (Alloa) (1688 land document)
James Willsons [Wilson], shipmaster (1683 will)

⁵⁶ The information source for each name is given in brackets.

Section 2: 1707 to 1750

Daniel Defoe, author of Robinson Crusoe and much other writing, embarked on a tour of Britain in the 1720s and wrote about the places he visited, including Alloa.

There is a harbour for shipping, and ships of burthen may come safely up to it: And this is the place where the Glasgow merchants are, as I am told, erecting magazines or warehouses, to which they propose to bring their tobacco and sugars by land, and then to ship them for Holland or Hamburgh, or the Baltick, or England, as they find opportunity, or a market; and I doubt not but they will find their advantage in it.

The town is pleasant, well built, and full of trade; for the whole country has some business or other with them, and they have a better navigation than most of the towns on the Firth, for a ship of 300 ton may lye also at the very wharf; so that at Alloway a merchant may trade to all parts of the world, as well as at Leith or at Glasgow.

The High Street of Alloway reaches down to this harbour, and is a very spacious, well-built street, with rows of trees finely planted all the way. Here are several testimonies of the goodness of their trade, as particularly a large deal-yard, or place for laying up all sorts of Norway goods, which shews they have a commerce thither. They have large warehouses of naval stores; such as pitch, tar, hemp, flax, two saw mills for cutting or slitting of deals, and a rope-walk for making all sorts of ropes and cables for rigging and fitting of ships, with several other things, which convinces us they are no strangers to other trades, as well by sea as by land.

From Alloway, east, the country is call'd the Shire of Clackmannan, and is known for yielding the best of coal, and the greatest quantity of it of any country in Scotland; so that it is carry'd, not to Edinburgh only, but to England, to Holland, and to France; and they tell us of new pits, or mines of coal now discover'd, which will yield such quantities, and to easy to come at, as are never to be exhausted;(...)

(...) whereas, while the freight from Scotland is, as we know, so dear, and the tax in England continues so heavy, the price of these coals will always be so high at London, as will not fail to restrain the consumption; nor is it the interest of Scotland to send away so great a quantity of coal as shall either make a scarcity, or raise the price of them at home.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies*, 1723.
<http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Defoe> [Date accessed 17/4/2015].

Trade after the 1707 Union

The biggest catalyst for development in Alloa around the time of the 1707 Union was undoubtedly John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar (pictured below). He succeeded to his estates in 1689 and although saddled with inherited debts, soon began making improvements. He had a bold vision for growing the local economy and laid out a grand plan for the town and its industry. He invested much of his wealth in developing the infrastructure of the area, in the belief that this would be beneficial in the long term. He was responsible for building Gartmorn Dam, which provided water power to drain his coal mines. This scheme alone



brought about a sharp increase in coal output.⁵⁸ Water from the dam was later used to power several mills in the town and to flush silt from the harbour area. He upgraded the harbour itself and was instrumental in obtaining approval for a custom house in the town in 1710.⁵⁹ He encouraged the growth of ancillary trades at the shore, granting a tack of land to William Nicoll for a rope-work in 1714.⁶⁰ He created extensive gardens around Alloa Tower and linked the town with the harbour via Lime Tree Walk, a tree-lined promenade (also known as Sailors' Walk or John Street).

David Bruce of Clackmannan also spent considerable sums of money circa 1700 in reconditioning the coal works at Clackmannan and Sauchie, but he inherited unexpected debts from his father and was forced to seek protection from his creditors, in effect going bankrupt.⁶¹

⁵⁸ M. Stewart, *John Erskine, Earl of Mar: Architecture, Landscape & Industry*, 107.

⁵⁹ National Records of Scotland, GD124/18/12.

⁶⁰ National Records of Scotland, GD124/17/264.

⁶¹ W. Downing Bruce, *Collections Toward A History Of Clackmannan*, 32. [Accessed online at National Library of Scotland, www.nls.uk Histories of Scottish Families on 2/2/2016].

Most customs and excise duties were standardised throughout Britain in 1707. Scottish imports, exports, prohibited goods, allowances and drawbacks (refunded duties on re-exported goods) were, from this time forward, governed in the main by the same laws as in England. As part of the Union agreement, Scotland was to pay a contribution towards England's national debt. This was to come from taxation. Scotland received much needed cash in return, known as the Equivalent, which was used in part to compensate investors in the failed Company of Scotland. Many duties in Scotland were increased as part of this process. The extra burdens were ill-received among the Scottish people and were one of the biggest sources of resentment towards the Union. The increase in the number of customs and excise court cases, and the new, harsher financial penalties which were dealt out, gave rise to numerous protests. The lack of public consultation in the negotiation process for the Union was another factor. Shortly after the Union, the Earl of Glasgow wrote to the Earl of Mar, 'Not only are our merchants much alarmed but our people are in unaccountable ferment.'⁶² In August 1707 Sir David Dalrymple wrote to Mar

There is indeed great need for a watchful eye upon the people of this country. There arise every day new subjects of complaints. The execution of the new rules about the excise makes our brewers mad, and they have been in mutinies here, and it will be yet more uneasy in the country.⁶³

There must have been optimism among some in the town around the time of the Union, given all the changes which were taking place on the ground. Merchant burgesses from the royal burghs, some of the landed gentry and other people of means were best placed to gain the most from the Union at its outset. Some merchants bought their own ships, or spread the risk by taking part-shares in several vessels. Others chartered ships owned by third parties. It was common practice for several merchants to hire space on the same vessel for a voyage. The number of ships based at Alloa grew from 18 to 60 in the first five years of Union.⁶⁴ The largest of these was the *Robert*, William Nicoll master, which could carry 300 tons. It was said by Defoe that ships of this size could lie at the quayside at Alloa, due to the excellent

⁶² *Mar & Kellie Manuscripts*, 394.

⁶³ *Mar & Kellie Manuscripts*, 410.

⁶⁴ Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland 1650-1790*, 124.

depth of water.⁶⁵ The average tonnage of ships based at the port was, however, much lower, at 34 tons.⁶⁶

Some things did not change after the Union. Collier serfdom remained in force. The Erskines continued to charge gate mail for the use of their coal road. Local farmers and brewers were still obliged to use the mill of the barony and pay multures for the privilege.

The Earl of Mar's optimism was relatively short-lived. He was dismissed from political office following a post-Union election and then became involved in the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion. He was sought for trial by the British government and was forced to flee the country, spending the remainder of his life in exile. Many others who took part in the rebellion were executed. A close watch was kept on the coast around Scotland for signs of escaping rebels. In September 1716 the *Jean* of Alloa, James Lawrie master, was lying in Perth Harbour, bound for Rotterdam. Lawrie was forced to give bond not to aid any escaping Jacobites.⁶⁷

Coal output at Alloa is known to have slumped directly after John Erskine's exile. This may have been due to the need for repairs to his water wheel and coal gins, in addition to the lack of a driving force on the estate and the disruption to trade caused by the rebellion itself.⁶⁸ The Alloa estate was purchased in 1724 by John Erskine's brother, James Erskine (a lord of session, known as Lord Grange) and David Erskine of Dun. The coal trade continued after Mar's departure, but the new owners were perhaps unable to invest in the town on the same scale.

Alloa's main shipping trade in the eighteenth century was a coastal one. Defoe's account of the town in the 1720s points to a thriving shipping trade in general. He was, admittedly, a propagandist for the Union and a spy for the British government, but some of his account can be verified from other sources. There were shipments of food and crops, both into and out of the port. Cod fish arrived at Alloa from Kirkwall.⁶⁹ Wheat, corn, barley, meal and oats were sent from other Scottish ports, including Leith, Thurso and Prestonpans. Barley, bear, peas

⁶⁵ Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies*, 1723. <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Defoe> [Date accessed 17/4/2015].

⁶⁶ Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland 1650-1790*, 124.

⁶⁷ National Records of Scotland, B59/30/29. Held at Perth and Kinross District Archive.

⁶⁸ M. Stewart, *John Erskine, Earl of Mar: Architecture, Landscape & Industry*, 107.

⁶⁹ *Extracts from the Alloa Customs Records 1718 – 1750*, 47. (8/10/1731). [Hereafter: *Alloa Customs Records*].

and beans were sent out of Alloa; some the produce of the Mar estate. Alloa-based ships travelled up and down the east coast, taking what work they could find. For example, the *Erskine* of Alloa, Nicol master, travelled to Aberdeen with great salt in June 1750, then went to Dundee, carrying oatmeal. Again, in July 1750, the *Jean* of Alloa, Nicol master, went from Aberdeen to Newcastle in ballast, then back to Aberdeen with coal and bottles, then to Kirkcaldy in ballast and back to Aberdeen with salt, before returning to the Firth of Forth in ballast. Cargos of beef were brought to Leith from Aberdeen in Alloa boats.⁷⁰ Shipments of woollen goods, salt, lead, iron and timber from this time have also been documented. The vessels involved in the coastal trade tended to be relatively small. Bricks, stone, tiles and turf were also shipped, but do not appear in the customs records, being exempt from duty. Malting was carried on to a large extent in the town and malt was sent coastwise from Alloa as far as Shetland. So much of the meal which was ground at Alloa was sent out of the place in 1741 that there was a shortage among the people. A number of women seized about 20 bolls of meal from a gentleman in the town and, ‘after some resistance,’ sold it out at the market price.⁷¹

From the early eighteenth century, Alloa’s foreign trade was mainly with Norway, Sweden, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal and Virginia, North America. Imports consisted chiefly of timber, deals and iron from Norway and Sweden; flax, tow, soap, pearl ashes, linseed, wainscot and Geneva from Holland; wine, brandy and dried fruits from France, Spain and Portugal; and tobacco from Virginia. A wide variety of other articles were imported on occasion, including paper, hides, linen, starch, hops, ‘succus liquoritice’ and toys. An example of a varied cargo, which probably arrived from Holland, is listed in the Alloa Customs Records for 21/1/1737.⁷² The goods found on board the *Charity* of Alloa, George Couper master, included:

2 bags, 10 canisters, 6 half-canisters of tea (30 lbs)
 One bag and one parcel of raw coffee (23 lbs)
 One anker and four stone bottles of Geneva (12 gallons)
 Two stone bottles of brandy (3 ½ gallons)
 One bag of pepper (9 lbs)
 One paper of cinnamon (3/4 lbs)

⁷⁰ See Appendix 2 for examples.

⁷¹ Caledonian Mercury 31/8/1741, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 5/8/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

⁷² G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty’s Customs and Port of Alloa*, 18-19. (Alloa Advertiser, 12/9/1868).

One anker of sack (7 gallons)
19 bottles of wine
Six calico bed carpets
Two yards of stained calico
11 pieces and five handkerchiefs, 120 yards

High duty goods:
26 barrels of Flemish soap
Four matts of battery (supposed to be hardware)
15 hanks of iron wire
Six bundles of paper
Two remnants of velvet
Two pieces of Holland linen
Four bundles of foreign bibles

Imports of dyestuffs, including verdigris, bright madder and indigo, are noted in the customs accounts for the 1740s. These were commonly used in the woollen industry. Exports of woollen goods (described as 'British woollendry') are also noted at the time. They were sent to such places as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Campvere.

Some vessels part-landed their cargos at one port and took the remainder to another. Some crossed back and forth over the North Sea. For example, the *Mary* of Airth arrived from Bilbao in January 1738, carrying wine, chestnuts and walnuts for Alloa, and then proceeded to Norway with the remainder of its cargo, consisting of more wine, salt and five small boxes (contents unknown).⁷³

Other businesses grew around the harbour area in support of trade and shipping, including a timber yard, ships' stores, nailers and iron workers. Shipbuilding and ship repairs took place at the shore. The aforementioned William Nicoll owned the Custom House and is thought to have been one of the more prosperous merchants in the town.⁷⁴ Management of the harbour remained in the hands of the Erskines until 1754, when control passed to the Alloa Harbour Trust, which was formed in that year.

⁷³ *Alloa Customs Records*, 108. (24/1/1738).

⁷⁴ National Records of Scotland, GD124/6/222

The tobacco trade

There was, as mentioned by Defoe, an emerging tobacco trade at Alloa after the Union. Before 1707 the Scottish tobacco trade was small and was stifled by English tariffs and regulations. Scottish merchants gained access, by way of the Union, to England's colonies and plantations in the West Indies and America. Other nations were prohibited from such trade and were forced, when trading with these colonies, to buy goods, such as sugar and tobacco, through Britain. In 1714 an Act of Parliament was passed for encouraging the trade in tobacco throughout the country. Fortunes were made by importing it from Virginia and selling it on or re-exporting it to the Continent. Scottish merchants took advantage of the shorter Atlantic crossing from Glasgow, round the north coast of Ireland, compared to ships travelling from Bristol, London and other ports in the south. The difference in journey time was as much as two to three weeks each way. Consequently, the trade gravitated to Glasgow. A new class of wealthy merchants emerged in the city. After crossing the Atlantic, cargos were landed either at ports on the west coast, including Port Glasgow and Greenock, or on the east coast, for example at Dundee. They were often split on arrival into smaller amounts for re-shipping or selling on.

Alloa became a staging post for re-exports of tobacco to the Continent. Some shipments landed on the west side of Scotland were carried overland to Alloa and Bo'ness on carts or by pack-horse train.⁷⁵ Some sea-going vessels brought consignments directly from Virginia to Alloa. For example, the *Mackenzie* of Leith, John Esdale master, followed this route in November 1732 and again in January 1734, bringing 239,004 pounds weight of tobacco on the latter trip.⁷⁶ The quantities on these direct shipments were greater than the customs officers at Alloa had been used to; so much so that the collector was granted additional weights in 1732 in order to deal with them.⁷⁷ They were usually split into smaller quantities for exportation, either by the importer or by other merchants. Agents acted on behalf of the importer in some instances. Shipments also arrived from Dundee; for example, the *Clementina* of Glasgow, Alexander Stirling master, in May 1734.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 6. (Alloa Advertiser, 23/5/1868).

⁷⁶ *Alloa Customs Records*, 54. (19/12/1732); 75. (11/2/1734).

⁷⁷ *Alloa Customs Records*, 54. (29/11/1732).

⁷⁸ *Alloa Customs Records*, 82. (21/5/1734).

Tobacco was shipped from Alloa to Campvere, Rotterdam and Shirdam in Holland; Bergen, Longsund and Mandal in Norway; Gothenburg in Sweden; and Bremen in Germany. Shipments also went to London and places along the east coast. Some went on specially chartered vessels, while smaller amounts might find a place on ships carrying other items.

A 'Mr Wattson' owned tobacco cellars in Alloa, as did Messrs Colhoun & Co.⁷⁹ Lawrence Dundas and Lord Elphinstone owned cellars at Elphinstone and there were others at Airth and Bo'ness where tobacco was stored.⁸⁰ Defoe pointed in his account to warehouses being built in Alloa by Glasgow merchants for the same purpose.⁸¹ An indication of the scale of the trade in the 1730s can be found in customs letters from 1734, when the Board of Customs directed the collector at Alloa to take all seized tobacco to the King's warehouse. The collector replied that even though Alloa customs had the use of more warehousing space than ever before, it could not contain one sixth of the tobacco found in merchants' cellars at Airth, Elphinstone and 'this place over the water' (Alloa).⁸²

The First Statistical Account for Alloa states that 'formerly this Parish was famous for manufacturing tobacco; but it has long since lost its reputation for that article; although there is still a little snuff made here.'⁸³ Tobacco and snuff were processed by George and John Pearson at their Jellyholm Brae works, near Gartmorn Dam in Sauchie.⁸⁴ John Pearson was described as 'Tobacconist in Alloa' in his 1743 will. Alloa Roll and Pigtail, manufactured by the Pearsons, were popular from the mid-eighteenth century and were even sold in London, Bath and Oxford.⁸⁵

According to G.C. Coats, the tobacco trade at Alloa peaked between 1730 and 1740, and afterwards went into decline.⁸⁶ This would coincide with the gravitation of the trade towards Glasgow from about 1740. The interruption to shipping at Alloa caused by the 1745 Jacobite

⁷⁹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 86-87. (9/9/1734).

⁸⁰ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 5. (Alloa Advertiser, 23/5/1868).

⁸¹ Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies*, 1723. <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Defoe> [Date accessed 17/4/2015].

⁸² *Alloa Customs Records*, 88. (10/9/1734 & 18/9/1734).

⁸³ Rev. James Frame & J.F. Erskine, *First Statistical Account of Alloa*, 621.

⁸⁴ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Clackmannan/Alloa/8/51/> [Date accessed 1/5/2015].

⁸⁵ Public Advertiser (London), 24/2/1758; Bath Chronicle, 23/9/1784; Oxford Journal, 6/7/1765. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 4/8/2015].

⁸⁶ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 6. (Alloa Advertiser, 23/5/1868).

Rebellion may have been another factor. The re-export tobacco trade in Scotland as a whole peaked in 1771 and ended abruptly when the American colonists gained their independence in 1783. Thereafter they could trade freely with the Continent.

A list of merchants engaged in the tobacco trade in Alloa customs precinct⁸⁷

Alexander Abercromby (Alloa)
William Alexander
Bailie Allan (Stirling)
Hugh Baillie
Mrs Beny
John Blair
Thomas Blair (Dundee)
Archibald Campbell
Colin Campbell
James Colhoun (Alloa)
Robert Colhoun (Alloa)
Mr Corbett
Henry Foggos (Glasgow)
William Foggos (Glasgow)
David Fotheringhame (Montrose)
Robert Gilmore (Agent)
Archibald Gray (Glasgow)
William Henry (Cambus)
John Hunter
Thomas Jamieson (Falkirk)
Johnss., Bogle and Baird (Glasgow)
James Kirk (Agent)
John Kirk (Agent)
John Luke (Port Glasgow)
James Mackie
Samuel McCaul
Andrew Mitchell
John Mitchell (Glasgow)
Mr Niccoll
John Ogilvie (Airth agent)
Thomas Ogilvy (Dundee)
Alexander Oswald (Glasgow)
Archibald Oswald (Glasgow)
Richard Oswald (Glasgow)
William Paterson (Alloa tobacconist)

⁸⁷ Compiled from *Alloa Customs Records*; F. Wilkins, *The Smuggling Story of Two Firths*; G.C. Coats's articles. See Appendix 1 for further information.

Henry Patullo (Dundee)
George Pearson (Alloa manufacturer of tobacco and snuff)
John Pearson (Alloa manufacturer of tobacco and snuff)
John Ramsay (Dundee)
William Rankine (Dundee)
Robert Renny (Alloa tobacconist)
John Ritchie (Glasgow)
Gilbert Robertson (Airth)
James Robertson
Peter Rolland (Dunfermline)
Robert Russell (Falkirk tobacconist)
Andrew Scott (Agent)
John Stark (Glasgow)
John Stein (Airth)
Patrick Stevenson (Stirling)
James Watson (Alloa/Edinburgh)
John Watson
James Weir (Stirling)

The Customs collection after 1707

The main purpose behind the employment of customs officers has always been to ensure that the relevant duties are paid on all cargos which enter or leave the country, or are shipped coastwise. Essentially these duties are taxes, levied on goods or raw materials which are on their way to market. The collection of duties developed in tandem with trade and has long been an important source of revenue for the crown or state, helping to pay for its operation and, it must be said, many a war. During the eighteenth century, rates could be set at levels which encouraged or discouraged trade with certain countries. For example, French wine imports were at times taxed at a higher rate than Spanish wines. In 1728 the British government prohibited wool exports in order to prevent a rival Swedish manufacture from using imported British wool and workmen.⁸⁸ Duty levels have often risen during times of conflict, in order to pay down the cost of the war. They have also been used as levers, by which means essential home demand might be met more effectively. For example, before the 1707 Union the Scottish Parliament prohibited coal and salt exports at times when there were national shortages.

⁸⁸ *Alloa Customs Records*, 37. (26/11/1728).

A reorganisation of Scotland's ports took place after the Union. The classification of ports was standardised throughout Britain. Seventeen places in Scotland were designated as 'ports' (also referred to as 'outports' or 'headports'), each overseeing several 'member ports' and/or 'creeks.' Bo'ness was made one of the seventeen main ports. Alloa was its only member port. A petition asking for a custom house to be sited at Alloa was sent by the local ships' captains to John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar, dated 13 September 1710.⁸⁹ In the letter, the skippers complained about the inconvenience of having to go to Bo'ness for a sufferance before they could load cargo and again for a cocquet before they could sail. These hindrances had resulted in several of them slipping convoy. Leaving ships unattended off Bo'ness while going ashore to obtain such documents, was also unsafe in times of stormy weather.⁹⁰ A letter sent to the Board of Customs stated that Alloa customs returns prior to 29 September 1710 were to be found at Bo'ness, indicating that Alloa was granted its own custom house soon after the petition was sent.⁹¹ The local reorganisation of ports was formalised on 30 November 1713 by a commission of Her Majesty's (i.e. Queen Anne's) Court of Exchequer. It is likely that Alloa harbour was upgraded before the grant of a custom house was formally agreed. The document setting out the limits of Alloa customs precinct in 1713 refers to a 'key or pier there containing in length 606 foot and breadth 60 foot.'⁹²

The area covered by Alloa port was defined as extending eastward from the Bridge of Stirling along the north side of the river to the east side of the New Pans of Kincardine and along the south side to the east side of the New Miln Burn or Pow of Higgins Neuk. The document names Airth and Stirling creeks as being within the Alloa precinct, as well as all other landing places within the above defined boundaries. These included Cambus, Clackmannan Pow, Cock's Pow, Elphinstone, Fallin Pow, Kennetpans and Kincardine. The creeks under Bo'ness port were Queensferry, Blackness, Avon Water, Carron Mouth, Culross, Torryburn, Limekilns and Inverkeithing.⁹³

Customs staff numbers were increased after the Union and more rigorous attempts to police the coastline were made. The staff at each port comprised the collector of customs, the

⁸⁹ *Mar & Kellie Manuscripts*, 487.

⁹⁰ National Records of Scotland, GD124/18/12.

⁹¹ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 1. (Alloa Advertiser, 9/5/1868).

⁹² G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 2. (Alloa Advertiser, 9/5/1868).

⁹³ Frances Wilkins, *Scottish Customs & Excise Records, with particular reference to Strathclyde from 1707 onwards*, 5.

comptroller, the clerk, surveyors, landwaiters, tidewaiters and boatmen. By 1723 at least twelve men were employed in various roles within the Alloa precinct. The collector's responsibilities included managing the customs staff and dealing with merchants, ship owners and captains. He was answerable to the Board of Customs. He received intelligence from the Board and from other custom houses, concerning suspected smuggling operations in the area under his watch. He was also kept informed about the various tricks and scams used by merchants and ships' masters in the avoidance of customs duties. Walter Grosett, collector of customs at Alloa from 1729 to 1747, was also described as the riding officer of the salt, responsible for the collection of salt duties. Riding officers patrolled a 10 mile stretch of coast, usually on horseback.⁹⁴ Grosett received an annual salary of £30 Sterling.⁹⁵ Customs officers were required to sign an oath of allegiance to the reigning monarch.

The comptroller was the collector's deputy and was responsible for the accounting and financial aspects of the customs port. The tidewaiters' duties were to meet ships as they arrived on the tide, to board them and to ensure that all goods were discharged under the jurisdiction of the landwaiting staff. The tide surveyor was in charge of the King's boat. The crews of the King's boats received bounty payments when smugglers were caught, in addition to a small salary. The land surveyor was in charge of the landwaiting staff. Landwaiters oversaw the landing of all goods, calculated duties payable and ensured that goods were not released until duty had been paid or acceptable security given. Those stationed inland, for example at Stirling Bridge, were known as land carriage waiters. Their job was to ensure that duties were paid on cargos travelling overland. Those at Stirling Bridge during the eighteenth century were particularly concerned with the collection of tobacco duties, because large amounts of tobacco were carried overland from Perth, Dundee and the Glasgow area. Boatmen, also known as tidesmen, were stationed at creeks within the limits of the port. They were sometimes placed on board vessels heading down the Firth of Forth, in order to prevent the running of goods. Occasionally they were carried abroad, instead of being dropped off at the mouth of the Forth. In 1727 the collector at Alloa was directed to pay sixpence per day to Charles Greig for the maintenance of William Thomson, tidesman, after the latter was carried to Gothenburg on Greig's ship.⁹⁶ In 1735 James Corrie, tidesman,

⁹⁴ Gavin D. Smith, *The Scottish Smuggler*, 22. Edinburgh, 2003.

⁹⁵ *Alloa Customs Records*, 87. (10/9/1734).

⁹⁶ *Alloa Customs Records*, 34. (18/5/1727).

was sent down the Forth on the *Lilly* of Airth, which was also bound for Gothenburg. Corrie was believed to have been carried abroad.⁹⁷

Smuggling after 1707

Research into any aspect of history can be made difficult by a scarcity of available source material. One would perhaps think this to be the case where smuggling is concerned, due to its secretive nature and the desire to leave no trace behind on the part of the smugglers. Fortunately, however, some primary material exists within the customs records, which at least illuminates one side of the story. The smuggler's tale remains partly obscured by myths, secrecy and folklore.

Writing in 1868 about customs collection during the eighteenth century, G.C. Coats, collector at Alloa, said: 'It seems evident that at that time parties endeavoured to defraud the public revenue in every way possible and frequently succeeded, notwithstanding the efforts made to defeat their objects.'⁹⁸ Widespread smuggling and customs fraud after the Union was a major headache for customs officers, who lacked both the numbers of personnel and the necessary force to tackle the issue. They were frequently outnumbered and outwitted. A number of beatings of officers were reported in the Alloa precinct, many of them quite severe in nature. Applications for military back-up were made by the collector of customs at Alloa and it was often only when these were granted that the customs staff gained the upper hand.

The primary motive for smuggling was obviously profit. The returns which could be made, particularly from smuggling high value goods, clearly outweighed the risks and, if caught occasionally, the penalties as well. It is also true that for many decades after the Union there was little, if any, sense of shame attached to the practice in Scotland. Those who were against the Union and those who favoured the Stuart dynasty over the Hanoverian Kings, found additional satisfaction in the knowledge that smuggling deprived the government of revenue. Collusion between smugglers and other parties was widespread; merchants, justices of the peace, some customs officers and people from all sections of society, from the poor through to the landed gentry, are known to have aided the efforts of the smuggler. Customs and excise

⁹⁷ *Alloa Customs Records*, 99. (5/5/1735).

⁹⁸ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 4. (Alloa Advertiser, 9/5/1868).

men were some of the most unpopular characters in Scotland. Their role in thwarting smuggling operations, and in bringing prosecutions for contraventions of import and export regulations, did nothing to endear them to a large section of the people. Smuggling was, however, resented after the Union, not only by the state, but also by those merchants who followed the new rules. They could not compete with smugglers on price and their businesses suffered.

Officers at Alloa were given detailed information by the Board, concerning known methods of customs evasion, fraud and smuggling. Various tricks were employed by ships' captains and merchants, from making false or short reports of cargos, to hiding or disguising goods. Among the latter category were barrels with double bottoms, in which goods could be hidden; high duty goods hidden in bundles of old iron or tow; groups of ten or twelve pictures framed as one large picture; steel wire tied in the manner of iron wire; coarse paper placed on the outside of bundles of fine paper; 48 sheets of paper packed into one quire, when it should contain only 24; deals entered as battens; and so on. Some smuggling vessels were specially fitted with secret compartments in the cabin or hold. Sometimes goods were simply hidden underneath the main cargo, in the hope that customs officers would not detect them. All of these methods and more had the aim of avoiding the whole duties or part thereof.

Some smugglers made no attempt to hide their intended run goods. Instead, the voyage itself was disguised as a legitimate one. So-called 'pretended voyages' were common occurrences in the eighteenth century. Smugglers concocted various pretexts for being in Scottish coastal waters, in case they were stopped by a customs boat. Common excuses included stress of weather, the need for repairs, want of provisions or crew and the need to obtain instructions from the merchant. If a smuggling vessel managed to evade the customs boats, then the goods would be landed either at a pre-arranged or an opportune place.

The most commonly used ploy was stress of weather. The Forth was part of a triangular trade route with the Baltic and the Low countries. Ships regularly criss-crossed the North Sea carrying entirely legitimate cargos. Smuggling vessels from Holland or Sweden might take out a clearance for a Norwegian port, but with the real intention to land the goods somewhere along the east coast of Scotland. If stopped by customs, the Norwegian clearance would be produced and the master would claim to have been blown off course by strong or contrary winds. Although customs officers were well aware of this ploy, cases could be difficult to

prove in court. Evidence concerning weather conditions at the time of a seizure, including statements from other ships in the area, was on occasion sought by the Board in order to prove or disprove such a claim.⁹⁹

It was relatively unusual, though not unknown, for vessels to be driven up the Forth as far as Alloa by strong winds. Customs officers were forced to make quick judgements as to the likelihood of a successful prosecution, before making a seizure. Even Walter Grosett, one of Alloa's most zealous collectors of customs, did not always win in court. In 1729 he seized a large amount of brandy, spices and other goods from the ship of a Captain Butcher (or Boucher) of Montrose, which had sailed from Holland to the Forth at Alloa. Butcher brought a legal action against Grosett and the crown, and was the victor in court, being in possession of a clearance for Bergen.¹⁰⁰ If it was decided not to seize the suspect goods, then the master of the ship would be directed to proceed on his way at the first fair wind. He might then make another attempt to smuggle his cargo ashore somewhere along the coast.¹⁰¹

Matters were further complicated by so-called 'double entry' voyages. It was legal for a vessel to sail from a foreign port, carrying goods for two different countries. A captain had only to take out such a clearance in order to excuse his being in the Forth. Typically, the part of the cargo which had been declared for a Forth port would be of low value, whereas the cargo cleared for the foreign port (i.e. the intended 'run' goods) would consist of high duty goods or items which were prohibited as imports in Britain. In 1735 the *James* of Airth, John Connochie master, arrived at Alloa from Rotterdam, carrying 100 firkins of soap and other goods. The master reported the duty-free and low duty goods for this country and the high duty and prohibited goods for Bergen, Norway. This aroused the suspicions of the customs. John Cowan, merchant in Stirling, who owned the goods, was later prevailed upon to report the entire cargo for this country.¹⁰²

Vessels arriving from foreign ports were prohibited from taking on board goods from a Scottish port for shipping coastwise, as were ships sailing from Scotland to a foreign port. If

⁹⁹ F. Wilkins, *The Smuggling Story of Two Firths*, 41.

¹⁰⁰ Daily Post, 11/11/1729. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 4/8/2015]; Caledonian Mercury, 20/7/1730, 3-4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 4/8/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

¹⁰¹ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 7. (Alloa Advertiser, 23/5/1868).

¹⁰² *Alloa Customs Records*, 100-101. (19/9/1735 & 1/10/1735).

such voyages had been legal, there would have been far more smuggling of goods overseas without paying duties.¹⁰³

Another trick was to enter French wine as Spanish when the latter paid a lower rate of duty.¹⁰⁴ This occurred when Britain was on more favourable trade terms with Spain than France. In 1718, for example, the *Grayhound* of Bo'ness arrived in the Forth, carrying what the master declared to be wine from Bilbao. The Board received information that the ship had in fact travelled from Bordeaux. The cargo was seized and Alloa customs officers tasted the wine in order to establish its country of origin. They were unable to decide if it was French or Spanish and experienced difficulty in procuring sufficient bottles to send samples to Edinburgh. Eventually the Court of Exchequer imposed a fine upon the merchants of £4 per ton of wine.

The East India Company held a monopoly over imports of certain goods to Britain, including tea, spices, porcelain, cotton, silks and fine Indian textiles.¹⁰⁵ These items were expensive even before duty was added. Their importation was prohibited, unless purchased through the London office of the company. This situation provided an ideal opportunity for the Scottish and European smuggler. The same goods could be purchased through other European East India companies and brought illegally into the country. As much as two thirds of Scotland's tea is said to have been smuggled in this way.¹⁰⁶

Coal and the customs

The 1707 Act of Union included tax concessions for Scottish coal and salt works. Coal shipped coastwise from the Forth as far as Dunbar or Redhead, just NE of Arbroath, paid no duty. This benefitted the Forth's landed coal proprietors, who retained an advantage over Newcastle coal and protected their local market. Alloa coal was commonly sent to Leith and other ports on the east coast of Scotland after 1707. Attempts were also made to break into

¹⁰³ *Alloa Customs Records*, 23. (4/2/1724).

¹⁰⁴ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 6. (Alloa Advertiser, 23/5/1868).

¹⁰⁵ Frances Wilkins, *The Smuggling Story of Two Firths*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ Frances Wilkins, *The Smuggling Story of Two Firths*, 24.

the London trade. The Earl of Mar wrote to his brother on this subject in 1712.¹⁰⁷ By 1738 as many as 30 small vessels might be loading coal at Alloa at one time.¹⁰⁸

Coal exports paid a higher rate of duty than did coastwise shipments beyond Dunbar or Redhead. These different rates gave rise to customs evasion and smuggling. Some shipmasters attempted either to avoid paying duty, or to pay a lesser rate than was due. Various methods were used. Most commonly, a Forth clearance was obtained and the coal was then taken abroad or to the north. Coastwise shipments of coal were weighed at the port of discharge (i.e. the destination port). Exports were dealt with more strictly and were weighed at the port of shipment. It was common practice to under-declare amounts of coal cleared for shipping coastwise and then sail to a foreign port and sell the cargo. Upon his return, the master would claim that he had been blown overseas by gales and would pay duty on the amount declared in the coastwise clearance, generally about a third or fourth less than the actual amount.¹⁰⁹

Discussions took place between 1723 and 1730 among the Board of Customs, the Forth coal proprietors and the collectors of customs at Forth ports, regarding procedures for shipping coal. The Board was under directions from government to harmonise customs procedures throughout Britain and to combat losses to the revenue from smuggling and lax practices. In December 1723 the Board complained about the 'very loose and irregular manner' in which coal shipments were managed at Alloa.¹¹⁰ The difficulties in accurately assessing coal quantities, which mattered to the customs and to buyers and sellers, are illustrated in a report written by the collector at Alloa in 1723 at the request of the Board. The report details the methods used for weighing coal and calculating duties at Alloa, Clackmannan and Airth. Although all three places were within the same customs precinct, each used different procedures for measuring and weighing coal. Ten chalders of Sauchie or Alloa coal was assessed as weighing nine tons; each chalders consisting of five small cartloads. At Clackmannan one chalders was assessed at one ton. At Airth, from where very little coal was shipped, it was brought to the harbour in bags, a few of which were weighed and from this the total estimated. From January 1724 all coal was to be weighed by a standard measure: great coal at 20 cwt to the ton; small coal by the Winchester Bushell, 36 of which made one

¹⁰⁷ National Records of Scotland, GD124/15/1047/11

¹⁰⁸ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 33. (Alloa Advertiser, 16/7/1870).

¹⁰⁹ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 3-4. (Alloa Advertiser, 9/5/1868).

¹¹⁰ *Alloa Customs Records*, 20. (6/12/1723).

chalder.¹¹¹ New scales, weights and triangular beams were requested by customs staff at each place, in addition to a bushell measure for Alloa.

The powerful coal proprietors found some new rules imposed after the Union to be a 'great incumbrance' to trade.¹¹² In July 1724 a number of Forth coal proprietors complained about procedures for shipping coal within the Firth of Forth. They regarded the fees charged by customs officers and the delays caused by being obliged to take out clearances, to be a discouragement to their business. The Board directed that these shipments were in future to be allowed without clearance from customs. The collector at Alloa promptly replied that this would encourage the taking of coal abroad or to the north of the country, under pretence of shipping it within the Forth. Further information was sought by the Board and collectors were ordered to gather intelligence about such shipments. In 1730 the collector at Alloa detailed several instances of coal being taken abroad in this way. For example, the *Primrose* of Elphinstone, Andrew Ross master, took a shipment abroad in August 1728 without paying export duty.¹¹³ Some ships from foreign ports smuggled their cargos in the Forth and then loaded with coal at a creek. If stopped by customs, they pretended to be heading for Leith, for which no clearance was required. If undetected they would take the coal abroad. In light of these and other malpractices, from February 1730, vessels were obliged to take out a clearance for any coal loaded at a Forth port for shipping coastwise and to give bond to land the cargo at a British port. To lessen the burden on the coal proprietors, only one trip to the custom house was deemed necessary and a limit was placed on the fees which could be charged by customs officers.

Tobacco and the customs

After the Union there were no restrictions in Scotland as to the ports from which tobacco could be re-exported, nor were there any crown locks on tobacco warehouses. Tobacco duties were usually paid upon importation and the merchant was given a certificate as proof. He was then allowed credit to the amount specified on the certificate. If he sold some of the tobacco on, the amount was deducted from his credit. If the tobacco was cleared for re-exportation, the duty was refunded or 'drawn back,' following the submission of a document, known as a

¹¹¹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 22. (24/1/1724).

¹¹² *Alloa Customs Records*, 26. (22/7/1724).

¹¹³ *Alloa Customs Records*, 40. (16/1/1730).

debenture, to the customs after the tobacco had been shipped. This system was open to fraud. Tobacco declared for exportation was often smuggled somewhere along the coast and sold at a reduced price, the duty having been reclaimed; thereby undercutting law-abiding merchants. For example, in 1736 30 hogsheads containing 20,528 pounds of tobacco were seized by customs from an Elphinstone vessel. The quantity found on the vessel was less than had been declared for exportation, indicating that some had been smuggled from the ship.¹¹⁴

From May 1733 the Board directed that two detailed cargo manifests for each shipment of tobacco were to be taken at Virginia. One was to be handed to the naval officer there, while the other was to be produced upon arrival in Scotland, to be checked by customs officers.¹¹⁵ This was part of a crackdown on customs evasion and smuggling. The 1751 Tobacco Act was aimed at eliminating drawback fraud. Stricter new rules were introduced for the weighing, marking and release of tobacco by customs. Drawback could be claimed on damaged parcels of tobacco only if they were given up to the customs, to be burned in front of an independent witness.¹¹⁶

The customs collection at Stirling

In addition to the re-export trade in tobacco, large quantities were carried overland from such places as Perth, Dundee and Glasgow, via Stirling Bridge, en route to domestic markets, including the Stirling area. For example, in 1751 1,169 hogsheads of tobacco passed Stirling Bridge. The duty amounted to £24,484.¹¹⁷ Land carriage waiters, stationed on the bridge, were given the task of checking if duty had been paid on tobacco and other goods. If no certificate of proof could be shown, then the cargo might be impounded in Stirling Castle, pending further investigation. If no proof was produced by the merchant within a specified time and the duty remained unpaid, then the goods would be condemned and resold or burned on behalf of the customs.

Although Stirling was within the precinct of Alloa port, its customs operation was under the supervision of the Glasgow collection. Evidently there were difficulties at Stirling Bridge,

¹¹⁴ London Daily Post and General Advertiser, 13/3/1736. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 4/8/2015].

¹¹⁵ *Alloa Customs Records*, 64. (28/5/1733).

¹¹⁶ Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland 1650-1790*, 197-198.

¹¹⁷ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 15-16. (Alloa Advertiser, 25/7/1868).

because experienced land carriage waiters were drafted in from Glasgow in order to assist over periods of several months in 1729, 1733 and 1738.¹¹⁸ David Ramage, the senior Glasgow land carriage waiter sent to Stirling, was given the tasks of improving collection rates and making seizures where appropriate. The Board applied to the military for a sergeant and six men, to be stationed in a guardhouse near the bridge. Land carriage waiters had orders to keep watch day and night, taking turns in shifts. Reports on the effectiveness of these measures were asked for in the first two instances. In 1733 the customs officer at Stirling Bridge stated in response that he kept *no accounts* of tobacco passed and duty paid. The collector suspected that he had been warned against doing so by someone.¹¹⁹

In April 1728 John Muirhead, collector at Alloa, offered a reward of £20 Sterling for information leading to prosecution in a case of deforcement on board the *Margaret* of Alloa at Stirling. Notices were pinned to the town cross and other places in Stirling, but they were 'scarce no sooner up than they were pulled down.' Mr Muirhead then resorted to proclaiming the offer of reward through the town, to the beat of a drum.¹²⁰ In October 1748 William Black, tidesman, seized 54 pounds of tea in the same town, but was forced to make a hasty retreat to the castle, without securing the horse which carried the tea, when a mob arrived on the scene.¹²¹

There was opposition to customs collection at Stirling, not only from some of the townsfolk, but also from magistrates in the town. In 1738 David Ramage made a seizure at the bridge. Walter Grosett, collector at Alloa, strongly urged the Board to prosecute the matter. He stated that Mr Ramage was

in a bad situation in regard to his having detected the very magistrates, more than once smuggling, and were also concerned in deforcing him, and they no doubt encouraged those of the inhabitants that are under their influence to insult and maltreat him, as they frequently do.¹²²

If that were not enough for Mr Ramage to contend with, the land carriage surveyor was suspected of collusion with the magistrates. The officers of excise, even, verbally abused him

¹¹⁸ *Alloa Customs Records*, 38. (17/4/1729); 65. (6/7/1733); 110. (1/5/1738)

¹¹⁹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 66. (16/7/1733).

¹²⁰ *Alloa Customs Records*, 36. (15/4/1728).

¹²¹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 161. (10/10/1748).

¹²² *Alloa Customs Records*, 110 - 111. (1/5/1738).

and took the warehouse keys by force. Customs officers were once threatened with jail by the justices of the peace if they stopped or seized *any* goods within the town or county of Stirling.¹²³

There was considerable friction between the customs staff at Alloa and the excise officers at Stirling. Walter Grosett suspected that Robert Ogilvie, supervisor of excise, together with other officers of excise at Stirling Castle, were to blame for the embezzlement of customable goods in 1740. Grosett cited the example of a cask of raisins, which had been seized by Ogilvie along with some soap, but which was not mentioned to the Board until eight days later, after he had been pressed repeatedly to do so by Grosett. Ogilvie then claimed that the raisins, which had gone missing, had been taken by soldiers at the castle. Grosett wrote to the Board on the matter, stating 'But I understand since the 31st of December last, the day in which the said raisins were seized, plum pudding has been in great plenty amongst the officers of excise at Stirling.'¹²⁴

The tensions between these two groups of officials are well illustrated by the events which led to a trial before the Admiralty Court in December 1737. An excise officer in Stirling made a seizure of £300 worth of tea and other items. He had the goods condemned by the justices of the peace and sought permission from the commissioners of excise to export them for sale. This was granted and he took them down the Forth from Stirling in a vessel, but was stopped at Alloa by a customs officer, who re-seized the goods on the grounds that no clearance had been granted from the custom house at the port.¹²⁵

The landed gentry and smuggling

Some of the upper classes were known to have aided and abetted smuggling, if not to have taken part directly. Lawrence Dundas younger, of Letham House, who had an extensive business as a wine merchant, was suspected of this in 1737.¹²⁶ The collector at Alloa received

¹²³ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 17. (Alloa Advertiser, 25/7/1868).

¹²⁴ *Alloa Customs Records*, 125 (10/1/1740).

¹²⁵ Daily Gazetteer (London edition), 3/1/1738. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 17/7/2015].

¹²⁶ Lawrence Dundas carried on an extensive wine business at Airth and Leith. He was appointed Commissary General for the British forces some years before the peace of Aix La Chapelle in 1748 and was created a baronet in 1762. He built a mansion in St Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, costing £30,000, a huge sum in those

information that a quantity of soap, brandy, wine and other goods belonging to Mr Dundas, had been brought up the Forth in Buckhaven boats. A search was carried out at Elphinstone Pans, Letham House, Throsk and Cock's Pow, by a party consisting of customs officers, soldiers and a constable. The cellars at Elphinstone Pans had to be forced open. Later, when Lord Elphinstone, landlord of the cellars at Elphinstone Pans, heard of this, he and his servant, Mr Ritchie, described as 'a most inveterate Jacobite,' threatened and verbally abused the officers present. The sergeant and party of soldiers later found a cask of soap hidden amongst corns at Airth. It was seized and taken to the King's warehouse. Lord Elphinstone then overstepped his powers as a justice of the peace by holding a court at Airth, comprised of himself, his son and James Bruce of Powfouls. The 'court' suspended the constable for six months. Other instances of heavy-handed treatment of officers by Lord Elphinstone were reported to the Board. In one example, he held a justice of the peace court at Stirling, after £50 to 60 worth of soap was seized there. On this occasion he ordered the soldiers present to withdraw, which they did, allowing the merchant, who was 'a most noted smuggler,' to make off with his soap. In another case, Lord Elphinstone sent a land carriage waiter to prison for several weeks, after he had refused to give up a seized parcel of soap. The collector eventually resorted to obtaining an order from the lords of justiciary to secure the man's release.¹²⁷

Maltreatment of customs officers

To be a customs officer during the early decades of the Union was no easy task and required a strong will, thoroughness, guile and bravery. It could be an unpopular and dangerous occupation, involving direct confrontations with sailors, merchants and mobs. Officers faced verbal abuse, threats, imprisonment, or violent assault, when boarding or guarding ships under inspection. Many crimes committed against officers are described in the customs letter books. For example, in 1748 John Paterson, salt officer at Kincardine, was badly beaten by three men after he had informed the collector of customs about the arrival of the *Christian and Magdalene* from Holland. His information somehow leaked out and he was attacked and wounded at night, to the extent that he needed prolonged medical attention and was incapable

days. His descendant, the 4th Earl of Zetland, owned land in Clackmannan and took a hand in coal mining there, in addition to owning extensive estates in Scotland, England, Orkney and Shetland.

¹²⁷ *Alloa Customs Records*, 103. (23/6/1737).

of work for some time afterwards.¹²⁸ In 1750 David Heugh, tidesman at Alloa, suffered a heavy blow to the head from a stone which was thrown from the shore, while he was on guard duty on board the *Fortune* of Leith.¹²⁹ By Act of Parliament, such crimes against an officer were punishable by a fine of up to £100, plus imprisonment until discharged by the Court of Exchequer.¹³⁰

One evening in January 1720, John Muirhead, collector of customs at Alloa, received a tip-off from one of his tidesmen, concerning a suspected deforcement which was about to take place on board the *Charles* of Elphinstone, John Ston master. Muirhead was so wary of the danger of the situation that he sent his surveyor through back gardens to spy on activity at the harbour. Muirhead himself adopted a disguise, before proceeding down the street to the shore. He reported to the Board that they 'were sure to get ourselves well beat if we were seen by them.' They found nothing, but the following morning it was suspected that some tobacco had been smuggled out of the ship during the night.¹³¹

In November 1767 a newspaper reported the possible murder of a tidewaiter in Alloa. Having gone aboard a ship in the evening with a colleague, the man was missing the next day. A 'good deal of blood was discovered in the cabin' and the windows were broken, but no further discovery had been made by the time of a subsequent report.¹³²

Deforcements

G.C. Coats wrote the following about attitudes to smuggling in eighteenth century Scotland:

There was generally prevalent at that period an extent of lawlessness, fraud and venality, truly astonishing, presenting a striking contrast to the present state of things. Deforcement of the officers placed for the protection of the revenue was a common occurrence, and the law set at defiance. In fact it appears that prosecution for smuggling seems to have been resorted to, and the public

¹²⁸ *Alloa Customs Records*, 161. (27/10/1748).

¹²⁹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 177. (3/7/1750 & 23/7/1750).

¹³⁰ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 8-9. (Alloa Advertiser, 20/6/1868).

¹³¹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 7. (7/1/1720).

¹³² *Caledonian Mercury*, 4/11/1767; 7/11/1767. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 4/8/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

authorities were evidently slow in taking steps to check the lawlessness and violence that prevailed.¹³³

Deforcements occurred quite frequently in the Alloa precinct after the Union. These were raids, conducted by organised gangs, who forcibly boarded ships and removed cargo. It was suspected that sometimes this was done with the collusion of the ship's crew, the merchants, or even the customs officers. The latter were on occasion offered bribes to turn a blind eye to smuggling. They were no doubt concerned for their own safety and may have found that submission was the easiest option at times. Being held captive for a few hours during a raid or smuggling operation, and claiming afterwards not to have recognised any of the culprits, was perhaps preferable to futile resistance and a severe beating when clearly outnumbered. In G.C. Coats's examination of the Alloa customs records, only one case of prosecution of an officer for bribery was found.¹³⁴ Some of those involved in deforcements were blatant in their disregard for the law. In July 1741 the *Providence* of Sunderland arrived from Rotterdam, carrying sixty or seventy tons of corn, mainly barley. A mob of about forty persons attacked the customs officers present when the ship arrived at Fallin Pow. They were detained in the ship's cabin from one or two o'clock in the morning until five the following evening, while most of the barley was taken off the ship.¹³⁵

In July 1740 Walter Grosett commented to the Board that when so many boats were arriving without sufficient officers to attend them all, it was inevitable that there would be losses to the revenue. He had written on two prior occasions to state that even double the then current number of officers would not be enough to prevent all deforcements and other smuggling operations.

Problems at Airth

There appears to have been a particular smuggling problem at Airth. For example, an undated customs letter from 1721 details the arrival there of the *Charles* of Elphinstone, John Forsyth master, from Norway.¹³⁶ Mr Liddall, a landwaiter, together with a customs boatman, attended

¹³³ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 6. (Alloa Advertiser, 23/5/1868).

¹³⁴ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 17. (Alloa Advertiser, 25/7/1868).

¹³⁵ *Alloa Customs Records*, 130-131. (31/7/1741).

¹³⁶ From the next customs letter it appears likely that this was after the ship's owner had been prosecuted for smuggling 80 tons of coal to Norway, which had been cleared for London, and for which the owner was ordered to pay double duty. *Alloa Customs Records*, 14.

the vessel and went on board to inspect the hold. Charles Logan, the ship's carpenter, swore at them, challenged their right to come aboard and kicked the boatman's head and face. When the unfortunate fellow reached the deck, Logan continued the abuse and tried to throw him over the side. In describing this incident, Mr Muirhead stated that the boatman had not dared to fight back, fearing if he did, that the wrath of the entire crew would be visited upon him and the other customs officers present. He continued, 'I believe there is not such another set of people in Scotland for maltreating custom house officers as in that place and there is nowhere lighter of power constable in all that country.'¹³⁷ He asked the Board to punish Mr Logan in order to make an example to the others at Airth. This was not the first occasion on which a customs officer had been attacked at the place. In the previous year, Logan's brother had 'almost murdered' the other boatman, apparently without any provocation.¹³⁸ The main landowner there, Mr Graham, who was a judge advocate, promised repeatedly to take action. The problem appears, however, to have continued for several years. In April 1730 officers were again deforced by Logan. The collector then stated, 'we are at a loss how to behave with respect to the creek of Airth, having now used all means that we could devise for the security of the revenue at that place.'¹³⁹

The need for military assistance

Customs officers clearly lacked the necessary back up needed to carry out their work in the early decades of the Union. In January 1720 the collector at Alloa wrote to the Board, 'I beg your honours may apply to the General for a company of soldiers to quarter here, for without a military force we dare not offer to stir here.'¹⁴⁰ The collector complained again in 1730 and 1734 that they could be of little or no use without military assistance.¹⁴¹ If fraud and smuggling were to be prevented, then force was needed. Requests were made for parties of soldiers to be sent from the garrison at Stirling in order to protect customs officers and guard ships under inspection, both at Airth and Alloa. These were not routinely granted. In July 1740 the presence of soldiers was requested at Airth, but this was refused on the grounds that no order from the General at Edinburgh had been given. When soldiers were sent, however, they could be very effective, as in 1734, when they were sent to Airth in support of the

¹³⁷ *Alloa Customs Records*, 14. (n.d. 1721).

¹³⁸ *Alloa Customs Records*, 14. (n.d. 1721).

¹³⁹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 62. (16/4/1730).

¹⁴⁰ *Alloa Customs Records*, 7. (7/1/1720).

¹⁴¹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 62. (16/4/1730); 81. (7/5/1734).

customs operation for a full month.¹⁴² The comptroller stated afterwards that the duties collected during the placement amounted to more than in any other quarter since he had been in office. In gratitude for their help on this occasion, the soldiers were paid an additional allowance of £3. It should be noted that the presence of the military also had the effect of suppressing disorder, there being a lot of disaffection with the Union at the time.¹⁴³

In July 1744 a crackdown on smuggling was announced by the justices of the peace, the commissioners of supply and the heritors of Clackmannanshire. In particular, French brandy, tea and rum that had not paid duty, were to be targeted. The notice read

We are determined vigorously to execute the laws made in that behalf, and to support with our authority the officers of the revenue in the discharge of their duty. That we will, by our own example and influence on our tenants and dependants, do what in us lies to discourage and hinder the using of brandy or unentered tea in publick or private houses, and in place thereof promote the use of liquors and spirits made from our own grain.

Copies of the notice were to be read out in each parish church in the county and a copy attached to the market crosses in Clackmannan and Alloa, 'that none may pretend ignorance.'¹⁴⁴

Seized goods

Information leading to seizures of prohibited goods (goods for which an Act of Parliament had been passed against their importation), or uncustomed goods (goods on which duty was due but had not been paid), came from a variety of sources. The government had spies in foreign ports who tipped off the customs when smuggling was detected. Officers at each British port also gathered information, including from persons who wished to earn some money from a reward or seek revenge on a rival. Anonymous letters were sometimes sent to the customs with information about smuggling.

In spite of the difficulties already described, seizures were actually made and prosecutions brought. There were, however, some hurdles to be overcome before the officers involved

¹⁴² *Alloa Customs Records*, 80. (8/4/1734).

¹⁴³ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 10. (Alloa Advertiser, 20/6/1868).

¹⁴⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 17/7/1744, 2. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 4/8/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

could receive their reward. First, the goods were taken to the King's warehouse, there to remain until the conclusion of the case. The quantity of each item was gauged by the local excise officers and a return of seizure was submitted to the Board. Small seizures were dealt with by the local justices of the peace. Larger ones were heard before the Court of Exchequer. It was the job of the customs officers to gather evidence, statements and witnesses for each trial. The Board's solicitor then made a judgement as to whether a successful prosecution was likely. If it was decided to proceed, the suspect was arrested and either imprisoned or bailed, to appear before the court on the trial date.

If the goods were condemned by the court, fines of not less than twice the duty which should have been paid were imposed, plus any costs claimed by the officers. There then remained the question of what to do with the condemned goods. They were appraised to ascertain their likely market value and to calculate the officer's share of the seizure (known as the officer's moiety) and also the King's moiety. The collector and comptroller were allowed to share the profits from seizures made by either of them. Other customs officers were allowed to split a profit only between those who had been instrumental in the seizure and were prohibited from sharing generally among their number. The goods were then put up for sale in a public auction, often referred to as a 'roup sale' (an auction) or 'sale by inch of candle,' wherein about an inch of candle was lit while bidding on an item took place; the final bid to be called being the winning one.¹⁴⁵ If the goods remained unsold, they might be sent to another town or city where a buyer was more likely to be found, or returned to the warehouse to be put up for sale again on another day.¹⁴⁶ Some goods leaked, perished or evaporated during the long wait between seizure and sale.

In situations where a seizure was made and subsequently the goods were returned to the owner, a certificate of probable cause for seizure might be issued to the customs officers involved if it was thought that there had been reasonable grounds for suspicion.

The Board's treatment of its staff

Regulations were enforced with increasing rigour as time went by. Officers who did not follow them to the letter could be reprimanded, fined, or dismissed. In November 1728 the

¹⁴⁵ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 17-18. (Alloa Advertiser, 25/7/1868).

¹⁴⁶ Frances Wilkins, *The Smuggling Story of Two Firths*, 115-123.

Board told Alloa officers to watch for and rigorously prosecute illegal wool exports. Tidesmen were warned that they would ‘answer their neglect therein at their peril.’¹⁴⁷ In April 1730 a landwaiter at Alloa was charged with failing to examine every single one of some hogsheads of old iron on board the *Success* of Stirling. They were checked by Captain Midelton’s order and were found to contain high duty and prohibited goods. The landwaiter was given an opportunity to account for his laxity, but later he was dismissed.¹⁴⁸

The Board was not without compassion for its staff, as shown by instances of funeral costs being met for deceased officers. John Partridge, tidesman at Alloa, died sometime between October and December 1725. As he had no money and ‘his being a stranger, destitute of friends,’ the Board consented to pay his funeral costs, albeit ‘in the frugalist (sic) manner’ possible.¹⁴⁹ Duncan Cameron, a customs boatman at Alloa, who was described as an honest man and a faithful officer, died in February 1747, leaving behind a widow and five children. The Board provided 40 shillings to cover his funeral charges and 20 shillings for each child.¹⁵⁰

In November 1733 a Bo’ness tidesman sent to Alloa was found to have collected his salary for the month at both places. He was suspended and charged, but acknowledged his stupidity in the matter and was re-instated with the loss of one week’s pay, due to his having a young family to support.¹⁵¹ In April 1724 an Alloa tidesman was wounded on the *William* of Bo’ness. His surgeon’s fees were met by the Board, amounting to four pounds, and a further twenty shillings for ‘fomenting his arm.’¹⁵²

In 1738 Walter Grosett applied to the Board for funds to either build a watch house at the harbour or to rent a house on the shore, in order to provide some shelter for tidewaiters during winter nights. He argued that in stormy conditions it was impossible for the officers to attend the arrival of every ship.¹⁵³ It is not known if this suggestion met with any enthusiasm from the Board. The Forth at Alloa actually froze over during two particularly harsh, cold winters in 1739 and 1740. A great storm was reported at Alloa in 1739 and in 1740 ships were frozen

¹⁴⁷ *Alloa Customs Records*, 37. (26/11/1728).

¹⁴⁸ *Alloa Customs Records*, 42. (3/4/1730).

¹⁴⁹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 33. (15/10/1725).

¹⁵⁰ *Alloa Customs Records*, 151. (18/2/1747 & 24/2/1747).

¹⁵¹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 73. (28/1/1734).

¹⁵² *Alloa Customs Records*, 26. (23/7/1724).

¹⁵³ *Alloa Customs Records*, 117. (1/11/1738).

in at the harbour, unable to sail. This caused coal shortages and price increases, particularly in Edinburgh.¹⁵⁴

Drinking on duty

In January 1734 a party of customs boatmen at Airth were ordered to take some brandy and tobacco, which had been seized, to the customs warehouse at Alloa. Instead, they ‘made free with the spirits’ and, tragically, one of the men, named William Taylor, died in the boat. He had been employed in the role for less than a month. Robert Hunter, the most senior among the boatmen, was charged. In the man’s defence, the collector suggested moving him to Bo’ness, away from the temptation of drinking with his ‘too many idle acquaintances.’ He was dismissed the following month. From another letter it appears that Robert Hunter’s son, of the same name and also a customs boatman, had died but three months earlier.¹⁵⁵

There are other instances in the customs records of officers being reprimanded for drinking when they should have been working. Mr Dunbar, land surveyor, was in trouble in December 1737 for tippling at Airth whilst on duty.¹⁵⁶ Walter Grosett, collector at Alloa, tried to deal with these matters internally, before resorting to making a report to the Board. In 1747 a party of soldiers, stationed on board the *Betty* of Airth, were plied with drink by the ship’s crew during the landing of a cargo of alcohol. This had the intention of rendering them incapable of duty. 100 casks went missing during the discharge.¹⁵⁷

Walter Grosett: the government’s man in Alloa

Walter Grosett was the collector of customs at Alloa from May 1729 until shortly after the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion.¹⁵⁸ His story warrants particular mention, for both the determined zeal he showed in prosecuting smugglers and his unswerving and at times daring support for the government during and after the Rebellion. There is a good amount of historical material

¹⁵⁴ Caledonian Mercury, 28/1/1740, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 3/6/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.; Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh*, book 1, 210-211. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 4/8/2015].

¹⁵⁵ *Alloa Customs Records*, 72. (17/1/1733-4).

¹⁵⁶ *Alloa Customs Records*, 106-107. (5/12/1737).

¹⁵⁷ *Alloa Customs Records*, 152. (11/3/1747).

¹⁵⁸ The surname is spelt in various ways; Grosett, Groset, Grosset, Grossett, Grozart, Grosert, Grosier, or Grosiert. ‘Grosett’ is the spelling used in most historical newspaper articles and in the customs letter books.

upon which to base a study of this singular, if unpopular, character. Some writings, including Grosett's own account of his services during the Rebellion, were collected and edited by Blaikie and published in *Origins of the 'Forty-five*.¹⁵⁹ The current article is based in part on this book, alongside customs records, historic newspaper articles and papers related to some of the legal proceedings which followed the Rebellion. Some of the claims made by both sides during and after the conflict should be approached with caution, as there appears to have been plenty of propaganda in use.

Walter Grosett was the great-grandson of Alexander Grosett, a Frenchman, who came over to Scotland during the civil wars and served in the army under King Charles I. Alexander settled in Scotland and lived the remainder of his life here. His son, also named Alexander, bought the small estate of Logie, near Dunfermline. He was an ardent Covenanter, a member of the group which was persecuted for a time in Scotland. He was forced to retire to Holland for his safety. His son, Archibald Grosett, stayed in Scotland and married Eupham Muirhead, daughter of the laird of Bredisholm, North Lanarkshire. Walter was the eldest of their three sons; the others being Alexander, a captain in the army, and James, a prosperous merchant in Lisbon.

Walter Grosett was a cousin of Sir John Shaw of Greenock on his mother's side and was closely connected with the families of Lord Blantyre and the Earl of Cathcart. He married Diana de Vlieger, the daughter of a Dutch merchant and government financier. They had seven children: five sons and two daughters. He is described in a letter from Sir James Harrington to Prince Charles, leader of the 1745 Rebellion, dated 6 August 1751:

He is a middle-aged man, about five feet five inches high, well-made, of a black complexion, and pitted with the small-pox, his eyebrows large and black; inclining rather to lean than fat. He is married to a German woman, the daughter of the old elector's milliner. He hath a remarkable genius for clock-work and all sorts of mechanism.¹⁶⁰

The German wife mentioned above may have been from a second marriage, after the death of Diana, which is detailed further on. It is worth noting that the reason for this letter was a rumour that Grosett had travelled abroad with the intention to assassinate Prince Charles. It is

¹⁵⁹ Walter Biggar Blaikie (editor), *Origins of the 'Forty-five and other papers related to that rising*. (Published by T. & A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1916) [Hereafter: *Origins of the 'Forty-five*].

¹⁶⁰ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty's Customs and Port of Alloa*, 24. (*Alloa Advertiser*, 24/10/1868).

not known if there was any truth to it, but the prince was advised to use ‘very little ceremony’ if they met.¹⁶¹

Grosett’s uncle, John Muirhead, was the collector of customs at Alloa from May 1717 until May 1729. Grosett succeeded him and served in the post until June 1747. He was evidently very successful in his pursuit of smugglers. Shortly before the 1745 Rebellion, he made one of the largest tobacco seizures ever in Scotland. This was achieved at great personal risk and enriched the Treasury by several thousand pounds.

In September 1745, eight days before the Jacobite rebels under Prince Charles entered Edinburgh, Walter Grosett was commissioned by Lord Advocate Craigie to seize all boats and ships on the north and south sides of the Forth, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels, then assembling at Perth. Evidently he performed this task well, for he was appointed to be collector of customs at Leith soon afterwards and was constantly employed thereafter by the military authorities and the Lord Justice-Clerk, both in executive work and in secret service.

A number of military engagements took place near the river crossing at Alloa during the 1745 Rebellion. Several cannon and other supplies were sent to the rebels from France. These were landed at Montrose and were transported overland to Alloa via Perth. The rebels placed batteries along both sides of the Forth at Alloa, Airth and Elphinstone, in order to defend the important ford and ferry. They intended to take their cannon across the river for the siege of Stirling Castle. They were attacked by government boats in October 1745. It appears that the rebels succeeded in getting the bulk of their supplies across the river, although the tail end of their column suffered some damage. Their 18 pounder cannon remained at Alloa in January 1746, when government ships attacked the rebel positions again. The crossing was also used to take cargos of meal across for the rebel soldiers. Some of the boats used for this purpose were destroyed by government forces in January 1746.

Walter Grosett was very useful to the government during the Rebellion. He helped to frustrate and thwart rebel aims, making use of his detailed knowledge of the local territory and its inhabitants. Some of the services he performed included

¹⁶¹ G.C. Coats, *Her Majesty’s Customs and Port of Alloa*, 24. (Alloa Advertiser, 24/10/1868).

- Putting boats and ships out of reach of the rebels on both sides of the Forth. This delayed their progress and hindered them in the transport of their cannon across the river
- Gathering intelligence of rebel movements, numbers and plans
- Relaying messages to and from the Provost of Edinburgh immediately before the city was taken
- Procuring provisions for troops and for Edinburgh Castle
- Recovering seized goods which had been taken by the rebels and gathering evidence for related prosecutions
- Transporting ammunition from Bo'ness to Stirling Castle
- Hiring boats for transporting troops
- Destroying boats which had been concealed by the rebels
- Hiring boats to transport prisoners from Leith to Berwick
- Gathering cannon and taking it to Leith for the planned second defence of Edinburgh
- Guiding boats during an attack on rebel positions along the Forth
- Relaying messages to and from Stirling Castle while it was under siege
- Directing troops across the Forth, in order to retrieve officers who had been taken prisoner by the rebels
- Procuring boats and horses to take ammunition to Perth
- Procuring ships and supplies of coal to send north for the troops and sending provisions from Leith
- Providing pilots for men of war heading north

On one occasion Grosett is said to have saved the life of his cousin, Sir John Shaw, who had been taken prisoner. The story goes that he daringly entered the rebel camp in the guise of a Jacobite officer and escaped unscathed with Shaw. His services were so highly approved of by the Duke of Cumberland that he promised Grosett 'his countenance on every occasion.'¹⁶²

On 30 October 1745 Marshall Wade issued a proclamation on behalf of the King, offering clemency to all rebels who surrendered before 11 November. Patrick Murray, a goldsmith from Stirling, was arrested at Airdrie in November by some country people. Grosett was present when Murray surrendered according to the terms and later he was summoned to give

¹⁶² *Origins of the 'Forty-five*, 37.

evidence for the defence at the man's trial, which was held at Carlisle on 24 September 1746. Grosett could not attend, however, due to his being detained in London on secret service. The terms of Murray's surrender were not pled at the trial and Grosett sent in a memorial stating the facts of the arrest. Unfortunately it had no effect and Murray was executed on 15 November.

Grosett was summoned after the Rebellion had been suppressed, as a witness in the trial of Archibald Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh, who stood accused of giving up the city to the rebels without mounting a proper defence. Provost Stewart was found not guilty by unanimous verdict on 2 November 1746. Some of the work Grosett undertook during this episode is described in the trial papers. His first intervention was on 16 September 1745, when he was sent by the Lord Justice-Clerk to ask the Provost if he was prepared to mount a defence and to relay the message that 100 Dragoons were ready to aid him, alongside many other men. The Provost's reply was ambivalent and he neither encouraged, nor discouraged such action; he said later that he was 'careful of the blood of the inhabitants.'¹⁶³ Grosett delivered a second message, detailing the arrival off Dunbar of Sir John Cope and more government troops. He arrived after Prince Charles had sent a communication to the Provost, stating that the rebels were ready to enter the town. The Provost's reply to the prince was taken as a capitulation and Grosett was unable to retrieve this message before it was delivered. Grosett then volunteered to be one of fifty to man part of the weakest place in the city walls, so confident was he of their chances of successfully defending the city. He appears to have swayed the council temporarily in his favour and was sent to the castle to procure arms from General Guest. Upon his return, however, he was informed that there would be no such defence, as a treaty had already been sent out and not recalled. A second deputation was then sent out in order to buy some time. When the coach that brought this deputation back left the city, the gate was stormed by a party of rebels and the city was taken. Grosett narrowly evaded capture by the rebels, losing his hat and wig whilst fleeing the city.¹⁶⁴ He was shamed and ridiculed in a Jacobite poem published after the trial, which was the ruin of Robert Drummond, its printer:

And stupid Gr____t next must take the field,
And He, (with fifty,) swore he would not yield,

¹⁶³ The Scots Magazine, 3/7/1747, 313. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 3/6/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

¹⁶⁴ Culloden guide book

To those brave Hundreds (who deserv'd the rope,)
That did beat Thousands under Sir J__n C__pe.¹⁶⁵

Grosett submitted his own account of his services during the 1745 Rebellion in the form of an invoice to the Duke of Cumberland's secretary and the solicitor to the Treasury.¹⁶⁶ He was hopeful of recompense for his considerable expenditure in the service of the government. No record has been found of his having been paid, though it is possible that he received the sum requested, which amounted to £3,709.

After the suppression of the Rebellion, Grosett was employed by the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, to collect evidence for the prosecution of the rebel lords and other Jacobite prisoners, and to escort witnesses for the prosecution to London. In recognition of his loyalty and services, he was promoted in 1747 to the office of inspector general of customs, on the recommendation of the Duke of Cumberland. For this he received a salary of £130. For comparison, the commissioners of customs, who were in overall charge in Scotland, received £500 per year.¹⁶⁷

From the account thus far it might appear that he benefitted greatly from his support for the government. There is, however, another side to the story, one which shows the price he paid for his services. Grosett's house at Alloa was robbed and plundered by a party of rebels during the Rebellion, as was his estate in the country at Logie, Dunfermline. The rebels demanded a contribution of £300 and carried off his horses, cattle and rents of his estate. He refused to pay the sum and threatened reprisals through the estate of the rebels' secretary and that of Lord Elcho.¹⁶⁸ It would appear that Grosett's children were left without clothes, even, after the raid. His wife and daughter were tracked down at Bredisholm, where the rebels are said to have stripped them and 'used them otherwise in a most cruel and barbarous manner.'¹⁶⁹ Diana Grosett, Walter's wife, is said to have died shortly afterwards.

¹⁶⁵ *Origins of the 'Forty-five*, 38.

¹⁶⁶ *Origins of the 'Forty-five*, 187-209.

¹⁶⁷ John Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britanniae Notitia, or the present state of Great Britain; with diverse remarks upon the ancient state thereof*, 1755, book III, 57. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 4/8/2015].

¹⁶⁸ *The advantages of the succession of the House of Stewart to the crown of Great Britain*, 1747, by a 'true Briton,' 69. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 4/8/2015].

¹⁶⁹ *Origins of the 'Forty-five*, 37-8.

Such was the animosity towards Grosett in Scotland that the secretary of state advised him to leave the country and promised him full pay as inspector general during his absence. Walter took his own family out of Scotland, together with the widow and children of his brother, Alexander, a captain in Price's regiment, who had been killed at the battle of Culloden. Walter saw to it that his brother's widow received a gratuity of £150 from a Guildhall relief fund, which was set up to aid sufferers of the 1745 Rebellion. By leaving Scotland for good, he was unable to succeed to the estate of John Muirhead, his uncle at Bredisholm, to whom he had been heir-presumptive.



An engraving showing the killing of Captain Grosett, Walter's brother, at Culloden¹⁷⁰

After the Rebellion Grosett was subjected to several libels and lawsuits, some of which were designed to distress him and wear him out financially in legal costs. One case was brought by Thomas Gairdner and Thomas Ogilvy, merchants in Dundee and partners in a tobacco trade

¹⁷⁰ This image has been reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Scotland, under the Creative Commons license.

with Henry Patullo, who was made collector at Leith by the rebels in November 1745. Shortly before the Rebellion, Gairdner, Ogilvy and Patullo had been caught by Grosett for the relanding of tobacco which had been declared for export and the duty drawn back. The seizure, which amounted to 199 hogsheads of tobacco, was said at the time to be the greatest ever made in the country. Penalties of thousands of pounds were incurred by the trio. Thomas Ogilvy had been apprehended at Alloa in November 1745, while he was looking after some parcels of tobacco which had been seized by the rebels. He was detained and his estates at Coul, near Dundee, were raided by government troops in June 1746. Although he was included in the Act of Indemnity in 1747, which gave clemency to some of the rebel supporters, his feud with Grosett continued and in 1753 the case between the two was reviewed by the House of Lords. Judgement was passed in favour of Grosett and the King. There are papers related to a 1766 Court of Session appearance by James Grosett and James Ogilvie, sons of the respective parties, which indicate that the dispute did not end there.

Another libel was brought by James, Duke of Athole, Thomas Bisset of Glenelbert and John Edward of Solsgirth. Grosett was accused of concealing public money and using it for his own purposes. The accounts from his time as collector of customs at Alloa up to 1743 were inspected by the Court of Exchequer at the request of the three petitioners.

In July 1746 the Board of Customs directed officers at Alloa to report into the conduct and behaviour of all customs staff during the Rebellion. In particular, they wanted to know if any had continued to act under the rebel command and if so, for how long and in what capacity.¹⁷¹ John Murray, clerk of customs at Alloa during the 1745 Rebellion, was named in the Act of Indemnity in 1747.¹⁷² No further information has been found as to his involvement. In January 1748 Alloa customs officers were ordered to keep a look out for escaping Jacobite rebels and for French emissaries and recruits going to France.¹⁷³

Grosett went to Italy and entered into a speculative silver and copper mining business in Savoy. He was joined in this by several others, including the Earl of Rochfort, British minister at the Sardinian court. John Muirhead, Grosett's uncle, helped him financially in this venture. The business was an utter failure and Grosett returned to London a broken-hearted,

¹⁷¹ *Alloa Customs Records*, 144. (21/7/1746).

¹⁷² *The Scots Magazine*, 5/6/1747, 260. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 3/6/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

¹⁷³ *Alloa Customs Records*, 157. (14/1/1748).

ruined man; dying there, at his brother's house, on 27 May 1760. Muirhead was so deeply involved that he was forced to sell the reversion of the Bredisholm estate in order to live. He wished the property to be kept in the family, so he sold it to John Grosett, the son of Walter's brother, James. John Grosett assumed the name of Muirhead and married Lady Jean Murray, daughter of the third Duke of Atholl, a granddaughter of Lord George Murray, one of the leaders of the 1745 Rebellion.

Walter's son, James Grosett, who was a merchant in London, continued another court proceeding after Walter's death, against Sir James Murray, receiver-general of customs. The case involved a bill remitted by Walter Grosett in December 1747 to the receiver-general for £205 and six shillings, drawn by him upon a merchant named James Drummond, who went bankrupt without paying the sum, leaving the receiver-general out of pocket. The bill had been a private debt, not one drawn on the King's money, and therefore Grosett was found liable.

The 1745 Jacobite Rebellion was connected to a wider conflict, known as the War of Austrian Succession. Britain, Holland and Austria were allied against Spain and, from 1744, France. Much of the war was fought at sea. Navy vessels and privateers (armed merchant vessels) from both sides captured foreign ships in large numbers. The risks to trading vessels in the North Sea were great. In October 1747 it was reported that the *Rose*, Mackenzie master, sailing from Alloa, and the *Betty* of Airth, Conochie master, sailing from Carolina to Leith, had been taken by French and Spanish privateers. Both were ransomed; the latter for £750.¹⁷⁴ The war ended in 1748 and trade quickly recovered.

Political instability in Scotland lasted until the mid-1750s. Jacobitism was, by then, a spent force. After hostilities ended, the British government encouraged stability and prosperity, and actively promoted investment.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ The Scots Magazine, 2/10/1747, 504. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 3/6/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

¹⁷⁵ Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland 1650-1790*, 205.

Section 3: 1750 to 1800

1760: Richard Pococke, an English bishop, anthropologist and travel writer.

*A very disagreeable coal town.*¹⁷⁶

1771: Tobias Smollett, a Scottish poet and author.

*Alloa is a neat, thriving town that depends in a great measure on the commerce of Glasgow, the merchants of which send hither tobacco and other articles, to be deposited in warehouses for exportation from the Firth of Forth.*¹⁷⁷

1772: Thomas Pennant, a Welsh writer and natural historian, who travelled throughout the United Kingdom.

*Scotland exports annually, above one hundred and eighteen thousand tuns of coal, out of which, I was informed, Alloa alone sends forty thousand. The town and parish is very populous, containing five thousand souls.*¹⁷⁸

1778: David Loch wrote an account of trade in Scotland for the Board of Manufactures.

Alloa: A pretty large town, six miles below Stirling, on the north side of the Forth, in which the effects of industry make the people appear with a pleasing countenance. At this sea port, and neighbourhood, much work is done, and everything carried on for the improvement of trade and manufactures. The quantity of coal shipt is very great, and the manufacture of camblets is in a flourishing state; in so much as there are just now employed twenty masters, who occupy 150 looms, almost all of them working upon this valuable branch. They get most of their wool from the neighbouring hills, which has no tar, and is all spun among themselves. Messrs Gibson and Haig are the most considerable persons in that line. They employ, at a medium, twenty two looms and 120 people. Their markets are at home, London and Quebec.

Kincardine: A pretty large town, on the north side of the Forth, four miles below Alloa. This sea port deserves the notice of every lover of his country. Here, in my time, they have increased the tonnage of their shipping at least forty to one. There are not less than one hundred sail of vessels belonging to this port, the smallest 40 tons burden, and the largest 150 tons. They build most of their craft in their own docks; and, by that mean, the money is made to circulate among themselves. Here industry makes peace and plenty appear on every

¹⁷⁶ Richard Pococke, *Tour through Scotland*, 1760, p290. [Accessed at <https://archive.org/details/toursinscotland100pocouoft> on 17/4/2015].

¹⁷⁷ Extract from Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, 1771. Reprinted in Humphrey Jennings (editor), *Pandaemonium. The coming of the machine as seen by contemporary observers*, 67. (Published 1985).

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides*, published 1772, Vol. 2. [Accessed at <http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=liJAAAAQAAJ&q=alloa#v=snippet&q=alloa&f=false> on 17/4/2015].

countenance, while true friendship reigns among the people. If any man lose his ship by stress of weather, or by any unforeseen accident, the honest sailors assist their distressed brother all in their power to put him again into business. This is true magnanimity, and the glorious and prevailing principle of British seamen.

The people have had the address and good sense to supply the Glasgow market, and the adjacent country, with timber of all kinds, since the American trade was shut up; which they do upon better terms than the people of that country ever supplied themselves; for the usual navigation was round the north and west of Scotland. Their largest ships are sent to Norway, Sweden, and all the ports in the Baltic, for timber of all kinds, fit for the market in the west; which they unload on return at the Sea Lock, mouth of Carron. They float it in large rafts up the canal, now navigable within one mile of Glasgow, where they cart it to the city, at an expense every way much below what those people have been in use to import their timber. By this they have the merit of opening a new channel of trade, advantageous to themselves, and their country. I am clearly of opinion that there is more tonnage of shipping employed here than in any port in Great Britain, in proportion to the number of people.¹⁷⁹

1803: W. Chalmers compiled a descriptive gazetteer of Scotland.

The situation of the town is uncommonly beautiful; and its harbour is very commodious, receiving vessels of the greatest burden. It is a place of considerable trade, and shipping. An excellent dry dock has been lately erected; and Alloa has long been famous for building ships. A very considerable quantity of coal is raised in the neighbourhood; and vessels are expeditiously loaded at this place, from a new waggon-way of singular construction. A large manufactory of glass, an iron foundery, a tan and tile-work, all increase the trade of the town.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ David Loch, *Essays on the trade, commerce, manufactures and fisheries of Scotland*, volume 2, 31-35. [Accessed at <https://books.google.co.uk/> on 19/7/2015].

¹⁸⁰ W. Chalmers, *1803 Gazetteer for Scotland*, p14. [Gazetteers of Scotland, 1803-1901. Accessed at the National Library of Scotland website. www.nls.uk on 3/5/2015].

Changes at Alloa after 1750

The pattern of trade at Alloa began to change from the 1750s onwards. The growth of manufacturing locally was a major factor in this and reflected the wider shift from an agrarian society to an industrial one. It was no coincidence that many of the manufactures which developed in and around Alloa used coal. With a ready supply on their doorstep, it made sense for brewers, distillers, glass makers, iron founders, potters and brick makers to set up factories in the town.

One of the earliest substantial manufactures to be established in Alloa was the glass works. It may have been the idea of Lady Frances Erskine, daughter of the exiled 6th Earl, to make use of the estate's coal output for glass-making during a trade slump.¹⁸¹ The location chosen was beside the river, near to the harbour. This was convenient, not only for coal deliveries, but also for imports of other raw materials, including lime, salt, sand and sea kelp from further down the Forth coast and for exports of finished goods. In time an extension of the Alloa waggonway was laid to the works.

Craigward brick and tile works was established by Alexander Bald senior at Kelliebank in Alloa around 1770. It supplied fire bricks made from local clay to the glass works and was also known locally for its large, red Alloa bricks.¹⁸²

Pottery has been made in the Inner Forth area from at least the fourteenth century.¹⁸³ A pottery is known to have operated in the Throsk area by 1610. The site expanded early in the eighteenth century and fifteen potters were at work there in 1754.¹⁸⁴ Another was established in the Kirkgate at Alloa around the second half of the century. James Schaw is the earliest person to be associated with Alloa Pottery. He leased land from the Erskine family in 1757, 1763 and 1779. The pottery was certainly working by 1790. It was a small concern at this time but, under the ownership of the Bailey family, grew to employ 200 people in the late nineteenth century. As many as 40,000 teapots were made in a week at its peak.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Clackmannanshire Field Studies Society, *Clackmannanshire Colliery Waggonways*, 13.

¹⁸² James A.S. Spreull & Robert Rankine, *Alloa Pottery*, 1. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1993.

¹⁸³ The remains of four kilns dating from that time were discovered near to the site of the Carron iron works. James A.S. Spreull & Robert Rankine, *Alloa Pottery*, 3. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1993.

¹⁸⁴ John G. Harrison, *The Pottery at Throsk, Stirlingshire c.1600-c.1800*. Published in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 132 (2002), 459–473.

¹⁸⁵ James A.S. Spreull & Robert Rankine, *Alloa Pottery*, 1; 3-4; 74. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1993.

Alloa was home to camblet manufactures during the eighteenth century. Gibson and Haig were the leading makers in the town.¹⁸⁶ The enormous Patons Mill, which dominated Alloa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was not established until c.1813.¹⁸⁷

Brewing is another industry for which Alloa has long been famous. The first known purpose-built, commercial brewery in the town was established by George Younger in 1762. He came from a family of salt pan owners in Culross. It is thought that he acquired the necessary capital to start the brewery from this source.¹⁸⁸ A further seven breweries were established in the town during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁸⁹ Each was attracted to the location by the ready supplies of local coal, water from the Ochil Hills and barley from the rich carse land of the Forth Valley and Fife. Again, the river provided a convenient route for imports of raw materials and for exports of ale.

The growth of manufacturing and trade at Alloa added to the ongoing viability of the port. In 1754 the harbour was described as being in a 'ruinous' state, indicating that it had not been properly maintained or had been damaged in the preceding years.¹⁹⁰ The need for improvements and better maintenance led, in that year, to the formation of a harbour trust, after a petition was sent to the House of Commons. The trust had powers to charge anchorage duty on ships using the harbour. Two pence duty on the pint of ale brewed and sold within the town and barony was also levied and the trustees could borrow money and levy shore dues on goods landed or shipped, all for the purpose of funding repairs and alterations. A new pier was built on the north bank of the pow by Thomas Fotheringhame, mason, and John Hutcheson, wright, around 1757-1759.¹⁹¹ A third quay linking it to the one to the west of the pow was constructed in 1761.¹⁹² Further Harbour Acts were passed in 1786 and 1803.¹⁹³ The pow was widened to 70 feet in 1791.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁶ David Loch, *Essays on the trade, commerce, manufactures and fisheries of Scotland*, volume 2, 31-35. [Accessed at <https://books.google.co.uk/> on 19/7/2015].

¹⁸⁷ A. Forrester-Paton, *The Romance of Patons Yarn*, 1. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1982.

¹⁸⁸ Charles McMaster, *Alloa Ale*, 57. Published 1984.

¹⁸⁹ Charles McMaster, *Alloa Ale*, 5. Published 1984.

¹⁹⁰ Caledonian Mercury, 22/1/1754, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 3/6/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

¹⁹¹ National Records of Scotland, GD124/17/335.

¹⁹² Angus Graham, *Archaeological notes on some harbours in Eastern Scotland*, 213.

¹⁹³ Francis H. Groome, 1901 *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, 42. [Gazetteers of Scotland, 1803-1901. Accessed at the National Library of Scotland website www.nls.uk on 4/8/2016].

¹⁹⁴ Angus Graham, *Archaeological notes on some harbours in Eastern Scotland*, 213.

A dry dock for the repair of vessels was built circa 1788 by James Allan. It stood on the west of the shore, a little upstream of the harbour.¹⁹⁵ The Craig Ward or King's ferry stood to the west of the dry dock.¹⁹⁶ Allan was a former excise officer and surveyor of window lights. He was the brother of David Allan, the artist. Their father, also called David, was the shore griever at Alloa. James Allan owned a ship, the *Diligence*. He went bankrupt in 1794 and the dry dock was bought by John Jameson, sheriff clerk in Alloa.¹⁹⁷ Jameson was married to Margaret Haig and worked with the Stein family of distillers, eventually taking full ownership of Bow Street distillery in Dublin. John Jameson & Son is still the leading Irish whiskey brand.¹⁹⁸

A network of waggonways from the Clackmannanshire mines to the Forth was laid in stages to take coal for shipping. An advertisement printed in the *Caledonian Mercury*, dated 29/2/1768, stated that 'a waggon road is proposed to be made from the Alloa coal-works to the harbour of Alloa.'¹⁹⁹ An extension to Collyland was built circa 1772.²⁰⁰ The construction of these waggonways greatly reduced the expense and labour required to transport coal to the shore. In addition, the rate at which coal could be delivered to waiting ships was increased. This resulted in a growth in sales of about 50%. By 1785 the wooden rails were worn out and were rebuilt on a new plan. More durable materials were introduced in stages.²⁰¹ The Devon Company, or Devon iron works, near Tillicoultry, was established circa 1792. It used significant quantities of Sauchie and Tillicoultry coal in its foundries.²⁰² Waggonways were used to supply the works with coal, ironstone and other raw materials. They were also used to transport finished goods to the shore for shipping.²⁰³

The biggest disadvantage of the location of Alloa port was that it continually silted up with mud. The problem was remedied by the construction of a sluicing pond at the head of the pow; a small reservoir, fed by the Brathie Burn, which could be discharged rapidly at low tide

¹⁹⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 15/5/1788, 1. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 4/8/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

¹⁹⁶ First Statistical Account. Parish of Alloa, 595.

¹⁹⁷ National Records of Scotland, CS96; GD63/461.

¹⁹⁸ Information sourced from the website of the Kennetpans Trust, www.kennetpans.info

¹⁹⁹ M. Stewart, *John Erskine, Earl of Mar: Architecture, Landscape & Industry*, 111; *Caledonian Mercury*, 29/2/1768, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 11/10/2015]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁰⁰ Clackmannanshire Field Studies Society, *Clackmannanshire Colliery Waggonways*, 16-17.

²⁰¹ First Statistical Account. Parish of Alloa, 617.

²⁰² First Statistical Account. Parish of Clackmannan, 12. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1987.

²⁰³ Second Statistical Account. Parish of Clackmannan, 6. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1987.

to flush silt out towards the Forth.²⁰⁴ A second pow, known as the West or Little Pow, entered the harbour just south east of the Mar Inn. It too had a sluicing pond at its head. The formation of this pond was decided upon in 1768 and may have been linked to the construction of the Alloa waggonway. This pow was filled up in 1848.²⁰⁵ Another problem faced by the harbour trustees was the dumping of ballast in the Forth, which reduced the available depth of water and interrupted the navigation of ships.²⁰⁶

Feasibility studies for making the River Devon navigable from Cambus as far upstream as Rack Mill, and the River Forth between Craigforth Dam and Gartmore, were drawn up by John Smeaton in 1767 and by James Watt in 1774.²⁰⁷ Smeaton also surveyed and oversaw the construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal.²⁰⁸ Both engineers deemed the Devon and Forth projects feasible. Factors in favour of the Devon scheme included the opening up of a large, untapped area of coal to sea sale, reductions in the cost of supplying coal, lime and other goods to inland areas and a boost to local commerce and manufacturing. Factors against included the cost of buying the necessary carse land, which was prime agricultural land, the need to compensate several mill owners, whose water supplies would be affected by the canals and, of course, the cost of the works themselves. Smeaton estimated the cost of building a canal from Cambus to Mellock Foot at £9,357 and for continuing the canal from Menstrie Bridge to Alloa at £2,408.²⁰⁹ Watt's estimate for his schemes on the Devon and the Forth was £13,040. This did not include the cost of buying land, which amounted to 78 acres.²¹⁰ A meeting of parties interested in the Devon scheme, including Alexander Abercromby, Lord Alva and Mr Erskine of Grange, was held in Edinburgh on 13 January 1774.²¹¹ Those present agreed to canvass all concerned who might take a stake in the project, as it was necessary for two thirds of the likely cost to be met by subscribers before an Act of Parliament would be considered. Provost James Moir of Stirling wrote to Henry Dundas

²⁰⁴ Angus Graham, *Archaeological notes on some harbours in Eastern Scotland*, 213-4.

²⁰⁵ Angus Graham, *Archaeological notes on some harbours in Eastern Scotland*, 213.

²⁰⁶ First Statistical Account. Parish of Alloa, 640.

²⁰⁷ Smeaton, John. Reports of the Late Mr. John Smeaton, F.R.S. Made on various occasions in the course of his employment of an engineer. Printed for a select Committee of civil-engineers, and sold by Mr. Faden, geographer to His Majesty. Vol. I. Vol. Volume 1. London, M.DCC.XCVII. [1797] [Hereafter: Smeaton]; Watt, James. An account of the scheme for rendering navigable the rivers Forth and Devon, with estimates of the expence. By James Watt. Edinburgh, M,DCC,LXXIV. [1774] [Hereafter: Watt] [18th Century Collections Online. Gale. National Library of Scotland. Date accessed: 2 Feb. 2016].

²⁰⁸ Forth & Clyde Canal Guidebook, 29. Forth & Clyde Canal Society, 1991.

²⁰⁹ Smeaton, 158.

²¹⁰ Watt, 16.

²¹¹ Watt, 19.

regarding the Alloa to Stirling navigation, seeking a grant from the forfeited Jacobite estates for its improvement.²¹² When the Forth and Clyde Canal was completed in 1790, linking Glasgow and the west coast with eastern Scotland, Alloa lost some trade to Grangemouth. It gained, however, a new export route to, for example, Liverpool, Bristol, Dublin and Glasgow, for coal and the produce of its manufactures. Coal was sent from Alloa to Ireland in 1796.²¹³ When the Devon Company was established in 1792, it again seemed likely that the Devon navigation scheme would proceed. Neither it, nor the Forth project was realised, however. If the Devon scheme had gone ahead, the industrial landscape of Clackmannanshire might have changed significantly.

Total coal production for the county exceeded 100,000 tons in 1790.²¹⁴ Most was used locally or for manufactures and the coastal trade. About 6,000 tons were exported annually, mainly to Sweden, Denmark and Norway, and Russia.²¹⁵

In 1786 it was reported that the collieries at Alloa, Sauchie, Coalsnaughton, Kennet, Clackmannan and Elphinstone no longer made any salt. Bo'ness, Grange, Culross, Torryburn, St David's, Dysart, Wemyss and Pittenweem continued in the trade at that time. Salt was also made at some places along the Forth from where no coal was shipped, including Cockenzie, Prestonpans, Magdalen Pans and Duddingston Pans.²¹⁶ By about 1810 the Forth salt trade had greatly diminished.²¹⁷ In 1825 changes to the salt laws brought about the virtual collapse of the few remaining works.

Trade with Campvere accounted for as much as half of Alloa's exports in the 1740s, but had practically disappeared by the 1780s.²¹⁸

²¹² National Records of Scotland, GD51/5/548.

²¹³ *Report from the committee appointed to consider the coal trade of this kingdom*, 2 June 1800, 163-181. [House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 4/8/2015].

²¹⁴ B. J. Elliott, *The rise and decline of the railway and coal industries in Clackmannanshire*. Published in *Forth Naturalist and Historian*, volume 12, 115-125.

²¹⁵ *Report from the committee appointed to consider the coal trade of this kingdom*, 2 June 1800, 163-181. [House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 4/8/2015].

²¹⁶ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 31/5/1786. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed via the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 17/7/2015].

²¹⁷ Robert Bald, *A General View of the Coal Trade of Scotland, Chiefly that of the River Forth and Mid-Lothian*, 83. Edinburgh, 1812. Accessed via e-book version.

²¹⁸ *Alloa Port, Customs and Excise Accounts*, 126. Published in *Forth Naturalist and Historian*, volume 3.

Britain was at war with France from 1756 to 1763. A great deal of the conflict, known as the Seven Years War, took place at sea. Trading vessels were easy prey for armed ships on both sides. French privateers roamed the North Sea in search of prizes, in the form of captured and ransomed merchant vessels and their cargos. A number of ships from Alloa fell victim to this practice. In 1757 the *Euphame*, Smiton master, was ransomed for 165 guineas, while en route from Alloa to Amsterdam.²¹⁹ In 1760 the *Mary and Janet* of Alloa, Steen master, was taken and ransomed for 150 guineas, when sailing from Hamburg to New Berwick.²²⁰ The cabin was also plundered during the raid, which ended abruptly when the raiders spotted another armed ship approaching. They initially thought it to be British and left in a hurry. It turned out to be another French privateer, carrying 16 guns. The sense of alarm felt by merchants, shipmasters and crews along the Forth coast was very high. At the time when the *Mary and Janet* was ransomed, a newspaper reported that the two French privateers (one of 18 guns; the other 16), plus two sloop privateers and a cutter, were all hovering off the mouth of the Firth of Forth.²²¹ In August of the same year, Captain Thompson's sloop, which belonged to Alloa, was taken on its way home from Hamburg by a French dogger privateer. The vessel was then retaken off the Norway coast, along with the French privateer, by the *Hazard* sloop of war, Captain Goodall master, and returned to the Forth.²²² Again, in 1760, the *Cathcart*, Donald master, was ransomed for 215 guineas when travelling from Alloa to the Baltic. The *Stirling and Alloa Packet*, Jamison master, fell prey in December to the *Duke d'Ayen*, Captain John Duchesne, a privateer out of Boulogne. Hostages taken from the vessel were landed at Dunkirk. It was then ransomed for 120 guineas.²²³

Armed convoys were established to give protection to merchant ships travelling between Leith and the Thames.²²⁴ It was commonplace for such vessels to include Bo'ness and Alloa among their stopping points. The casualties from this sea war were considerable and put a great strain on the Navy. Much hated and dreaded 'press gangs' are known to have combed

²¹⁹ The Scots Magazine, 4/7/1757, 382. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 25/1/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²²⁰ The Scots Magazine, 2/6/1760, 334. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 25/1/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²²¹ Sussex Advertiser, 7/7/1760, 2. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 25/1/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²²² Caledonian Mercury, 23/8/1760, 3; Leeds Intelligencer, 2/9/1760, 2. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 25/1/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²²³ The Scots Magazine, 7/7/1760, 387; Caledonian Mercury, 1/12/1760, 2. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 25/1/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²²⁴ e.g. Caledonian Mercury, 29/6/1761, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 25/1/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

the Forth coast, looking for able-bodied men who could be forced into compulsory naval service. Such gangs are known to have visited Clackmannan in 1757 and 1765, taking several men on each occasion.²²⁵

The Stein distilleries at Kennetpans and Kilbagie

Of all the industrial developments to emerge near Alloa in the eighteenth century, the distilleries at Kennetpans and Kilbagie were among the most significant and they certainly experienced the most rollercoaster fortunes. Both grew rapidly in size and importance in the second half of the century and then collapsed spectacularly in 1788. They were pioneers in the mass production and export of spirits, namely whisky and gin. Kennetpans and Kilbagie were owned and developed by members of the Stein family, who were long established farmers in the area. They combined and integrated agriculture and distilling on a scale hitherto unknown in Scotland. Output was increased in the space of a few years to unprecedented levels as they tried to dominate the British market for spirits. The Steins were joined in this by their close relatives, the Haigs, who owned distilleries at Canonmills and Lochrin, and by Robert Stein, who ran Kincaple distillery, near St Andrews. They were, however, in competition with other distillers, with importers of foreign spirits and with smugglers. The sudden bankruptcy of all five distilleries in 1788 was brought about by changes to excise law, introduced after MPs were lobbied by the Steins' main rivals, the London distillers. A lengthy sequestration process followed, during which the enormous debts of the distilleries were disentangled. James Stein, owner of Kilbagie distillery, left the country after it was discovered that he owed over £220,000.²²⁶ He was to return, however, after things had settled down. The Steins restarted some of their distilleries towards the end of the century and even made forays into banking and state lotteries. One of their descendants, Robert Stein, developed the Patent Still, forerunner of the type of still used today for the mass production of spirits. The Haigs went on to become very successful distillers in the longer term, as did the Jameson family, who were also related to the Steins.

The beginnings of both distilleries remain something of a mystery. The few surviving clues point to Kennetpans as the earlier to be established. W. Downing Bruce, a nineteenth century

²²⁵ T. Crouther Gordon, *The History of Clackmannan*, 147. Glasgow, Civic Press, 1936.

²²⁶ Unto the right honourable, The Lords of Council and Session, The Petition of James Marshall, writer to the signet, 31/1/1794, 1. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

owner of Kilbagie House, suggested that distilling began at Kennetpans ‘soon after’ 1638.²²⁷ Another possible pointer to early distilling is a reference to an excise officer at Clackmannan in the Kirk Session records for 1713.²²⁸ John Stein, merchant in Alloa, farmed Craigton circa mid-seventeenth century. His son, Andrew Stein (1672-c.1741), was a tenant in Kennetpans.²²⁹ A 1722 contract of victual between Andrew Stein and Sir Hew Dalrymple, details a shipment of 200 bolls of good quality barley and 100 bolls of white wheat from North Berwick to Alloa.²³⁰ This may have been used for distilling. Andrew Stein held public office in Clackmannanshire, including that of Sheriff Substitute, to which he was appointed by James Dalrymple in 1728.²³¹ His 1743 will indicates that he had significant financial dealings with James Dalrymple’s father, Colonel William Dalrymple. His son, John Stein (1697-c.1773), is mentioned as a vintner and merchant in Airth in the early 1740s and a merchant in Kennetpans in 1745.²³² The earliest historical reference to an actual distillery seen in the course of this research is contained in a customs letter, dated 12 May 1748. It mentions ‘John Stein, distiller and maltster at Kennetpans.’ True to the family’s later form, incidentally, he was threatening the excise supervisor with prosecution for the recovery of some seized Geneva.²³³

Distilling was prohibited in Great Britain from March 1757 until December 1760, due to crop failures.²³⁴ The Clackmannanshire heritors were among those calling for a lifting of the ban in 1759.²³⁵ The large scale distilling, for which Kennetpans and Kilbagie became famous, probably began sometime after this ban was lifted. Many of the legal distilleries in Scotland went out of business between 1761 and 1767, having been damaged financially by the prohibition.²³⁶ John Stein, who was the father of twelve, died around 1773. His children included John Stein (1745-1825), who took over at Kennetpans; James Stein, the owner and probable founder of Kilbagie distillery; Robert Stein, who ran Kincaple distillery, near St

²²⁷ W. Downing Bruce, *Collections Toward A History Of Clackmannan*, 18. [Accessed online at National Library of Scotland, www.nls.uk Histories of Scottish Families on 2/2/2016].

²²⁸ T. Crouther Gordon, *The History of Clackmannan*, 143. Glasgow, Civic Press, 1936.

²²⁹ National Records of Scotland, GD1/628/33.

²³⁰ National Records of Scotland, GD110/743, cited in Hazel Ramage’s thesis, *Kennetpans Distillery: The site and the wider landscape*. University of Stirling.

²³¹ National Records of Scotland, GD1/628/33.

²³² Caledonian Mercury, 10/7/1740, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 2/2/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved; National Records of Scotland, GD1/628/33.

²³³ Alloa Customs Records, 159. (12/5/1748).

²³⁴ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 29

²³⁵ The Scots Magazine, 5/11/1759, 602-603. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 14/4/2016].

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²³⁶ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 29

Andrews; Andrew Stein, co-partner in Hattonburn distillery; and Margaret Stein, who married John Haig and whose five sons were trained as distillers by the Steins.²³⁷ It may have been this generation of the family that saw the opportunity for expansion created by the failure of other distilleries in the 1760s. They could not have achieved this without the agreement and co-operation of local landowners and farmers. Additional supplies of grain, coal and labour were vital for any such growth. Documents and statistics which might pinpoint the actual timeline of these developments have not yet been found; only a few possible clues. New leases for the Kilbagie and Kennet coal works were advertised in May 1768.²³⁸ In December of the same year, a recently built house, brewery and distillery, near the shore of Alloa, were put up for sale by Robert Stein, merchant. The sale notice stated that ‘the brewery and distillery are situated in a populous country, where there is a great consumpt for wine and spirits.’²³⁹ There is mention of a court case in March of the following year, brought against Robert Stein and other brewers in the town, in which the Erskines demanded that the brewers use the mill of the barony and pay multures, instead of building their own mill.²⁴⁰ Robert Stein’s premises were advertised again in October 1769.²⁴¹ Shipments of whisky, Scots spirits and British spirits from Alloa to Leith begin to appear with some frequency in the Caledonian Mercury from around December 1768.²⁴²

The earliest mention of distilling at Kilbagie found in this research dates from December 1777, when a fire was reported there.²⁴³ An earlier fire at the house of James Stein, near Alloa, was reported in November 1774, but it is not known if this was in connection with distilling.²⁴⁴ A 1778 reference to ‘Mr James Stevens, a famous distiller at Kilbagie’ indicates

²³⁷ National Records of Scotland, GD1/628/33.

²³⁸ Caledonian Mercury, 28/5/1768, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 14/4/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²³⁹ Caledonian Mercury, 26/12/1768, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 14/4/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁴⁰ Decisions of the Court of Session from Nov 1765 to Dec 1769, collected by John Monro, 178-179. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁴¹ Caledonian Mercury, 25/10/1769, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 14/4/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁴² Caledonian Mercury, 3/12/1768, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 2/2/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁴³ Caledonian Mercury, 22/12/1777, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 14/4/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁴⁴ Caledonian Mercury, 2/11/1774, 2. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 14/4/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

that the site was already well established by that year.²⁴⁵ In May 1783 it was described as a 'great distillery'.²⁴⁶

Detailed descriptions of Kennetpans and Kilbagie are given in the First Statistical Account for the Parish of Clackmannan and in sale notices printed in newspapers in 1789. Kennetpans distillery was situated on the banks of the River Forth, with an adjoining harbour. The buildings and works included several mills, malting barns, offices, a house and a Boulton & Watt steam engine, the first of its kind in Scotland.²⁴⁷ Kilbagie was about a mile inland and was connected to the Forth at Kennetpans by a navigable canal.²⁴⁸ Covering four acres of ground, it was nearly twice the size of Kennetpans. Its house and offices looked out on two large gardens, which were well stocked with fruit trees. About 30 acres of land were connected to Kilbagie.²⁴⁹ It was surrounded by a high wall, designed to shield the works from prying eyes and to protect the valuable plant and stock. Kilbagie is said to have cost over £40,000 to build, a very large sum at the time. Nearly 300 people were employed there at its peak.²⁵⁰ There were water-powered mills for threshing corn and grinding grain, malting barns and other buildings for keeping a large number of cattle and pigs.²⁵¹ The animals were fed on the spent grains from the distillery, known as draff. The pigs were slaughtered on site and cured into bacon and pork for sale in England. The cattle were supplied to butchers for the Edinburgh and Glasgow markets.²⁵² Manure from the animals was used as field fertiliser by the Steins and by other local farmers.²⁵³ James Stein took a long lease of 340 acres of farmland from Lord Kennet prior to 1778. He was prompted to do this by the quantity of dung produced by his livestock.²⁵⁴ At least 60 or 70 horses were kept at Kilbagie, some of

²⁴⁵ Present State of Husbandry in Scotland (W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1778), volume 2, 123. Accessed through Googlebooks.

²⁴⁶ Caledonian Mercury, 10/5/1783, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 14/4/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁴⁷ London Chronicle, 4-7/4/1789. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 2/2/2016]; First Statistical Account. Parish of Clackmannan, 12. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1987.

²⁴⁸ First Statistical Account. Parish of Clackmannan, 12. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1987.

²⁴⁹ London Chronicle, 4-7/4/1789. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 2/2/2016].

²⁵⁰ First Statistical Account. Parish of Clackmannan, 11-12. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1987.

²⁵¹ Caledonian Mercury, 17/10/1789, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 14/4/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁵² First Statistical Account. Parish of Clackmannan, 11. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1987.

²⁵³ John Frances Erskine, *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Clackmannan*, 66. Edinburgh, 1795.

²⁵⁴ *Present State of Husbandry in Scotland*, volume 2, 123-124. (Edinburgh, 1778). [Accessed via Google Books on 22/6/2016].

them draught horses, suitable for hauling waggons.²⁵⁵ The atrocious state of the local roads was attributed mainly to these waggons.²⁵⁶ The first effective threshing machine was installed at Kilbagie in 1787 by George Meikle, son of its inventor, Andrew Meikle. George Meikle also built the machinery for the mills at Alloa. The Kilbagie device separated corns from straw, a process which previously required a lot of manual labour. Such were the numbers of livestock to be fed at the premises that James Stein had difficulty finding sufficient workers to manually thresh the straw needed. He agreed to the installation of the machine on the condition that Meikle would not be paid if it was unsuccessful. It did work, however; so well, in fact, that the principle was later adopted throughout the country.²⁵⁷ Both distilleries were supplied with coal from the Kennet mines, which were owned by the Bruce family.²⁵⁸ The demand for grain provided a ready market for the produce of nearby farms in the carse and in Fife. This integrated approach to farming and distilling worked well, but made large numbers of people dependent on sales of spirits, either directly or indirectly, for their livelihood.

The whisky made by the Steins was not known for its quality. It certainly did not compare well with Highland malt whisky, particularly after the Steins began to develop the technique of rapid distillation. The burnt flavours produced by this method were removed during rectification and compounding, by which plain spirit was turned into gin. The Steins described their gin as Scotch Holland's, 'made after the Dutch method.'²⁵⁹ Dutch gin was known at that time for being of good quality. In 1780 James Stein was forced to print a rebuttal in the *Caledonian Mercury*, after a rumour was circulated that several people had been poisoned by Kilbagie spirit.²⁶⁰ Robert Burns described this type of whisky as 'a most rascally liquor; and, by consequence, only drank by the most rascally part of the inhabitants.'²⁶¹ Burns is said to have tasted Kilbagie spirit at Poosie Nansie's Tavern in

²⁵⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 17/5/1788, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 2/2/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁵⁶ First Statistical Account. Parish of Alloa, 640.

²⁵⁷ James Tait, *The Agriculture of the Counties of Clackmannan and Kinross*, 54-55. Published in *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland*, Fourth series, Vol. XV, 1883. [Accessed at <http://archive.rhass.org.uk> on 2/2/2016].

²⁵⁸ First Statistical Account. Parish of Clackmannan, 12. Clackmannan District Libraries, 1987.

²⁵⁹ *Public Advertiser*, 29/9/1787. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁶⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 3/1/1780, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 1/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁶¹ Letter to John Tennant in Ayr, dated 22/12/1788. A. Cunningham, *The Works of Robert Burns; With His Life*, volume 6, 328. [Accessed via Google books on 1/6/2016].

Mauchline. He mentioned ‘that dear Kilbagie’ in his poem, *The Jolly Beggars*, which was inspired by his visit to the seedy public house.²⁶²

In 1777 the Steins began a trial of exporting spirits to London for making into gin.²⁶³ This proved successful, so they expanded this arm of their business in the years that followed. James Stein invested heavily in new equipment, spending around £15,000 on new gin plant.²⁶⁴ More coal was needed to fuel this increase in production. Documents exist which detail proposals, made by the Steins and John Jameson, to lease the entire coal of the Alloa estate in 1779 for a period of ten years. They offered to pay 6s 5d per chalders of Alloa coal and 7s 3d per chalders of Coallyland great coal, plus half of any sale price achieved above this, indicating that they might sell some of the output, in addition to using it for distilling.²⁶⁵ More supplies of grain were also required. The Steins imported large quantities of wheat and barley from foreign ports, including Danzig (modern name, Gdansk) and Königsberg.²⁶⁶ They operated their own fleet of ships, which included at least four sloops and two brigantines.²⁶⁷ During the dearth of 1782 to 1784, when crop harvests failed widely in Scotland, the Steins drew more supplies of foreign grain to compensate for the scarcity at home. There was much discontent among the population at this time, with rising food prices and widespread famine taking place, especially in the Highlands. Riots occurred in 1784 at the Haigs’ Canonmills distillery in Edinburgh, after leaflets were printed which claimed that the distilleries were using up food stocks.²⁶⁸ A number of rioters were shot dead. James Stein brought in large supplies of oatmeal to feed the people of Alloa, Kincardine and the surrounding country in January 1783.²⁶⁹ By doing so, he may have prevented a similar occurrence in Clackmannanshire.

²⁶² Robert Chambers, *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, 32. (1838 edition). [Accessed via Google books on 1/6/2016].

²⁶³ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 33.

²⁶⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 7/8/1788, 2-3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 1/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁶⁵ National Records of Scotland, GD124/17/564.

²⁶⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 21/12/1785, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 1/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁶⁷ Answers for David Steuart, Esq; Trustee on the sequestrated estate of James Stein, to the petition of James Marshall, writer to the signet, a creditor on that estate to the extent of £24 Sterling, 4/3/1794. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁶⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 17/6/1784, 3. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁶⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 29/1/1783, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 1/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

Among the merchants with whom the Steins conducted business on a regular basis were Reid, Brown & Co of Edinburgh and Sandeman & Graham of London.²⁷⁰ In addition to the shipments to Leith and London, spirits made by the Steins were also sent to other ports along the east coast; to Shields, for example, in 1788.²⁷¹ The Steins were early users of the Forth and Clyde Canal. In November 1787 one of their ships, the *Elizabeth & Margaret*, Norrie master, arrived at Grangemouth from Alloa, en route to Glasgow, carrying aqua vitae.²⁷²

A number of Acts of Parliament concerning the distilleries were passed in the 1780s. The 1781 Act authorised the use of hydrometers to check spirit strength. James Stein brought a case against excise officers in the Court of Exchequer, accusing them of trespass when they attempted to use hydrometers on his premises for the first time. He lost the case, but won four minor technical points of argument.²⁷³ The 1783 Act focused on curbing private distillation.²⁷⁴ The 1784 'Wash Act' was significant for the large distilleries. Duties on spirits were lowered following the ending of the American War of Independence. The administration of duties and regulations was also simplified by the Act. Exports to England from the Stein and Haig distilleries soared to unprecedented levels from 1784 to 1786. 881,969 gallons of spirits were made by the big five Lowland distilleries for the English market in 1786.²⁷⁵ The scale of their success was truly astonishing, but short-lived. An Act of Parliament was passed in the same year which placed the burden of duty more on exports, including those sent to England. Distillers were prohibited by the Act from carrying on rectifying and spirit merchanting businesses simultaneously.²⁷⁶ In what is said to have been an attempt at bribery, James Stein stuffed £500 into the pocket of John Bonar, solicitor of excise, at a breakfast meeting in Edinburgh on 2 September 1786. The cash was wrapped in paper, upon which was written 'This is to be repeated once every year.'²⁷⁷ It is said that

²⁷⁰ Caledonian Mercury, 16/6/1787, 1 & 6/4/1789, 1. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 4/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁷¹ Newcastle Courant, 23/2/1788, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 4/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁷² Caledonian Mercury, 5/11/1787, 3. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 4/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁷³ Newcastle Chronicle, 10/8/1782, 2. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 18/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁷⁴ Caledonian Mercury, 4/10/1783, 4. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 18/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁷⁵ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 40.

²⁷⁶ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 41.

²⁷⁷ The Scots Magazine, 1/12/1786, 43. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 1/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

James Stein had hoped to be allowed to continue trading in gin by the attempt.²⁷⁸ Bonar reported the matter to his superiors, resulting in a prosecution of James Stein. The accused claimed in court that the sum was merely a gift. During the hearing, Bonar described a similar incident which took place in 1782, when £150 was handed to him by Stein and £300 promised annually.²⁷⁹ He was found not guilty by jury verdict. Any celebrations would no doubt have been tempered by the fact that sales of Scottish spirits to England collapsed to 32,267 gallons in 1787. James Stein had no choice but to shut down his gin plant and try to sell plain spirits to England instead.²⁸⁰

In 1787 a case was heard before the justices of the peace in Edinburgh, concerning 21 casks of gin made by James Stein. It had been seized by excise officers on the grounds that it was of such good quality that it must be foreign gin. The entire court tasted the spirit and agreed unanimously that it was of superior quality to any known British gin. James Stein proved that he had made the spirits at Kilbagie and won the case.²⁸¹

In order to break into the London market, the Steins had found it necessary to undercut their English competition. The London distillers responded in a like manner and also bribed excise officers to make seizures of Scottish imports on petty grounds, tying up stocks for months at a time.²⁸² James Stein formed a co-partnership with James Cross, a Bristol distiller, in this escalating trade war.²⁸³ The Steins decided to sell their spirits at a loss in an attempt to starve the competition of sales and, hence, drive them out of business.²⁸⁴ The London distillers responded by lobbying English MPs for assistance. This resulted in the 1788 Act of Parliament, which imposed hefty increases in duty on exports of spirits to England and a new requirement to give twelve months' notice of intention to export.²⁸⁵ The Steins, the Haigs and their agents in London, Sandeman and Graham, went bankrupt within a matter of days. Kilbagie, Kennetpans, Kincaple, Hattonburn, Lochrin and Canonmills were all put into

²⁷⁸ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 42.

²⁷⁹ The Scots Magazine, 1/12/1786, 43. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 1/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁸⁰ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 42.

²⁸¹ The Scots Magazine, 1/6/1787, 49. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 1/6/2016]. © British Library Board. All rights reserved.

²⁸² John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 41.

²⁸³ Public Advertiser, 29/9/1787. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁸⁴ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 40-41.

²⁸⁵ John R. Hume & Michael S. Moss, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 44.

sequestration. James Stein tried to sue the commissioners of excise in January 1788 for his loss of business, which he estimated at between £80,000 and £100,000. Perhaps unsurprisingly, decision was eventually granted in favour of the commissioners, although it was stated in court that the Boards of Excise in Scotland and England had acted on opposing principles regarding the matter.²⁸⁶ Kilbagie continued to trade and operate as a distillery after the sequestration began, in order to feed the large numbers of livestock on the premises.²⁸⁷

The Steins had used an extensive web of credit and debt to grow their businesses. This unravelled quickly following the bankruptcy. Meetings of worried creditors were hastily arranged and, it is fair to say, the Steins' trustees did what they could to recover and repay as much as was possible. So much money was owed by the distilleries at the time of their collapse that a considerable strain was put on the Royal Bank of Scotland.²⁸⁸ David Steuart, trustee for the creditors of James Stein, referred in 1794 to the 'immense extent of the debts, which was unexampled in this country,' and also 'the great, extensive and complicated transactions in which he (James Stein) was engaged' and 'the large sums due to him.'²⁸⁹ Steuart commented, 'whether Mr Stein would have been able, had that law not passed, to have got the better of the great load of debt he had contracted, appears indeed, it must be confessed, highly problematical.'²⁹⁰ James Stein's business affairs appear to have been conducted in a 'loose, careless and slovenly manner.'²⁹¹ This indicates a lack of proper financial management, rather than impropriety. The Erskine family conducted 'very extensive

²⁸⁶ London Chronicle, 31/1/1789. [17th-18th century Burney collection newspapers. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁸⁷ Answers for David Steuart, Esq; Trustee on the sequestrated estate of James Stein, to the petition of James Marshall, writer to the signet, a creditor on that estate to the extent of £24 Sterling, 4/3/1794, 2. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁸⁸ Information sourced from the website of the Kennetpans Trust. www.kennetpans.info

²⁸⁹ Answers for David Steuart, Esq; Trustee on the sequestrated estate of James Stein, to the petition of James Marshall, writer to the signet, a creditor on that estate to the extent of £24 Sterling, 4/3/1794, 1-2. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁹⁰ Answers for David Steuart, Esq; Trustee on the sequestrated estate of James Stein, to the petition of James Marshall, writer to the signet, a creditor on that estate to the extent of £24 Sterling, 4/3/1794, 10. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

²⁹¹ Duplies for David Steuart, Esq. Trustee on the sequestrated estate of James Stein; to the replies for James Marshall, writer to the signet, a creditor on that estate, 26/5/1794, 7. [18th century collections online. Accessed through the National Library of Scotland website, www.nls.uk on 1/6/2016].

and numerous transactions' with James Stein. Mr Erskine of Mar testified in court to James being an honest, honourable and upright man.²⁹²

Summary

Alloa's fortunes from the sixteenth until the twentieth centuries were determined largely by its position at the western edge of the region's coal deposits, as they run along the north side of the river. There is evidence that coal was mined at Alloa from the early sixteenth century and that it was shipped from there by the middle of the same century. This trade was under the control of the local landowners, notably the Bruce, Shaw and Erskine families.

One of the main early uses of coal was in the recovery of salt from sea water. Salt pans could be found all along the shores of the Forth. Both coal and salt were being exported from Alloa by the early seventeenth century. The Earl of Mar calculated in 1614 that salt was the more valuable of the two to the Scottish economy. The Dutch, in particular, sent ships laden with goods to be traded at Scottish ports and returned home with cargos of coal and salt.

A landing place, known as Alloa Pow, was situated at the mouth of the Brathie Burn. Alloa's port grew around this area. A substantial quay is mentioned in 1713, although some kind of artificial harbour may have existed prior to this.

The Gartmorn Dam scheme, which was built shortly after the 1707 Union by the 6th Earl of Mar, facilitated a six-fold increase in coal revenues through better mine drainage. Post-Union optimism and the expectation of an increase in trade saw the number of vessels based at Alloa more than treble in the years 1707 to 1712.

The 1715 Jacobite Rebellion and the dramatic switching of sides made by the 6th Earl was a setback to the town. Alloa lost its main employer, its driving force and its most imaginative planner. The coal trade continued, however, and was augmented in the 1720s and 1730s by the re-export trade in tobacco.

²⁹² Saunders's News-letter, 22/12/1786, 1-2. [Accessed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk on 1/6/2016].
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A better organised and more thorough customs collection was deemed necessary after the Union. Alloa gained its own custom house in 1710 and the number of officers employed there is thought to have increased significantly thereafter. There was resistance to the new and generally higher customs and excise duties in Scotland after 1707. There is evidence of smuggling activity and customs evasion at Alloa in the decades that followed. Officers at the port were often outwitted or simply outnumbered and were at times forced to withdraw or submit to those who were intent on avoiding payment. Military assistance was on occasion called for, in order to prevent smuggling and protect customs staff going about their duty.

Anti-government feeling was one factor behind the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion. The river crossing at Alloa was of strategic importance during the conflict and was the scene of skirmishes between the two sides. Following the suppression of the rebellion, a different picture of the town slowly emerged. In the decades after 1760 a number of manufactures were established in and around Alloa. Many of these used local coal as a heat source and, from the end of the century onwards, for steam power. Support for the Hanoverian kings was even demonstrated at times, although this may have been more for show than sincerely felt.

The bulk of the trading activity described in this essay took place before the start of the industrial revolution. It is widely known that Alloa was a manufacturing centre in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some of the factors which facilitated industrial growth in the town can be seen developing during the eighteenth century and earlier: the exploitation of local coal; the organisation of a labour force (albeit through a form of slavery, where coal mining was concerned); the development of local infrastructure, notably the port, the waggonways and Gartmorn Dam; and the growth of trading connections, both within Scotland and further afield. Alloa was better placed by the late 1770s than many other Scottish towns to take part in the growth that followed.

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Appendix 1: A list of people

This list was compiled from various sources and includes names of customs officers, shipmasters, merchants, sailors, manufacturers and others; all of whom had connections to trade at Alloa. Where several references have been found to the same or similar names, but it is not clear if they all refer to the same person, these have been included as separate entries. The list is organised by the following column headings:

Title: for example, earl, lord, brigadier.

Forename(s)

Surname

Date(s) of reference(s): Year referred to in the reference(s). Where more than one year is given, multiple references to the same individual have been found.

Role(s): for example, shipmaster, merchant, collector of customs.

Further information

Source: Document, book or website where the information was found. The following abbreviations have been used:

ACR: Alloa Customs Records 1718-50

A&IE: Alloa and Its Environs

NRS: National Records of Scotland online catalogue

WILL: Scotland's People online Wills and Testaments index

2SA: The Second Statistical Account: Parish of Alloa, 49.

Appendix 1: A list of people

Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	Alexander	Abercromby	1733	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	Alexander	Adam	1759	Shipmaster in Airth		WILL
	Andrew	Adam	1734	Spirits dealer in Airth		ACR
	John	Adam	1725, 1734, 1735	Master of the Betty of Airth		ACR
	John	Adam	1735, 1736, 1740, 1741, 1741/2	Master of the William of Airth		ACR
	Robert	Adam	1744	Master of the Ann of Airth		ACR
	George	Adame	1702	Merchant in Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
	Charles	Addison	1748	Merchant in Bo'ness		ACR
	Robert	Aird	1734	Witness to a brandy seizure at Airth in 1734		ACR
	Robert	Aird	1724, 1725, 1727, 1733	Customs tidesman at Stirling	Wounded in Bo'ness Road on 12/4/1724. Dismissed 29/1/1733.	ACR
	John	Alexander	1798	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	William	Alexander	1679	Skipper in Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
	William	Alexander	1738		Purchased a parcel of tobacco.	ACR
	James	Alexander, junior	1757	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	David	Allan	1734-1735	Shore grieve in Alloa		NRS
	James	Allan	1788, 1794	Builder and owner of the dry dock in Alloa	Also owner of the Diligence sloop. Formerly an excise officer and surveyor of window lights.	NRS
	John	Allan	1788	Merchant in Dunmore		WILL
	Robert	Allan	1696	The Earl of Mar's factor		NRS
Baillie		Allan	1733	Tobacco merchant in Stirling		ACR
Captain		Allan	1735, 1736	Master of a ship		ACR
	Janet	Anderson	1729		Spouse of John Heig, sailor in Alloa.	WILL
	John	Anderson	1741	Merchant in Airth		WILL
	Margaret	Anderson	1738		Spouse of George Erskine, shipmaster in Alloa.	WILL
	Robert	Anderson	1750	Salt officer at Kincardine		ACR
	William	Anderson	1750	Master of the Mary of Airth		ACR
	Bessie	Andersone	1623		Spouse of John Short, merchant in Alloway.	WILL
	John	Archibald	1741		Took part in a deforcement at Fallin Pow in 1741.	ACR
Mr		Armour	1734	Solicitor or lawyer?		ACR
	John	Arthur	1728	Shipmaster in Alloa		WILL
	John	Arthur	1741	Pilot of the Providence of Sunderland in 1741		ACR
	John	Arthur	1768	Shipmaster in Alloa	Deceased by 1768.	NRS
	Thomas	Arthur	1737	Shipmaster in Alloa		NRS
	John	Arthur, younger	1687, 1700	Skipper in Alloa		NRS
	Archibald	Auldcorn	1726	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Duncan	Auldcorn	1726	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	John	Baad	1788	Sailor in Airth		WILL
	John	Bachop or Bauchop	1721	Master of the Griffin of Alloa		NRS
	Hugh	Baillie	1734	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	John	Baird	1765	Sailor in Elphinstone		WILL

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	Robert	Baird	1801	Shipmaster at Dunmore		WILL
	William	Baird	1763	Sailor in Elphinstone		WILL
	Patrick	Ballenden	1715	Shipman in Airth		WILL
	William	Bannerman	1743	Master of the Blacksmith of Airth		ACR
	Alex	Barclay	1731	Master of the Margaret of Dundee		ACR
Brigadier		Barrell			Stirling	ACR
	William	Black	1748	Extraordinary Customs tidesman at Stirling	He was sent to Port Glasgow in 1748.	ACR
	John	Blackadder	1720	Skipper in Alloa		WILL
	John	Blackater	1718	Master of the Betty of Alloa		ACR
	Edward	Blackstock	1732	Merchant or master of Captain Tucker's sloop		ACR
	John	Blair	1733	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	John	Blyth	1728	Master of the Godsend of Dundee		ACR
	William	Borrowman	1734	Crew member on the Ann of Airth		ACR
	David	Boswell	1731	Master of the Mary (of Kirkwall?)		ACR
	Thomas	Boswell	1729/30	Master		ACR
	Alexander	Boutcher	1730	Master of the Jean of Montrose		ACR
	Adam	Boyle	1738	Merchant in Bo'ness		ACR
	Peter	Beware	1631	of Alloa	He traded in transporting coal to Flanders and importing other wares to Scotland.	NRS
	Thomas	Brown	1735		Witness to a pistol being fired at a Customs officer in June 1735.	ACR
	Thomas	Brown	1741	Extraordinary Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	Alexander	Bruce	1707	Captain in Airth		WILL
	James	Bruce	1610	Captain in Airth		WILL
	James	Bruce	1696	Merchant in Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
	James	Bruce	1719	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	James	Bruce	1724-1753	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	John	Bruce	1787	Surveyor of customs at Alloa		WILL
	Robert	Bruce	1734	Boy on the Mackenzie of Leith in 1732		ACR
	Elspe	Bryce	1643		Spouse of David Carron at the Pow of Alloway.	WILL
	Mackie	Bryce	1817	Shipmaster in Alloa		WILL
	John	Buchanan	1747	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Robert	Buchanan	1707	Sailor on the Unicorn	Company of Scotland vessel. Son of Robert B., at Craigward of Alloway.	WILL
	Robert	Buchanan	1745	Customs land carriage waiter at Glasgow; stationed at Elphinstone		ACR
	Robert	Buchanan	1751	Owner or master of the Mary of Alloa	Claimed the ship after a seizure of smuggled tobacco.	NRS
Mr		Buchanan	1746	Of Arnprior	He was put on trial for taking part in the 1745 Rebellion.	ACR

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	James	Burn	1710	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	John	Burn	1746	Customs landwaiter in Alloa	Dismissed 7/10/1746.	ACR
	Robert	Burn	1696	Skipper in Elphinstone		WILL
Mr		Burns	1738, 1741	Customs landwaiter at Alloa		ACR
	D	C	1749	Signed a letter for the Comptroller in 1749		ACR
	John	Cairns	1748	Customs boatman at Queensferry		ACR
	Duncan	Cameron	1733/4, 1745, 1746/7	Customs boatman at Alloa; boatman at Alloa port	Deforced in 1745. Died 17/2/1747.	ACR
	Archibald	Campbell	1734/5	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	Archibald	Campbell	1748/9, 1749/50, 1750	Customs land carriage waiter at Glasgow. Acting as tidewaiter at Elphinstone in January 1748/9.		ACR
	Colin	Campbell	1734/5	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	J	Campbell	1732, 1733, 1734, 1734/5, 1735, 1736, 1738, 1739, 1739/40, 1741/2	Comptroller of Customs at Alloa		ACR
Sir	James	Campbell	1734	Justice of the Peace	Of Arkingas.	ACR
	John	Campbell	1746	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Employed 3/12/1746.	ACR
	John	Campbell	1721, 1727, 1730	Customs landwaiter at Alloa	Admitted by deputation 15/4/1721. Dismissed 23/7/1730.	ACR
	John	Campbell	1733/4	Customs boatman at Alloa		ACR
	James	Chalmers	1662	Merchant in Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
		Clerk	1723	Merchant in Airth		ACR
	Robert	Clerk or Clark	1723	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Dismissed in September 1723.	ACR
	James	Clidslay	1741	Metter in Stirling		ACR
Baillie		Cochrane	1745	Baillie of the Regality of Bo'ness		ACR
Colonel		Cockburn	1731		Stirling	ACR
	James	Colhoun	1733, 1734	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	Robert	Colhoun	1733, 1734, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744/5	Tobacco merchant; comptroller of Customs at Alloa in 1740		ACR
	Robert	Colquhoun	1747	Comptroller of Customs at Alloa		WILL
Mr		Comrie	1732, 1734	Surveyor of Customs at Alloa	Dismissed 4/9/1732.	ACR
	John	Connochie	1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1747, 1748/9	Master of the Lilly, the James and the Betty, all of Airth		ACR
	Colin	Cooper	1746	Master of the Countess of Murray		ACR
	Henry	Corbet	1752	Officer of excise at Airth		WILL
	Henry	Corbett	1748/9, 1749, 1749/50, 1750	Officer of Excise at Airth		ACR
		Corbett	1733	Tobacco merchant		ACR
		Corbett	1738	Officer of Excise at Stirling		ACR
	John	Cormack	1744/5	Shipmaster in Burntisland		ACR

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	James	Corrie or Currie	1733, 1734, 1734/5, 1735, 1736	Customs tidesman at Alloa and Airth	Injured during a deforcement on the Ann of Airth on 9/5/1734. Carried abroad to Gothenburg on the Lilly of Airth in April 1735.	ACR
	Francis	Corwall	1735	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	William	Couan, younger	1724	Merchant in Airth		WILL
	Thomas	Couston or Coulston	1723-	Customs tidewaiter at Alloa	Admitted by letter 14/9/1723. Dismissed in October 1724.	ACR
	James	Cowan	1745	Servant to Peter Hodge in Airth	Deforced Duncan Cameron, boatman, in 1745.	ACR
	James	Cowan	1762	Merchant in Airth		WILL
	John	Cowan	1734, 1734/5	Merchant in Stirling	A noted smuggler.	ACR
	William	Cowan	1723	Merchant in Airth		WILL
	Alexander	Cowie	1709	Merchant in Pocknave		WILL
	Alexander	Cracket	1783	Sailor in Kincardine		WILL
	Elliot	Crawford	1798	Officer of customs at Alloa		WILL
	Hendray	Crawford	1719	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	George	Cruikshank	1747, 1748, 1748/9	Supervisor of Excise at Stirling and Glasgow	Seized goods at Elphinstone in April and May 1748.	ACR
	Margaret	Cuming	1803		Relict of George Scotland, shipmaster in Kincardine.	WILL
	James	Cumming	1725, 1727, 1731	Customs tidewaiter at Alloa	Admitted by deputation 3/12/1725. Dismissed 10/11/1731, re-employed 26/11/1731 and dismissed again 23/8/1732.	ACR
	Richard	Cumming	1773	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	Ninian	Cunningham	1746, 1747/8	Master of the Despatch	Took 4000 bushells of salt to Virginia in April 1744. Exported salt from Craigflower salt works, near Bo'ness, in 1746.	ACR
	Thomas	Cusings	1721	Master of the Chiefton of Alloa		ACR
	David	Cuthell	1743, 1744	Master of the Black Bitch of Elphinstone		ACR
	Bessie	Dae	1732	Merchant in Alloa	Spouse of James Kirk, merchant in Alloa.	WILL
	John	Dale	1737/8	Master of the Providence of Whitby		ACR
Mr	Alexander	Dalmahoy	1738	Customs land carriage surveyor at Stirling	Stationed at Stirling in 1736, 1737, 1738 and 1742. He was imprisoned at Stirling from 10/11 to 11/12/1742 for insolvency.	ACR
	William	Daniel	1747	Master of the Fellowship of Elphinstone		ACR
	John	Danskin	1727	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	John	Danskine	1724	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	George	Davidson	1740	Salter		ACR
	George	Davidson	1793	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	Robert	Davidson	1768	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	Duncan	Daws	1731		In command of a boat used by Customs officers.	ACR
	Thomas	Day	1795	Merchant in Newck, Parish of Airth		WILL
	William	Deas	1741	Servant to Captain Nuchole of Alloa		NRS
	Thomas	Denny	1726, 1727	Comptroller of Customs at Alloa	Admitted by deputation on 15/2/1726.	ACR
	Edward	Dick	1707	Sailor on the Caledonia	Company of Scotland vessel. Brother German to William D., smith in Airth.	WILL

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	James	Dick	1750	Customs tidesurveyor at Queensferry		ACR
	John	Dick	1707	Cook's assistant on the Caledonia	Company of Scotland vessel. Son of George D., smith in Airth.	WILL
	John	Dick	1737, 1739, 1746/7, 1749	Master of the Primrose of Elphinstone; later of Airth.		ACR
	Patrick	Dick	1740	Master of the Jannet of Airth		ACR
	Patrick	Dick	1740	Merchant in Airth		WILL
Mr		Dick	1750	Commander of the King's boat at Queensferry		ACR
	James	Dickie	1729	Miln wright at the gin of Alloa		WILL
	John	Dickie	1775	Sailor in Alloa		WILL
		Dickson	1734	(Milital?), a Stirling carriage firm		ACR
	Andrew	Donaldson	1735	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	Archibald	Donaldson	1733	Customs tidesman at Queensferry		ACR
	David	Dougall	1737	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Robert	Douglas	1716, 1719, 1723, 1724, 1726	Comptroller of Customs at Alloa	Admitted by deputation 28/3/1716. Removed by 15/2/1726.	ACR
	Samual	Douglas	1737/8	Officer of Excise		ACR
	William	Drummond	1715	Merchant in Airth		WILL
	Thomas	Duff	1748	Master of the Success		ACR
Sir	George	Dunbar	1734	Justice of the Peace		ACR
Mr		Dunbar	1737, 1737/8	Customs tidewaiter, landsurveyor or landwaiter at Alloa		ACR
	Alexander	Duncan	1745	Customs tidewaiter at Alloa		ACR
	Alexander	Duncan	1759	Officer of customs at Alloa		WILL
	James	Duncanson	1747	Master of the Mary of Stirling		ACR
	James	Duncanson	1741, 1743	Master of the Clementina of Airth		ACR
Mr		Dundas	1737	Owner of Letham House. Father of Mr Dundas (junior)		ACR
Mr	Laurence	Dundas (junior)	1737, 1743	Merchant. Owner of cellars at Elphinstone Pans		ACR
		Durham	1718	Customs officer at Alloa		ACR
	Robert	Eason	1741	Coal grieve at Fallin Pow		ACR
	William	Eason	1733, 1741/2	Master of the Jannet of Airth	Died before 19/3/1741/2.	ACR
	James	Easton	1750	Sailor on the Princess Ann		ACR
	Elizabeth	Eizat	1759		Spouse of James Scotland, senior, shipmaster in Kincardine.	WILL
	Robert	Ellise or Ellis	1734, 1738, 1740, 1742, 1746, 1747, 1748	Customs land carriage waiter at Alloa and Stirling	He was confined in the tolbooth in 1734 by the Justices of the Peace for seizing some soap. In November 1748 he was sent to Port Glasgow.	ACR
Lord		Elphinstoun	1734, 1737	Justice of the Peace	He used his powers as Justice of the Peace for his own purposes on at least two occasions.	ACR
	George	Erskine	1706	The Earl of Mar's factor in Alloa		NRS

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	George	Erskine	1725	Shipmaster in Alloa		WILL
	John	Erskine	1745, 1746, 1746/7, 1747, 1747/8, 1748/9, 1749, 1749/50, 1750	Comptroller of Customs at Alloa		ACR
	John	Esdale or Easdale	1733, 1734	Master of the Mackenzie of Leith	Brought tobacco from Virginia to Alloa.	ACR
	John	Ewert or Ewart	1719, 1720, 1723	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Admitted by deputation 9/3/1719. Dismissed in October 1724.	ACR
		Ewing or Ewen	1748	Customs land carriage waiter at Stirling	Died 27/5/1748. He had been bedridden for three to four years before he died.	ACR
	Charles	Eyre	1718	Solicitor of His Majesty's Customs at Edinburgh		ACR
	John	Fairlie	1703	Skipper in Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
	John	Fairly	1741		Took part in a deforcement at Fallin Pow in 1741.	ACR
	John	Falconer	1738	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	John	Falconer	1746	Land carriage waiter at Glasgow, acting as a Customs tidesman at Alloa	Dismissed 3/12/1746.	ACR
		Falconer	1738	Customs tidesman at Airth		ACR
	Patrick	Ferguson	1748	Land carriage waiter at Stirling?		ACR
	Patrick	Ferguson	1752	Servant to William Hodge, shipmaster in Elphinstone		WILL
	William	Ferguson	1723	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Dismissed in September 1723.	ACR
		Ferguson	1719/20	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	George	Fife	1728	Master of the Margaret of Alloa		ACR
	John	Finlayson	1741		Took part in a deforcement at Fallin Pow in 1741.	ACR
	Henry	Foggos	1733	Tobacco merchant in Glasgow		ACR
	William	Foggos	1733	Tobacco merchant in Glasgow		ACR
	Andrew	Foot	1719/20	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	Mary	Forman	1726		Spouse of James Arthur, shipmaster in Alloa.	WILL
	John	Forrester	1742	Shipmaster in Airth		WILL
	Patrick	Forrester	1743	Shipmaster in Airth		WILL
Mr		Forrester	1734	Commander of a Customs boat		ACR
	John	Forrestor	1738	Master of the Black Bitch of Elphinstone		ACR
	John	Forsyth	1721	Master of the Charles of Elphinstone		ACR
	Peter	Forsyth	1730, 1734	Master of the Success of Stirling		ACR
	David	Fotheringhame	1735	Merchant in Montrose	Owner of tobacco discharged at Alloa from the Rebecca & Mary in 1735.	ACR
	William	Freeman	1741	Customs boatman at Queensferry		ACR
	William	Gibb	1734	Boatman at Airth		ACR
	John	Gibson	1769	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	John	Gibson	1772, 1785	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	John	Gibson, jr	1775	Merchant in Alloa		WILL

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	John	Gibson, jr	1775	Merchant and shipmaster in Alloa		WILL
	Thomas	Gill	1723	Customs tidesman at Bo'ness		ACR
	Robert	Gillespie	1757	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Robert	Gilmore	1733	Agent for Mr Niccoll and for Samuel McCaul, tobacco merchants		ACR
	Duncan	Glassford	1747	Master of the Margaret of Bo'ness		ACR
	James	Glassford	1748	Master of the Margaret of Bo'ness		ACR
	Robert	Gordon	1734	Salt officer at Kincardine		ACR
Mr		Gordon	1737/8	Customs landwaiter at Alloa		ACR
	David	Gourlay	1744/5	Master of the Ann & Sarah of Burntisland		ACR
Mr		Graham	1721, 1723	Lord of the Manor in Airth	Judge Advocate.	ACR
Mr		Graham or Grahame	1737/8, 1745	Extraordinary Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	James	Grahame or Graham	1739, 1741, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1747/8, 1748/9, 1749	Merchant; surveyor of Customs		ACR
	William	Grame	1641	Co-partner in coal works, probably in Alloa		NRS
		Grames	1734	Justice of the Peace	(Elder) of Backlevy.	ACR
		Grames	1734	Justice of the Peace	(Younger) of Backlevy.	ACR
	Archibald	Gray	1733	Tobacco merchant in Glasgow		ACR
	David	Gray	1750	Master of the Crown of Airth		ACR
	James	Gray	1735	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	William	Gregory	1729/30	Master of the Elizabeth of Dundee		ACR
	Charles	Greig	1727	Ship master		ACR
	William	Greig	1733	Master of the Charles of Alloa		ACR
	Walter	Grosett	1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1734/5, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1737/8, 1738, 1739, 1739/40, 1741, 1741/2, 1742, 1743, 1743/4, 1744, 1744/5, 1747, 1748	Collector of Customs at Alloa	Admitted by deputation 26/6/1729. Ceased to hold office after June 1747.	ACR
Mr		Gunton	1748/9		Sold wine to John Watson.	ACR
	Alexander	Haig	1768	Shipmaster in Alloa	Mentioned in a legal dispute between James Haig and Dempster.	NRS
	George	Haig	1739		Involved in a deforcement on the Success of Stirling in 1739.	ACR
	George	Haig	1759	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	James	Haig	1730	Agent for John Hunter, merchant		ACR
	James	Haig	1732	Vintner		ACR
	James	Haig	1750	Surgeon in Alloa		ACR
	Alex	Haigan	1729	Master of the Anne of Airth		ACR
	Robert	Haiggin	1734, 1741	Master of an open boat		ACR

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	James	Haigs	1718, 1722, 1723	Merchant	Co-partner with William Schioch in a voyage of the Providence of Alloa to Rotterdam in 1718.	NRS
		Halibuton	1718	Co-owner (?) of the Grayhound with Ramsay		ACR
	Robert	Halliday or Haliday	1716, 1719, 1727, 1732, 1737	Surveyor of Customs at Alloa	Admitted by a letter 18/5/1716. Appointed Surveyor 4/9/1732. Noted on 30/11/1738 as having died.	ACR
	Denniston	Hamilton	1785	Landwaiter at Kincardine		WILL
Mr		Hamilton	1734		Of Grange.	ACR
	William	Hardie	1739	Custom House officer at Alloa		WILL
	William	Hardie	1730, 1733, 1734/5, 1735	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	Charles	Harely or Harley	1773	of Alloa	Named in a bill payable to William Scott in Edinburgh.	NRS
	Charles	Harley	1795	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
Mr		Hart	1739	Officer of Excise		ACR
	William	Hay	1734, 1735, 1739, 1741, 1745, 1746	Customs tidewaiter at Airth and Alloa	Dismissed 3/12/1746.	ACR
Captain		Hay	1750	Commander of the Princess Ann		ACR
	Robert	Heggine	1715	Boatman at Hegine's Neuck		WILL
	William	Henry	1734	Merchant in Airth		WILL
	William	Henry	1740	Tobacco smuggler		ACR
	Walter	Hepburn	1733	Customs tidesman at Queensferry		ACR
	David	Heugh	1749	Customs tidewaiter	Appraised some seized wine when it was sold to James Wilson, merchant in Bo'ness. He was wounded by a stone thrown during a deforcement in May 1750.	ACR
	Alex	Higgins	1729/30	Master		ACR
	Isobell	Hodge	1748/9	Shipmaster's wife in Elphinstone		ACR
	William	Hodge	1740	Master of the Charles		ACR
	William	Hodge	1750	Master of the Charming Sally		ACR
	George	Home	1748, 1750	Surveyor of land carriage at Stirling		ACR
	James	Hoodless	1720	Customs tidesman at Alloa and Bo'ness	Dismissed c. February 1720.	ACR
	William	Hoogg	1748	Merchant in Edinburgh		ACR
	Thomas	Hume	1748/9, 1749	Supervisor of Excise at Stirling		ACR
	Alexander	Hume or Home	1746, 1747	Customs landwaiter at Leith. Employed at Alloa 7/10/1746.		ACR
	John	Huntar	1698	Gin of Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
	John	Hunter	1730	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	John	Hunter	1730	Master of the Elizabeth of London		ACR
	Robert	Hunter	1716, 1727, 1733/4, 1734	Customs boatman at Alloa	Father of Robert Hunter (junior). Admitted by letter 6/4/1716. Suspended 21/1/1733/4. Dismissed 11/2/1734.	ACR
	Robert	Hunter (junior)	-1733	Customs boatman at Alloa	Died 30/9/1733.	ACR
	William	Huntor	1672	Coal hewer at the ginne of Alloway		WILL

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	James	Huton	1724	Shipmaster in Airth		WILL
	George	Hutton	1750	Master of a small vessel in Airth	One of a mob who deforced the Mary of Airth in 1750.	ACR
	James	Hutton	1720	Master of the Elizabeth		ACR
	Thomas	Hutton	1734	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	Thomas	Hutton	1748	Merchant and wright in Alloa		WILL
	William	Hutton	1706		Wrote to the Earl of Mar regarding the sale of coal at Alloa.	NRS
	William	Hutton	1709	Employed at Alloa colliery	Oversaw the sinking of a gin at New Miln, Alloa in 1709.	NRS
	William	Hutton	1718	Merchant in Alloa		ACR
	William	Hutton	1729		Wrote to Lord Grange regarding the freighting of coal to London.	NRS
	William	Hutton	1730	Overseer of the coal works in Alloa		NRS
	William	Hutton	1737	Overseer at the colliery in Alloa		WILL
Captain		Hynde	1718	Commander of a Company of Montague's Regiment	Stationed at Alloa on Customs duties in 1718.	ACR
	George	Isett	1740	Salter		ACR
	John	Izat	1718	Master of the Grayhound of Bo'ness		ACR
	George	Izat, junior	1784	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
Mr		Jaffray	1745	Merchant in Stirling		ACR
Mr	James	Jaffrey	1738, 1743/4	Store keeper at Stirling Castle		ACR
		Jalfrey	1734	Possibly a Stirling carriage firm		ACR
	James	Jameson	1730	Master of the Elizabeth & Jean of Airth		ACR
	John	Jameson	1796	Owner of the dry dock in Alloa		NRS
	Thomas	Jameson	1803	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	David	Jamieson	1737	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	James	Jamieson	1734, 1734/5	Master of the Hopewell of Leith		ACR
	Thomas	Jamieson	1734	Master of the Hellen of Kincardine		ACR
	Thomas	Jamison	1719/20	Merchant in Falkirk		ACR
	Robert	Johnston	1739	Merchant in Alloa		2SA
	Alexander	Jones	1744	Customs tidewater at Bo'ness		ACR
	Alexander	Kenowye	1641	Co-partner in coal works, probably in Alloa		NRS
	Alex	Kerr	1731	Owner of goods		ACR
	Andrew	Kerr	1705	Skipper of the Katherine of Alloa		NRS
	Andrew	Key	1730	Comptroller of Customs at Alloa	Dismissed in August 1730, but working at Alloa Customs in August 1731.	ACR
	Thomas	Kid	1739	Ferryman at Craigward, Alloa		ACR
	Cuthbert	Kilburn	1734, 1734/5, 1735	Customs landwaiter at Alloa		ACR
	David	Kirk	1701	Merchant in Alloa	Husband of Janet Mitchell.	NRS

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	David	Kirk	1790	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Francis	Kirk	1701	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	James	Kirk	1734	Agent for James Colhoun & Co.		ACR
	James	Kirk		Merchant in Alloa	He was granted a tack for ground at Alloa Harbour.	NRS
	John	Kirk	1732	Merchant in Alloa		ACR
	John	Kirk	1732, 1733	Cooper and agent for James Colhoun & Co., and David Fotheringham		ACR
	John	Kirk	1748/9	Merchant in Falkirk		ACR
	James	Law	1641	Co-partner in coal works, probably in Alloa		NRS
	Patrick	Law	1739	Sailor on the Success of Stirling		ACR
	James	Lawrie	1716	Master of the Jean of Alloa	Gave bond not to take on board Jacobite rebels or goods, when bound for Rotterdam from Perth in 1716.	NRS
	James	Lawrie	1749/50, 1750	Signed for the comptroller at Alloa		ACR
	James	Leigh	1723	Customs tidesman at Bo'ness		ACR
	John	Liddell	1748	Master of the Margaret & Mary		ACR
	John	Liddle or Liddall	1715-1729, 1721, 1723, 1727	Customs landwaiter at Alloa	Admitted by deputation 9/6/1715. Died c.1729	ACR
	Margaret	Lindsay	1737		Relict of John Murray, merchant in Alloa.	NRS
		Linn	1723	Merchant in Airth		ACR
	John	Lochhead	1755	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Charles	Logan	1743	Shipmaster in Airth		WILL
	Charles	Logan	1721, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736	Ship's carpenter; master of the Lilly of Airth	A frequent deforcer. He abused and kicked a Customs officer in 1721.	ACR
		Logan	1721	Brother of Charles Logan	Almost murdered a Customs Boatman in 1720.	ACR
	James	Lourie or Lowrie	1708	Skipper in Alloa		NRS
	James	Lowrie	1727	Shipmaster in Alloa		NRS
	John	Luke	1733	Tobacco merchant in Port Glasgow		ACR
	John	Lyon	1732	Customs landwaiter at Bo'ness		ACR
	Andrew	Lythgow	1734, 1737	Customs landwaiter at Alloa and Prestonpans		ACR
	J	M			Signed letters on behalf of Walter Grosett from January to March 1734.	ACR
	Robert	MacFarlane	1823	Shipowner and merchant in Alloa		WILL
	John	MacKenzie	1739	Mate on the Fortrose		ACR
	Alexander	Mackie	1741		Took part in a deforcement at Fallin Pow in 1741.	ACR
	James	Mackie	1724	Shipmaster in Elphinstone		WILL
	James	Mackie	1734	Purchaser of tobacco for exportation from the Mackenzie of Leith		ACR
	James	Mackie	1734	Crew member on the Ann of Airth		ACR
	James	Mackie	1741	Shipmaster in Airth		WILL

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	James	Mackie	1749	Master of the James of Airth		ACR
	James	Mackie	1734/5, 1737/8, 1738	Master of the Mary of Airth		ACR
	Jean	Mackie	1768		Spouse of John McAlpine, shipmaster in Airth.	WILL
	John	Mackie	1749/50	Master of the Mary & Jean of Airth		ACR
	Margaret	Mackie	1777		Spouse of William Hodge, shipmaster in Elphinstone.	WILL
	Robert	Mackie	1734, 1734/5	Merchant in Airth		ACR
	William	Mackie	1725	of Elphinstone. Sometime merchant in Edinburgh		WILL
	John	Mailler	1718	Sailor in Tulliallan		WILL
	Patrick	Main	1787	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Charles Barclay	Maitland	1758-1771		Involved in a dispute with Lord Erskine, Lady Frances Erskine and the Mar Trustees, regarding gate-mail of 5s per chalder.	NRS
	William	Maitland	1707	Sailor on the Unicorn	Company of Scotland vessel. Son of John M., smith at Claigmiln, Logie.	WILL
Baillie		Marshall	1738	Baillie in Stirling		ACR
	Francis	Masterton	1678		He was granted a tack of Park Mill and the new mill on Brathie Burn in 1678.	NRS
	Jean	Masterton	1808		Spouse of Alexander Jamieson, merchant in Alloa.	WILL
	John	Mathers	1733	Customs tidesman at Kirkcaldy	Boarded the Mackenzie and accompanied it to Alloa in January 1733.	ACR
	Samuel	Mays	1723	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Appointed 3/10/1723, but never appeared for duty.	ACR
	Duncan	McAllester	1709, 1711	Skipper of the bark Elizabeth		NRS
	Alexander	McAlpine	1734, 1734/5	Merchant in Airth		ACR
	John	McAlpine	1723	Master of the Elizabeth & Jean of Airth		ACR
Mr	Hugh	McCallum	1732, 1734/5, 1742, 1747	Customs tidesurveyor at Queensferry		ACR
	Alex	McCulloch	1725-1725	Customs tidesman at Stirling	Admitted by deputation in April 1725. Transferred from Thurso, Caithness. Died before 3/12/1725.	ACR
	Thomas	McCulloch	1733	Customs tidesman at Kirkcaldy	Boarded the Mackenzie and accompanied it to Alloa in January 1733.	ACR
	James	McDonald	1719/20, 1723	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Dismissed in September 1723.	ACR
	Alexander	McDougal	1815	Shipmaster in Alloa		WILL
	John	McFarlane	1720	Master of the Elizabeth & Joan of Airth		ACR
	Patrick	McFarlane	1738, 1739, 1739/40	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	Peter	McFarlane	1735	Customs tidewaiter at Bo'ness and Alloa		ACR
Mr		McGibbon	1737	Surveyor of the land carriage		ACR
Mr		McGill	1749	Captain of a Customs boat		ACR
	William	McGowan	1788	Merchant in Alloa	Went into sequestration in 1788.	NRS
	Janet	McIntosh	1732		Spouse of John Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh, sometime waiter in Alloa.	WILL
	Alex	McKenzie	1720	Master of the John of Alloa		ACR

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	Alexander	McKenzie	1726, 1728	Shipmaster in Alloa		WILL
	James	McKenzie	1745	Master of the Fortrose of Alloa		ACR
	John	McKenzie	1745	Shipmaster at Alloa		ACR
Mr		McKenzie	1736	Customs tidewater at Bo'ness		ACR
	Duncan	McLeran	1796	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Robert	McLirrie	1712	Skipper in Elphinstone		WILL
	Thomas	McQueen	1729	Sailor in Kincardine		WILL
	William	McRure	1745		Stirling	ACR
	Alexander	Mculloch	1726	Landwaiter at Alloa		WILL
	George	McVey	1752	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Patrick	Meall	1675	Skipper in Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
		Meikle	1788	Merchant in Alloa	In partnership with Younger. Went into sequestration in 1788.	NRS
	Robert	Mercer	1780	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	John	Michie	1735	Master of the Goodwill of Bo'ness		ACR
Colonel		Middletoun	1734	Colonel of a regiment at Stirling		ACR
Mr		Midleton	1744/5	Collector of Customs at Bo'ness		ACR
	Kenneth	Millar	1746/7, 1747, 1747/8	Customs landwaiter at Anstruther. Moved to Alloa 12/2/1746/7.		ACR
	Archibald	Miller	1804	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	James	Miller	1764	Overseer at the coalworks of Elphinstone		WILL
	Robert	Miller	1754	Salt waiter at Newpans		WILL
	Robert	Miller	1737/8, 1738	Extraordinary Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	William	Mills	1738	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
Mr	William	Miln	1737, 1739	Customs tidewater at Elphinstone		ACR
	William	Milne	1750	Sailor in Airth		WILL
	Andrew	Mitchell	1738	Master of the Ann & Jannet of Carron		ACR
	Catherine	Mitchell	1731		A most noted smuggler.	ACR
	James	Mitchell	1740	Merchant in Alloa		ACR
	James	Mitchell	1792	Soapmaker in Alloa		WILL
	John	Mitchell	1733	Tobacco merchant in Glasgow		ACR
	John	Mitchell	1734		A noted Alloa smuggler.	ACR
	Peter	Mitchell	1737	Master of the Erskine of Alloa		ACR
	Robert	Mitchell	1744	Customs tidewater at Bo'ness		ACR
	Walter	Mitchell	1707	Sailor on the Hope	Company of Scotland vessel. Brother German to Janet M., or Young in Alloway.	WILL
Mr		Montgomery	1738	Excise officer at Stirling Castle		ACR
	John	Montier	1734	Master of the Prosperity of Irvine		ACR

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	Francis	Moodie or Mudie	1729, 1731, 1734, 1746, 1746/7, 1747	Customs landwaiter & searcher at Alloa. Clerk of Customs at Alloa in 1746.	Appointed by deputation 26/6/1729. Suspended 23/8/1732.	ACR
Major		Moreau	1734	Recalled soldiers stationed at Airth for one month		ACR
	David	Morrison		of Alloa. Captain of a barque.	Mentioned in a 17th century letter about the dispatch of 530 bolls of meal on his ship.	NRS
	James	Morrison	1745	Sailor on the Hynd, sloop of war	Last in Craigs of Stirling.	WILL
Brigadier		Moyle	1734	of Stirling		ACR
	Alexander	Mudie	1738	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	John	Muirhead	1717, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1727, 1728, 1729	Collector of Customs at Alloa	of Brideiesholm. Admitted by deputation 25/5/1717. Left the service by 26/6/1729.	ACR
	Abraham	Murdoch	1748	Customs tidesman at Queensferry		ACR
	John	Murray	1734, 1734/5	Customs clerk at Alloa		ACR
	Alexander	Mustard	1785	Shipbuilder in Alloa	Resided on Forth Street in 1785.	A&IE
	John	Nairn	1720	Merchant		ACR
	Charles	Neilson	1738, 1746	Customs landwaiter at Alloa	Dismissed 7/10/1746.	ACR
	James	Neilson	1738	Merchant in Stirling		ACR
	Robert	Neilson	1741	Customs boatman at Queensferry		ACR
Mr		Neilson	1743	Customs landwaiter, formerly at Inverness, but stationed at Alloa for some years.		ACR
	Anthony	Newly	1737/8	Officer of Excise		ACR
	John	Niccoll	1704	Skipper in Alloa	Husband of Cathrin Haig.	NRS
	John	Niccoll	1741	Pilot of the Providence of Sunderland in 1741		ACR
	Robert	Niccoll	1739	Ferryman at Craigward, Alloa		ACR
	Thomas	Niccoll	1708	Customs officer at Alloa		NRS
	William	Niccoll	1704	Skipper in Alloa		NRS
	William	Niccoll	1730, 1733, 1740, 1746	Merchant in Alloa	Deceased on or before 25/12/1746.	ACR
Mr		Niccoll	1733	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	John	Nicol	1742	Former shipmaster in Alloa	Sought advice regarding legal and financial difficulties in 1742.	NRS
	William	Nicol	1740	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	Peter	Nicoll	1735	Shipmaster		ACR
	William	Nicoll	1712	Captain of the Robert of Alloa		NRS
	William	Nicoll	1734	Merchant in Alloa	Took action in the sheriff court against William Groset, collector at Alloa, for payment of rent arrears and for necessary repairs to the custom house.	NRS
	Andrew	Nimmo	1707	Sailor & foremast-man on the Caledonia	Company of Scotland vessel. Son of James N., mason in Airth.	WILL
	Marjorie	Norie	1686		Spouse of Thomas Paik, smith at the gin of Alloa.	WILL
	William	Norry or Norrie	1748, 1749, 1750	Master of the Christian & Magdalene of Kincardine		ACR
Captain		Norvoll	1721		Purchased some seized goods from Customs.	ACR

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	William	Nuccol or Nicol	1714	Shipmaster in Alloa	He was granted a tack of land on the west side of the town, for use as a ropework.	NRS
	William	Nuccoll	1762, 1765	Merchant and shipmaster in Alloa	Deceased.	NRS
	William	Nuccoll or Nuccall	1738, 1740	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	John	Nucle, junior	1787	Shipmaster in Alloa	Went into sequestration in 1787.	NRS
	William	Nurle	1718	Merchant in Alloa		ACR
	John	Ogilvie	1732, 1733, 1734, 1734/5, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1741, 1741/2	Merchant in Airth; agent for William & Henry Foggos, Mr Ritchie, Archibald Gray and John Mitchell		ACR
	Robert	Ogilvie	1738, 1748, 1749/50	Supervisor of Excise at Alloa	He made two seizures in May 1748.	ACR
Captain		Ogilvie	1718	Commander of a Company of Fusiliers	Stationed at Alloa on Customs duties in 1718.	ACR
Mr		Ogilvie	1738, 1739, 1748	Supervisor of Excise at Stirling; Officer of Customs at Stirling		ACR
	James	Orr	1788	Merchant in Alloa	Went into sequestration in 1788.	NRS
	John	Orr	1823	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Alexander	Oswald	1733	Tobacco merchant in Glasgow		ACR
	Archibald	Oswald	1735	Tobacco merchant in Glasgow		ACR
	Richard	Oswald	1733	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	John	Partridge	1725	Tidewaiter in Alloa		WILL
	John	Partridge	1717, 1725	Customs tidewaiter at Alloa	Admitted by letter 12/7/1717. Died between 15/10 and 3/12/1725.	ACR
	David	Paterson	1731			ACR
	James	Paterson	1719	Skipper in Alloa		WILL
	Janet	Paterson	1746		Spouse of William Paterson, tobacconist in Alloa.	WILL
	John	Paterson	1748	Salt officer at Kincardine		ACR
	Samuel	Paterson	1728	Merchant in Airth		WILL
	James	Pattullo	1767	Collector of customs at Alloa		WILL
	Henry	Patullo	1733	Tobacco merchant		ACR
	Edward	Peacock	1724, 1727, 1730, 1731, 1733, 1735	Customs tidewaiter at Alloa	Admitted by deputation November 1724. Confined to his bed by sickness and old age in February 1735.	ACR
	Thomas	Peacock	1734	Sailor on the Mackenzie of Leith in 1732		ACR
	John	Pearson	1743	Tobacconist in Alloa		WILL
	George	Peirson	1792	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	Janet	Perrin	1792		Spouse of William Hill, mariner in Kincardine.	WILL
	James	Petrie	1734	Customs boatman at Bo'ness and Alloa	Suspended 29/1/1734 for collecting his monthly salary twice, but later re-instated.	ACR
	George	Pierson	1748	Merchant in Alloa		ACR
Mr		Pinkerton	1743/4	Officer of Excise at Stirling		ACR
Brigadier		Preston	1718		Mentioned in connection with Alloa and Customs.	ACR
	David	Primrose	1741/2	Master of the Jannet of Airth		ACR

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	John	Primrose	1766	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	Snaith	Procter	1741	Master of the Providence of Sunderland		ACR
	David	Proud	1719	Skipper in Alloa		WILL
	John	Rae	1740	Merchant in Airth		WILL
	David	Ramage	1729, 1737/8, 1738	Customs land carriage waiter at Glasgow	Sent to Alloa in April 1729. Returned to Glasgow 29/10/1729.	ACR
Mr		Ramage	1746	Customs officer at Alloa		ACR
	Alexander	Ramsay		Merchant in Alloa	Deceased. Husband of Jean Fergusson.	NRS
	George	Ramsay	1746	Customs landwaiter at Leith. Acted as surveyor and landwaiter at Alloa in 1746.		ACR
	John	Ramsay	1737	Tobacco exporter		ACR
		Ramsay	1718	Co-owner (?) of the Grayhound with Halibuton		ACR
	William	Rankine	1733	Tobacco merchant in Dundee		ACR
	James	Reid	1738	Customs land carriage waiter at Alloa		ACR
	James	Rennie	1679	Merchant in Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
	James	Rennie	1733	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	James	Rennie	1737, 1739	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	Robert	Rennie	1742	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	James	Rennie, younger	1764	Sometime merchant in Alloa, now in London		NRS
	James	Renny	1715, 1721, 1722	Merchant in Alloa	Named in a series of writs, 1721-22.	NRS
	Peter	Richardson	1720	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	James	Ridley	1744/5	Master of the Ann & Catherine of Leith		ACR
	John	Ritchie	1730	Tobacco merchant in Glasgow		ACR
Mr	John	Ritchie	1732	Tobacco importer in Glasgow		ACR
Mr		Ritchie	1737	Employee of Lord Elphinstoun	Described as 'a most inveterate Jacobite'.	ACR
	Patrick	Robb	1718	Seaman in Alloa		WILL
	Alexander	Robertson	1738	Master of the Elizabeth & Jean of Airth		ACR
	Alexander	Robertson	1743	Shipmaster in Airth		WILL
	James	Robertson	1734	Purchaser of tobacco for exportation from the Mackenzie of Leith		ACR
	Joseph	Robertson	1745	Master of the Janet of Alloa		ACR
	Robert	Robertson	1734	Sailor on the Mackenzie of Leith in 1732		ACR
	Gilbert	Robertson	1741	Merchant in Elphinstone		ACR
	John	Robertson	1671	Workman at the shore of Alloway		WILL
	George	Robin	1734/5, 1741	Merchant in Stirling		ACR
	Peter	Rolland	1733, 1734	Tobacco merchant in Dunfermline		ACR
	Robert	Rollo	1727			ACR
	Andrew	Ross	1758	Shipmaster in Elphinstone		WILL

Appendix 1: A list of people

Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	Andrew	Ross	1718, 1728, 1729/30, 1730, 1731, 1733, 1735	Master of the Primrose of Elphinstone		ACR
	John	Ross	1741/2, 1742, 1745	Master of the Primrose of Elphinstone		ACR
	Andrew	Roxburgh	1746	Master of the Greenock of Inverkeithing		ACR
	William	Rule	1738, 1739, 1739/40, 1744, 1745, 1747	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
Mr		Rule	1733	Tobacco merchant in Linlithgow		ACR
	Biorn	Salveson	1746	Master of the Anna Cathrina of Mandale		ACR
	Richard	Savage	1722	Secretary at Custom House, Alloa		ACR
	James	Schaw	1783-1786	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	William	Schioch	1722, 1723	Shoremaster in Clackmannan	Co-partner with James Haigs in a voyage of the Providence of Alloa to Rotterdam in 1718.	NRS
	James	Scoby	1719/20	Master of the Elizabeth of Elphinstone		ACR
	James	Scotland	1760	Sailor in Kincardine		WILL
	William	Scotland	1771	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	James	Scotland, elder	1743	Sailor in Kincardine		WILL
	Andrew	Scott	1734	Agent for John Stark, merchant in Glasgow		ACR
	James	Scott	1747	Merchant		ACR
	Bruce or Bryce	Semple	1732, 1735	Customs tidesman at Bo'ness and Airth		ACR
Mr	Alexander	Seton	1720	Riding officer of the salt at Alloa		ACR
	John	Seton	1733	Extraordinary Customs tidesman at Alloa	Appointed 9/2/1733.	ACR
Sir	Alexander	Shaw	1638	of Sauchie	He was granted permission by the Earl of Mar to transport coal from Sauchie, by the coal gait to the Pow of Alloway, to be loaded onto ships. In return he was to pay 5s per chalders and to give priority to the Earl's coal at the harbour.	NRS
Sir	Alexander	Shaw	1645		A contract allowing Sir Alexander Shaw to sell more coal at Alloa Pow was made in 1645.	NRS
Sir	John	Shaw	1744-1746	of Sauchie	Involved in a dispute with Lord Erskine regarding shore dues for coal carried to Alloa Harbour and the disposition of Gartmorn Dam.	NRS
	John	Shaw or Schaw	1725, 1727, 1729, 1734, 1735	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Appointed c. March 1724. Transferred to Prestonpans in May 1724. Transferred back to Alloa from 7/12/1725. He was beaten by one Willitt in 1735.	ACR
	Alexander	Shearer	1734/5	Merchant		ACR
	Malie	Short	1622		Spouse of John Carroun at Pow of Alloway.	WILL
	Alexander	Simb	1759	Merchant in Kincardine		WILL
	Margaret	Simb	1741		Relict of William Wilsone, shipmaster in Alloa.	NRS
	Thomas	Sime	1805	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	William	Simpson	1793	Boatman at Alloa		WILL
	Hugh	Sinclair	1735	(Mate on the Ann of Airth?)		ACR
	Adam	Smith	1763	Collector of customs at Alloa	Adam Smith, the philosopher, was one of his trustees.	WILL

Appendix 1: A list of people

Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	Adam	Smith	1784	Collector of customs at Alloa		WILL
	Adam	Smith	1747, 1747/8, 1748, 1748/9, 1749, 1749/50, 1750	Collector of Customs at Alloa		ACR
	Archibald	Smith	1773	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	James	Sneddon	1735	An Alloa collier	A warrant for his arrest was issued in 1735, after he fled the coal works and went to Leith.	NRS
	William	Solgreen	1718	Customs landwaiter at Alloa		ACR
	John	Somervel	1727	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	John	Spalding	1707	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
		Spring	1744/5	Customs tidewater at Leith		ACR
	Alex	St. Clair	1724/5	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Appointed to succeed John Ewert. Removed before 12/4/1725.	ACR
	Hugh	St. Clair or Sinclair	1737, 1739, 1741, 1744	Customs land carriage waiter at Glasgow; tidewater at Alloa	Stationed at Elphinstone in 1734. Described as old and infirm in 1741. Died 31/8/1750.	ACR
	John	Stark	1734	Tobacco merchant in Glasgow		ACR
Captain	Mark	Stark or Starks	1718, 1734, 1736	Surveyor of Customs at Queensferry		ACR
	Andrew	Stein	1741	Shipmaster in Alloa		WILL
	James	Stein	1772	Distiller in Kilbagie		WDB
	John	Stein	1743	Merchant in Airth		ACR
	John	Stein	1748	Distiller and maltster in Kennetpans		ACR
	James	Steven	1721	Master of the Mary Ann		ACR
	James	Steven	1724	Shipmaster in Elphinstone		WILL
Mr		Stevens	1737	Merchant in Airth; keeper of a public house		ACR
	Patrick	Stevenson	1738		Claimed a parcel of seized tobacco in November 1738.	ACR
	Robert	Stevenson	1738, 1745, 1746	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	Marion	Stevin	1639		Spouse of William Horne, merchant in Alloway.	WILL
	John	Stevison	1734	Mate on the Mackenzie of Leith in 1732		ACR
	Alexander	Stewart	1783	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	Archibald	Stewart	1733	Customs tidesman at Kirkcaldy	Boarded the Mackenzie and accompanied it to Alloa in January 1733.	ACR
	George	Stewart	1725	Shore griever in Alloa		NRS
	John	Stewart	1782	Meal merchant in Kincardine		WILL
	Robert	Stewart	1723, 1733	Customs landwaiter at Alloa; tidesman at Bo'ness	Trained from December 1723.	ACR
	Alexander	Stirling	1734	Master of the Clementina of Glasgow		ACR
	John	Ston	1719/20	Master of the Charles of Elphinstone		ACR
	George	Sutherland	1746/7	Customs watchman at Kincardine		ACR
Mr		Swanston or Swanstone	1747	Solicitor		ACR
	William	Sybbald	1734	Customs boatman at Alloa	Appointed 29/1/1734.	ACR

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Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	William	Sybbett	1741	Customs boatman at Alloa		ACR
	James	Syme	1784	Shipmaster at Dunmore		WILL
	James	Talbert	1688	Skipper in Alloway (Alloa)		NRS
	John	Tarbolt	1733	Customs tidewater at Torryburn		ACR
	John	Taylor	1770	Sailor in Airth		WILL
	William	Taylor or Tylair	1716, 1727, 1734	Customs boatman at Alloa	Admitted by letter 6/4/1716. Died in January 1734.	ACR
	Adam	Thomson	1720	Customs boatman at Queensferry		ACR
	Grisell	Thomson	1723		Spouse of David Crumbie, shipmaster in Alloa.	WILL
	John	Thomson	1707	Customs officer at Alloa		NRS
	John	Thomson	1786	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
Mr		Thomson	1735	Customs tidesman at Alloa		ACR
	William	Thomson or Thomsone	1715, 1725, 1727, 1734, 1734/5	Customs salt watchman and tidewater at Alloa; tidesman at Clackmannan Pow	Admitted by letter 27/1/1715/16. He was carried to Gothenburg while on duty c.1727.	ACR
	Thomas	Tilloch	1734	Boatman at Airth		ACR
	William	Tirceman	1733/4	Customs boatman at Bo'ness		ACR
	Alexander	Tod	1733	Master of the Lucky Tom of Leith		ACR
	Henry	Tod	1736	Shipmaster in Elphinstone		WILL
		Tod	1731	Master of a brigantine	Suspected of smuggling.	ACR
	Henry	Tod or Todd	1732, 1733	Master of the Black Bitch of Elphinstone		ACR
	Isobell	Touart	1684		Spouse of John Andersone, merchant in Alloway.	WILL
	Andrew	Tough	1724, 1725, 1727, 1733	Customs tidesman at Stirling	Appointed in May 1724. Dismissed 29/1/1733.	ACR
	James	Troughton	1723-	Customs officer at Alloa	Admitted by letter 16/11/1723.	ACR
	Thomas	Troughton	1723	Customs tidesman at Alloa	Appointed in November 1723.	ACR
	John	Troup	1733, 1734	Customs tidesman at Alloa and Bo'ness	Injured by smugglers on 6/5/1734.	ACR
Captain		Tucker	1732			ACR
	William	Turcan	1803, 1805	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	George	Turkan	1804	Shipmaster in Kincardine		WILL
	Robert	Turnbull	1740	Merchant at the shore of Alloa		WILL
	James	Turner	1707	Sailor on the Rising Sun	Company of Scotland vessel. Brother German to John T., indweller, Alloway.	WILL
	Thomas	Vent	1744	Officer of the salt at Craigflower		ACR
	David	Vertie	1728	Sailor in Alloa		WILL
	Thomas	Vertie	1728	Sailor in Alloa		WILL
	William	Virtue	1739	Master of the Success of Stirling		ACR
	John	Waddal	1720	Watchman at Alloa		ACR
	Andrew	Waddall	1746/7	Merchant in Airth		ACR
	James	Walker	1759	Shipmaster in Airth		WILL
	James	Walker	1732, 1733, 1734, 1734/5, 1735, 1740	Master of the Ann of Airth		ACR
	John	Walker	1753	Sailor in Airth		WILL

Appendix 1: A list of people

Title	Forename(s)	Surname	Date(s) of reference(s)	Role(s)	Information	Source
	Patrick	Walker	1747	Master of the Anne of Airth		ACR
	Peter	Walker	1769	Shipmaster in Airth	Spouse of Ann Hodge.	WILL
	Robert	Walker	1729/30	Master of the Agnes of Bo'ness		ACR
		Walker	1723		Took part in a deforcement at Airth.	ACR
	James	Wallace	1769	Customs landwaiter at Alloa		WILL
	James	Wannan	1741	Skipper in Kincardine	Father of John & Thomas.	WILL
	James	Watson	1735, 1738	Tobacco merchant in Edinburgh		ACR
	John	Watson	1757	Shore grieve in Alloa		NRS
	John	Watson	1772	Merchant in Alloa		NRS
	John	Watson	1748/9, 1749	Merchant in St Ninians	Bought wine from John Kirk, merchant in Falkirk, in January 1748/9.	ACR
Baillie		Watson		Merchant in Stirling		ACR
	William	Watt	1741		Took part in a deforcement at Fallin Pow in 1741.	ACR
Mr		Wattson	1734	Owner of tobacco cellars (in Alloa?)		ACR
	James	Weir	1733, 1734	Tobacco merchant in Stirling		ACR
	Archibald	Whytt	1708	Sailor on the Rising Sun	Company of Scotland vessel. Brother German to John Whyte, collier in Clackmannan.	WILL
Mr		Willison	1741	Officer of Excise at Airth		ACR
		Willitt	1735		A noted smuggler, who fired a pistol at J. Campbell, comptroller of Customs at Alloa in June 1735.	ACR
	James	Willsone	1683	Skipper in Alloway (Alloa)		WILL
	James	Wilson	1749	Merchant in Bo'ness		ACR
	James	Wilson	1748/9	Officer of Excise at Stirling		ACR
	John	Wilson	1738	Master of the Mary of Cramond		ACR
	John	Wilson	1746/7	Customs boatman at Alloa		ACR
	Patrick	Wingate	1717	Merchant in Alloa		WILL
	John	Wood	1733	Customs tidesman at Kirkcaldy	Boarded the Mackenzie and accompanied it to Alloa in January 1733.	ACR
	John	Wood	1782	Merchant and sailor in Alloa		WILL
	William	Wright	1734	Merchant in Stirling		ACR
	William	Yates	1720	Customs landwaiter at Alloa		ACR
	John	Young	1744, 1745, 1750	Customs tidewaiter at Alloa		ACR
	James	Younger	1752	Sailor in Airth		WILL
	John	Younger	1790	Merchant in Alloa	Went into sequestration in 1790.	NRS
	Thomas	Younger	1748/9	Shipmaster in Elphinstone		ACR
		Younger	1788	Merchant in Alloa	In partnership with Meikle. Went into sequestration in 1788.	NRS

Appendix 2: A list of shipments

This list is a sample of reported shipments of goods, both in and out of Alloa customs precinct, and of other shipments involving vessels registered at Alloa. Information has been compiled from Alloa customs records and from shipping lists found in historic newspapers, which were accessed at The British Newspaper Archive. www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk (All material from this archive is copyright of the British Library Board. All rights reserved). The list is organised by the following column headings:

Year: Year in which the shipment took place.

M: Month in which the shipment took place.

D: Date of sailing or arrival of the shipment.

Name of ship

Registered port

Shipmaster forename

Shipmaster surname

Sailed from: The place or port from which the ship sailed.

Sailed to: The place or port to which the ship sailed.

S/A: This column indicates whether the ship sailed (S) or arrived (A) on the specified date.

Cargo

Merchant(s) or owner: Name(s) of the merchants who chartered the vessel or the owner of the goods.

Further details

Date of 1st report or publication: Date on which the source was written or published.

Source: The following abbreviations have been used:

ACR: Alloa Customs Records 1718-50

CM: Caledonian Mercury newspaper

LI: Leeds Intelligencer newspaper

NC: Newcastle Courant newspaper

TSM: The Scots Magazine

Appendix 2: A list of shipments

Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1718			Grayhound	Bo'ness	John	Izat	Bordeaux or Bilbao	Boarded at Higgins Neuk		Spanish wine, unfitted for sale: 64 hogsheads & 18 tearce qt 19 tons, 17 hogsheads & 21 tearce qt 7 tons; 189 gallons Spanish wine, fitted for sale; half a ton of vinegar and six casks qt 25lbs prunes	Halibuton & Ramsay	Suspected of declaring French wine as Spanish. A fine of £4 per ton was imposed by Custom House, Edinburgh.	3/4/1718	ACR
1718			Betty	Alloa	John	Blackater	Aberdeen	Newpans		Meal		Landed cargo without a warrant from the Customs House.	14/7/1718	ACR
1718			Christian	Bo'ness				Kincardine				Suspected of using fraudulent practices while unloading at Kincardine.	5/10/1718	ACR
1719			Elizabeth	Elphinstone	James	Scoby	Campshire	Alloa		Linseed	Jamison of Falkirk	The ship was seized and export refused, after a mob carried off some goods at Alloa.	1719	ACR
1720			Charles	Elphinstone	John	Ston	Christiansand	Alloa		Timber for the sawmill (& tobacco?)	Thomas Jamison, merchant in Falkirk	Suspected of illegally landing some undeclared port deals, thought to be tobacco. The tidesmen were offered a bribe of some guineas by the master. One hundred deals were seized at Clackmannan Pow.	7/1/1719/20	ACR
1720			Primrose	Elphinstone	Andrew	Ross		Higgins Neuk/Kincardine		Wine		Suspected of intending to run the cargo at Higgins Neuk, out of sight of Queensferry Customs House. The ship was boarded off Kincardine by Customs officers and a party of soldiers. The ship landed at Alloa, but the master refused to unload its cargo. It later sailed again, this time for Leith.	6/2/1719/20	ACR
1720			Primrose	Elphinstone			Bo'ness			Wines		The Customs House boat was blown away from the side of the Primrose during a great storm. It was later found, badly damaged, among the rocks at Limekilns.	12/2/1719/20	ACR

Appendix 2: A list of shipments

Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1720			Chieftain	Alloa	Thomas	Cusings	Rotterdam	Alloa		Two hogsheads of Geneva or Janavar (gin), one part-full hogshead of brandy and three firkins of soap		The goods were seized and held for one year, after which they were sold on 3/8/1721 to Captain Norvoll.	25/2/1720	ACR
1720			Elizabeth & Joan	Airth	John	McFarlane	Rotterdam	Alloa		Five hogsheads of Geneva (gin) and three hogsheads of brandy, one of which was 'stoved' (damaged) whilst taking it off the ship		The goods were seized at Alloa and were lodged in the warehouse. The tidesmen guarding the ship were attacked by a mob the same night and some prohibited goods were carried off. The master denied all knowledge. The seized goods were held in the Customs warehouse for one year, after which they were sold on 3/8/1721 to Captain Norvoll.	25/2/1720	ACR
1720			Elizabeth		James	Hutton	Leith			One ton of wine	John Nairn, merchant	A permit was granted at Leith for carrying one ton of wine belonging to John Nairn, merchant, to Airth in the Elizabeth. The wine was stopped and detained at Alloa. The Board asked Alloa for its reasons for seizing the wine, later leaving the decision whether to prosecute or deliver the wine to Mr Nairn to the Alloa officers.	8/3/1719/20	ACR
1720								Crombie Point		Six hogsheads of wine	Adam Boyle	The wine was seized by Mr Seton at Crombie Point, having been landed without a permit or warrant. A prosecution was authorised by the Board.	5/4/1720	ACR

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Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1720			John	Alloa	Alex	McKenzie	Norway	Kennetpans		Fifteen anchors (casks), or 124 gallons, of brandy		Goods were seized from David Sands at Muirside, one mile east of Clackmannan. They were presumed to be part of the shipment deforced at Kennetpans. The said goods, seized by Mr Seton, Riding Officer of the Salt, were sold by roup in Alloa at four shillings and two pence per gallon. The total raised was £25-16-8d.	3/11/1720	ACR
1721			Mary Ann		James	Steven	Rotterdam & Norway					The collector at Alloa reported that the ship was 'neeped' (stranded), possibly at Elphinstone, and could not be brought up to Alloa for eight or ten days. He asked for a party of soldiers to prevent deforcement.	16/10/1721	ACR
1721			Charles	Elphinston	John	Forsyth	Norway	Airth				Upon boarding the ship at Airth, Mr Liddall, landwaiter, and a boatman, were beaten and verbally abused by Charles Logan, the ship's carpenter. Mr Graham, lord of the manor, was informed, and punishment was sought. The other boatman had been 'almost murdered' by Logan's brother the previous year. In a separate, undated letter, it was noted that the ship's owner was to be prosecuted for secretly exporting 80 tons of coal to Norway, which were intended for London.	n.d./1721	ACR
1722										32 firkins of soap		The soap, which had been held by Customs at Alloa for more than a year, was to be sold by inch of candle.	21/12/1722	ACR

Appendix 2: A list of shipments

Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1722							Perth/Dundee area	Kinross and Dollar		Four quarter casks of brandy, some small casks of Malago Tack, and some firkins of soap		The said goods were seized by Mr Halliday in a country man's house in Kinross-shire. Mr Halliday was then deforced by a mob at Dollar, while transporting the goods.	n.d.1722	ACR
1723			wine ship					Airth		Forty tons	Clerk & Linn, merchants	Ship deforced at Airth. Mr Graham was 'in full rage and anger' upon hearing of it. He sought to find and punish the perpetrators.	13/5/1723	ACR
1723			Primrose	Elphinstone				Elphinstone		Timber and 'baths' (battens?)		The ship arrived at Elphinstone before the landwaiter. It had been necessary to float the timber due to the tide being in, and the landwaiter had taken account of it when it came ashore.	2/8/1723	ACR
1723			Elizabeth & Jean	Airth	John	McAlpine	Fleeaflower, Norway	Alloa				The ship was deforced upon arrival, before the master had made his report. Two of the offenders were known by sight. One of them, Logan, was a constant deforcer of the officers. Mr Graham, lord of the manor at Airth, and Judge Advocate, was informed and promised to punish the men.	5/8/1723	ACR
1724			William	Bo'ness				Holland				Robert Aird, tidesman, was wounded and bruised in the road at Bo'ness on 12 April. The surgeon's bill amounted to four pounds, and other 'necessaries' for fomenting his arm cost about twenty shillings. The Board directed the Alloa Custom House to pay these costs and charge them to 'incidents'.	23/7/1724	ACR
1724			John	Alloa				Perth		Coal		Arrived at port without clearance from Alloa Custom House.	18/8/1724	ACR
1724			Mary	Alloa				Perth		Coal		Arrived at port without clearance from Alloa Custom House.	18/8/1724	ACR

Appendix 2: A list of shipments

Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1725			Betty	Airth	John	Adam	Rotterdam	Stirling		Wainscots, Old iron flax, tow, pearl ashes and other small goods		The ship was deforced at midnight by a mob at Stirling. The three tidesmen on board at the time did not recognise any of the offenders. The Stirling magistrates investigated and thought the deforcers might be a group of seamen from Bo'ness. A reward of ten pounds was offered for information leading to a conviction.	n.d./5/1725	ACR
1725			Ann	Airth				Alloa		Four barrels of starch (soap) and two casks and seven bags of 'succus liquoritice'		The goods were taken as security for Duties in February 1724 and, the King's warehouse being full, were lodged with a Mr Nicoll, warehousekeeper. Having remained unclaimed for over a year, they were directed to be sold by inch of candle. Upon examination, two of the casks were found to be full mainly of straw and rubbish. After Mr Nicoll was informed that he was liable for the missing goods, the two casks reappeared. The merchant asked for both sets of casks to be admitted as one entry, but they were resealed.	1/6/1725	ACR
1727								Stirling?		Black pepper, almonds, soap, pearl ashes and paper			10/5/1727	ACR
1727					Charles	Greig?		Gothenburg		Corn?			18/5/1727	ACR
1727							Anstruther	Forth		Wine			26/5/1727	ACR
1728			Margaret	Alloa	George	Fife	Holland	Stirling					9/4/1728	ACR
1728			Katharin	Leith			Mandell, Norway	Alloa			Duncan Glassford		24/4/1728	ACR
1728			Betty	Airth									14/5/1728	ACR
1728			Primrose		Andrew	Ross	Alloa?	Dundee or Perth		Coal		The cargo was actually smuggled abroad.	26/11/1728	ACR
1728			Godsend	Dundee	John	Blyth	Alloa	Leith		Coal		The cargo was actually smuggled abroad or to the NE coast.	23/12/1728	ACR

Appendix 2: A list of shipments

Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1729			Primrose	Elphinstone	Andrew	Ross	Holland	Norway via (Alloa?)		Deals			7/1729	ACR
1729			Anne	Airth	Alex	Haigan	Airth	Gothenburg		Coal and serge			5/10/1729	ACR
1729			Jean	Montrose						Linseed, earthenware, aquaforte and china.			19/11/1729	ACR
1730			Agnes	Bo'ness	Robert	Walker	Alloa	Leith or Dundee		Coal		The coal was landed at Bo'ness as part of a scam.	16/1/1729/30	ACR
1730			Elizabeth	Dundee	William	Gregory	Alloa	Foreign port via Leith		Coal		Scam.	16/1/1729/30	ACR
1730					Thomas	Boswell	Alloa?	London		Coal		An attempt at smuggling the cargo was made.	16/1/1729/30	ACR
1730					Alex	Higgins	Bo'ness precinct	Forth		Coal		The cargo was actually sent abroad.	16/1/1729/30	ACR
1730							Alloa	Foreign port via Leith		Coal		After running goods.	16/1/1729/30	ACR
1730							Holland	Alloa		Old iron		High duty goods were smuggled inside the parcels of iron.	3/4/1730	ACR
1730			Success	Stirling	Peter	Forsyth	Gothenburg	Alloa and Stirling		Iron			24/6/1730	ACR
1730			Jean	Montrose	Alexander	Butcher	Rotterdam	Norway via Alloa		Linseed			11/9/1730	ACR
1730			Elizabeth	London	James	Haig?	Alloa	Longsound, Norway		Tobacco	John Hunter, merchant. (Purchased from John Ritchie, merchant, Glasgow).		13/10/1730	ACR
1730							Alloa	coastwise		Scots salt			13/10/1730	ACR
1730			Elizabeth & Jean	Airth	James	Jameson	Holland & Norway	Alloa		Iron, iron wire and soap			24/6/1730	ACR
1731	11	13	Dolphin	London			Alloa	London				The ship struck a rock near the Ferry, but got to Inverkeithing with seven feet of water in her hold.	15/11/1731	CM
1731			Margaret	Dundee	Alex	Barclay	Alloa	Compear (Campvere?)		Tobacco		The cargo was actually landed somewhere north of the Tay.	5/8/1731	ACR
1731							Cambus	Bandeath		Run goods			5/8/1731	ACR
1731			Mary		David	Boswell	Kirkwall	Alloa		Cod fish			8/10/1731	ACR
1731							Forth?	Iceland and northern fishing waters		Salt for curing fish caught			9/10/1731	ACR
1731						Tod	Dunkirk to Ostend and Middle Burgh in Teland	E & N coast of Scotland		Tea, silks and East India goods	Alex Kerr		20/10/1731	ACR
1731			Primrose	Elphinstone	Andrew	Ross	Alloa	Rotterdam		Tobacco		The ship may have run the tobacco on the N coast instead.	8/11/1731	ACR

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Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1731			Lilly	Airth	John	Connochie	Rotterdam	Norway via Airth		High duty and prohibited goods (brandy, tea, etc)			26/11/1731	ACR
1731							Holland & Norway	Airth					3/12/1731	ACR
1732	3	25	Jean	Alloa	Thomas	Arthur	Bremen	Forth	A	Crooked oak timber			28/3/1732	CM
1732	3	25				Robertson	Holland	Leith	A			Bound up the river for Airth.	28/3/1732	CM
1732	6	5		Alloa	James	Rue	Speymouth	Leith	A				5/6/1732	CM
1732	7	31	Thomas	Alloa			Leith	Norway	S				31/7/1732	CM
1732	9	7	Charles	Kinghorn		Guild	Leith	Alloa	S				7/9/1732	CM
1732							Leith	Alloa?		Cherry wine (sherry)			6/4/1732	ACR
1732			Ann	Airth						Pearl ashes and verdigres (dye)	John Kirk, Alloa		26/4/1732	ACR
1732			Black Bitch		Henry	Tod	Bilbao	Forth?		Wine (and brandy?)			10/5/1732	ACR
1732			Ann	Airth	James	Walker	Alloa area	Göthenburg		Tobacco			4/8/1732	ACR
1732							Airth	For export					23/8/1732	ACR
1732							Alloa					Stopped by Customs at Queensferry.	23/9/1732	ACR
1732			Mackenzie	Leith	John	Esdale	Virginia	Alloa		Tobacco	John Kirk, couper, for Colhoun & Co.		6/11/1732	ACR
1732							Alloa	For export		Tobacco	Mr Ogilvie, merchant, Airth. Agent for Mr Ritchie		19/12/1732	ACR
1733	6	16	Charity	Alloa	John	Pollock	Berwick	Leith	A	Wheat			18/6/1733	CM
1733	7	9	Janet	Alloa	Joseph	Robertson	Kirkwall, Orkney	Leith	A				9/7/1733	CM
1733	10	10	Ann	Alloa		Walker	Alloa	Lisbon	A				23/10/1733	CM
1733							Dundee	Cellars at Alloa, Airth & Elphinstone		Tobacco			13/1/1733	ACR
1733			Ann	Airth	James	Walker	Alloa	Rotterdam		Tobacco	Account of John Ritchie & Co., Glasgow		19/1/1733	ACR
1733			Primrose	Elphinstone	Andrew	Ross	Elphinstone	Mandale, Norway		Tobacco			19/1/1733	ACR
1733			Lucky Tom		Alexander	Tod	Alloa	Campvere		Tobacco		Part of the Mackenzie shipment for re-export.	14/2/1733	ACR
1733			James	Airth	John	Connochie?	Alloa	Rotterdam		Tobacco	John Ogilvie, agent for Archibald Gray		17/2/1733	ACR
1733										Tobacco		13, 739 pounds weight, part of the Albany cargo.	29/3/1733	ACR

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1733										Tobacco	Mr Niccoll	Part of the Cathcart cargo, entered by Robert Gilmore & Co., and part of the Mackenzie cargo, entered by the same for Samuel McCaul.	3/4/1733	ACR
1733			James	Airth	John	Connochie	Rotterdam	Alloa					12/4/1733	ACR
1733			Lilly	Airth	Charles	Logan	Norway	Alloa				The cargo was deforced in the creek of Airth.	16/4/1733	ACR
1733			Jannet	Airth	William	Eason	Alloa	Rotterdam		Tobacco	James Weir, merchant, Stirling		21/4/1733	ACR
1733			Black Bitch	Elphinstone	Henry	Todd	Alloa	Longsound, Norway		Tobacco	John Graham, merchant, Stirling		12/5/1733	ACR
1733			James	Airth	John	Connochie	Alloa	Longsound, Norway		Tobacco		Part of the Mackenzie shipment for re-export.	12/5/1733	ACR
1733										Tobacco	John Ogilvie, merchant, Airth, for John Mitchell, merchant, Glasgow		31/5/1733	ACR
1733			Charles				Norway	Alloa		Timber and linseed	William Niccoll, merchant		1/6/1733	ACR
1733							Alloa	London		Tobacco	William & Henry Foggos		3/7/1733	ACR
1733			Black Prince	Elphinstone	Henry	Todd	Norway	Airth				The ship was deforced.	14/7/1733	ACR
1733			James	Airth	John	Connochie	Norway	Airth				The ship was deforced at Airth Pow.	14/7/1733	ACR
1733			Charles	Alloa	William	Greig	Alloa	Norway		Sail cloth	William Niccoll	A debenture was sought for the sailcloth, which was exported in June 1730.	14/8/1733	ACR
1733						Eason	Norway	Airth		Brandy, tea, paper and high duty goods			14/8/1733	ACR
1733			Primrose	Elphinstone	Andrew	Ross	Alloa	Campvere		Tobacco	James & Robert Colhoun	Part of the Mackenzie shipment for re-export.	20/8/1733	ACR
1733			Martha					Port Glasgow		Tobacco	Richard & Alexander Oswald; sold to Henry Patullo & Co.	Seized at Stirling.	4/9/1733	ACR
1733			Jannet	Alloa			Alloa	Rotterdam		Tobacco	Mr Rule, merchant, Linlithgow?		10/10/1733	ACR
1733							Alloa	For export		Tobacco	John Ogilvie, merchant, Airth		6/11/1733	ACR
1733			James	Airth	John	Connochie	Alloa	Rotterdam		Tobacco	John Ogilvie, merchant, Airth	Bought from John Mitchell.	15/11/1733	ACR
1734	2	11	Mackenzie				Virginia	Leith	A			Unloaded her cargo at Alloa.	12/2/1734	ACR
1734	10	7	six barques				Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			8/10/1734	CM
1734	12	23	seven barques				Alloa	Leith	A	Coal			24/12/1734	CM

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1734			doggar	Airth			Rotterdam	Alloa		Brandy, tobacco and high duty goods		The tobacco and brandy was seized. The boatmen 'made free with the spirits' on the way to the Custom House and one of them, William Taylor, died.	17/1/1734	ACR
1734			doggar				Alloa	Holland					5/2/1734	ACR
1734			small ship	Airth	Charles	Logan	Alloa	Holland					5/2/1734	ACR
1734			small ship	Airth	James	Walker	Alloa	Holland					5/2/1734	ACR
1734			Hellen	Kincardine	Thomas	Jamieson	Alloa	For export		Tobacco			22/2/1734	ACR
1734			Hopewell	Leith	James	Jamieson	Rotterdam	Airth		Linseed, flax, high duty goods, prohibited goods, tea, brandy, bales of paper and matts of hemp		The shipmaster was suspected of pretending that part of the cargo was for Norway.	6/3/1734	ACR
1734			Ann	Airth	James	Walker	Rotterdam	Airth		Wine, brandy, foreign spirits and cotton handkerchiefs		Some of the goods were intended for Norway.	10/3/1734	ACR
1734			Lilly	Airth			Airth	Lisbon		Brandy, Flemish soap, prohibited goods, low duty and duty-free goods		The ship may have sailed via Holland.	25/3/1734	ACR
1734							Alloa	South Britain		Tobacco			25/3/1734	ACR
1734			Betty	Airth	John	Adam	Alloa or Airth	Norway		Tobacco	James Kirk, agent for James Colhoun & Co.		26/3/1734	ACR
1734			Ann	Airth						Brandy and geneva (gin)		Deforced at Airth. The brandy and gin was seized by Customs.	7/5/1734	ACR
1734			Hopewell									Deforced at Airth.	7/5/1734	ACR
1734			Lilly									Deforced at Airth.	7/5/1734	ACR
1734			Clementina	Glasgow	Alexander	Stirling	Dundee	Alloa		Tobacco			21/5/1734	ACR
1734			an open boat		Robert	Haiggin	Airth	Leith		Timber	Mackie, importer, sold to Alexander McApline, merchant, Airth		30/5/1734	ACR
1734			Prosperity	Irvine	John	Montier	Virginia	Irvine		Tobacco	Andrew Scott, agent for John Stark, merchant, Glasgow	The tobacco was seized at Clackmannan.	2/8/1734	ACR
1734								Airth		Foreign spirits	Andrew Adam, spirits dealer, Airth	The spirits were landed at Airth from the opposite shore. A tidewater attempted to seize the goods, but was attacked.	6/8/1734	ACR
1734			Ann	Airth	James	Walker	Alloa	Shirdam, Holland		Tobacco			10/9/1734	ACR

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1734			James	Airth	John	Connochie	Holland & Norway	Airth		3 ankers and 17 half ankers of foreign spirits, tea and alabaster or marble punch bowls		The cargo was seized at Airth.	10/9/1734	ACR
1734			Mary	Airth			Airth	Rotterdam		Tobacco	John Ogilvie, merchant, Airth, agent for Archibald Gray		14/10/1734	ACR
1734			Ann	Airth	James	Walker	Rotterdam	Alloa		Onions and flax		The ship, which was possibly bound for Aberdeen, may have been hiding high duty and prohibited goods.	21/10/1734	ACR
1734			Success				Alloa?	London		Coal		The ship was carried to Campvere by 'contrary winds'.	11/11/1734	ACR
1734			ship					Alloa		Tobacco	John Ogilvie, merchant, Airth	The ship was reported as being in Leith road.	30/12/1734	ACR
1735	1	13	Mackenzie		John	Eizdale	Virginia	Leith		Tobacco		Sailed up the river for Alloa.	13/1/1735	CM
1735	2	4	Jane	Alloa	Thomas	Nicol	Crail	Leith	A	Barley			4/2/1735	CM
1735			Diamond							Tobacco	William & Henry Foggos and Colin Campbell		28/1/1734/5	ACR
1735			Mary	Airth	James	Mackie	Alloa	Rotterdam		Tobacco	John Ogilvie, agent for William Foggo & Co.	Part of the Diamond cargo for re-export.	20/2/1735	ACR
1735			Rebecca & Mary	Montrose			Virginia	Alloa		150 hogsheads of tobacco	David Fotheringhame, merchant, Montrose		11/3/1735	ACR
1735			Primrose	Elphinstone	Andrew	Ross	Alloa	Campvere		47 hogsheads of tobacco	John Ogilvie, agent for William & Henry Foggos & Co.	Part of the Diamond cargo for re-export.	13/3/1735	ACR
1735			Ann	Airth	James	Walker	Rotterdam	Alloa		Linseed		A cask found not to have the correct marks was thrown in the water and was picked up later by John Connochie, shipmaster in Airth. It was suspected to have contained brandy.	29/3/1735	ACR
1735			Lilly	Airth	Charles	Logan	Alloa	Gothenburg		23 hogsheads of tobacco	John Ogilvie	Part of the Diamond cargo for re-export.	29/3/1735	ACR
1735			Owners Goodwill	Bo'ness	John	Michie	Alloa	Campvere		54 hogsheads of tobacco	John Kirk, agent for James Colhoun & Co.	Part of the Mackenzie shipment for re-export.	29/3/1735	ACR
1735			Success	Stirling	Peter	Forsyth	Alloa	Campvere		61 hogsheads of tobacco (48,722 pounds)	James Watson & Co.	Part of the Clementine cargo, imported in May 1734.	29/3/1735	ACR

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1735			William	Airth	John	Adam	Alloa or Airth	Arundale		Two parcels, each consisting of 14 hogsheads of leaf tobacco	Archibald & Alex Oswald paid duty on one half of the shipment at Port Glasgow. The other half was part of the Diamond cargo.		14/5/1735	ACR
1735			James	Airth	John	Connochie				Duty-free and low duty goods were reported for this country. High duty and prohibited goods were reported for Bergen, Norway, on account of James Wallace, merchant, Bergen.	The Norway goods were on account of James Wallace, merchant, Bergen. Some of them were entered by John Cowan, merchant, Stirling.		19/7/1735	ACR
1736	6	9	Charles	Alloa	W.	Greig	Forth	Petersburg					10/6/1736	CM
1736	6	17	Helen	Alloa	Rob.	MacKenzie	Forth	Zetland	S			Heading for fishing waters.	21/6/1736	CM
1736	6	17	Isabel & May		John	Haxton	Leith	Alloa	S			To load coal for London.	21/6/1736	CM
1736	6	24	Isabel & May		John	Haxton	Alloa	London	S				24/6/1736	CM
1736	6	28	Janet	Alloa	Joseph	Robertson	Portsoy	Leith	A	Meal			29/6/1736	CM
1736	6	28	Jean	Alloa	Geo.	Findlay	Leith	North Berwick	A				29/6/1736	CM
1736	10	10	Janet	Alloa	Joseph	Robertson	Portsoy	Leith	A	Meal			10/8/1736	CM
1741	3	2	Mary		William	Blyth	Alloa	Leith	A	Corn			3/3/1741	CM
1742	2	19	Margaret & Jean		Alex	Cowie	Alloa	Leith	A	Bear			22/2/1742	CM
1745			Tod	Alloa		Anderson	Perth	Leith	A				8/7/1745	CM
1746	5	12	Janet	Alloa		Robertson	Zetland	Leith	A	Fish and oil			13/5/1746	CM
1746	9	6	John	Alloa		Robertson	Elphinstone	Leith	A	Wine			6/10/1746	CM
1746	9	6	Todd	Alloa		Anderson	Elphinstone	Leith	A	Wine			6/10/1746	CM
1746	9	15	Tod	Alloa		Anderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Wine, raisins and limons			15/9/1746	CM
1746	10	20	Hope	Leith		Brown	Elphinstone	Leith	A	Wine			20/10/1746	CM
1746	10	20	Janet	Alloa		Robertson	Caithness	Leith	A	Beef, etc.			20/10/1746	CM
1746			Batchelor			Ramsay	Kincardine	Leith		Wine			30/12/1746	CM
1746			John	Alloa		Robertson	Anstruther	Leith		Barley			30/12/1746	CM
1746			Success	Alloa		Comb	Anstruther	Leith		Barley and pease			30/12/1746	CM
1746			William	Elphinstone		Smart	Elphinstone	Leith		Dales and iron			30/12/1746	CM
1747	1	31	Glasgow & Edinburgh Packet			Jerment	Alloa	Leith	A	Coal			2/2/1747	CM
1747	1	31	Helen	Kincardine		Miller	Berwick	Leith	A	Barley			6/4/1747	CM
1747	1	31	Jean	Alloa		Finlay	Ely	Leith	A	Barley			2/2/1747	CM
1747	1	31	John	Alloa		Robertson	Ely	Leith	A	Barley			6/4/1747	CM
1747	1	31	Margaret	Kincardine		MacQueen	Anstruther	Leith	A	Barley			6/4/1747	CM
1747	4	6	Success	Kincardine		Comb	Anstruther	Leith	A	Barley			6/4/1747	CM
1747	4	6	Tod	Alloa		Anderson	Dunbar	Leith	A	Wheat			6/4/1747	CM

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1747	4	13	Janet	Alloa		Robertson	Rotterdam	North Bergen		286 ankers of foreign spirits, arrack, silks, tea and other goods		Brought up and forced into Leith harbour by Captain James MacGill, commander of a Custom House boat. The goods were seized and taken to the Custom House at Leith.	13/4/1747	CM
1747	4	20	Tod	Alloa		Anderson	North Berwick	Leith	A	Wheat			20/4/1747	CM
1747	6	1	Margaret	Dundee		Fairweather	Leith	Alloa	S	Oats			2/6/1747	CM
1747	6	1	Margaret			Foster	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			2/6/1747	CM
1747	6	1	Margaret	Kincardine		Murray	Leith	Inverness	S	Coal and goods			2/6/1747	CM
1747	6	1	Providence	Kincardine			Perth	Leith	A				2/6/1747	CM
1747	6	1		Leith		Oswald	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			2/6/1747	CM
1747	9	28	James	Airth		Bauld	Dundee	Leith	A	Barley			28/9/1747	CM
1747	9	28	Janet	Alloa		Paton	Airth	Leith	A	Horse beans			28/9/1747	CM
1747	11	5	Janet	Alloa		Robertson	North Berwick	Leith	A	Malt and barley			9/11/1747	CM
1747	11	23	Two Friends	Alloa		Ward	London	Leith	A	Merchant goods			24/11/1747	CM
1747	12	23	Janet	Alloa		Robertson	Berwick	Leith	A	Wheat and oatmeal			24/12/1747	CM
1747	12	23	Magdalen	Kincardine		Drysdale	Anstruther	Leith	A	Barley			24/12/1747	CM
1747	12	23	William	Kincardine		Watson		Leith	A	Barley			24/12/1747	CM
1747			Katharine	Kincardine		Scotland	Kincardine	Leith		Barley			2/2/1747	CM
1747			William	Kincardine		Watson	Kincardine	Leith		Barley			2/2/1747	CM
1747			Jean	Alloa		Steven	Ely	Leith		Barley			6/4/1747	CM
1748	2	10	Grizel	Leith		Stewart	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			15/2/1748	CM
1748	2	10	Janet & Margaret	Kincardine		Syme	Anstruther	Leith	A	Barley			15/2/1748	CM
1748	2	10	Lovely Betty	Kincardine		Miller	Anstruther	Leith	A	Barley			15/2/1748	CM
1748	2	10	Samuel & Jean	Leith		Lampro	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			15/2/1748	CM
1748	2	15	Tod	Alloa		Anderson	Methal	Leith	A	Barley			16/2/1748	CM
1748	2	23	Cumberland	Kincardine		Millar		Leith	A	Barley			23/2/1748	CM
1748	2	23	Helen	Inverkeithing		Syme	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			23/2/1748	CM
1748	2	23	Janet	Alloa		Robertson		Leith	A	Barley			23/2/1748	CM
1748	2	23	John	Airth		Robertson	Anstruther	Leith	A	Barley			23/2/1748	CM
1748	2	23	John	Alloa		Steven	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			23/2/1748	CM
1748	2	23	Mary	Higgins Neuk			Alloa	Leith		Barley			23/2/1748	CM
1748	3	10	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Warren	Leith	A	Oats			10/3/1748	CM
1748	4	5	Charming Betty	InnerKeithing		Miller	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			5/4/1748	CM
1748	4	5	Janet	Kincardine		Miller	Ailmouth	Leith	A	Oats			5/4/1748	CM
1748	4	5	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Ailmouth	Leith	A	Oats			5/4/1748	CM
1748	4	25	John & Elizabeth	Alloa		Watson	Tay River	Leith	A	Barley			25/4/1748	CM
1748	6	20	Duke of Cumberland			Falconer	Alloa	London	A	Coal			20/6/1748	CM
1748	6	28	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Ailmouth	Leith	A	Oats			30/6/1748	CM

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1748	8	1	John	Leith		Smith	Leith	Alloa	A			To load coal for London.	2/8/1748	CM
1748	8	15	John	Leith		Smith	Alloa					Came into the Road.		
1748	10	17	Mary	Alloa		Nicol	Leith	Aberdeen	S	Small salt			18/10/1748	CM
1748			Betty	Kincardine		Davidson	Ely	Leith		Barley			15/2/1748	CM
1748			Blessing	Kincardine		Eizat	Dunbar	Leith		Barley			15/2/1748	CM
1748			Magdalene	Kincardine		Drysdale	Leven	Leith		Barley			23/2/1748	CM
1748			Janet	Alloa		Robertson	Ailmouth	Leith		Oats			5/4/1748	CM
1748			Richard & Elizabeth	Leith		Main	Alloa	London		Coal			25/10/1748	CM
1748			Janet	Alloa			Bremen	Leith		Beech knappel			1/11/1748	CM
1748			Bettie	Airth		Connachie?	Gothenburg	Leith		Iron and deals			10/11/1748	CM
1748			Glasgow Packet			Jerment	Alloa	London		Coal			10/11/1748	CM
1748			Mary	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen	Leith		Beef			10/11/1748	CM
1749			Betty	Kincardine		Davidson	Limekilns	Leith		Barley			19/1/1749	CM
1749			Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Perth	Leith		Barley			19/1/1749	CM
1749			Magdalen	Kincardine		Drysdale	Eyemouth	Leith		Barley			31/1/1749	CM
1749			Janet & Katharine	Kincardine		Millar	Alloa	Leith		Barley			6/3/1749	CM
1749			Tod	Alloa		Anderson	Alloa	Leith		Barley			28/3/1749	CM
1749			Hope	Leith		Hay	Alloa	London					12/6/1749	CM
1749			sloop	Airth			Altena	Burntisland		Wine, brandy and tobacco stems			12/6/1749	CM
1749			Margaret	Alloa		Buchanan	Gothenburg	Aberdeen				Lost her mast in high winds.	19/6/1749	CM
1749			Margaret	Kincardine		Donald		Aberdeen		Lime			19/6/1749	CM
1749			Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen						24/7/1749	CM
1749			Margaret & Mary	Kincardine		Ferrier	Norway	Aberdeen		Wood			24/7/1749	CM
1749			Mary	Kincardine		Nicol	Aberdeen						24/7/1749	CM
1749			Diligence	Kincardine		Eizat	Alloa	Leith		Barley			31/1/1749	CM
1749			Helen	Elphinstone		Ferguson	Elphinstone	Aberdeen		Coal			7/8/1749	CM
1749			Margaret	Alloa		Buchanan	Forth	Aberdeen		Meal			7/8/1749	CM
1749			Mary			Anderson	Alloa	Aberdeen		Coal			14/8/1749	CM
1749			Stewart			Finlay	Alloa	Aberdeen		Coal			14/8/1749	CM
1749			Helen			Daniel	Elphinstone	Aberdeen					11/9/1749	CM
1749			Margaret			Buchanan	Alloa	Aberdeen					11/9/1749	CM
1749			Mary			Anderson	Alloa	Aberdeen					11/9/1749	CM
1749			John	Leith		Smith	Alloa	London		Coal			18/9/1749	CM
1749			Batchelor	Kincardine		Ramsay	Aberdeen	Forth		Meal			9/10/1749	CM
1749			Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Newcastle	Aberdeen		Coal, etc.			9/10/1749	CM
1749			William	Kincardine		Watson		Aberdeen		Coal			9/10/1749	CM
1749			Batchelor	Kincardine		Ramsay		Aberdeen		Coal			30/10/1749	CM
1749			Helen	Alloa			Aberdeen	Virginia					30/10/1749	CM
1749			Margaret	Alloa		Buchanan		Aberdeen		Coal			30/10/1749	CM
1749			Erskine	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen	Forth		Ballast			18/12/1749	CM
1749			Jean	Alloa			Campvere	Aberdeen		Ballast			18/12/1749	CM

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1749			Lovely Betty	Kincardine		Donald	Alloa	Aberdeen		Coal			18/12/1749	CM
1749			Mary	Stirling		Morison	Sunderland	Aberdeen		Coal			18/12/1749	CM
1749			Glasgow Packet	Leith		Robertson	Alloa	London		Great coal			19/12/1749	CM
1750	1	16	Jean	Alloa		Nicol		Aberdeen	A	Coal			18/1/1750	CM
1750	2	5	Janet	Alloa		Steven	Elly	Leith	A	Barley			6/2/1750	CM
1750	2	26	Janet	Alloa		Steven	Elly	Leith	A	Barley			27/2/1750	CM
1750	3	13	Margaret	Alloa		Buchanan	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			20/3/1750	CM
1750	3	13	Margaret and Jean	Airth		Mackie	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			20/3/1750	CM
1750	4	10	Margaret	Alloa		Buchanan	Aberdeen	Frith	S				16/4/1750	CM
1750	4	16	Janet	Alloa		Steven	Tay	Leith	A	Barley			19/4/1750	CM
1750	5	7	Isabel	Leith		Hutchison	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			8/5/1750	CM
1750	5	7	Margaret	Aberdour		Creigh	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			8/5/1750	CM
1750	5	19	John & Elizabeth	Perth		Watson	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			21/5/1750	CM
1750	5	19	Mary	Alloa		Nicol	Leith	Alloa	S	Oats			21/5/1750	CM
1750	5	29	Erskine	Alloa		Nicol		Aberdeen	A	Great salt			4/6/1750	CM
1750	6	5	Erskine	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen	Dundee	S	Oatmeal			11/6/1750	CM
1750	6	19	John	Alloa		Watson	Aberdeen	Thurso	S	Ballast			25/6/1750	CM
1750	6	19	Margaret			Buchanan	Aberdeen	Thurso	S	Ballast			25/6/1750	CM
1750	6	26	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen	Newcastle	S	Ballast			2/7/1750	CM
1750	7	17	Friendship	Aberdeen			Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			23/7/1750	CM
1750	7	17	Grizel	Leven		Salmon	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			23/7/1750	CM
1750	7	17	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Newcastle	Aberdeen	A	Coal and bottles			23/7/1750	CM
1750	7	24	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen		S	Ballast			30/7/1750	CM
1750	8	7	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Kirkcaldy	Aberdeen	A	Salt			13/8/1750	CM
1750	8	7	Margaret	Alloa		Buchanan		Aberdeen	A	Coal			13/8/1750	CM
1750	8	14	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen	Frith	S	Ballast			20/8/1750	CM
1750	8	14	Margaret	Alloa		Buchanan	Aberdeen	Frith	S	Ballast			20/8/1750	CM
1750	8	20	Janet	Alloa		Steven	Spey	Leith	A	Oats and oatmeal			21/8/1750	CM
1750	8	27		Alloa		Stephen	Leith	Spey	A	Barley			28/8/1750	CM
1750	8	28	Charles	Elphinstone		Condie	Aberdeen	Frith	S				4/9/1750	CM
1750	8	28	Jean	Tweed			Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			4/9/1750	CM
1750	9	18	Jean	Alloa		Nicol	Newcastle	Fraserburgh	A				24/9/1750	CM
1750	9	22	Charles	Elphinstone		Condie	Elphinstone	Leith	A	(Wheat?)			24/9/1750	CM
1750	10	23	Erskine	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen		S	Tobacco			29/10/1750	CM
1750	10	30	Farmer & Margaret			Stewart	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			6/11/1750	CM
1750	12	3	Edinburgh Merchant			Bowman	Alloa	Leith	A	Coal		To sail on for London.	4/12/1750	CM
1750	12	4	Erskine	Alloa		Nicol	Newcastle?	Aberdeen	A	Coal			10/12/1750	CM
1751	1	15		Alloa			Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			22/1/1751	CM
1751	2	12	?	Kinghorn		Baxter	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			19/2/1751	CM
1751	2	12	Charming Peggy?	Leith		Hunter	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			19/2/1751	CM
1751	3	5	Erskine	Alloa		Nicol	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			11/3/1751	CM

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1751	3	26	Erskine	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen	Frith	S	?			2/4/1751	CM
1751	7	10	Marga?	Greenock		Low	Orkney	Alloa	S				30/7/1751	CM
1751	8	27	Charlotte	Alloa		Hutton	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			2/9/1751	CM
1751	8	27	Mary	Airth		Anderson	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			2/9/1751	CM
1751	8	27	Michael & Paul	Carron Water		Mathison	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			2/9/1751	CM
1751	9	24	Charlotte	Alloa		Hutton	Aberdeen		S	Ballast			30/9/1751	CM
1751	9	24	Cumberland	Carron Water		Sclanders	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			30/9/1751	CM
1751	12	3	Charlotte	Alloa		Hutton	Aberdeen	Alloa	S	Ballast			9/12/1751	CM
1751	12	3	Erskine	Alloa		Nicol	Aberdeen	Alloa?	S	Ballast			9/12/1751	CM
1751	12	17	Margaret			Nicol	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			23/12/1751	CM
1751	12	17	Mary			Nicol	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coal			23/12/1751	CM
1751	12	21	Charlotte	Alloa		Hutton	Alemouth	Leith	A	Oats			23/12/1751	CM
1751			Charlotte	Alloa		Hutton			A	Coal			18/11/1751	CM
1751			Mary	Airth		Anderson		Leith	S	Pantiles			18/11/1751	CM
1753	9	10	Earl Dumfries	Alloa		Miller	Dundee	Leith	A	Hemp			14/9/1753	CM
1753	12	17	Happy Return	Alloa		Izet	Aberdeen	Leith	A	Beef			18/12/1753	CM
1754	3	21	Margaret	Alloa		Miller	North Berwick	Leith	A	Grain			25/3/1754	CM
1754	3	21	William & Mary	Alloa		Allan	?	Leith	A	Grain			25/3/1754	CM
1754	5	23	Expedition	Aberdour		Thomson	Alloa	Leith	A	Grain			27/5/1754	CM
1754	6	10	Happy Return	Alloa		Izet	Spey	Leith	A	Grain			11/6/1754	CM
1754	8	20	Mary	Alloa		Miller	Inverness	Leith	A	Grain			22/8/1754	CM
1754	12	10	John & Margaret	Carron Water		Liddel	Alloa	Aberdeen	A				16/12/1754	CM
1755	4	27	Catherine		W.	Hutchinson	Hull	Alloa	S			Coaster	29/4/1755	LI
1755	6	23	Mary	Alloa		Miller	Alemouth	Leith	A	Grain			24/6/1755	CM
1756	2	4	Mary	Alloa		Miller	Cambus	Leith	A	Grain			5/2/1756	CM
1756	2	4	Robert			Liddel	Cambus	Leith	A	Grain			5/2/1756	CM
1756	2	4	Sea Flower			Liddel	Cambus	Leith	A	Grain			5/2/1756	CM
1756	3	15	Mary	Alloa		Miller	Alemouth	Leith	A	Grain?			16/3/1756	CM
1758	1	17	Mary	Alloa		Miller	Aberdeen	Leith	A	Beef			17/1/1758	CM
1759	1	27	Janet	Alloa		Steven	North Berwick	Leith	A	Tar, stock fish and hazelnuts			27/1/1759	CM
1759	4	27	Janet	Alloa		Stephen	North Berwick	Leith	A	Grain			28/4/1759	CM
1759	6	6	Sea Flower	Alloa		Brown		Leith	A	Merchant goods			6/6/1759	CM
1759	11	3	Isabella			Henderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Wine			3/11/1759	CM
1759			Sea Flower	Alloa		Brown	Aberdeen	Leith		Merchant goods			6/6/1759	CM
1759			Cathcart	Alloa		Buchanan	Koningsberg		A			Reported as arriving at Edinburgh.	3/10/1759	CM
1759			Habitation	Alloa		Ramsay	The road	Newcastle	S	Foreign spirits, iron &c.			29/12/1759	CM
1760	1	8	John & Barbara	Alloa		Raven	Thurso	Aberdeen	S			Put back the next day by contrary winds to Deersound.	26/1/1760	CM
1760	1	15	John & Barbara	Alloa		Raven	Thurso	Peterhead	S				6/2/1760	CM

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1760	2	10	Alloa Packet		William	Taton	Leith	Hull	A			Coaster	12/2/1760	LI
1760	2	27	Marion & Janet	Alloa		Syme	Hull	Leith	A	Grain			27/2/1760	CM
1760	4	14	Alloa Pacquet	Leith				Leith	A	Oil, earthenware, etc.			14/4/1760	CM
1760	6	28	Alloa Packet	Leith		Baad	Dunbar	Leith	A	Grain			28/6/1760	CM
1760	11		Glasgow & Paisley Pacquet		John	Thomson	Alloa	London	S			To sail under convoy of H.M. ship Wager, stopping at Leith on 24/11/1760 to take in goods and passengers.	19/11/1760	CM
1760			Mary & Janet	Alloa		Steen	Hamburgh	North Berwick	S			Taken by a Dunkirk privateer of 18 guns. Ransomed for 150 guineas after rifling the cabin.	25/6/1760	CM
1760			Cathcart			Donnald	Alloa	Baltic	S			Taken and ransomed for 215 guineas.	7/7/1760	TSM
1760			Stirling & Alloa Packet			Jamison	Amsterdam	Gothenburg	S			Taken and ransomed by the Duke d'Ayen privateer of Boulogne, Captain John Duchesne master, for 120 guineas. The hostages were landed at Dunkirk.	1/12/1760	CM
1761	1	12	Concord		Nicol	Watson	London	Alloa	S		Robert Mackenzie	Lying at Hoare's wharf, taking in goods for Leith, Bo'ness and Alloa for sailing without convoy.	31/12/1760	CM
1761	2	23	Margaret	Alloa		Smart	Ely	Leith	A	Grain			23/2/1761	CM
1761	6	13	Anna en Elizabetha	Gothenburg		Rumell	Leith	Alloa	S	Ballast			13/6/1761	CM
1761	7	25	Nancy	Inverkeithing		Roxbrough	Alloa	Leith	A	Coal		To load malt at Leith for Dantzick.	25/7/1761	CM
1761	8	15	Ann	Alloa		Mackay	Aberdeen	Leith	A	Wine and bale goods			15/8/1761	CM
1761			Dispatch		John	Hardie	London	Alloa				Lying at Irongate wharf, taking in goods and passengers for Leith, Bo'ness, Alloa, etc. To sail with the first convoy.	29/6/1761	CM
1761			Glasgow & Paisley Pacquet		John	Thomson	London	Alloa				Lying at Hawley's wharf, near Hermitage Bridge. Taking in goods and passengers for Leith, Bo'ness and Alloa. To sail with the first convoy.	29/6/1761	CM
1761			Reward		William	Marshall	London	Scotland				Lying at Hawley's Wharf. To sail with the first convoy.	1/7/1761	CM
1761			Dispatch		John	Hardie	London	Alloa				Lying at Irongate Wharf, taking in goods for Leith, Bo'ness and Alloa.	4/7/1761	CM
1762	1	18	John & Janet	Alloa		Grant	Alemouth	Leith	A	Grain			18/1/1762	CM
1762	10	13	Edward	Alloa		Downie	Dunbar	Leith	A	Grain			13/10/1762	CM

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1763	2	19	Cathcart		Robert	Buchanan	Hull	Leith & Alloa	S				22/2/1763	LI
1763	6	6	Jean	Broughead		Schaw	Alloa	Leith	A	Tar		For Newcastle.	6/6/1762	CM
1763	7		Campbell				Alloa & Bo'ness	London	A				1/8/1763	CM
1763	10	22	Campbell				Alloa & Bo'ness	Thames	A				29/10/1763	CM
1763	11	22	Peggy				Alloa	Thames	A				28/11/1763	CM
1763			Samuel & Jean				Alloa & Bo'ness	Thames	A				19/9/1763	CM
1764	3	7	John & Barbara	Alloa			Aberdeen	Leith	A	Beef			7/3/1764	CM
1764	3	31	Erskine	Phaline		Wright	Alloa	Leith	A	Tile			31/3/1764	CM
1764	4		Lady Frances	Alloa	Alexander	Marr	Portsoy	Alloa	S	Wine and oats			11/4/1764	CM
1764	6	21	Friendship				Alloa & Leith	Thames	A				27/6/1764	CM
1764	6	27	Concord	Down		Anderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Tow			27/6/1764	CM
1764	6	27	Success				Alloa & Leith	Thames	A				2/7/1764	CM
1764	6	30	Lady Frances	Alloa		Fordon	Alloa	Leith	A	Tiles			30/6/1764	CM
1764	6		Thistle	Inverkeithing		Greig	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coal		For Landfurt.	11/6/1764	CM
1764	7	6	Ann	Alloa		Brown	Lossie	Leith	A	Oats			7/7/1764	CM
1764	7	9	Lady Francis	Alloa		Gordon	Leith	Lochryan	S	Beer			9/7/1764	CM
1764	7	14	Lady Mary				Alloa	Thames	A				16/7/1764	CM
1764	9	8	Lady Frances	Alloa		Gordon	Easdale	Leith	A	Slates			8/9/1764	CM
1764	9	26	Lady Frances	Alloa		Blackie	Alloa	Leith	A	Tiles			26/9/1764	CM
1764	10	24	Charles	Carssey		Miller	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			24/10/1764	CM
1764	10	24	Friendship	Airth		Logan	Bellsuttry	Leith	A	Slates			24/10/1764	CM
1764	10	24	Katharine	Kincardine		Baird	Elphinstone	Leith	A	Coal			24/10/1764	CM
1764	10	31	John & James				Alloa	Thames	A				7/11/1764	CM
1764	11	17	Charles	Carsey		Miller	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			17/11/1764	CM
1764			Lady Francis	Alloa	Alexander		Alloa	Banff	A	Coal		For Portsoy.	28/3/1764	CM
1764			Janet	Kincairn		Sim	Alloa	Banff	A	Coal			2/4/1764	CM
1764			Lady Francis	Alloa	Alexander	Marr	Alloa	Portsoy	A	Coal			2/4/1764	CM
1764			William & Janet	Perth		Bald	Alloa	Portsoy	A	Coal			12/5/1764	CM
1764			Sally			Boyd	Alloa	The Sound	A			For Copenhagen.	19/5/1764	CM
1764			Three Brothers			Allan	Alloa	The Sound	A			For Elsineor.	19/5/1764	CM
1765	3	27	Elizabeth	Alloa		Down__	Perth	Leith	A	Grain			27/3/1765	CM
1765	4	10	Cabbersea				Alloa	Thames	A				17/4/1765	CM
1765	5	20	Jean	Leith		Barr	Alloa	Leith	A	Goods			20/5/1765	CM
1765	5	25	Catharine	Culross		Well	Alloa	Leith	A	Ashes			25/5/1765	CM
1765	7		John & Mally	Kincardine	John	Stewart						Seized with a large quantity of spirits and carried into Burntisland.	27/7/1765	CM
1765	9	7	Charles	Kersey		Miller	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			7/9/1765	CM
1765	9	23	Charles	Kersey		Millar	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood and tiles			23/9/1765	CM
1765	11	4	Charles	Kersey		Millar	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			4/11/1765	CM
1765	12	29	Nancy		T.	Holland	Hull	Alloa	S				31/12/1765	LI

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1765	12	29	Success		George	Mennell	Hull	Alloa	S				31/12/1765	LI
1766	2	22	Elizabeth	Kincardine			Kincardine	The Sound	A	Ballast		For Petersburg.	9/6/1766	CM
1766	2		John & Molly		A.	Stewart		Alloa	S				25/2/1766	LI
1766	4	2	Mary	Alloa		MacLaren	Alloa	Leith	A	Lintseed and flax			2/4/1766	CM
1766	4	2	Molly	Stirling		Nielson	Bo'ness	Leith	A	Lintseed and flax			2/4/1766	CM
1766	4	10	Fly				Alloa	Thames	A				16/4/1766	CM
1766	4	11	Elizabeth	Leith		Ritchie	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coal		For Riga.	28/4/1766	CM
1766	4	26	Moncrieffe	Leith	George	Robertson	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coal		For Copenhagen.	19/5/1766	CM
1766	4	26	Union	Leith	Robert	Liddel	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coal		For Copenhagen.	19/5/1766	CM
1766	5	17	Thistle	Inverkeithing		Greig	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coal		For Lansdon and Petersburg.	9/6/1766	CM
1766	5	19	Jean & Mary	Cambus		Hogg	Cambus	Leith	A	Wheat			19/5/1766	CM
1766	5	19	John & Elizabeth	Kincardine		Lawson	Kincardine	Leith	A	Oats			19/5/1766	CM
1766	7	28	Mary & Atty	Kincardine		Yeltin	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coal		For Copenhagen.	25/8/1766	CM
1766	8	9	Industry	Alloa		Paterson	Kirkcaldy	Leith	A	Wine			9/8/1766	CM
1766	10	1	Charles	Kersey		Miller	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			1/10/1766	CM
1766	10	11	Alexander	Kersey		Abercrombie	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			11/10/1766	CM
1766	10	15	Alexander	Alloa		Strachan	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			15/10/1766	CM
1766	10	29	Euphan & Christian	Alloa		Young	Malaga	Leith	A	Wine, etc			29/10/1766	CM
1767	2	23	Charles & Mary	Elphinstone		Donald	Eymouth	Leith	A	Barley			23/2/1767	CM
1767	2	23	John & Janet	Leith		Harly	Alloa	Leith	A	Wine			23/2/1767	CM
1767	3	8	Mary & Nelly	Kincardine		Yelton	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coal		For Copenhagen, Memel or Konigsberg.	1/4/1767	CM
1767	3		Janet			Sangster	Carron	Alloa	S				28/3/1767	CM
1767	4	28	Watt & Gardyn	Arbroath		Littlejohn	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coal		For Copenhagen.	18/5/1767	CM
1767	5	9	Lady Mary				Alloa	Thames	A				16/5/1767	CM
1767	5	30	Hannah	Blyth		Cowl	Cambus	Leith	A	Oats			30/5/1767	CM
1767	5	30	Peggy	Kincardine		Donald	Alloa	Leith	A	Oats			30/5/1767	CM
1767	6	6	Lady Frances	Alloa		Foster	Alloa	Leith	A	Wool			6/6/1767	CM
1767	6	7	John	Alloa		Forrester	Aberdeen	The Sound	A	Ballast		For Petersburg.	29/6/1767	CM
1767	6	8	Erskine	Leith		Wells	Alloa	Leith	A	Wine, etc			8/6/1767	CM
1767	6	27	William & Mary				Alloa	Thames	A				4/7/1767	CM
1767	7	4	Alexander & Jean	Alloa			Aberdeen	Leith	A	Slates			4/7/1767	CM
1767	7	6	Erskine	Leith		Well	Alloa	Leith	A	Merchant goods			6/7/1767	CM
1767	7	11	Alexander & Jean	Alloa		Strachan	Leith	Dundee	S	Slates			11/7/1767	CM
1767	7	18	Henry	Airth		Mattson	Leith	Alloa	S	Oats			18/7/1767	CM
1767	7	20	George & Elizabeth	Alloa		Miller		Thames	A			Arrived 18th or 20th.	25/7/1767	CM
1767	7	30	Dunbar	Alloa		Neilson		Thames	A			Arrived 30th ult.	5/8/1767	CM
1767	8	19	Lady Frances	Alloa		Foster	Leith	Perth	S	Pease			19/8/1767	CM
1767	8	19	Nelly	Alloa		Bonner	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			19/8/1767	CM
1767	8	25	George & Elizabeth	Alloa		Pillans		Thames	A				31/8/1767	CM

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1767	9	26	Alloa Packet			Harlow	Alemouth?	Leith	A	Wood			26/9/1767	CM
1767	9		Prince of Wales			Thompson	Alloa	Thames	A				28/9/1767	CM
1767	10	21	George & Elizabeth	Alloa		Pillans	Maldon	Leith	A	Bark			21/10/1767	CM
1767	11	14	Margaret	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Furniture			14/11/1767	CM
1767	11	23	Alloa Packet			Wells	Leith	Alloa	S	Oats			23/11/1767	CM
1767	12	12	John & Janet	Leith			Leith	Alloa	S	Malt			12/12/1767	CM
1767			John	Alloa		Forrester		The Sound	A			Sailed (from Petersburg with iron?) for Aberdeen.	24/8/1767	CM
1767			Peggy			Boswall	Alloa	Thames	A				12/10/1767	CM
1768	1	30	John & Janet	Leith		Harley	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			30/1/1768	CM
1768	2	6	Alloa	Kincardine		Primrose	Alloa	Leith	A	Dales			6/2/1768	CM
1768	2	6	Janet	Cramond		Anderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Barley			6/2/1768	CM
1768	3	14	Erskine	Leith		Wells	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			14/3/1768	CM
1768	3	21	John & Janet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			21/3/1768	CM
1768	3	23	Erskine	Leith		Wells	Leith	Alloa	A	Wheat and tiles			23/3/1768	CM
1768	4	2	Erskine	Leith		Wells	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			2/4/1768	CM
1768	4	2	John	Alloa		Forrester	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coals		For Copenhagen.	18/4/1768	CM
1768	4	2	John & Janet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			2/4/1768	CM
1768	4	2	Mally	Saline		Kerr	Leith	Stirling	S	Glass bottles			2/4/1768	CM
1768	4	21	Dunmore	Airth		Hodge	Alloa	The Sound	A	Coals		For Dantzick.	9/5/1768	CM
1768	4	25	John & Janet			Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			25/4/1768	CM
1768	5	12	Janet	Alloa		Paterson	Konigsberg	The Sound	A	Peas		For Leith.	30/5/1768	CM
1768	5	12	Unity	Stirling		Strang	Konigsberg	The Sound	A	Peas		For Glasgow.	30/5/1768	CM
1768	5	25	Erskine	Leith		Wells	Alloa	Leith	A	Merchant goods			25/5/1768	CM
1768	6	6	John & Janet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			6/6/1768	CM
1768	6	25					Alloa	Thames	A				2/7/1768	CM
1768	6	29	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			29/6/1768	CM
1768	7	16	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harley	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			16/7/1768	CM
1768	7	23	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harley	Alloa	Leith	A	Lintseed			23/7/1768	CM
1768	7	23	Providence	Leith		Paton	Cambus	Leith	A	Oven stones			23/7/1768	CM
1768	8	12	Peggie	Leith		Fife	Leith	Alloa	S	Dales			13/8/1768	CM
1768	8	20	Erskine	Leith		Lawrence	Alloa	Leith	A	Wood			20/8/1768	CM
1768	8	22	Erskine	Leith		Lawrence	Alloa	Leith	A	Green wood			22/8/1768	CM
1768	8	27	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harly	Alloa	Leith	A	Merchant goods			27/8/1768	CM
1768	9	3	Erskine	Leith		Lawrence	Alloa	Leith	A	Green wood			3/9/1768	CM
1768	9	7	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			7/9/1768	CM
1768	9	10	Allan	Kincardine		Primrose	Alloa	Leith	A	Green wood			10/9/1768	CM
1768	9	19	Erskine	Leith		Lawrence	Alloa	Leith	A	Green wood			19/9/1768	CM
1768	9	26	Erskine	Leith		Lawrence	Alloa	Leith	A	Green wood			26/9/1768	CM
1768	10	1	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harley	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			1/10/1768	CM
1768	10	1	Erskine	Leith		Laurence	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			1/10/1768	CM

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Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1768	10	8	Ann	Leith		Sheriff	Leith	Alloa	S	Dales			8/10/1768	CM
1768	10	20	Mance				Alloa	Thames	A				26/10/1768	CM
1768	10	21	Alloa	Kincardine		Primrose	Airth	Leith	A	Iron and dales			22/10/1768	CM
1768	11	2	Grange	West Grange		Duncanson	Alloa	Leith	A	Green wood			2/11/1768	CM
1768	11	7	Erskine	Leith		Somerveil	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			7/11/1768	CM
1768	11	14	Manie		James	Grindlay	London	Alloa	S			Bo'ness contract ship, taking in goods for Alloa and other places.	2/11/1768	CM
1768	11	23	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			23/11/1768	CM
1768	12	3	Erskine	Leith		Sommervill	Leith	Alloa	S	Wheat			3/12/1768	CM
1768	12	3	Todd	Kincardine		Turkine	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			3/12/1768	CM
1768	12	7	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			7/12/1768	CM
1768	12	10	Duke of Hamilton				Alloa	Thames	A			Arrived in the Thames 10/12.	17/12/1768	CM
1768	12	16	King George		William	Marshall	London	Alloa	S			Sailed 16/12 for Leith, Bo'ness and Alloa.	3/12/1768	CM
1768	12	28	Margaret	Alloa		Nicoll	Stirling	Leith	A	Beans			28/12/1768	CM
1768			Erskine	Leith		Sommervill	Leith	Alloa		Wheat			3/12/1768	CM
1768			Kingston	Carron		Bishop	Leith	Alloa		Merchant goods			3/12/1768	CM
1768			Todd	Kincardine		Turkine	Alloa	Leith		Scots spirits			3/12/1768	CM
1769	1	5	Samuel & Jean				Alloa	Thames	A				11/1/1769	CM
1769	1	16	Erskine	Leith		Sommerveil	Alloa	Leith	A	British spirits			16/1/1769	CM
1769	1	28	Erskine	Leith		Sommervill	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			28/1/1769	CM
1769	1	30	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harley	Alloa	Leith	A	Wine			30/1/1769	CM
1769	2	20	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harly	Alloa	Leith	A	Whiskie			20/2/1769	CM
1769	3	1	Alloa	Kincardine		Primrose	Alloa	Leith	A	Green wood & whisky			1/3/1769	CM
1769	3	1	Erskine	Leith		Sommervill	Alloa	Leith	A	Dales & china			1/3/1769	CM
1769	3	8	Thames Bank Frigate	Leith		Andrew	Leith	Alloa	S	Wood			8/3/1769	CM
1769	3	20	Erskine	Leith		Sommervill	Leith	Alloa	S	Bricks			20/3/1769	CM
1769	3	28	King George		William	Marshall	London	Leith & Alloa	S				18/3/1769	CM
1769	4	3	Erskine	Leith		Sommerville	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			3/4/1769	CM
1769	4	15	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harly	Alloa	Leith	A	Spirits			15/4/1769	CM
1769	4	15	Exchange		William	Beatson	London	Leith & Alloa	S				5/4/1769	CM
1769	4	22	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			22/4/1769	CM
1769	4	22	Erskine	Leith		Sommervill	Leith	Alloa	S	Herrings			22/4/1769	CM
1769	5	4	Peggie		Thomas	Boswell	London	Leith & Alloa	S				19/4/1769	CM
1769	5	8	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harley	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			8/5/1769	CM
1769	5	8	Isobell	Limekilns		Wilson	Leith	Alloa	S	Oats			8/5/1769	CM
1769	5	8	Jean	Leith		Barr	Leith	Alloa	S	Wheat			8/5/1769	CM
1769	5		Margaret	Kincardine		Dick	Leith	Alloa	S	Wool			20/5/1769	CM
1769	6	5	Glasgow & Paisley Pacquet		James	Thomson	London	Leith & Alloa	S				20/5/1769	CM
1769	6	8	Industry				Alloa	Thames	A				14/6/1769	CM

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1769	6	8	King George				Alloa	Thames	A				14/6/1769	CM
1769	6	12	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harly	Alloa	Leith	A	Tyles			12/6/1769	CM
1769	6	30	Diana		George	Ritchie	London	Leith & Alloa	S				14/6/1769	CM
1769	7	3	Janet	Alloa		Thomson		Leith	A	Dales & iron			3/7/1769	CM
1769	7	3	Jean	Leith		Sloss	Leith	Stirling	S	Oats			3/7/1769	CM
1769	7	8	King George		William	Marshall	London	Leith & Alloa	S				1/7/1769	CM
1769	7	22	Erskine	Leith		Somerville	Leith	Alloa	S	Wool			22/7/1769	CM
1769	7	29	Success		George	Houeson	London	Bo'ness & Alloa	S			Sails after 29/7.	17/7/1769	CM
1769	7	31	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harley	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			31/7/1769	CM
1769	8	14	Erskine	Leith		Somervill	Alloa	Leith	A	Staves			14/8/1769	CM
1769	8	21	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harley	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			21/8/1769	CM
1769	8	21	Erskine	Leith		Somervill	Leith	Alloa	S	Oats			21/8/1769	CM
1769	8	28	Anne	Alloa		Macky		Leith	A	Bark			28/8/1769	CM
1769	8	28	Manie		James	Grindlay	London	Bo'ness & Alloa	S				16/8/1769	CM
1769	8	29	James	Alloa		Matthew	Alloa	The Sound	A	Ballast		Heading for Libo.	16/9/1769	NC
1769	8	30	Erskine	Leith		Somervill	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			30/8/1769	CM
1769	9	11	Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harley	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			11/9/1769	CM
1769	9	23	Unity	Stirling		Strang	Alloa	Leith	A	Merchant goods			23/9/1769	CM
1769	9	30	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			30/9/1769	CM
1769	9	30	Erskine	Leith		Sommervell	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			30/9/1769	CM
1769	10	7	King George		William	Marshall	London	Leith & Alloa	S				30/9/1769	CM
1769	10	16	Erskine	Leith		Sommervell	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			16/10/1769	CM
1769	10	18	Friendship	Leith		Sharp	Leith	Alloa	S	Oats			18/10/1769	CM
1769	10	25	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harley	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			25/10/1769	CM
1769	11	13	Charlotte	Elphinstone		Smart	Alloa	Leith	A	Hemp			13/11/1769	CM
1769	11	13	Grange	West Grange		Duncanson	Alloa	Leith	A	Green wood & spokes			13/11/1769	CM
1769	11	21	Manie		James	Grindlay	London	Bo'ness & Alloa	S				8/11/1769	CM
1769	11	29	Alloa Packet	Leith		Harly	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			29/11/1769	CM
1769	12	6	Mary	Alloa		Nicoll	Werren	Leith	A	Wheat			6/12/1769	CM
1769			Alloa Pacquet	Leith		Harley	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			4/1/1769	CM
1769			Erskine	Leith		Sommervell	Alloa	Leith		British spirits			16/1/1769	CM
1769			Erskine	Leith		Somerville	Alloa	Leith		Whisky			3/4/1769	CM
1769			Erskine	Leith			Alloa	Leith		Whisky			30/8/1769	CM
1770	5	26	Mary & Nelly	Leith	Thomas	Yelton	Alloa	Baltick		Coals		Passed the Sound.	9/6/1770	NC
1770	5	29	Success	Arbroath		Inverartely	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	16/6/1770	NC
1770	7	5	Christian	Airth	R	Stephenson	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coal		Passed the Sound.	21/7/1770	NC
1770			Lady Glasgow	Alloa		McRitchie	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	12/5/1770	NC
1771	2	14	Manie		James	Grindlay	London	Bo'ness & Alloa	S				2/2/1771	CM
1771	2	20	Peggie		Thomas	Boswell	London	Alloa					13/2/1771	CM

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Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1771	4	10	Richmond		James	Hamilton	London	Leith	S			Taking on goods for Alloa.	3/4/1771	CM
1771	4	20	Margaret	Kincardine		Dick	Alloa	Leith	A	Scotts spirits			20/4/1771	CM
1771	4	20	Nelly	Keneth		McVea	Alloa	Leith	A	Scotts spirits			20/4/1771	CM
1771	4	27	Concord			Rammage	Alloa	Stockholm		Coals			18/5/1771	NC
1771	4	30	Diana		George	Ritchie	London	Leith	S			Taking on goods for Alloa.	20/4/1771	CM
1771	5	11	Glasgow & Paisley Packet		James	Thomson	London	Leith & Alloa	S				27/4/1771	CM
1771	5	15	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			15/5/1771	CM
1771	5	15	Peggie	Alloa		Nicoll	Inverness	Leith	A	Spirits & yarn			15/5/1771	CM
1771	5	22	Success		George	Houeson	London	Leith, Bo'ness & Alloa	S				4/5/1771	CM
1771	5	25	Manie		James	Grindlay	London	Bo'ness & Alloa	S				15/5/1771	CM
1771	5	25	Peggie	Alloa		Nicoll	Leith	Alemouth	S	Merchant goods			25/5/1771	CM
1771	5	27	Alloa Packet	Leith			Leith		S	Merchant goods			27/5/1771	CM
1771	6	12	Peggie		Thomas	Boswell	London	Alloa					5/6/1771	CM
1771	6	22	King George		William	Marshall	London	Leith & Alloa	S				12/6/1771	CM
1771	7	29	Nelly	Kenneth		McVea	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			29/7/1771	CM
1771	7		Samuel & Jean		James	Drummond	London	Bo'ness & Alloa				Taking on goods for Alloa.	31/7/1771	CM
1771	8	21	John Frances	Alloa		Robertson	Newcastle	Leith	A	Merchant goods			21/8/1771	CM
1771	8	28	Success		George	Houeson	London	Leith, Bo'ness & Alloa	S				14/8/1771	CM
1771	9	2	Peggie	Dundee		Clark	Alloa	Leith	A	Tar			2/9/1771	CM
1771	9	4	Erskine	Leith		Sommervil	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			4/9/1771	CM
1771	9	16	Charles	Carsie		Miller	Alloa	Leith	A	Bark			16/9/1771	CM
1771	9	20	Queen		John	Thomson	London	Leith & Alloa	S				9/9/1771	CM
1771	9		Mary		Peter	Farmer	London	Leith				Taking on goods for Alloa.	2/9/1771	CM
1771	10	26	Mary	Alloa		Bald	Dunbar	Leith	A	Malt & bran			26/10/1771	CM
1771	10	31	Elizabeth & Ann			Isatt	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	16/11/1771	NC
1771	11	9	Two Brothers	Clackmannan		Farmer	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			9/11/1771	CM
1771	11	17	Janet	Alloa		Paterson	Greenock	Aberdeen	S				11/12/1771	CM
1771	11	22	Manie		James	Grindlay	London	Bo'ness	S			Taking on goods for Alloa.	13/11/1771	CM
1771	11	23	Margaret			Law	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Coals			4/12/1771	CM
1771	11	23	Whale	Kincardine		Sorely	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			23/11/1771	CM
1771	11	23	William	Kincardine		Primrose	Kincardine	Leith	A	Whisky			23/11/1771	CM
1771	12	3	Margaret	Alloa		Duncan	Sky	Carron	S				28/12/1771	CM
1771	12	4	Success		George	Houeson	London	Leith, Bo'ness & Alloa	S				23/11/1771	CM
1771	12	21	Margaret & Janet	Kincardine		Wylie	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			21/12/1771	CM
1771	12	25	Margaret	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			25/12/1771	CM
1771	12	27	Anne	Kincardine		Brown	Alloa	Aberdeen	A	Goods			1/1/1772	CM
1771			Concord	Airth		Stark	Dundee	Leith		Wheat and barley			20/4/1771	CM

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1771			Margaret	Kincardine		Dick	Alloa	Leith		Scotts spirits			20/4/1771	CM
1771			Nelly	Keneth?		McVea	Alloa	Leith		Scotts spirits			20/4/1771	CM
1771			Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith		Whisky			15/5/1771	CM
1771			Peggie	Alloa		Nicoll	Inverness	Leith		Spirits and yarn			15/5/1771	CM
1771			Two Brothers	Clackmannan		Farmer	Alloa	Leith		Whisky			9/11/1771	CM
1772	1	11	Betty	Kincardine		Fotheringham	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			11/1/1772	CM
1772	1	11	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			11/1/1772	CM
1772	2	8	Nelly	Kenneth		McVea	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky		From quarantine.	8/2/1772	CM
1772	2	22	Allan	Kincardine		Primrose	Alloa	Leith	A	Whiskey			22/2/1772	CM
1772	2	22	Margaret & Jean	Kincardine		Wylie	Alloa	Leith	A	Whiskey			22/2/1772	CM
1772	3	21	Margaret	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			21/3/1772	CM
1772	4	1	Nelly	Kenneth		McVea	Alloa	Leith	A	Spirits			1/4/1772	CM
1772	4	14	Mary & Nelly		T.	Yelton	Alloa & Bo'ness	Hull	A				14/4/1772	LI
1772	4	20	Mally	Arbroath		Dollas	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			20/4/1772	CM
1772	5	12	Hamilton			Dahlrymple	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Sound list.	30/5/1772	NC
1772	5	12	Margaret & Mary			Higgins	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Sound list.	30/5/1772	NC
1772	6	10	Margaret	Alloa		Bald	Dunbar	Leith	A	Wheat			10/6/1772	CM
1772	6	15	Margaret	Kincardine		Dick	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			15/6/1772	CM
1772	7	17	Jean	Alloa		Foster	Spey	Fort William				Orkney list.	29/7/1772	CM
1772	7	18	? Sisters	Easter Ezer		Paterson	Alloa	Leith	A				18/7/1772	CM
1772	7	18	Nelly	Kenneth		MacVea	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			18/7/1772	CM
1772	7	18	Two Brothers			Henderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			18/7/1772	CM
1772	7	25	Leith Packet	Montrose		Robertson	Alloa	Leith	A	Merchant goods			25/7/1772	CM
1772	7	27	Margaret & Mary			Higgins	Stockholm	Alloa		Iron?		Sound list.	27/7/1772	CM
1772	7	27				Nicol	Petersburgh	Alloa		Iron?		Sound list.	27/7/1772	CM
1772	8	5	Elizabeth	Clackmannan		Farmer	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			5/8/1772	CM
1772	8	5	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			5/8/1772	CM
1772	8	5	John & Charles	Leith		Henderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Scots spirits			5/8/1772	CM
1772	8	7	Nelly			Scotland	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Sound list.	22/8/1772	NC
1772	8	26	James	Leith		Jones	Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			26/8/1772	CM
1772	8	26	Margaret	Kincardine		Dick	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			26/8/1772	CM
1772	8	29	Peggy			Halkit	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Sound list.	16/9/1772	CM
1772	9	9	Erskine			Nicol	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Sound list.	26/9/1772	NC
1772	9	23	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Farmer	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			23/9/1772	CM
1772	9	26	Good Hope			Norman	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Sound list.	12/10/1772	CM
1772	9	26	Mary & Nelly			Yelton	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Sound list.	12/10/1772	CM
1772	10	24	Charlotte	Leith		Henderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			24/10/1772	CM
1772	11	4	George & Katharine	Kincardine			Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			4/11/1772	CM
1772	11	4	Margaret	Alloa		Kirk	Aberdeen	Leith	A	Merchant goods			4/11/1772	CM
1772	11	7	Dispatch	Leith		Barr	Leith	Alloa	S	Oats			7/11/1772	CM
1772	11	7	Margaret	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			7/11/1772	CM

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Year	M	D	Name of ship	Registered port	Shipmaster forename	Shipmaster surname	Sailed from	Sailed to	S / A	Cargo	Merchant(s) or owner	Details	Date of 1st report or publication	Source
1772	11	11	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			11/11/1772	CM
1772	11	18	James	Leith		Jones	Alloa	Leith	A	Spirits			18/11/1772	CM
1772	11			Kincardine		Farmer	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			30/11/1772	CM
1772	12	12	Margaret & Jean	Kincardine		Weyley	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			14/12/1772	CM
1772	12	19	Betty	Kincardine		Fotheringham	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			19/12/1772	CM
1772	12	30	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Spirits			30/12/1772	CM
1772			Nelly		Kenneth	McVea	Alloa	Leith		Whisky		Last from quarantine.	8/2/1772	CM
1772			Tibby	North Queensferry			Alloa	Fort William				Orkney list.	8/7/1772	CM
1772			Janet	Alloa			Bellyhills	Sky				Orkney list.	7/10/1772	CM
1773	1	23	Margaret & Jean	Kincardine		Weyley	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			23/1/1773	CM
1773	1	25	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Fotheringhame	Alloa	Leith	A	Spirits			25/1/1773	CM
1773	2	22	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Fotheringhame	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			22/2/1773	CM
1773			Margaret	Kincardine		Dick	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			19/4/1773	CM
1773			Erskine	Alloa		Miller	Alloa	Virginia					18/12/1773	CM
1775	8	14	Elizabeth	Kincardine			Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			16/8/1775	CM
1775	8	14	Whale	Kincardine		Sorely	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			16/8/1775	CM
1775	8	28	Whale	Kincardine		Sorely	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals & whisky			28/8/1775	CM
1775	8		Elizabeth	Kincardine		Lawson	Alloa	Leith	A	Brick			19/8/1775	CM
1775	8		James	Leith		Jones	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			21/8/1775	CM
1775	9	2	Dispatch	Leith		Barr	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			2/9/1775	CM
1775	9	2	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			2/9/1775	CM
1775	9	2	Erskine	Stirling		Robertson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			2/9/1775	CM
1775	9	18	Nelly	Leith		Sommervel	Elphinston	Leith	A	Coals			18/9/1775	CM
1775	9	18	Richard & Margaret	Kincardine		Strong	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			18/9/1775	CM
1775	9	26	Margaret	Gardenstone		Sangster	Alloa	Leith	A	Ballast			27/9/1775	CM
1775	9	27	Sally	Leith		Thomson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			30/9/1775	CM
1775	9		Happy Return	Gardenstone		Sangster	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			9/9/1775	CM
1775	9		Erskine	Throsk		Robertson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			11/9/1775	CM
1775	9		John & Charlotte	Leith		Henderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals & furniture			11/9/1775	CM
1775	9		Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			16/9/1775	CM
1775	9		Peggy	Kincardine		Turckan	Kennet	Leith	A	Coals			16/9/1775	CM
1775	11		Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Kennet	Leith	A	Coals & whisky			18/11/1775	CM
1775	11		Isobel & Mary	Leith		Harlow	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			18/11/1775	CM
1775	11		Margaret & Marion	Airth		Higgins	Dantzick	Leith	A	Wheat			18/11/1775	CM
1775			Alexander	Kerse		Abercrombie	Alloa	Leith		Bricks			14/8/1775	CM
1775			Ann	Alloa		Forrester	Alloa	Leith		Bricks			14/8/1775	CM
1775			James	Leith		Jones	Leith	Alloa		Goods			14/8/1775	CM
1775			Whale	Kincardine		Sorely	Alloa	Leith		Coal and whisky			28/8/1775	CM
1776	1		Peggy	Alloa		Dawson	St Andrews	Leith	A	Aqua vitae			20/1/1776	CM
1776	3		Alexander	Kerse		Nicol	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			18/3/1776	CM
1776	3		Mary & Jane	Alloa		Mucklejohn	Leith	Berwick	S	Goods			18/3/1776	CM

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1776	3		Lady Betty	Kincardine		Fotheringham	Kennet	Leith	A	Coals & whisky			23/3/1776	CM
1776	4		Charlotte	Alloa		Stewart	Alemouth	Leith	A	Grain			6/4/1776	CM
1776	4		James	Leith		Jones	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			8/4/1776	CM
1776	4		Mally	Montrose		Leighton	Kennet	Leith	A	Coals & Whiskie		For Montrose.	8/4/1776	CM
1776	4		Margaret	Kincardine		Coe	Kennet	Leith	A	Coals & whiskie			22/4/1776	CM
1776	4		Hales Castle	Leith		Crawford	Alloa	Leith	A	Grain			24/4/1776	CM
1776	4		John & Charlotte	Leith			Leith	Alloa	S	Merchant goods			24/4/1776	CM
1776	5		Three Brothers			Reath	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	13/5/1776	CM
1776	6	3	Flora	Alloa		Drummond	Alloa	Leith	A	Goods			5/6/1776	CM
1776	6	4	Elizabeth	Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Grain			5/6/1776	CM
1776	6	4	Nelly	Leith		Sommervell	Alloa	Leith	A	Grain			5/6/1776	CM
1776	6		John & Charlotte	Leith		Henderson	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			12/6/1776	CM
1776	6		James	Leith		Jones	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			22/6/1776	CM
1776	7	26	Erskine	Stirling		Robertson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			26/7/1776	CM
1776	7		James	Leith		Jones	Alloa	Leith	A	Bark, bottles & coals			5/7/1776	CM
1776	7		Margaret	Alloa		Davidson	St Andrews	Leith	A	Wheat			9/7/1776	CM
1776	7		Betsey	Kincardine		Murray	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			12/7/1776	CM
1776	7		Charlotte & Mary	Elphinstone		Donald	Elphinstone	Leith	A	Coals			12/7/1776	CM
1776	7		Erskine			Nicholl	Alloa	Petersburgh		Ballast		Passed the Sound.	13/7/1776	CM
1776	7		James	Leith		Jones	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			22/7/1776	CM
1776	7		Elizabeth	Kincardine		Lawson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			30/7/1776	CM
1776	8	18	Elizabeth			Kay	Memel	Alloa		Balks			4/9/1776	CM
1776	8		Hailes Castle			Crawford	Alloa	Leith	A	Grain			12/8/1776	CM
1776	8		Flora	Alloa		Drummond	Alloa	Leith	A	Tyles			15/8/1776	CM
1776	8		Janet	Kincardine		Stewart	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			19/8/1776	CM
1776	8		Ann	Alloa		Forrester	Inverness	Leith	A	Goods			20/8/1776	CM
1776	8		John & Charlotte	Leith		Henderson	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			20/8/1776	CM
1776	8		John & Catharine	Kincardine		Coots	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			24/8/1776	CM
1776	9	5	John & Charlotte	Leith		Henderson	Leith	Alloa	S	Barley			7/9/1776	CM
1776	9	5	Owners Goodwill	North Berwick		Wishart	Leith	Alloa	S	Barley			7/9/1776	CM
1776	10		John & Charlotte	Leith		Henderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals & wood			7/10/1776	CM
1776	11		John & Charlotte	Leith		Henderson	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			18/11/1776	CM
1776			Mally	Montrose		Leighton	Kennet	Leith	A	Coals & Whiskie		For Montrose.	8/4/1776	CM
1776			Margaret	Kincardine		Coe	Kennet	Leith	A	Coals & Whiskie			22/4/1776	CM
1776			Mary & Nelly			Stein	Bo'ness	Copenhagen		Coal			10/7/1776	CM
1777	2		Elizabeth & Margaret	Alloa		MacFarlin	Highlands	Leith	A	Kelp			5/2/1777	CM
1777	2			Kincardine		Turkin	Highlands	Leith	A	Kelp			5/2/1777	CM
1777	3		Mally	Alloa		Sorely	Leith	Hull	S	Goods			3/3/1777	CM
1777	4	6	Molly		John	Sorlea	Hull	Alloa	S				8/4/1777	LI
1777	4	20	Catharine		A.	Stuart	Hull	Alloa	S				22/4/1777	LI

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1777	4	29	Farmer & Janet	Kincardine		Stewart	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	17/5/1777	CM
1777	4	29	Good Intent	Alloa		Paterson	Alloa	Copenhagen				Passed the Sound.	17/5/1777	CM
1777	4	29	Robert	Alloa		Willison	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	17/5/1777	CM
1777	5	18	Jane & Janet			Wiley	Hull	Alloa	S				20/5/1777	LI
1777	5	31	Mary & Nelly	Kincardine		Stein	Alloa	Copenhagen				Passed the Sound.	16/6/1777	CM
1777	5	31	Venus	Kincardine		Peacock	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	16/6/1777	CM
1777	5		Afkin			Spittall	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals			31/5/1777	NC
1777	6	18	American Planter	Dysart		Brodie	Memel?	Alloa		Balks		Passed the Sound.	7/7/1777	CM
1777	6	19	Two Sisters	Airth		Matson	Alloa	Petersburgh		Coals		Passed the Sound.	7/7/1777	CM
1777	6	20	Erskine	Alloa		Nicholl	Memel	Aberdeen		Balks		Passed the Sound.	7/7/1777	CM
1777	6		William & Sarah			Porteous	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			2/6/1777	CM
1777	7	20	Good Intent	Alloa		Paterson	Memel	Glasgow		Logs		Passed the Sound.	9/8/1777	CM
1777	7		Betsey	Kincardine		Murray	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			28/7/1777	CM
1777	8	25	Erskine	Alloa		Spittall	Petersburgh	Aberdeen		Iron		Passed the Sound.	13/9/1777	CM
1777	8		Betsey	Leith		Henderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals & goods			23/8/1777	CM
1777	8		James	Leith		Jones	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			23/8/1777	CM
1777	9	19	Erskine	Alloa		Spittall	Aberdeen	Memel		Ballast		Passed the Sound.	8/10/1777	CM
1777	10		James	Leith		Jones	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			29/10/1777	CM
1777	10		Mary	Alloa		Dawson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			29/10/1777	CM
1777	10		Mary	Carse		Niccoll	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			29/10/1777	CM
1777	11	18	Margaret			Law	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Remained in the Sound.	10/12/1777	CM
1777	11		Betty	Leith		Henderson	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			29/11/1777	CM
1777	12	4	Janet	Alloa		Law	Copenhagen	Gothenburg				Passed the Sound.	27/12/1777	CM
1777	12		Dispatch			Henry	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			29/12/1777	CM
1777	12		Margaret			Scotland	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			29/12/1777	CM
1777	12		Three Sisters			Farmer	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			29/12/1777	CM
1777			Mary & Nelly	Kincardine		Stein	Alloa	Copenhagen					16/6/1777	CM
1777			Alexander	Kersie		Nicoll	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			1/10/1777	CM
1778	3			Kincardine		Lawson	Alloa	Leith		Coals & Whiskie			9/3/1778	CM
1778	3		Nancy	Anstruther		Robertson	Alloa	Leith	A	Merchant goods			28/3/1778	CM
1778	4	1		Kincardine		Scotland	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	18/4/1778	CM
1778	4	23	Janet & Ann	Airth		MacAlpin	Alloa	Peterburgh		Coals		Passed the Sound.	9/5/1778	CM
1778	4		Erskine	Throsk		Robertson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			1/4/1778	CM
1778	4		John & Margaret	Kincardine		Strong	Kennet	Leith	A	Coals & whiskie			1/4/1778	CM
1778	4		Jameses	Leith		Jones	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			13/4/1778	CM
1778	4		Betsey	Leith		Henderson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			25/4/1778	CM
1778	5	10	J___? & Janet			Wiley	Hull	Alloa	S				12/5/1778	LI
1778	5	17	Elizabeth & Anne	Kincardine		Izatt	Alloa	Dantzic		Coals		Passed the Sound.	3/6/1778	CM
1778	5	30	Peggy	Alloa		Paterson	Glasgow	Petersburgh		Ballast		Passed the Sound.	17/6/1778	CM
1778	5		Lady Betty	Kincardine		Fotheringham	Alloa	Leith	A	Whiskie			4/5/1778	CM
1778	5		James	Leith		Jones	Alloa	Leith	A	Whiskie			9/5/1778	CM
1778	5		Peggy	Alloa		Dawson	Fenham	Leith	A	Grain			9/5/1778	CM
1778	5		Peggy	Kincardine		Turken	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			18/5/1778	CM

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1778	6		Elizabeth	Kincardine		Lawson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			17/6/1778	CM
1778	6		Erskine	Alloa		Robertson	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			17/6/1778	CM
1778	7		James	Leith		Jones	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			20/7/1778	CM
1778	8	5	Good Intent	Cambus		Watt	Cambus	Leith	A	Stones			24/8/1778	CM
1778	8	5	Peggy	Alloa		Paterson	Petersburgh	Leith		Goods		Passed the Sound.	24/8/1778	CM
1778	8		Peggy	Kincardine		Turcan	Alloa	Leith	A	Whiskie			1/8/1778	CM
1778	8		Lady Finlater	Portsoy		Burgess	Alloa	Leith	A	Coals			19/8/1778	CM
1778	9		Mary	Kincardine		Fotheringhame	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			5/9/1778	CM
1778	10		James	Leith		Drysdale	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			26/10/1778	CM
1779	1		Providence	Leith		Jones	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			9/1/1779	CM
1779	2	19	Venus			Peacock	Hull	Alloa	S				23/2/1779	LI
1779	2		Betsey	Leith		Henderson	Leith	Alloa	S	Goods			8/2/1779	CM
1779	5		Elizabeth	Kincardine		Primrose	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			22/5/1779	CM
1779	7		Elizabeth	Alloa		Lawson	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			10/7/1779	CM
1779	9		Margaret	Kincardine		Strong	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			27/9/1779	CM
1779	12			Kincardine		Primrose	Alloa	Leith	A	Whiskie			6/12/1779	CM
1779			Elizabeth	Kincardine		Primrose	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			22/5/1779	CM
1779			Lady Mary	Alloa		Haig	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	21/7/1779	CM
1779			Thomas & Betty	Kincardine		Stein	Alloa	Copenhagen		Coals		Passed the Sound.	21/7/1779	CM
1779			Margaret	Kincardine		Strong	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			27/9/1779	CM
1779			Thomas & Betty	Kincardine		Stein	Peterburgh	Leith	A	Goods			8/12/1779	CM
1780	5	7	Thomas & Betty	Kincardine		Stein	Alloa	Copenhagen				Passed the Sound.	27/5/1780	CM
1780	5	24	Elizabeth & Margaret			Primrose	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			27/5/1780	CM
1780			Thomas & Betty			Stein	Peterborough	Leith	A	Hemp			16/9/1780	CM
1785	9	2	Neptune	Kincardine		Stein	Petersburgh	Grangemouth		Sundries		Passed the Sound.	17/9/1785	CM
1785	11	26	Mary & Margaret	Kennetpans		Carsewell	Dantzick	Kennetpans		Barley & staves		Passed the Sound.	14/12/1785	CM
1785	11	28	William & Christian	Kincardine		Sime	Dantzick	Kennetpans		Barley		Arrived in the Sound.	21/12/1785	CM
1785	12	2	Neptune	Kincardine		Stein	Koningsberg	Kilbagie		Wheat & barley		Arrived in the Sound.	21/12/1785	CM
1786			Active			Cartric	Alloa	Shields	A	Aqua vitae			6/5/1786	NC
1787	10	27	Elizabeth & Margaret			Norrie	Alloa	Grangemouth	A	Aqua vitae		For Glasgow.	5/11/1787	CM
1788	6	5	Elizabeth & Margaret			Norrie	Alloa	Leith	A	Whiskey			5/6/1788	CM
1788			Martha & Ann			Stoughton	Alloa	Shields	A	Geneva			23/2/1788	NC
1789	5	16	Margaret			Heggon	Alloa	Leith	A	Whisky			18/5/1789	CM
1789	9	28	Margaret			Higgan	Alloa	Leith	A	Spirits			28/9/1789	CM