

**SCOTTISH OVERSEAS TRADE 1597-1645**

**By Jennifer Claire Watson**



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## DECLARATION

I declare this thesis has been composed by myself, and the research on which it is based is my own work.

*J. C. Watson .*

Jennifer Watson

## ABSTRACT

### SCOTTISH OVERSEAS TRADE 1597-1645

With a lack of alternative sources relating to the development of industry and overseas trade over the medieval and early modern periods, the accounts of the Scottish customs administrations are widely recognised as an invaluable aid to the study of such industry and trade.

Printed in *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (1878-1908), the enrolled custom accounts of 1328 to 1600 have long been available in the public domain, and have recently been evaluated in great detail by Dr Martin Rorke. Those pertaining to the seventeenth century, however, have hitherto been almost completely ignored, with the result that the first half of this century has remained a “Dark Age” in the history of Scottish overseas trade.

For the first time, therefore, these neglected enrolled accounts have been transcribed, translated and analysed. Together with all extant particular accounts from which they were compiled, they are now made available in two forms. The compiled trade statistics are presented in this thesis in graphical and tabular form, while a standardised edition of the documents with the data presented in a PC-implemented database is available from the author to interested parties.

The organisation and procedure of the post 1597 Scottish customs administration are discussed. The volume and value of the native export, re-export and import trades of each jurisdiction are then calculated, and each area’s particular specialisation and respective contributions to the total level of Scottish trade are considered. Finally, with aid of the compiled figures, trends in Scottish overseas trade over the first half of the seventeenth century are analysed. Here the growing importance of England, with whom Scotland traded by sea and increasingly by land, as both a market and supply source, is stressed.

As one in a four-part programme of research on Scottish overseas trade 1328-1800, it is hoped that the presentation and analysis of the collected data will be of significant use in the future examination of the early modern Scottish economy.

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## CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

All monetary sums originally in L. (*libra*) s. (*solidi*) d. (*denarii*) are Scots unless otherwise stated, decimalized where appropriate on the basis that one pound consisted of twenty shillings or 240 pence. One 'merk' (mark) is converted into its Scots equivalent on the basis that it was worth 13s. 4d. (£0.67). All hundreds are presented as long hundreds (120) rather than in short hundreds (five score or 100).<sup>1</sup> Charts are presented at the end of each chapter.

*A.P.S.*            *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland..*

*E.R.*              *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.*

*R.C.R.B.*        *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland.*

*R.P.C.*            *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.*

*N.A.S.*            National Archives of Scotland.

*N.L.S.*            National Library of Scotland.

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<sup>1</sup> See Gouldesbrough, P., 'The Long Hundred in the Exchequer Rolls' in *Scottish Historical Review*, Volume 46, 1967, pp. 79-82.

## INTRODUCTION

Contemporaries recognised that:

‘The sea, and all navigable rivers [are] the chiefe meanes for the enriching of townes and cities, by the reason of traffique with forraine nations, with exportation, transportation, and receite of variety of marchandizing’.<sup>1</sup>

The accounts of the Scottish customs administration can, with care, be utilised to illustrate the native export, re-export and import trades of certain localities and of Scotland as a whole. They provide a unique and valuable insight into Scotland’s overseas trade and indirectly into the development of her early modern economy.

The enrolled custom accounts of 1328 to 1600, printed in *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (1878-1908), have recently been comprehensively analysed by Dr Martin Rorke.<sup>2</sup> Export figures alone are available for this period and point to late medieval decline giving way to late sixteenth century recovery in Scottish overseas trade. Indeed, between 1558/62 and 1593/97 Scotland’s export trade increased by almost one-third.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast, the surviving accounts pertaining to the seventeenth century have hitherto been completely ignored. Here for the first time these enrolled accounts, together with all extant particular accounts from which they were compiled, have been transcribed, translated and analysed.<sup>4</sup> A comparison of commodity trades over the pre- and post-1597 periods clearly indicates that the nature of Scottish economic activity underwent significant structural change over the first half of the seventeenth century. In particular, the export trade in wool, still significant in the late sixteenth century, collapsed at the turn of the seventeenth century. Conversely, exports of woollen cloth together with coal, salt, fish and corn, all of which were already increasing, rose sharply, as did re-exports. Of greatest significance, however, was the dramatic development over the early seventeenth century of completely new export wares - linen yarn and linen cloth and livestock - which had been unrepresented in the late sixteenth century trades.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor the Water-Poet in Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Edinburgh: James Thin, 1973, pp. 111-12.

<sup>2</sup> Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D., 2001.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 312-17.

<sup>4</sup> The transcriptions and databases are presented here in printed form. The electronic version is available from the author to interested parties.

<sup>5</sup> It must be noted at the outset that direct comparisons of Crown revenue arising from export customs between the 1275-1597 and 1597-1645 periods is not yet possible. This is because Rorke took rates of duty prevailing in 1570 as his base year, whereas this thesis uses those prevailing in 1612. Future research on the 1660-1707 and 1707-1800 periods are likely to utilise further autonomous sets of base rates. It is envisaged, however, that at the completion of the entire research project, direct end point weighted long-term comparisons will be possible.

This thesis therefore focuses upon those years of the seventeenth century for which enrolled accounts survive. It is deemed appropriate to commence analysis from 1597, which was the year in which duties imposed on exported goods were substantially increased. Bullion duties on exports became payable for the first time; and duties levied on all imports, rather than only on wine and English goods as had occurred previously, were introduced for the first time. The work finishes in 1645, as in that year the last of the enrolled account references is available. The onset thereafter of the Cromwellian invasion and Civil War meant that custom records were either destroyed or, more likely, not kept at all. Indeed, it is only from 1665 that custom accounts albeit only in the form of particular accounts, once again become available.<sup>6</sup>

Previously, little research has been undertaken into the economic history of early seventeenth Scotland using the accounts of the Scottish customs administration. Lythe's standard text,<sup>7</sup> for example, is based primarily on documentation held at the Public Record Office in London. The Scottish sources utilised were legislative, incidental, prefaces to the printed volumes of the Exchequer Rolls and one isolated Edinburgh/Leith particular account from which he lifted random figures.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, it is only in Murray's work on Dumfries and Galloway that the potential of early seventeenth-century custom records has previously been demonstrated.<sup>9</sup>

Otherwise, research on early seventeenth century Scottish overseas trade has been largely confined either to studies of specific commodity trades (such as coal,<sup>10</sup> salt,<sup>11</sup> glass<sup>12</sup>, agriculture<sup>13</sup> and livestock<sup>14</sup>), of individual ports (Leith,<sup>15</sup> Montrose,<sup>16</sup> Aberdeen<sup>17</sup> and Glasgow<sup>18</sup>) or of chosen destinations (the Netherlands,<sup>19</sup> the Baltic,<sup>20</sup> and England<sup>21</sup>). In each case the accounts of the early

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<sup>6</sup> The author intends to undertake post-doctoral research into the records of the Scottish customs administration 1665-1707 as the third in a four-part programme of research on Scottish overseas trade 1328-1800.

<sup>7</sup> Lythe, S. G. E., *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 1550-1625*, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1960.

<sup>8</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/11: "The Entress of Ships, Guidis, and Geir transportit at the port of Leith, 1627-28".

<sup>9</sup> Murray, A.L., "The Customs Accounts of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, 1560-1660" in *The Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, third series, Vol. XLII, 1965, pp. 114-32.

<sup>10</sup> Nef, J. U., *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, Volumes 1 and 2, London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1932; Hatcher, J., *The History of the British Coal Industry, Volume 1. Before 1700: Towards the Age of Coal*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

<sup>11</sup> Whatley, C. A., *The Scottish Salt Industry 1570-1850*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987.

<sup>12</sup> Turnbull, J., *The Scottish Glass Industry 1610-1750*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D, 1999.

<sup>13</sup> Whyte, I., *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979.

<sup>14</sup> Haldane, A. R. B., *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997; Woodward, D., "Irish and Scottish Livestock Trades in the Seventeenth Century" in Cullen, L. M. and Smout, T. C. (eds.) *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1977, pp. 147-64.

<sup>15</sup> Mowat, S., *The Port of Leith Its History and its People*, Edinburgh: Forth Ports PLC, John Donald, 1994; Brown, J. J., *The Social, Political and Economic Influence of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite 1600-1638*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D., 1986.

<sup>16</sup> Jackson G. and Lythe, S. G. E. (eds.), *The Port of Montrose: a History of its Harbour Trade and Shipping*, Tayport: Hutton Press, 1993.

<sup>17</sup> Taylor, L.B., *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts 1596-1670*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1972.

seventeenth century Scottish customs administration have either not been utilised at all, or used only to the extent of eliciting random figures for illustrative purposes. It is hoped, therefore, that the presentation and analysis of the post 1597/1600 customs data will constitute a valuable resource for future researchers of Scottish overseas trade.

First, the organisation of the customs administration will be focused upon. Reasons for the setting up of an updated regime in 1597 will be discussed, together with the major features of that regime. Those feature first the revised and newly introduced custom duties. They also involve a delimitation of custom jurisdictions, the extent and nature of customs leases (both of the realm as a whole and of individual precincts), and the rules and regulations to be followed by customs officials. Customing procedures (differentiating where appropriate between those followed for foreign and those for English trade), are examined as is the imposition of trade prohibitions. The system of the issuing of licences to contravene those restrictions and the practice of reshipping goods to and from ports other than where they were customed is also examined.

Next the native export, re-export and import trades are considered in turn. It is important here to reflect upon the reliability of using custom figures as trade data, and to recognise that smuggling did go on to a differing and ultimately unknown extent for each type of good. The data are somewhat fragmented, but in as far as is possible the annual export, re-export and import figures of each type of commodity are calculated for each jurisdiction. The seasonal variations in trade are taken into account at all times. These figures are analysed and presented in both graphical and tabular form. The fortunes and specialisation of the ports are then discussed, before the directions of Scottish overseas trade as a whole are focused upon.

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<sup>18</sup> Smout, T. C., "The Development and Enterprise of Glasgow, 1556-1707" in *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 7, 1960, pp. 194-212.

<sup>19</sup> Yair, J., *An Account of the Scotch Trade in the Netherlands and of the Staple Port of Campvere*, London, 1776; Davidson, J. and Grey, A., *The Scottish Staple at Veere. A Study in the Economic History of Scotland*, London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1909; Rooseboom, M. P., *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands: An Account of the Trade Relations Between Scotland and the Low Countries from 1292 Till 1676, With a Calendar of Illustrative Documents*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910.

<sup>20</sup> Lythe, S. G. E., "Scottish Trade with the Baltic 1550-1650" in Eastham, J. K. (ed.), *Economic Essays in Commemoration of the Dundee School of Economics 1931-1955*, Coupar Angus: School of Economics, Dundee, 1955, pp. 63-84; Riis, T., *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot... Scottish -Danish Relations c. 1450-1707*, Volume I, Odense: Odense University Press, 1988.

<sup>21</sup> Keith, T., *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland 1603-1707*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1910.

It will be seen that the early seventeenth century was a time of great structural change. In particular, the importance of England, with whom Scotland traded by sea and increasingly by land was growing as both a market and supply source. This importance is argued to have been of far greater significance than previous historians have allowed.

## CHAPTER ONE: CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION

### Background to the New Custom Duties of 1597<sup>1</sup>

In 1590 a new impost of £8 per tun on all French and Spanish wine imported into Scotland was introduced. Revenues collected as a direct result of this levy were huge relative to sums previously collected from duties imposed on overseas trade,<sup>2</sup> and in the face of a January 1596 review of Crown revenue, which noted that the custom revenues of the Crown had recently declined despite an increase in ships resorting to Scotland,<sup>3</sup> it became clear that Scottish overseas trade and the customs were not being exploited to their full potential. Fynes Moryson, a contemporary English traveller, attributed this lack of customs revenue in Scotland to the Crown's lack of effort to stimulate trade<sup>4</sup> while Sir John Skene, the Clerk Register, noted the prejudice to the Crown of the *pro rata* custom duties on cloth and salmon as compared with potential returns if these goods were customed at *ad valorem* rates.<sup>5</sup>

### Books of Rates

Consequently, in May 1597, new custom duties based on assessed values of traded items were introduced.<sup>6</sup> The first 'Tabill of Outuarde custumes',<sup>7</sup> reproduced as Appendix One (a), listed the principal goods on which export duties were payable. The rate was twelve pence per one pound worth of merchandise, that was five percent of the 'value' as fixed by custom assessments rather than actual prices. This represented by far the biggest re-valuation in the custom system's history: duty payable on a barrel of salmon, for example, rose from £0.20 to £1.88 and that payable on a dozen of [woollen] cloth rose from £0.05 to £0.60.<sup>8</sup>

From the same year bullion duties on exports became payable: merchants were required to present to the Mint, in direct proportion to the value of their exports, imported silver of twelve 'deneir fine', according to the rates set down in the 'A.B.C. of the bullion'<sup>9</sup> which is reproduced as Appendix One (b). Any merchant failing to deliver the appropriate bullion to the master of the mint as required was to pay double.

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the pre-1597 history and development of the Scottish customs system, see Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D., 2001, Vol. 1, pp. 2-19.

<sup>2</sup> Goodare, J., *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 114-15, Rorke, M., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, pp. 254-55.

<sup>4</sup> Moryson, F. in Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Edinburgh: James Thin, 1973, pp. 86-87.

<sup>5</sup> Murray, A., "Sir John Skene and the Exchequer, 1594-1612" in *The Stair Society Miscellany One*, Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1971, pp. 125-136.

<sup>6</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 113-14, 118, 135-36.

<sup>7</sup> N.A.S. E76/1/1.

<sup>8</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> N.A.S. E4'3; *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 118-19.

In addition, from May 1597 custom duties on all imports, rather than only on wine and English goods as had occurred previously, were introduced for the first time, a development described by Rorke as representing ‘the single greatest change to the Scottish customs administration since its inception’.<sup>10</sup> The Table of ‘Inuarde Custumes’,<sup>11</sup> reproduced as Appendix One (c), shows that as with export duties, those levied on imports were done so at a rate of twelve pence per one pound worth of merchandise or five percent of assessed value.

The Book of Rates covering exports and imports was updated in November 1611 and is reproduced as Appendix Two (a) and (b).<sup>12</sup> This revision took place on the King’s orders because his customs receipts at existing tariffs were deemed insufficient to cover his growing expenses.<sup>13</sup> Omissions, under- and over- rating, however, prompted another revision to export, import and bullion rates in 1612. The respective Tables are reproduced as Appendix Three (a), (b) and (c).<sup>14</sup>

Each edition of the Book of Rates was to be delivered to every customar or collector of customs in every port, haven and harbour by the Clerk of the Register and Rolls of Scotland. The Book was to be clearly displayed at the market crosses of the head burghs and all other coastal towns and ports so that merchants could not pretend to be ignorant of the charges, and so that customars could not extort additional dues. Any item not listed in the current Book of Rates was to be valued by the merchant-owner or his factors in the presence of the customar and duty levied at five percent of the agreed figure.

The dramatic impact of the new duties on customs revenue is indicated by the amounts at which speculators were prepared to lease the customs from the Crown:<sup>15</sup> whereas prior to 1597 the whole of Scotland’s customs had been leased for £4,000,<sup>16</sup> by 1599 the customs were set in tack for six times that amount.<sup>17</sup>

### **Custom Jurisdictions**

Delimitation of each individual trading area or precinct is necessary from the outset, in order to understand properly the Scottish custom administration and to meaningfully analyse the custom figures. Ports were grouped together into defined jurisdictions for accounting purposes, each area possessing its own set of customs officials and its own cocket seal to authenticate customed goods.

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<sup>10</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> N.A.S. E76/1/2 (incomplete), E4/3.

<sup>12</sup> N.A.S. E76/2. See also *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, p. lxxiii; *A.P.S.* Vol. IV, pp. 118, 135.

<sup>13</sup> In addition, with the end of free trade with England in 1611, a separate Book of Rates itemising duty payable on goods passing southwards over the Border was issued as is reproduced as Appendix Five (a) and (b).

<sup>14</sup> The 1612 edition (N.A.S. E76/3, E76/4, E76/5) was not revised until 1660. In many instances rates of duty did not change between 1597 and 1612. The 1597 Book lists custom duty to be levied on each commodity, whereas the 1612 Book lists the assessed value of each traded item. Duty payable remained at five percent of assessed value despite proposals in 1636 to increase it to 7.5%. (N.A.S. E4/5, ff. 170r-172v).

<sup>15</sup> For an explanation of the leasing of the customs see below pp. 11-16.

<sup>16</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 525.

Merchandise could legally be exported or imported at any 'free' burgh, port, haven, harbour, creek or landing place within the area, on condition that the appropriate custom duty was paid. The boundaries of each of the precincts have been deduced from evidence contained within the particular accounts,<sup>18</sup> enrolled accounts<sup>19</sup> and the Exchequer Act Register of Tacks<sup>20</sup> and are illustrated by Map 1-1 overleaf.<sup>21</sup> As far as can be determined, these boundaries (which usually took the form of rivers or other natural features) remained fairly constant between 1597 and 1645.

### 1. Edinburgh/Leith

Edinburgh was the most important burgh in Scotland and her port of Leith the primary seaport. Edinburgh's custom jurisdiction extended along the south side of the Forth from the river Esk in the east<sup>22</sup> as far as the river Almond in the west.<sup>23</sup>

### 2. Forth ports

This jurisdiction covered all ports "of both sides of the Forth between Queensferry and Bridge of Stirling".<sup>24</sup> On the south side of the Forth, free ports west of the river Almond were Linlithgow's ports of Blackness and Borrowstounness (Bo'ness), together with the coal and salt producing villages of Airth, Bonhard, Carriden, Elphingstoun, Grangepans and Kinglas. On the north side were Culross and Queensferry together with Alloa and Alloway.<sup>25</sup>

### 3. West Fife

This precinct covered all ports from Inverkeithing in the west to the river Leven in the east and included Burntisland, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Wemyss, and Largo.<sup>26</sup> Burntisland, with its tollbooth built in 1616, is referred to as the head port of the area.<sup>27</sup>

### 4. East Neuk of Fife

This jurisdiction extended from the river Leven in the west through Pittenweem, Anstruther, Crail and all other seaports to Fife Ness in the east.

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<sup>18</sup> N.A.S. E71 series.

<sup>19</sup> N.A.S. E38 series.

<sup>20</sup> N.A.S. E4 series.

<sup>21</sup> The locations of all ports engaged in overseas trade 1597-1645 are illustrated in Map 1-2.

<sup>22</sup> Rorke, M., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> N.A.S. E4/5, f. 65r; N.A.S. E4/6, f. 298r.

<sup>24</sup> R.P.C., first series, Vol. IX, p. 274.

<sup>25</sup> The one Kinghorn entry appearing in N.A.S. E71/15/2 and those appearing in N.L.S. MS 2263 are included in the West Fife jurisdiction.

<sup>26</sup> The one Culross entry appearing in N.A.S. E71/5/2 is included in the figures for the Forth ports jurisdiction.

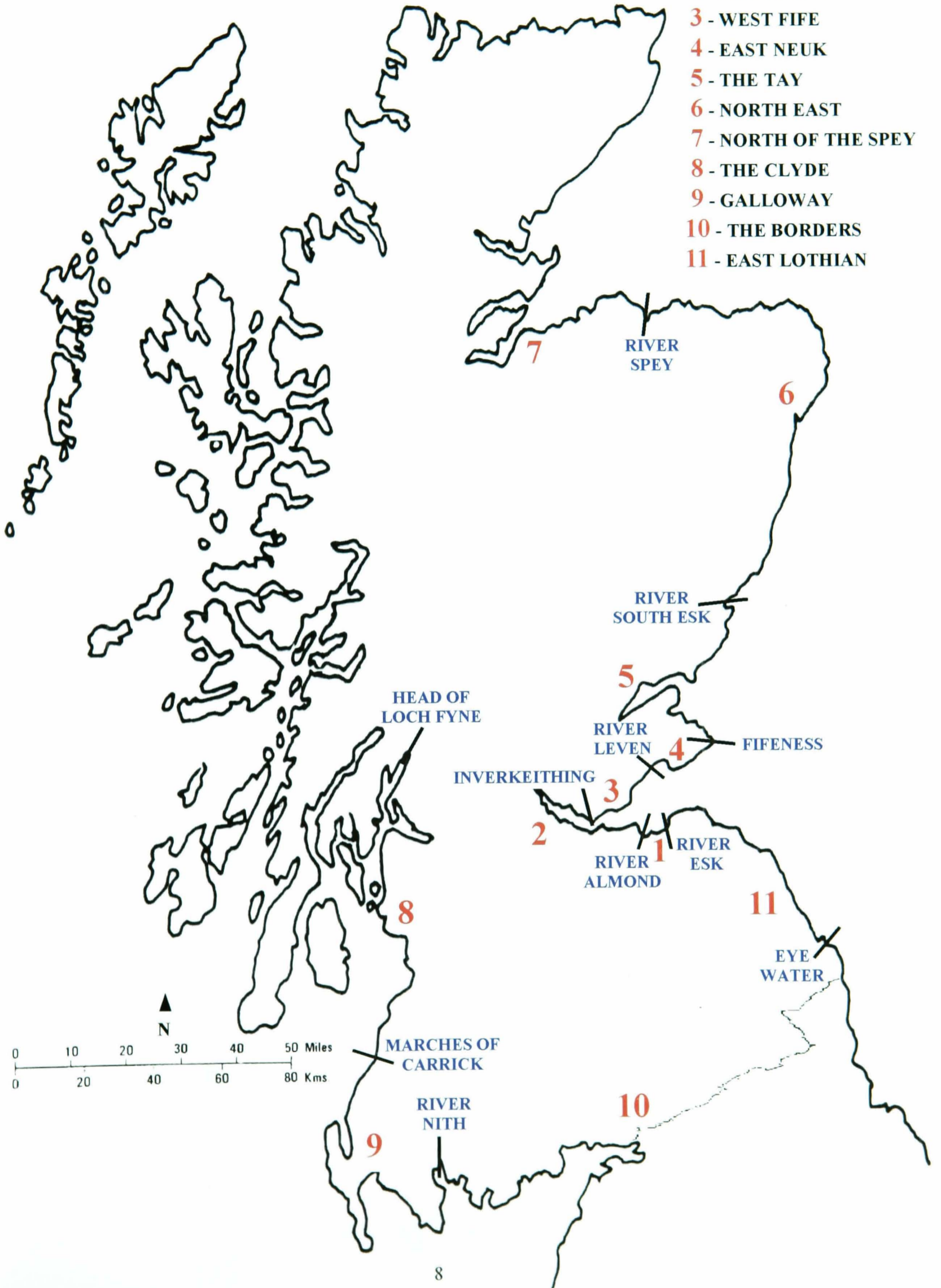
<sup>27</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 267r-267v, 338v-339v.



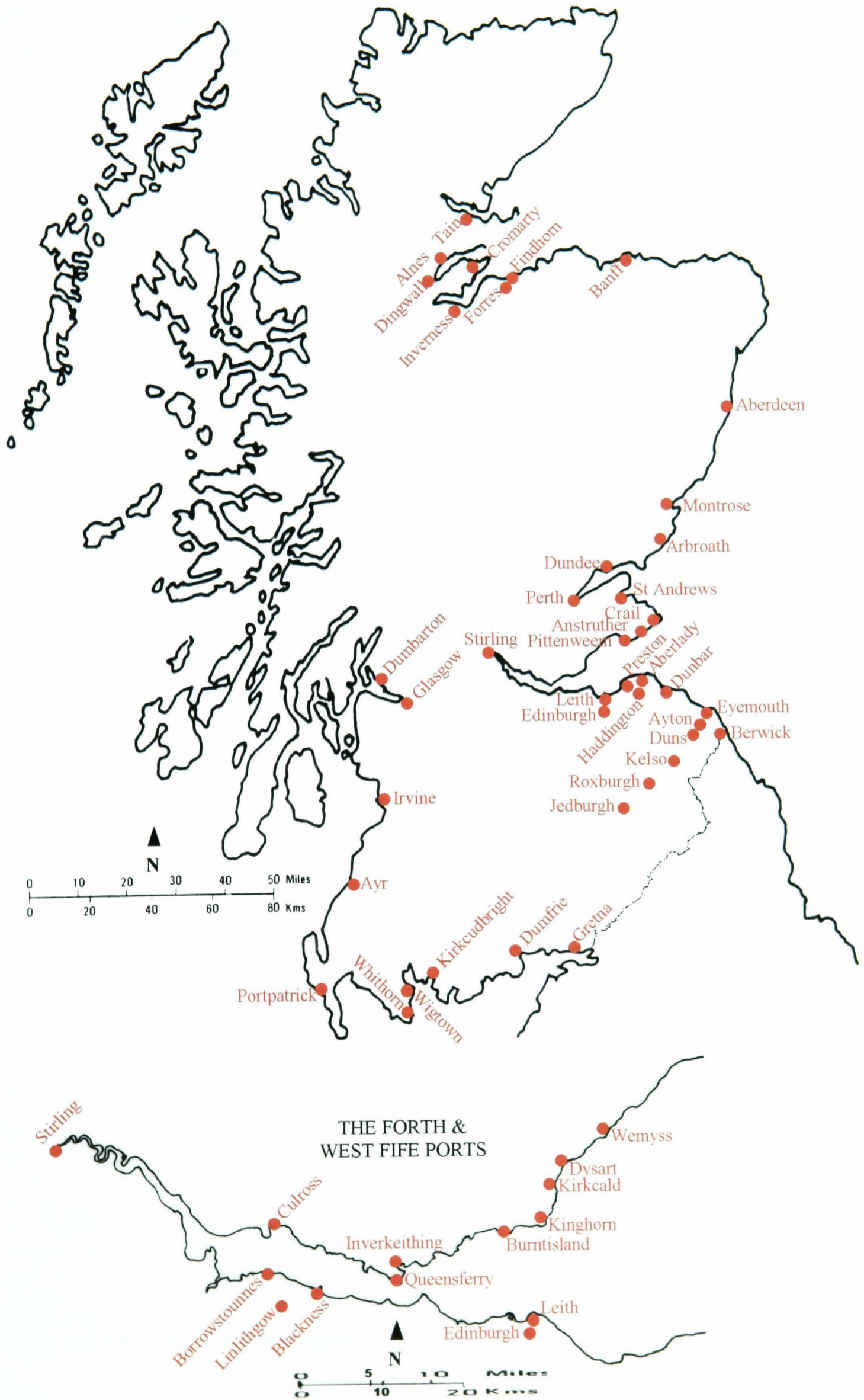
# MAP ONE: SCOTTISH CUSTOM JURISDICTIONS

## JURISDICTIONS

- 1 - EDINBURGH & LEITH
- 2 - THE FORTH
- 3 - WEST FIFE
- 4 - EAST NEUK
- 5 - THE TAY
- 6 - NORTH EAST
- 7 - NORTH OF THE SPEY
- 8 - THE CLYDE
- 9 - GALLOWAY
- 10 - THE BORDERS
- 11 - EAST LOTHIAN



**MAP TWO: SCOTTISH PORTS ENGAGED IN OVERSEAS TRADE 1597-1645**



## 5. The Tay

This precinct covered all ports around the Firth of Tay from St Andrews<sup>28</sup> and Cupar's port at Motray<sup>29</sup> in the south, through Perth, Dundee and Arbroath<sup>30</sup> to the river South Esk as the northern limit.

## 6. North East

This jurisdiction covered all ports from the river South Esk at Montrose in the south, through the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff to the river Spey in the north.

## 7. North of the Spey

This precinct covered all ports beyond the river Spey<sup>31</sup> to the extremity of Sutherland and Caithness and also included the northern isles. Named trading ports were Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Findhorn, Inverness, Dingwall, Alness, Cromarty, Tain and Ferrie Ines.<sup>32</sup>

## 8. The Clyde

This jurisdiction was defined as covering all ports within the sheriffdoms of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton and Ayr as well as the bailies/stewartries of Cunningham Kyle and Carrick.<sup>33</sup> In 1609 Dumbarton's trade privileges were confirmed as being within the "fourteen davochs of land lying within Lennox" next to the burgh and all the water eastward from the headlands of Loch Fyne to the water of Leven. The same charter later stated that the burgh possessed all custom duties within these bounds to the river Kelvin.<sup>34</sup> The particular accounts also suggest that until around 1620 Dumbarton was the head port of the Clyde,<sup>35</sup> lesser ports including Glasgow, Renfrew, Kilpatrick, Greenock, Gourock, Largs and Saltcoats. By the late 1620s Glasgow had established herself as head port of the Clyde. Her coastal liberties extended from Kelliburne<sup>36</sup> or from the 'stane callit ye clochstane'<sup>37</sup> to Glasgow Bridge<sup>38</sup> and her inland jurisdiction covered all places within sixteen miles of the burgh, including Falkirk,<sup>39</sup> together with Kintyre, Bute and Cumbrae.<sup>40</sup> Irvine's jurisdiction specifically

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<sup>28</sup> St Andrews entries were always listed separately from the other Tay ports.

<sup>29</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 98. The only account for Cupar relates to 1597-98 (N.A.S. E38 531).

<sup>30</sup> Perth and Dundee kept customs accounts separately until 1614. Thereafter combined accounts were rendered to the Exchequer, with the additional specification of Arbroath from 1625.

<sup>31</sup> The area covered by the local tacksman of the customs covered the water of Spey 'and haill boundis benorth the same'. *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 838.

<sup>32</sup> These ports are specified in N.A.S. E71/26/1, N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 271r-273r, 301r-301v, 306r-308v.

<sup>33</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 273r-274v. The Clyde searchers were noted as being responsible for the entire area between Glasgow and Ayr (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, p. 330).

<sup>34</sup> Irvine, J., *The Book of Dumbartonshire*, Vol. II, London: W. and A. K. Johnston, 1879, p. 20.

<sup>35</sup> The *R.P.C.* records inform us that Glasgow had been the principal trading place on the Clyde, but that no traffic was using her port on account of the visiting 'plague of pestilence'. (*R.P.C.* first series, Vol. VI, p. 510).

<sup>36</sup> N.A.S. E4/5, f.132r; E4/6, f.1r; N.A.S. E38 600, 604, 607, 609, 613.

<sup>37</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 302v-305r.

<sup>38</sup> Glasgow Bridge was described by William Brereton in 1636 as 'a fair bridge, consisting of seven or eight fair arches'. The Clyde, at that time, was navigable to within six miles of the city. (Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Edinburgh: James Thin, 1973, p.152.)

<sup>39</sup> N.A.S. E4/6, f. 71r.

<sup>40</sup> N.A.S. E38 600, E38 604, E38 607, E38 609, E38 613.

covered the Cunningham area between Kelliburne in the north and Montfoddburne in the south,<sup>41</sup> and that of Ayr covered the area between Montfoddburne in the north and the Marches of Carrick in the south.<sup>42</sup>

#### 9. Galloway

This precinct covered the area extending from the Marches of Carrick in the north-west, over as much as Lochryan as was within the bounds of Galloway, through Portpatrick, Whithorn, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright and over the water of Urr as far as the river Nith in the east.<sup>43</sup>

#### 10. Borders

This jurisdiction extended from Dumfries on the river Nith in the west to the Eye Water at Eyemouth on the East Coast. A limited seaborne trade was carried out at both these ports. It was, however, the developing overland trade, a result of the 1603 Union of Crowns and more peaceful relations with England, that prevailed in this precinct. Nithsdale, Annandale, Eskdale, Wauchopdale, Ewesdale, Liddesdale and Teviotdale, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, Kelso, and the Merse (covering Duns, Chirneside and Ayton) to the eastern end of the sheriffdom of Berwick are all included here. The actual customs points on the overland drove routes were located at Dumfries and Gretna for the West Marches, at Jedburgh and Kelso for the Middle Marches and at Duns for the East Marches.<sup>44</sup>

#### 11. East Lothian

This precinct extended eastwards from Dunbar, through North Berwick, Haddington and her port of Aberlady, Cockenzie, Preston<sup>45</sup> and Musselburgh to the river Esk.<sup>46</sup>

### Custom Leases

It was possible to collect custom duties in two ways: the Crown could employ its own waged officers to collect them directly and to account for the receipts, or it could lease the right to collect the customs to private individuals for a definite total sum. From the onset of the seventeenth century the Crown indicated its preference for the latter method: leasing the customs to the highest bidding 'honest men of gude sorte and sufficient habilitie to performe quhat they sall promise'<sup>47</sup> was regarded as less troublesome and provided a degree of stability for the Crown as a guaranteed fixed income was secured. Additionally, the burden of administering the jurisdiction was shifted onto the leaseholder: the latter became responsible for preventing custom evasion since abuses affected his own earnings; meanwhile the Crown continued to receive all bullion duty<sup>48</sup> and a half share of any uncustomed goods

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<sup>41</sup> N.A.S. E4/5, f. 144v.

<sup>42</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 288r-290r.

<sup>43</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 334v-337v.

<sup>44</sup> *R.P.C.* first series, Vol. IX, pp. liv, 394-95.

<sup>45</sup> Preston was also referred to in the custom accounts as Prestonpans, Newhaven and Achesons Haven.

<sup>46</sup> North Berwick, Cockenzie and Musselburgh are not mentioned in the particular or engrossed accounts but are included in the 1611-24 Tack Register (N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 250r-250v).

<sup>47</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, p. 625.

<sup>48</sup> Bullion duties were payable to the Crown at all times, regardless as to whether or not the collection of export and import duties had been set in tack.



seized. The appointed customars continued to render their accounts to the Exchequer.<sup>49</sup> but sums collected, less expenditures, were paid to the leaseholders rather than to an agent of the Crown.

### Custom Leases for the Realm 1597-1617

As soon as import duties were introduced in May 1597, the customs of the entire realm were leased by Thomas Foulis and Robert Jowsie, burgesses of Edinburgh.<sup>50</sup> This tack was to endure five years upon payment of £30,000 per annum<sup>51</sup> but in reality lasted for only one and a half years. From 1<sup>st</sup> December 1598 all outward and inward customs were leased to three separate parties: Thomas Menzies of Durn received the tack of the customs from Montrose to the river Spey; James Home and Hew Nisbett leased the customs of the Merse with the burghs of Jedburgh and Lauder; while the remainder of the realm's import and export duties, together with the wine impost, were leased for five years to Bernard Lindsay and his partners.<sup>52</sup> This group of customars and merchants initially offered a yearly rent of £28,000 but subsequently were prepared to pay only £24,000 per annum.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, they renewed their tack on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1602 for £60,000,<sup>54</sup> on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1603 for £70,000<sup>55</sup> and on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1604 for five years at a tack of £63,333 per annum.<sup>56</sup>

From 1<sup>st</sup> November 1609 the outward and inward customs and wine impost were leased for five years to a group of Edinburgh and Glasgow merchants for an annual rent of 115,000 marks (£76,667)<sup>57</sup> for the entire realm.<sup>58</sup> In reality, however, this particular lease ran only until 1<sup>st</sup> November 1611 when five of the existing farmers, together with seven new Edinburgh and Glasgow merchants, came into office.<sup>59</sup> They agreed to lease the customs and wine impost for £120,000 per annum<sup>60</sup> for five years and

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<sup>49</sup> The Exchequer was otherwise known as 'court of the king's revenue'. (Brereton in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 137).

<sup>50</sup> *E.R.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 315-21; *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 388; *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV c. 12 pp. 166-67; N.A.S. E38 533. Foulis had been James VI's major financier over the 1590s (see Goodare, J., "Thomas Foulis and the Scottish Fiscal Crisis of the 1590s" in Ormrod, M., Bonney, M. and Bonney, R. (eds.), *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth. Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830*, Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1999, pp. 170-197.

<sup>51</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c. 8 p. 165, c.12 p. 167.

<sup>52</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 508; *E.R.*, XXIII, pp. 291, 358-59; N.A.S. E38 537, 541, 545, 549, 551, 553, 555. Barnard Lindsay's partners were Robert Arnot, George Heriot, Jerome Lindsay, Robert Lindsay, Ninian McMoran, Issac Morrison, James Nisbet, Archibald Prymrois and George Smailhome.

<sup>53</sup> *R.P.C.* first series, Vol. V, pp. 525-26; N.A.S. E38 537, 541, 545. See Conclusion for an explanation of this.

<sup>54</sup> N.A.S. E38 545.

<sup>55</sup> N.A.S. E38 545.

<sup>56</sup> N.A.S. E38 549, 551, 555.

<sup>57</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, pp. 810-13; N.A.S. E38 557, 559. The group comprised Thomas Barclay, Frances Bothwell, Roger Duncanson, Michael Findlayson, Robert Hamilton, Alexander Home, James Inglis, John Makesone and William Nicolson.

<sup>58</sup> This tack of the realm excluded the area from Montrose to the river Spey which continued to be leased by Menzies.

<sup>59</sup> This group comprised Alexander Andrew, James Arnot, William Dick, John Drummond, Roger Duncanson, Michael Findlayson, John Foullis, John Hamilton, Robert Hamilton, James Inglis, Robert Lindsay, John MacKieson, Ninian McMoran, Harry Morrison, William Murray and Archibald Prymrois. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, pp. lxxiv-lxxv; N.A.S. E38 563; N.A.S. E4/4, p. 73.)

<sup>60</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, pp. 620-21; N.A.S. E38 563.

renewed the tack for £140,000 per annum<sup>61</sup> on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1616 before giving up the tack one year later. James Raithe made the greatest offer for the customs and wine impost at the subsequent roup, bidding 170,000 marks (£113,333) per annum<sup>62</sup> but did not take up his office. See Chart 1-1 for a graphical representation of the ever increasing value of custom leases of the realm from 1597 to 1617 and beyond.<sup>63</sup>

The following conditions generally held true when the custom of the realm was set in tack:

- (1) In addition to the agreed rent, a certain amount of 'entry-money', typically £1000,<sup>64</sup> was required from the leaseholder to cover immediate expenses.
- (2) Goods imported for the King's use *were* liable to duty.
- (3) Noblemen and barons were exempt from the payment of duty on overseas (but not cross-border) trade upon declaration that the goods were for their own use. To protect the tacksmen from fraud, the merchant, owner and master of any ship exporting or importing custom free goods on behalf of a nobleman or baron were required to swear upon oath that the exports had been produced on their client's estate or that the imports were destined for their client's own use. Failure to do so would make the goods subject to arrest and to the payment of duty.
- (4) If noblemen imported more than a certain amount of duty free wine, an allowance per tun was made to the tacksmen.
- (5) If duty on imported wine decreased, allowance was made to the tacksmen.
- (6) Allowance was made to the tacksmen of fees and pensions legally chargeable on the customs.
- (7) No further trade restraints were be laid by the Crown during the life of a tack. Tacksmen were compensated for loss of earnings due to the imposition of any new trade restraint.<sup>65</sup>
- (8) If the King did grant a licence to trade hitherto forbidden goods, those goods were not to be traded custom free. If the licence allowed custom free trade, the corresponding allowance was made to the tacksmen.
- (9) Any newly introduced custom duties were to belong to the Crown rather than the tacksmen.
- (10) One half the value of seized goods was to go to the tacksmen, one-half to the King.
- (11) If the collection of customs was hindered by disease (plague), civil war or foreign invasion, the tacksmen were not obliged to pay that year's fee to Crown.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X., pp. 620-21; N.A.S. E38 566.

<sup>62</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, p. 249.

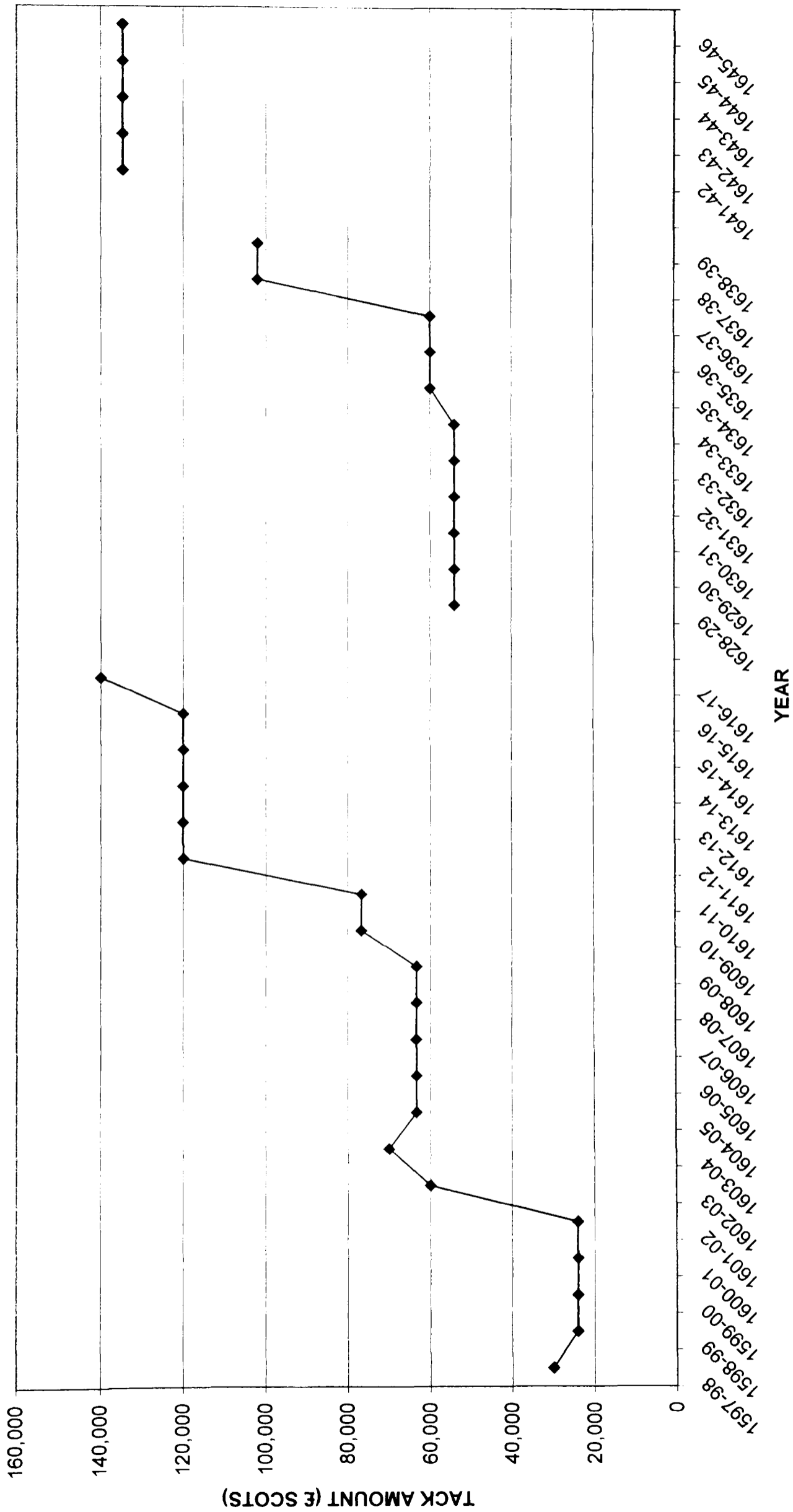
<sup>63</sup> See Appendix Four (a) for a summary of the figures and sources on which Chart 1-1 is based.

<sup>64</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, p. 626.

<sup>65</sup> For example, in March 1601 the comptroller allowed Barnard Lindsay and partners £7,000 per annum in compensation in respect of the prohibition of wool and cloth exports. *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 230.

<sup>66</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, pp. 810-12.

CHART 1-1: TACK OF THE REALM 1597/98-1645/46



### **Custom Leases for Individual Custom Jurisdictions 1598-1617**

As mentioned above, a few Scottish ports were not covered by the general lease of the realm. The customs of Preston were leased for £31.33 per annum between July 1596 and July 1600<sup>67</sup> and those of Banff were leased for £20 per annum between July 1596 and July 1605.<sup>68</sup> The former was presumably subsequently included in the Scottish lease and the latter in Thomas Menzie's lease of the North East (from Montrose to the river Spey) which continued until 1617.

### **Custom Leases for Individual Custom Jurisdictions 1617-1628**

Between 1617 and 1628 it became usual practice for the Crown to lease the customs of individual ports or jurisdictions to the highest bidder for between one and five years<sup>69</sup> in return for a fixed annual rent. Evidence of the rents payable for each port or group of ports is rather fragmentary, however all known details are presented as Appendix Four (b).<sup>70</sup>

### **Custom Leases for the Realm 1628-1646**

It was not until 1628 that the Crown again leased the entire customs of the realm as a single entity. Sir William Dick of Braid, formerly provost of Edinburgh, paid £54,000 per annum November 1628 to November 1634,<sup>71</sup> £60,000 per annum November 1634 to November 1637,<sup>72</sup> £102,000 per annum November 1637 to November 1639<sup>73</sup> and 202,000 marks (£134,667) per annum November 1641 to November 1646 for the customs and wine impost.<sup>74</sup>

Dick rented out individual custom jurisdictions by granting tack licences<sup>75</sup> to sub-tacksmen who either employed local customars to collect custom dues or issued a further sublease. James Stewart, for example, rented the customs of Ayr and Irvine from Dick for £2,112 per annum 1634-1639 but subsequently subleased the customs of 1636-37 to James Peiblis and of 1637-39 to James Blair and

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<sup>67</sup> N.A.S. E38 529, 531 and 536.

<sup>68</sup> N.A.S. E38 531, 534, 536, 537, 541, 543 and 545.

<sup>69</sup> An Act of Parliament, Council and Exchequer ordained that the neither the King nor the Comptroller could set any part of the customs to any person(s) for any longer than five years. Any tack granted for longer than this stipulated period was to be declared null and void. (N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 4r-4v).

<sup>70</sup> In addition to leases by jurisdiction or by individual port, a one-off tack was granted to John Foullis for the impost of wine imported into Leith, Preston, Dunbar, Eyemouth, Dysart, Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, Burntisland and Inverkeithing between 1st Nov 1619 and 1st Nov 1620. (N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 268r-269v. As with other wine tacks, the farmer was paid a fixed sum of £0.67 per tun of wine customed within his jurisdiction).

<sup>71</sup> N.A.S. E73/6, E4/5, ff. 26r-29r. Note that all tack figures exclude Orkney and Shetland.

<sup>72</sup> N.A.S. E4/5, ff. 36v-40v, 110v-114v.

<sup>73</sup> N.A.S. E4/5, ff. 596v-270r.

<sup>74</sup> N.A.S. E73/10/1, E73/10/4, E4/6, ff. 18v-25v 210r-216v. See Chart 1-1 for a graphical representation of custom leases of the realm 1597-1645. The figures and sources on which the Chart is based appear as Appendix Four (a). Dick's tack of 1645-46 was described as 'troublesome' as 'great plague' was present in Edinburgh, the Forth and the North in six of the eight quarters of those years. The Crown therefore discharged Dick from his tack. (N.A.S. E73/10/5, E73/10/6).

<sup>75</sup> Samuel Wilson was accused of uplifting the customs at Queensferry between November 1641 and February 1643 without a tack licence from William Dick. Wilson was ordered to render his entry books and all customs collected to Dick and was punished for contempt. (N.A.S. E4/6, ff. 157r-157v).



William Wallace.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Alexander Wedderburn, town clerk of Dundee, rented the Tay customs from Dick for £3,600 per annum 1641-46. Again he subleased this tack for the full five years to a group of eight speculators for 'certane soumes of money'.<sup>77</sup>

### **Duties of the Tacksman**

The tacksman and his appointed officials, deputies and factors were to issue acquittances and certificates, to search for and confiscate all uncustomed and forbidden merchandise within his bounds, and to collect all export, import, wine and bullion duties as laid down in the Book of Rates. At specified intervals (quarterly or annually) he was required to appear at the Exchequer to submit a full account of all duties collected. Each particular account was to list the date of the entry, ships name, master's name, the location in which the cargo was loaded or unloaded; the ship's overseas origin or destination; the quantity (in number, weight or measure) and quality of every kind of good transferred from or into the ship and the name of the merchant to whom each part of the cargo pertained. A sworn declaration that this account was 'just and perfect', that no customable goods had been omitted or concealed, and that the leaseholder had not given oversight or consent to the export or import of uncustomed goods whereby the king may be defrauded of his customs, impost or bullion, had to be rendered. Double duty was payable within ten days of any oversights being discovered by Crown representatives. The tacksman was also to submit a true account of and payment of one-half of the value of all forbidden goods found within his jurisdiction and was to pay to the Crown all bullion duty wine impost collected. As an incentive to execute his office properly, the tacksman was permitted to keep the second half of the value of seized goods and received an allowance of between £0.67 and £1.00 for each tun of wine he and his officers had accounted for throughout the year. The annual fixed lease was payable either in two equal instalments on the first of November and on the first of May, or more in four equal instalments on the first of November, February, May and August. If a half yearly or two quarterly instalments went unpaid the lease would automatically expire. Finally, any net profit could be disposed of as the tacksman wished.

### **Customs Officials**

Whether or not the collection of custom duties was set in tack, a number of customs officials were stationed within each custom jurisdiction to deal with merchants and skippers and their outgoing and incoming cargoes. As indicated above, these men were appointed by the leaseholder in years of tack, or were Crown appointed if no tack was in place. All officials were ultimately answerable to the Comptroller who had overall responsibility for the collection of customs revenue.

The customar was charged with assessing, levying and collecting custom duties and passing collected bullion to the master of the mint. It was he who took delivery of any licence granted to allow trade of forbidden goods. The clerk of cocket was to be present whenever goods were being customed. He was responsible for issuing a detailed cocket for each cargo and so regulated the activities of the customar.

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<sup>76</sup> N.A.S. E:4/5, ff. 159v-161r, 257v-264r.

<sup>77</sup> N.A.S. E:4/5, ff. 26v-31r.

These two officials were permitted to charge a fee for examining a ship and for each of the different types of goods contained therein but no other dues were to be exacted from any merchant or skipper by the customar, clerk of cocket or their servants. Waiters were to assist in the customing process and acted as a check on the honesty of other customs officials.<sup>78</sup>

Searchers, also known as surveyors, were to seek out and seize prohibited and uncustomed merchandise and to escheat all ships which sailed without cockets. They too provided an extra check on the honesty of other officials. One searcher seems to have sufficed in each of the outports, whereas in Leith four searchers are recorded as having been employed in 1620-21 to deal with the great volume of traffic.<sup>79</sup> In addition, searchers for one particular commodity were employed if deemed necessary in times of specific trade prohibitions. Whenever the export of tallow was forbidden, for example, a searcher was employed solely to seek out illicit consignments of that one commodity.<sup>80</sup> As with other searchers, he was to present a just, true and signed account each November of all apprehended or confiscated tallow.

Customs officers who failed to be present at the loading or unloading of a ship were fined for every instance of non-attendance, one-half going to the Crown, the other half to the grieved party.<sup>81</sup> Further, no person employed in the customs offices was to engage in any kind of merchandising or trading, either on their own account or in partnership, under pain of losing their post.

### **Customs Procedure for Goods Traded with Continental Europe**

The exportation of goods was to take place only at free ports and only during daylight hours (sunrise to sunset from September 10th to March 10th and 6am to 6pm from March 10th to September 10<sup>th</sup>).<sup>82</sup> Within six hours of being asked to do so, a merchant was required to declare his entry to the customar and clerk of cocket and to swear that he did not intend to export any undeclared or unlicenced forbidden goods nor load any additional merchandise prior to departure.<sup>83</sup> These officials, assisted if necessary by stewards, provosts and bailies of the burghs,<sup>84</sup> examined the goods and, consulting their Book of Rates, multiplied the quantity of each type of good by the appropriate custom duty in order to determine the merchant's total liability. The required sum would then have to be paid to the customar, together with sufficient caution for the 'inbringing' of due bullion on the return voyage. A cocket (certificate of authorised export) would then be issued.<sup>85</sup> The merchandise and cocket had then to pass

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<sup>78</sup> Only one waiter account survives (N.A.S. E75/21).

<sup>79</sup> N.A.S. E73/3.

<sup>80</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 356v-358r.

<sup>81</sup> Unfortunately, the primary sources do not indicate the extent of fines.

<sup>82</sup> N.A.S. E76/6, p. 44.

<sup>83</sup> The merchant was to solemnly swear that 'be God himself, his Creatour, be his pairt of Paradice, his salvatioun and condemnioun' that he had no forbidden or uncustomed merchandise concealed within his cargo, and that he not aware of any additional items to be brought onto the ship prior to departure. (*E.R.*, Vol. XXIII p. 510).

<sup>84</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 388.

<sup>85</sup> To have legal authority, the cocket had to have the custom jurisdiction's seal attached. Each cocket seal had two sides, one with the name of the jurisdiction and the reverse with the monarch's name. The customar held and used one half of it, and the clerk of cocket was in possession of the

a series of searchers. If those searchers found forbidden or uncustomed goods, those items would be confiscated, along with the ship exporting them and all moveable property of the defaulters. In addition, the Conservator of the privileges of the Scots nation in the Low Countries was empowered to search for forbidden and uncustomed goods arriving from Scotland, confiscating if necessary the cargo and vessel.

If the customed goods pertaining to Scottish merchants were subsequently taken by pirates or men of war,<sup>86</sup> or were lost or cast away at sea, the duties levied were to be repaid to the owners of the goods without delay (within one month) upon due proof that the goods had indeed been taken, lost or cast away, or else the owners were to have the value of the duties allowed to him upon some other entry at any time thereafter.<sup>87</sup>

The importation of goods too was to take place only during daylight hours and only at the free port to which the ship was freighted.<sup>88</sup> Before unloading any part of his cargo, a merchant, skipper, master or mariner importing general wares was required, within six hours of arriving in Scotland, to provide the customar or his deputy with an inventory specifying the type, quantity, value and owner of the merchandise, to produce a licence if importing prohibited goods, and to swear that he would not subsequently unload any additional undeclared merchandise at that or any other Scottish port. The customar would examine the ships' cargo and consult his Book of Rates to calculate the total liability which a merchant was obliged to pay within twelve hours of being charged. Only after a cocket had been issued and the cargo examined by a searcher could the trader 'brek bowke, lose or disburdyn' any of the ships' wares.<sup>89</sup>

In the case of wine imports, the master, owner or skipper of a ship was to declare to the customar, within twelve hours of arrival at the Scottish port or harbour where the cargo was to be unloaded, the quantity of all wine brought into Scotland, together with the name of the merchant to whom the beverage pertained. Wine imported by a nobleman, baron or gentleman for his own use was admitted free of duty provided that the merchant exhibit to the Comptroller a formal certificate, signed by

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other half which ensured that goods were seen by both the customar and the clerk of cocket who would attach the seal together.

<sup>86</sup> Scottish traders faced 'the vice of piracie' on an ongoing basis. English pirates frequented western and northern waters, waiting to 'persew his Majesteis good subjectis and spoyll thame of thair lyveys and goodis', while freebooters of the Low Countries and Dunkirk operated in eastern waters. In addition, there were instances of Scottish ships carrying wine from southern Europe being attacked by Turkish and Moroccan pirates. Any pirate ship apprehended in Scottish waters, together with all goods carried, were to be confiscated whilst awaiting trial. If found guilty, the pirates were sentenced to death or, in the late 1620s, sent to serve in the Swedish wars. The vessel and goods were to be escheat to the King.

<sup>87</sup> N.A.S. E76/6, p. 44.

<sup>88</sup> Imports were not to be unloaded at the unfree ports of Haymouth, Coldinghame, Aberlady, Achesons Haven (the Newhaven beside Preston), Cokenzie, Queensferry, Borrowstouness and Airth upon the south side of the Forth, nor the ports of Elie, St Monans, Levensmouth, Wester Weymes, Queensferry, Limekillis and Quhailhaven upon the north side of the Forth. Timber and victual imports were to be the only exceptions to this rule. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 373-74).

<sup>89</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 471; *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 118, 135.

himself and the privileged purchaser, testifying the quantity imported and that confirming that it was for the purchaser's own use only.<sup>90</sup> Otherwise, the importing merchant was to pay one-third of the custom due within one month of unloading, another third within the next three months, and the final third within the subsequent three months.<sup>91</sup>

In the case of cloth imports, in order to prevent fraud through smuggling into Scotland, the customar of every burgh and seaport was, from July 1598, to have a lead seal and seal stamp made. The seal was to consist of two halves, one half was to be kept by the customar and was to contain the words JACOBUS REX with his arms and crown; the other half was to be kept by the clerk of cocket and was to show the name of the burgh.<sup>92</sup> All cloth, silk and stuff imported by land or by sea was immediately to be taken to a custom house where the seal was to be attached to every 'wobe', piece and 'steik' to signify that it had been properly customed. Only then could it be presented at market.<sup>93</sup>

Scottish merchants wishing to re-export foreign goods within twelve months of original importation were required to produce proof, in the form of a certificate from the collector of entry payments, that the original import duties had indeed been paid. This certificate was to be accompanied by the merchant's oath affirming the truth thereof. The searcher of an outport or the undersearcher at Leith were required to testify that the shipment had left Scottish shores. The original import duty was subsequently to be repaid to the merchant by the customs officer who received the original import duty within one month of re-exportation.<sup>94</sup> Merchants wishing to re-export foreign goods, either entirely or in part, after twelve months were permitted to do so without payment of any further duty.<sup>95</sup>

Any foreign goods imported for the specific purpose of subsequent re-exportation were, upon arrival, declared altogether free of duty on condition that a 'transire' (transit permit) was obtained, that the goods were secured under lock and key, that the key was immediately delivered to the officers of the Custom house, and that the goods were not moved before re-exportation. Before removal, the merchant was obliged to give his oath that the goods would be exported exactly as they had been imported and that the bulk had not been broken.<sup>96</sup> Publication of these regulations was to be made at market cross of each head burghs so that no-one could pretend ignorance.

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<sup>90</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, pp. 177-78. For example, Sir John Arnot and Sir Gideon Murray were, from October 1604 and from February 1616 respectively, permitted to import, free of custom, thirty tuns of wine per year (*A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c. 65 p. 320, c. 48 p. 567). Complaints were occasionally submitted to the Privy Council in the name of these privileged groups, however, that they and the merchants from whom they purchased wine for their own use were troubled by the customers for payment of wine impost. To remedy this, it was ordained that, provided the nobleman, baron or gentleman held a ticket, signed by himself and his merchant stating the quantity of wine received, if a customar wrongly took such payment he would incur a fine of £100 per tun of wine, half going to the king and half to the aggrieved party. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, pp. 56, 356, Vol. X pp. 510-11).

<sup>91</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, p. 177.

<sup>92</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, pp. 471-72.

<sup>93</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, pp. 471-72, Vol. VI, pp. 17, 135-36; *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 185.

<sup>94</sup> N.A.S. E76/6, p. 43.

<sup>95</sup> N.A.S. E76/6, p. 44.

<sup>96</sup> N.A.S. E76/6, p. 43.

## Customs Procedure for Goods Traded with England

The customs procedure on goods traded between Scotland and England over the first decade of the seventeenth century differed slightly to the procedure for goods traded with continental Europe as outlined above. For the 'bettir introductioun' of the *Draft Treaty of Union between England and Scotland*<sup>97</sup> following James VI's succession to the English throne in March 1603, the Scottish Parliament immediately attempted to encourage freedom of trade between the two realms by commanding that whilst the two parliaments were debating the Treaty, the tacksmen of the customs were not to uplift any custom duties on native commodities transported between the two kingdoms. Instead, by the purchase of bonds from the tacksmen, merchants were to find caution for retrospective

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<sup>97</sup> Spottiswoode, J., *The History of the Church of Scotland 1655*, Edinburgh: Scolar Press, 1972, pp. 480-86 lists the terms of the Treaty of Union, as they affected trade, as that:

- (a) All hostile laws were to be 'abrogated and utterly extinguished'.
- (b) All laws, customs or treaties hitherto peculiar to the Border Counties, English or Scottish, were to be abrogated; the name of 'The Borders' to be discontinued. Good order was to be maintained.
- (c) If the import of a particular commodity was prohibited in one kingdom, it was to be prohibited in both.
- (d) Goods made in one kingdom were to be freely exportable to the other. Exceptions to this were to be wool, sheep, sheepfells, cattle, leather, hides and linen yarn, the export of which were specifically restrained in both countries. The other exception to free trade was to be that each kingdom was to retain her own fishing rights within fourteen miles of her coast.
- (e) Scottish privileges in Bordeaux had been examined: it was found that in the Bordeaux wine trade Scottish merchants held little/no advantage. Any advantage the Scots did hold was to be reduced by allowing Scotsmen to transport wine to England, paying the same custom as Englishmen, and by allowing English merchants to export wine to Scotland paying same custom as Scotsmen. Further consideration was to be given into any advantages held by either side in trade with Normandy and other parts of France.
- (f) If the appropriate import duty had been paid for a foreign commodity, no further duty was to be payable if that product was subsequently re-exported to the other kingdom.
- (g) Men of either kingdom were not to be debarred from becoming merchant-venturers of companies of the other kingdom.
- (h) Merchants disobeying the law were to have their goods and ship confiscated.
- (i) Customs officials allowing illegal activity were to lose their office and be imprisoned.
- (j) If the collection of custom duties were leased, one-third of each forfeiture was to belong to the king, one-third to the farmers and one-third to the informer. If the Crown collected custom duties directly, two-thirds of each forfeiture was to belong to the king and one-third to the informer.
- (k) To ensure that no goods were illegally transported from one kingdom to the other, at the departure of all native goods the customer at the port where the goods are loaded was to issue a sealed bond or obligation signed by the owner of the goods or master of the ship and loading factor/party. The bond was to take the form of a sum of money answerable to the value of the goods to be repaid on due return of a certificate signed by a customs official at port in the other kingdom where goods unloaded. If no officers were present in the port of arrival, a signed and sealed certificate from the chief magistrate and town clerk was to be returned instead.
- (l) Englishmen and Scotsmen were to be able to freight and load their goods, without distinction, in each others ships and bottoms.
- (m) The 'great fishing' arrangements were to be maintained: the Scottish inland fisheries in lochs, firths and bays and the Scottish sea fisheries within 14 miles of the coasts were to be reserved for Scots exclusively, and the corresponding English fisheries reserved for the English exclusively.
- (n) The burden of Scottish ships was to be made more in proportion with that of English ships in order to better serve both the trade and defence of the island.
- (o) Those born after union to be natural born subjects of both kingdoms.

payment of customs in the case of the Treaty not taking effect.<sup>98</sup> In effect, therefore, free trade between Scotland and England prevailed from January 1605.<sup>99</sup>

The free trade experiment ultimately failed as the English parliament lacked interest in the Union question. Duties on goods transported between Scotland and England were therefore re-imposed from January 1611 at the rates listed in Appendix Five (a) and (b).<sup>100</sup> These rates corresponded with rates that had prevailed over the 1600s in respect to goods traded with continental Europe. From that year, however, the alien customs (an additional 25% duty) formerly imposed on all foreign merchants in England were at no time re-imposed on Scotsmen.<sup>101</sup>

### **Overland Trade Customing Procedures**

Customing procedures on goods carried overland between Scotland and England took the same form as those relating to the seaborne trade, the custom officials located at Gretna, Duns, Kelso or Jedburgh on the Scottish side and at Carlisle and Berwick on the English side. In addition, a warden was employed on each of the West, Middle and East Marches<sup>102</sup> to search for and to confiscate forbidden and uncustomed goods. He was permitted to keep half the value of any apprehended goods, the other half going to the Crown.

### **Export Restrictions**

As will be discussed in Chapter Two, it was standard policy to impose restrictions on the export of a wide range of commodities. The legislation invariably stated the bans were to remedy a domestic dearth and the price rises that accompany such scarcity. Prohibitions were also imposed to encourage the development of Scottish industry, examples being the ban on wool exports to encourage the woollen cloth industry and on the export of leather to encourage the boot and shoemaking industries.

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<sup>98</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, pp. 347, 519-20. The tacksmen of the (Scottish) customs subsequently produced a book containing a list of merchandise interchanged between the two kingdoms from November 1605 to November 1606. He claimed that the total custom duty payable would have amounted to £13,000. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 392).

<sup>99</sup> The Acts of Parliament for Scotland ordered in August 1607, for example, that Englishmen were to be on the same footing as Scotsmen with regard to the import and export of merchandise to and from Scotland. (*A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c. 1 p. 368).

<sup>100</sup> A number of custom accounts refer specifically to trade with England between January and November 1611, examples being exports to England from Edinburgh/Leith (N.A.S. E71/29/5 and the first section of E71/29/6); and imports from England at Edinburgh/Leith (E71/29/5), Dundee (E71/12/12, E38 557), Aberdeen, Achesons Haven (Preston), Glasgow and along the East Marches (all E38 557).

<sup>101</sup> Scots had ceased to pay duty as aliens at Christmas 1604. (Hinton, R. W. K., *The Port Books of Boston 1601-1640*, Lincoln Record Society, Vol. L., 1956, p. xxiv).

<sup>102</sup> The Scottish East March consisted of the Merse (or March) of Berwick and the eastern part of Berwickshire running up to the Lammermuir Hills. The Middle March contained the rest of Berwickshire and the whole of Roxburghshire and extended through Kelso, Hawick and Jedburgh as far north as Peebles. The West March consisted of the Stewartries of Kirkcudbright and Annandale and the Sherifdom of Dumfries. (Watson, G., *The Border Reivers*, Warkworth: Sandhill Press, 1994, pp. 35-36).

The export of coal, dairy produce (butter, cheese and eggs), linen cloth, metals (copper gold, silver and tin), corn, livestock, leather and skins, tallow and candles, wool, yarn and the re-export of English cloth and woollen goods were all prohibited at some stage between 1597 and 1645. Indeed, as far as can be ascertained, of the major commodities analysed in the next section, only salt and fish experienced no export prohibitions between 1597 and 1645, although restrictions were placed on the *timing* of the export of herring.

### **Import Restrictions**

Restrictions were less frequently imposed on imports, although limitations on those incoming goods regarded as ‘unnecessary wares’ were imposed throughout the period in an attempt to stem the flow of gold and silver from Scotland (and so to avoid scarcity of circulating coin) and to encourage the development of nascent Scottish industry. In this respect, foreign cloth, blacksmith goods leather and ‘strong waters’ (all of which were also made in Scotland) as well as victual, tobacco and wine were all prohibited at some point over the first half of the seventeenth century.

### **Licences to Trade in Forbidden Items**

It was usually possible, however, to export or import ‘forbidden goods’ legally by purchasing a special licence from the King and Lords of the Exchequer to contravene bans. The November 1597 Act of Parliament, for example, specified that although the importation of English woollen cloth and wares made of wool had been prohibited since May 1597, it would be permitted under licence and upon payment of twelve pence per pound worth of merchandise.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, the 1612 Book of Rates states that although the export of beef, gold, silver, victual, wool and yarn was prohibited, such activity could take place under licence.<sup>104</sup> The debt-ridden Crown<sup>105</sup> gained financially both from the sale of licences and from the export, import and bullion duties that had still to be paid. If the threat of genuine dearth, and consequent social unrest, was particularly bad, the licences could be and on occasion were indeed revoked in order to stop the legal export of the commodity in question.<sup>106</sup>

### **Other Restrictions**

Intercourse with certain geographic areas was occasionally restricted. Trade with the Spanish dominions in the late 1590s was curtailed.<sup>107</sup> Trade with areas in which plague was present was restricted in order to avoid bringing disease back to Scotland: Danzig and other Baltic ports in the early 1600s, northern England in the early 1630s and London in 1603, 1625, 1630 and 1636-38 being three examples. If a Scottish ship did arrive from an overseas port infected with plague, the skipper was to

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<sup>103</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c. 25 p. 137.

<sup>104</sup> N.A.S. E76/3. N.A.S. E34/30, ff. 14v-15v contains a list of people to whom licences for the export of victual and wool were sold at £6.00 per licence.

<sup>105</sup> See letter from the Privy Council to Charles I dated February 12th 1628 giving picture of Scotland virtually in a state of bankruptcy in *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. II, p. xxxvi.

<sup>106</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>107</sup> *R.C.R.B. 1597-1614 with Extracts from Other Records Relating to the Affairs of the Burghs of Scotland 1345-1614*. Edinburgh: William M Paterson, 1870, p. 5.

inform the burgh's magistrates of the ports the ship had come from and to advise the magistrates of the health of the mariners. A special licence had then to be obtained in order to land.<sup>108</sup>

### **Record Keeping**

The particular accounts (N.A.S. E71 series) were to be submitted to the Exchequer by the customar of each jurisdiction to be engrossed into enrolled accounts (N.A.S. E38 series). For each precinct the enrolled accounts list the 'charge' (duty collected) and the 'discharge' (deductions, such as the accountants fee). It is the first (major) section of each account, which lists all customed goods and so is the focus of this thesis. The enrolled accounts were then passed to the Comptrollery<sup>109</sup> for audit. Bullion accounts (N.A.S. E74 series)<sup>110</sup> - a useful complement to the particular and enrolled custom accounts - meanwhile, were also entered into the enrolled accounts and were then rendered to the mint (N.A.S. E101 series) for audit.<sup>111</sup> The availability of all particular and enrolled accounts pertaining to each of the custom jurisdictions is indicated by Appendix Six (a) to (k).

### **Movement of Customed Goods Between Jurisdictions**

Goods were often customed in one jurisdiction and then transported to a different jurisdiction for export. Merchants paid custom duties and received a cocket in the originating jurisdiction. The goods would therefore appear in the custom accounts of that original jurisdiction. If those goods were subsequently transported to a second jurisdiction, the original cocket would be presented to show that duty had already been paid. No further duty was payable, therefore the goods would not then appear in the custom accounts of the second jurisdiction. If charges were included in error, the customar would claim a rebate. Consistently, therefore, the jurisdiction in which the goods originated, rather than that from which they were exported, is recorded in the enrolled custom accounts.

The particular accounts, however, do provide an insight into the movement of goods for their export rather than merely their custom location.<sup>112</sup> For example, on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1617, fish, plaiding and wild leather belonging to Alexander Anderson and Alexander Stewart, together with fish and goat skins belonging to Robert Alexander, were customed in the Spey's jurisdiction. Instead of being exported directly, the goods were taken to Aberdeen, from whence they were sent to Dieppe.<sup>113</sup> Since custom duties had already been paid in the Spey's jurisdiction they were not charged again in Aberdeen.

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<sup>108</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 289.

<sup>109</sup> See also N.A.S. E39 series. From 1611 the accounts of the Treasury of the New Augmentation (N.A.S. E49 series) were recorded in the same volumes as those of the Comptrollery. The offices of the Treasurer and Comptroller were held by the same persons after 1610. From 1635 their accounts were combined in a single series (N.A.S. E26 series).

<sup>110</sup> N.A.S. E74/1-3.

<sup>111</sup> Bullion was payable for merchandise exported from all Scottish ports. See N.A.S. E101/3. ff. 6r-8r, 14r-14v, 19r-20r for the totals of bullion rendered by the customars of each burgh to George Foullis, master of the mint, from July 1611 to February 1615. as conformed to the particular accounts of each port; and ff. 8v-9r, 15r-15v, 20v-21r for the discharge which included bullion yet to be remitted.

<sup>112</sup> Due to the incomplete nature of the N.A.S. E71 series, it is not possible to present a comprehensive quantitative analysis of the movement of goods between jurisdictions prior to being exported.

<sup>113</sup> N.A.S. E71/1/11, f. 2v.



Consequently, these goods appear in the custom account of the Spey, despite the fact that the goods were not actually exported from this jurisdiction.

Goods would be taken to export locations more suitable in terms of port facilities and shipping activity. Merchants could also have been stockpiling goods in one location prior to export. Within northern Scotland, quantities of fish (particularly salmon), plaiding, skins and leather were taken from the ports north of the river Spey for export from Aberdeen.<sup>114</sup> Further south, Leith was the major centre towards which goods were carried from all over Scotland. Ports located on the Forth sent skins, hides, yarn hose and coal for export from Leith; West Fife ports sent skins; East Neuk ports sent herring; Tay ports sent plaiding, gloves, points and cables; north eastern ports sent salmon, herring, plaiding, skins, hides and brass; ports located north of the river Spey sent salmon, skins and feathers; Clyde ports sent skins, hides, fells, leather, gloves, points, hose, harden cloth and grain; Galloway ports sent skins and fells; the Borders region sent skins, hides, fells, leather, cloth, wool and wheat; and East Lothian ports sent skins, hides, fells, hose and wheat to Leith for export.<sup>115</sup> In addition, there are references to great quantities of lead and lead ore and being transported overland from Crawford Moor in south Lanarkshire to Leith, presumably for export.<sup>116</sup> Interestingly, a significant volume of Edinburgh yarn was carried to Preston and Aberlady for export. Small amounts of Edinburgh harden cloth, woollen hose and kid-skins were also shipped from East Lothian.<sup>117</sup>

### **Smuggling**

It is certain that the records of the Scottish customs administration are not complete: it is certain that smuggling did go on. Contemporary sources do provide an insight into methods used for smuggling goods, two examples being enclosing undeclared high value goods within packs of declared lower value goods<sup>118</sup> and offloading goods from a ship into a fishing boat offshore.<sup>119</sup> Unfortunately, however, the extent of such illicit activity over the first half of the seventeenth century cannot at present be estimated.

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<sup>114</sup> N.A.S. E71/1/11, E71/26/1.

<sup>115</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/6, E71/29/9, E71/30/30.

<sup>116</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 414

<sup>117</sup> N.A.S. E71/24/1-2.

<sup>118</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 375.

<sup>119</sup> In May 1603, for example, Robert Williamson, skipper and owner of the 'Blessing of God' of Dysart arrived in Scotland with merchant gear from Flanders. In the open Firth off Gullane his servant Johnne Slowane unloaded a packet of merchant gear pertaining to William Trumbill, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, into a fishing boat and subsequently landed the boat at the Craig of Fethray. Williamson's ship, the fishing boat and Slowane's moveable goods were subsequently confiscated to the King's use as escheat 'to the terrour of utheris to commit the lyk heirefter'. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 572).

## CHAPTER TWO: EXPORTS

### 1. COAL

A contemporary German observed that ‘Scotland is especially famous, beyond all other countries, for its superabundant coals, with which all surrounding countries must take care to provide themselves’.<sup>1</sup> Two types of coal were exported from Scotland: great coal - also known as burn coal, sea coal or *charbon d’écosse* - which was used for domestic heating; and small coal- also known as smiddy or smith’s coal - which was generally used for industrial purposes.<sup>2</sup> Great coal was customed at £0.50 per chalder while small coal was customed at £0.20 per chalder over the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

Before attempting to analyse the data, it is important to consider whether the custom figures provide accurate evidence of coal exports. Two issues require attention here. First, it is possible that uncustomed coal was used as ballast. In September 1621, for example, the master of a French bark called ‘Lamartrie’ received a cocket, which stated the vessel was departing the Clyde empty, having only ballast on board.<sup>4</sup> If that ballast had consisted of coal, either entirely or in part, such unrecorded shipments would not appear in the customs accounts leading to an under-recording of the level of coal exports. No evidence has been found to confirm that coal was actually used as ballast between 1597 and 1645, but the possibility has nevertheless to be borne in mind.

Second, the export of great coal was prohibited from the onset of the period to the 1620s, which limited the volume of legal coal exports contained within the custom accounts, and presumably stimulated illegal sales. The ban on the export of ‘grite burne coill’, which had been in place since 1563<sup>5</sup> was renewed in 1597,<sup>6</sup> in 1609 to anywhere but England,<sup>7</sup> and in 1621.<sup>8</sup> As Scotland lacked alternative fuels such as timber, and as the supply of coal could not quickly be increased in the short term, it was believed

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<sup>1</sup> J. P. Bünting, *Sylva Subterranea*, chapter xiii, quoted in Nef, J. U., *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, Volume II, London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd, 1932, p. 228 and Lythe, S. G. E., “Scottish Trade with the Baltic 1550-1650” in Eastham, J. K. (ed.), *Dundee Economic Essays*, Coupar Angus: School of Economics, Dundee, 1955, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Scottish coal was used as a major source of fuel in industries such as brewing, sugar-refining, salt-boiling, soap-boiling, glass-making, ironworking, limeburning, shipbuilding and the making of pottery and hardware. (Nef, J. U., *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, Volume I, London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd, 1932, p. 119; Hatcher, J., *The History of the British Coal Industry*, Volume 1: *Before 1700: Towards the Age of Coal*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p. 106). See Appendix Seven for translations of different types of coal and of all other exported goods from Latin and Scots as they appear in the N.A.S. E38 series into English.

<sup>3</sup> Rates of duty calculated from N.A.S. E38 series. Rates comply with those listed in the 1597 (N.A.S. E76/1/1), 1611 (N.A.S. E76/2) and 1612 (N.A.S. E76/3) Books of Rates. The 1597 Book of Rates lists rates of duty, while the 1611 and 1612 Books list valuations of traded commodities on which duty was levied at 5% of value.

<sup>4</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/2, f. 2.v.

<sup>5</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 121, 136-37; *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 386; *R.C.R.B.*, Vol. I, pp. 483, 493.

<sup>7</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 232; *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 408. From 1603 it was legal to export coal to England on condition that a certificate issued by an English customar was returned to Scotland to show that the coal really had been landed there.

<sup>8</sup> The 1621 Act was a virtual prohibition of coal exports as it ordained that no foreigners were to be served with Scottish coal until the needs of the native population had first been met. *R.P.C.*, first

that the exportation of large quantities of great coal would result in internal scarcity<sup>9</sup> and consequent high prices for the basic fuel of the majority of poorer Scottish households.<sup>10</sup> The administrative records indicate, however, that despite the repeated prohibitions, both natives and strangers persisted in exporting great quantities of great coal to foreigners who were prepared to pay high prices for coal relative to those paid by Scotsmen. Such exports took place both legally through the purchase of licences from the Crown<sup>11</sup> and illegally.<sup>12</sup> By the mid 1620s the owners of coal heughs - whose highest profits came from the wholesale export of their coal<sup>13</sup> - were pressurising for free rather than licenced export of great coal.<sup>14</sup> They claimed in the early 1630s, for example, that as the coal and salt industries together employed over 10,000 men and that half of all Scottish shipping was employed in exporting coal and salt, such deregulation would be in the best interests of the wider Scottish economy.<sup>15</sup>

For analysis purposes,<sup>16</sup> one chalder of coal is assumed to have comprised 16 bolls<sup>17</sup> or 2.5 tuns.<sup>18</sup> Charts 2-1a to 2-1e illustrate the trends in the export of coal from various jurisdictions 1597-1646, while Charts 2-1f to 2-1i illustrate the longer-term 1570-1645 trends in the form of five-year averages.<sup>19</sup> The volumetric graphs clearly show that over the 1570s, 1580s and 1590s Edinburgh's port of Leith was the dominant coal-exporting location. It is particularly remarkable that coal exports from Edinburgh collapsed from the turn of the seventeenth century - just as coal exports from both the Forth and West Fife started to expand rapidly. It is suggested, therefore, that prior to 1610, substantial quantities of coal were taken from these jurisdictions to Edinburgh for export, whereas thenceforth coal was increasingly exported overseas directly from these smaller ports. Within the Forth jurisdiction exporting collieries numbered at least fifteen by 1627, possibly rising to twenty five by 1643 when that number of coalmasters faced accusations of serving strangers in preference to natives.<sup>20</sup> Culross was the centre of

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series, Vol. XII, pp. 605-06.

<sup>9</sup> The postscript of a letter written by James in 1609 VI stated that 'coillis ar at this instant almost unbuyable for dearthe' *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 576.

<sup>10</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol VIII, pp. 547, 576.

<sup>11</sup> An issued licence was to state the reason for export of the coal. *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XIII, p. 570.

<sup>12</sup> Merchants found exporting coal illegally risked arrestment and confiscation of their ship, unlicensed coal and all other goods contained within the vessel. One third [of the value] going to the apprehender and two thirds to the Crown. *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 121, 408. The administrative records suggest that it was from the early 1620s onwards that restrictions on the export of great coal were increasingly more openly flouted. *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 240.

<sup>13</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, p. lxxxv.

<sup>14</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XIII, p. 570.

<sup>15</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. IV, p. xvii.

<sup>16</sup> See Appendices Eight and Nine for analysis procedures employed for coal and all other exports.

<sup>17</sup> Hunter, A., *A Treatise of Weights, Mets and Measures of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1624 reprinted by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., Amsterdam, 1974, p. 5; Zupko, R. E., *Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985 pp. 39-45, 83-86.

<sup>18</sup> This is line with Smout's comments regarding Nef's calculations: one chalder was equal to 2.5 tuns prior to a 1665 Act which standardised the Culross chalder as five tuns throughout Scotland. Smout, T. C., *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707*, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1963, p.226; Nef, *op. cit.*, Vol. II pp. 226, 227. Only coal exports from the Clyde were measured in tuns. In only one case (twelve 'farcrims' of coal exported from Glasgow 1637-38) was standardisation into chalders not possible.

<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to Martin Rorke for provision of his 1570-1599 export figures for each commodity. My figures are used thereafter. There are insufficient figures available for East Lothian to construct a meaningful time series of exports.

<sup>20</sup> Hatcher, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

coal production and exportation within the ‘narrows of the Forth’.<sup>21</sup> The volume of coal exports from the jurisdiction increased gradually over the 1590s and 1600s, before expanding rapidly from around 1610 with intensive mining of the most accessible seams, to a sustained annual average exports of over 8,000 chalders per annum throughout the 1620s and 1630s. Such a flourishing export trade resulted in ‘the greate deale of treasour ... yeirlie broght within the cuntrey’.<sup>22</sup> Coal exports from West Fife, too, continued to expand over the 1610s, 1620s and 1630s reaching an annual average of nearly 3,000 chalders in the 1630s. Over the 1640s production and exportation within the West Fife area seems to have moved westwards from the Kirkcaldy area towards Weymss. Smaller quantities of coal were exported from the Clyde and East Lothian. Miniscule amounts were exported from the East Neuk, the Tay, the North East and Galloway.

The Forth coal accounts indicate that between 1618/19 and 1629/30<sup>23</sup> the greater majority (62%) of coal shipments were destined for the Low Countries, other destinations being France (21%), England (12%), and the Baltic (5%).<sup>24</sup> In addition, the particular accounts show that Scottish coal was exported from Leith to England, France, the Low Countries, the Baltic and Norway;<sup>25</sup> from the Clyde to France and Ireland;<sup>26</sup> and from Preston to Flanders.<sup>27</sup> Of these destinations, exports to the Baltic may be investigated in more detail through use of the printed version of the Sound Toll Registers.<sup>28</sup> These suggest that coal was not transported directly from Scotland to the Baltic before 1611; sporadic shipments commenced over the 1610s, before the regular entries from 1627 to the late 1640s indicate that Scottish coal had become predominant within the Baltic.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The Culross colliery, owned by Sir George Bruce of Carnock, was highly regarded by contemporaries. Taylor, the Water Poet, for example, declared it surpassed anything he had ever seen in his travels, read of in books, or heard of in conversation. He claimed that within the space of 28-29 years, miners had dug more than an English mile under the sea to produce 90-100 tuns of sea coal every week, much of which was exported to England and to Germany. The Culross coal-heugh was finally flooded and destroyed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 1625 but never reconstructed. (Barbé, L. A., *Sidelights on the History, Industries & Social Life of Scotland*, Glasgow: Blackie and Son Limited, 1919 pp. 206-07).

<sup>22</sup> R.P.C., first series, Vol. VIII pp. 568-69.

<sup>23</sup> N.L.S. MS 2263. Percentage share of the 429 stated shipment destinations from the north and south sides of the Forth between 1618/19 and 1629/30.

<sup>24</sup> A contemporary survey of Scottish goods imported into Veere, Middleburg and Vlissingen (Flushing) between August 1626 and October 1627 found that fifty of the sixty-seven surveyed ships carried coal. (Rooseboom, M. P., *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, The Hague, 1910, Appendix 119.) See Appendices Ten and Eleven for the specific destinations of coal and all other exports in proportionate terms.

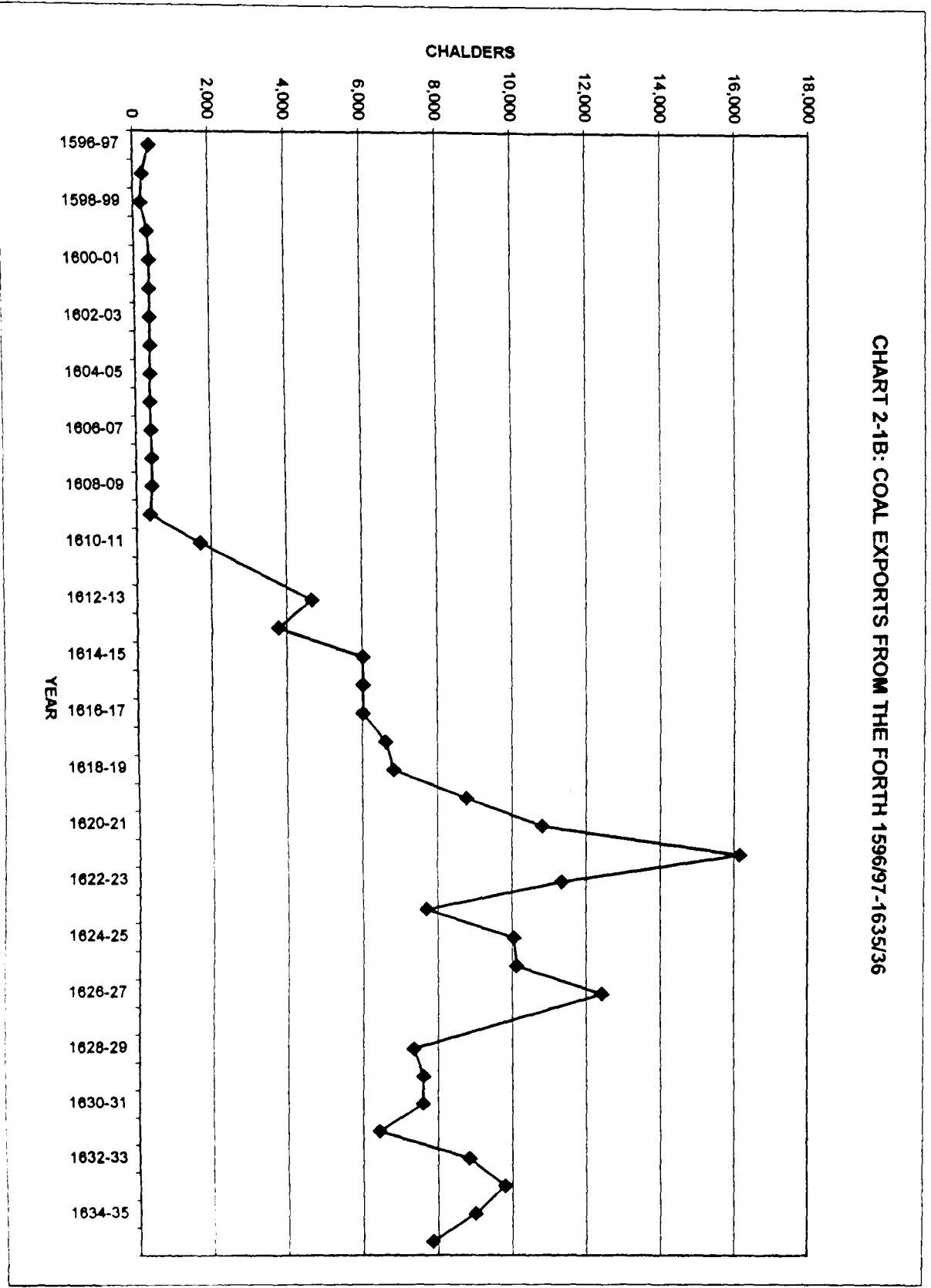
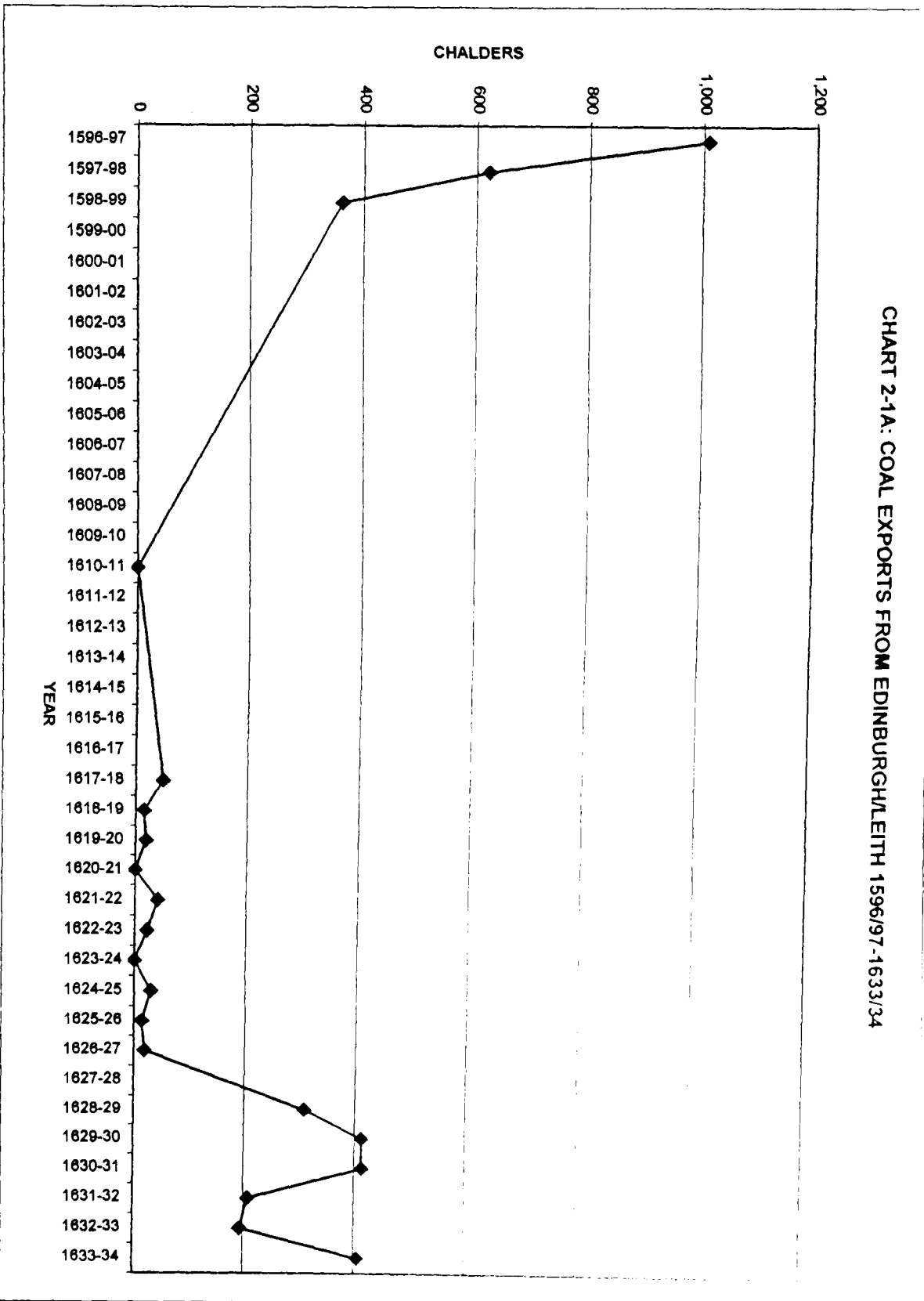
<sup>25</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/6, 29/9 and 29/11.

<sup>26</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/1, 9/2 and 19/7.

<sup>27</sup> N.A.S. E71/24/2.

<sup>28</sup> N. E. Bang and K. Korst (eds.), *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Oresund 1497-1660*, Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel, 1906, 1922. It is recognised that utilising this source is problematic: it is assumed that goods carried in ships with a Scottish ‘heimstadt’ were transported eastwards directly from Scotland, *id est*, these ships did not pick up additional cargo en route to the Baltic. In addition, Scottish goods may well have been exported indirectly through the Sound, for example, having first been sent to the Low Countries. Nef argues that this was certainly the case with coal (Nef, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 85).

<sup>29</sup> Entries for direct shipments of coal from Scotland through the Sound to the Baltic are as follows: 1611 744 lasts; 1612 685 lasts; 1613 349 lasts; 1627 165 lasts; 1628 126 lasts; 1629 214 lasts; 1631 307 lasts; 1635 6 lasts 142 chalders; 1636 144 lasts 212 chalders; 1637 20 lasts 140 chalders; 1638 51 lasts 35 chalders; 1639 170 lasts; 1640 22 lasts; 1641 568 lasts 142 chalders; 1642 612 lasts 40 chalders; 1643 465 lasts 122 chalders; 1644 120 lasts 158 chalders.



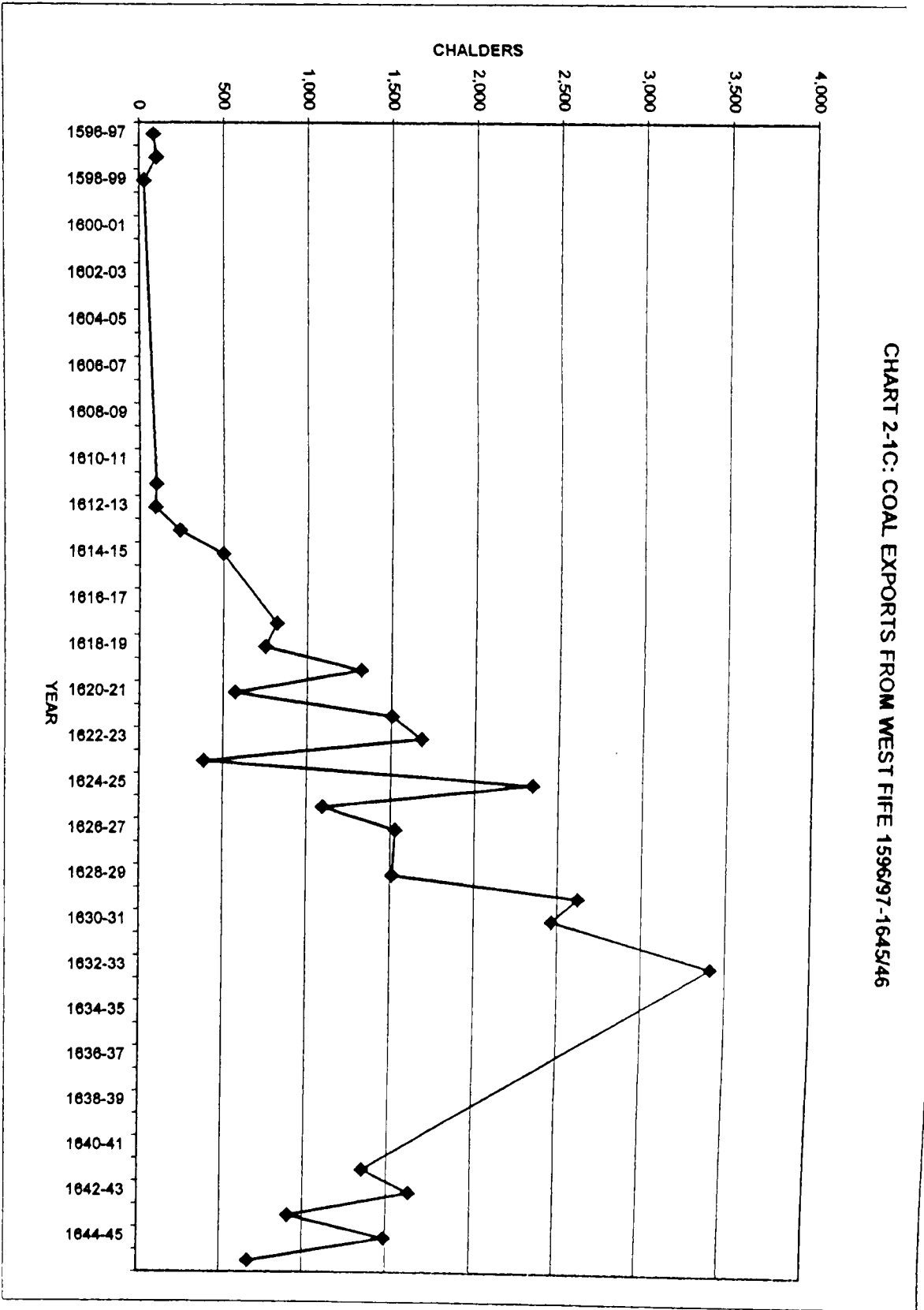


CHART 2-1C: COAL EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE 1596/97-1645/46

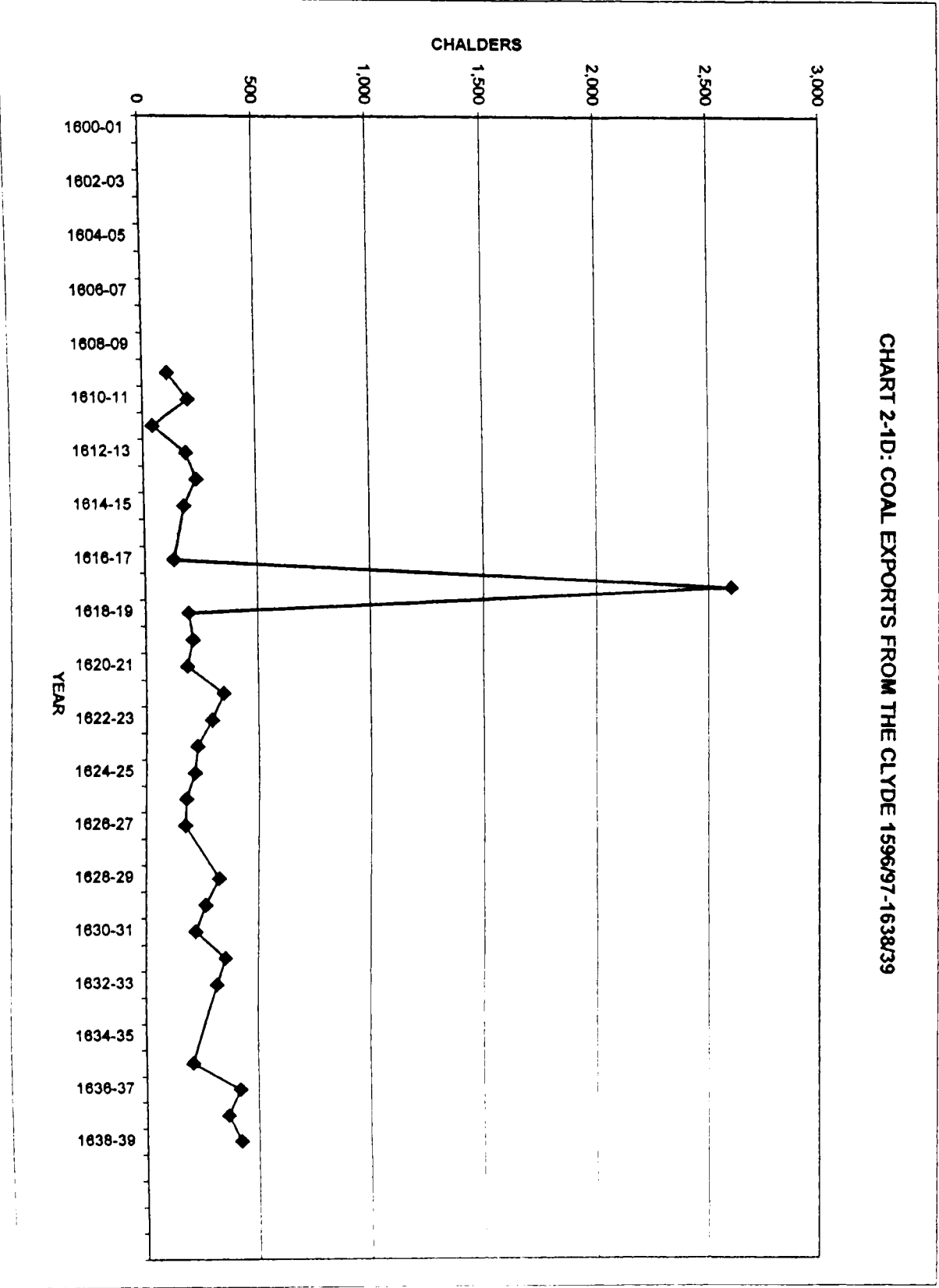


CHART 2-1D: COAL EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1596/97-1638/39

CHART 1E: COAL EXPORTS FROM EAST LOTHIAN 1596/97-1630/31

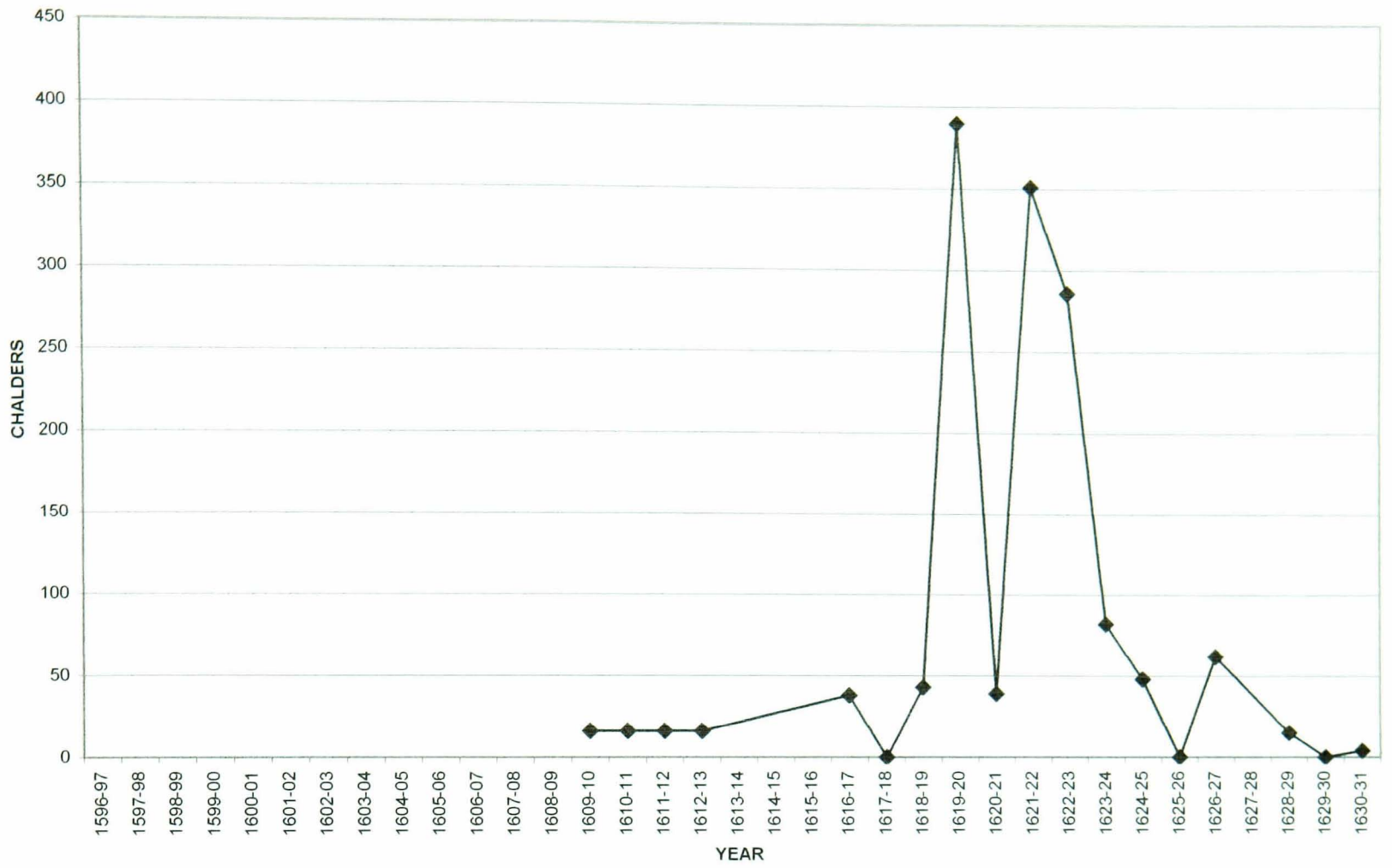
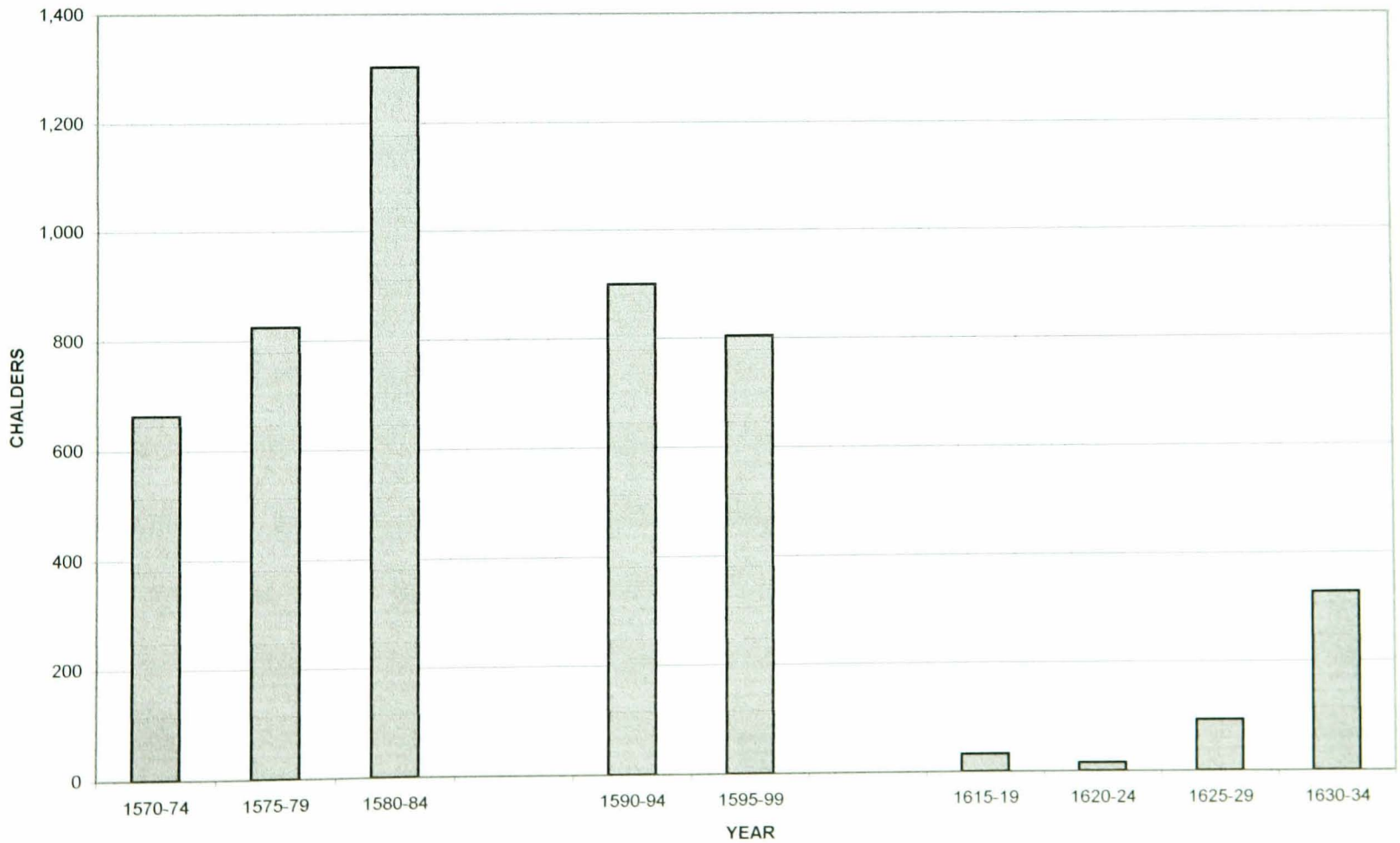
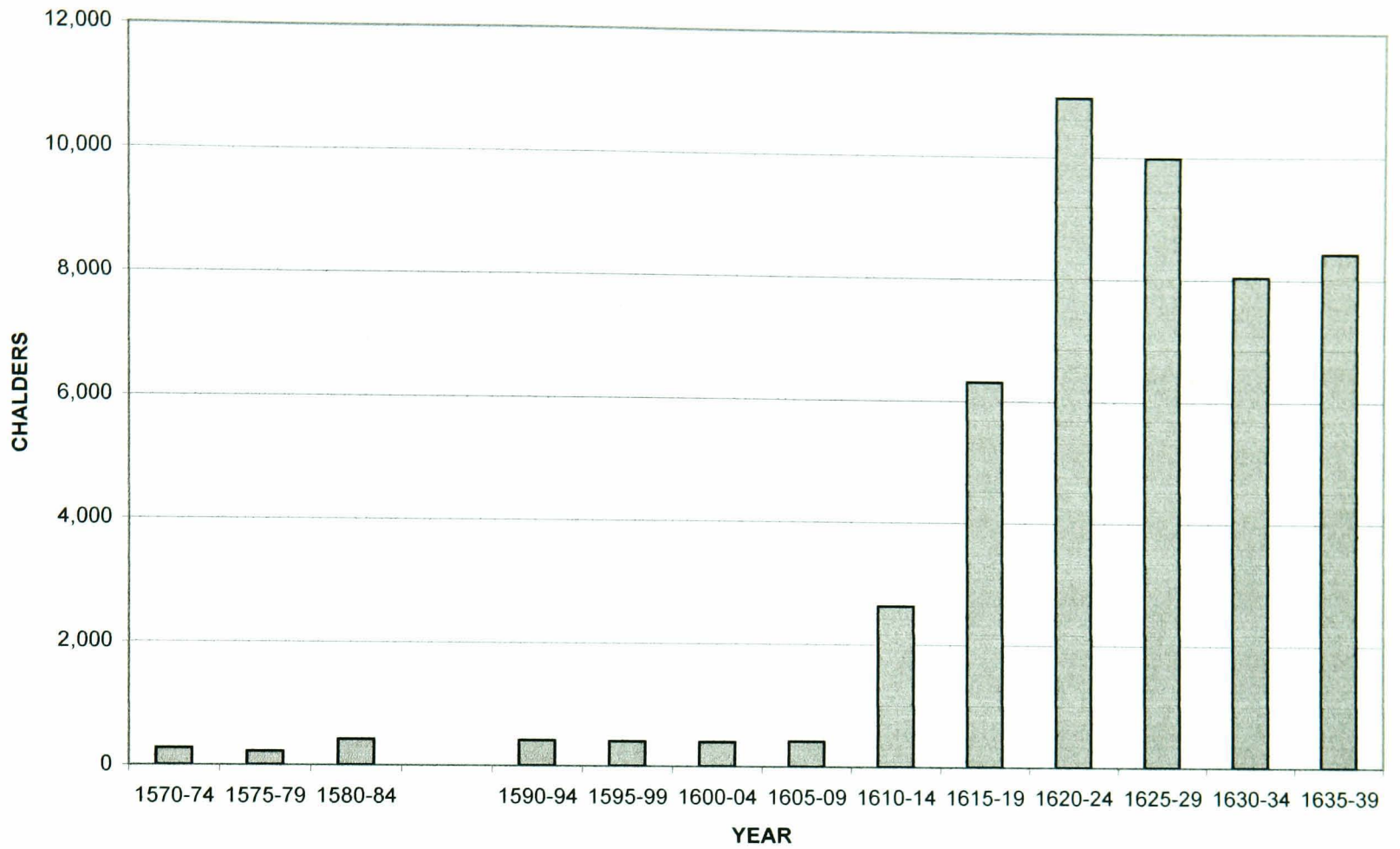


CHART 1F: COAL EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634





**CHART 2-1G: COAL EXPORTS THE FORTH  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639**



**CHART 2-1H: COAL EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1649**

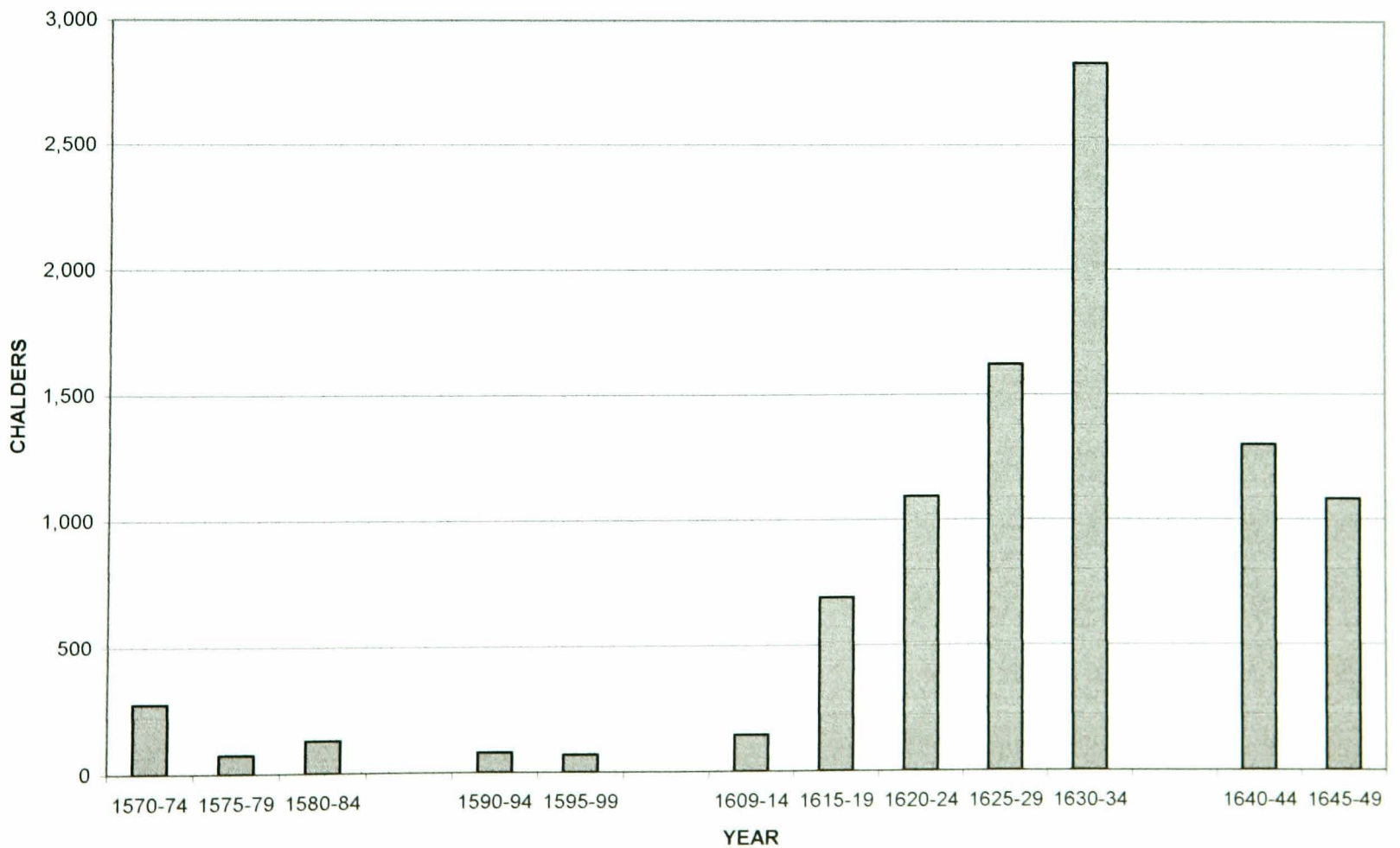
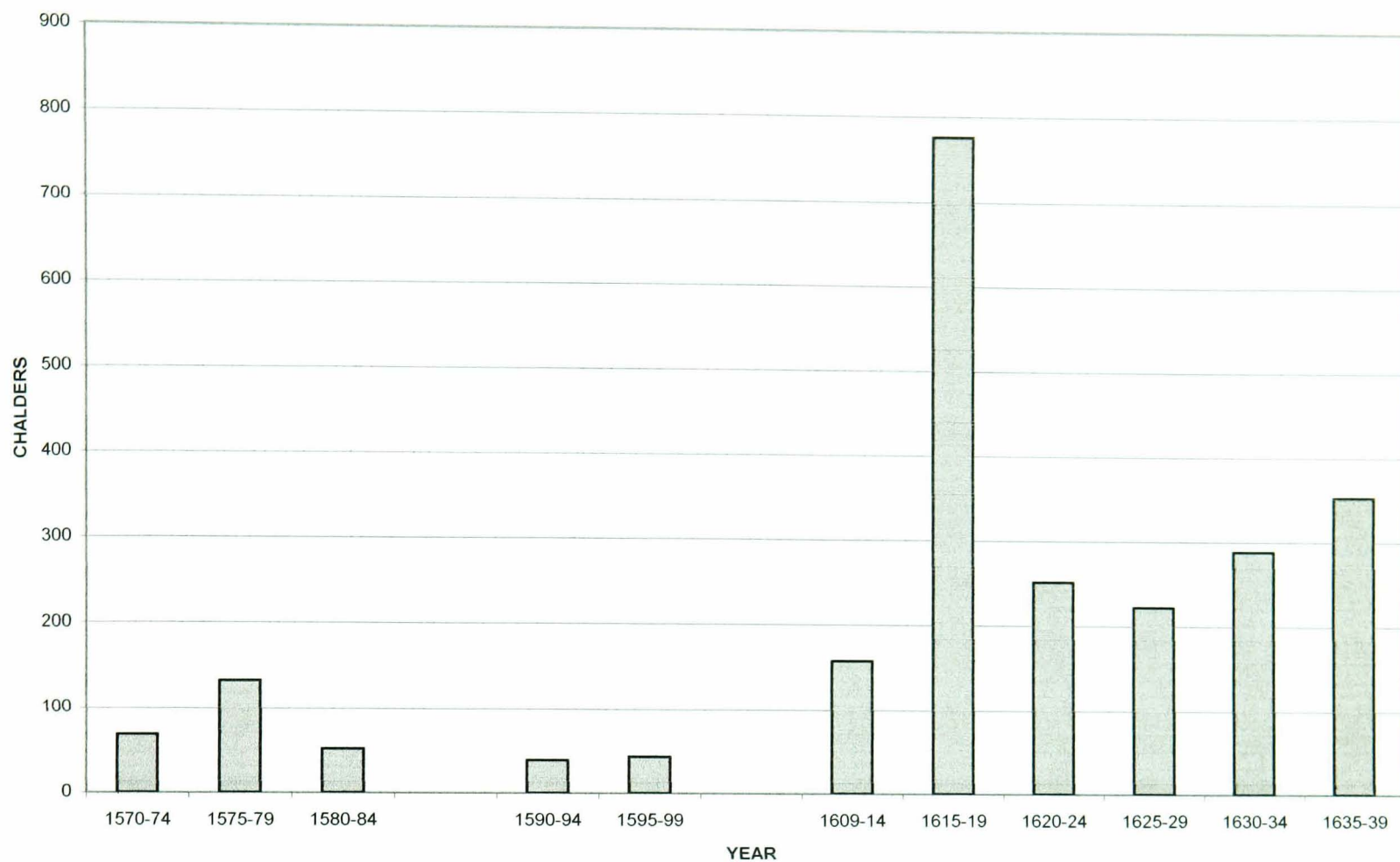




CHART 11: COAL EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639



## 2. SALT

Scottish salt was produced by boiling and evaporating seawater in lead or iron pans over 'panwood' or small (dross) coal fires, a process lasting between twenty two and twenty eight hours.<sup>30</sup> Six to eight chalders of coal were required to produce one chalders of salt.<sup>31</sup> The speed and intensity of the production process<sup>32</sup> meant that the crystals of salt did not form into large grains, hence the term small salt.<sup>33</sup> The quality of fast-boiled Scottish salt was relatively poor since there was little time to clear the impurities, while the use of coal imparted further impurities.<sup>34</sup> Scottish salt, therefore, was not of sufficient quality for the commercial preservation of flesh and oily fish such as herring and salmon. Instead, 'great' salt, obtained by solar evaporation, was imported and used for this purpose.<sup>35</sup> Small salt was, however, used within Scotland and was exported to England for the preservation of cod.<sup>36</sup> The Port Books of the fishing port of Boston (Lincolnshire), for example, show that 92% of ships recorded as having arrived from Scottish ports between 1601 and 1640 carried white salt.<sup>37</sup> Scottish salt was also used at home and overseas in a number of manufacturing processes, for example, as a mild abrasive in leather working, as a glaze in pottery, and as one of the raw materials used to make bleach.<sup>38</sup>

Unspecified types of salt, 'small' and 'white' salt are therefore regarded as Scottish exports, whereas 'great' salt is regarded to have constituted a re-exported product.<sup>39</sup> Salt export measures are standardised into chalders, one of which comprised sixteen bolls, eight barrels or one-third of a last.<sup>40</sup> A chalders of small salt was customed at £0.20 from 1597 until 1612 and at £0.40 per chalders thereafter.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Whatley, C. A. *The Scottish Salt Industry, 1570-1850*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987, pp. 1-2, 9-10.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Whatley notes that instead of the single day it took to make a pan of salt in Scotland, the Dutch took six, and made salt which was eminently suitable for preserving fish. (*Ibid*, p. 6).

<sup>33</sup> The editors of *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* translated *grecis* salt as fine salt. The customars in their particular accounts called it small salt.

<sup>34</sup> Whatley, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> Great salt was imported primarily from France (the Bay of Bourgneuf) and also, according to Whatley, from Spain and Portugal. *Ibid*, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> A.R. Michell, "The European Fisheries in Early Modern History" in E.E. Rich and C.H. Wilson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. V, *The Economic Organisation of Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 181.

<sup>37</sup> Hinton, R.W.K., *The Port Books of Boston, 1601-1640*, Lincoln Record Society, Volume L, 1956. The numbers of ships arriving from Scotland/carrying salt were: 1602 16/16 (pp. 4-7, 18-19); 1603 9/10 (pp. 18-21); 1604 2/2 (pp. 30-31); 1605 13/13 (pp. 30-35); 1611 9/11 (pp. 48-55); 1612 11/11 (pp. 62-67, 74-75); 1613 13/14 (pp. 74-81); 1615 13/16 (pp. 90-103); 1616 13/16 (pp. 112-125, 134-135); 1617 11/12 (pp. 134-145); 1618 10/10 (pp. 154-163); 1630 1/1 (pp. 190-191); 1633 2/2 (pp. 200-203); 1634 1/1 (pp. 232-233); 1639 2/2 (pp. 268-269, 276-277).

<sup>38</sup> Whatley, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> For re-exports of great salt see pp. 134-35.

<sup>40</sup> It is assumed that the one hogshead of salt was equivalent to a barrel of salt. The relative size of a last and a chalders was calculated from duty amounts contained within the N.A.S. E38 series. There are three omissions: in two cases standardisation not possible (5 puncheons exported from Dumbarton and Glasgow 1612-13 and 7 tuns exported from Irvine 1621-22) and in one case (Leith 1630-31) part of the quantity exported was not stated.

<sup>41</sup> Rates of duty calculated from N.A.S. E38 series. Rates comply with those listed in the 1597 and 1611 Books of Rates.

The custom figures as evidence for Scottish salt exports 1597-1646 are considered to be reliable as the smuggling potential for such a bulky and relatively low value commodity must have been small. No evidence of outright prohibitions being imposed on the export of salt have been found, although it is probable that a licence was required for legal exportation at the turn of the seventeenth century.<sup>42</sup> In addition, salt custom figures, particularly those pertaining to the Forth area (by far the most important salt exporting region of Scotland), are fairly comprehensive.

Charts 2-2a to 2-2f illustrate the trends in the export of salt from various jurisdictions 1597-1646<sup>43</sup> while Charts 2-2g to 2-2k illustrate the longer-term 1570-1645 trends in the form of five-year averages over this flourishing 'golden age' of Scottish salt manufacturing.<sup>44</sup> These volumetric graphs clearly show that, as with coal shipments, the Forth was Scotland's dominant salt exporting jurisdiction. Sir William Brereton, a contemporary English traveller, noted in 1636 that 'innumerable' salt pans extended all along the Firth from beyond Musselburgh westwards almost as far as Stirling,<sup>45</sup> the centre of salt production and exportation being Culross around which Sir George Bruce built up 44 salt pans between 1572 and 1625.<sup>46</sup> Salt exports from the Forth expanded almost continuously throughout the entire period from a low base in the early 1570s to an annual average of over 2,000 chalders per annum by the late 1630s.

Significant volumes of salt were sent overseas from West Fife: although average annual exports from this jurisdiction actually declined from the early 1570s into the 1600s, from 1610 to the mid-1620s, the averages increased dramatically. Exports lullied over the decade 1625-35 before rising once again in the 1640s as Wemyss took over from Kirkcaldy and her neighbouring ports as the major departure point for Fife's salt.

Significant volumes of salt were exported from East Lothian too - primarily from Prestonpans, which was also known as 'Salt Preston' on account of her numerous salt pans.<sup>47</sup> The peak periods for salt exports from this jurisdiction were the late 1570s, early 1580s and later 1630s. Smaller quantities of salt were exported from Edinburgh, the East Neuk, the Tay and the Clyde. Miniscule amounts were exported from the North East and Galloway.

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<sup>42</sup> N.A.S., E.71/28/1, entitled the "Custom Book of the Small Salt Transported Furth of the Realm, 1599-1600," seems to be an account of salt export licences. A payment of £0.17 per chalder for a licence, and the custom duty of £0.20 per chalder was levied on salt exports from Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Pittenweem and Preston.

<sup>43</sup> Note that for the West Fife jurisdiction, some imputed values have been added to the Kirkcaldy and Inverkeithing to Leven figures in order to make statistics consistent over time.

<sup>44</sup> Whatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Brereton, W. in Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Edinburgh: James Thin. 1973, p. 148.

<sup>46</sup> Whatley, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Bowman, A. I. "Culross Colliery: a Sixteenth-Century Mine" in *Industrial Archaeology*, VII, 1970 pp. 353-72.

The Forth salt accounts indicate that over the late 1610s, 1620s and early 1630s the greater majority (61%) of salt shipments were destined for England. Other destinations were the Baltic (19%), northern Germany (19%), the Low Countries (1.5%) and Denmark (0.5%).<sup>48</sup> In addition, the particular custom accounts show that Scottish salt was exported from Leith to the Baltic, Denmark, Sweden and Ireland;<sup>49</sup> from the Clyde to Ireland;<sup>50</sup> and from Prestonpans to London.<sup>51</sup> Of these destinations, exports to the Baltic Sea - an area of low saline levels which precluded the successful manufacture of sea salt, thereby making the region critically dependent upon external suppliers<sup>52</sup> - may again be investigated in more detail. Chart 2-21<sup>53</sup> suggests that the exports of salt from Scotland to the Baltic dipped slightly over the 1580s relative to the 1570s, before rising steadily until around 1610. Lythe notes that this period coincided with upheavals in France and the Netherlands and a general rise in the price of Bay salt.<sup>54</sup> Exports then declined over the 1610s to late sixteenth century levels. The 1620s and 1630s saw booming levels of Scottish salt exports to the Baltic, before fighting in 1644/45 marked a virtual cessation of Scottish salt exports to the region.

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<sup>47</sup> Sir William Brereton in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>48</sup> N.L.S. MS 2263. Percentage share of the 395 stated shipment destinations from the north and south sides of the Forth between 1618/19 and 1629/30. Brereton, however, observed that the greatest part of Forth salt was exported to Holland. (*Ibid*, p.148).

<sup>49</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/6, E71/29/9, E71/29/11.

<sup>50</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/1, E71/9/2.

<sup>51</sup> N.A.S. E71/24/2.

<sup>52</sup> Whatley, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>53</sup> Figures from Bang and Korst, *op. cit.* Uncorrected figures listed under departure port (*Afgangshavn*) rather than home port (*Hjemsted*) are presented.

<sup>54</sup> Lythe, "Scottish Trade with the Baltic," *op. cit.*, p. 76.

CHART 2-2A: SALT EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1596/97-1633/34

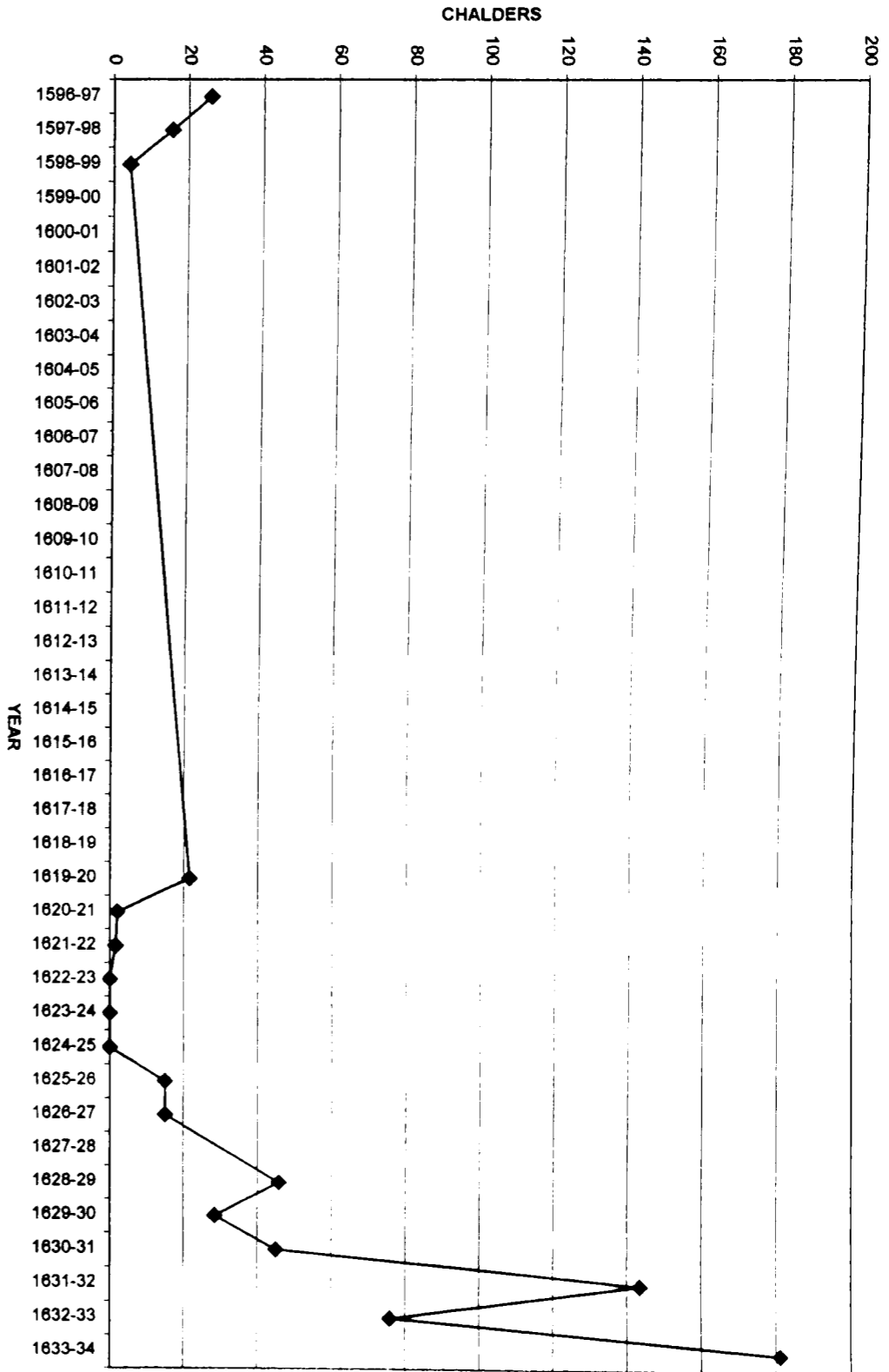
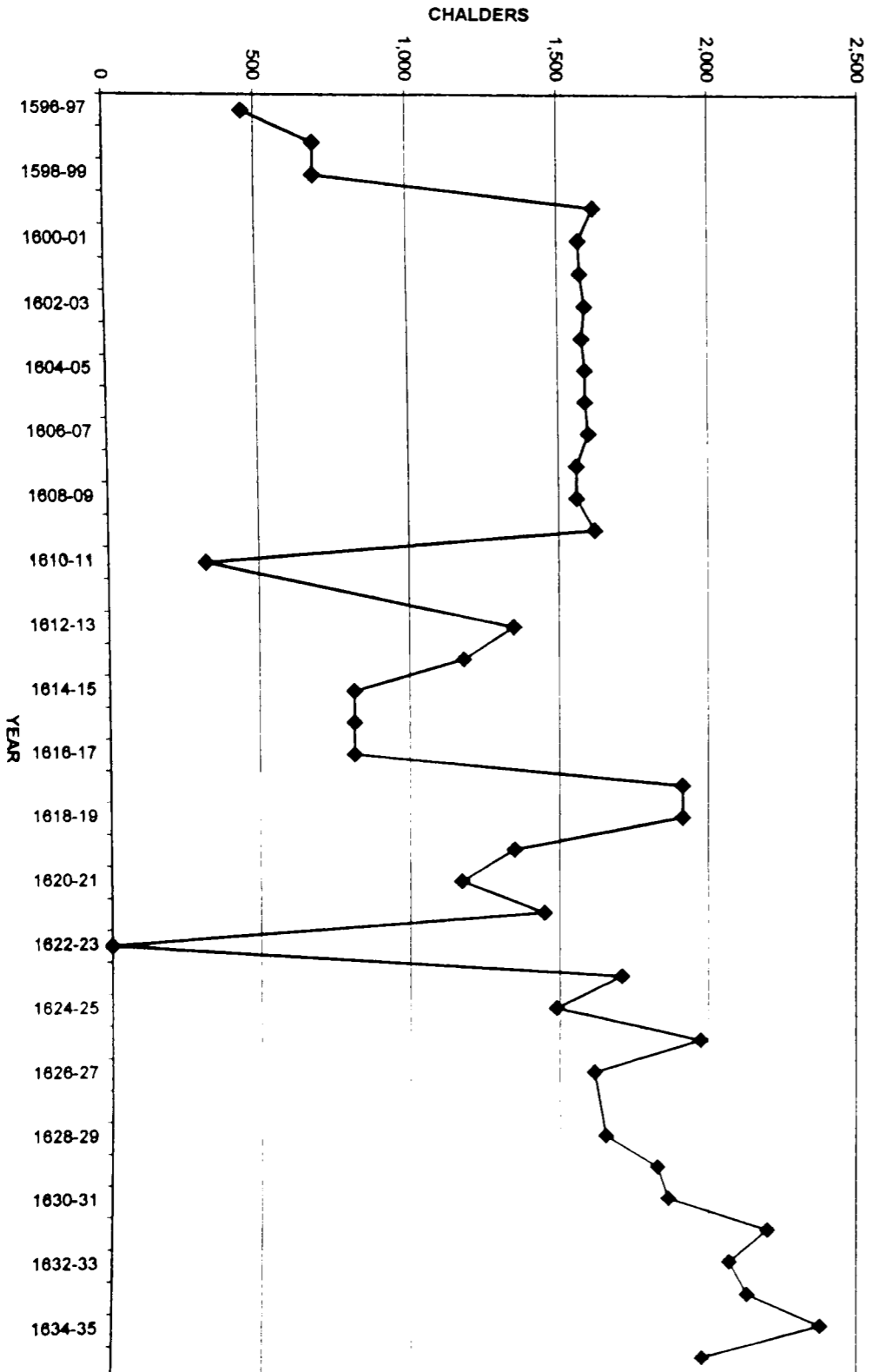
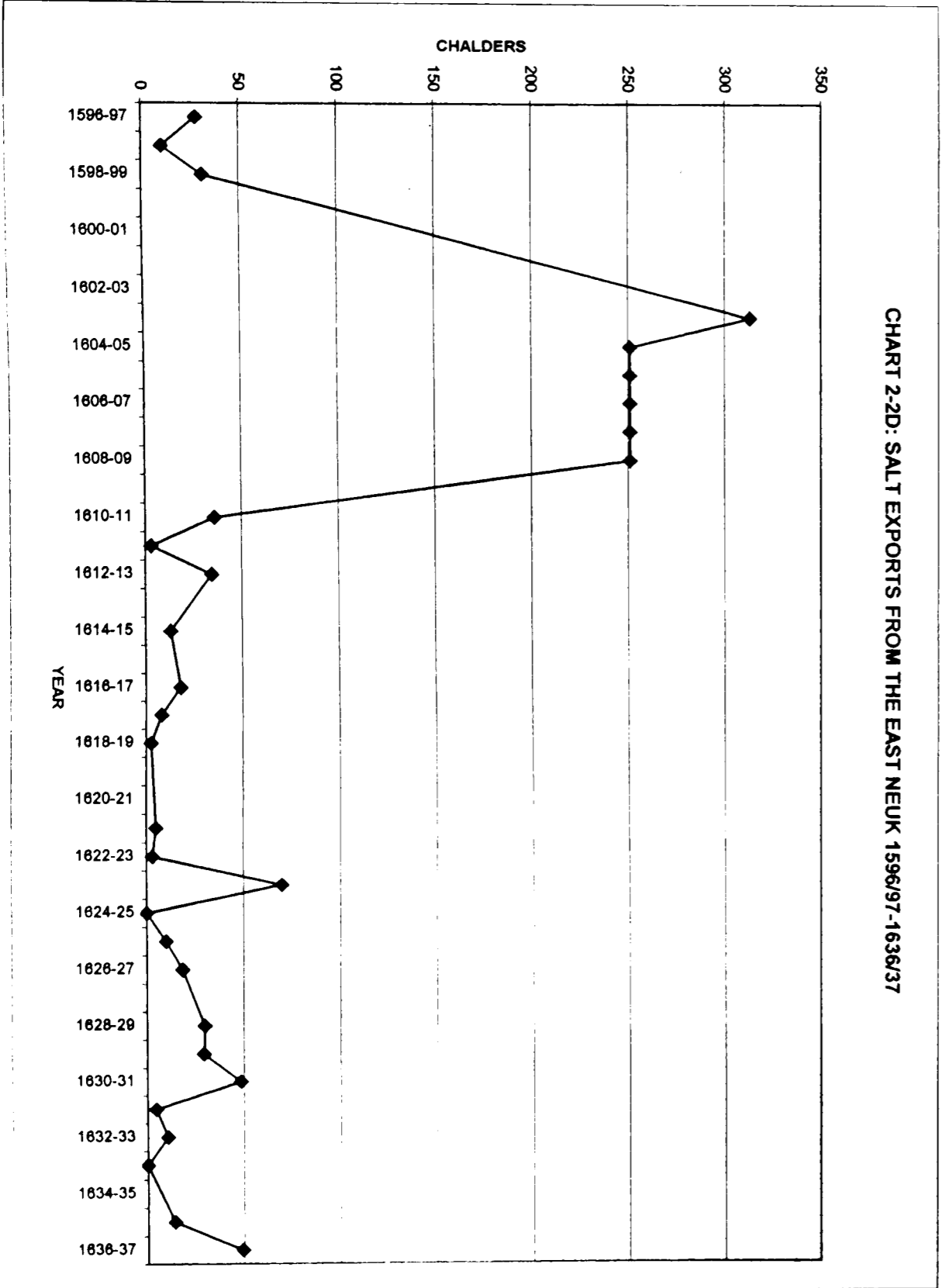
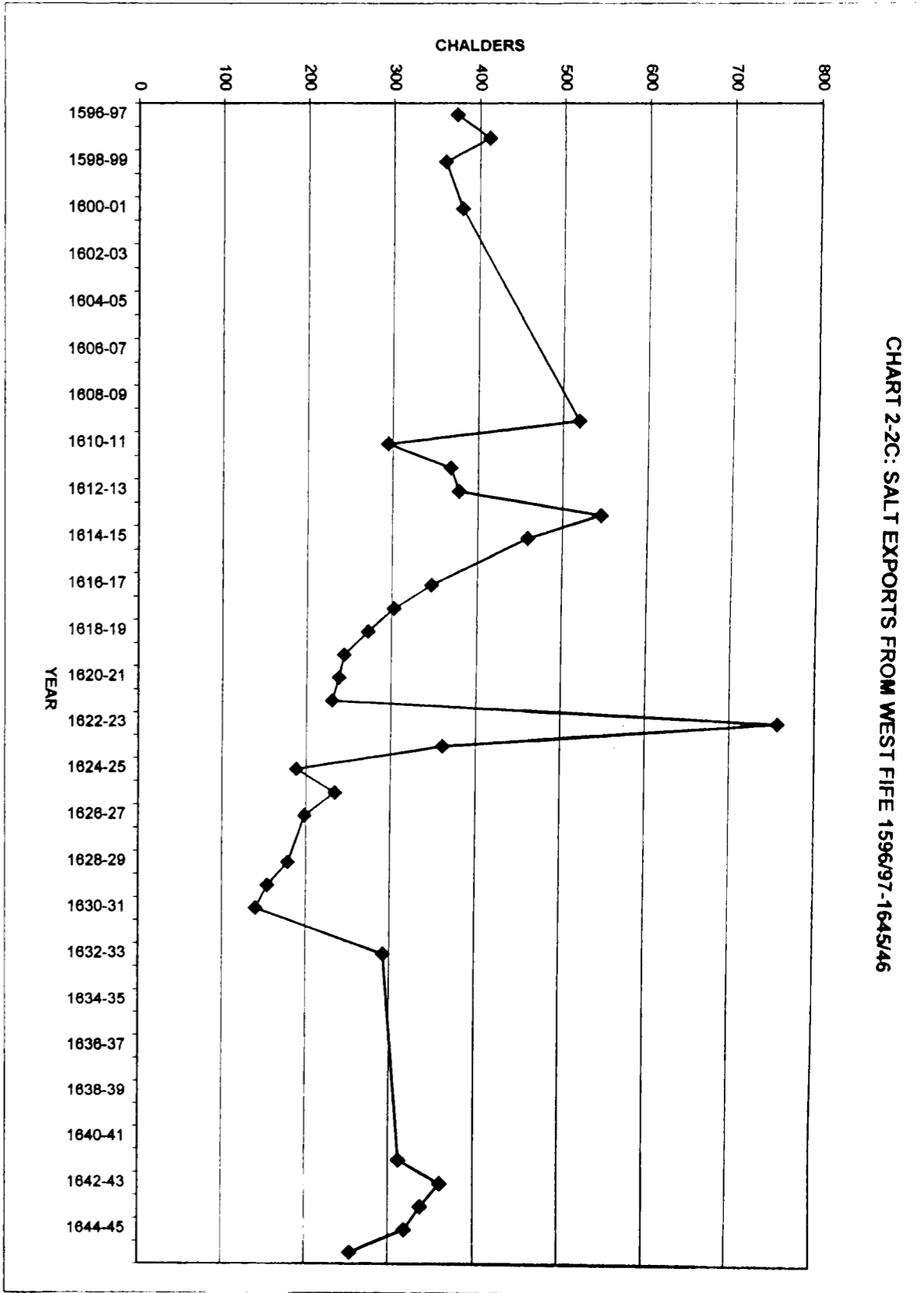


CHART 2-2B: SALT EXPORTS FROM THE FORTH 1596/97-1633/36





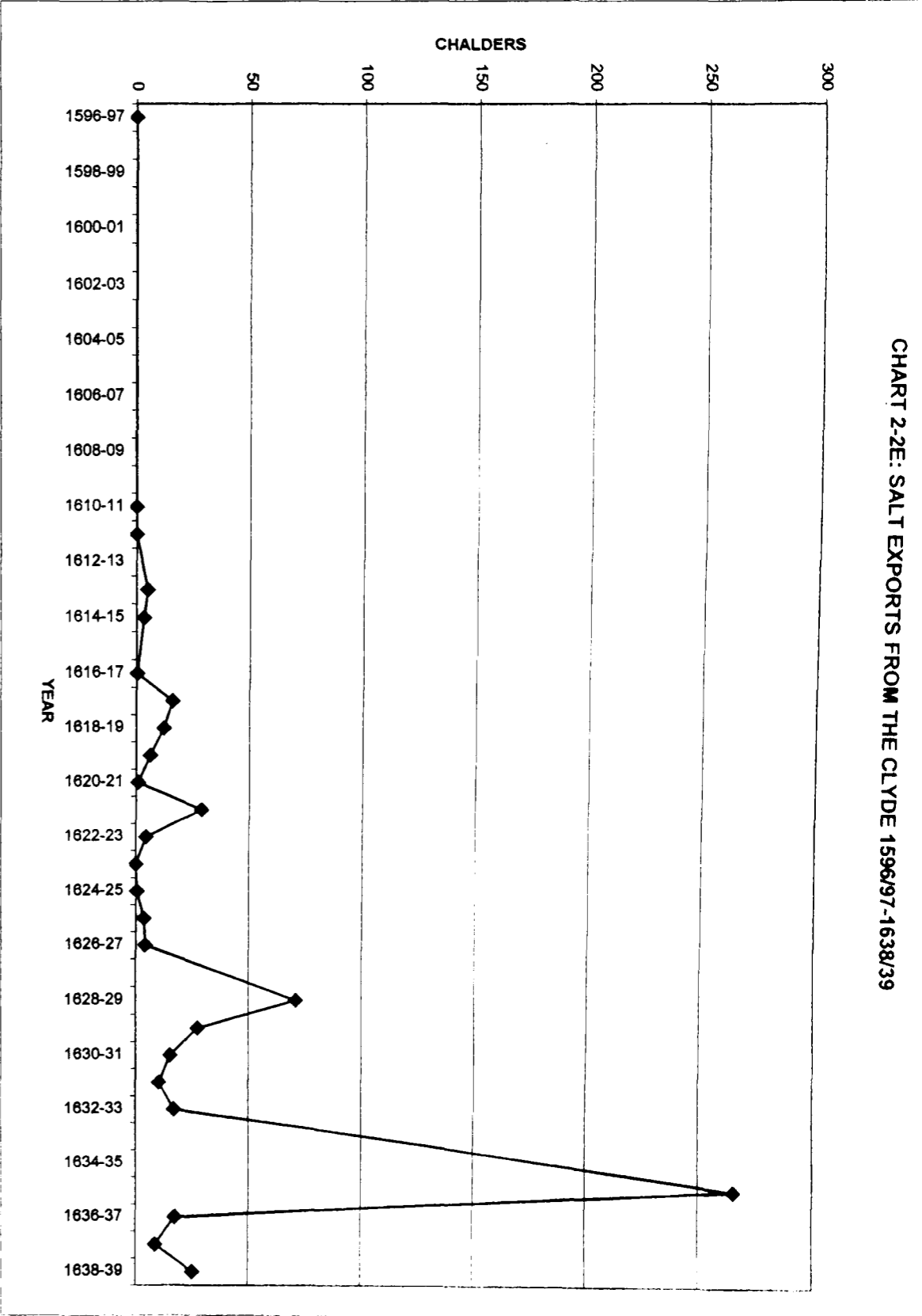


CHART 2-2E: SALT EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1596/97-1638/39

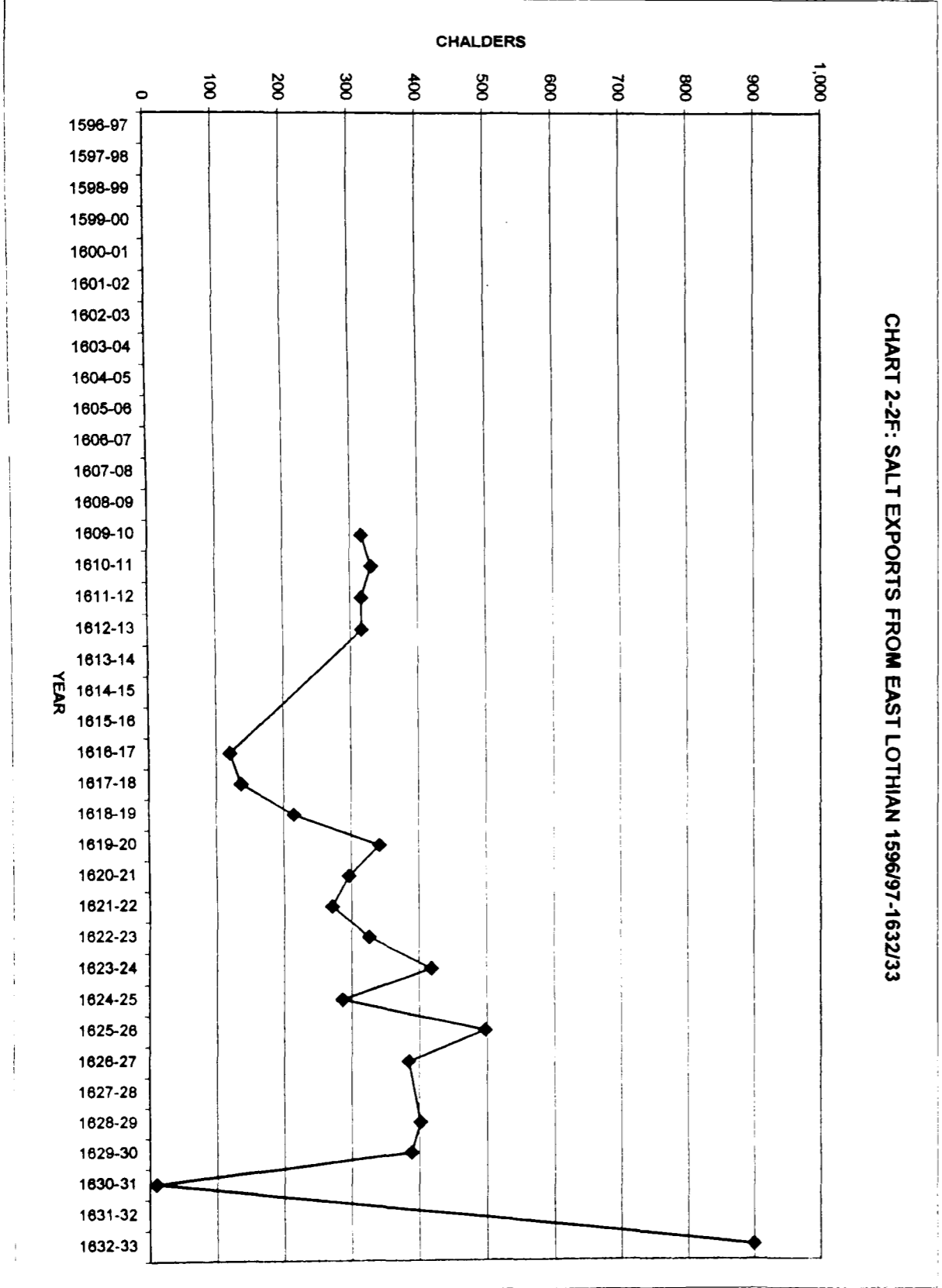


CHART 2-2F: SALT EXPORTS FROM EAST LOTHIAN 1596/97-1632/33

CHART 2-2G: SALT EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1635

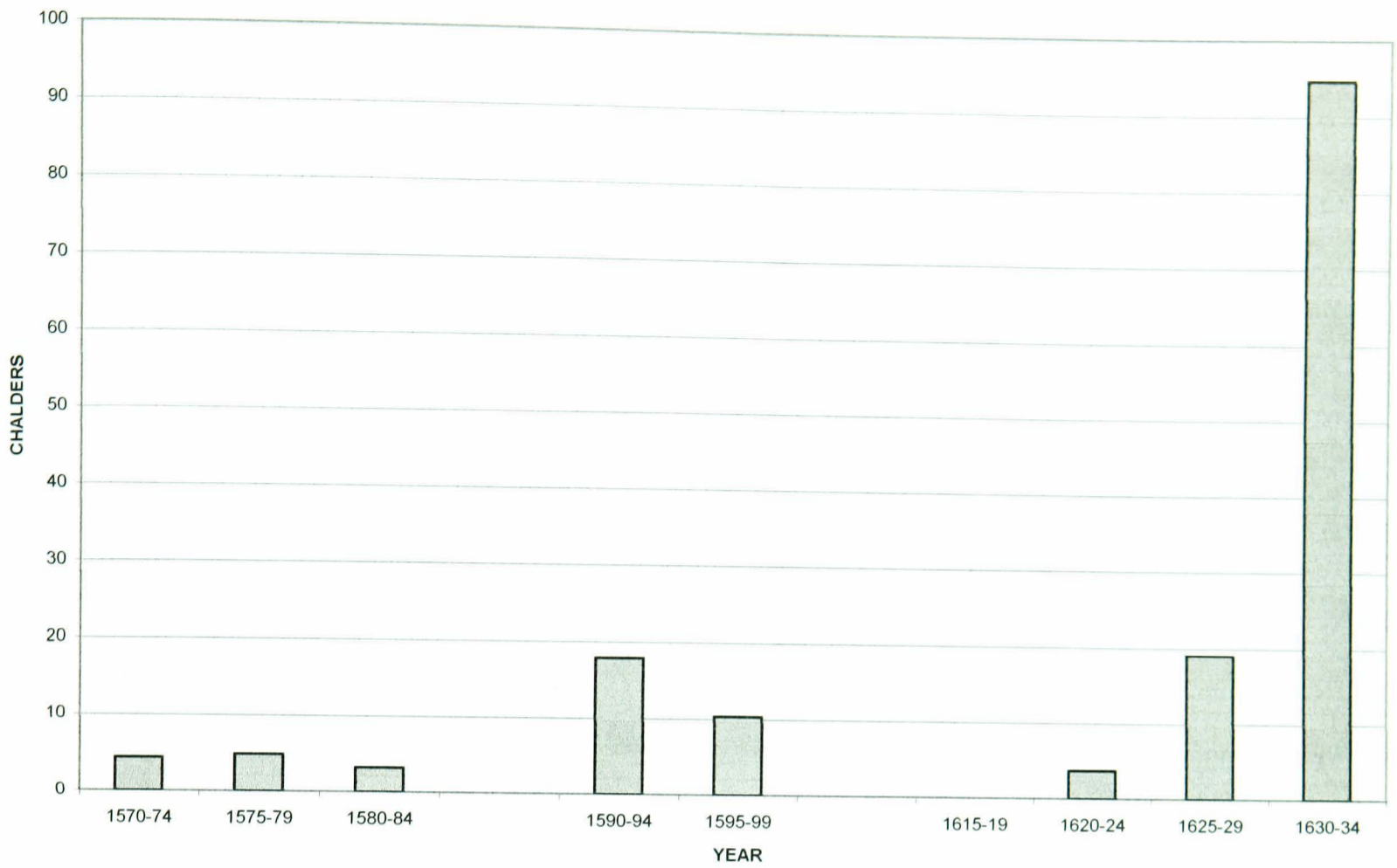


CHART 2-2H: SALT EXPORTS FROM THE FORTH  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1640

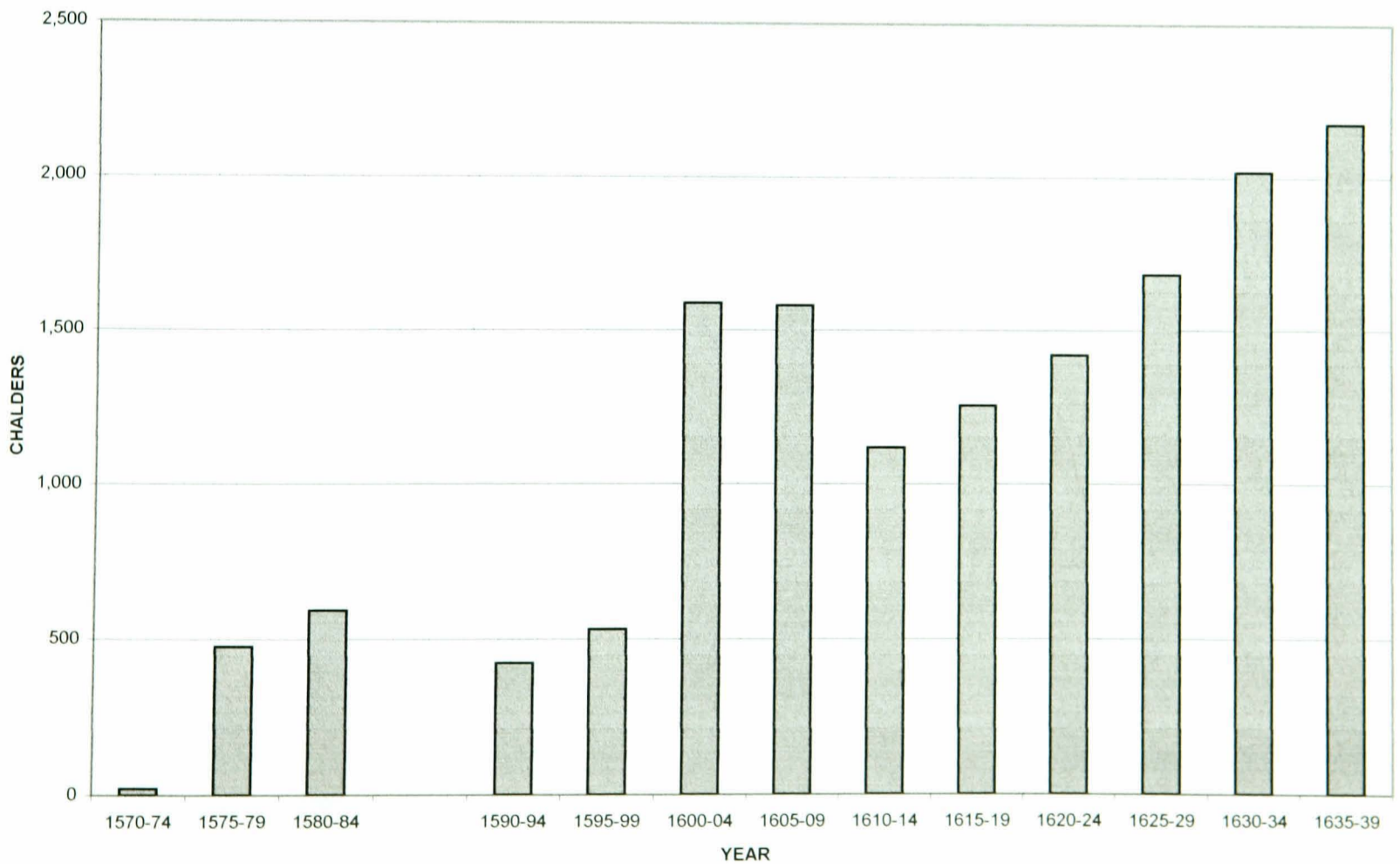




CHART 2-2I: SALT EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1650

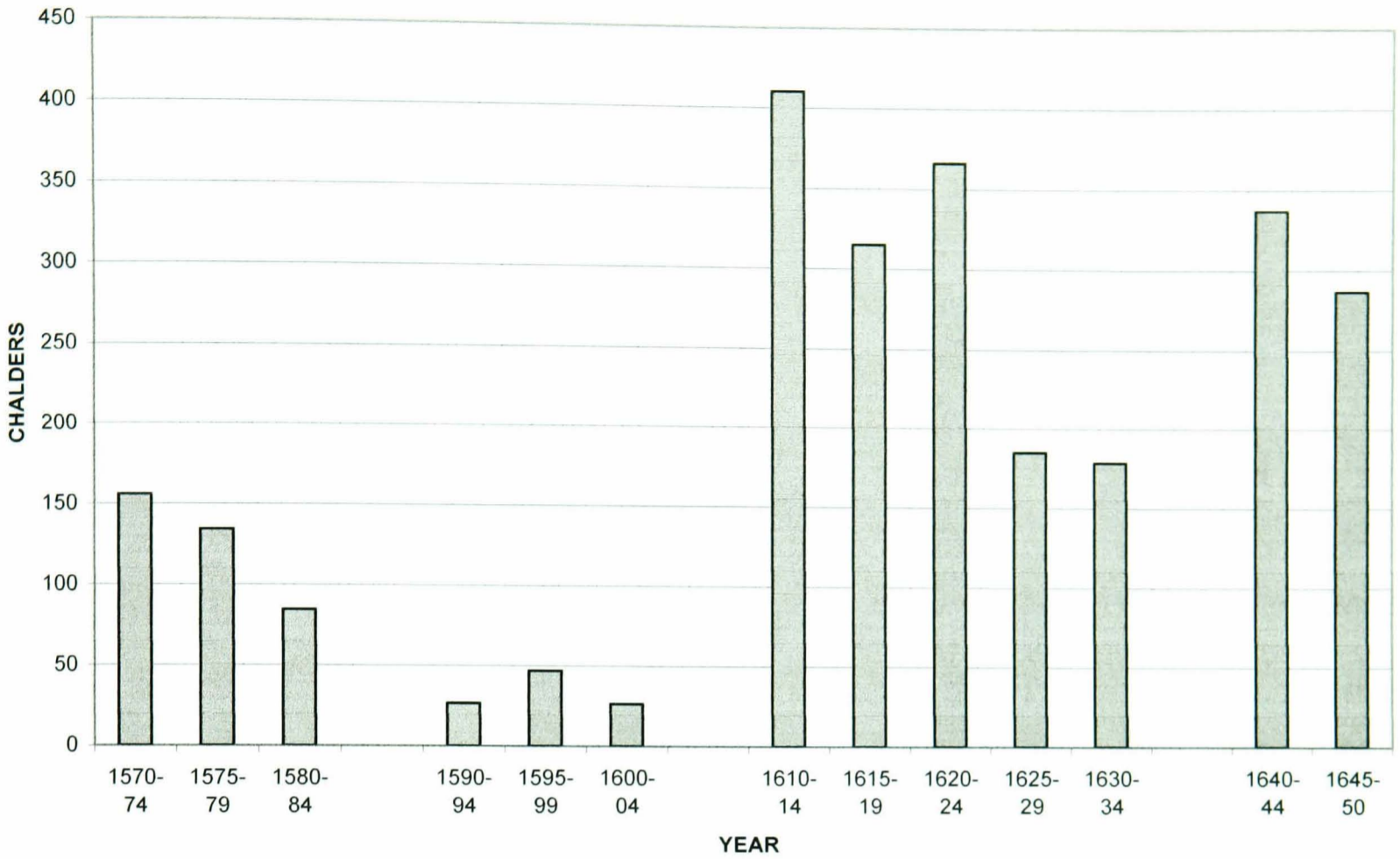


CHART 2-2J: SALT EXPORTS FROM THE EAST NEUK  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1640

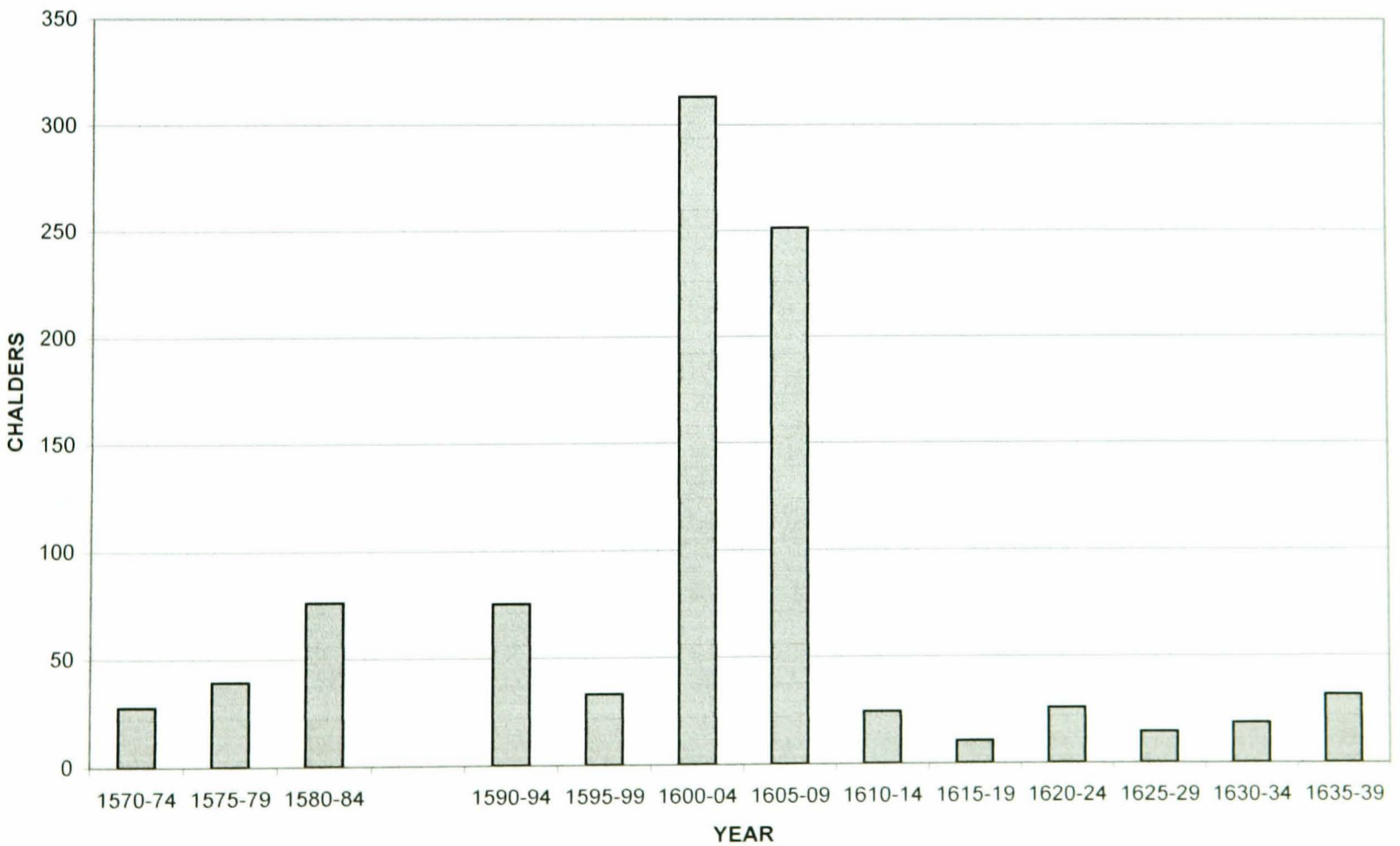


CHART 2-2K: SALT EXPORTS FROM EAST LoTHIAN  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1635

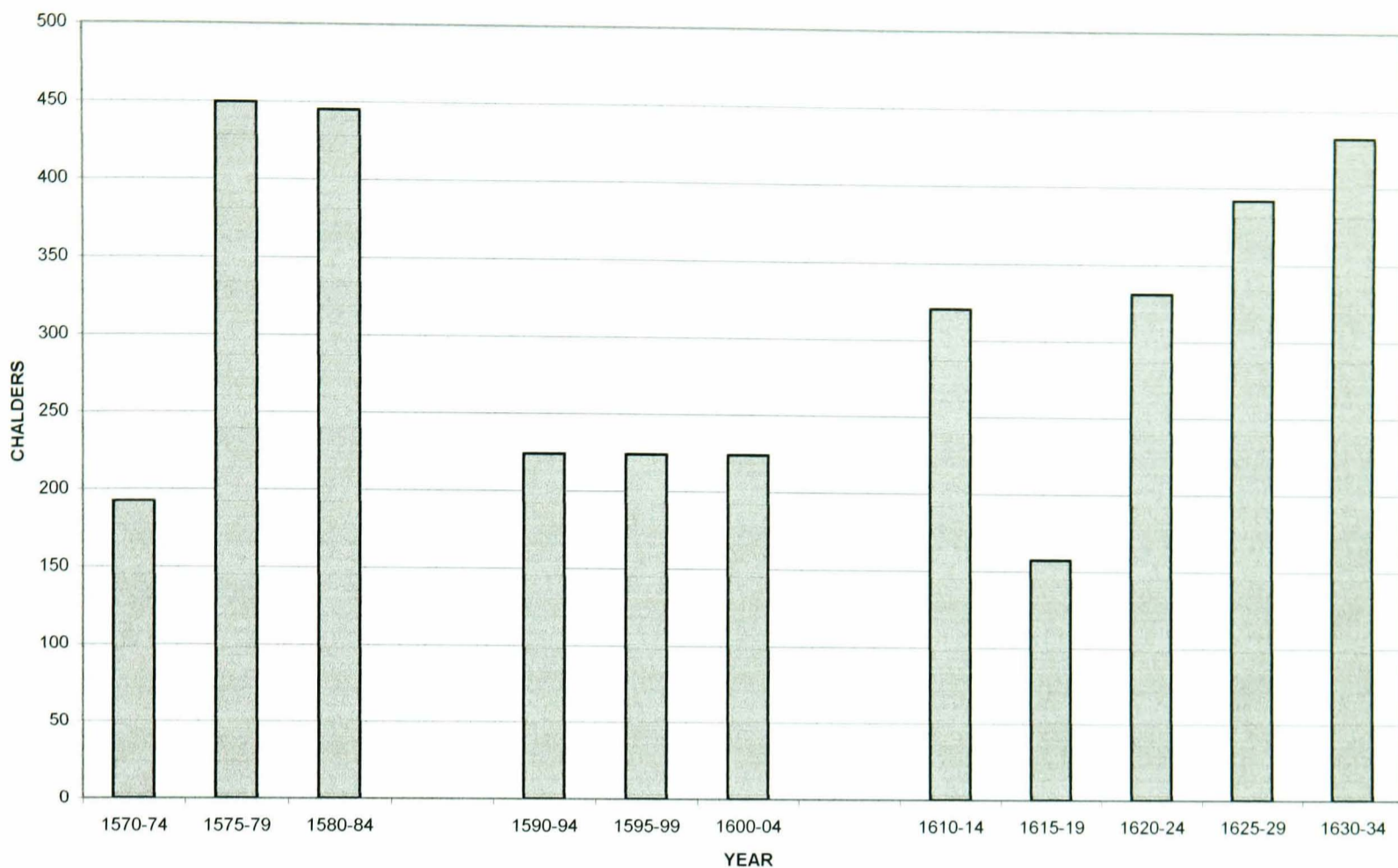
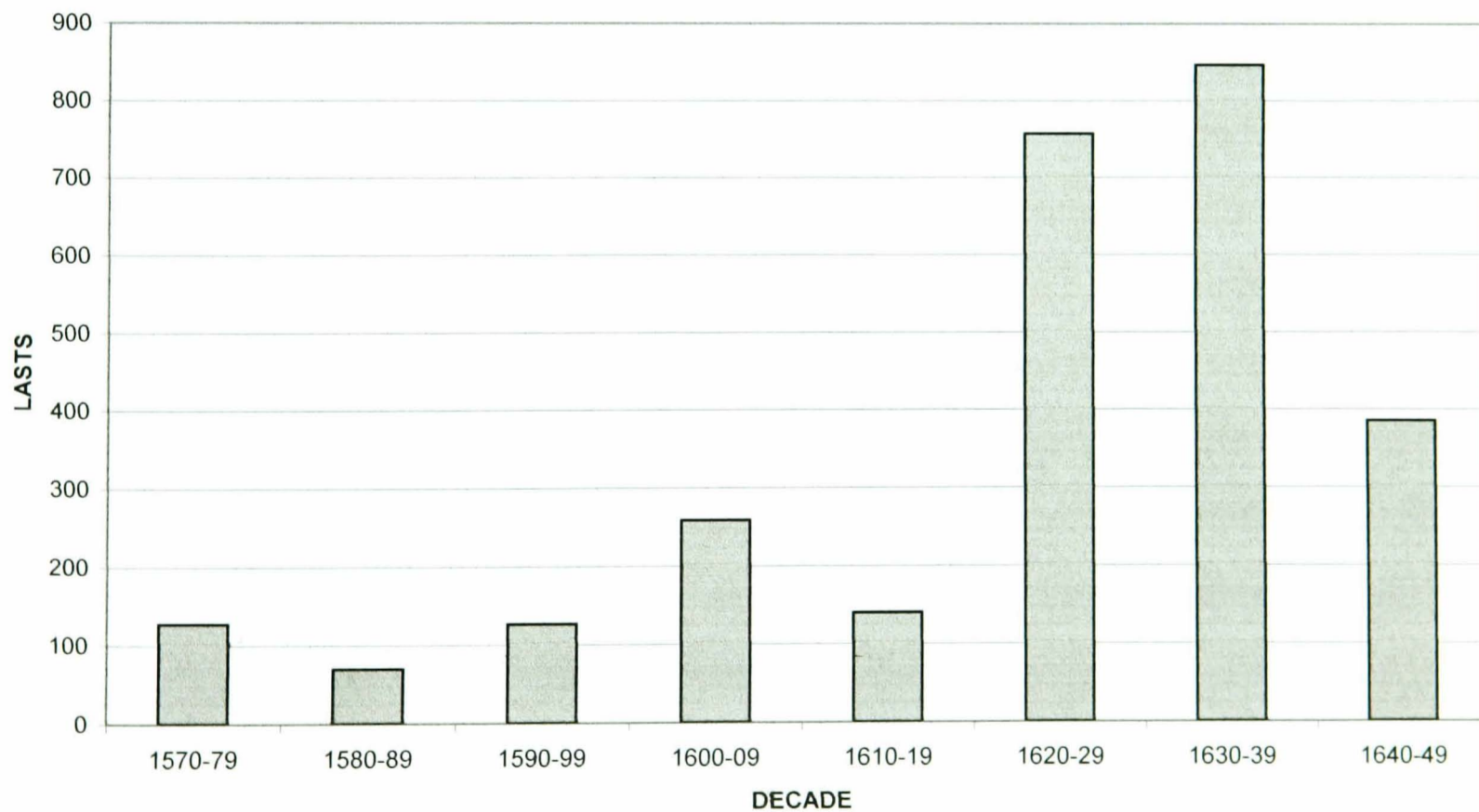


CHART 2-2L: SCOTTISH SALT EXPORTED TO THE BALTIC 1570-1650



Source: Lythe, S. G. E., 'Scottish Trade with the Baltic 1550-1650' in Eastham, J. K. (ed.) *Economic Essays in Commemoration of the Dundee School of Economics*, Coupar Angus: School of Economics, Dundee, 1955, p. 74.

### 3. FRESH WATER FISH

A vast variety of fish were exported from Scotland.<sup>55</sup> Of these, the custom accounts show that salmon and herring were by far the most important. This section will discuss salmon exports, whilst herring and other sea fish will be focused upon in the following section.

Salmon was exported in lasts or barrels, twelve of which made one last.<sup>56</sup> Both the 1597 Book of Rates and the enrolled custom accounts show that salmon was customed at £22.50 per last<sup>57</sup> prior to 1611, £12.00 per last thereafter.<sup>58</sup>

Charts 2-3a to 2-3f illustrate the trends in the export of salmon from various jurisdictions 1597-1646, while Charts 2-3g to 2-3l illustrate the longer-term 1570-1645 trends in the form of five-year averages. The volumetric graphs show that the North East ports exported the greatest quantity of salmon: averaging ninety lasts per annum over the 1570s and 1580s, dipping to just over sixty lasts per annum between the 1590s and early 1620s, before increasing to over one hundred lasts per annum over the later 1620s and 1630s. Within the North East area, Aberdeen was dominant in terms of the quantity of salmon exported. Chart 2-3f, compares custom account figures with those contained within the Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts.<sup>59</sup>

Significant volumes were also exported from ports located north of the Spey - salmon exports from the northernmost ports actually exceeded those from the North Eastern ports in two years of the early 1620s, from Edinburgh and from the Tay ports. Miniscule quantities were exported from the Forth, West Fife, the East Neuk, the Clyde and Galloway. By 1641 it was recognised that salmon fishings were 'one of [the] principall benefites whereby trade is menteyned and money brought in [the] kingdome'.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> In the 1630s William Lithgow included 'herrings, salmon, keilling, ling, turbot, and seaths' (coalfish) in a list of the main Scottish fish exports, while others had previously mentioned turbot, flounder, plaice, mackerel, cod, skate, haddock and various shell fish as being fished in Scottish waters. Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Scotland Before 1700 from Contemporary Documents*, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1893, pp. 140, 270, 299.

<sup>56</sup> One barrel of salmon contained 10 gallons of fish. (Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 4.) In three instances, salmon exports from the Clyde ports were entered in 'hogshead barrels'. The assumption has been made that one 'hogshead barrel' was also equal to one-twelfth of a last of salmon.

<sup>57</sup> Rates of duty calculated from N.A.S. E38 series. Rates comply with those listed in the 1597 (N.A.S. E76/1/1).

<sup>58</sup> Rates of duty again calculated from N.A.S. E38 series. From 1611 the value of salmon, on which the usual 5% custom duty was payable, was deemed to be £240 per last (N.A.S. E76/2 and E76/3).

<sup>59</sup> Taylor, L. B. (ed.) *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts 1596-1670*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1970, p. 618. In 1624 Alexander Hunter, an Aberdeen merchant, estimated that six salmon barrels made one tun (Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 4). It has been assumed, therefore, that one last was equivalent to two tuns.

<sup>60</sup> *A.P.S.* Vol. VI p. 417, c.116.

The particular accounts indicate that over the 1610s and early 1620s France was the major export destination of Scottish salmon. For example, Edinburgh's 1611/12 account indicates that every consignment of salmon was destined to Dieppe, Bordeaux or unspecified French ports,<sup>61</sup> Aberdeen's 1616/17 account lists Dieppe as the destination for every consignment of salmon,<sup>62</sup> and both the Spey's 1617/18 and 1620/21 accounts list Dieppe or unspecified French ports as the destination of most consignments of salmon.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, a sixteenth century commentator remarked that 'parmi les poissons importés figuraient surtout les saumons qui provenaient des golfes sinueux d'Ecosse...'<sup>64</sup> French towns continued as a market for Scottish salmon, but destinations diversified over the later 1620s to be dominated by Holland and Flanders, supplemented by Italy and Spain.

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<sup>61</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/6.

<sup>62</sup> N.A.S. E71/1/11.

<sup>63</sup> N.A.S. E71/1/11, E71/26/1.

<sup>64</sup> Quoted in Lythe, S. G. E., *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 1550-1625*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1960, p. 182.

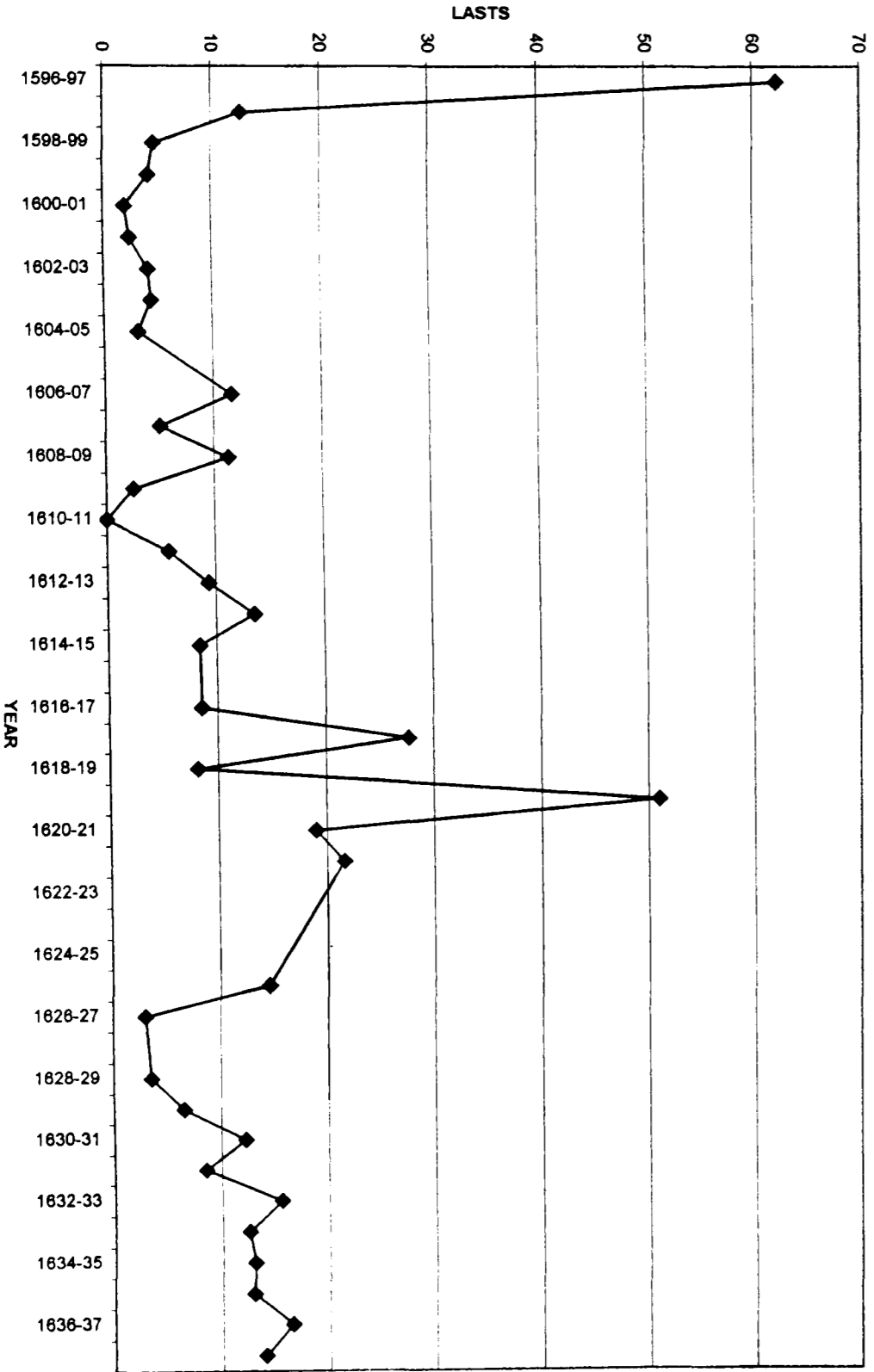


CHART 2-3B: SALMON EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1596/97-1637/38

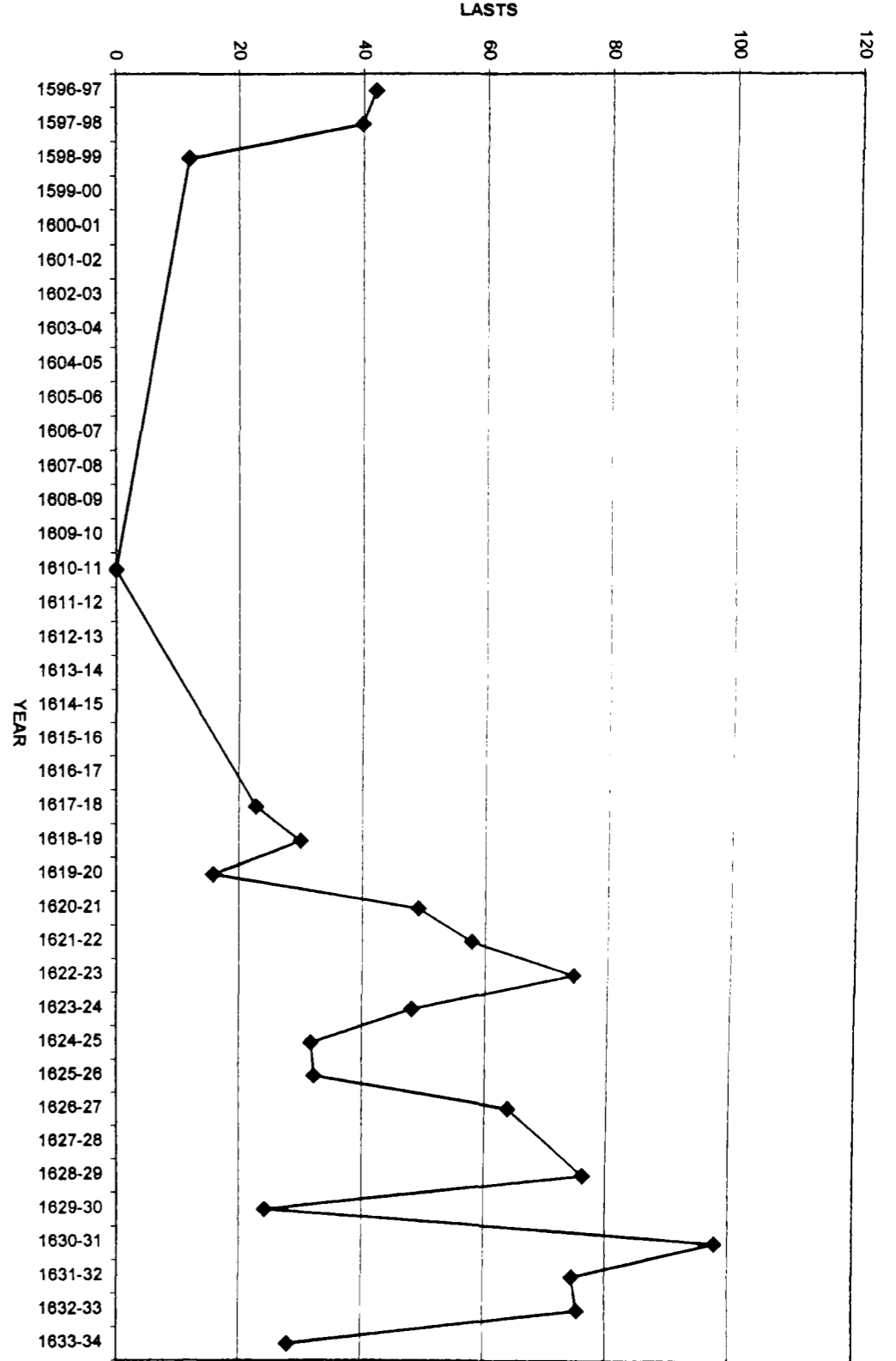


CHART 2-3A: SALMON EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1596/97-1633/34

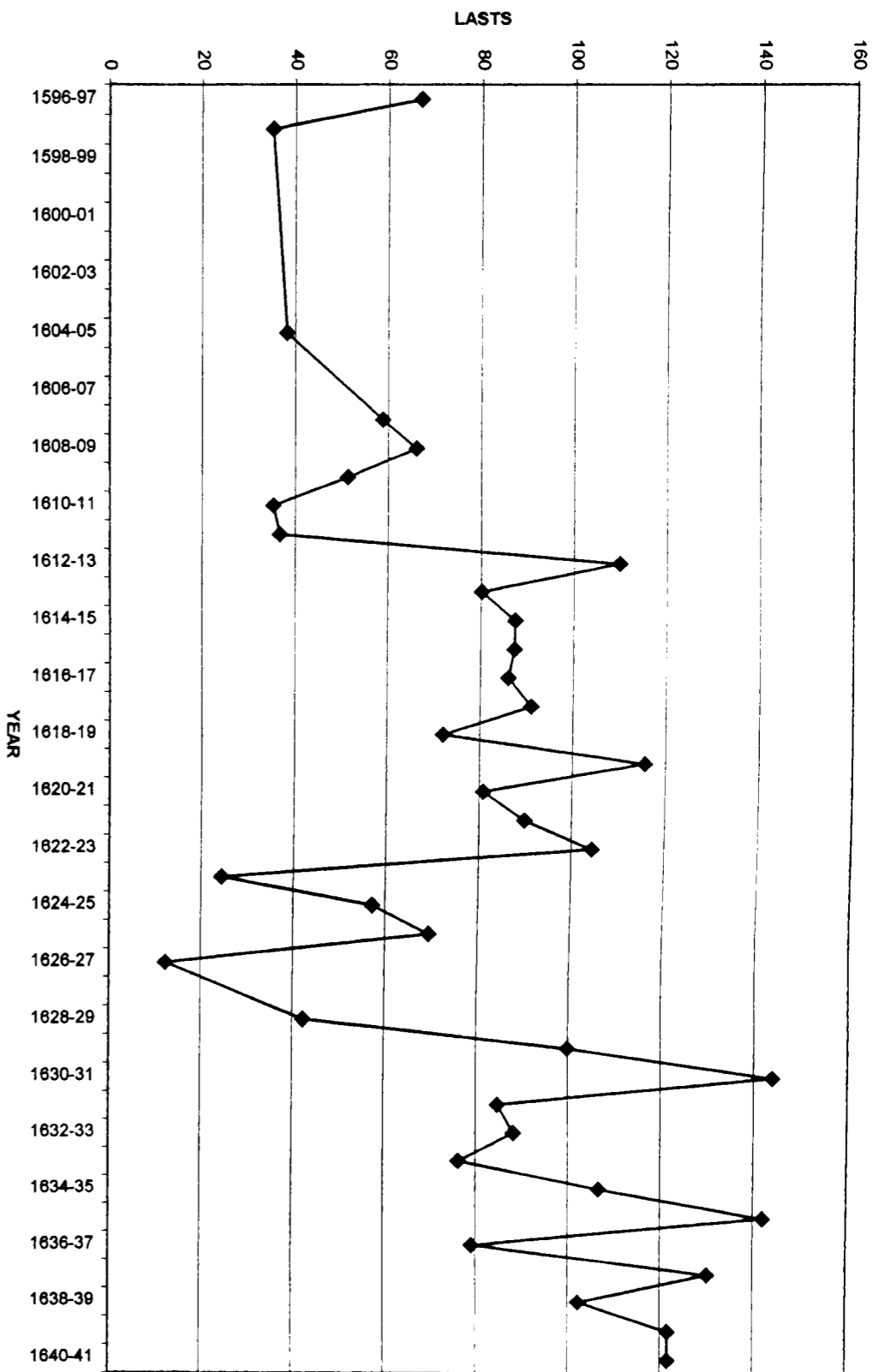


CHART 2-3C: SALMON EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST 1596/97-1640/41

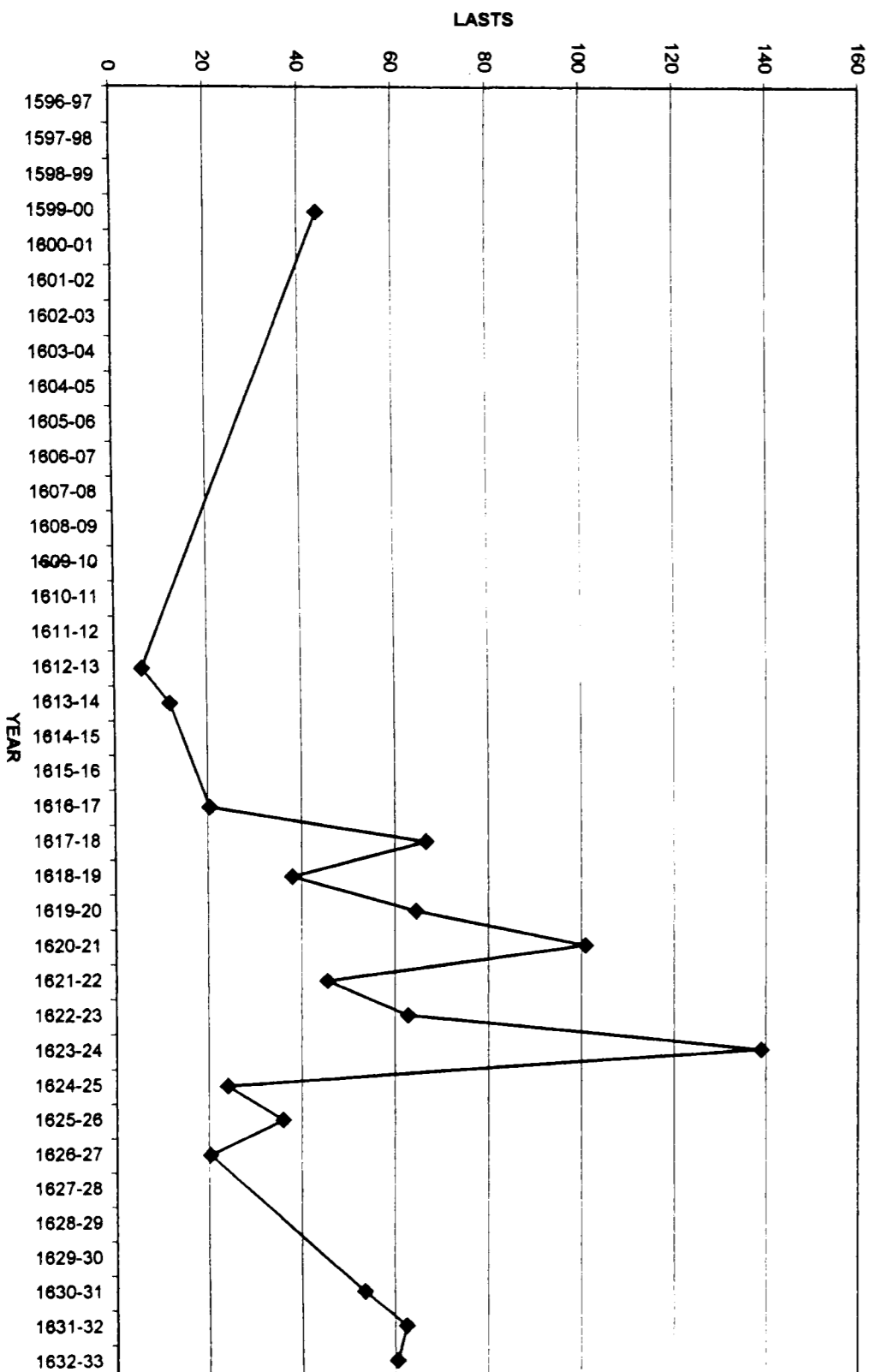


CHART 2-3D: SALMON EXPORTS FROM NORTH OF THE SPEY 1596/97-1632/33

CHART 2-3E: SALMON EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1596/97-1636/37

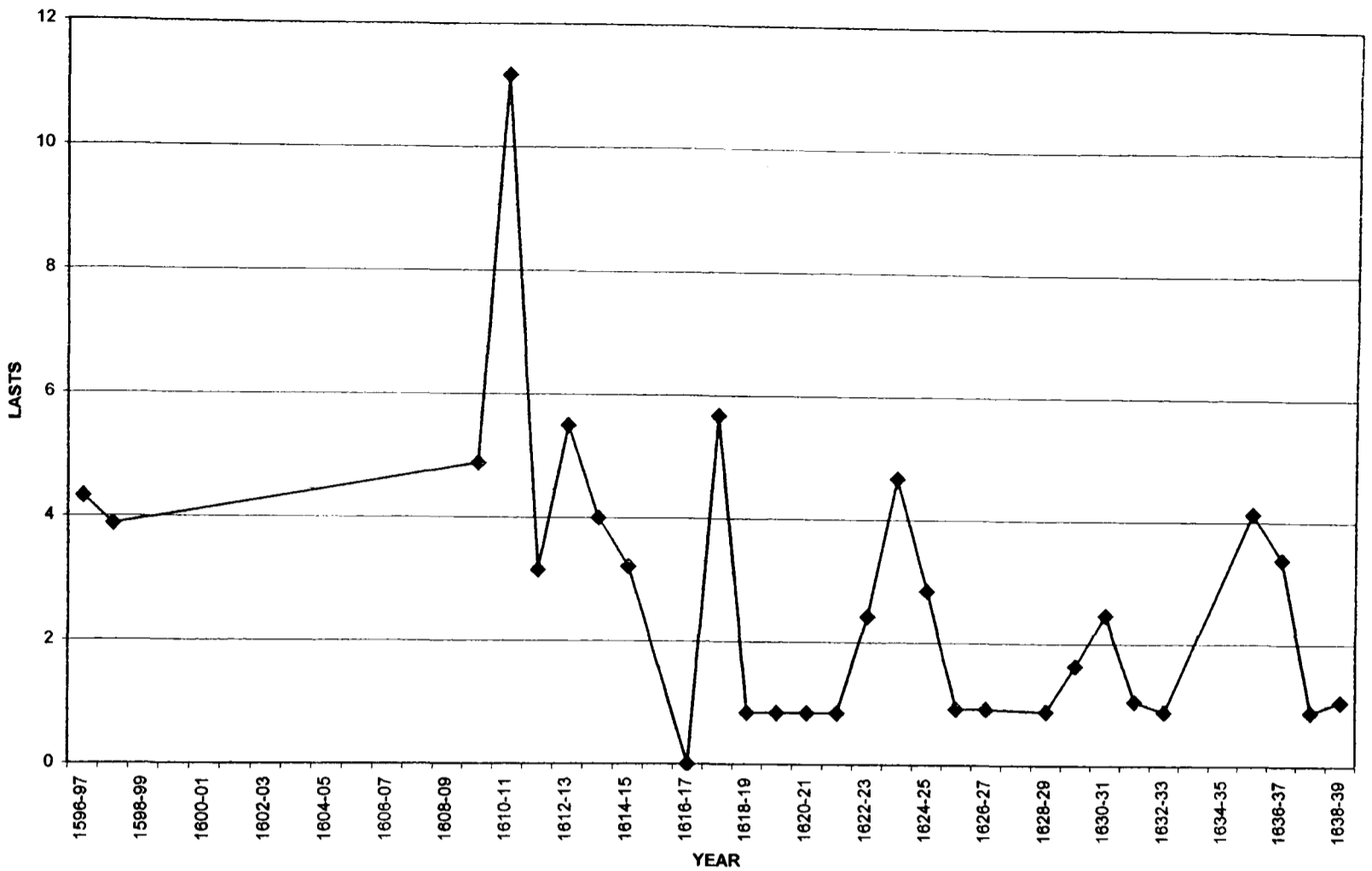
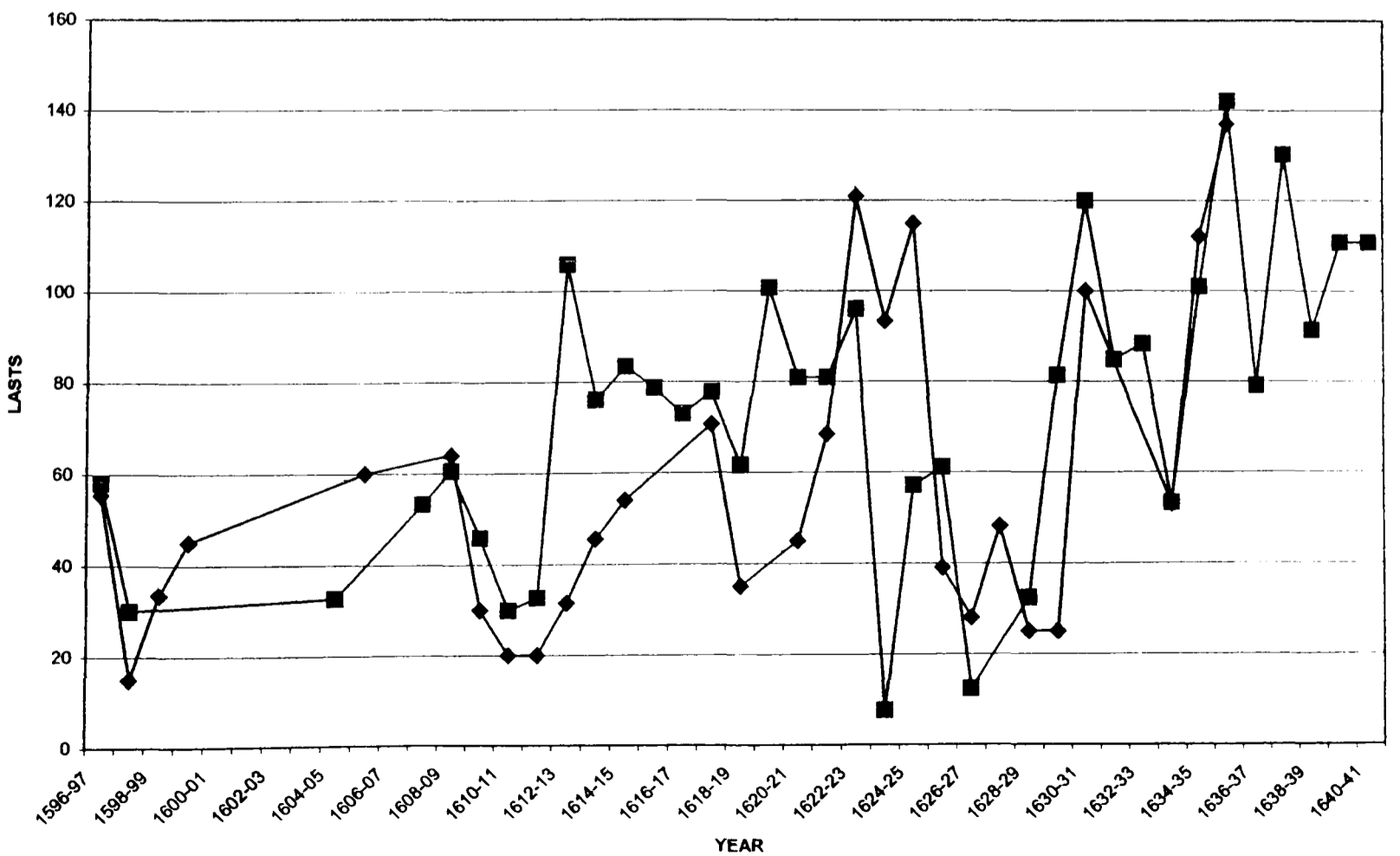


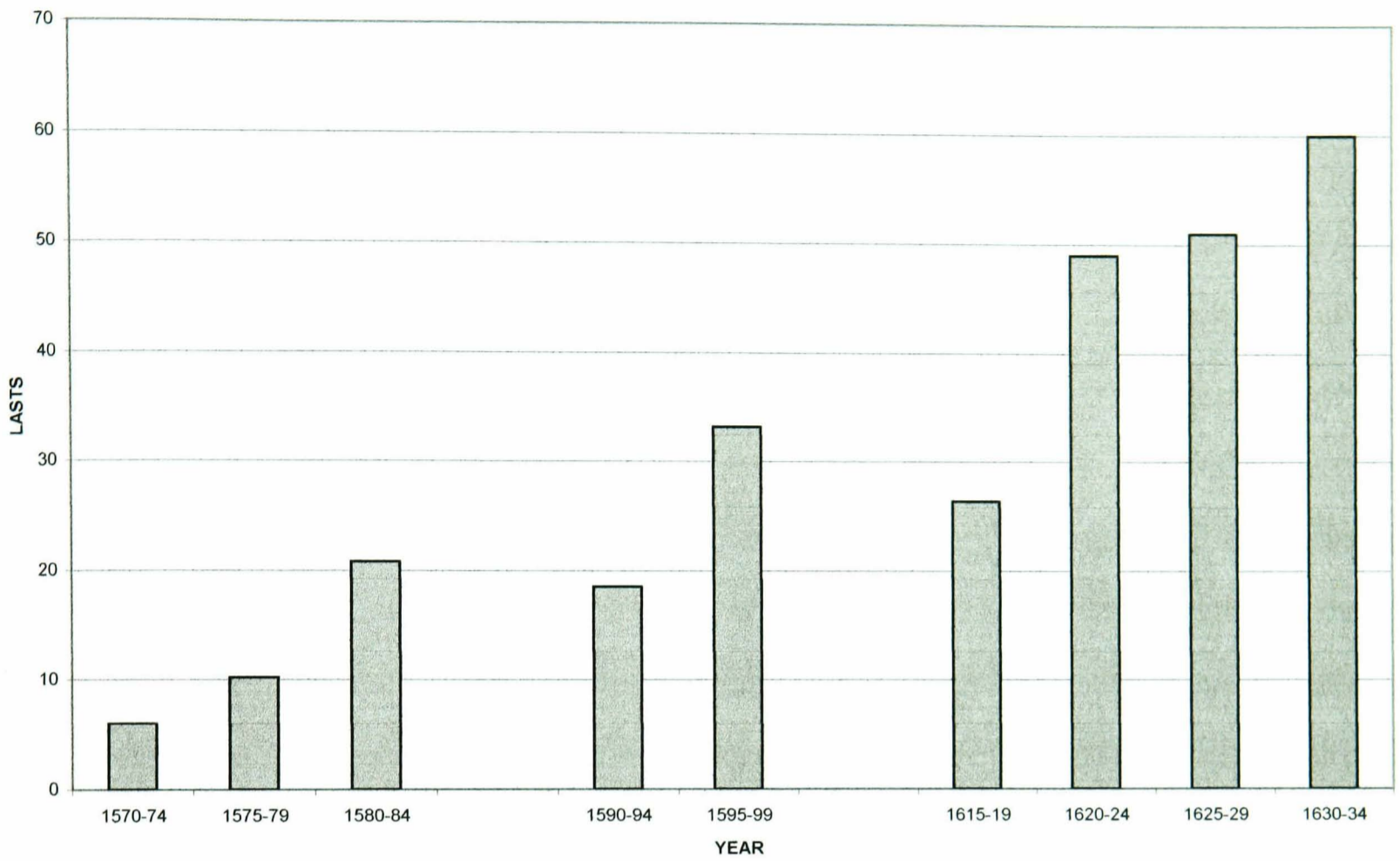
CHART 2-3F: SALMON EXPORTS FROM ABERDEEN AS RECORDED IN THE SHORE WORK ACCOUNTS AND THE CUSTOM ACCOUNTS 1596/97-1640/41

◆ SHORE WORK ACCOUNTS  
■ CUSTOM ACCOUNTS

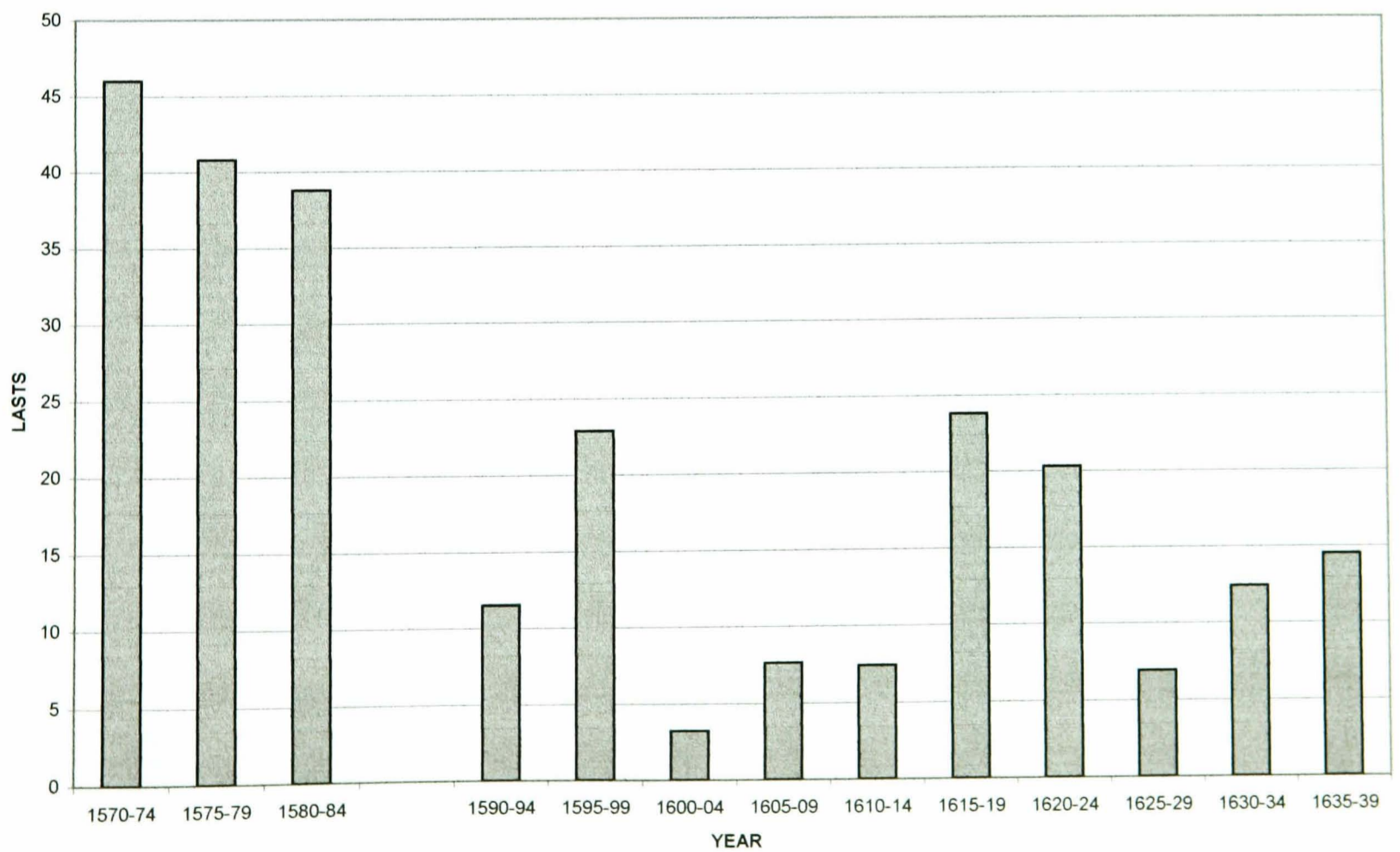




**CHART 2-3G: SALMON EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634**

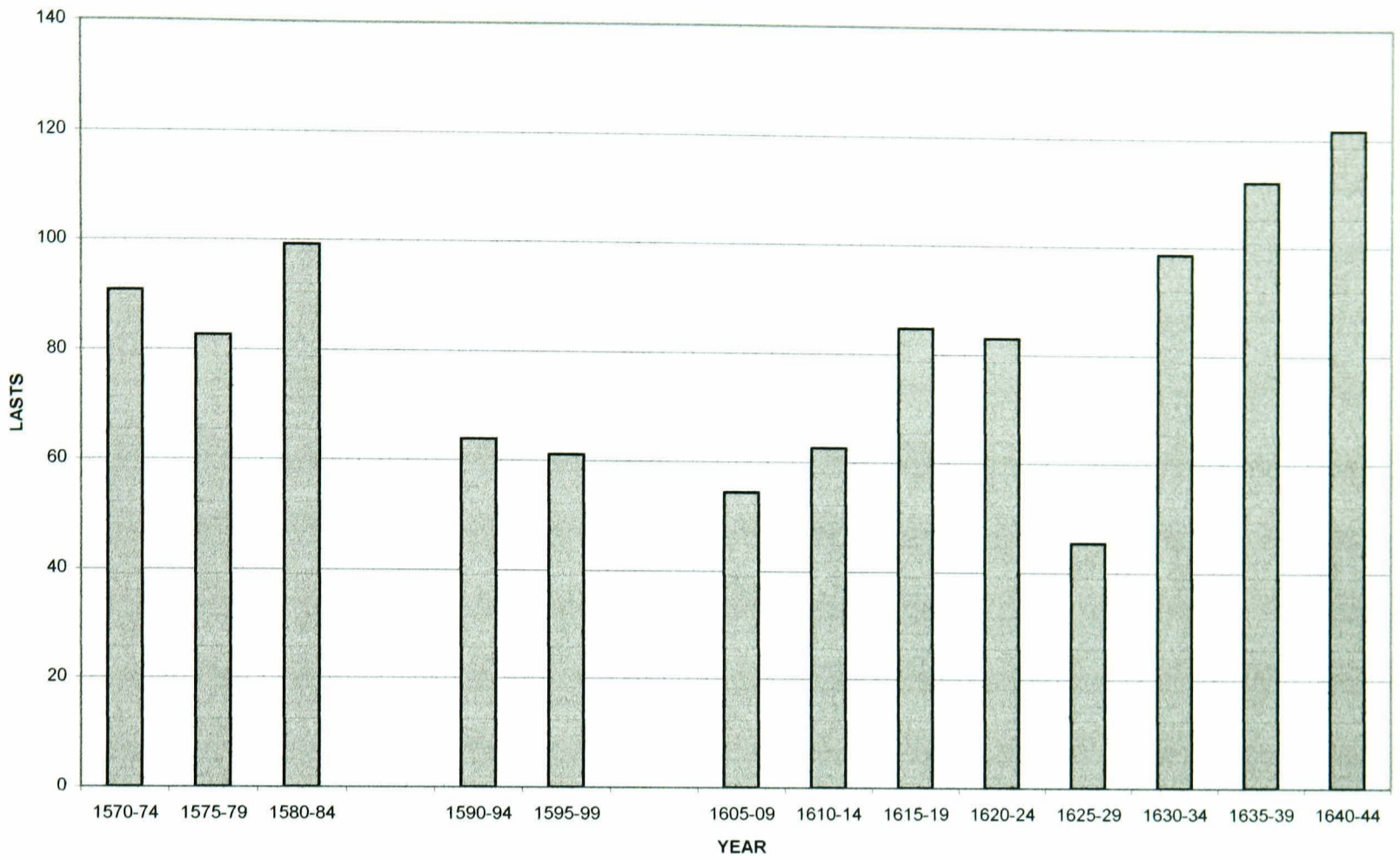


**CHART 2-3H: SALMON EXPORTS FROM THE TAY  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639**





**CHART 2-3I: SALMON EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1644**



**CHART 2-3J: SALMON EXPORTS FROM NORTH OF THE SPEY  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1575-1634**

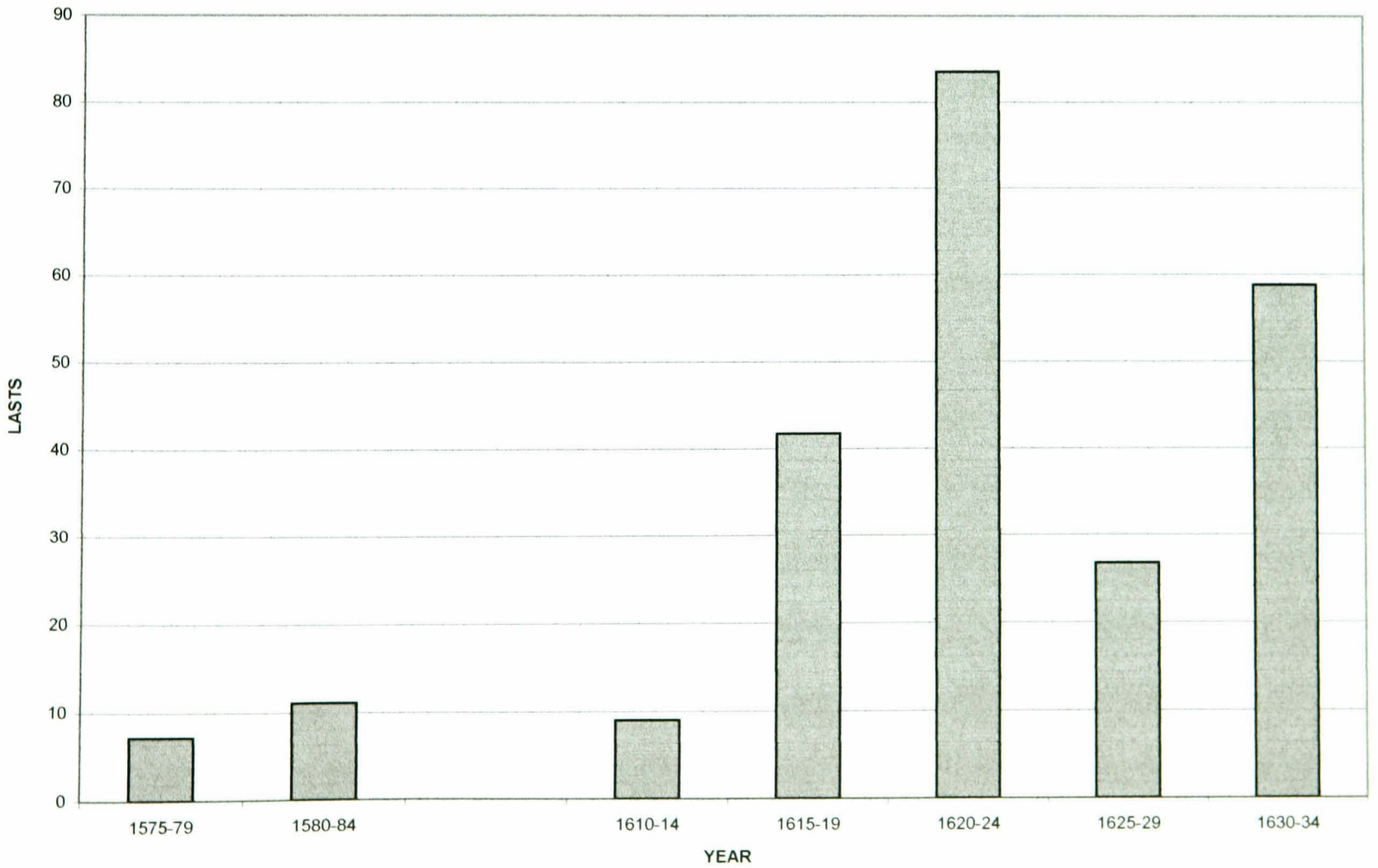
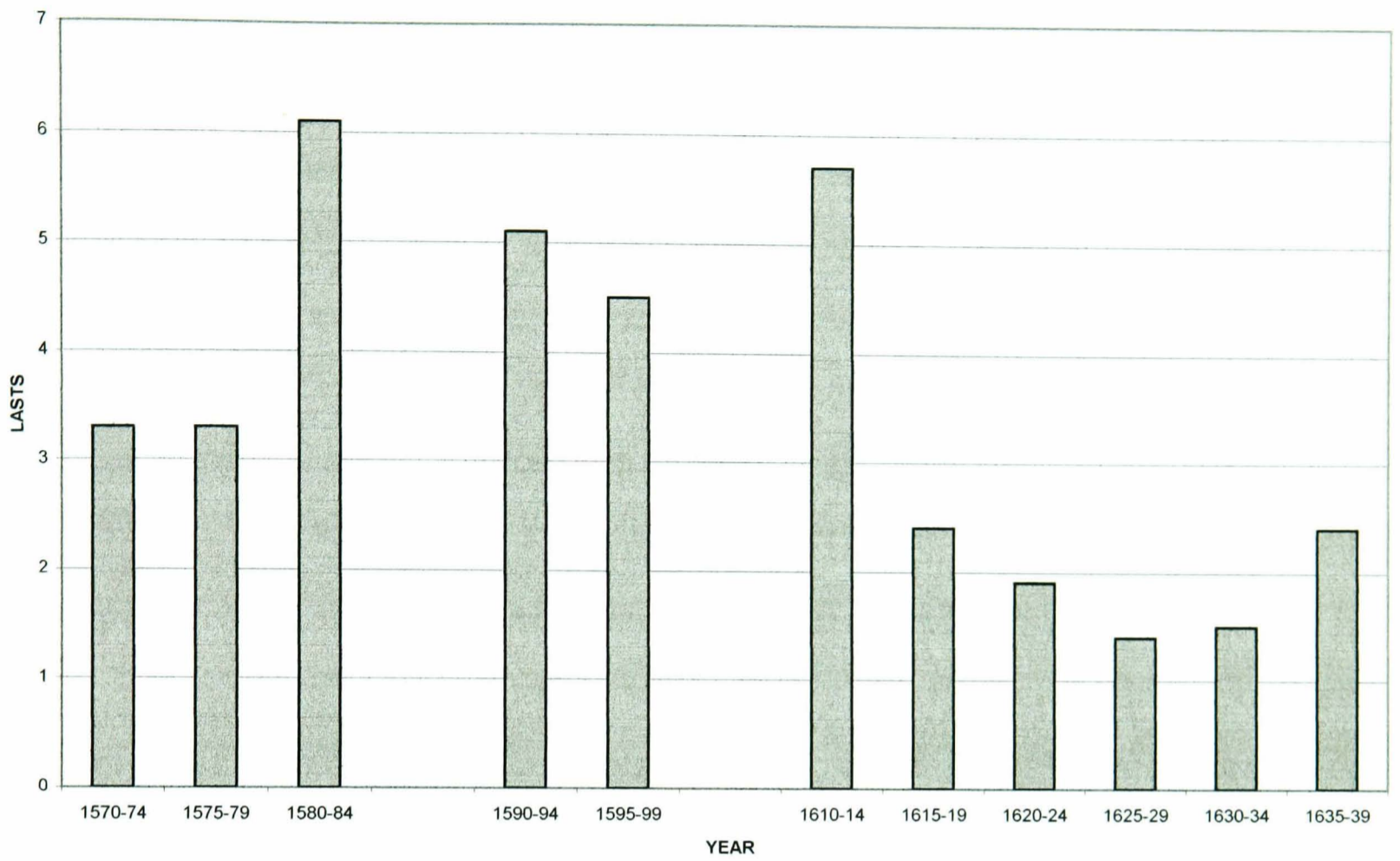


CHART 2-3K: SALMON EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639



#### 4. SEA FISH

By far the most important type of sea fish exported from Scotland over the first half of the seventeenth century was the herring. White herring predominated, but red (smoked) herring was exported too. In the late 1590s, for example, Fynes Moryson observed red and pickled herring being exported from the west coast to Ireland.<sup>65</sup> Also, in 1609 at Dunbar, merchants made red herring, a part of which 'goode and sufficient maircheant wairs' were exported to Newhaven, Dieppe, Bordeaux and other parts of France.<sup>66</sup> Other far less significant types of exported sea fish were cod (codling were young or small cod, and killing were large, fully grown cod), ling, seathe (coalfish) and skate,<sup>67</sup> all of which were exported in barrels, lasts of twelve barrels or individually (accounted to the nearest long hundred). These fish were often further described as dried, salted or 'in peill' (unpacked). This reflects the necessity of salting and barrelling small fish such as herring and codling within 24-48 hours of being caught to prevent spoilage; and of preserving larger fish such as cod by salting and drying but not barrelling<sup>68</sup> (though some form of container or barrel may well have been used when they were exported).<sup>69</sup> Exports of fish oil (obtained from the livers of cod, ling and saithe)<sup>70</sup> and small quantities of whale oil,<sup>71</sup> both of which were used for lighting and soap-making, are included in this section.

Scottish waters were rich in migrating herring and other sea fish, and as the export figures presented below suggest, the scale of Scottish herring fishing operations was by no means negligible.<sup>72</sup> Scottish fishermen monopolised the coastal waters, firths and sea-lochs. The Crown decreed that all caught fish was to be brought to a Royal Burgh market where it was to be displayed for sale to ensure Scots were adequately furnished. Unsold sea fish could then be preserved, barrellled and shipped overseas after the first of October.<sup>73</sup> Other than this restriction, a noticeable lack of outright export prohibitions were placed on herring, which contrasted with the numerous bans on other foodstuffs during times of scarcity and high prices.

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<sup>65</sup> Fynes Moryson in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>66</sup> N.L.S. MS 33.1.1, Vol. 7, No. 37.

<sup>67</sup> There was, in addition, one cargo of eels exported along with a consignment of herring.

<sup>68</sup> Coull, J. R., *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996, pp. 58, 84.

<sup>69</sup> Acts of Parliament requiring white fish to be barrellled in specific sized containers were passed. See, for example, *A.P.S.*, Vol. III, c. 4, p. 82, c. 19, p. 302.

<sup>70</sup> Herring are oily fish, but were not used for oil, presumably due to their small size. Seals and whales could provide oil, and the number of these mammals in Scotland was said to be great. The oil in question, however, is almost certainly cod oil. In the early seventeenth century proposals for a busse fishing industry, for instance, it was estimated that 6,000 cod would also yield three tuns of oil. (Hume Brown, *Scotland Before 1700*, *op. cit.*, p. 140; *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 221-22).

<sup>71</sup> One whale oil entry (ID 3578) was measured in firkins. One firkin comprised eight gallons of oil (Zupko, *op. cit.*, p. 139) and one barrel of oil comprised 31.5 gallons (Chapman, C. R., *How Heavy, How Much and How Long? Weights, Money and Other Measures Used by Our Ancestors*, Dursley: Lochin, 1995, p. 41) so one gallon was equivalent to 0.25 of a barrel or 0.02 of a last.

<sup>72</sup> Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>73</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, pp. 403-04; first series Vol. VI, pp. 16, 132, 277, 488. The Crown saw this as a way of preventing sea fish exports from evading custom duties, since they would have to pass through at least one custom jurisdiction.

The Dutch, however, were granted fishing rights by James VI on the outer waters, and it was the large Dutch *buizen* (busses) and ‘Hamburg tigers’<sup>74</sup> rather than the relatively small Scottish vessels that were best able to commercially exploit this rich resource. John Keymer wrote in 1620, for example, of ‘the mightie high rich fishinge yt ever could be heard of in ye worlde is upon ye coast of England, Scotland & Ireland: But ye greate fishery is in ye low countries & other pettie states, wherewith they searve themselves, & all Christendome as shall appeare, ...carry[ing] away out of this realme yearely greate masses of money for fish they take in our seas’.<sup>75</sup> The Hollanders’ monopoly on open sea fishing continued throughout the first three decades of the seventeenth century,<sup>76</sup> the scale of their activities notably increasing around Lewis over the late 1620s.<sup>77</sup>

Contemporary Scots were well aware of the more progressive methods employed by their competitors. Captain David Vaus, for example, saw the need for more capital and better techniques; Sir Thomas Craig maintained that a major benefit of the 1603 Union would be realised ‘if the English were to introduce their faculty of commercial organisation (wherein we confess ourselves their inferiors) and to adventure capital’ in the Scottish fisheries; and John Keymer specifically advocated the copying of Dutch fishery methods.<sup>78</sup> It was only from the 1630s, however, that signs of progress become apparent as early attempts were made to take positive action to improve the organisation of the Scottish fisheries. Around 1630, for example, increasing interest in the development of the west coast fisheries led to the formation, under the patronage of Charles I, of two companies whose aim was to exploit open-sea fishing in Scottish waters. Stornoway was to be the main base of operations. Accordingly, the Dutch fish factor and six of his countrymen who were hitherto permanently resident in Stornoway, were expelled. These companies were short lived - suffering from losses through piracy, a lack of replacement capital, hostility from the islanders and opposition from inshore fishermen<sup>79</sup> - but nevertheless do represent early and forward-thinking attempts to improve the fortunes of the Scottish fisheries.

The Books of Rates and the enrolled custom accounts indicate that all types of sea fish were customed at £0.20 per (long) hundred and £0.60 per last and from that year until 1612, £0.40 and £1.20 respectively thereafter.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, both sources show that fish oil was subject to £1.80 per last prior to

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<sup>74</sup> N.L.S. 31.2.16, f. 5r.

<sup>75</sup> Original papers regarding Trade in England & abroad, drawn up by ‘John Keymer’ for information of King James I about 1620, E.U.L. Special Collections, La. II. 52-53.

<sup>76</sup> Keymer claimed c.1620 that the Dutch had 3,000 ships fishing off the coasts of England, Scotland and Ireland. Each of these required around 9,000 other ships and vessels to provision them and to transport the fish. The Dutch ‘carry away out of this realme yearely greate masses of money for fish they take in our seas’. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>77</sup> Shaw, F. J., *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland: Their Economy and Society in the Seventeenth Century*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980, p. 125.

<sup>78</sup> Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>79</sup> Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>80</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E76/1/1 and E76/3. One last contained twelve barrels or approximately 360 sea fish. The only fish oil entry not measured in barrels, lasts or hundreds was 40 tuns exported from Edinburgh in 1633-34. This figure has been converted to 26.7 lasts based upon Hunter’s note that one tun equalled eight herring barrels (Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 4).

1612, £6.00 per last thereafter.<sup>81</sup> The enrolled accounts do not note duty payable on whale oil, but the Books of Rates list it as remaining constant at £1.20 per last throughout the period.<sup>82</sup>

Charts 2-4a to 2-4g illustrate the trends in the export of sea fish from various jurisdictions 1597-1645<sup>83</sup> while Charts 2-4h to 2-4m illustrate the longer-term 1570-1645 trends in the form of five-year averages. The volumetric graphs show that the dominant sea fish exporting jurisdictions were Edinburgh and the East Neuk of Fife. In both jurisdictions, sea fish exports increased over the 1570s and 1580s before declining between 1590 and 1615. From the mid 1610s, however, sea fish exports boomed once again before falling off slightly over the 1630s. Significant volumes were sent from the Tay (St Andrews and Dundee rather than Perth) and the Clyde. Smaller amounts were exported from West Fife, the North East, north of the river Spey and from East Lothian. Miniscule amounts from the Forth, Galloway and the Borders. Cod had historically been an important sea fish export,<sup>84</sup> but dwindled into insignificance relative to herring over the period 1597-1645.

The particular accounts indicate that the most important destinations of sea fish exports from eastern Scotland were Baltic ports such as Stockholm, Danzig, Königsberg and Narva, from where they were transported along the extensive river systems to the huge demand base of the Northern European Plain. Chart 2-4n<sup>85</sup> suggests that exports of herring from Scotland to the Baltic increased steadily between 1570 and 1630 before dipping slightly over the 1630s and 1640s.<sup>86</sup> Consignments of sea fish were also sent from eastern Scotland to Norway, England, France, the Low Countries, northern Germany and Italy.<sup>87</sup> From the western ports, sea fish was exported primarily to France, but also to Ireland and England.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E76/3.

<sup>82</sup> N.A.S. E76/1/1, E76/3.

<sup>83</sup> Note that for the West Fife jurisdiction, some imputed values have been added to the Kirkcaldy and Inverkeithing to Leven figures to make statistics consistent over time.

<sup>84</sup> Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D., 2001, Vol. 1, p. 198.

<sup>85</sup> Figures from Bang and Korst, *op. cit.* Alongside herring, shipments of 'other fish,' - probably a mixture of other sea fish and of salmon - exported from Scotland through the Sound are listed.

<sup>86</sup> It must be noted, however, that Scottish exports through the Sound were small relative to total Baltic consumption: John Keymer informed James VI c.1620 that Königsberg, Elbing, Stettin and Danzig imported 30-40,000 lasts each year (EUL Special Collections La. II. 52-53) whereas an annual average of 374 lasts of herring are recorded in the Sound Toll Records as having been sent from Scotland directly through the Sound between 1600 and 1620.

<sup>87</sup> N.A.S. E71/1/13, E71/11/1, E71/15/1, E71/29/6, E71/29/9 and E71/29/11.

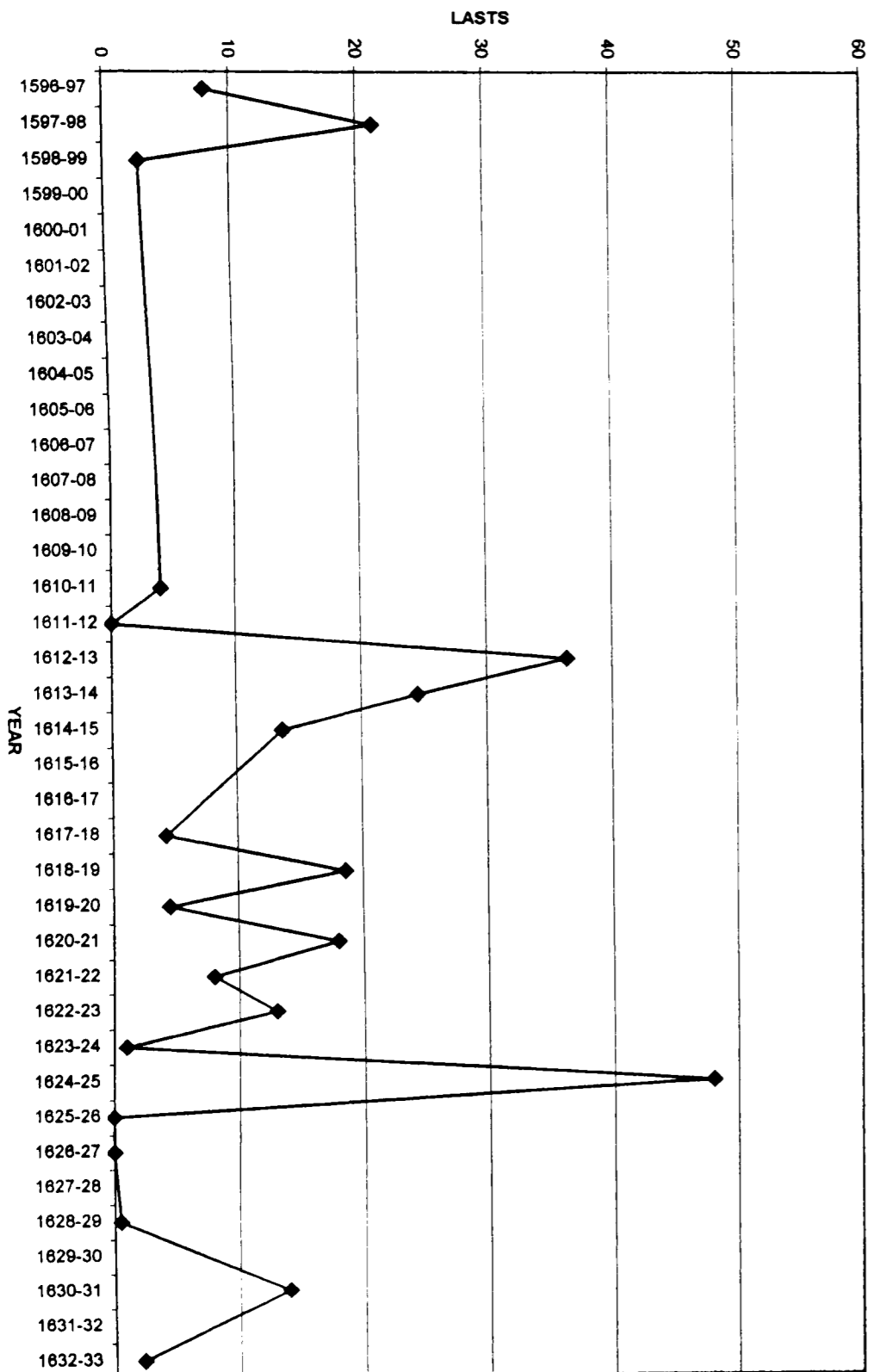


CHART 2-4B: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE 1596/97-1632/33

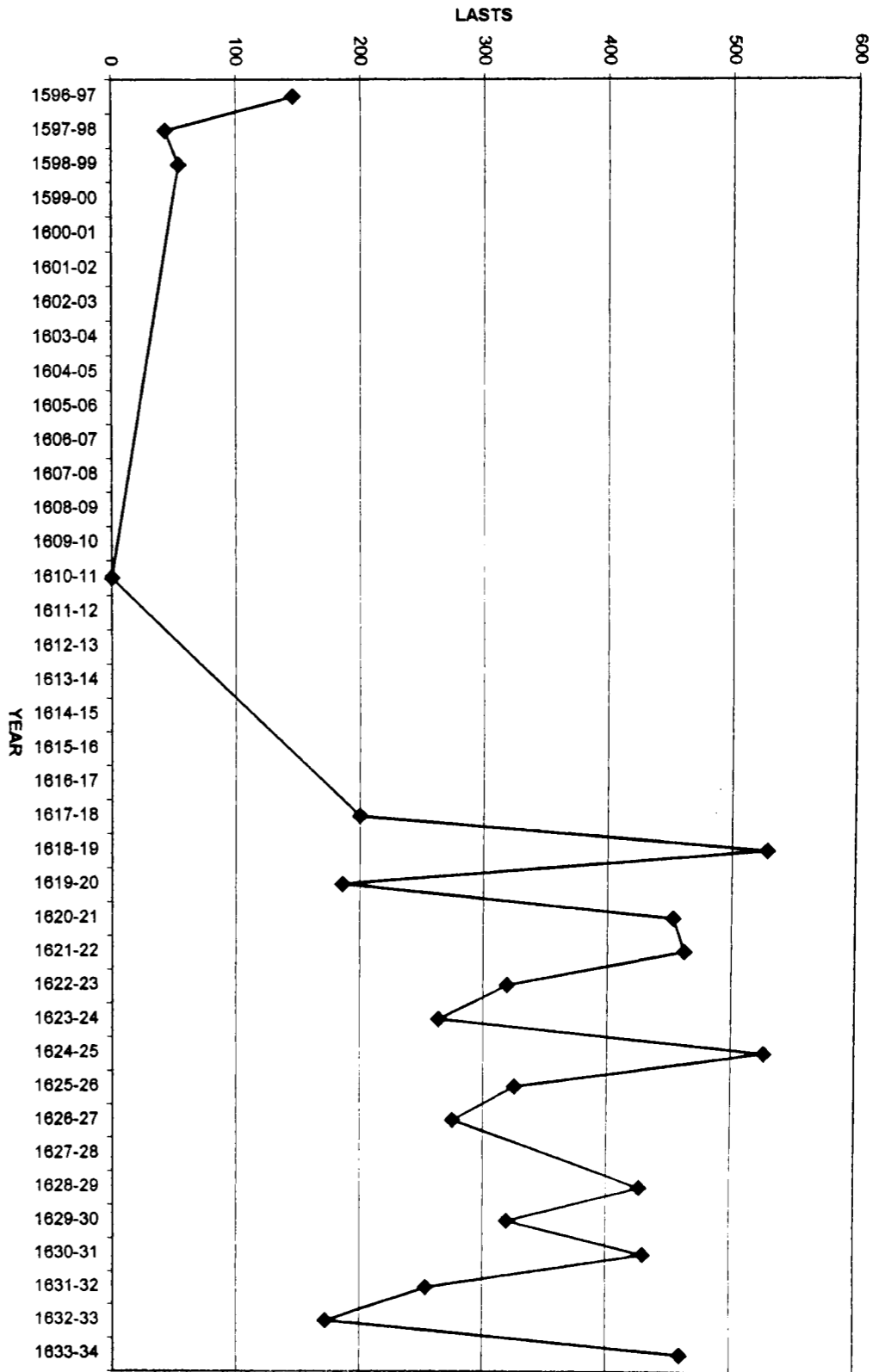


CHART 2-4A: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1596/97-1633/34

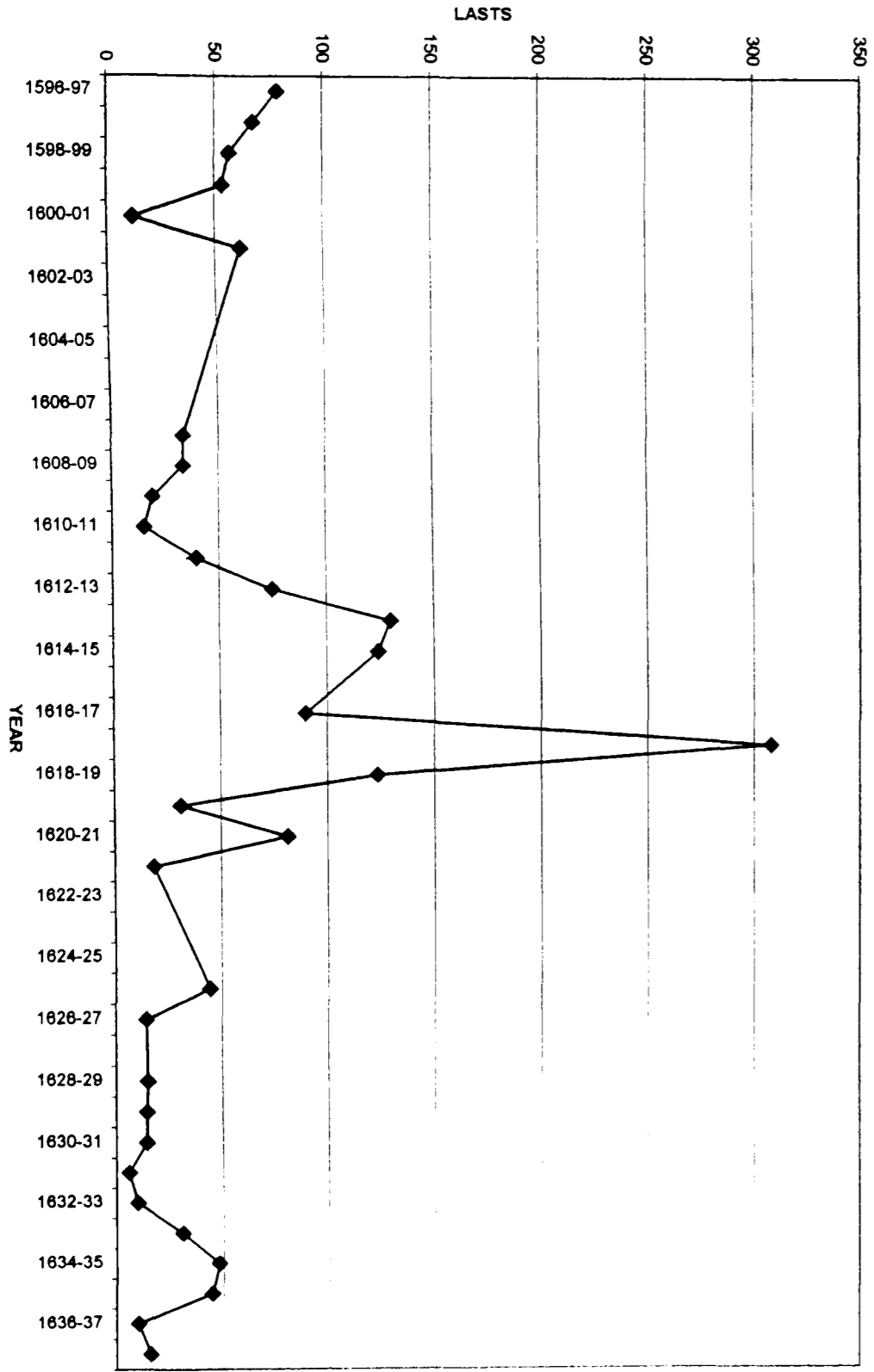


CHART 2-4D: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1596/97-1637/38

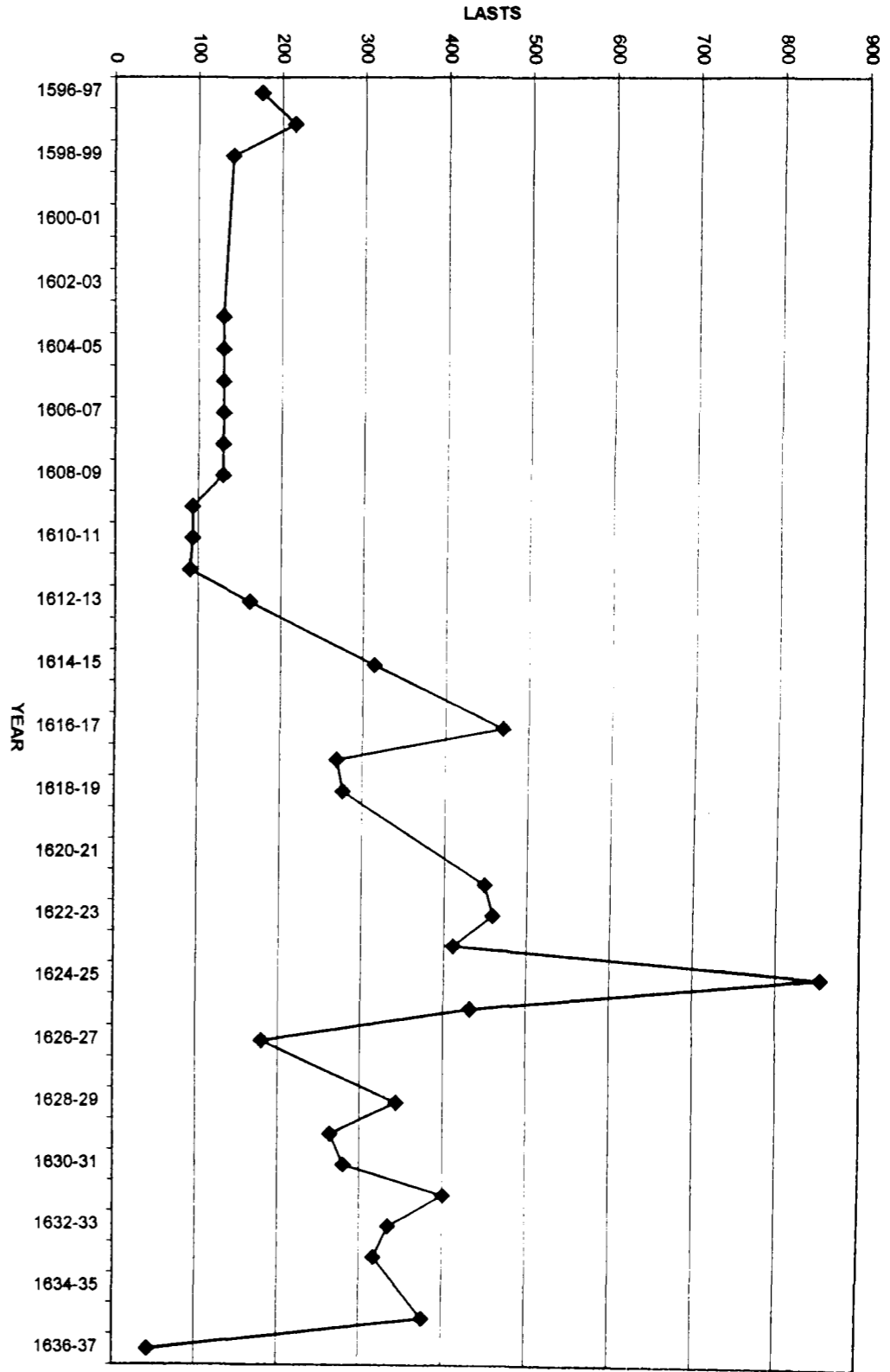


CHART 2-4C: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM THE EAST NEUK 1596/97-1636/37



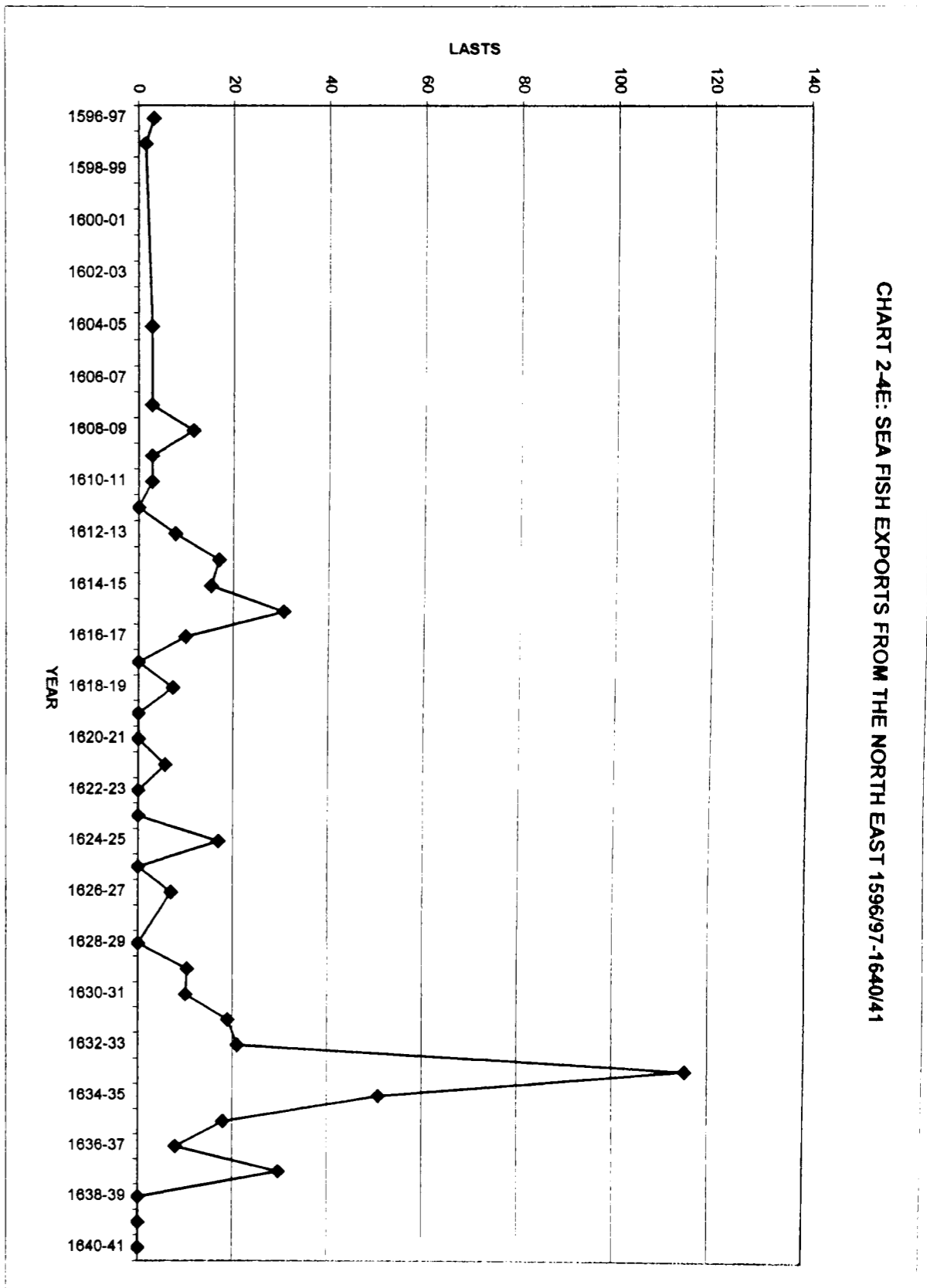


CHART 24E: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST 1596/97-1640/41

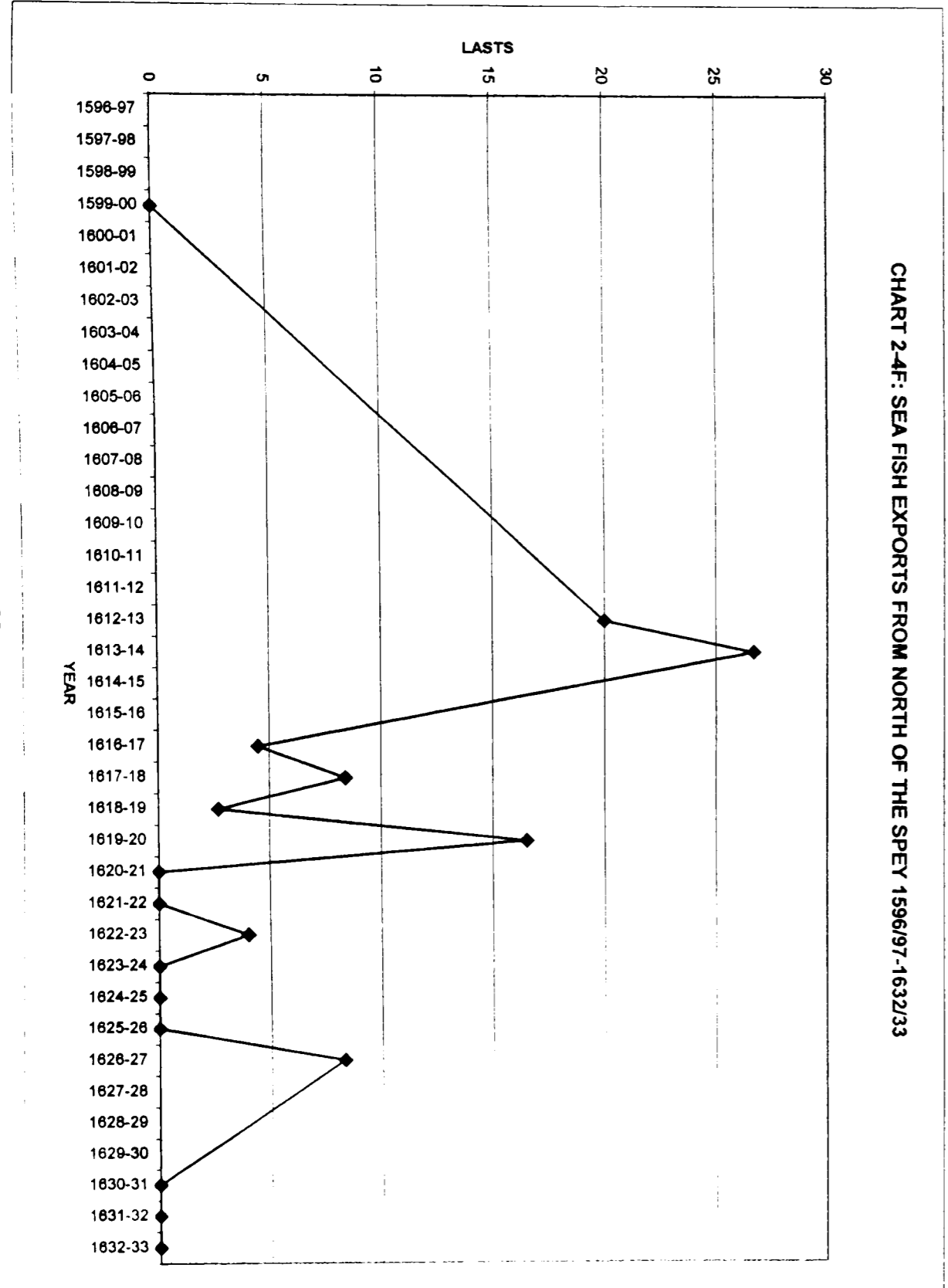


CHART 24F: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM NORTH OF THE SPEY 1596/97-1632/33



CHART 2-4G: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1596/97-1638/39

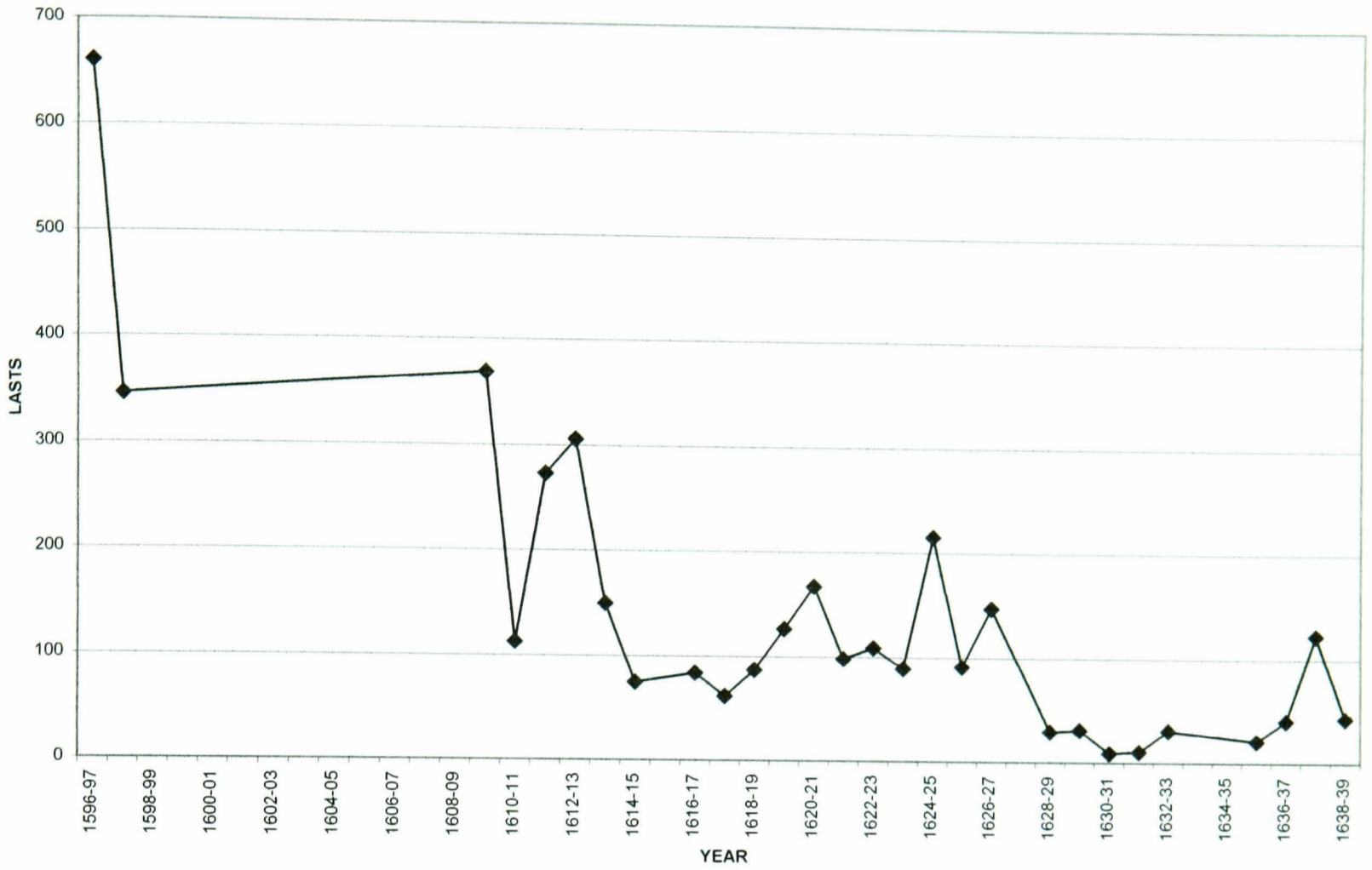
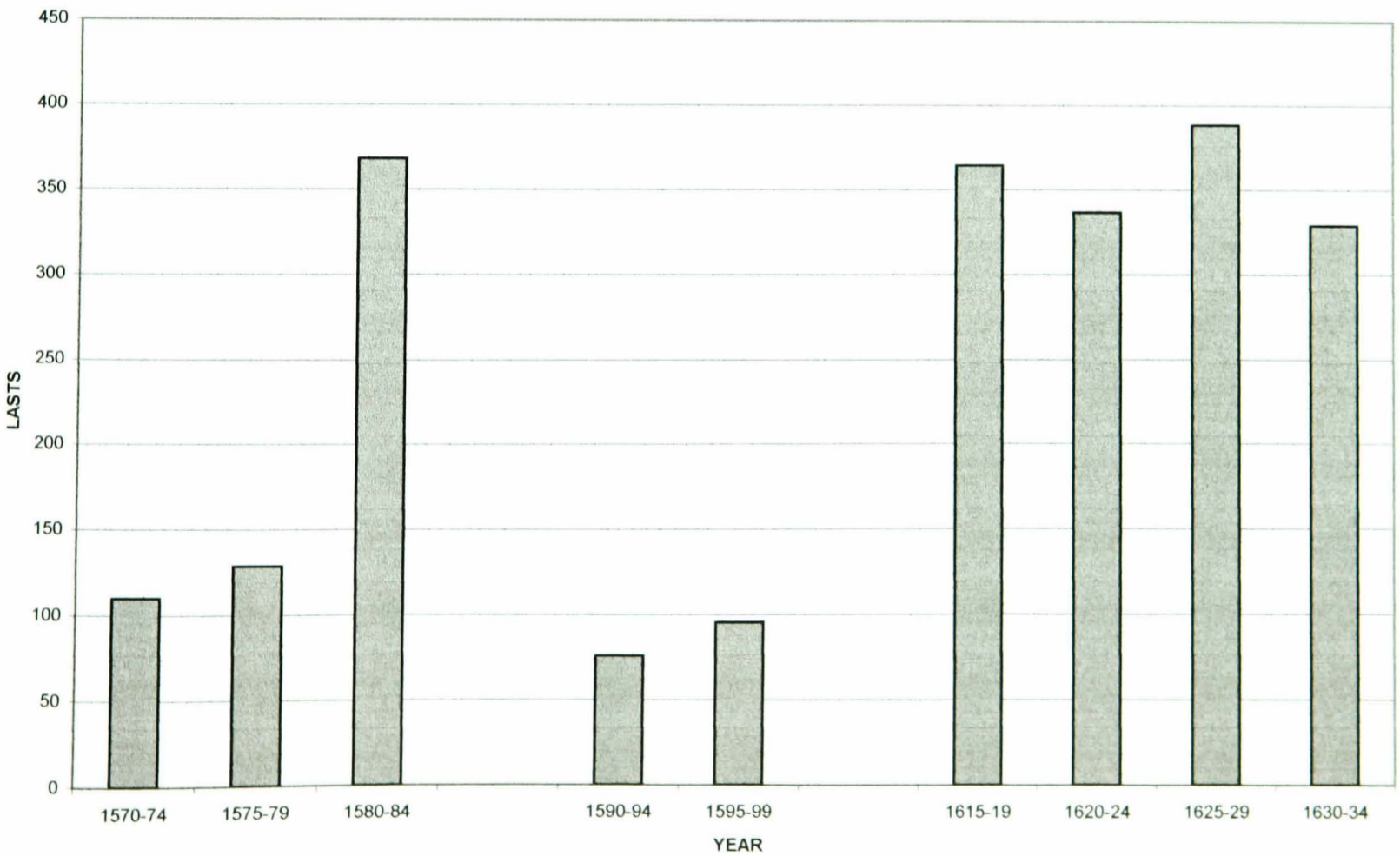
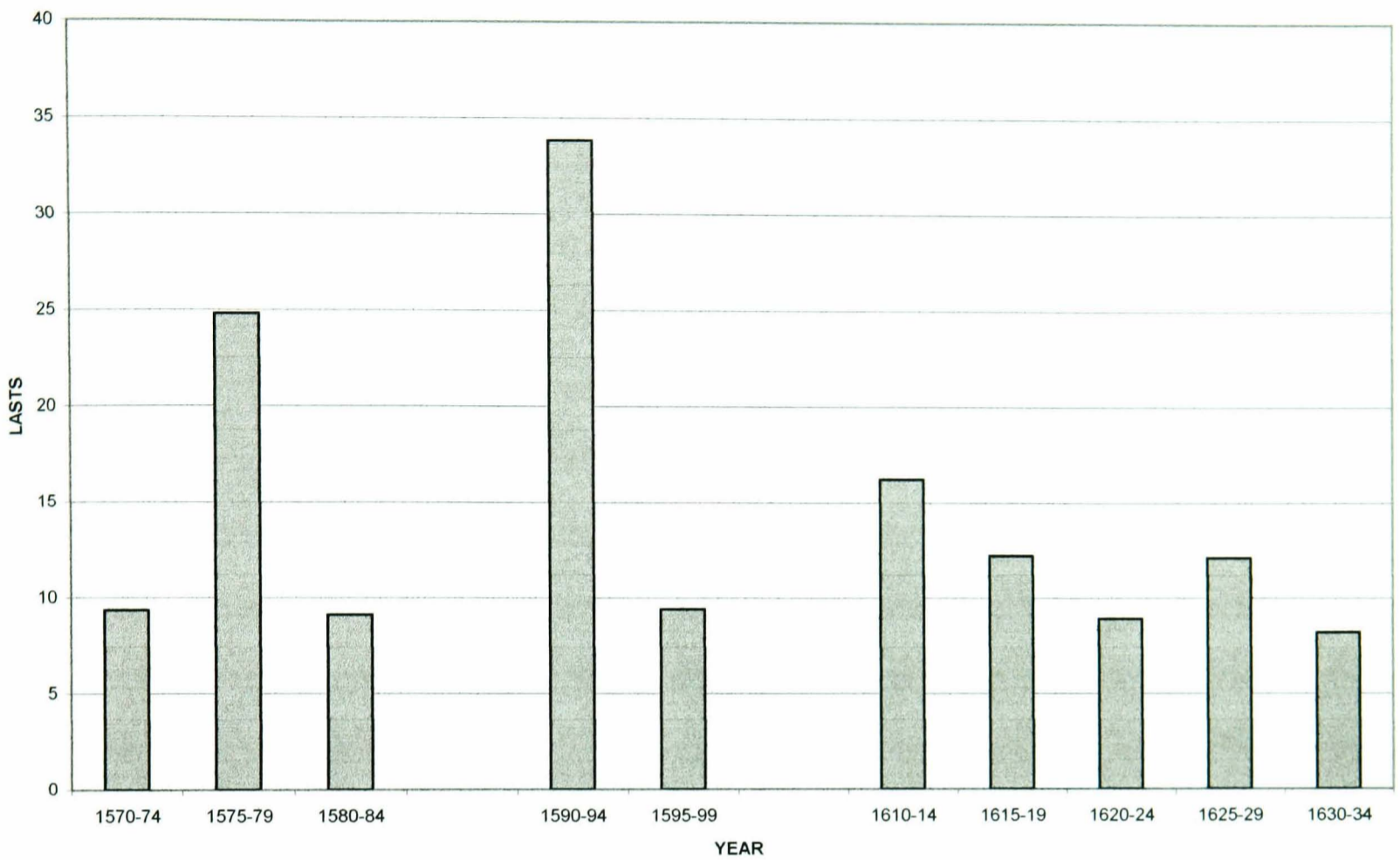


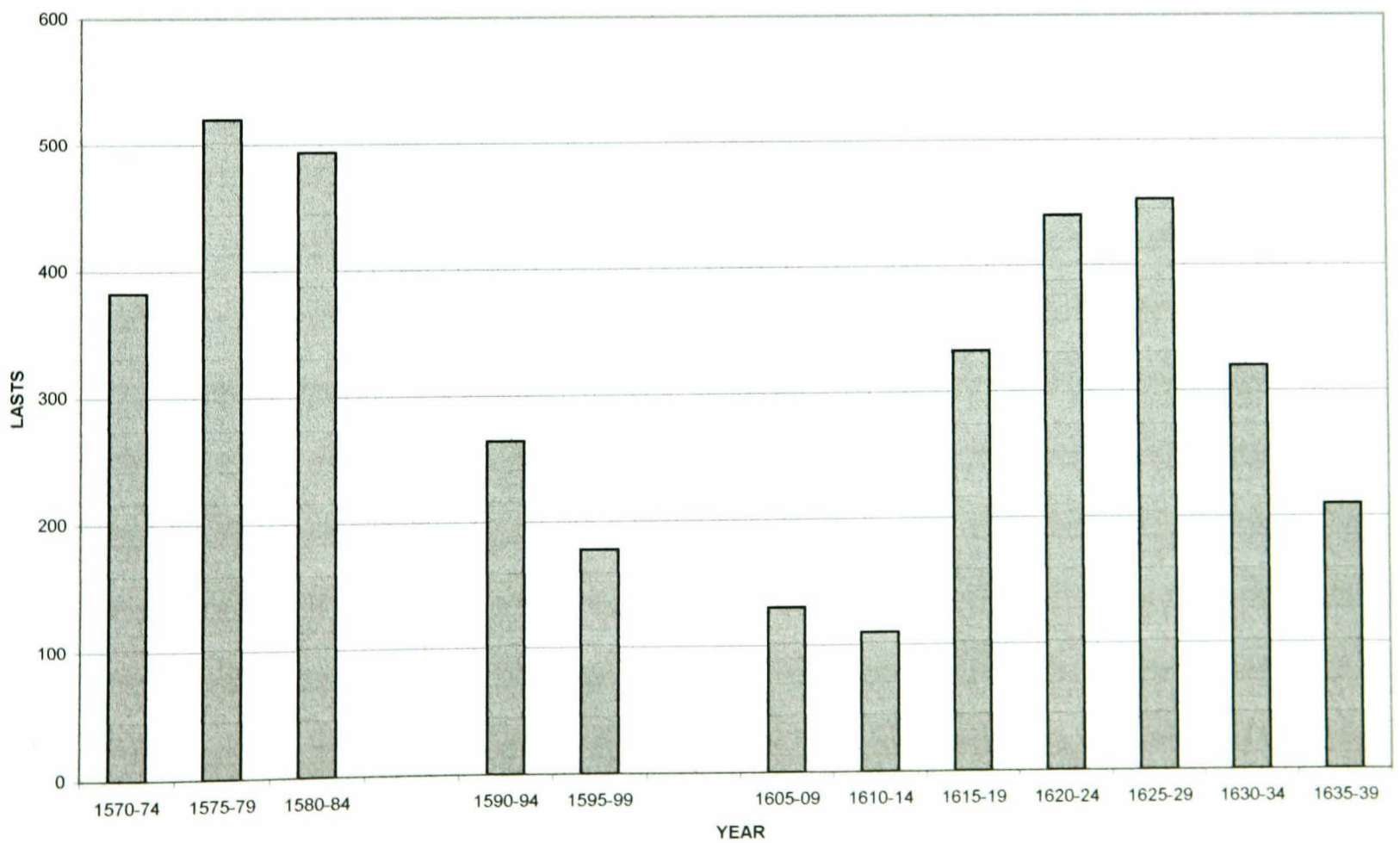
CHART 2-4H: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634



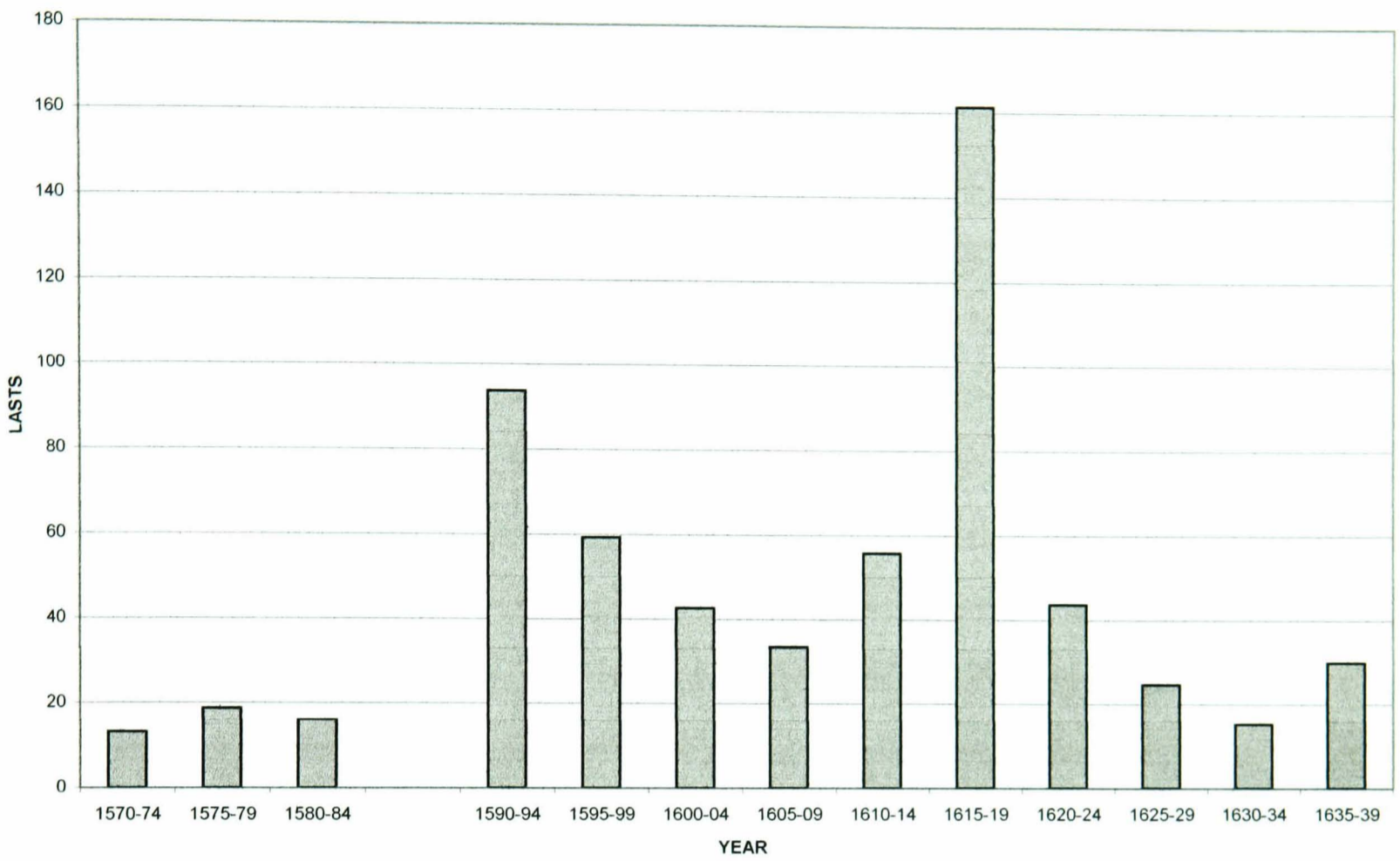
**CHART 2-4I: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634**



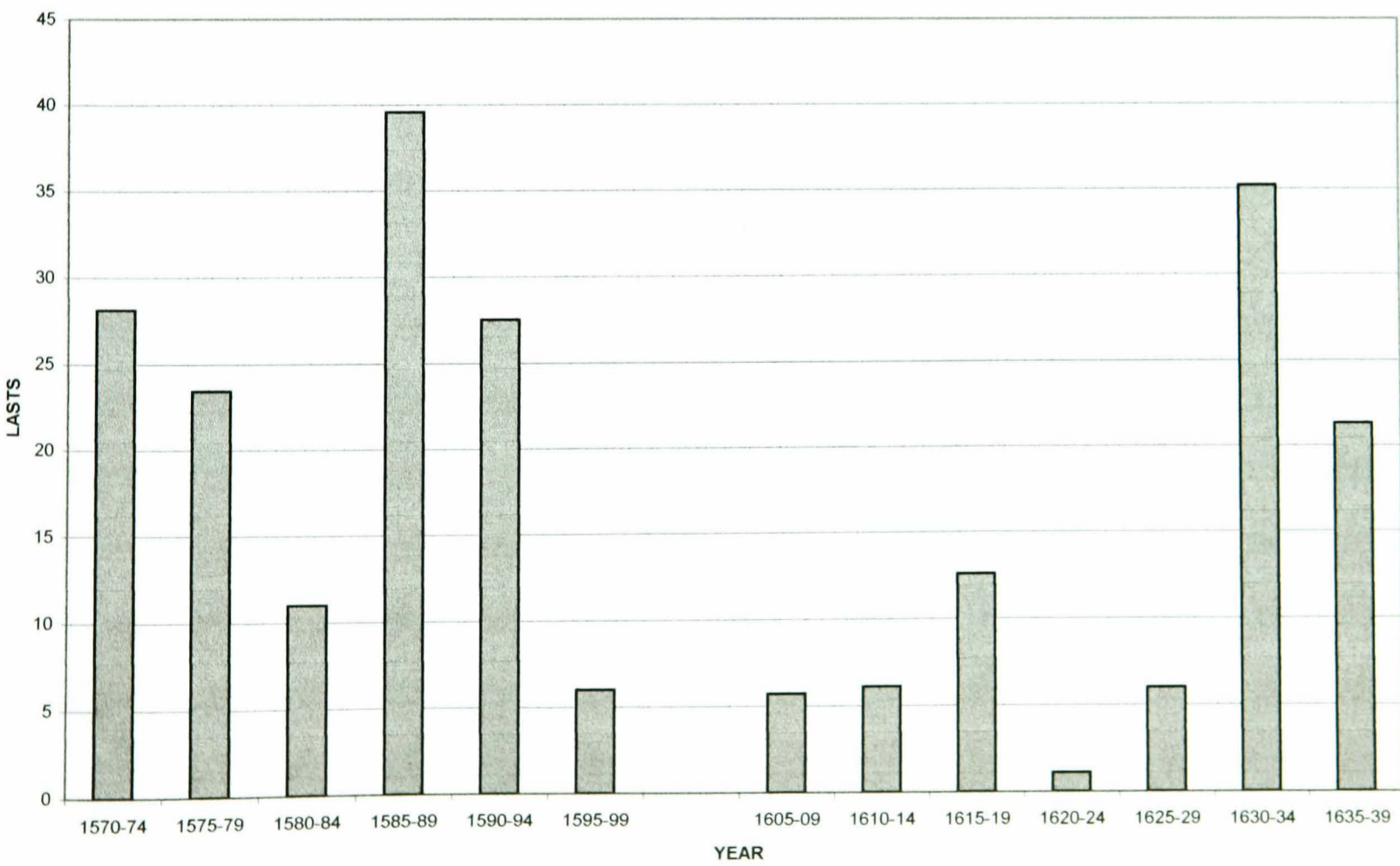
**CHART 2-4J: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM THE EAST NEUK  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634**



**CHART 2-4K: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM THE TAY  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639**

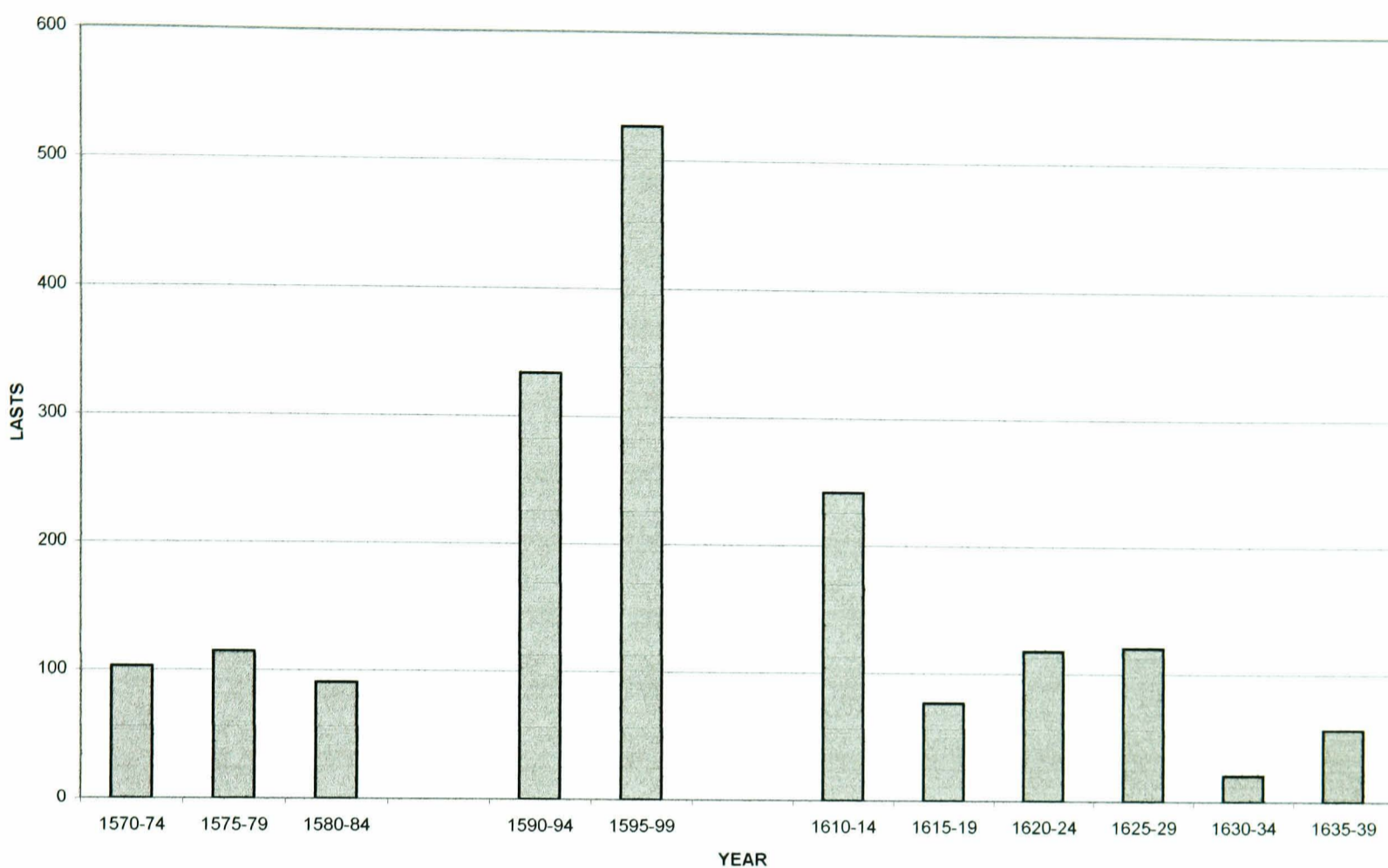


**CHART 2-4L: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639**

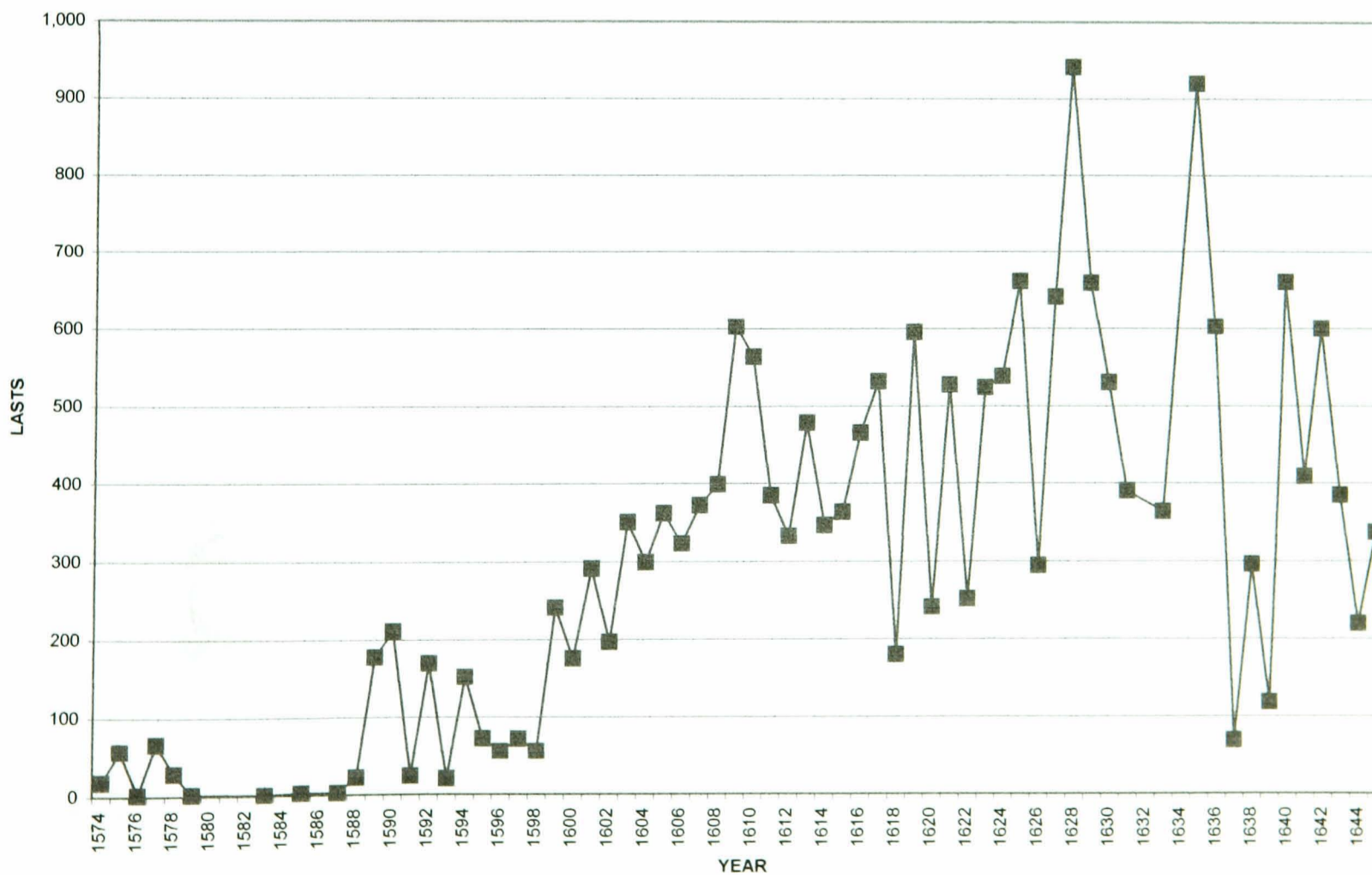




**CHART 2-4M: SEA FISH EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639**



**CHART 2-4N: HERRING EXPORTED FROM SCOTTISH PORTS TO THE BALTIC 1574-1645 (LASTS)**



## 5. SKINS, FELLS, HIDES AND LEATHER

### I. SKINS AND FELLS OF SHEEP AND GOATS

From 1613 onwards, terms for woolfells, woolskins and sheepskins seem to have been used interchangeably in the enrolled accounts and so these goods have been analysed together.<sup>89</sup> Complementary to these fells/skins were fells,<sup>90</sup> halflang skins,<sup>91</sup> shorlings,<sup>92</sup> lamb-skins, futefells,<sup>93</sup> lentrenware<sup>94</sup> and mortfells.<sup>95</sup> Goat fells/skins and kid-skins are also analysed in this section because they were on occasion bundled up with the fells/skins of sheep and lambs, and because the long strands of wool obtained from both sheep and goats were exported for use in the developing 'new draperies' of England and the Low Countries.<sup>96</sup> Goat/kid skins accounted for around 5% of the overall volume of exports in this category and so in any case do not significantly distort the ovine export trends.

The export of these goods was left largely unrestricted throughout the period 1597-1645, the exceptions being kid-skins and shorling skins, the export of which had been forbidden since 1592 and 1593 respectively.<sup>97</sup> Both these prohibitions were renewed in 1612<sup>98</sup> and there is no reference to them having been removed prior to 1645. However, despite the bans, there is no doubt that the export of kid and shorling skins continued, both legally under licence (as is shown by the numerous enrolled account and particular account entries as well as the 1611-14 Export Survey) and no doubt illegally,<sup>99</sup> certainly from the western isles.

The Books of Rates and the enrolled custom accounts show that woolfells and sheepskins were customed at £0.67 per (long) hundred from 1597 until 1612, £1.00 per hundred thereafter. Lamb-skins, futefells, halflang skins, lentrenware, goat-skins and kid-skins were customed at £0.17 per hundred throughout the entire period, shorling skins at £0.33 per hundred from 1597 onwards.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> N.A.S. E71/19/7 and E71/9/1-3.

<sup>89</sup> For example, the 1622-34 Haddington bullion account listed 'pellibus laneis lie Scheip Skynnes' whereas the general account listed 'pellium lanearum lie wooll skynnes' (N.A.S. E38 585); the 1623-24 Queensferry bullion account listed 'pellibus ovinis lie scheip skynnes' whereas the general account listed 'pellium lanearum lie scheip skynnes' (N.A.S. E38 587).

<sup>90</sup> A fell was a skin with the fleece still attached. Only one enrolled entry did not specify the type of fell exported.

<sup>91</sup> A halflang was a cross between a Cheviot ram and a blackfaced ewe.

<sup>92</sup> A shorling was the skin of a recently shorn sheep.

<sup>93</sup> A futefell was the skin of a mature lamb killed 'between the time of castration and that of being weaned'.

<sup>94</sup> Lentrenware was the skin of a younger lamb (killed) at Lent.

<sup>95</sup> A mortfell was the skin of a dead sheep.

<sup>96</sup> Goatskins were used for making parchment and shoes.

<sup>97</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. III, c.77, p. 579 and Vol. IV, c.36, pp. 29-30. Kidskins were used to make parchment, points, strings and other necessary goods; while shorling skins were used for making linings for cushions and for making pouches, gloves and clothing.

<sup>98</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c.9, p.474.

<sup>99</sup> No references to illegal export of these goods have been detected although illegal skin and hide exports from the western isles was an ongoing problem.

<sup>100</sup> All figures from N.A.S. E38 series, E76/1/1 and E76/3. The one entry of mortfells at St Andrews 1600-01 (N.A.S. E38 539) was customed at £0.05 per hundred.

Sheep and goat fells/skins were exported from every jurisdiction in Scotland as illustrated by Charts 2-5a to 2-5k.<sup>101</sup> It is evident that Leith was overwhelmingly dominant within Scotland: her exports followed an upward trend throughout the 1620s to a high point of nearly 50,000 dakers (half a million skins) per annum in the early 1630s. Skins specified as sheep or lamb skins in the particular accounts were exported from Leith primarily to the Baltic and also to the Low Countries and France. Goat and kid-skins leaving Leith were primarily destined for London, although a few were also exported to the Low Countries and France. Zeeland and Flanders, supplemented with the northern French ports of Dieppe, Newhaven and Calais, were the major destinations for unspecified types of skins.<sup>102</sup>

The next most significant jurisdictions in terms of sheep and goat fell/skin exports were the Tay and the North East. Exports of these fells and skins from the Tay area fluctuated between 2,000 and 4,000 dakers per annum over the late 1590s and 1600s, before increasing significantly over the 1610s to a maximum of over 7,500 dakers in 1613/14, and returning again to around 2,000 to 4,000 dakers per annum over the 1620s and 1630s. Within this precinct neither Perth nor Dundee were particularly dominant, while St Andrews made a lesser, though by no means insignificant, contribution. Within the North East area, Aberdeen that was the dominant port, exporting between 1,000 and 4,000 dakers per year to Flanders, Veere, Danzig and Lübeck. Exports from Montrose were relatively insignificant, averaging only around seventy dakers per annum throughout the period to unknown destinations.

Smaller volumes of sheep and goat fells/skins were exported, particularly over the late 1610s and early 1620s, from the Clyde, Galloway and Border ports. Within the Clyde jurisdiction, Ayr consistently exported a greater quantity of skins than did Glasgow and Dumbarton, while Irvine did not take part in this trade at all. Unfortunately the intended destinations of fells/skins from the Clyde ports were never recorded. Data relating to fell/skin exports from the Galloway ports are available only for the years 1610/11-1625/26. They show that the export of sheep and goat fells/skins peaked at around 4,000 dakers per annum over the early 1610s, declined to a level of between 1,500 and 2,000 dakers per annum over the mid 1610s and early 1620s, and then fell further still over the mid 1620s. Again there exist no references regarding intended destinations. Within the Borders area, sheep and goat fells/skins were exported from the western port of Dumfries rather than from Eyemouth in the east. Around the turn of the seventeenth century, Scottish skins were transported at low custom rates to the seaports of northern England to subsequently be exported overseas from there.<sup>103</sup> In addition, a reference to over 1,000 dakers exported from 'Berwick, Roxburgh and Dumfries' (presumably over the Marches to England) in 1623/24 gives a hint of the size of the considerable overland export trade.

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<sup>101</sup> Note that whilst compiling these statistics, the seasonal variations in exports of skins and hides were calculated separately so as to minimise timing discrepancies.

<sup>102</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/6, E71/29/9, E71/29/11. Unspecified types would no doubt have included sheep and goat skins.

<sup>103</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 375.

Small quantities of sheep and goat fells/skins were also exported from East Lothian (from Haddington rather than from Preston), from West Fife, and from the Forth jurisdiction in which exports from Stirling were notably more voluminous than those from Queensferry and Culross. Smaller volumes still left from the East Neuk of Fife and to France from ports located north of the river Spey.

## II. PELTS

This category comprises the fur skins of the badger, buck, deer, fox, marten, otter, polecat, rabbit, roe, seal, and wildcat. No restriction was placed on the export of these skins 1597-1645. The Books of Rates and the enrolled custom accounts both agree that throughout the entire period rabbit-skins and fox-skins were customed at £0.05 and £1.00 per (long) hundred respectively, both seal-skins and marten-skins at £1.20 per hundred skins.<sup>104</sup> The two sources differ, however, in the custom rates applied to roe, otter and polecat skins: the former were actually customed at £0.30 per hundred over the 1610s and 1620s, while otter and polecat skins, together with badger-skins, were actually customed at £1.50 per hundred from 1597 onwards. In addition, buck-skins were customed at £2.00 per hundred over the 1620s.<sup>105</sup>

Again, Leith was the dominant exporting burgh, dealing with the entire range of pelts rather than specialising in any particular type(s). Pelt exports from Scotland's major port reached over 7,500 dakers<sup>106</sup> per annum over the late 1590s but seem to have declined thereafter, fluctuating between 1,000 and 4,000 dakers per annum over the late 1610s, 1620s and early 1630s. The particular accounts show that the *only* stated destinations of pelts specified as rabbit, fox, otter and marten skins were the Baltic ports of Königsberg and Danzig. However, wild animal skins would probably also have formed part of the unspecified types of skins exported to the Low Countries and northern French ports as specified above.

The Clyde formed the next most important jurisdiction although only rabbit, fox and otter skins were exported from Ayr, Glasgow and Dumbarton.<sup>107</sup> Exports reached nearly 3,000 dakers per annum in the late 1610s. The destinations of pelts exported from western Scotland are unknown, as they were not stated in the particular accounts.

The only other significant pelt exporting precincts were the Tay (from where a range of skin types were exported), the East Neuk of Fife (from where only rabbit-skins were exported) and the West Fife ports (which also specialised in rabbit-skins). Pelt exports from the remaining jurisdictions were irregular and/or of insignificant volume.

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<sup>104</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E76/1/1 and E76/3.

<sup>105</sup> Rates calculated from N.A.S. E38 series.

<sup>106</sup> One daker contained ten pelts.

<sup>107</sup> Again Irvine did not participate in this type of skin trade. Ayr was not dominant over Glasgow and Dumbarton as in the case of sheep and goat fells/skins.

### III. OTHER SKINS

Other types of exported skins - those of the calf, 'hudderon'<sup>108</sup> and 'stirk',<sup>109</sup> along with one entry of dog-skins - form a relatively minor category. The export of calf and 'hudderon' skins had been forbidden since 1592,<sup>110</sup> a prohibition which was renewed in 1612 because they were required in Scotland for making such goods as parchment, points and strings.<sup>111</sup> Accordingly, 'hudderon' skins are listed only once in the entire series of enrolled accounts.<sup>112</sup> Calfskins appear only three times prior to 1617, which suggests that licences to export lawfully were not easily obtained. Subsequently, it was only really from Leith that small quantities (often fewer than 50 and never more than 110 dakers) of calf-skins were exported each year to unknown destinations at a rate of £0.04 per daker.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, never more than 225 dakers (and often less than one quarter of this volume) of stirk skins were sent overseas from Leith over the late 1610s and mid 1620s, customed at £0.17 per daker.

### IV. HIDES

Most hides were listed simply as hides, dry hides and/or salt hides. Specific types were categorised as hart, kye, nolt and horse hides. The export of the hides of 'all uther greate beasts' remained free until the late 1620s as James VI recognised that hides were 'one of the gritest commodities wherwith thay do trafficque, and by bartering quhairof thay haif foreyne wairis affordit unto thame'.<sup>114</sup> Since the 1610s, however, complaints had been received from the Royal Burghs that the frequent export of Scottish hides worked to the detriment of the commonweal. They argued that the lack of hides available within Scotland led to a scarcity of leather and therefore of such necessities as shoes and boots. The combination of this influential body of opposition to the unrestricted export of hides, combined with the post-1617 reform of Scottish tanning techniques (see Leather section below), no doubt played a role in the prohibition of further exports of hides from December 1626 unless a special licence had first been obtained.<sup>115</sup>

Hides were customed in dakers of ten hides, and in lasts of twenty dakers or 200 hides. The enrolled accounts show that duty payable on unspecified types of hides, dry and salt hides, hart and kye hides increased from £0.13 per daker payable between 1597 and 1612 to £0.50 per daker payable thereafter.<sup>116</sup> Additionally, duty payable on horse-hides was £0.33 per daker over the early 1620s.<sup>117</sup>

Again, Leith was overwhelmingly the dominant departure point: volumes of outgoing hides peaked at over 2,000 dakers in 1597/98 and again in 1618/19, before increasing to consistently over 2,500 dakers

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<sup>108</sup> A hudderon was a young heifer.

<sup>109</sup> A stirk was a yearling bullock or heifer.

<sup>110</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. III, c.77, p. 579, repeated in 1593 (*A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c.36, p. 29.)

<sup>111</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c.9, p.474.

<sup>112</sup> Eighteen dakers of hudderon skins were exported from Stirling between March and November 1617.

<sup>113</sup> Rate calculated from N.A.S. E38 series.

<sup>114</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 550.

<sup>115</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, p. 478.

<sup>116</sup> These rates of duty conformed to the 1597 and 1612 Books of Rates.

<sup>117</sup> Rate calculated from N.A.S. E38 series.



per annum over the late 1620s and early 1630s. The particular accounts show that in the early 1610s hides were exported from Leith primarily to Flanders and northern France, with smaller volumes going to Rotterdam, England and southern France.<sup>118</sup> By the 1620s fewer shipments were destined for France: orientation had changed to the Scottish staple at Veere and to the Baltic port of Königsberg. The volume of hides exported from each of the other jurisdictions was minimal in comparison to the volume exported from Leith.

## V. LEATHER

Leather was a manufactured product as opposed to a raw material. It was exported primarily as white leather (made from calfskin), but also as 'marikin' leather (made from goat-skin, originally produced in Morocco), red leather, wild leather (from deerskin) and barked leather. White leather continued to be customised at its 1597 rate of £0.17 per hundred into the late 1620s.<sup>119</sup> Duty payable on 'marikin' leather was not specified in the 1597 Book of Rates but the enrolled accounts indicate that £1.50 per hundred was payable 1597-1619, increasing slightly thereafter to £1.80 per hundred. The accounts provide no clues as to whether duty charged on legally exported tanned skins, red leather and wild leather changed over time. All that is known is that in 1597/98 tanned calf-skins were subject to duty of £0.50 per hundred,<sup>120</sup> whilst in 1621/22 red leather was subject to duty of £22.80 per hundred.<sup>121</sup>

There exist no references to restrictions on the export of white, red, 'marikin,'<sup>122</sup> or wild leather. Rather, it was in relation to 'barkit leddir,'<sup>123</sup> (tanned leather) that legislation was focused. The export of this essential commodity, which was used to make increasingly expensive shoes and boots, was prohibited in 1605, a ban which was renewed in 1609,<sup>124</sup> and seems to have remained in force over the next three decades. In particular, exports of tanned leather to England were forbidden in retaliation for the English ban on exports of wrought leather to Scotland.<sup>125</sup>

From the late 1610s ongoing efforts were made to increase the quality (and presumably quantity) of leather made in Scotland. Frequent complaints were made in 1617 by cordwainers and Edinburgh leather-dealers that Scottish tanners withdrew the leather from their bark-pots far too quickly for the bark to take its full effect which made the leather unfit to work with. Consequently, the Edinburgh tradesmen had no option but to import better quality leather from London, thereby transgressing the English statute and running the risk of having their purchases confiscated.<sup>126</sup> Efforts to reform the Scottish tanning and leather industry took the form of importing seventeen skilled men from northern

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<sup>118</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/6.

<sup>119</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E76/1/1, E76/3.

<sup>120</sup> N.A.S. E38 531.

<sup>121</sup> N.A.S. E38 579.

<sup>122</sup> No official notification of export restriction has been detected for marikin skins despite their dearth. See, for example, *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, p. 618.

<sup>123</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, p. 56.

<sup>124</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 408. In 1609 searchers were accused of having been negligent in seeking this forbidden good and having connived with exporters by giving oversight to shipments of illegal leather.

<sup>125</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, p. 210.

England in June 1620 to advise tanners from all over Scotland on better methods of tanning, dressing and drying barked hides.<sup>127</sup> By November 1620 the scheme was considered generally successful and had led to considerable improvement in the Scottish leather industry: tanned hides were now of ‘reasounable goode perfectioun ... thair is perfyte and upright ledder maid in all the pairtis of this kingdome’.<sup>128</sup>

This progress is certainly reflected in the export statistics for Scotland’s major port. Leith was once again the dominant exporting burgh, and the only Scottish port from which ‘marikin’ leather was exported. It is suggested that the post-1617 reforms led to increased production of decent quality leather, releasing increased but fluctuating quantities for export over the 1620s. The particular accounts suggest that leather was exported from Leith solely to the Baltic ports of Konigsberg and Danzig.<sup>129</sup>

White leather was the only type exported from other Scottish ports, of which only the Tay and the Northeastern jurisdictions were of significance. Within the Tay, leather was sent overseas only from Perth and Dundee, greater volumes being exported over the 1610s and early 1620s rather than over the mid to late 1620s. Within the North East leather was shipped from Aberdeen rather from Montrose, again primarily to the Baltic area.<sup>130</sup> Exports from Aberdeen boomed to over 500 dakers per annum over the 1620s. Leather exports from all other precincts were miniscule.

As noted in the sections above, the particular accounts suggest that the Baltic was the primary destination of Scottish fells, skins, hides and leather. A meaningful long-term data series of exports of skins, hides and white leather on Scottish ships (or ships with a Scottish skipper) is presented as Chart 2-5w.<sup>131</sup> This graph shows that the absolute volume of skins, hides and leather combined gradually and consistently declined from over 20,000 dakers to under 10,000 dakers per annum over the three decades 1574-1604. Thereafter, exports increased to over 30,000 dakers per annum in the late 1630s, before again declining as the political situation in Scotland became uncertain over the 1640s.

Lythe observes that it was in skins, hides and leather that Scotland made her greatest relative contribution to goods carried eastwards through the Sound.<sup>132</sup> Table 2-1 compares the approximate volume of Scottish skins hides and leather with the total volume passing eastwards through the Sound.<sup>133</sup> It clearly shows that the Scottish share declined over the 1570s to 1600s, before increasing

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<sup>126</sup> A.P.S., Vol. IV, c.37, p.557; R.P.C., first series, Vol. XI, pp. cxii, 613-15.

<sup>127</sup> R.P.C., first series, Vol. XII, pp. v-xiii.

<sup>128</sup> R.P.C., first series, Vol. XII, p. 519.

<sup>129</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/9, E71/29/11.

<sup>130</sup> N.A.S. E71/1/13, E71/1/14.

<sup>131</sup> Data from Bang, N.E. and Korst, K., *op. cit.*

<sup>132</sup> Lythe, “*Scottish Trade with the Baltic*,” *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>133</sup> Figures are approximate because it is not known how to convert ‘pkr’ and ‘pd’ totals into dakers. The volumes involved are believed to be relatively small and it is hoped the omissions do not greatly distort the total volumes carried eastwards into the Baltic.

to around one-third of total exports over the 1620s to 1640s. Only England exported a greater volume of skins, hides and white leather to the Baltic than did Scotland.

**TABLE 2-1: SCOTTISH SKINS HIDES AND LEATHER AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL SKINS HIDES AND LEATHER ENTERING THE BALTIC 1570/79-1640/49<sup>134</sup>**

<b>PERIOD</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (APPROXIMATE)</b>	<b>PERIOD</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (APPROXIMATE)</b>
1570-1579	23.2	1610-1619	10.3
1580-1589	15.4	1620-1629	30.9
1590-1599	9.8	1630-1639	32.8
1600-1609	9.0	1640-1649	30.7

CHART 2-5A: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS  
FROM EDINBURGH AND LEITH 1596/97-1633/34

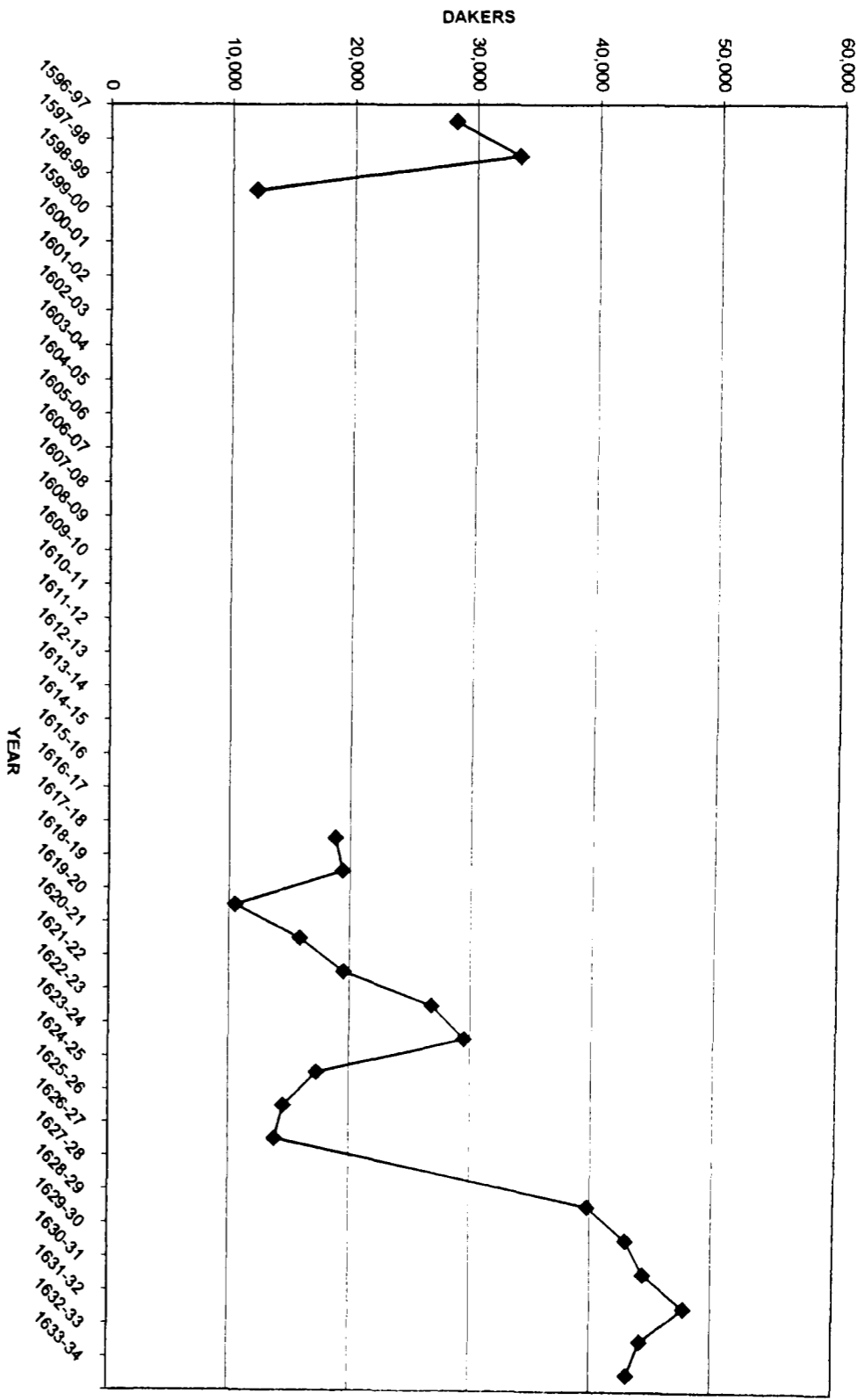
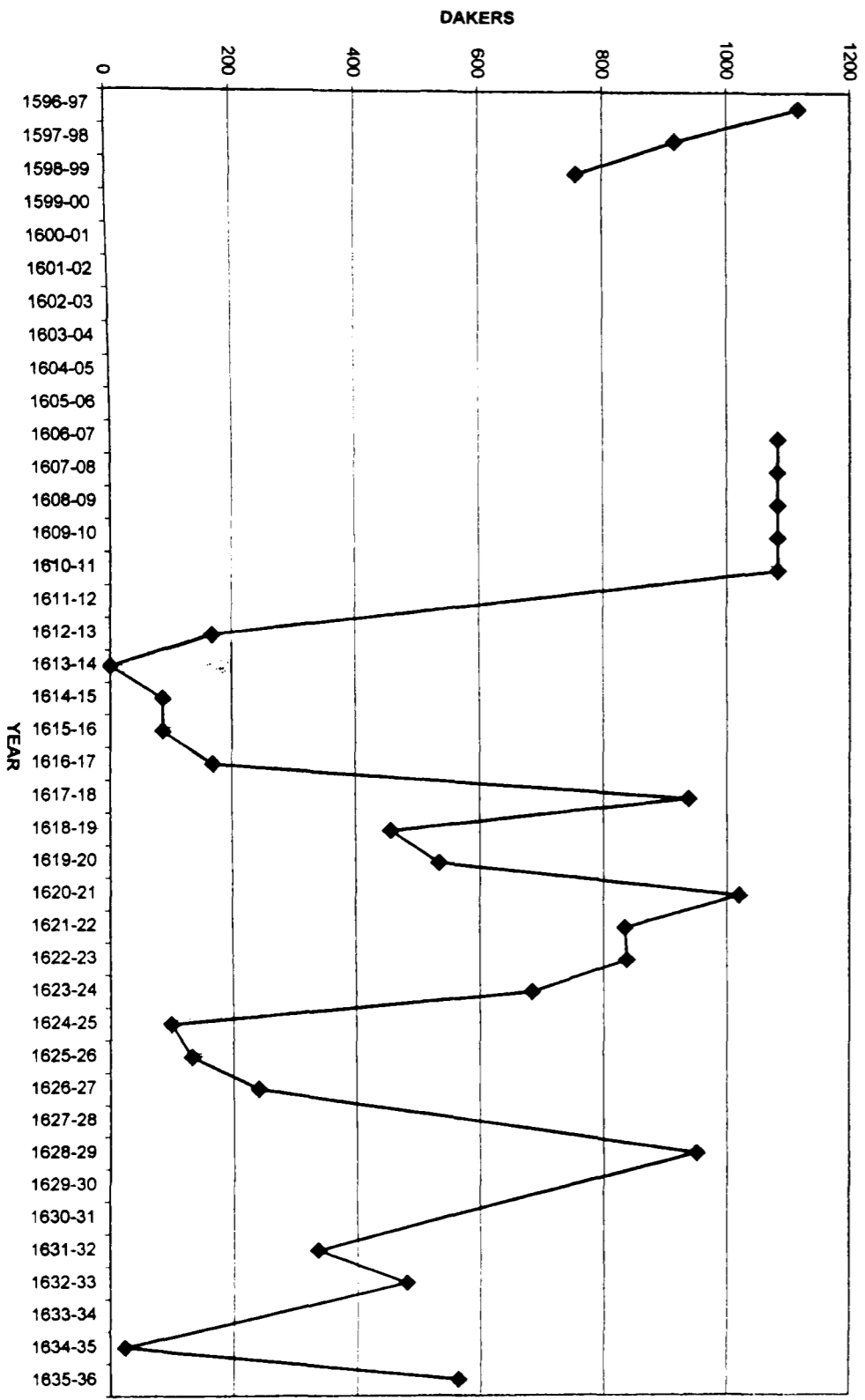
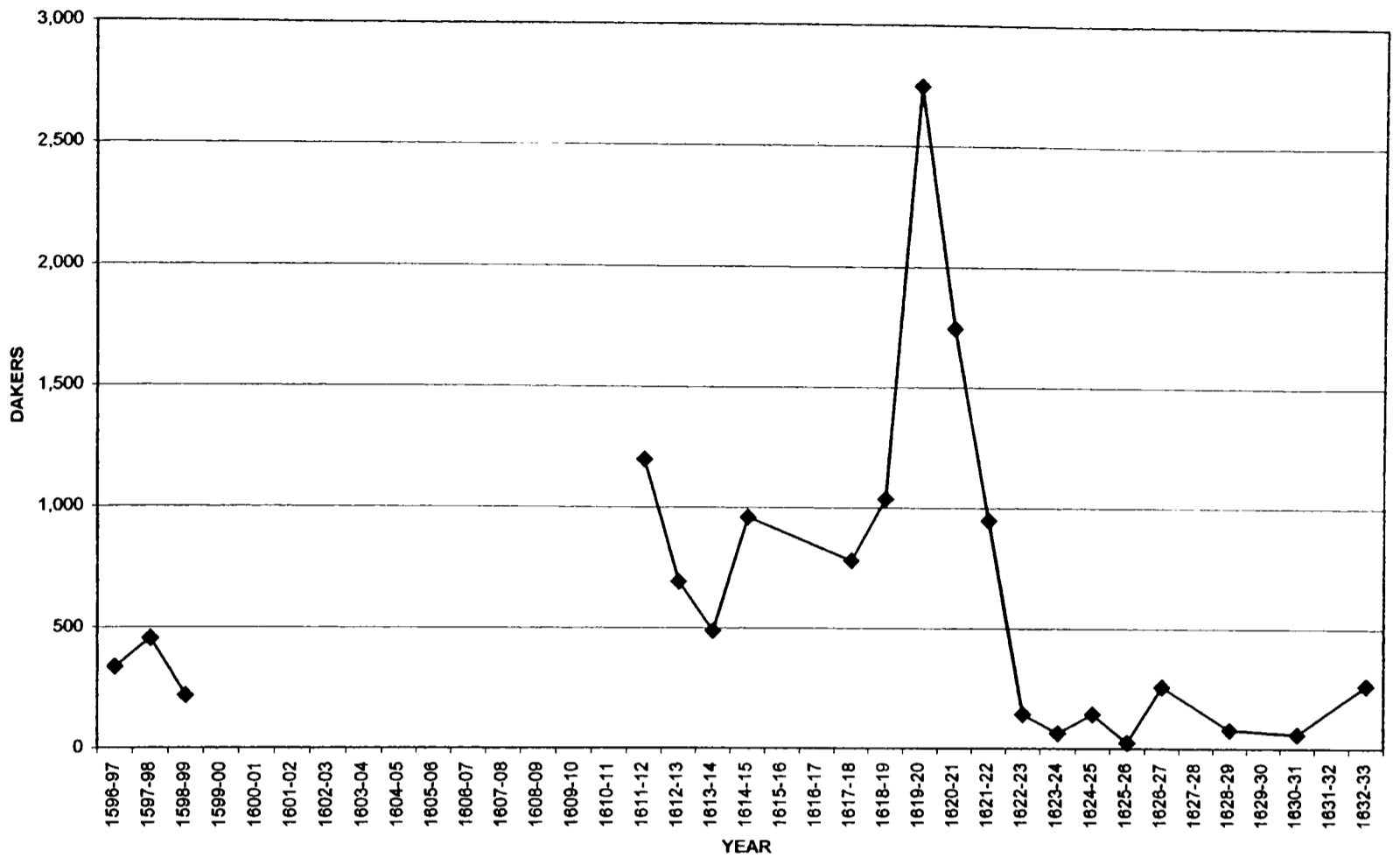


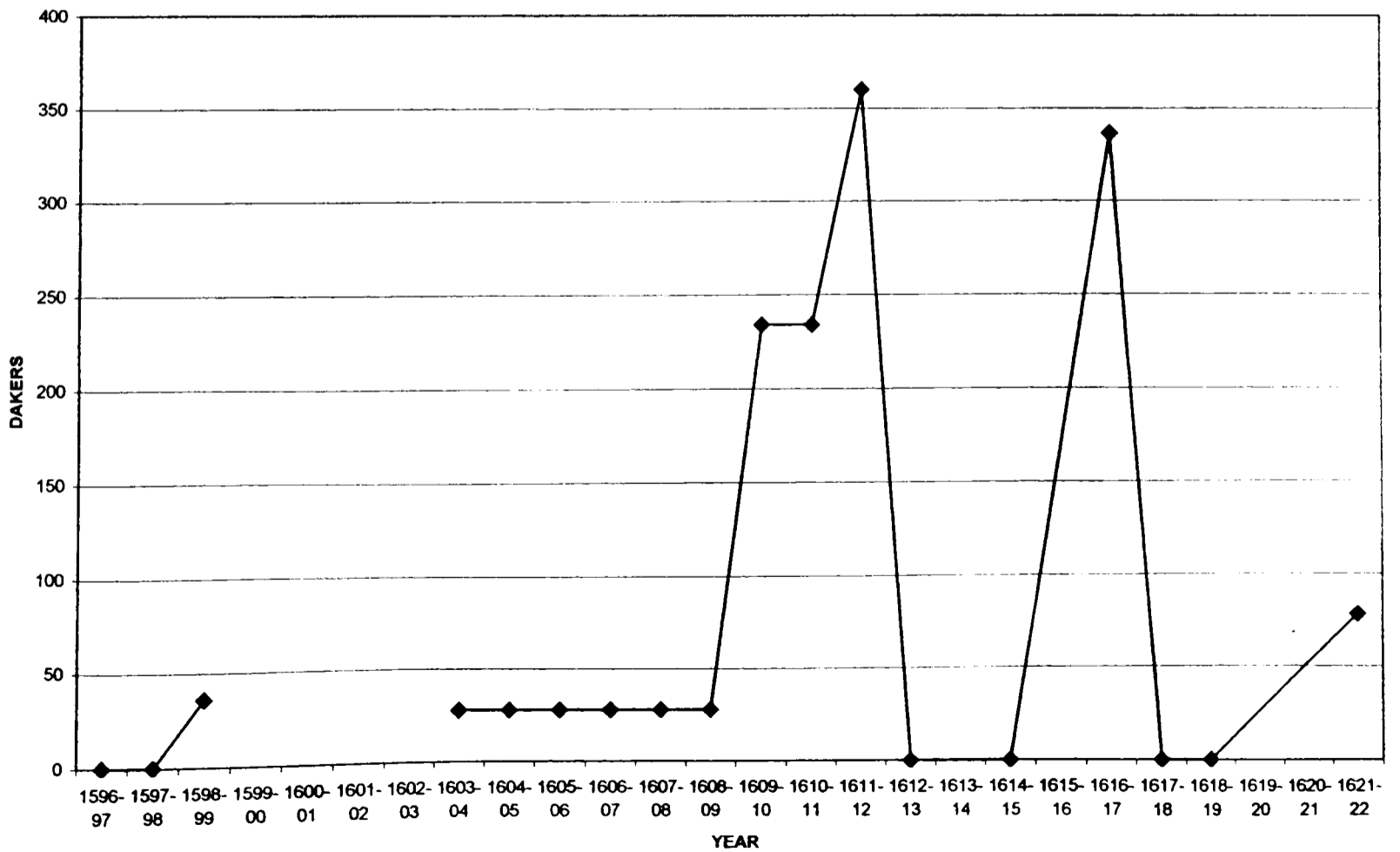
CHART 2-5B: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS  
FROM THE FORTH 1596/97-1635/36



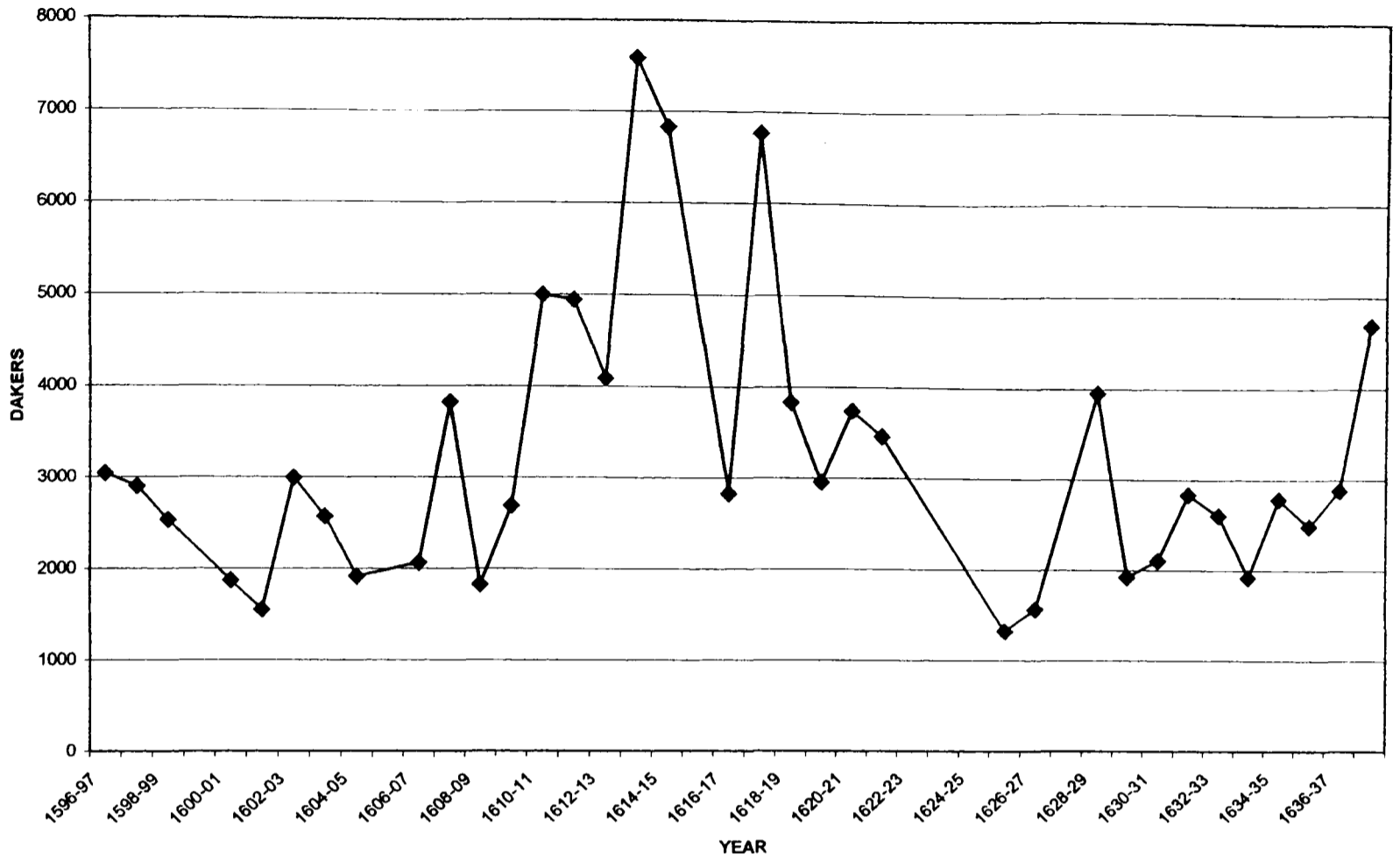
**CHART 2-5C: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS  
FROM WEST FIFE 1596/97-1632/33**



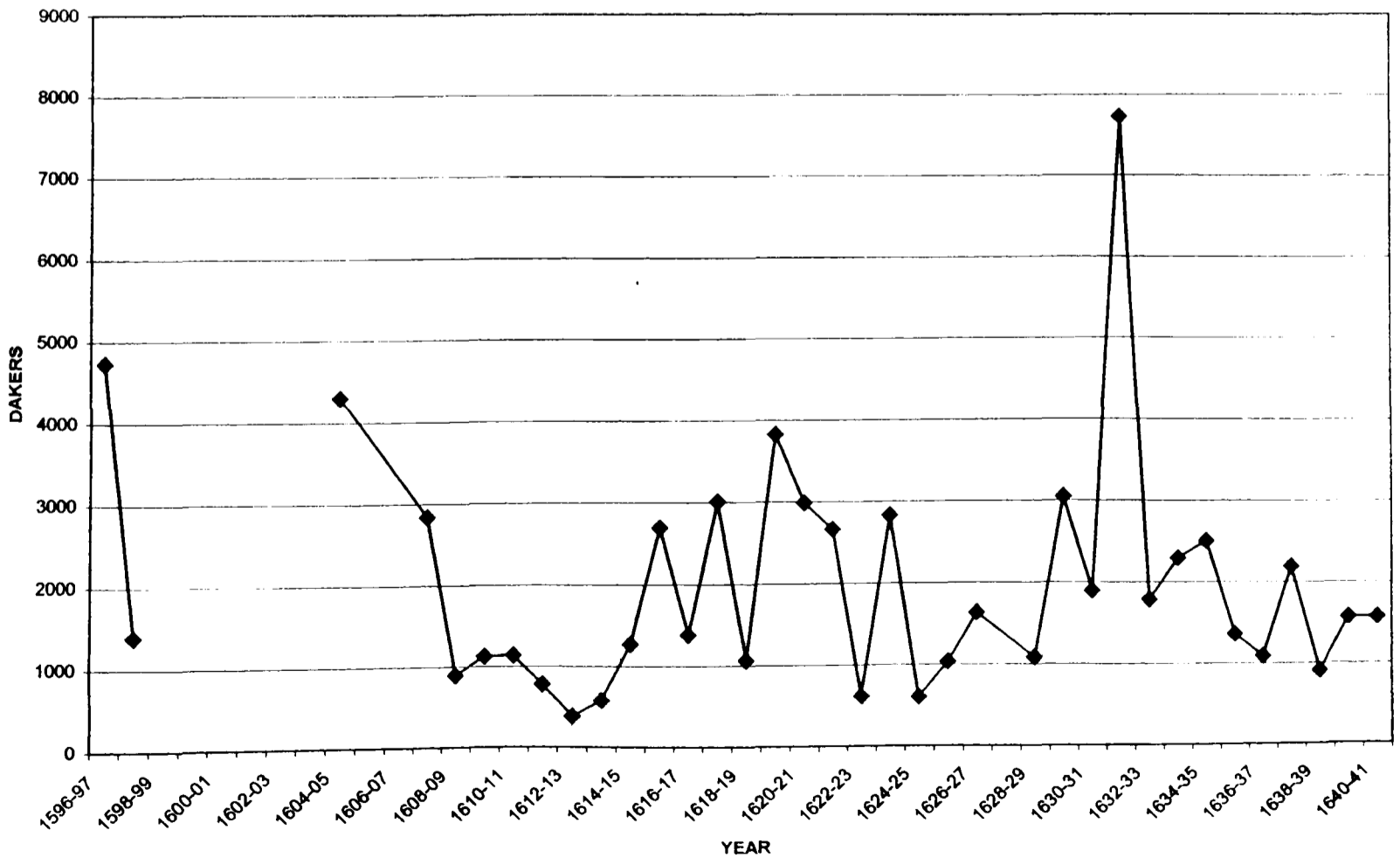
**CHART 2-5D: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS  
FROM THE EAST NEUK OF FIFE 1596/97-1621/22**



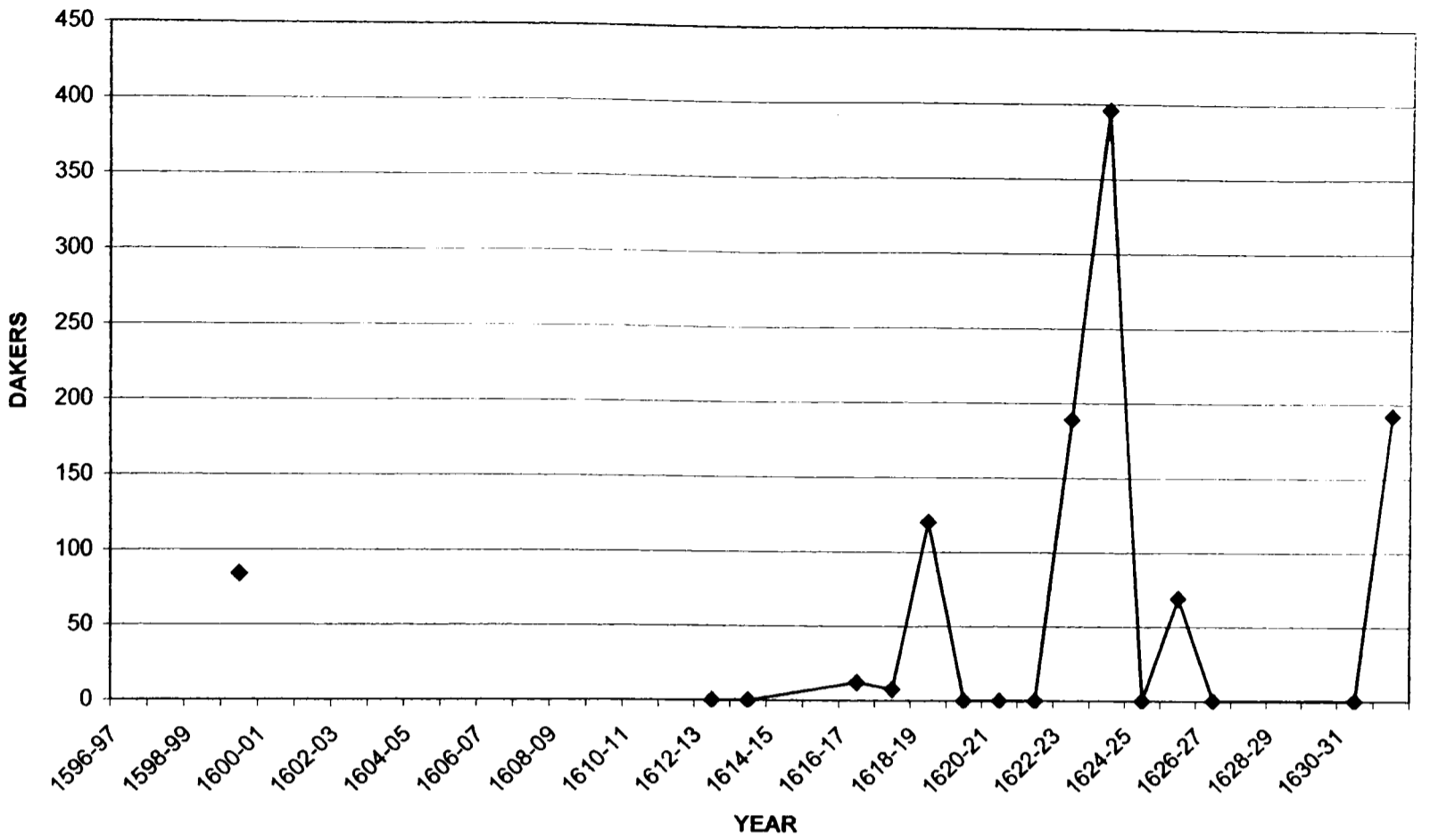
**CHART 2-5E: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1596/97-1637/38**



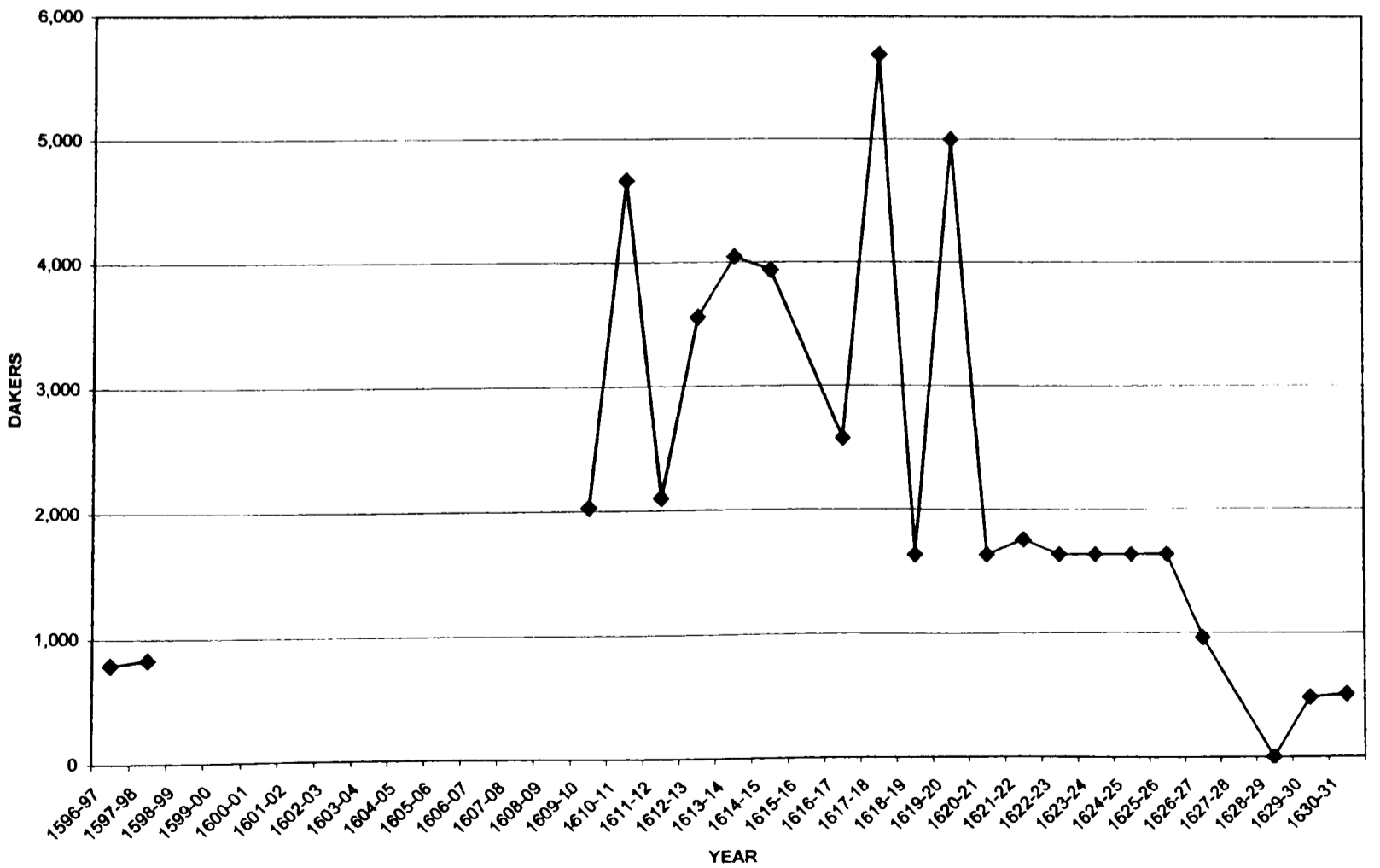
**CHART 2-5F: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST 1596/97-1640/41**



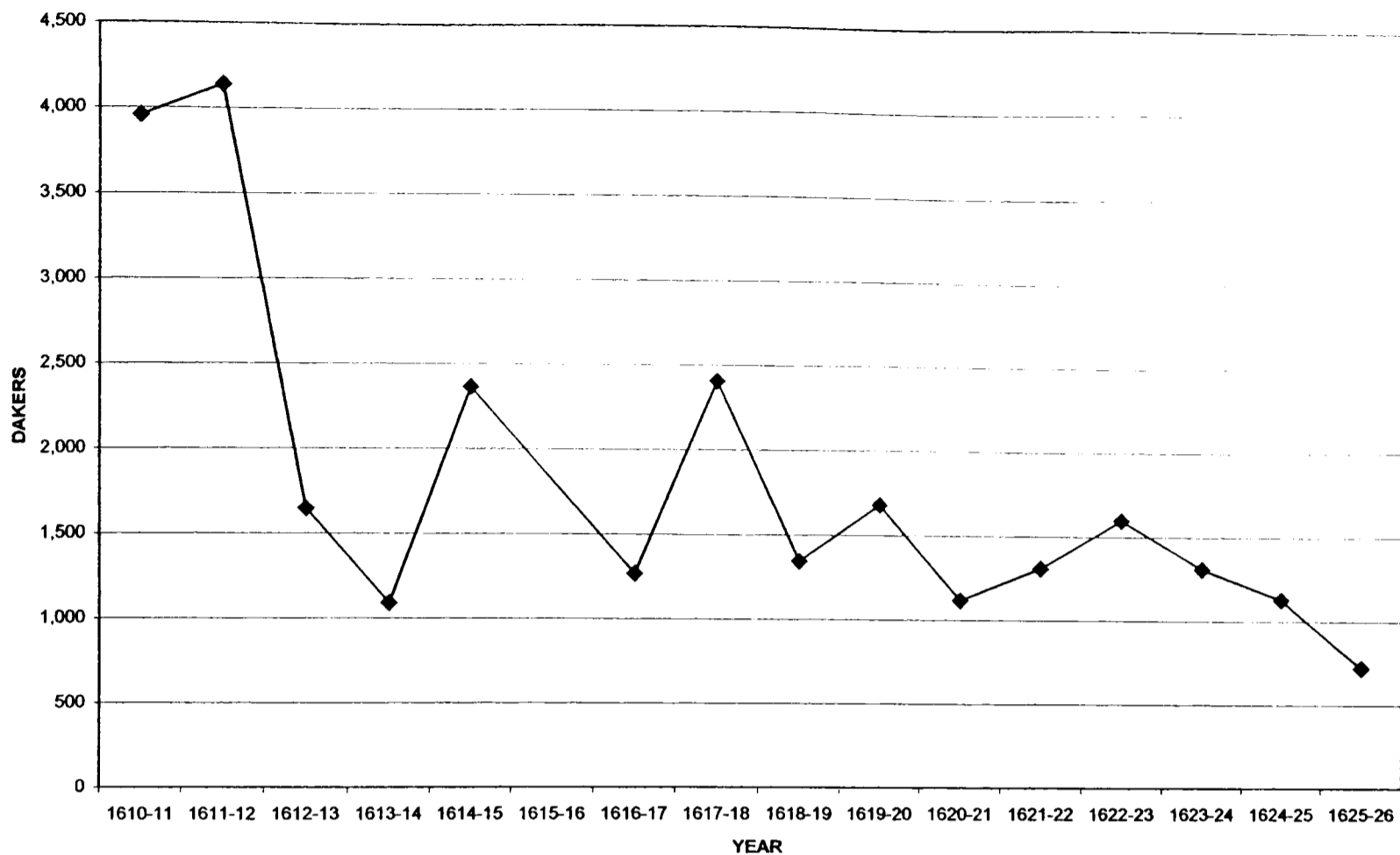
**CHART 2-5G: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXORTS  
FROM NORTH OF THE SPEY 1596/97-1631/32**



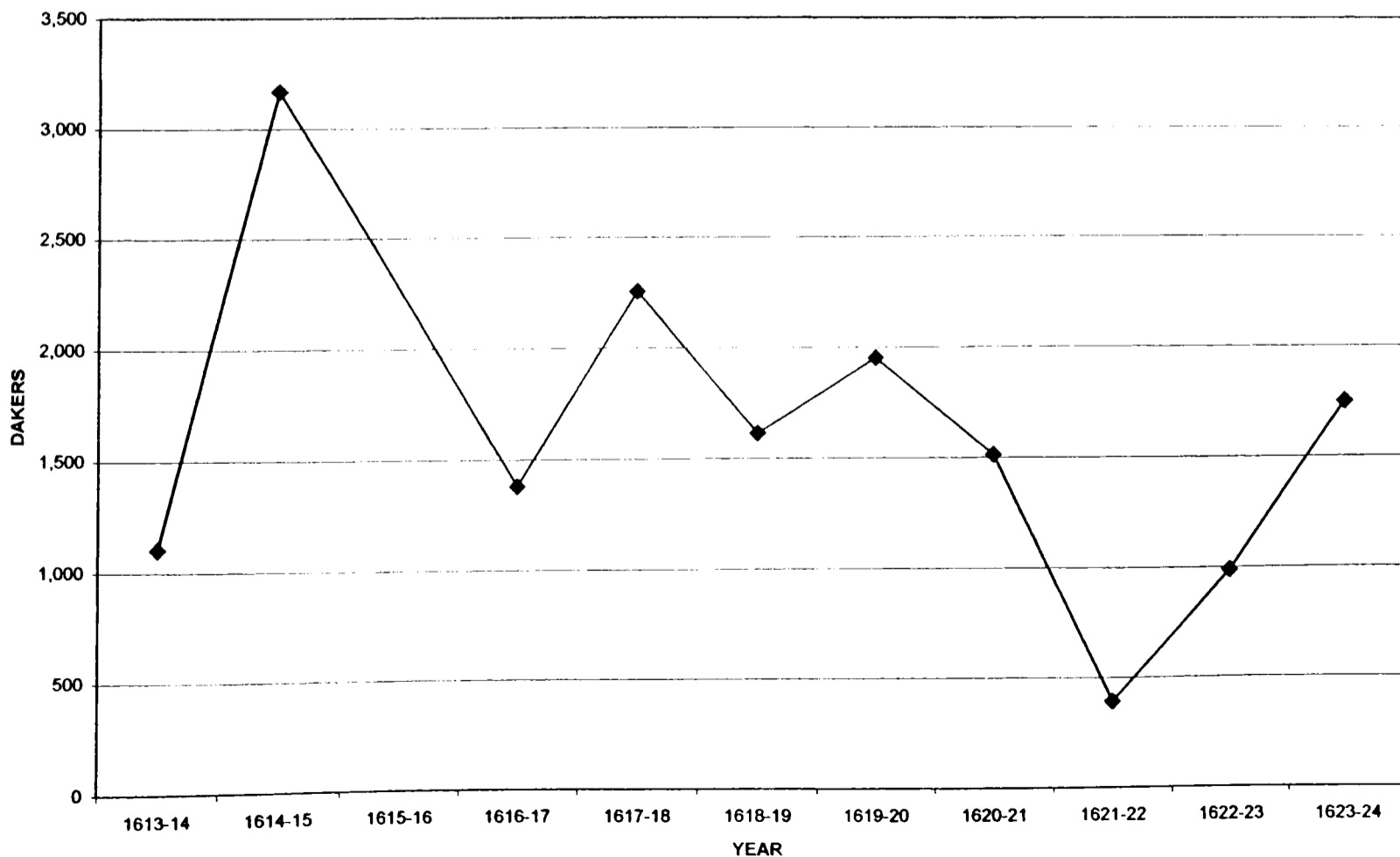
**CHART 2-5H: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1596/97-1629/30**



**CHART 2-5I: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS  
FROM GALLOWAY 1610/11-1624/25**

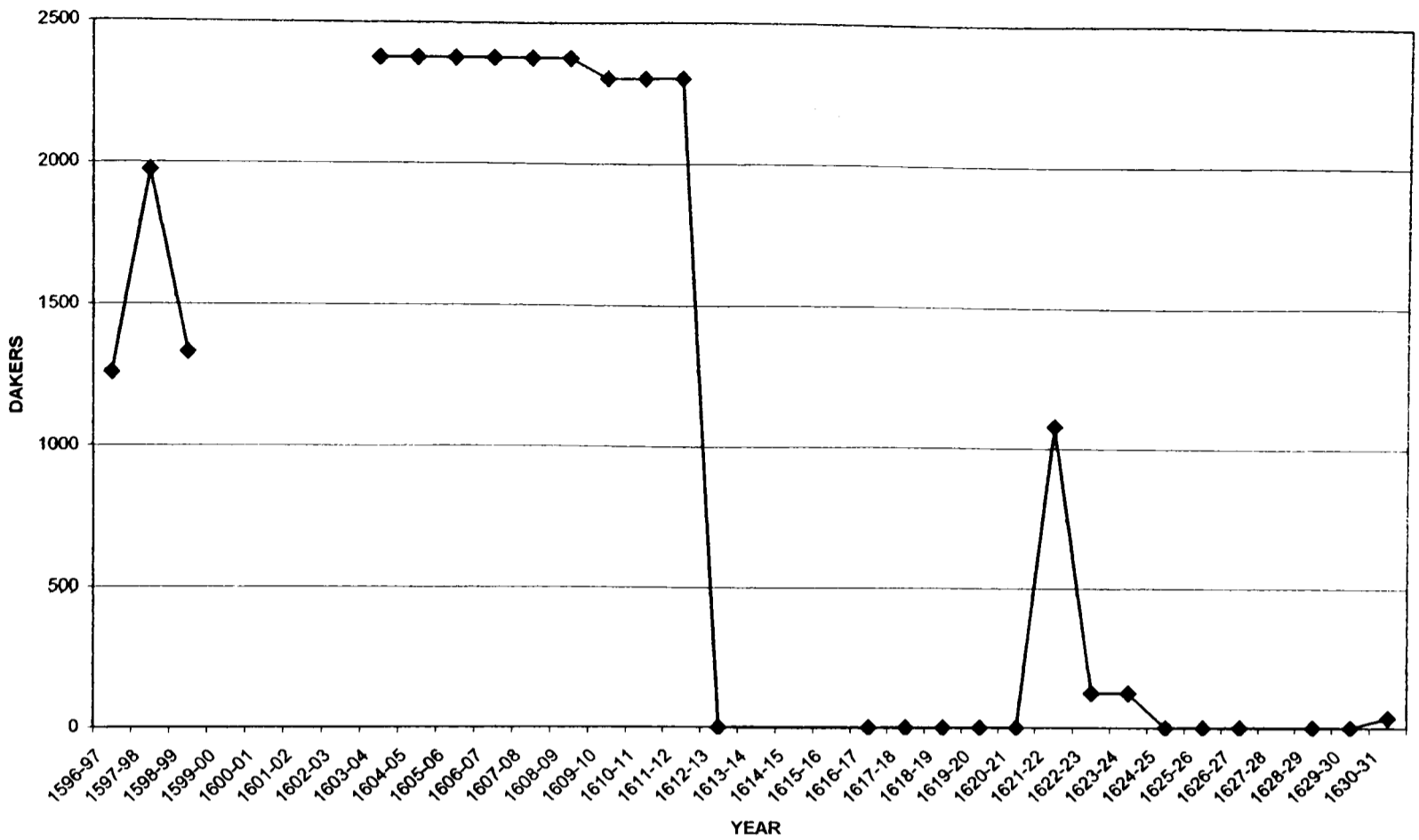


**CHART 2-5J: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS  
FROM PRECINCT THE BORDERS 1613/14-1620/24**





**CHART 2-5K: SHEEP AND GOAT FELL/SKIN EXPORTS FROM EAST LOTHIAN 1596/97-1630/31**



**CHART 2-5L: PELT, OTHER SKIN, HIDE AND LEATHER EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH) 1596/97-1633/34**

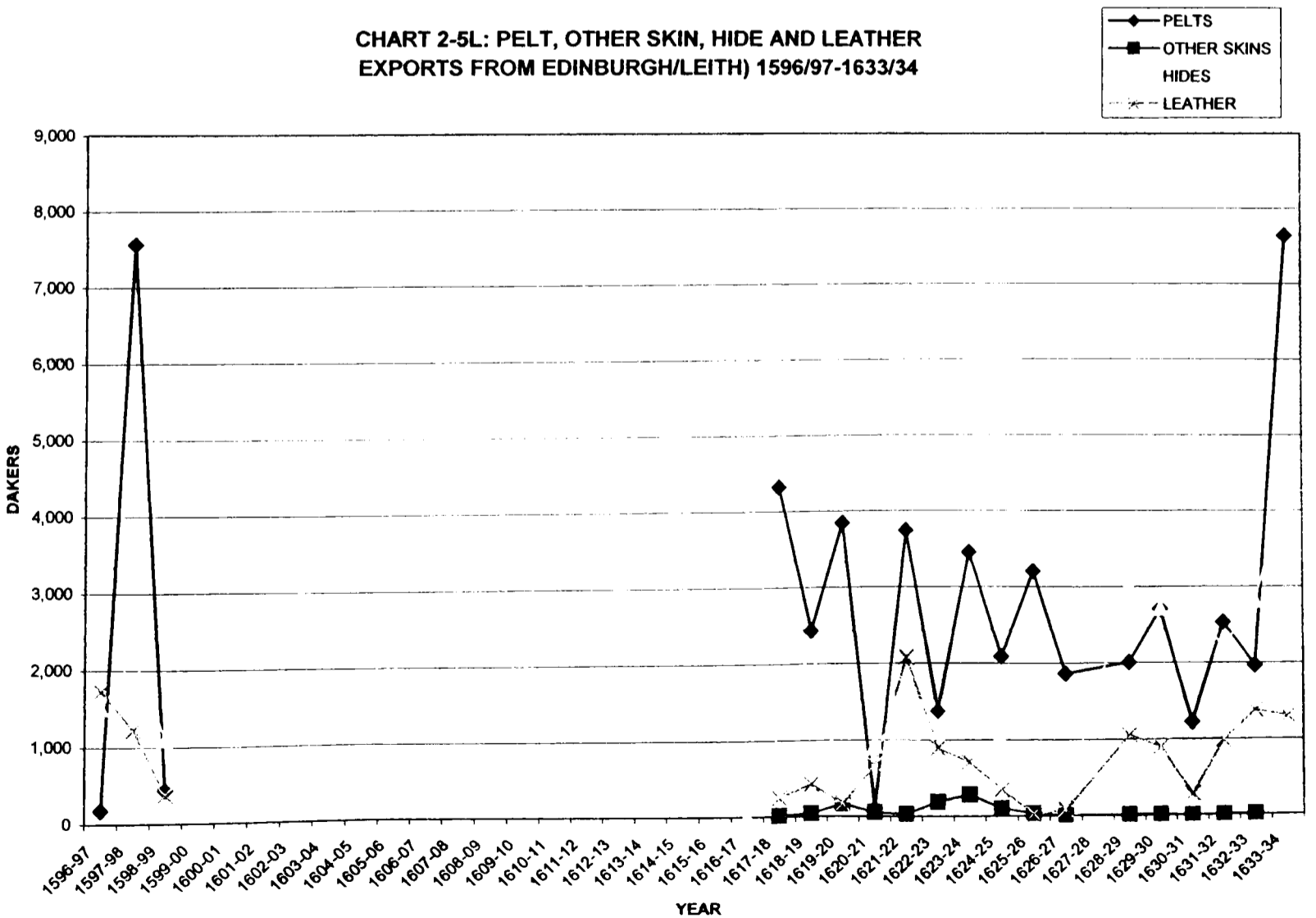


CHART 2-5M: PELT AND HIDE EXPORTS FROM THE FORTH 1596/97-1635/36

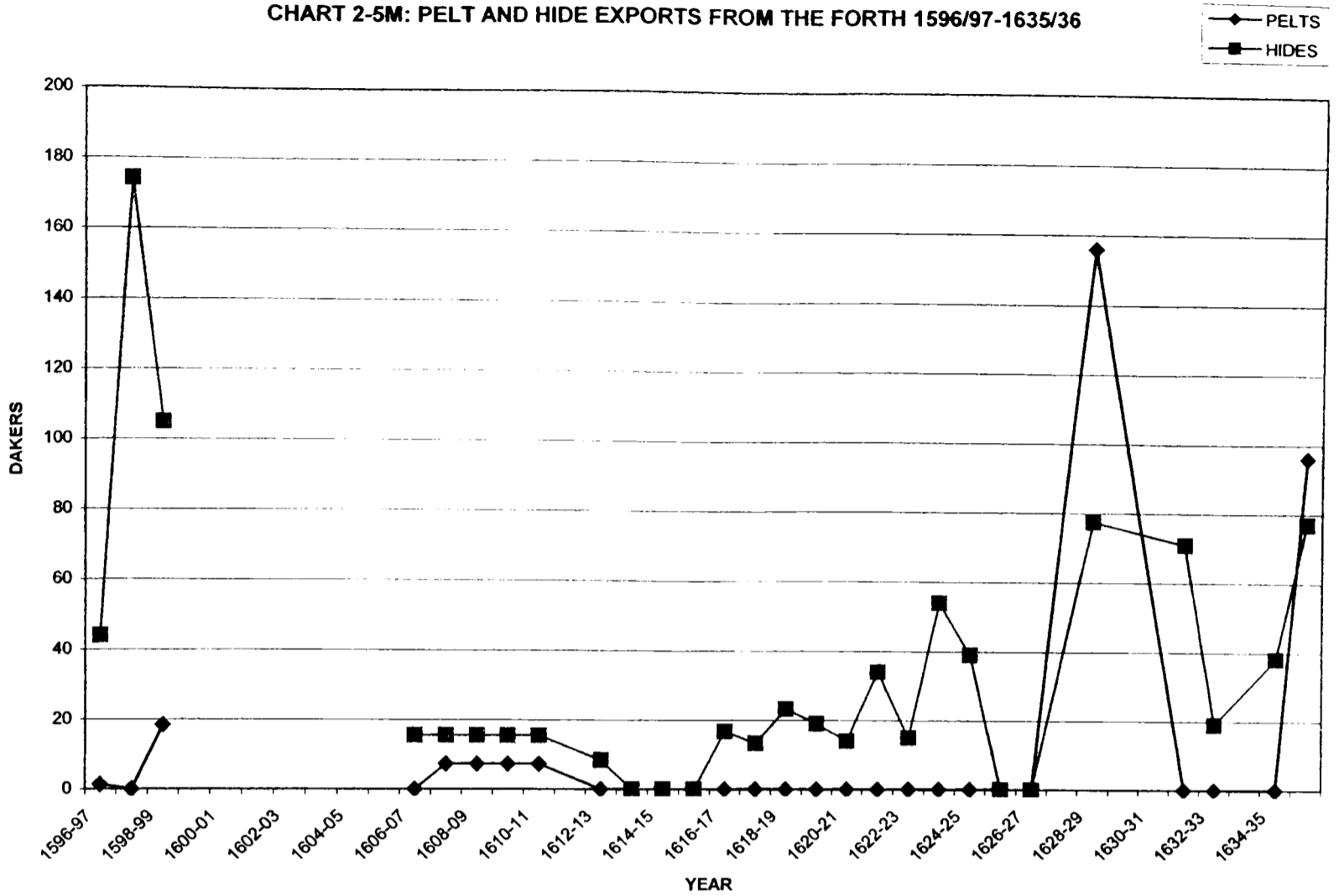


CHART 2-5N: PELT AND HIDE EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE 1596/97-1632/33

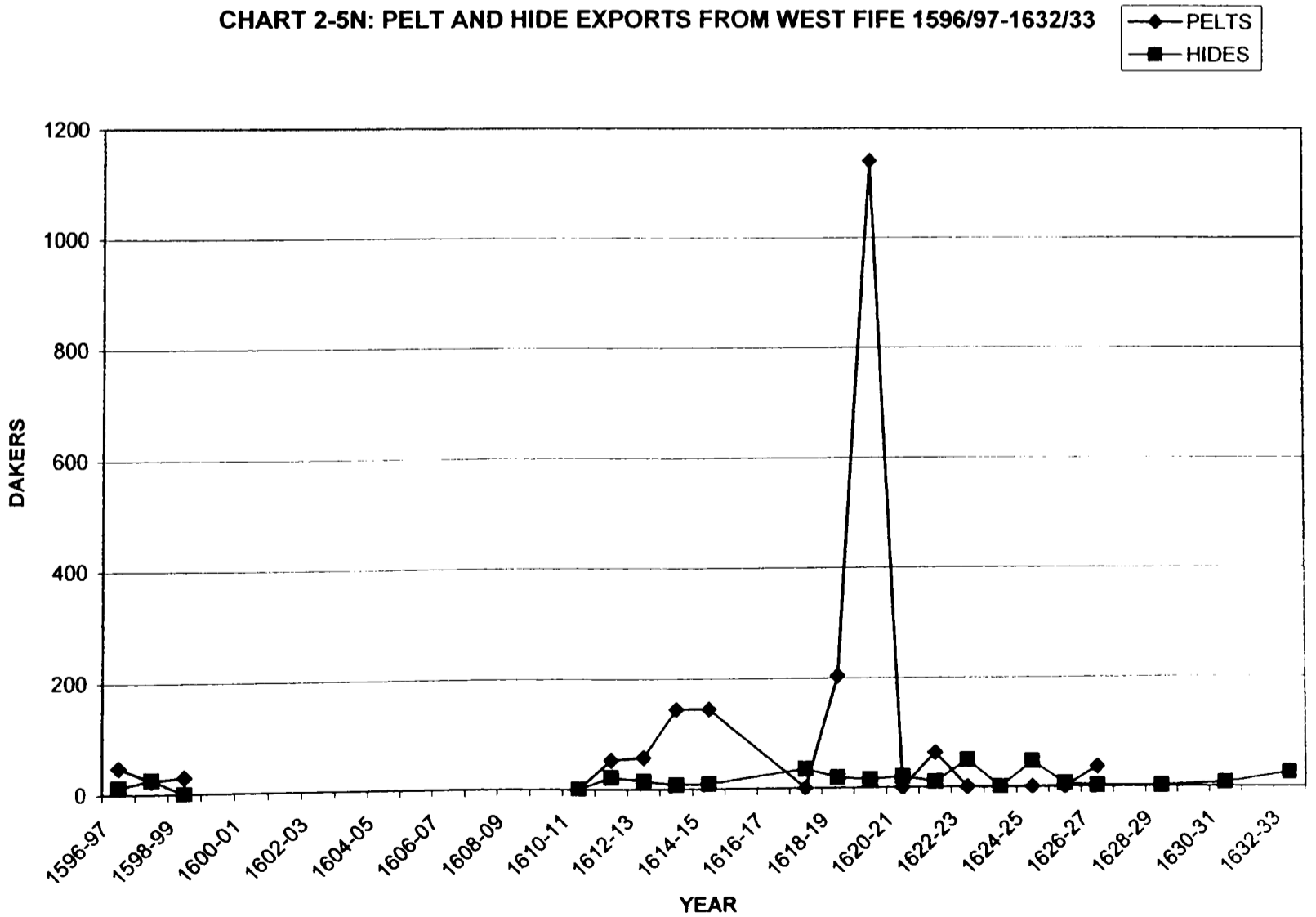


CHART 2-50: PELT EXPORTS FROM THE EAST NEUK 1596/97-1621/22

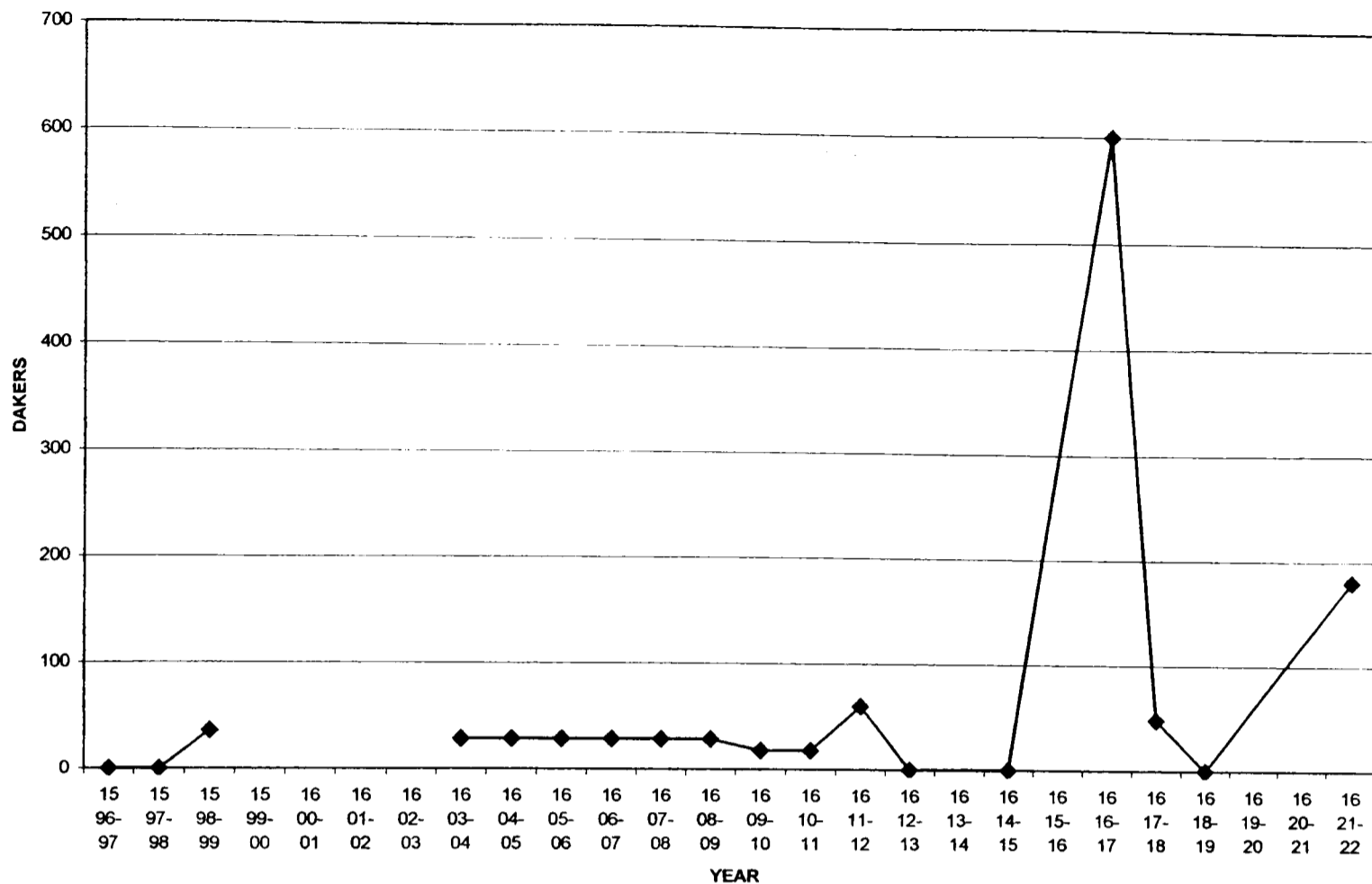


CHART 2-5P: PELT HIDE AND LEATHER EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1596/97-1637/38

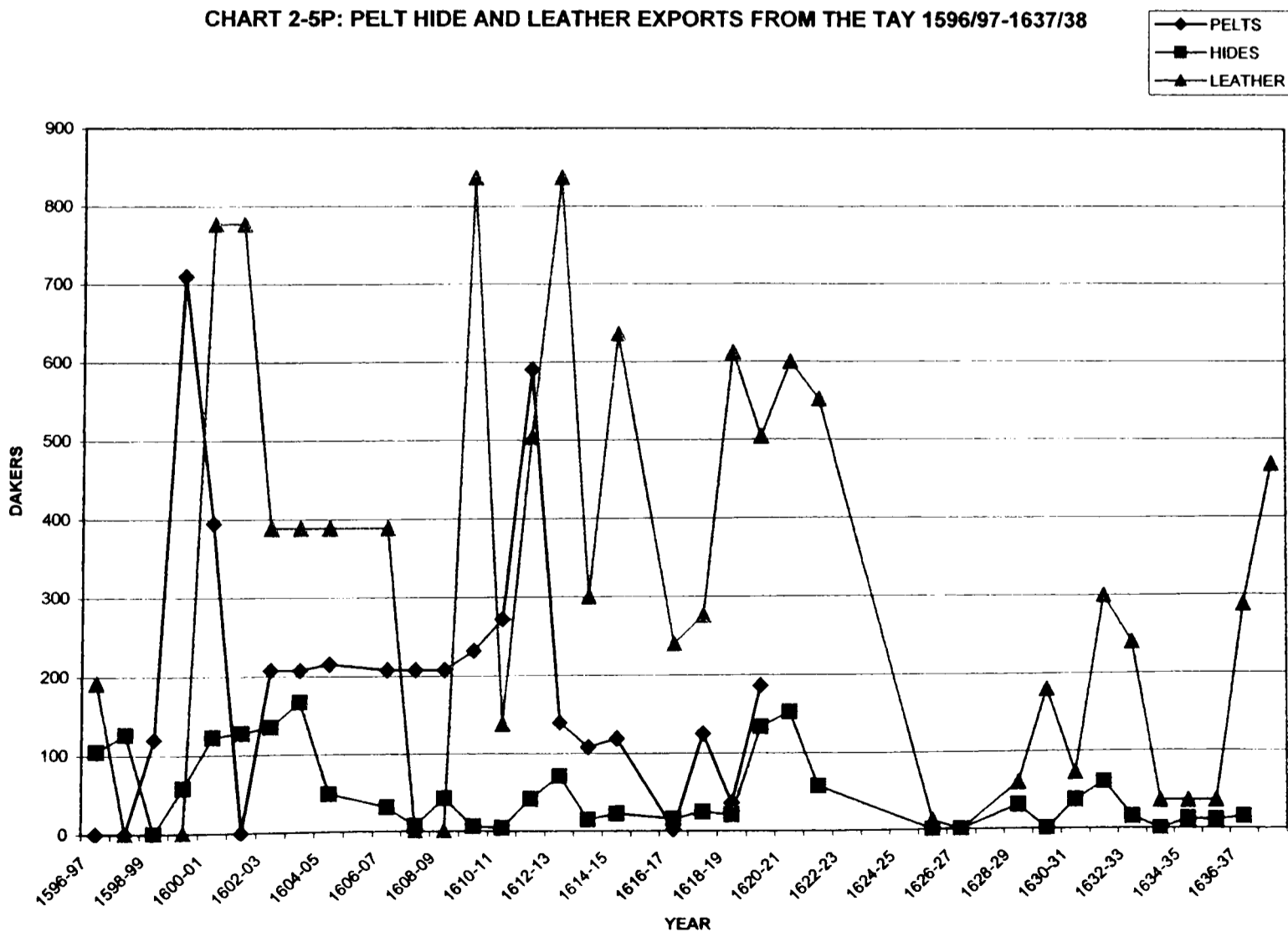


CHART 2-5Q: HIDE AND LEATHER EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST 1596/97-1638/39

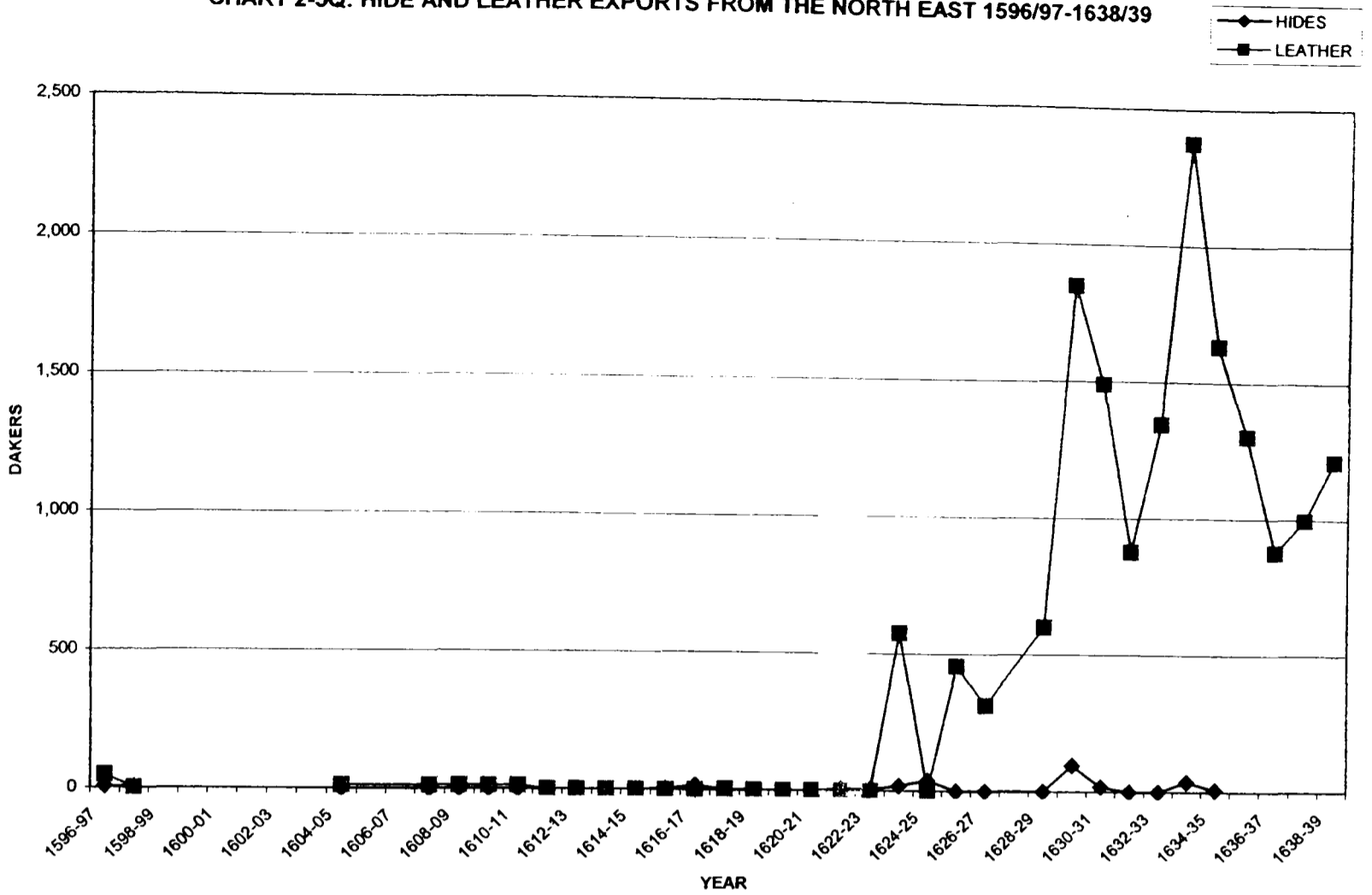


CHART 2-5R: HIDE EXPORTS FROM NORTH OF THE SPEY 1613/14-1631/32

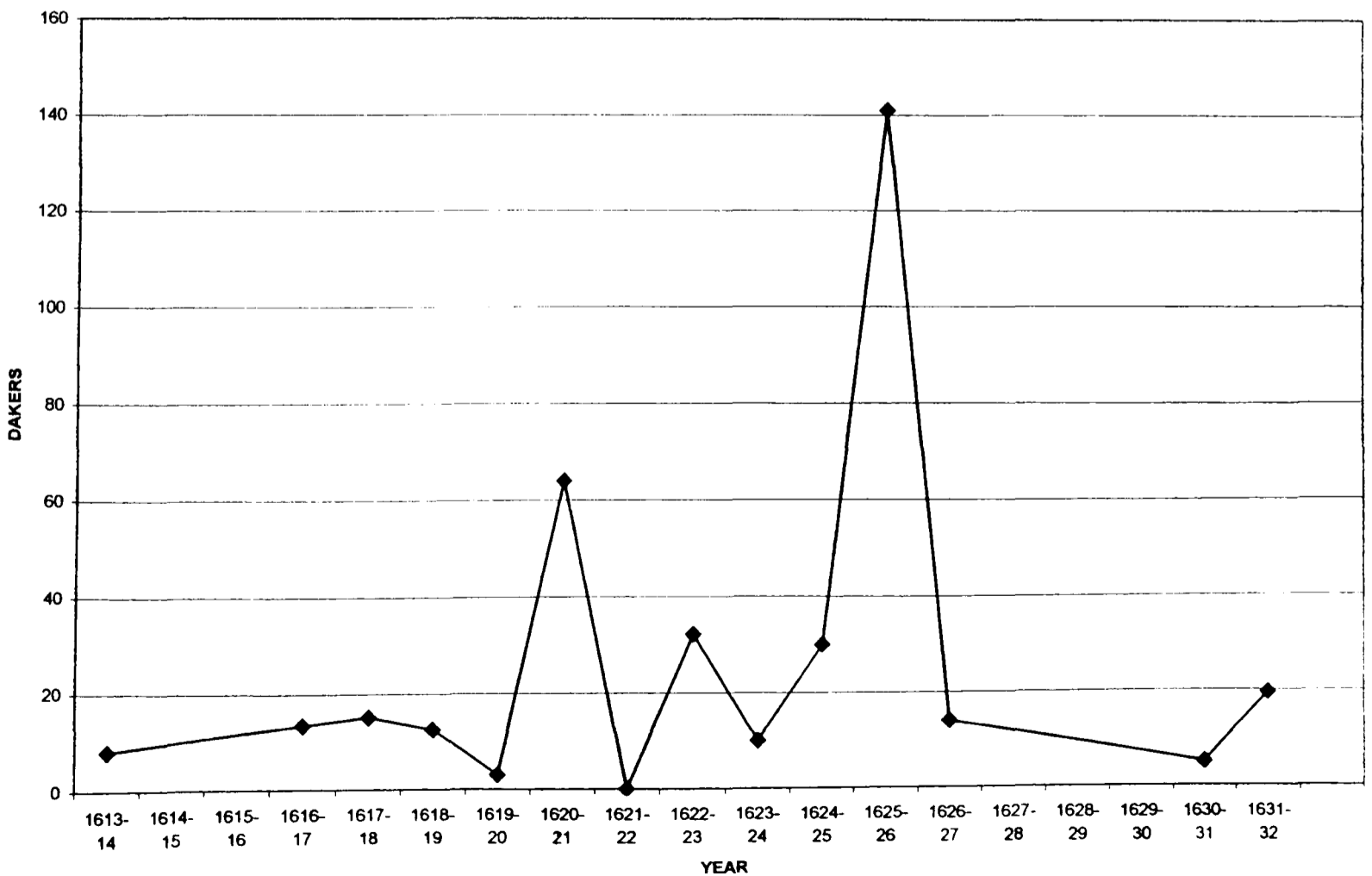


CHART 2-5S: PELT AND HIDE EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1596/97-1631/32

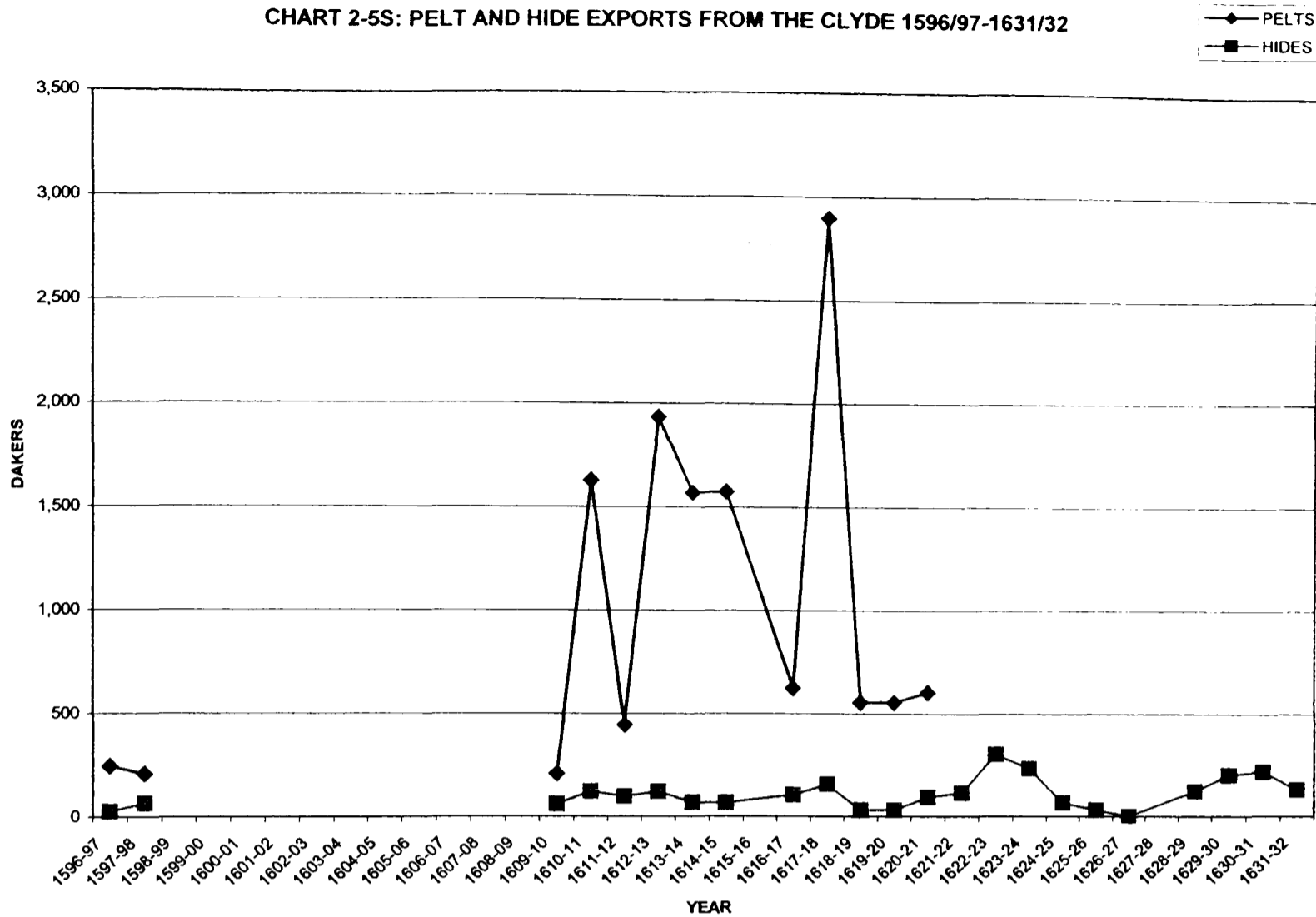


CHART 2-5T: HIDE EXPORTS FROM GALLOWAY 1612/13-1624/25

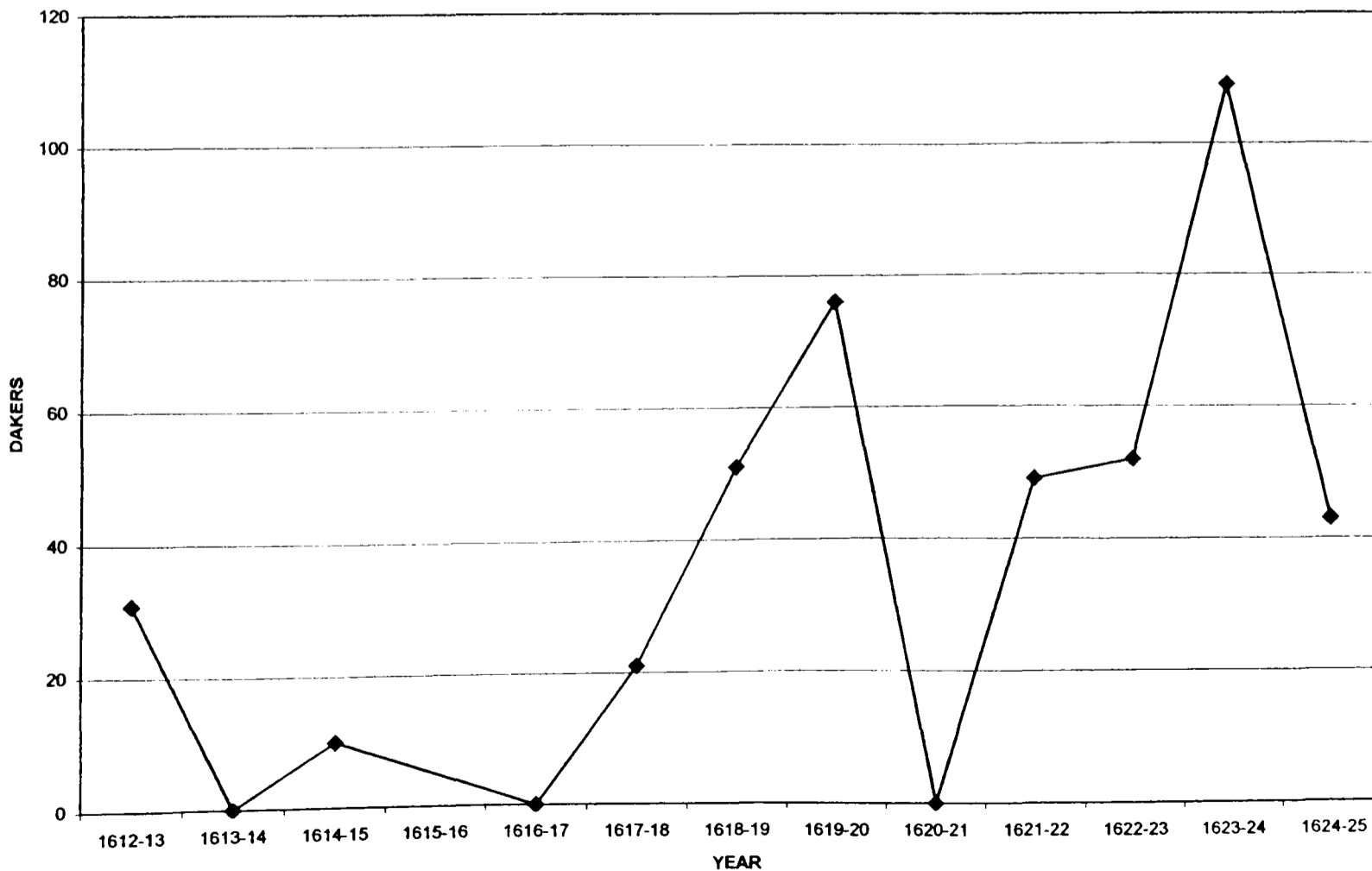


CHART 2-5U: HIDE EXPORTS FROM THE BORDERS 1613-14-1623/24

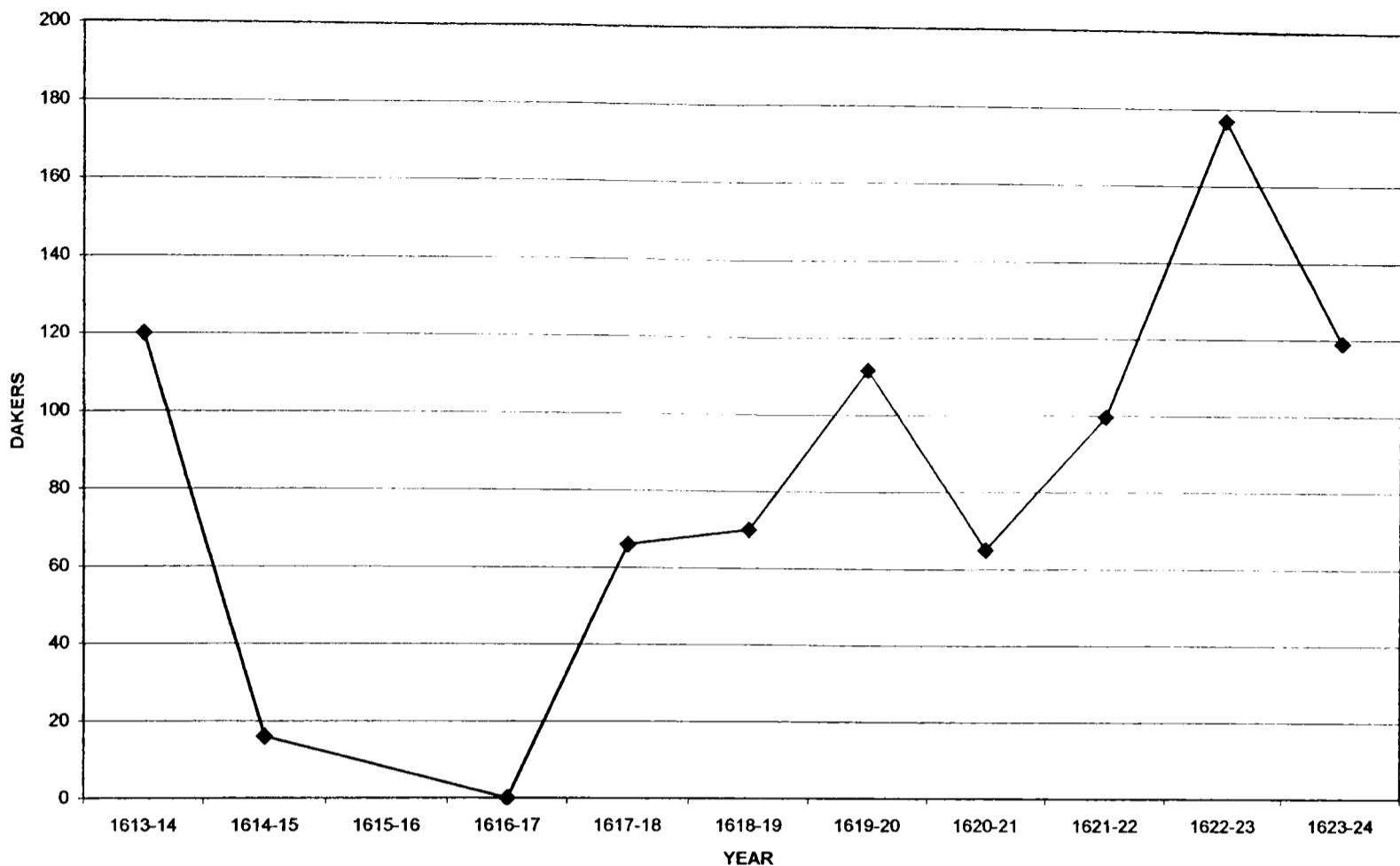


CHART 2-5V: PELTS AND HIDE EXPORTS FROM EAST LOTHIAN 1596/97-1624/25

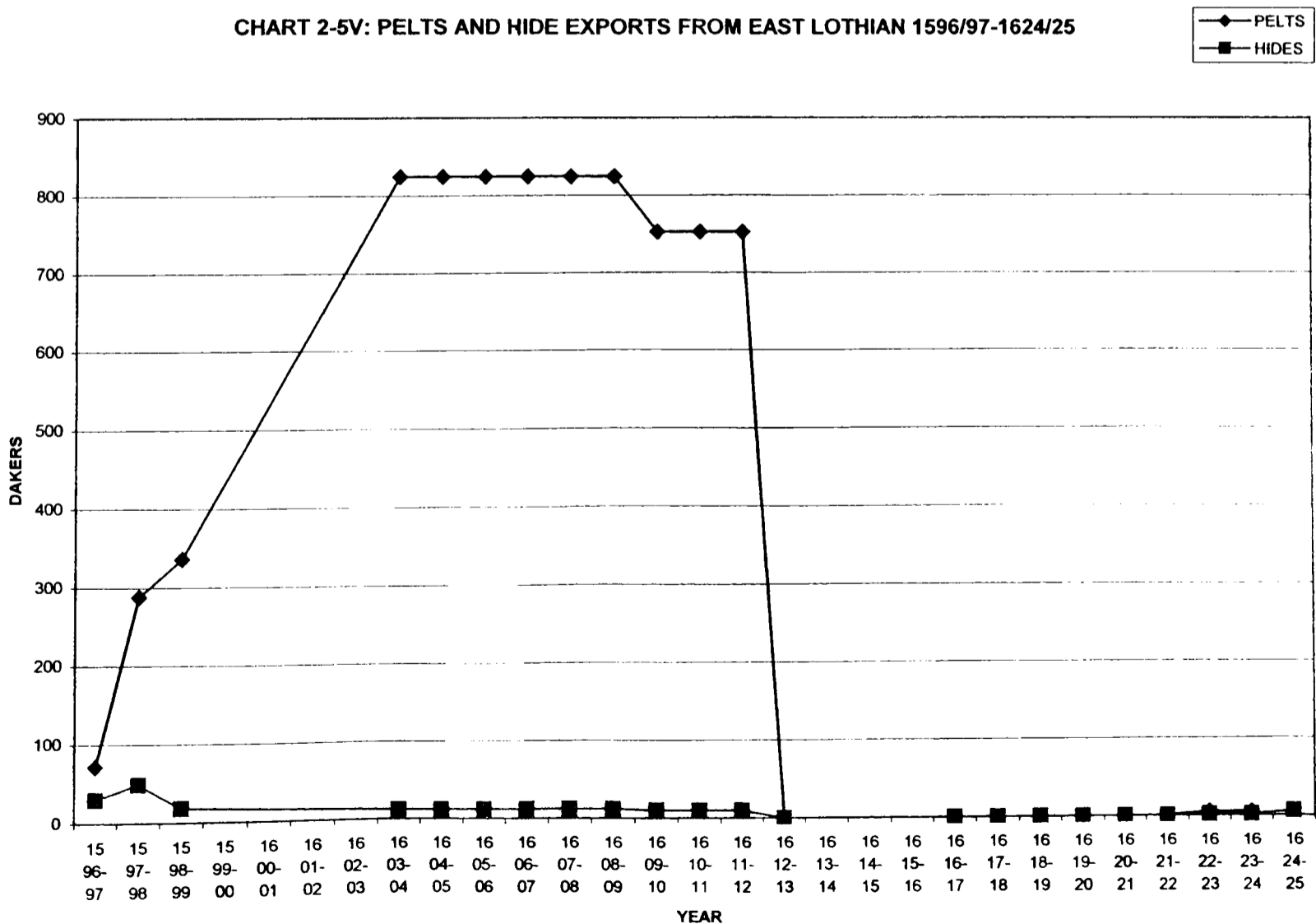
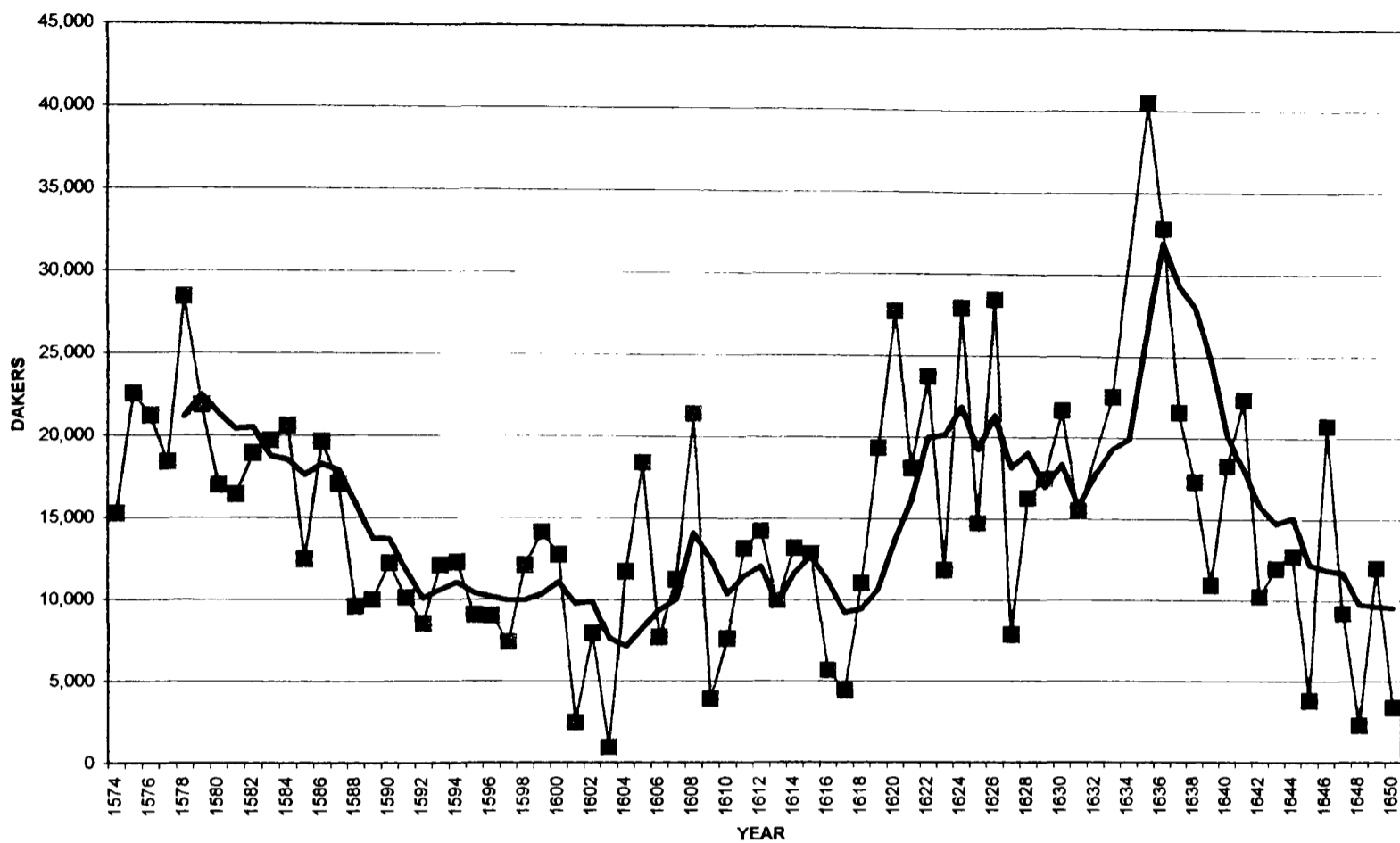


CHART 2-5W: SCOTTISH SKIN HIDE AND WHITE LEATHER EXPORTS TO THE BALTIC 1574-1650

—■— SCOTTISH TOTAL  
 — 5 per. Mov. Avg. (SCOTTISH TOTAL)



## 6. WOOL

In May 1597 and again in November 1597 Parliament ratified and approved its previous Acts against the export of wool. Any licences or dispensations granted by the King were annulled, and no further licences were to be granted.<sup>135</sup> Accordingly, the Convention of Royal Burghs demanded that the magistrates of each burgh ensure that no wool was exported from any neighbouring burgh. Anyone caught exporting wool by land or sea, with or without a licence, was to have his wool confiscated, and any burgh failing in its duty of enforcement was to be liable to a 500 merk (£333) fine.<sup>136</sup>

The impoverished Exchequer, however, 'for the bettir advancement of his Hienes custum' favoured the continued export of wool under licence. A long running dispute between the Convention and the Exchequer had developed earlier in the sixteenth century: the Comptroller would complain annually to the Privy Council that the Acts against the export of wool without lawful warrant or authority and usurped the power of the King, adding that the Convention suppressed the export of wool, even though licences to export wool had been issued on payment of the new custom rate as required by the Act of Parliament. The 'pretendit' Acts of the Convention would then be rescinded and the dispute would occur again the following year. Edinburgh, the only burgh customing wool, was caught in the middle, and was denounced by the Convention for not preventing wool exports.<sup>137</sup> The pre-1597 dispute continued into the early 1600s<sup>138</sup> and in 1601 the leaseholders of the customs were remitted £7,000 of their rent in compensation for the loss of revenue they had sustained because of the Convention's restraints on wool exports and cloth imports.<sup>139</sup> Thereafter, the dispute disappears entirely from the records as consensus began to emerge over the merits of encouraging the manufacture of native wool into cloth and stuffs rather than exporting it in its raw state. Accordingly, from 1601 into the 1640s the export of wool was restrained, permitted only under licence.<sup>140</sup> There is no doubt, however, that in addition to legal exports, the unlawful export of wool continued, under pretext of a purchased licence, with the connivance of searchers, and (presumably) illicitly.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Source: calculated from figures contained within Bang, N.E. & Korst, K. (eds.,) *op. cit.*

<sup>135</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 119; c. 21, p. 135; c. 23, p. 136; c.25, p. 137; *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 386.

<sup>136</sup> *R.C.R.B.*, Vol. I, pp. 464-65.

<sup>137</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44. See *R.C.R.B.*, Vol. II, pp. 5, 26-27, 47, 75; *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p.477, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 32-3, 77.

<sup>138</sup> For example, the Convention of Royal Burghs held at Glasgow in July 1597 and at Linlithgow in 1599 both made 'ane pretendit Act anent the restraint of the transporting of woll and punischeing of the transportaris thairof' (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 499, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 33, 77.)

<sup>139</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 230.

<sup>140</sup> There were frequent renewals of the export prohibition and the need for a licence to export wool legally, including *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 269 (1601); N.A.S. E76/2 (1611), E76/3 (1612), *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 616 (1610); *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, pp. 592-93 (1616); *R.P.C.*, second series Vol. I, pp. 383-85 (1626); ); *R.P.C.*, second series Vol. II, pp. 61, 73, 91(1627); *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. III pp. 279, 313 (1929); N.A.S. E4/5 pp. 46v (1635), 254 (1638); N.A.S. E4/6 pp. 95 (1642), 189 (1643), 307v (1647). Prohibitory Acts were repeated when the Privy Council recognised that despite the former bans still being active, the practice of exporting wool had become common, which worked to the detriment of Scottish cloth manufacture (rising prices of the raw material leading to dearth and lack of work for the rural population).

<sup>141</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 616.



When raw wool was exported, it was usually 'weyed upoun the naill without the pow'<sup>142</sup> and measured by the stone of sixteen pounds<sup>143</sup> and occasionally by the sack of 24 stones<sup>144</sup> or by the last of 240 stones.<sup>145</sup> In one instance wool was exported in packs, each of which is calculated to have weighed six stones.<sup>146</sup> The custom duty payable on wool was set down in the 1597 Book of Rates as £0.25 per stone and in the 1612 Book as £0.33 per stone.<sup>147</sup> The enrolled accounts confirm that the rate of duty did indeed increase slightly from 1612 and that an export licence cost £0.05 per stone of wool exported.<sup>148</sup>

Raw wool was exported overwhelmingly from the Edinburgh and Leith. Charts 2-6a and 2-6b illustrate the sporadic nature of wool exports both year by year within the period 1597-1634 and in longer term perspective. The only information available regarding the destination of Scottish wool relates to the late 1620s when it was being exported from Leith solely to the Low Countries (primarily to the staple port of Veere, but also to Rotterdam).<sup>149</sup> Small amounts of wool were also exported from the Borders, Galloway and the Clyde, and miniscule amounts from the Forth, West Fife and the Tay<sup>150</sup> to unknown destinations.

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<sup>142</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 477.

<sup>143</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. II, p. 12.

<sup>144</sup> N.A.S. E76/1/1; *A.P.S.*, Vol. III, c. 12, p. 216.

<sup>145</sup> One last contained ten sacks (N.A.S. E76/1/1).

<sup>146</sup> £24 custom duty was payable on twelve packs of wool were exported from the area between the 'Wheilcalsay' and Berwick between November 1622 and November 1623 (N.A.S. E38 582).

<sup>147</sup> N.A.S. E76/1/1, E76/3. In 1612 wool was valued at £6.67 per stone: duty payable was 5% of this figure.

<sup>148</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E71/29/9.

<sup>149</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/9; E71/29/11.

<sup>150</sup> An entry in the *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, pp. 287-88 suggests that some wool exported from Scotland may in fact have been English wool brought into Scotland and then re-exported as Scottish wool. Unfortunately there is no means to distinguish English from Scottish wool in the enrolled accounts.

CHART 2-6A: WOOL EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1596/97-1632/33

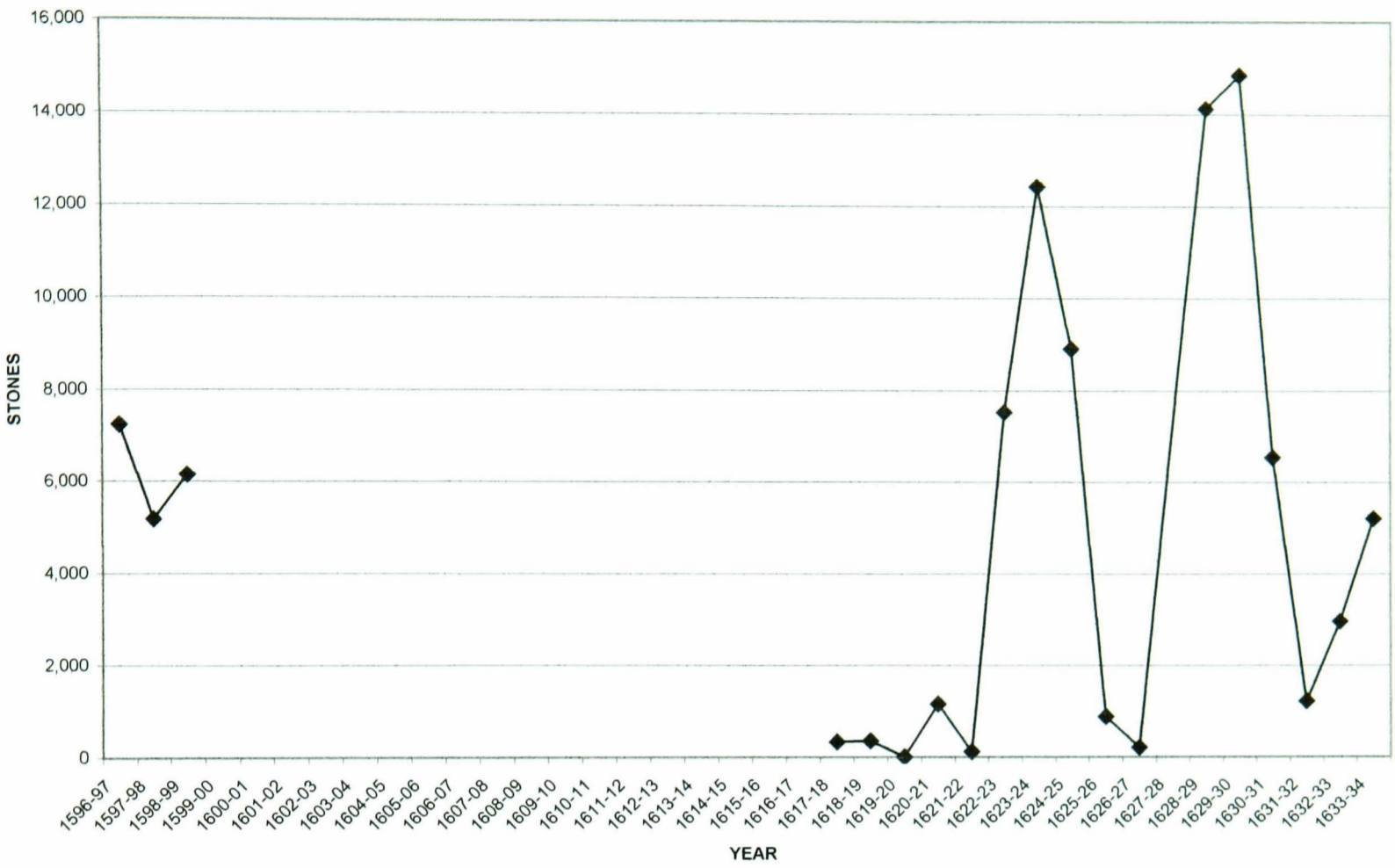
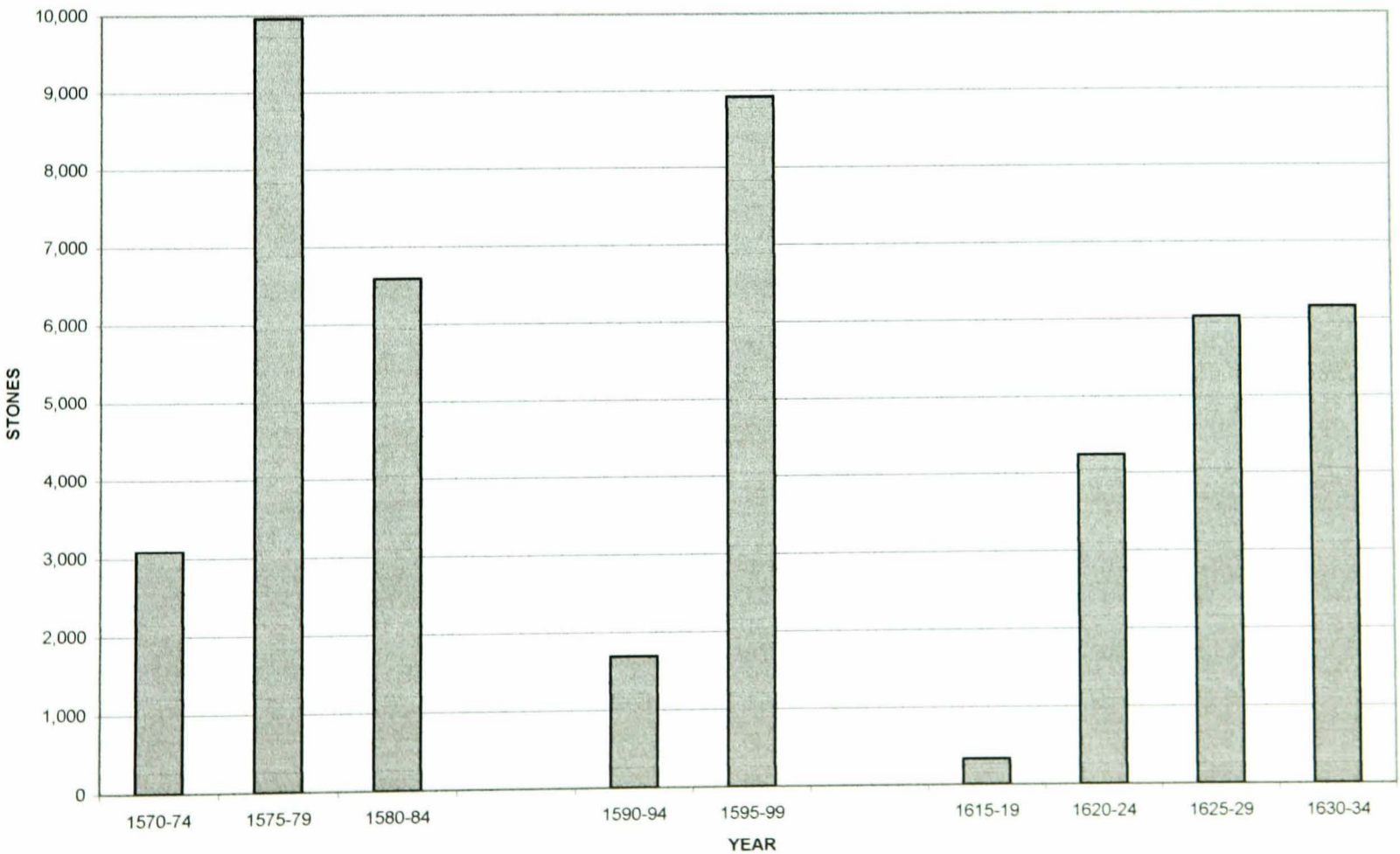


CHART 2-6B: WOOL EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH AND LEITH FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634



## 7. WOOLLEN CLOTH

The importance of adding value to native wool by improving the home-manufacture of woollen cloth so as to supersede the necessity for exporting raw wool and importing cloth in return, to earn much needed foreign specie and to provide employment for the rural population, was at the forefront of contemporary thinking, particularly in the face of periodic prohibitions on the import of English woollen cloth.<sup>151</sup> Royal policy therefore favoured the conversion of raw wool into woollen cloth rather than it being exported in its natural state. Consequently, unprocessed wool was subject to numerous export restrictions between 1597 and 1645 as discussed above, whereas the export of woollen cloth remained free.

Rather than being categorised simply as narrow or broad cloth as had been the case before 1597, woollen cloth exports from the late sixteenth century onwards were generally listed by type. Two distinct groupings are apparent: traditional coarse cloths and higher-quality cloths of the 'new drapery'.

Traditional cloths consisted of coloured (grey, blue and white)<sup>152</sup> woollen cloths but primarily of plaiding. The quality of this 'cuntrey claith' was hindered from the outset by deficiencies of the raw material: general ignorance in sheep husbandry and the traditional practice of heavily tarring sheep as protection against cold, damp and vermin<sup>153</sup> meant that the wool used was inferior. Production continued to be organised extensively: it took place largely in rural areas, on a domestic basis, and employed thousands of families who had no alternative means of earning a living.<sup>154</sup> Consequently, production remained technically under-developed, and it is likely that the plaiding was sold undyed.<sup>155</sup> Attempts to improve the quality and marketing of plaiding become apparent only in the 1630s. At that time its bleaching with lime was prohibited as this harsh process detracted from the (already poor) quality of the cloth.<sup>156</sup> When it was ordered to be presented for sale in open folds rather than in hard rolls it was realised that there existed a great risk of losing foreign markets if Scottish cloth of inferior quality and of poor dimensions should continue to be exported.<sup>157</sup>

However, despite the invariably low-quality of Scottish plaiding relative to English and continental woollen cloths, it was competitive on English and European markets due to its low production costs which 'balanced or even outweighed the greater technical efficiency and superior organisation of the more advanced cloth making countries'.<sup>158</sup> Plaiding was Scotland's premier manufacture and was by far the most dominant type of woollen cloth export. Indeed, it was described in 1625 as 'one of the

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<sup>151</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 119, 136 c.23.

<sup>152</sup> White woollen cloth was specified as Galloway cloth.

<sup>153</sup> Gulvin, C., *The Scottish Woollen Industry 1603-1914*. University of Edinburgh Ph.D., 1969, p. 11.

<sup>154</sup> It was stated in *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, p. 75 that the making of plaiding employed 20,000 Scots.

<sup>155</sup> Well into the eighteenth century most country-made cloths were undyed. (Plant, M., *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1952, pp. 193-94).

<sup>156</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. II, pp. 305, 319-20.

<sup>157</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. II, pp.318-19, 477-48, 526-27; *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, p. 225.

<sup>158</sup> Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting*, *op. cit.*, p. 238-39.

best commodities of the kingdome that wes exportit'<sup>159</sup> and in 1641 as 'one of the most ancient and prime commodities'.<sup>160</sup> The Books of Rates indicate that plaiding was to be customed at £6.00 per dozen ells from 1597 onwards.<sup>161</sup> The enrolled accounts show, however, that plaiding was generally customed at only £0.60 per dozen ells from 1597 until the late 1620s.<sup>162</sup>

The smaller but by no means insignificant grouping of woollen cloths exports were the products of the 'new drapery' - stuffs and woollen cloth specified in the custom accounts as kersey, baize, stamin, kelt and sky<sup>163</sup> - which used finer, better quality wools, such as those of Galloway. Pre-1597 attempts to introduce skilled foreign artisans into Scotland to produce and to advise the Scots in producing these lighter woollen cloths continued. In the early 1600s, for example, seven Flemish weavers were engaged in producing cloth at Bonnington, near Edinburgh.<sup>164</sup> In 1609 strangers were brought to Scotland to teach the art of making, dressing and dyeing woollen cloth and other stuffs. Their labour resulted in the making of all sorts of cloth and stuffs, which had never before been known or made in Scotland, having reached a 'reessounable good perfectioun'.<sup>165</sup> Later, Acts of Parliament of 1641 and 1645 aimed to encourage production of fine woollen cloth by allowing free importation of fine wools and other necessary raw materials such as dyestuffs and oils. All cloth produced was to be free of custom duty for fifteen years, and incentives were offered to further encourage the immigration of skilled foreign workers.<sup>166</sup> As a result, three manufactories were established: at Bonnington, at Ayr and at New Mills, near Haddington. Unfortunately, lack of capital, the jealousy of the Royal Burghs, and the political upheavals of the post-1645 period, ensured that any success arising from these enterprises was limited.<sup>167</sup>

A dozen of twelve ells was the standard measure for woollen cloth. 'Steiks' and pieces occasionally appear in the accounts: these were identical measures and equivalent to 15 ells (1.25 dozen ells).<sup>168</sup> Measurements have been analysed as they appear in the enrolled accounts, although it is recognised that some variation occurred in the dimensions of the different types of woollen cloth. When the City of Edinburgh was granted a patent to oversee the making of cloths and stuffs made within her

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<sup>159</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I p. 75.

<sup>160</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, p. 414, c.106.

<sup>161</sup> *N.A.S.* E76/1/1, E76/2, E76/3.

<sup>162</sup> *N.A.S.* E38 series.

<sup>163</sup> It is impossible to distinguish whether some of these forms of woollen cloth were exports or actually re-exports. In view of contemporary attempts to encourage the 'new draperies' within Scotland, the various forms of cloth are assumed to have been exports, unless specified in the custom accounts as having originated overseas, examples being English and Liege (Flemish) woollen cloth. (See *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII pp. 337-39 for confirmation that cloth of the 'new draperies' were indeed manufactured in Scotland). In addition unspecified types of woollen cloth were regularly exported: there is one 'narrow woollen cloth' entry and one 'long cloth' entry.

<sup>164</sup> Scott, W. R., *The Constitution and Finance of English Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, Volume Three: *Water Supply, Postal Services, Street-Lighting, Manufacturing, Banking, Finance and Insurance Companies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911, pp. 124-25.

<sup>165</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 366.

<sup>166</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 411-12 c.100.

<sup>167</sup> Scott, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Gulvin, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>168</sup> *N.A.S.* E76/2.

boundaries in 1621, for example,<sup>169</sup> a dozen of cloth was specified as ‘seven quarters’ broad and twelve ells of length. All types of kersey were to be one ell broad and eighteen ells of length; and kelts were to be three quarters broad and thirty-two ells of length.<sup>170</sup>

Charts 2-7a to 2-7d illustrate the trends in the export of woollen cloth from various jurisdictions 1597-1645. It must be noted that these figures slightly underestimate woollen cloth exports, particularly from the Clyde, and also from the Tay and Edinburgh/Leith as there are approximately eighteen enrolled account entries that either do not specify the type of cloth exported or list mixed woollen/linen totals. To remedy this, graphs showing total (woollen and linen) cloth exports are presented in section 10 below.

Again, Leith was the major point of departure for woollen cloth, with exports of over 60,000 dozen ells in the year 1617-18 outstanding.<sup>171</sup> The particular accounts indicate that substantial volumes of plaiding had been transported south from Aberdeen, and to a far lesser extent from Dundee, for export from Leith. The overwhelmingly dominant destination of woollen cloth exported from Leith was the staple port of Veere,<sup>172</sup> and occasional shipments went to Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Baltic. Exports from the Tay (Dundee rather than Perth) increased from the 1590s to the mid 1610s but declined thereafter. Exports from the North East (from Aberdeen rather than from Montrose) increased constantly throughout the period, overtaking the Tay ports in the mid 1610s and taking off over the 1630s in particular. Smaller volumes were exported to France and Ireland from the Clyde - a significant proportion of which had previously been transported northwards from south-western Scotland. Miniscule volumes were exported from (in descending order of importance) the Forth, North of the Spey, West Fife, the East Neuk, the Borders and the Galloway ports.<sup>173</sup> It is only from East Lothian where there is no record of woollen cloth having been exported.

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<sup>169</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 669, c.78.

<sup>170</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, pp. 337-39.

<sup>171</sup> N.A.S. E38 569.

<sup>172</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/9, E71/29/11.

<sup>173</sup> It must be noted that figures for woollen cloth exports from the Galloway ports in particular are probably grossly understated: the south west was historically one of Scotland’s leading wool producing areas; overland trade to England is unfortunately not well represented in the surviving accounts; the particular accounts show that Galloway cloth was frequently exported from the Clyde ports rather directly from the Solway ports; and there exists a note in the official records of the mid 1620s that Galloway kersies had formerly been ‘a great export commodity...now neglected’. (*R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, p. 76).

CHART 2-7A: WOOLLEN CLOTH EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH AND LEITH 1596/97-1633/34

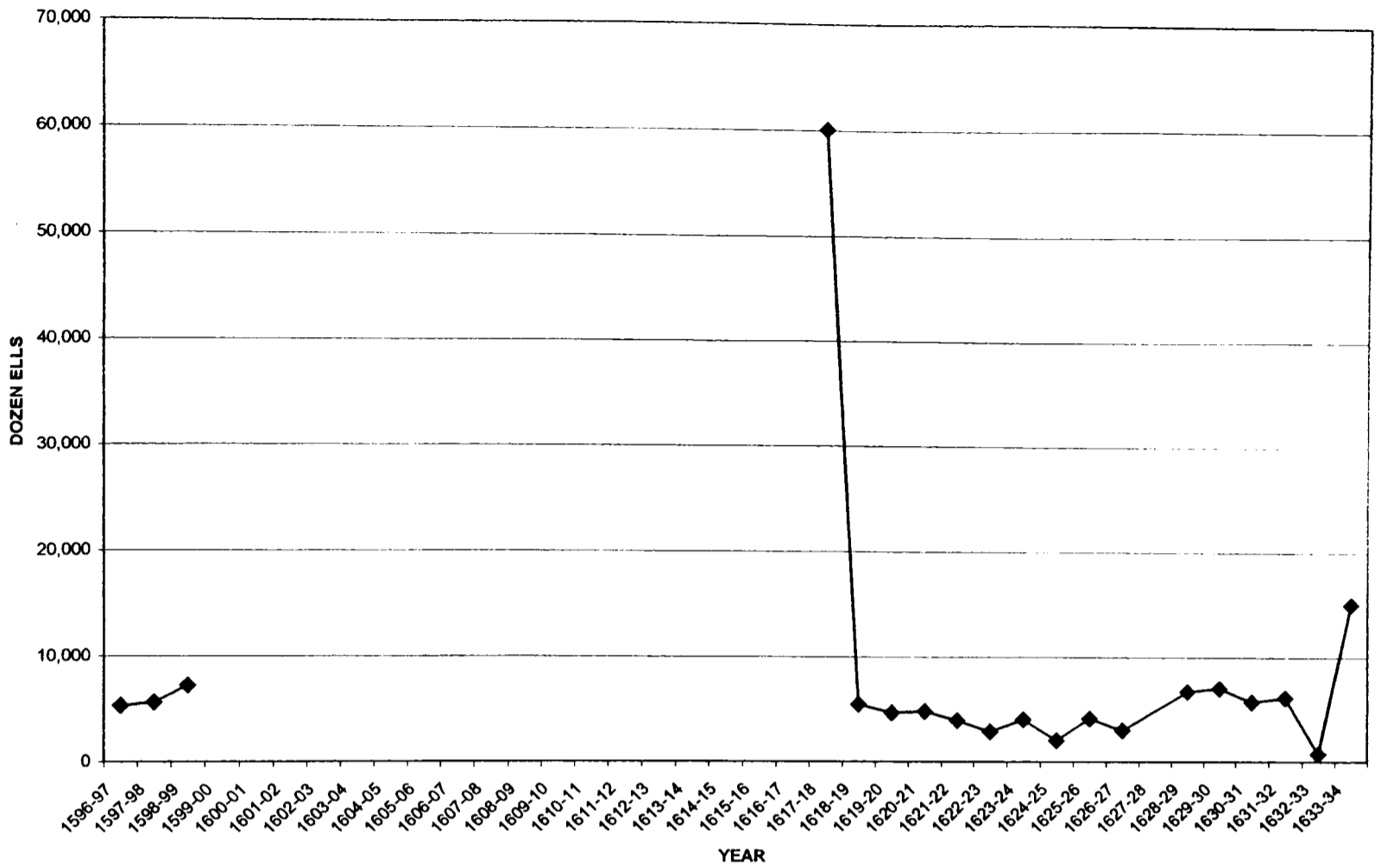


CHART 2-7B: WOOLLEN CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE 1596/97-1637/38

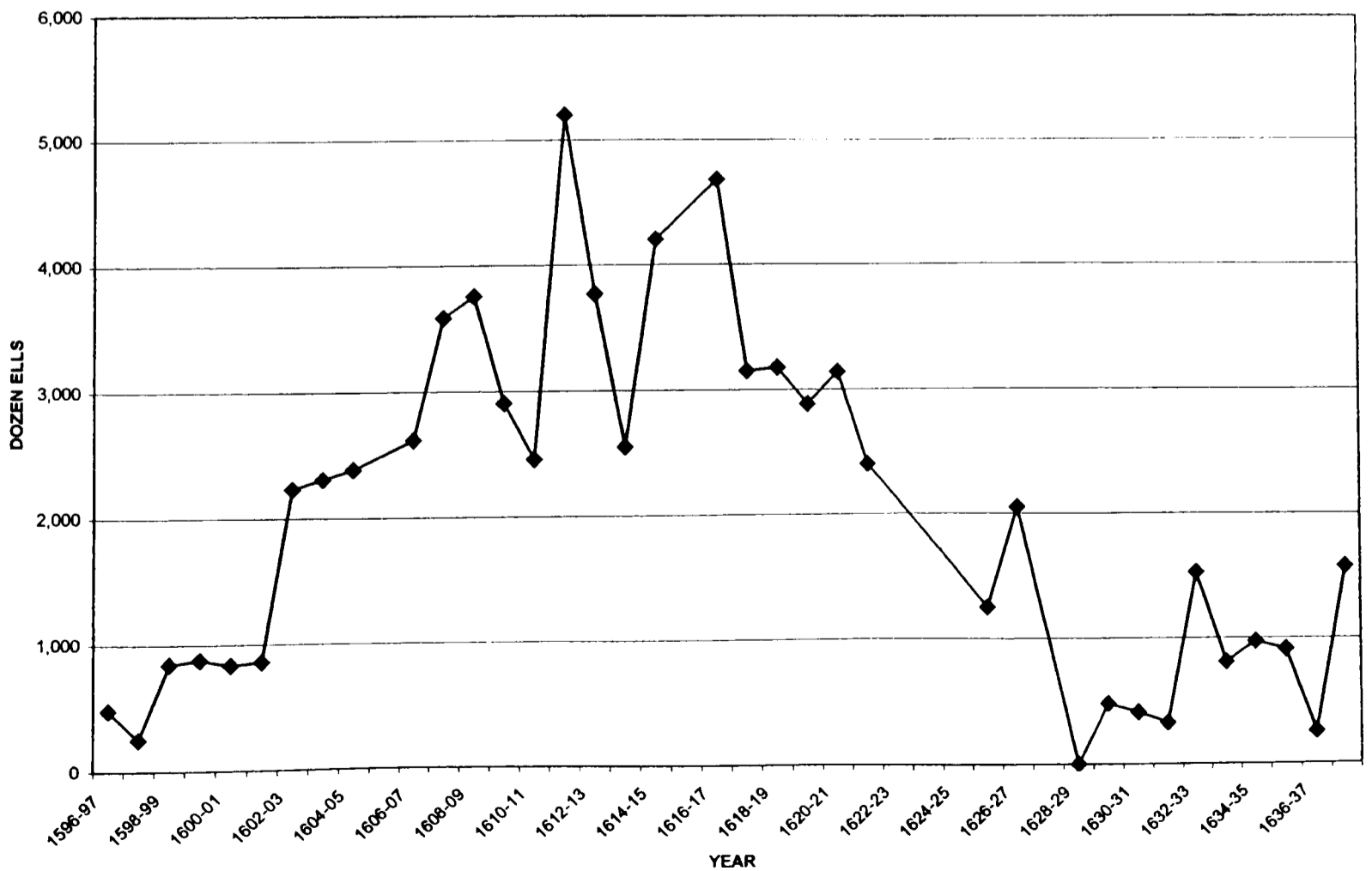


CHART 2-7C: WOOLLEN CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST 1596/97-1640/41

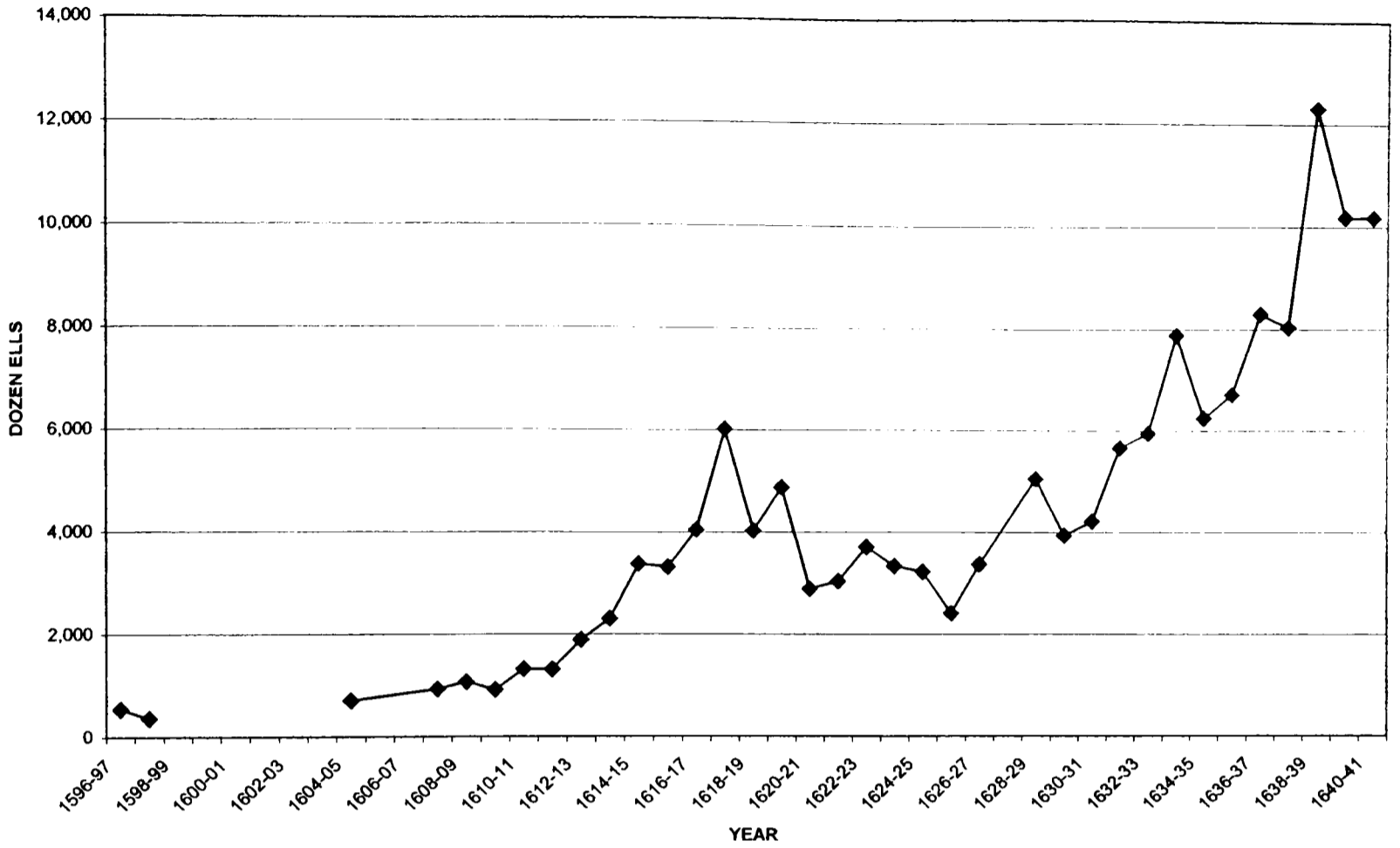
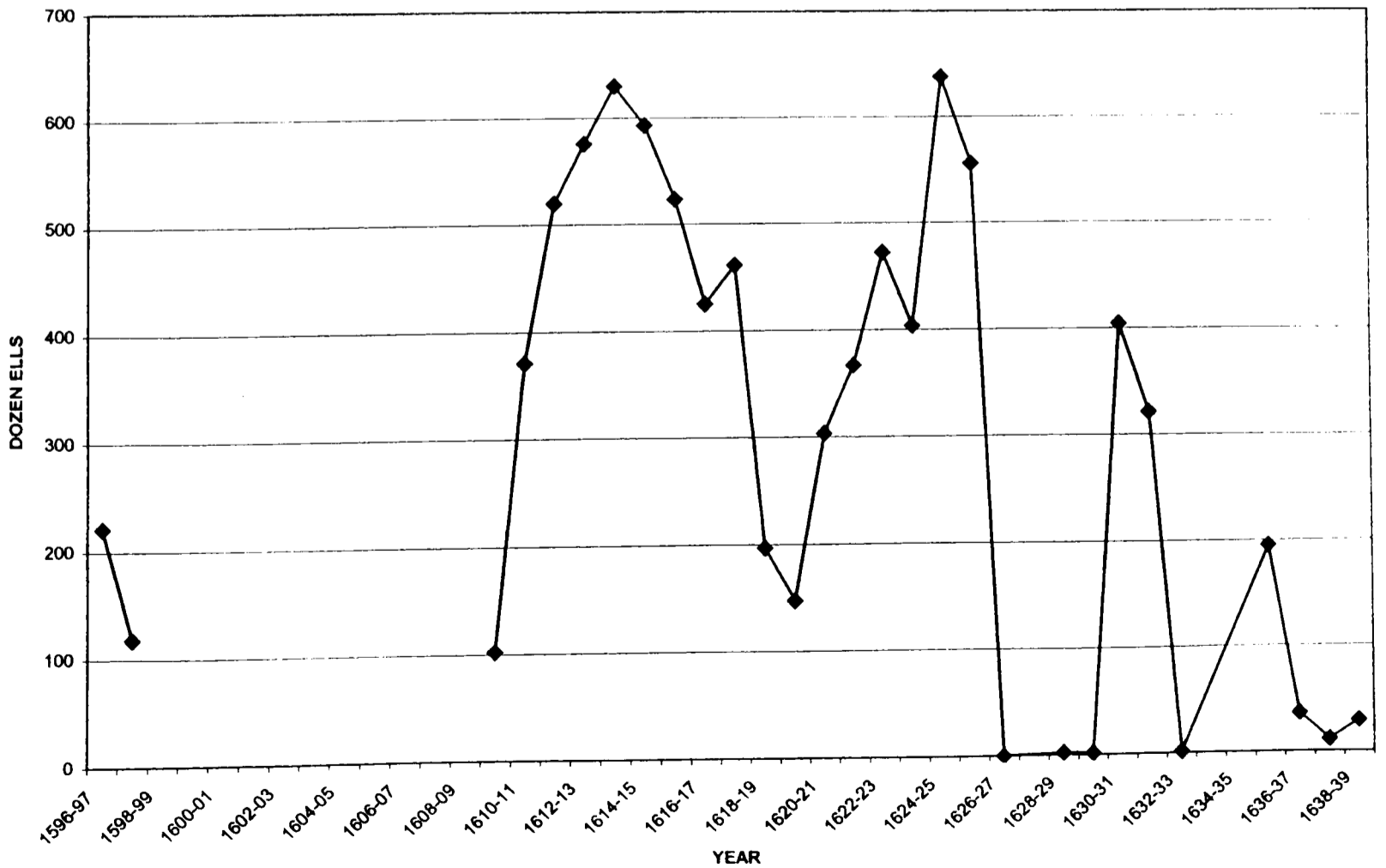


CHART 2-7D: WOOLLEN CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1596/97-1638/39



## 8. LINEN YARN

Linen was exported in two forms. Linen yarn, measured in pounds weight,<sup>174</sup> is the subject of this section; while linen cloth, measured in ells, will be focused upon in the following section. The export of linen yarn was subject to restriction throughout the period 1597-1645. That it did not appear in the 1597 Book of Rates suggests it was not a legal export at that time. The first reference to certain prohibition appears in January 1603.<sup>175</sup> This ban was renewed in January and in March 1609.<sup>176</sup> In 1612 it was claimed that such restraint worked to the detriment of many poor people who relied on weaving yarn to make a living. Accordingly, yarn exports were permitted thereafter, subject to the purchase of a licence from the Crown<sup>177</sup> and payment of an export duty of £4.00 per hundredweight (120 pounds).<sup>178</sup>

Despite the prohibition, it is certain that the illegal exportation of great quantities of yarn did continue, as was acknowledged by Crown officials of the time. The Register of the Privy Council stated in February 1609, for example, that the export of yarn continued although it was expressly prohibited: exporters and skippers covertly kept the yarn packed and barrelled until the vessels were ready to weigh anchor, and then craftily put the yarn on board the ship, taking advantage of the rule that no confiscation could be made of goods unless shipped.<sup>179</sup> In March 1610, a pack of yarn, 'ane Inglis trie full of yairne,' a pack and 'ane litle cros' full of yarn were seized and confiscated at Prestonpans whilst awaiting illegal export to London<sup>180</sup> and in 1612 there were at least two instances of packs of yarn being seized whilst awaiting illegal export from Leith.<sup>181</sup> It must be borne in mind, therefore, that the export figures presented below by no means indicate the full extent of linen yarn exports: undeclared exports would no doubt have augmented the officially recorded export figures to an unknown extent.

Charts 2-8a to 2-8d illustrate the trends in the seaborne exportation of linen yarn from various jurisdictions 1597-1645. Yarn exports did not appear in the sixteenth century custom accounts, so it is not possible to construct graphs to illustrate the longer-term trends.

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<sup>174</sup> The entry of nine packs of yarn exported from Merse and Teviotdale 1620-21 has been converted to 1080 pounds weight in line with other entries pertaining to that area. The two entries of yarn exported from Stirling in spindles (160 spindles exported between January 1607 and November 1611 and 160 spindles exported between March 1617 and November 1617) have had to be excluded from analysis as the size of a spindle was not standardised and no custom valuations are available to allow calculation of an approximate weight. These omitted entries are likely to have been small and would not greatly distort the Forth's overall yarn export figures.

<sup>175</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 520-21. Yarn was excepted from the Union of the Crowns free trade proposals (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, p. xxxiii).

<sup>176</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, pp. 58-59, 232; *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 408.

<sup>177</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, pp. 378-79. Yarn exports were noted as being subject to licence in 1610 (*R.C.R.B.*, Vol II, p. 308); 1611 (N.A.S. E76/3 p. 24f); 1612 (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, pp. 378-79); 1615 (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, p. 439); 1626-27 (N.A.S. E71/29/9); 1635 (N.A.S. E4/5. p. 46b); 1638 N.A.S. E4/5, p. 254f; and 1642 (N.A.S. E4/6 p. 95f).

<sup>178</sup> As inferred from N.A.S. E76/3 which states that linen yarn was valued at £80 per hundred pounds; and calculated from N.A.S. E38 series.

<sup>179</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 245.

<sup>180</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 449.

<sup>181</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, pp. 326, 364.



The charts show that legitimate linen yarn exports were not insubstantial after becoming legal under licence in 1612. Exports from Edinburgh, which rose almost continuously from the early 1620s to the mid-1630s, were dominant. The next most important yarn exporting areas (in descending order) were West Fife, the Tay and the Forth. Small amounts of yarn were legally exported from north-eastern Scotland (from Montrose rather than from Aberdeen), the Borders and East Lothian. Seaborne yarn exports from the Clyde and Galloway ports were miniscule. The particular accounts show that London was the major single market for Scottish linen yarn, being the destination of all but three consignments for which this information was specified.<sup>182</sup>

In addition to the seaborne exports of yarn discussed above, it must be noted that linen yarn was one of three types of good exported overland to England in significant volume.<sup>183</sup> Although evidence is fragmentary, it is argued here that yarn exports by sea were in fact matched by the 'greit quantetie of lynning clayth [and] lynning yairne ... that is transpoirrted be land dalie'.<sup>184</sup> This activity was no doubt encouraged by the suppression of cross-border 'reiving' following the 1603 Union of the Crowns. The Clyde's 1626-27 particular account,<sup>185</sup> for example, lists approximately 5,280 pounds weight of yarn as having been transported overland from that jurisdiction to England that year<sup>186</sup> which exceeded both the Clyde seaborne total of 4,560 pounds weight<sup>187</sup> and Leith's seaborne total of 4,160 pounds weight 1626-27.<sup>188</sup> The wider significance of this substantial cross-Border trade will be discussed in the conclusion.

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<sup>182</sup> 54 of the 57 particular account entries pertaining to yarn were destined for London. One was destined to Newcastle, one to an unspecified port in England, and one to Flanders.

<sup>183</sup> The other two being linen cloth and livestock.

<sup>184</sup> "Table of Scottish Produce Exported Yearly, 1611-14" reproduced in Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Scotland in the time of Queen Mary*, London: Methuen and Co., 1904, pp. 226-30. This is reproduced as Appendix Thirteen.

<sup>185</sup> "Outvard be Land till Inland" section of N.A.S. E71/9/3.

<sup>186</sup> It is calculated that one pack of yarn comprised 120 pounds weight (see footnote 172 above) and so was customed at £4.00. Further, it is assumed that mixed packs contained equal proportions of yarn and cloth. This yarn would have been transported along the West Marches quite possibly for the use of the fustian weavers of north west England.

<sup>187</sup> N.A.S. E38 594.

<sup>188</sup> N.A.S. E38 594.

CHART 2-8A: LINEN YARN EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1617/18-1633/34

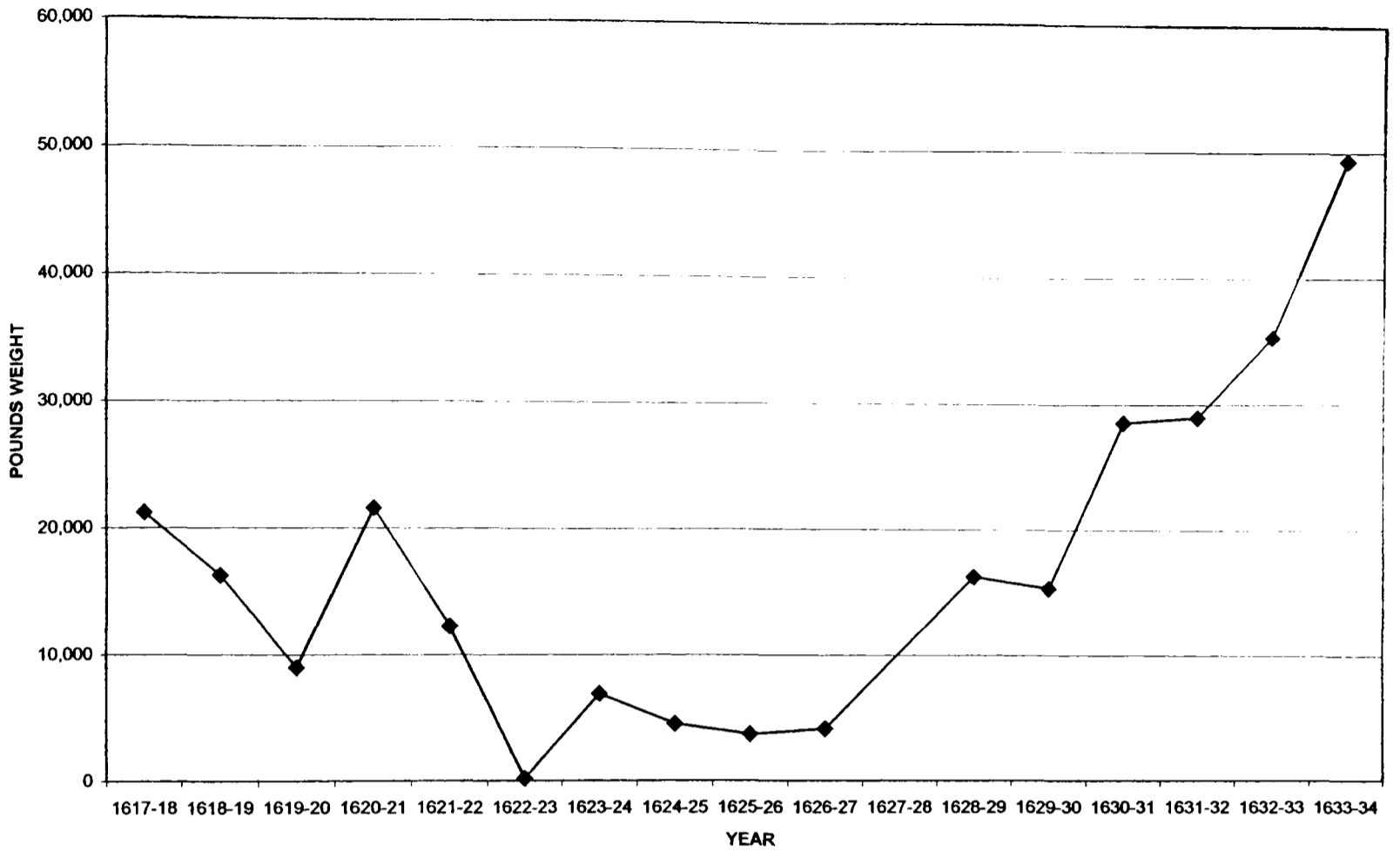


CHART 2-8B: LINEN YARN EXPORTS FROM THE FORTH 1612/13-1634/35

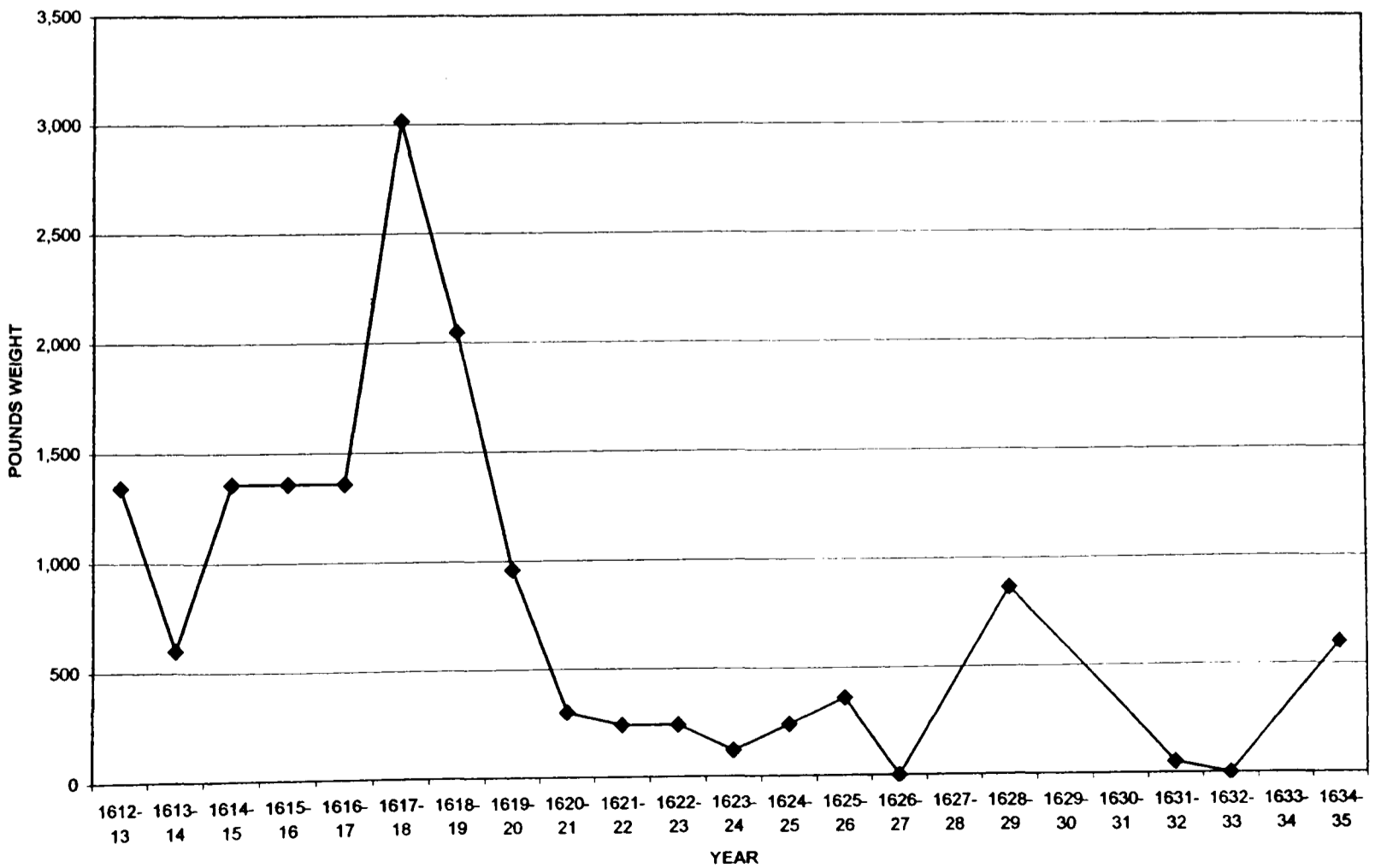
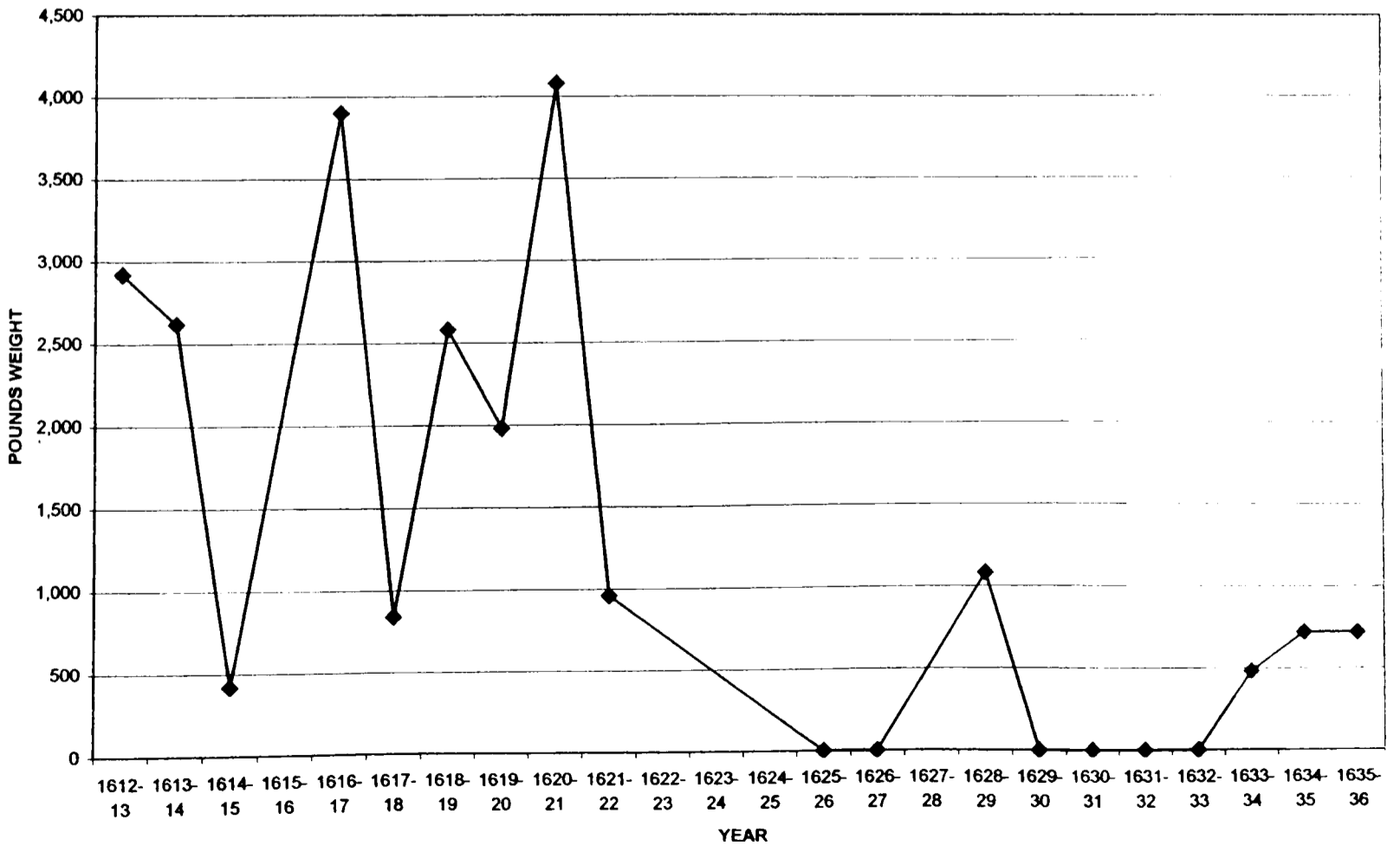


CHART 2-8C: LINEN YARN EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE 1612/13-1632/33



CHART 2-8D: LINEN YARN EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1612/13-1634/35



## 9. LINEN CLOTH

Linen cloth was virtually absent from sixteenth century enrolled accounts although it is almost certain that the good was exported: prior to 1597 linen and woollen cloths were subject to the same rates of duty and so it is probable they were customised together. The revaluation of that year created a discrepancy in their custom duties leading to separate listings of the two types of cloth. The appearance of fairly significant quantities of linen cloth exports, therefore, is likely to have been a consequence of changes in the customs administration rather than a reflection of a new trade.<sup>189</sup> Indeed, in 1598 Fynes Moryson noted that Scotland already exported coarse linen cloth to both France and England.<sup>190</sup>

Included in this section is cloth specified as linen, 'hardin,' ticking, sack, Dornyck, twill, buckram, cambric,<sup>191</sup> fustian and 'figurato'.<sup>192</sup> Linen cloth was generally measured in ells, which have been standardised into dozens to allow combination with woollen cloth in order to calculate total Scottish cloth exports 1570-1645.<sup>193</sup> Occasionally the cloth was measured in 'steiks' and pieces, which are assumed to have been identical measures equivalent to 15 ells (1.25 dozen ells).<sup>194</sup> There exists one entry of a 'cross' of linen cloth which is tentatively estimated to have consisted of 480 (40 dozen) ells of cloth.<sup>195</sup> Linen cloth was not listed in the 1597 Book of Rates, but the enrolled accounts and Acts of Parliament suggest that duty of £0.20 per dozen ells was payable from that year,<sup>196</sup> a rate that continued to be imposed into the 1620s.<sup>197</sup>

No trace of any restriction on the exportation of linen cloth has been detected prior to mid 1630s. From 1635 into the 1640s, however, such exports became subject to licence,<sup>198</sup> a consequence perhaps of increasing concerns as to the ability of Scottish cloth to compete on the European market. Linen cloth was an important revenue earner for the Scottish economy but there existed a real fear that the Scottish product may come into contempt overseas if quality fell any further. Accordingly, bleaching with lime

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<sup>189</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 178-80.

<sup>190</sup> Moryson in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>191</sup> Cambric was also specified as 'camridge' or camerage.

<sup>192</sup> It is impossible to distinguish whether some of these forms of linen cloth were exports or actually re-exports. In view of contemporary attempts to encourage the 'new draperies' within Scotland, the various forms of cloth are assumed to have been exports unless specified in the custom accounts as having originated overseas, examples being Liege and Sluys (Flemish) linen cloth. (See p. 136).

<sup>193</sup> Unspecified types of cloth and mixed woollen/linen cloth entries are not included in either linen or woollen cloth export figures. Rather, charts illustrating total cloth exports are presented below (Charts 2-10a to 2-10k). The omissions have the effect of slightly underestimating linen cloth exports particularly from the Clyde and also from the Tay and Edinburgh/Leith. Likewise, there is at least one example of linen cloth being exported to Norway as 'stulling' in return for timber. This and other unrecorded shipments also lead to a slight underestimation of total linen cloth exports.

<sup>194</sup> N.A.S. E76/2.

<sup>195</sup> Between January and November 1611 one cross of linen cloth was exported from Achesons Haven (N.A.S. E38 557). Conversion into ells is calculated from amounts of custom duty paid.

<sup>196</sup> N.A.S. E38 534; *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 137. c.25.

<sup>197</sup> N.A.S. E38 series. The 1612 Book of Rates indicates that 'linning or dornik of all sorts' was valued at £3.96 per dozen ells. Custom duty was levied at 5% of this value.

<sup>198</sup> Notes that the linen cloth exports were subject to licence appear in records of 1635 (N.A.S. E4/5, p. 46b), 1638 (N.A.S. E4/5, p. 254f) and 1642 (N.A.S. E4/6 p. 95f).

was forbidden as such harsh treatment detracted from quality of the cloth;<sup>199</sup> and it was ordered that linen cloth be sold in folds rather than in rolls so as to regulate the breadth of the cloth.<sup>200</sup> In addition, as referred to in the woollen cloth section above, from 1641 encouragement was given for the establishment of manufactories of both types of cloth.<sup>201</sup>

Charts 2-9a to 2-9d illustrate the trends in the export of linen cloth by sea from various jurisdictions 1597-1645.<sup>202</sup> As stated above, linen cloth scarcely appeared in the sixteenth century custom accounts, so again it is not possible to construct graphs to illustrate the longer-term trends for linen cloth alone. The charts show that linen cloth exports prior to 1610 were sporadic. The only entries indicate an unspecified quantity of fustian cloth exported from Leith between July 1596 and July 1597, 100 dozen ells of linen cloth exported from West Fife between July and December 1598 and 145 dozen ells of linen cloth exported from Perth between November 1604 and July 1605. From 1610/11 ports in both the West Fife and Tay jurisdictions started exporting linen cloth regularly, the Tay ports always the most dominant of the two. Clyde ports started exporting regularly from 1612/13 as did Edinburgh/Leith from 1617/18. The Tay ports dominated until around 1620 when Edinburgh/Leith and the Clyde ports took over as the leading linen cloth exporting areas. Although the export figures do not extend beyond the 1630s, in 1641 it was held that linen cloth 'is become one of [the] pryme commodities of this kingdome'.<sup>203</sup> The particular accounts indicate that linen cloth exported from the Clyde ports over the late 1610s and 1620s was destined for Ireland and England<sup>204</sup> while that exported in the late 1620s from Edinburgh and Leith was sent to England and to the Baltic.<sup>205</sup>

In addition to the seaborne exports of linen cloth, it is argued that as in the case of linen yarn, significant volumes of linen cloth were exported overland to England. The Clyde's 1626-27 particular account<sup>206</sup> lists a total of 6,900 dozen ells of linen cloth as having been transported overland from that one jurisdiction to England that year<sup>207</sup> which greatly exceeded the Clyde's seaborne exports of 380 dozen ells<sup>208</sup> and Edinburgh/Leith's 70 dozen ells 1626-27.<sup>209</sup> The wider significance of this substantial cross Border overland trade in linen cloth, as with linen yarn, will be discussed in the conclusion.

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<sup>199</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, p. 412, c. 101, 597.

<sup>200</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, p. 225, p.412 c. 101. Linen cloth sold above 10s. the ell was to be at least one ell in breadth, and linen cloth sold under 10s per ell was to be at least three-quarters of an ell in breadth.

<sup>201</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, p. 411 c.100, 654.

<sup>202</sup> In calculating the seasonal variations, only entries specified as linen, harden or ticking are used.

<sup>203</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, p. 412, c.101.

<sup>204</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/1, E71/9/2, E71/9/3, E71/19/7.

<sup>205</sup> E71/29/9, E71/29/11.

<sup>206</sup> 'Outvard be Land till Ingland' section of N.A.S. E71/9/3.

<sup>207</sup> It is calculated that one pack of cloth comprised six hundred (720) ells, customed at a rate of £2.00 per hundred ells. It is assumed that mixed packs contained equal proportions of yarn and cloth.

<sup>208</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/3.

<sup>209</sup> N.A.S. E38 594.

CHART 2-9A: LINEN CLOTH EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1617/18-1633/34

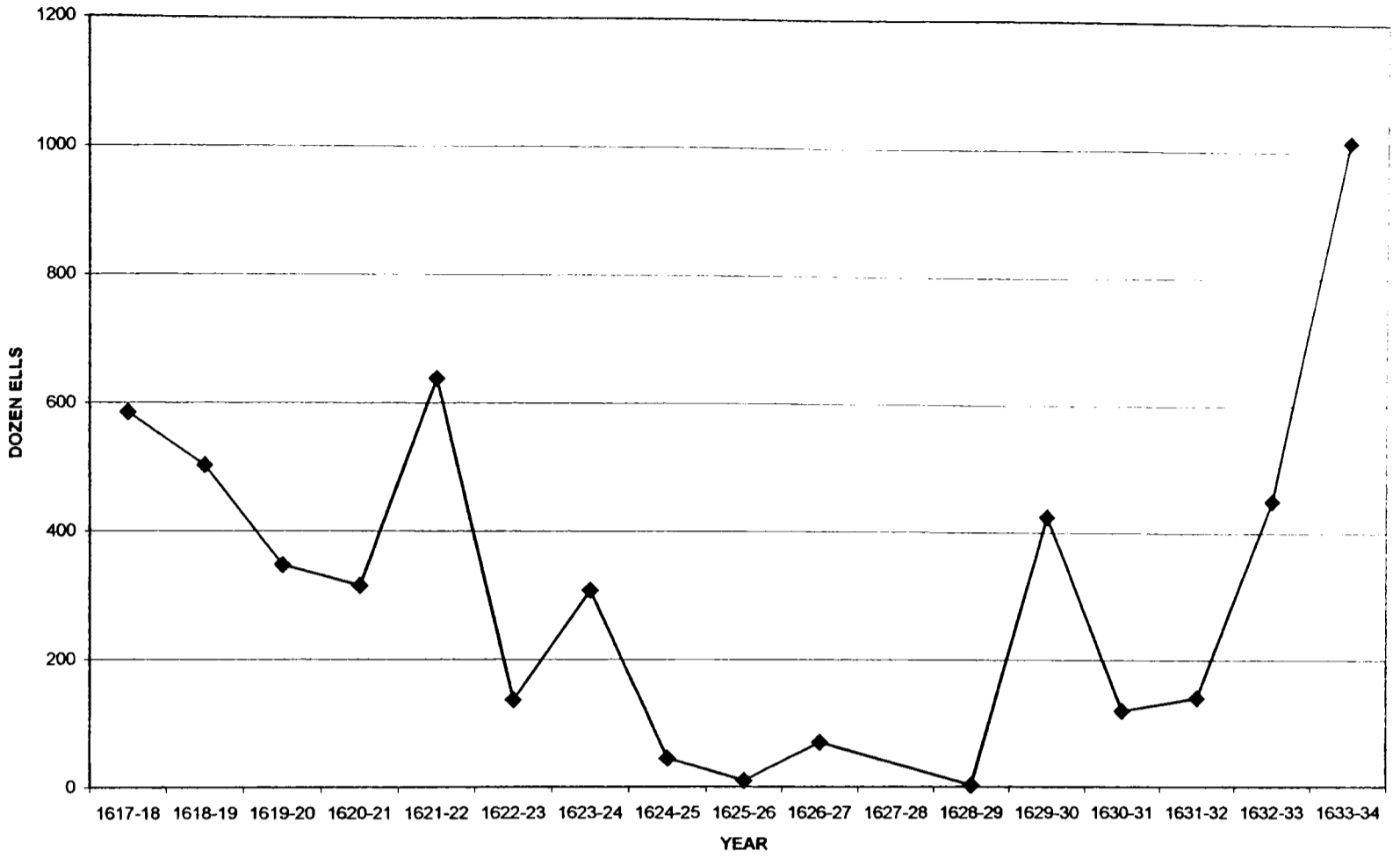


CHART 2-9B: LINEN CLOTH EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE 1598/99-1632/33

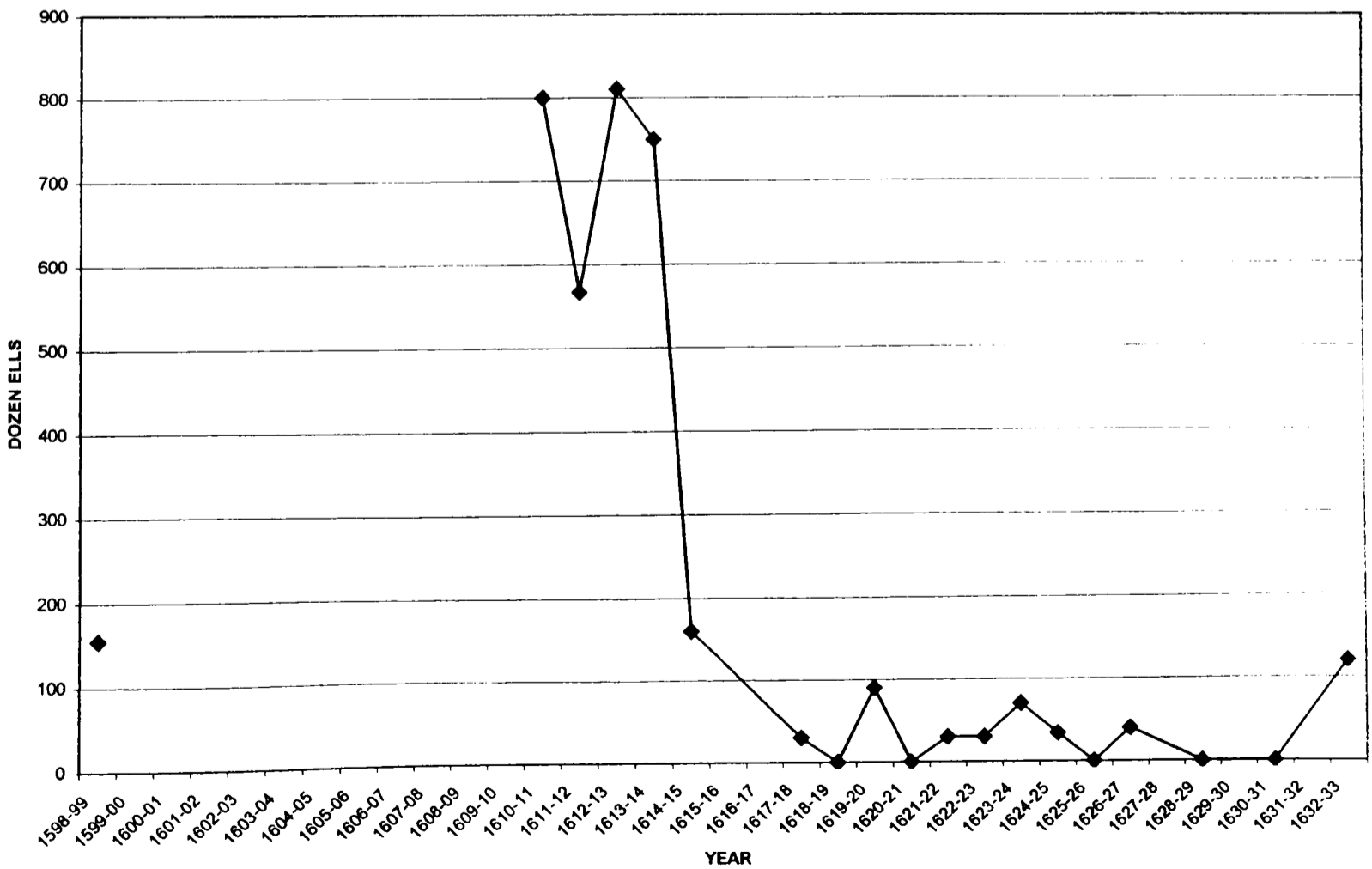


CHART 2-9C: LINEN CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1604/05-1637/38

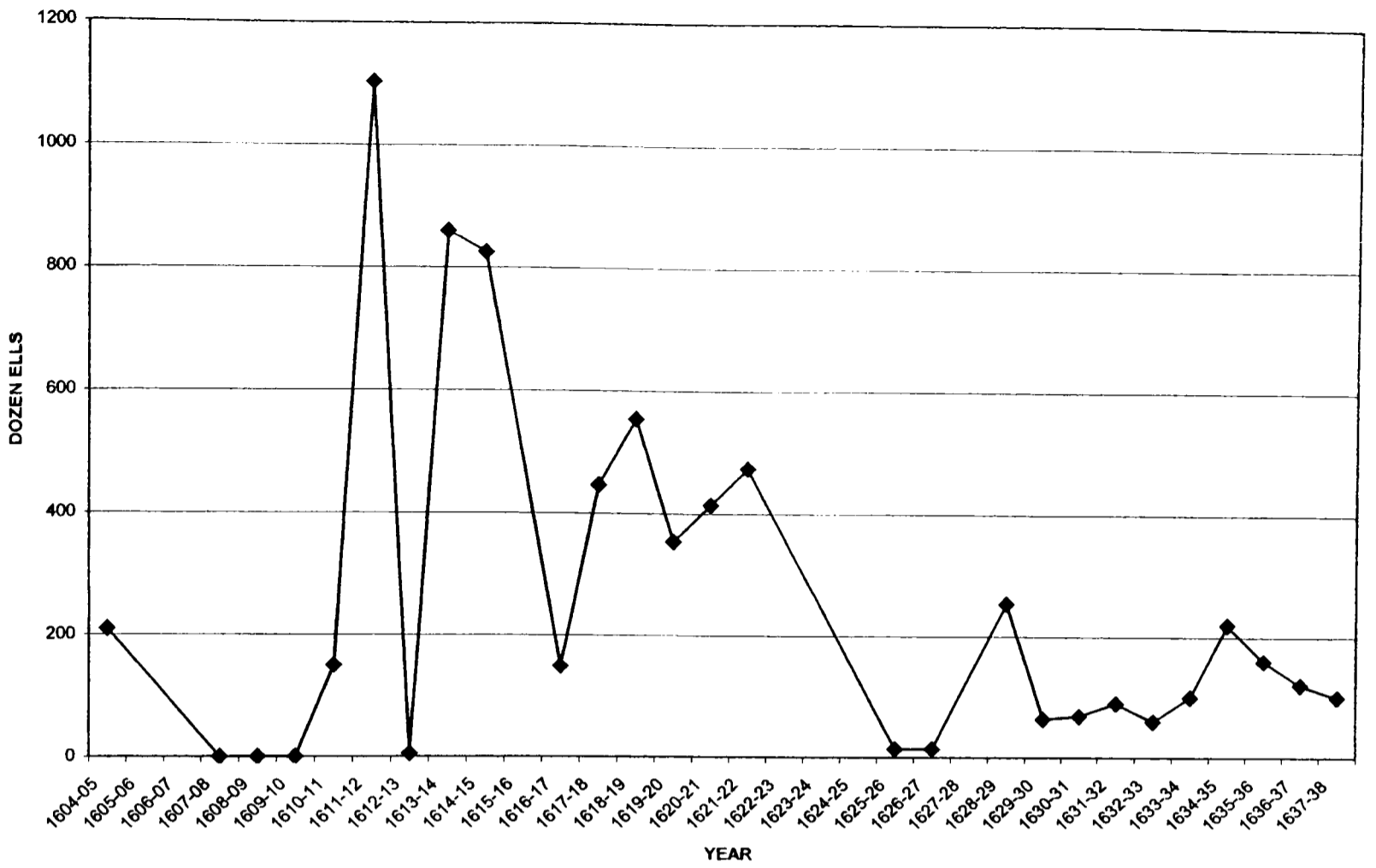
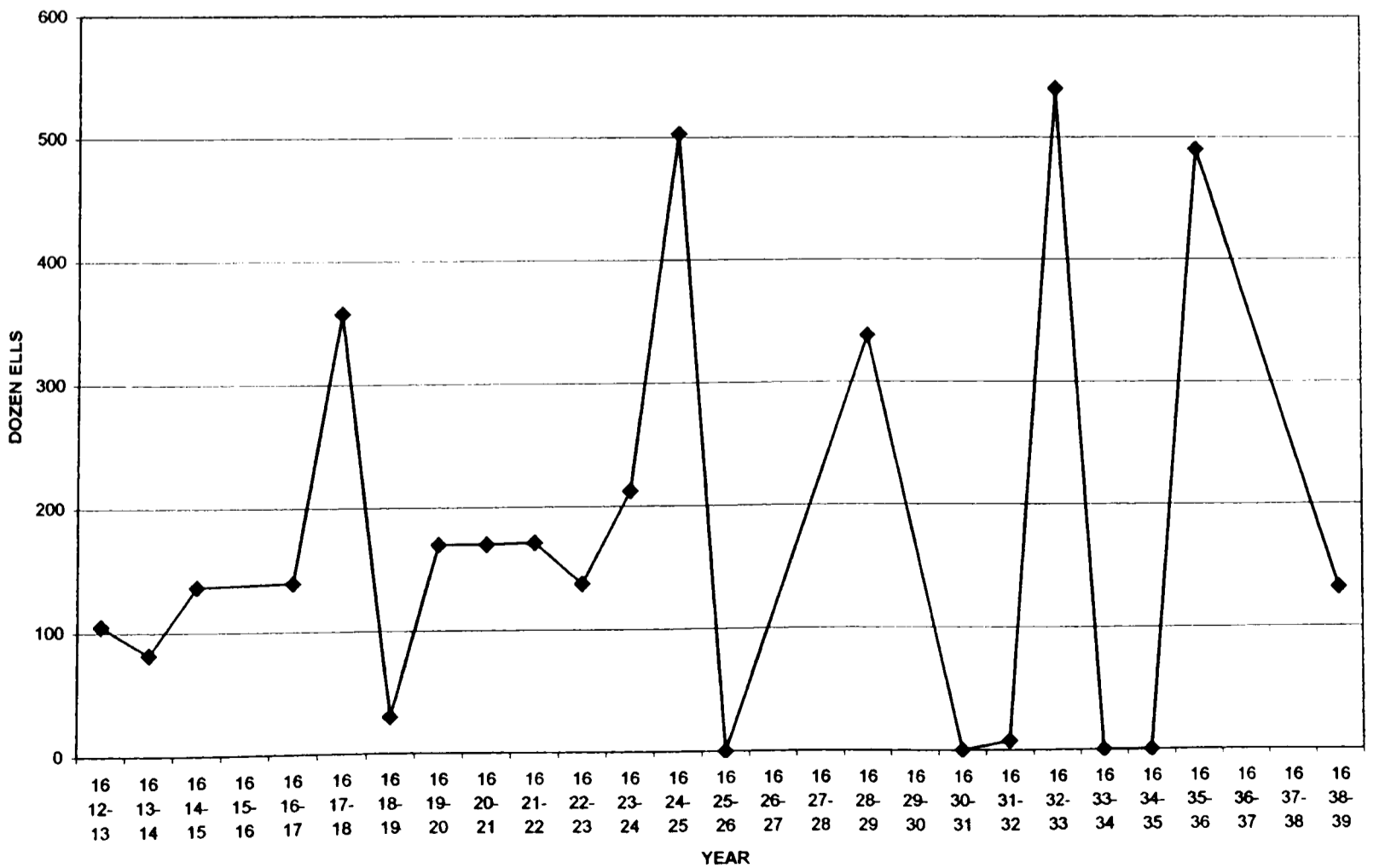


CHART 2-9D: LINEN CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1612/13-1638/39



## 10. ALL CLOTH

All woollen cloth, linen cloth and unspecified cloth entries are combined to produce a statistical series of total cloth exports<sup>210</sup> as illustrated by Charts 2-10a to 2-10g. These in turn are combined with Rorke's 1570-1600 data to provide an overview, in the form of five-year averages, of Scottish cloth exports 1570-1645. Five-year averages for Edinburgh/Leith, the Tay, the North East and the Clyde are illustrated by Charts 2-10h to 2-10k.

The combined data suggest that in seaborne terms Edinburgh/Leith remained the dominant cloth exporting precinct from the 1570s until the mid-1630s. The amount of cloth exported from this jurisdiction remained relatively constant at between 4,000 and 7,000 dozen ells per annum over the entire period.<sup>211</sup> Total cloth exports (albeit mainly the form of plaiding) from North Eastern Scotland also grew substantially over time. From around 1,000 dozen ells per annum over the period 1570-1615, they rose to a plateau of around 3,500 dozen ells per annum 1615-1630, before increasing dramatically and overtaking the volume exported from Leith to a peak of over 10,000 dozen ells per annum 1640-1645. Combined cloth exports from the Tay fluctuated over time, falling from over 1,500 dozen ells per annum over the 1570s and 1580s, to under 1,000 dozen ells per annum over the 1590s and early 1600s. Thereafter, however, the volume of cloth exports increased each year to a peak of over 4,000 dozen ells per annum 1615-19. Declining volumes were subsequently exported over the 1620s and 1630s, returning to a consistent level of under 1,500 dozen ells per annum over those decades. Recorded cloth exports from all other jurisdictions were miniscule in comparison with the three dominant areas.

It must be borne in mind that the exports referred to above relate only to recorded exports by sea. As mentioned above, it is argued that despite the fact that cross-border trade was not comprehensively recorded over the early seventeenth century, substantial additional volumes of linen cloth and yarn were also sent to England by land. The significance of such exports will be discussed in the conclusion.

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<sup>210</sup> When calculating the seasonal variations for unspecified cloth, the mean of woollen cloth and linen cloth for each quarter was used. For the Tay jurisdiction, the seasonal variations are assumed to be thus: November to January 3.7%, February to April 11.1%, May to July 32.6%, August to October 52.7%.

<sup>211</sup> A five year average figure for 1615-19 is not presented as the huge quantity of woollen cloth exported in 1617-18 is such an outlying figure.



CHART 2-10A: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH AND LEITH 1596/97-1632/33

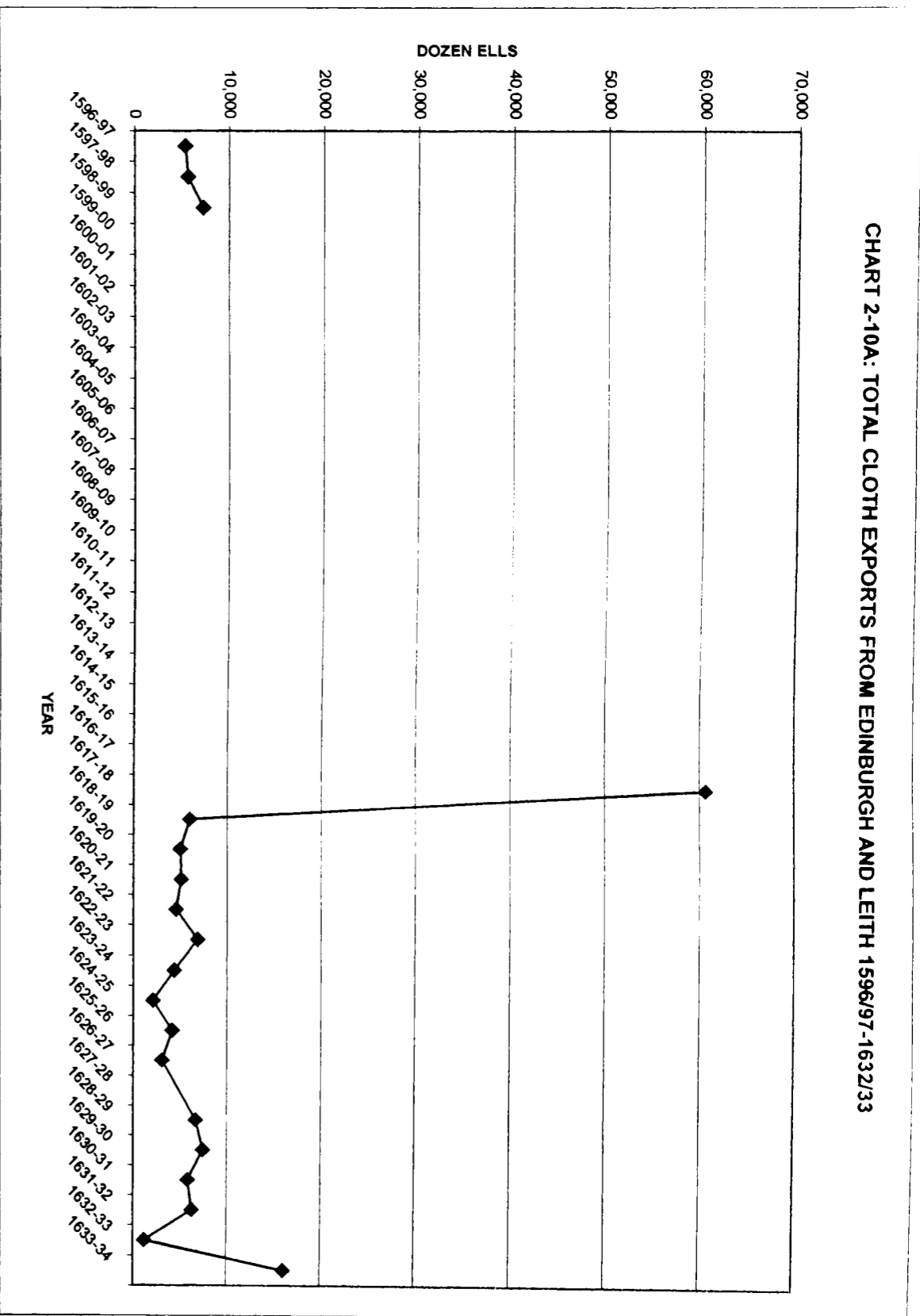


CHART 2-10B: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE FORTH 1596/97-1634/35

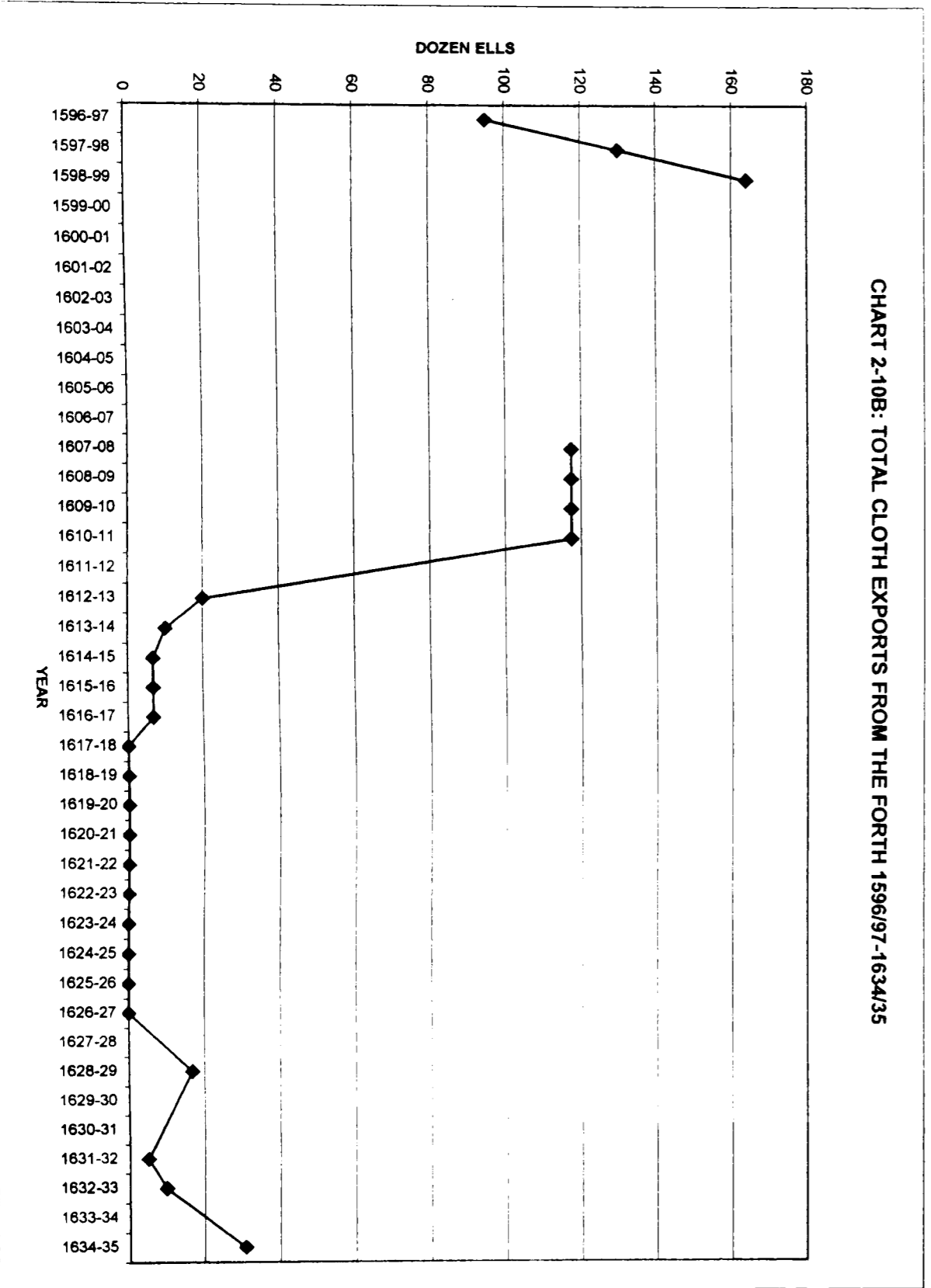


CHART 2-10C: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE 1598/99-1632/33

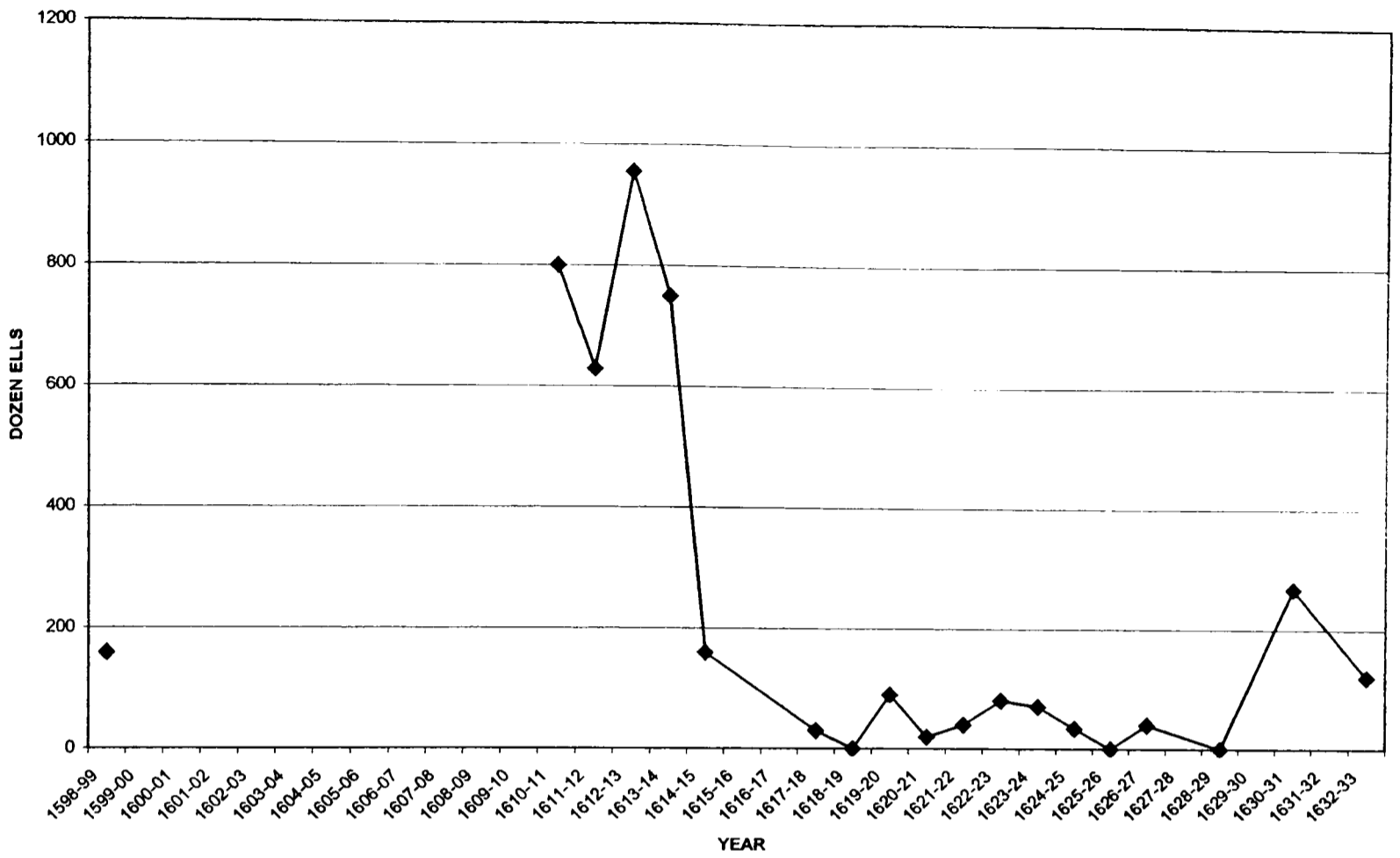


CHART 2-10D: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE EAST NEUK 1622/23-1636/37

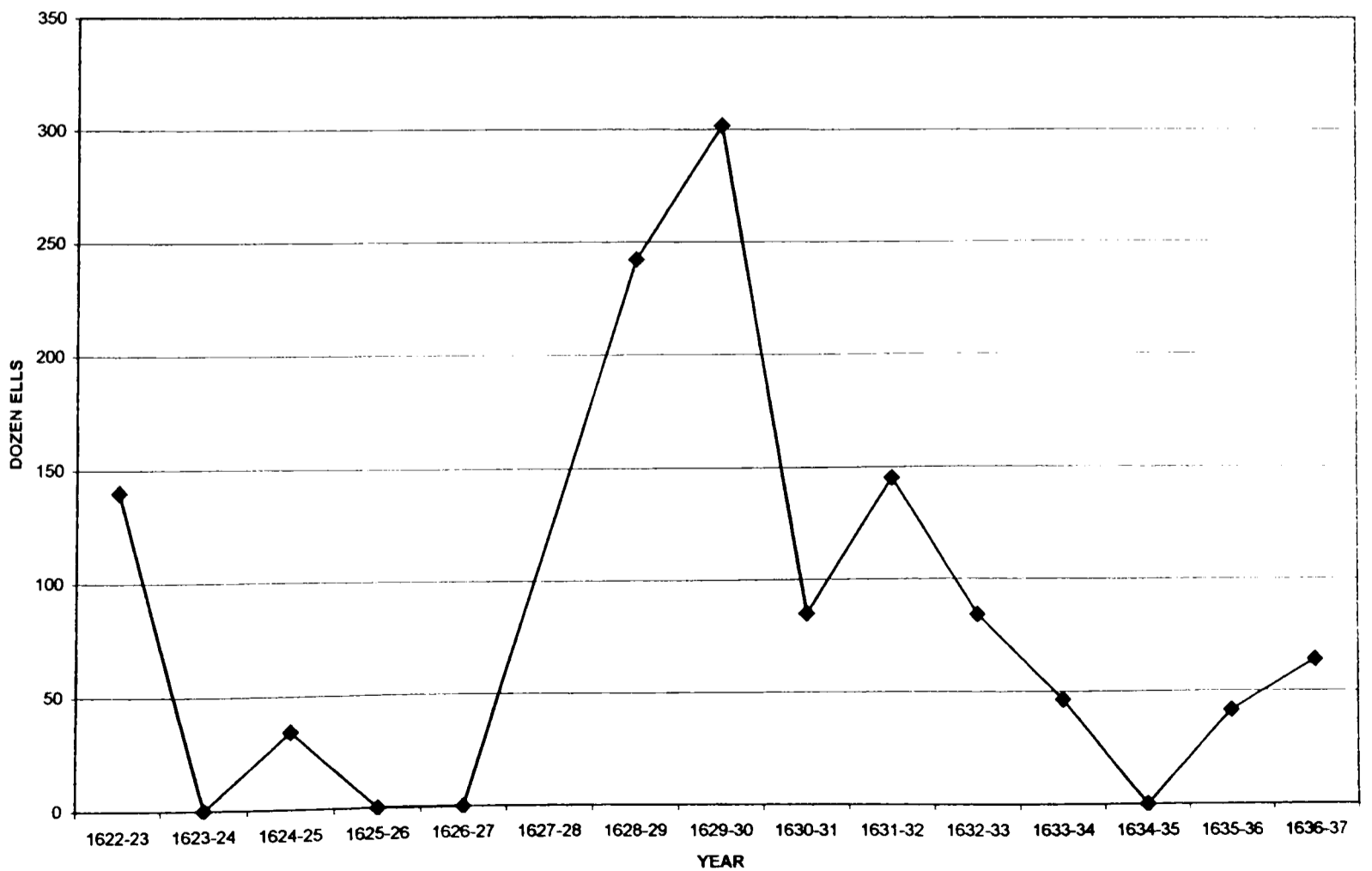


CHART 2-10E: TOTAL RECORDED CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1596-97-1636/37

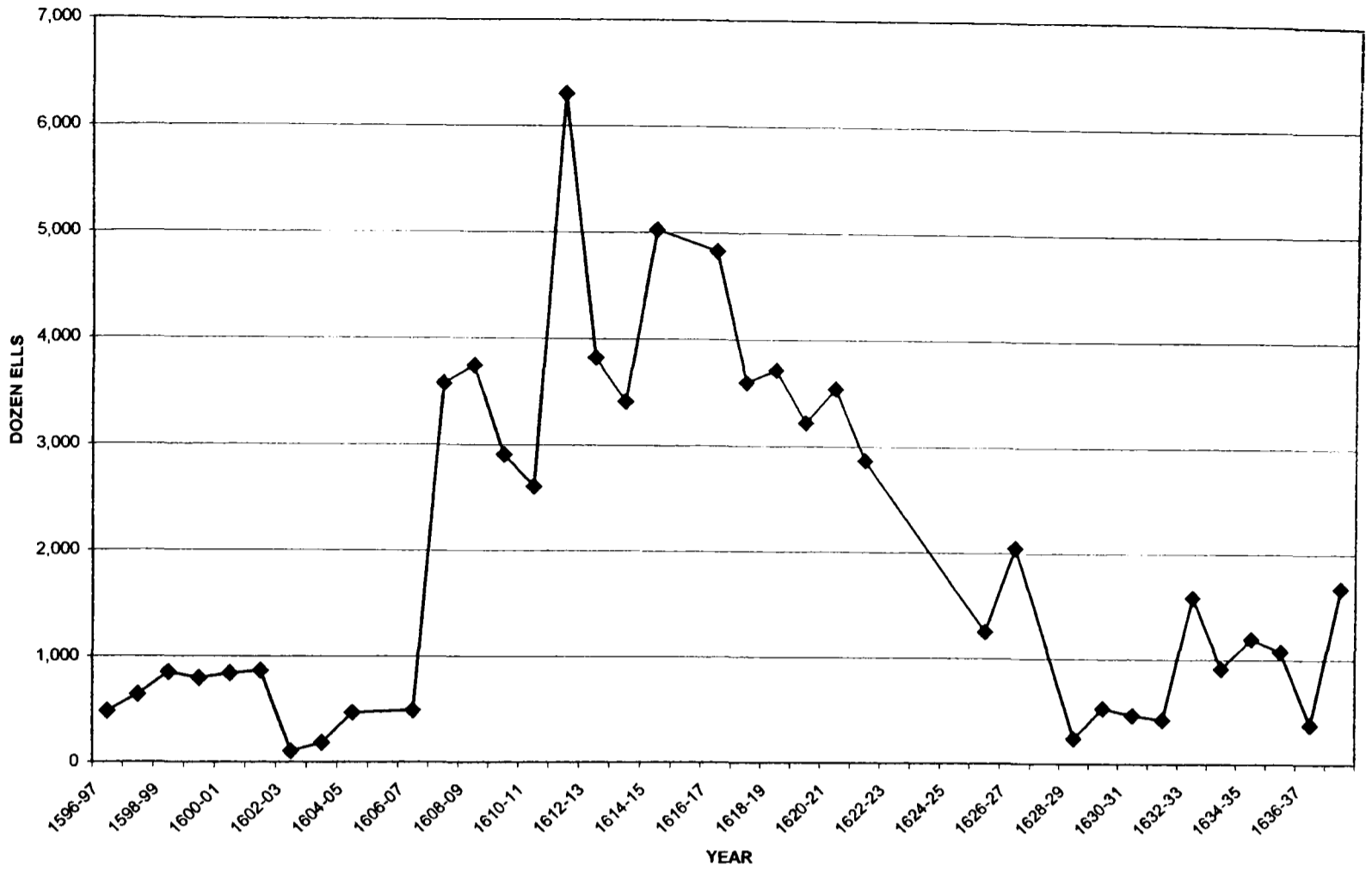


CHART 2-10F: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST 1596/97-1640/41

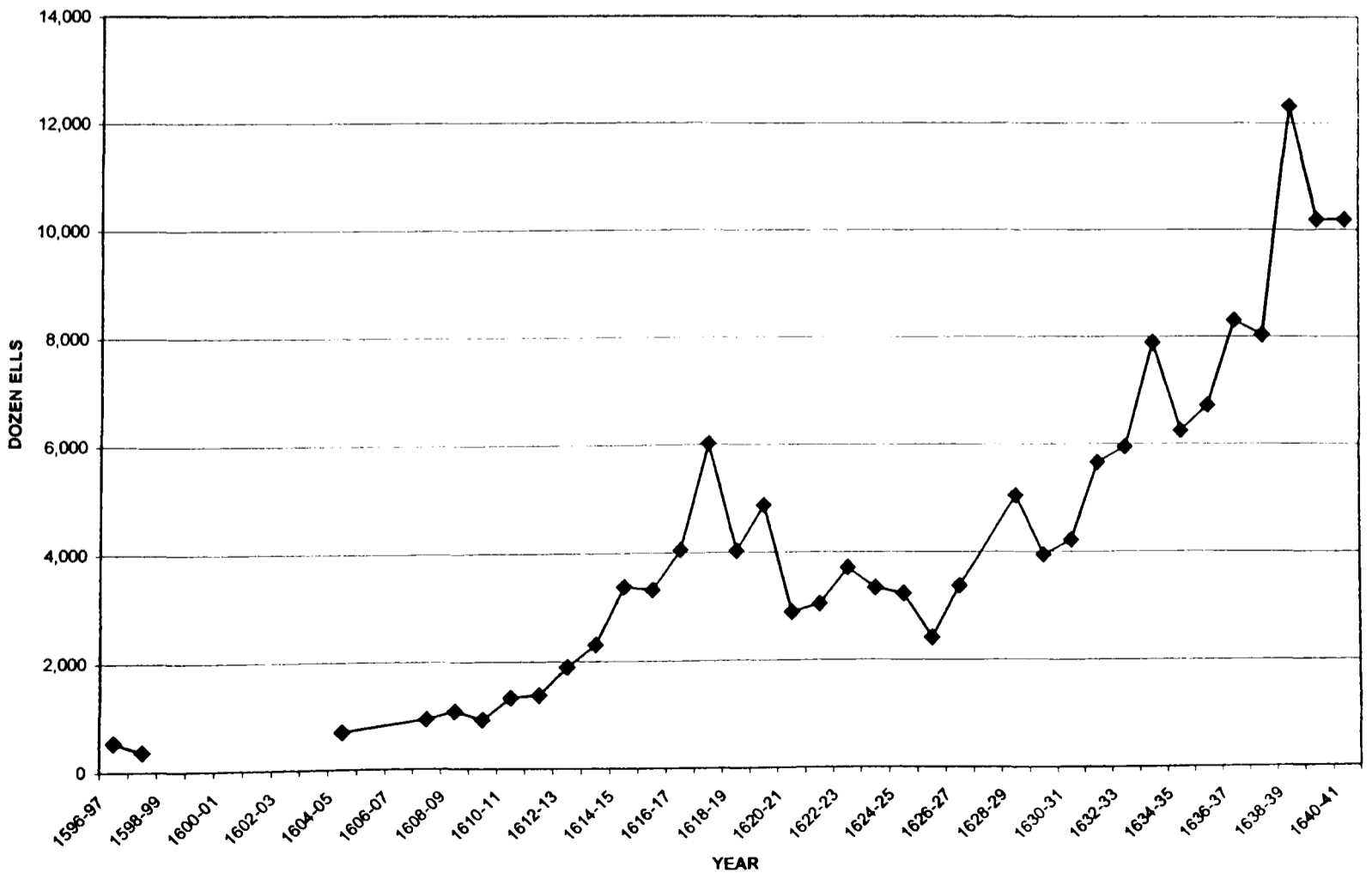


CHART 2-10G: TOTAL RECORDED CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1596/97-1638/39

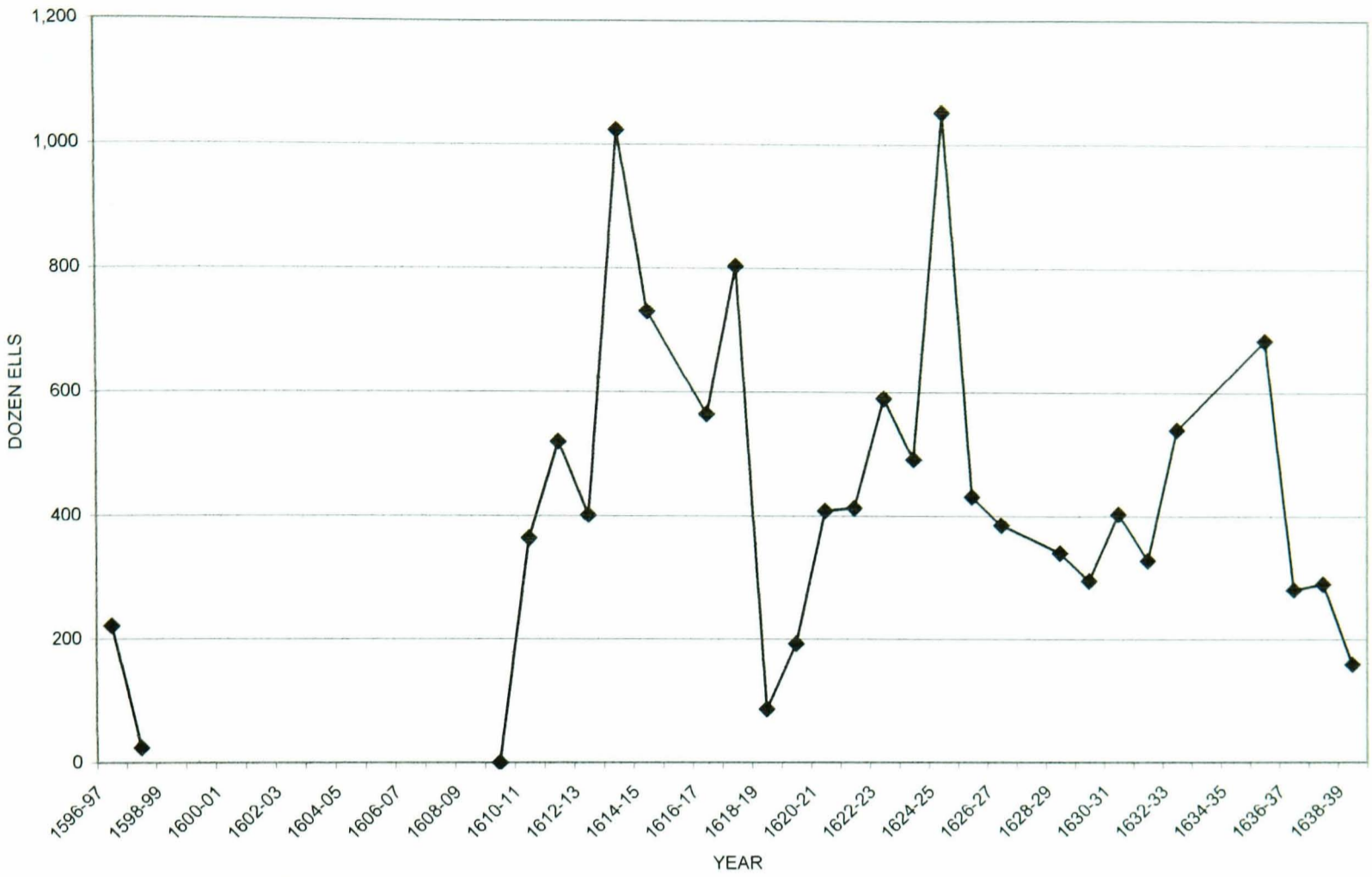
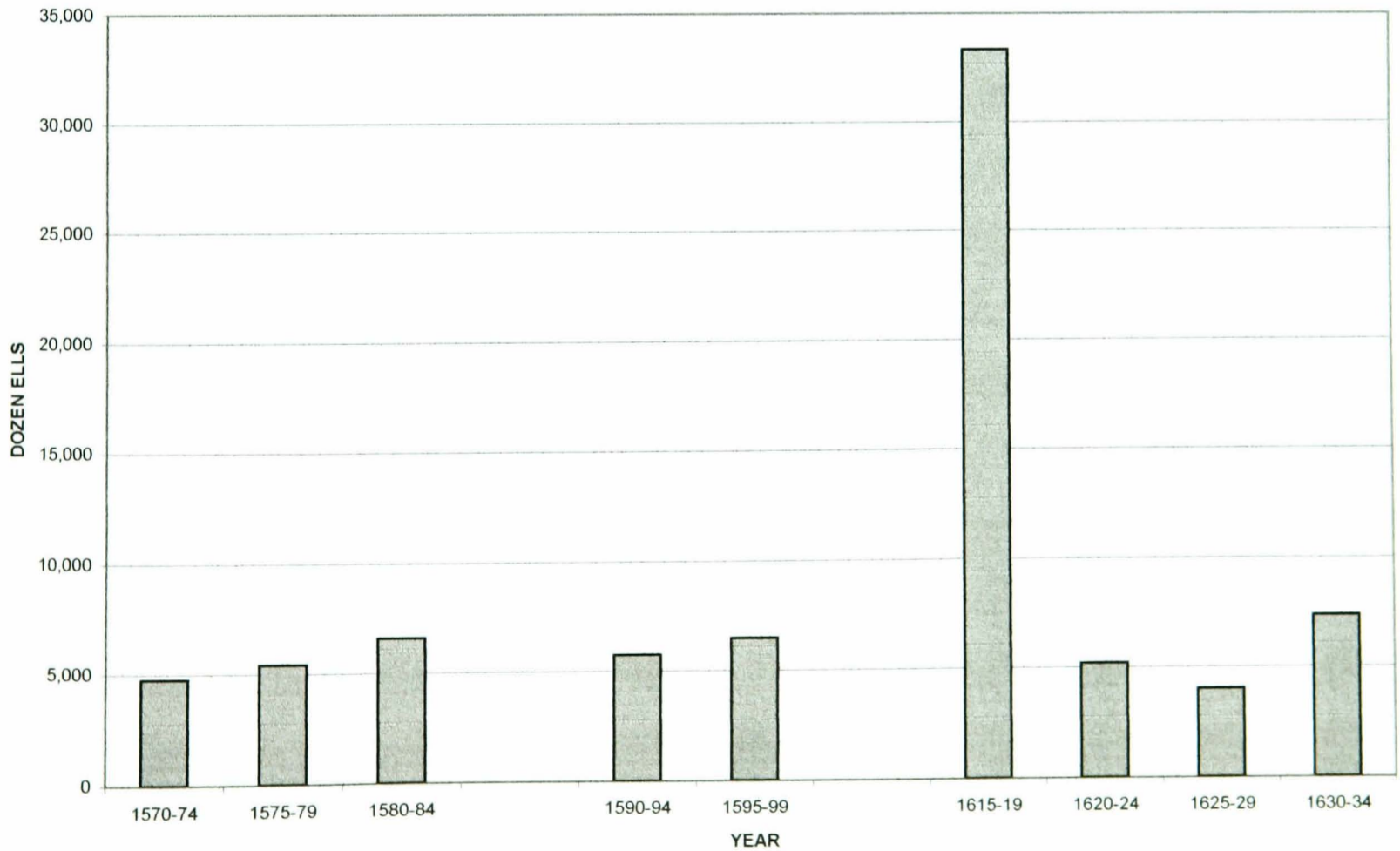
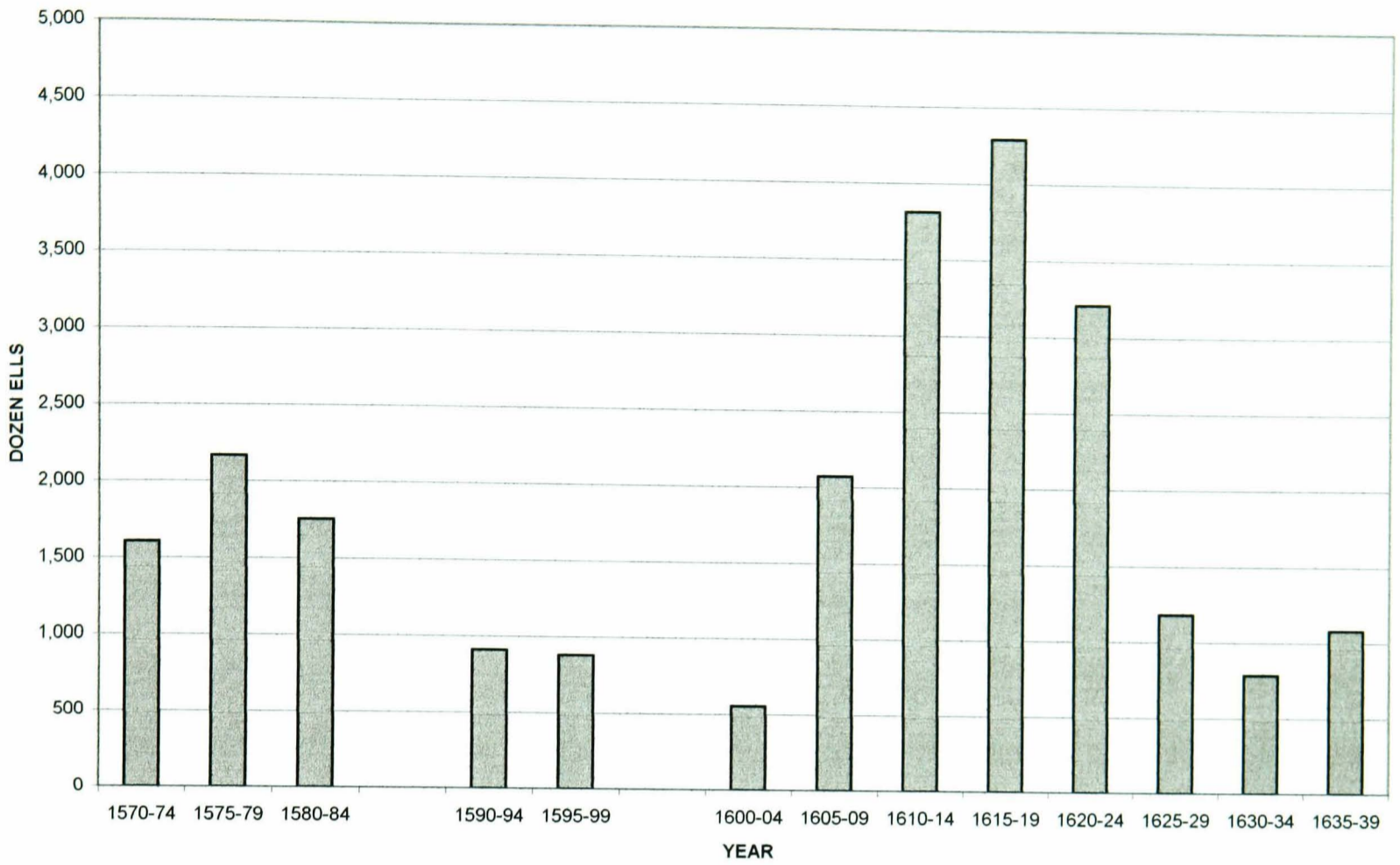


CHART 2-10H: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634



**CHART 2-10I: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE TAY  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639**



**CHART 2-10J: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1644**

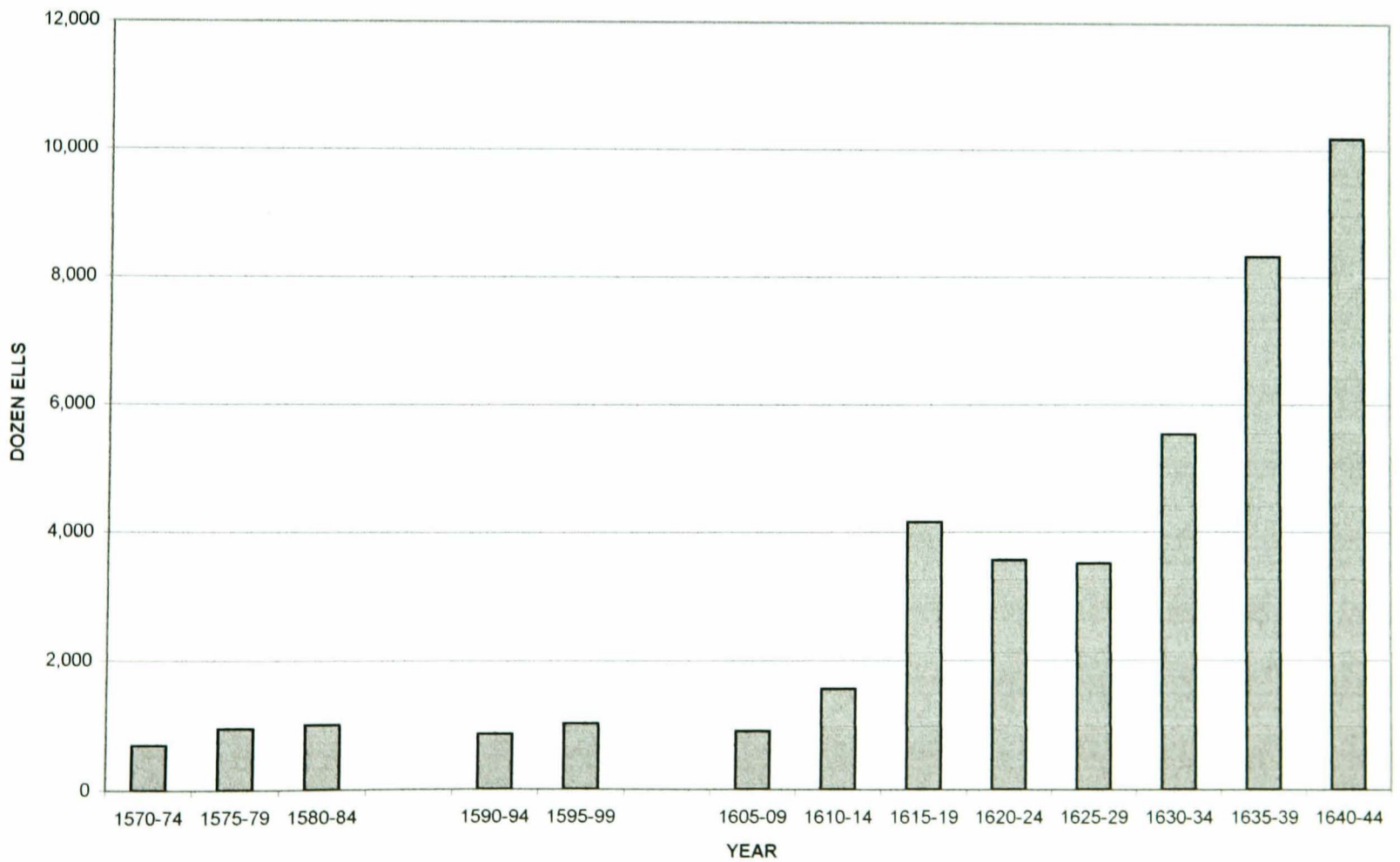
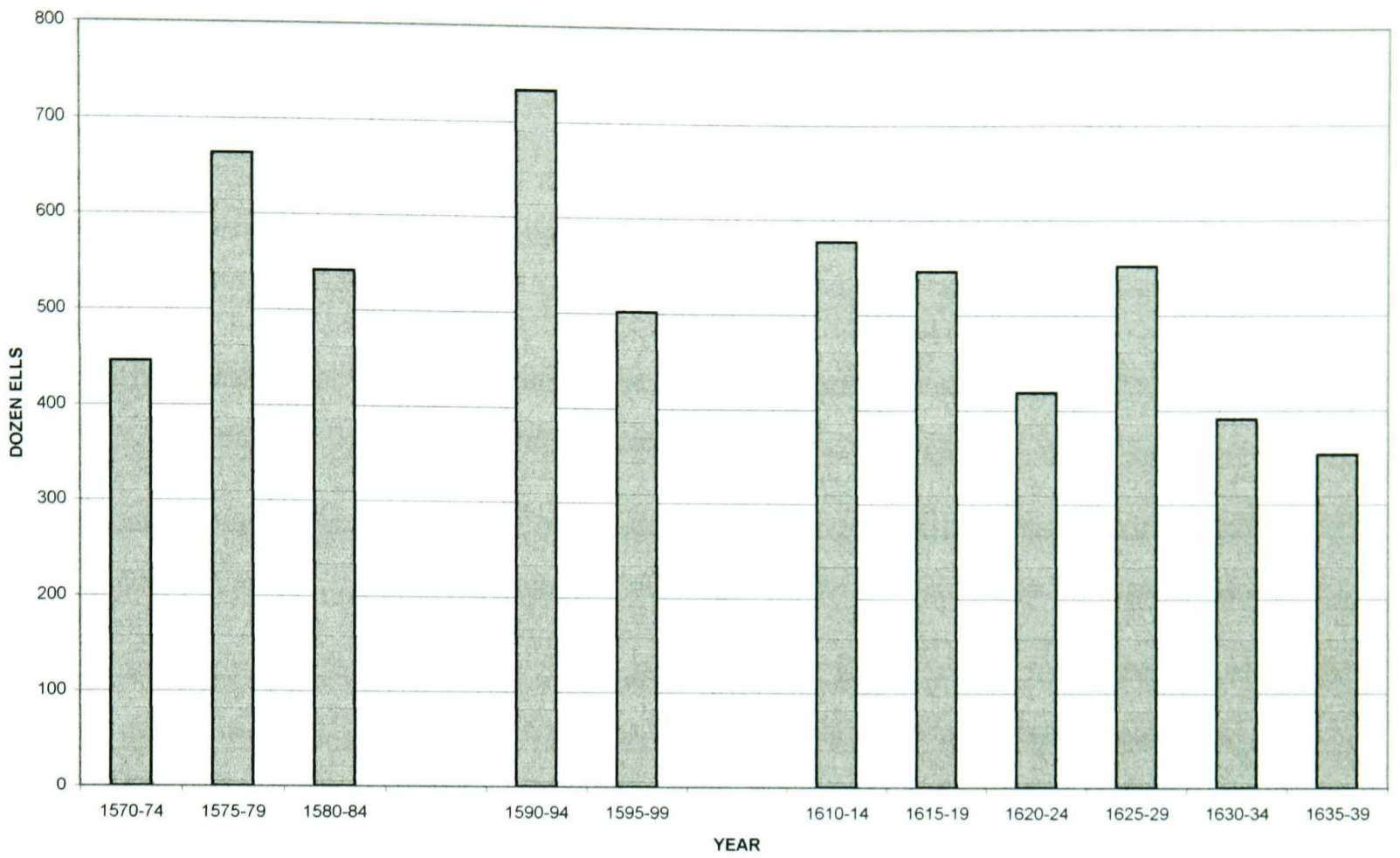


CHART 2-10K: TOTAL CLOTH EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE  
FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1639





## 11. CORN

Scottish corn exports consisted of wheat, bear (barley), malt, oats, flour and unspecified types of victual and grain. In addition, malt and bear were occasionally exported from eastern ports as one component of 'stulling' to Norway in return for essential supplies of timber.<sup>212</sup> Rye, beans and pease are regarded as re-exports as indicated in the 1611-14 Export Survey and are considered in Chapter Three. Corn was generally measured in bolls, sixteen of which comprised one chalder.<sup>213</sup> Corn exports were also measured in lasts, each of which contained 35.5 bolls<sup>214</sup> and in barrels, each of which contained 3.0 bolls.<sup>215</sup> In addition, wheat and (unspecified) 'grain' exported from the Clyde ports was frequently measured in pounds weight: one boll of wheat is calculated to have contained 130.5 pounds weight<sup>216</sup> and one boll of 'grain' 112.5 pounds weight.<sup>217</sup>

It is probable that throughout the entire period corn could be freely exported as 'stulling' upon payment of £0.05 per boll duty.<sup>218</sup> Otherwise a merchant was obliged to obtain a valid licence and to pay £0.25 per boll custom duty as well as the appropriate bullion duty in order to export corn legally.<sup>219</sup> Such licences were often granted, particularly in years of plentiful harvests such as those of 1614,<sup>220</sup> 1618-20,<sup>221</sup> 1624<sup>222</sup> and 1626.<sup>223</sup> In such years of plenty, custom duty might also be decreased: from January 1620 to January 1621, for example, it was reduced to £0.02 per boll and licences were to be issued without charge.<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, from 1626 the Crown agreed that the export of corn from Scotland would be freely permitted under licence whenever the price of wheat fell below fourteen marks (£9.33) per boll, barley eleven marks (£7.33) per boll and meal and oats under eight marks (£5.33) per boll.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> There was a strict prohibition in Norway against the export of timber unless victual was first imported. Examples of 'stulling' references: a 1595 Exchequer minute refers to 'stullings, viz., the taking out of the countrey of malt, meill and uther vivers' (E.R., Vol. XXIII p. 505); 'bear called stuling' was exported from Kinghorn 1597-98 (N.A.S. E38 531); 'malt, bear and pease called stuling' was exported from Dunbar 1617-18 (N.A.S. E38 569); and 'malt, bear and stuling' was exported from Dunbar 1618-19 (N.A.S. E38 572).

<sup>213</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>214</sup> 1 last contained 80 bushels of corn, 1 chalder contained 36 bushels of corn so one last contained 2.2 chalders or 35.5 bolls of corn. (Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Zupko, *op. cit.*, p. 223).

<sup>215</sup> Calculated on the basis that 1 last comprised 12 barrels of corn.

<sup>216</sup> Chapman, *op. cit.*, 1995, p. 52 notes that 1 bushel wheat = 56-60 lbs.

<sup>217</sup> Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 52 notes that 1 chalder = 36 bushels. 1 bushel wheat = 56-60 lbs, so 1 chalder = 2,016-2,160 lbs. Mean = 2,088 lbs. 1 boll = 130.5 lbs. 1 bushel barley = 50-56 lbs, so 1 chalder = 1,800- 2,016 lbs. Mean = 1,908 lbs. 1 bushel oats = 39 lbs so 1 chalder = 1,404 lbs. Mean of wheat, barley and oats: 1 chalder / 16 bolls = 1,800 lbs so 1 boll = 112.5 lbs.

<sup>218</sup> N.A.S. E76/1/1.

<sup>219</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c.25 p. 137; N.A.S. E75/11; N.A.S. E76/1/1, E76/3.

<sup>220</sup> 1614 was a year of 'verie grite abundance and plentye' (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, p. 243).

<sup>221</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, pp. 432, 473-74; first series, Vol. XII, pp. 94-95, 455.

<sup>222</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XIII, pp. 674-75.

<sup>223</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, p. 463.

<sup>224</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, p. 159. See N.A.S. E71/26/1 as an example: bear exported from ports north of the river Spey was customed at this reduced rate 1620-21.

<sup>225</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, pp. 156, 277-79.

The export of corn to any country with which the Crown was at war was totally forbidden. This outright prohibition pertained to Ireland during the rebellion of 1601<sup>226</sup> and to Spain, Portugal, Burgundy and all other dominions of the King of Spain during the Anglo-Spanish war of 1625-27.<sup>227</sup> Moreover, in years of ‘untymous, laite, and unseasonable harvest’, which were likely to produce great scarcity over the subsequent year and to cause the price of corn to rise above the levels specified above, exports of all kinds of victual were forbidden. Such prohibitions prevailed over the years 1621-23<sup>228</sup> and again 1629-30.<sup>229</sup> However, even in times of dearth, the Crown did issue exemptions: this was particularly the case for wheat, which grew abundantly in Scotland but was not the ‘common bread’ of the people. The lawful export of this grain was permitted under licence upon payment of ordinary custom duty, on condition that twice the quantity of other grain was imported in return.<sup>230</sup> In addition, the inhabitants of Teviotdale and the Merse were licenced to export victual overland to Berwick and Newcastle in 1630 in order to relieve dearth there.<sup>231</sup>

It is certain that the custom figures under-record the volume of corn exported. ‘Stulling’ entries have not been included in the corn export statistics<sup>232</sup> since the quantity exported was seldom recorded and in any case it cannot be assumed that ‘stulling’ cargoes consisted entirely of corn.<sup>233</sup> The inevitable consequence of this omission is that the corn exports for a few eastern ports are under-estimated.<sup>234</sup> In addition, the records show that the unwarranted export of corn continued throughout the period. In 1599, for example, many Scots were found to be attempting to export grain by pretending to possess a lawful warrant issued by George Home of Wedderburne, the former comptroller.<sup>235</sup> In 1601 action was taken against men of numerous western burghs who were found to be exporting grain illegally to Ireland.<sup>236</sup> In 1616 numerous Fife men were denounced rebels for illegally exporting bear and malt from Burntisland and Eyemouth,<sup>237</sup> and in 1631 several Border men were fined for having been caught illegally transporting victual along the Marches to England.<sup>238</sup> The extent of such unwarranted activity is, of course, unknown.

<sup>226</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 252-53, 304-05.

<sup>227</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. II, pp. 9-11.

<sup>228</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, p. 598; first series, Vol. XIII, pp. 129-30, 378.

<sup>229</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. III, pp. 53, 520-21, 578-79; second series, Vol. IV, pp. 47-48. England, France and Spain also experienced a dearth of victual 1630-31. The harvests failed in Orkney and Caithness 1633-35, the scarcity of corn causing famine. (*R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. V, pp. 284-85; second series, Vol. VI, pp. 39-41.

<sup>230</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, pp. 702-04; second series, Vol. III, pp. 284-85, 530.

<sup>231</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. IV, pp. 77-78, 191.

<sup>232</sup> The one exception is four bolls of ‘bear called stuling’ exported from Kinghorn 1597-1598 (N.A.S. E37 531).

<sup>233</sup> Linen cloth was also exported as ‘stulling’.

<sup>234</sup> ‘Stulling’ appears only in the accounts of Montrose, Dundee, St Andrews, CAP, Kinghorn and Dunbar.

<sup>235</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 556.

<sup>236</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 252-53, 324.

<sup>237</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, pp. 577-78.

<sup>238</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. IV, pp. 114, 262.



Charts 2-11a to 2-11i illustrate the trends in the export of corn from various jurisdictions 1598-1641 while Charts 2-11j to 2-11o illustrate the longer-term 1570-1640 trends in the form of five-year averages.

The volumetric graphs clearly show how corn exports fluctuated according to the harvest. The North Eastern ports (Montrose in particular) and Edinburgh's port of Leith were dominant. In both cases corn exports boomed 1618-1621, 1625-27 and 1632 but were relatively depressed 1622-1624 and 1628-31: these years fit with the abundant and poor harvests referred to above. Average corn exports from Leith peaked at just over 5,000 bolls per annum 1615-19 and remained relatively stable at around 3,000 bolls per annum over the 1620s and 1630s. Average corn exports from the North East rose steadily over the first three decades of the seventeenth century to a peak of just over 2,500 bolls per annum over the 1620s, but declined steadily thereafter to a level of around 850 bolls per annum. The Tay, East Lothian and those ports located north of the river Spey exported significant volumes of corn, closely following the fluctuations identified above. Of particular note is the large volume of corn – an average of over 3,500 bolls per annum – exported from the East Lothian ports over the late 1620s. Smaller quantities of corn were exported from (in descending order of volume) the Borders, the East Neuk, West Fife, the Clyde and the Forth.

The particular custom accounts indicate that the main destinations of Scottish corn were the Low Countries<sup>239</sup> and England, particularly to London, but also to Newcastle and Lynn.<sup>240</sup> Other frequently noted destinations were Norway,<sup>241</sup> France<sup>242</sup> and Ireland.<sup>243</sup> A few cargoes of corn were also sent to Spain and Italy from Leith.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Leith, Montrose and ports north of the Spey exported corn to the Low Countries.

<sup>240</sup> Leith, Aberdeen, East Lothian and Forth ports exported corn to England. The Boston Port Books indicate that Scottish corn was also exported thence.

<sup>241</sup> Leith was the major departure point for corn exports to Norway. Timber is likely to have been imported into Scotland in return for the grain.

<sup>242</sup> Leith, East Lothian and Clyde ports exported corn to France.

<sup>243</sup> Most corn shipments departed to Ireland from the Clyde, although some grain was exported to Derry and elsewhere from Leith.

<sup>244</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/6, E71/29/11.

CHART 2-11A: CORN EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH AND LEITH 1610/11-1633/34

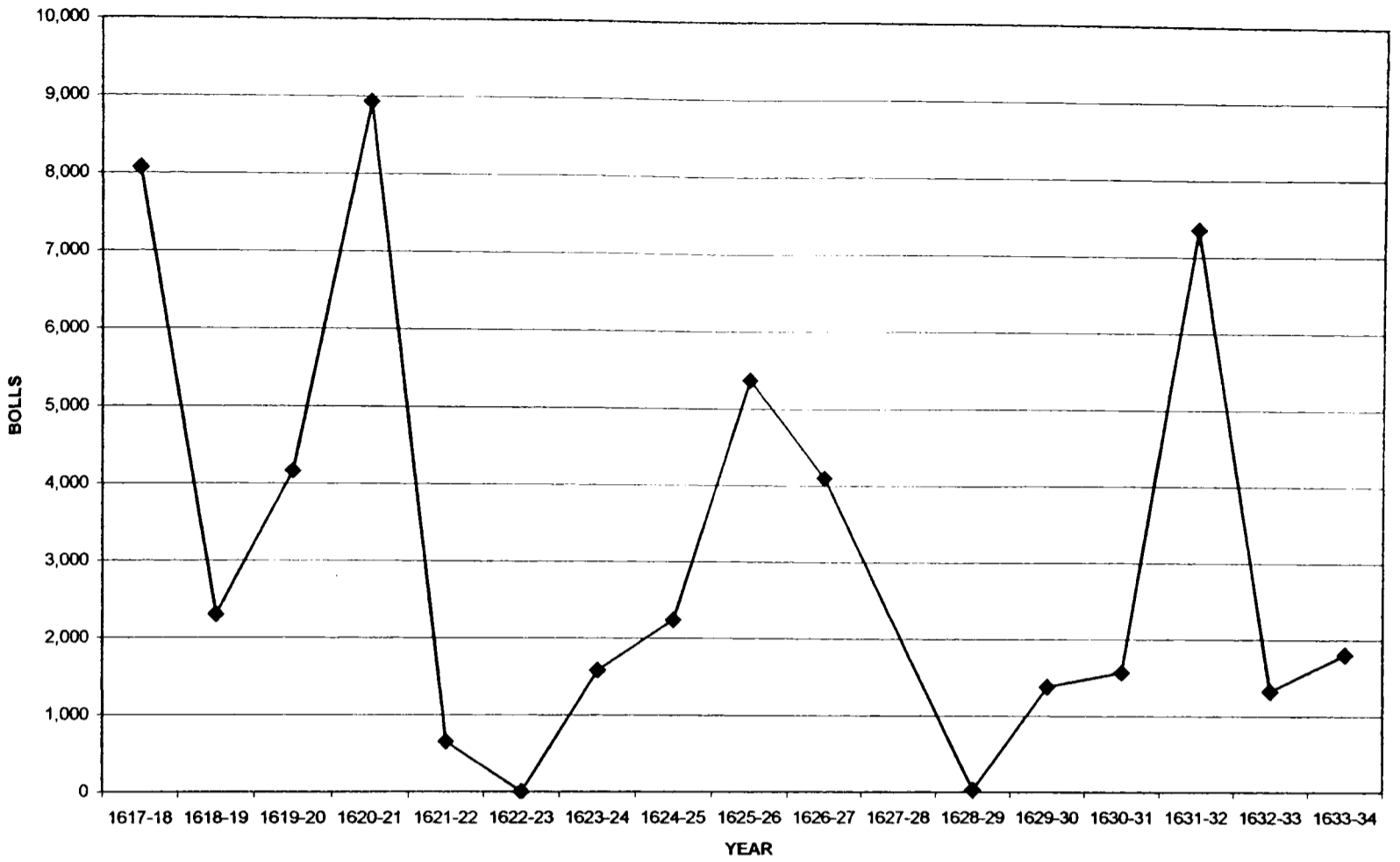


CHART 2-11B: CORN EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE 1597/98-1630/31

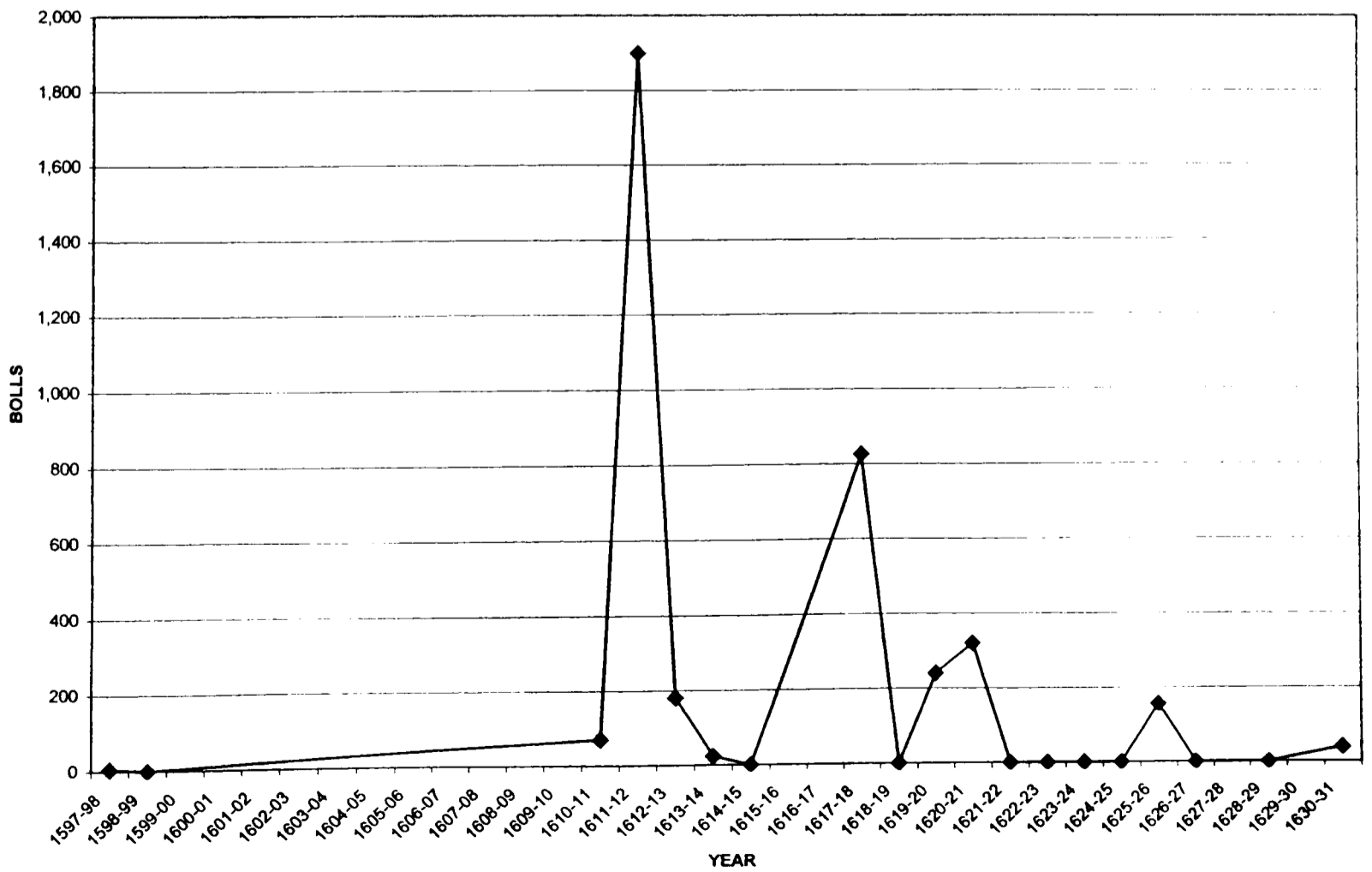


CHART 2-11C: CORN EXPORTS FROM THE EAST NEUK 1598/99-1633/34

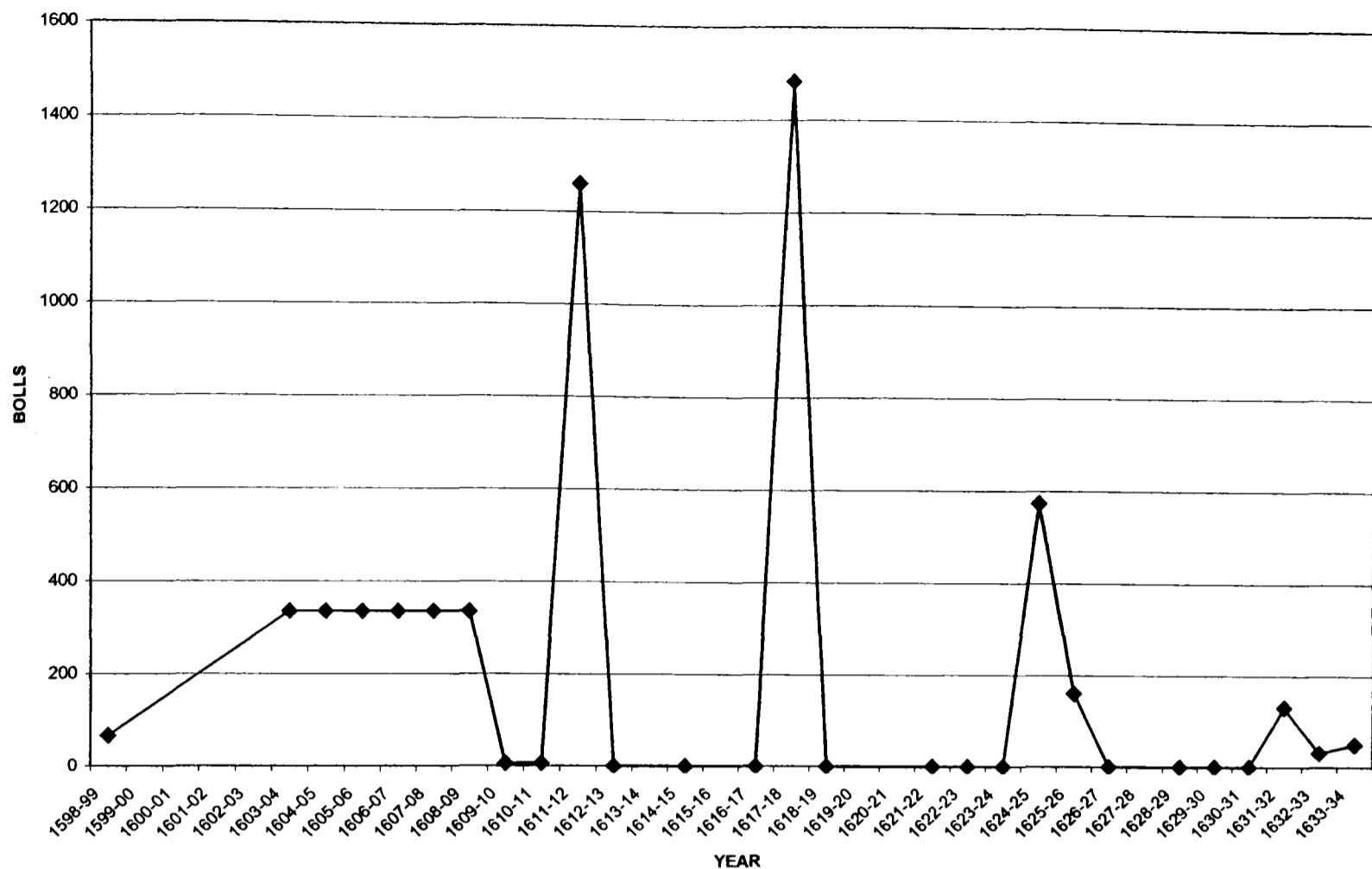


CHART 2-11D: CORN EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1607/08-1631/32

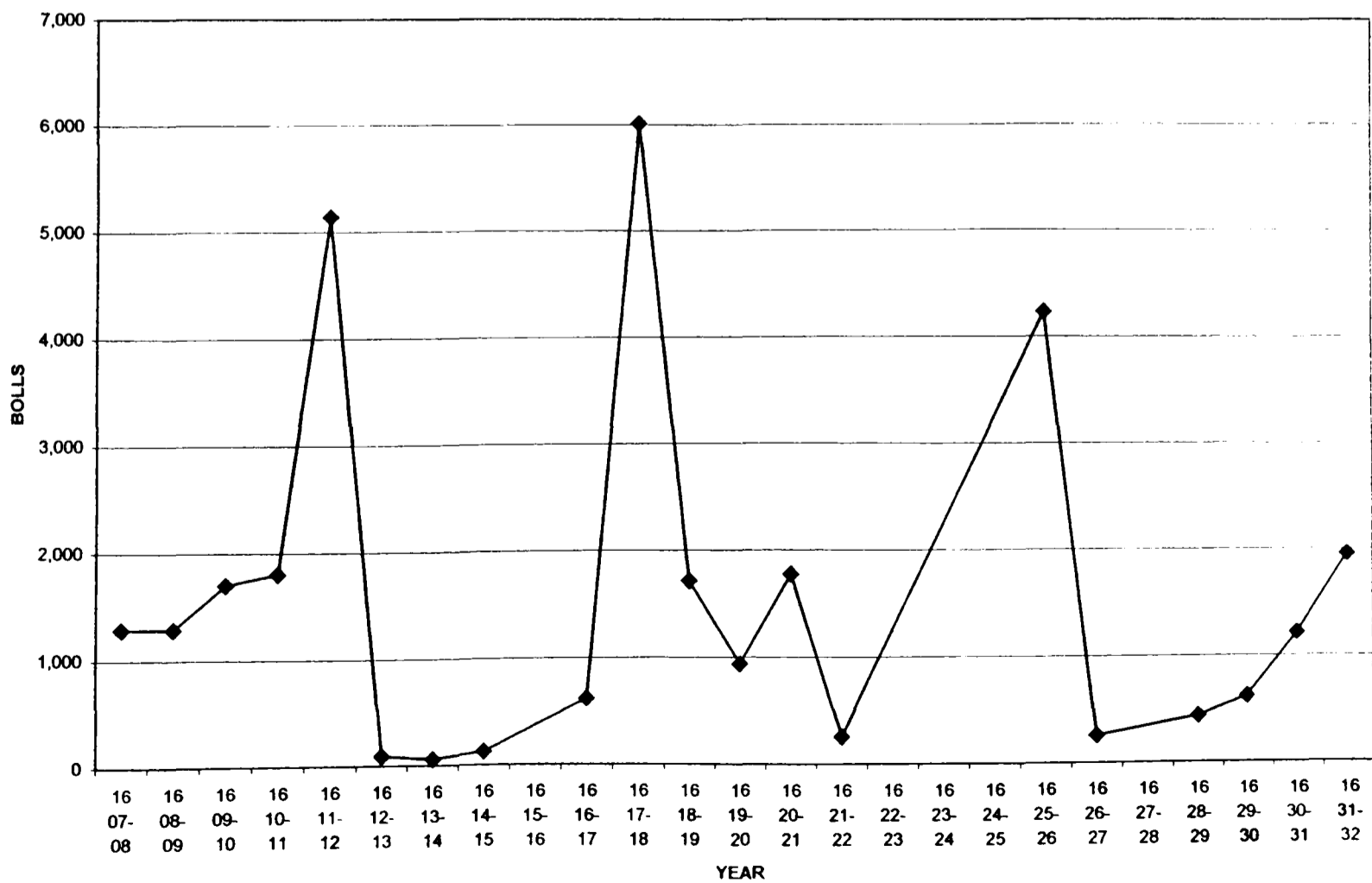


CHART 2-11e: CORN EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST 1597/98-1640/41

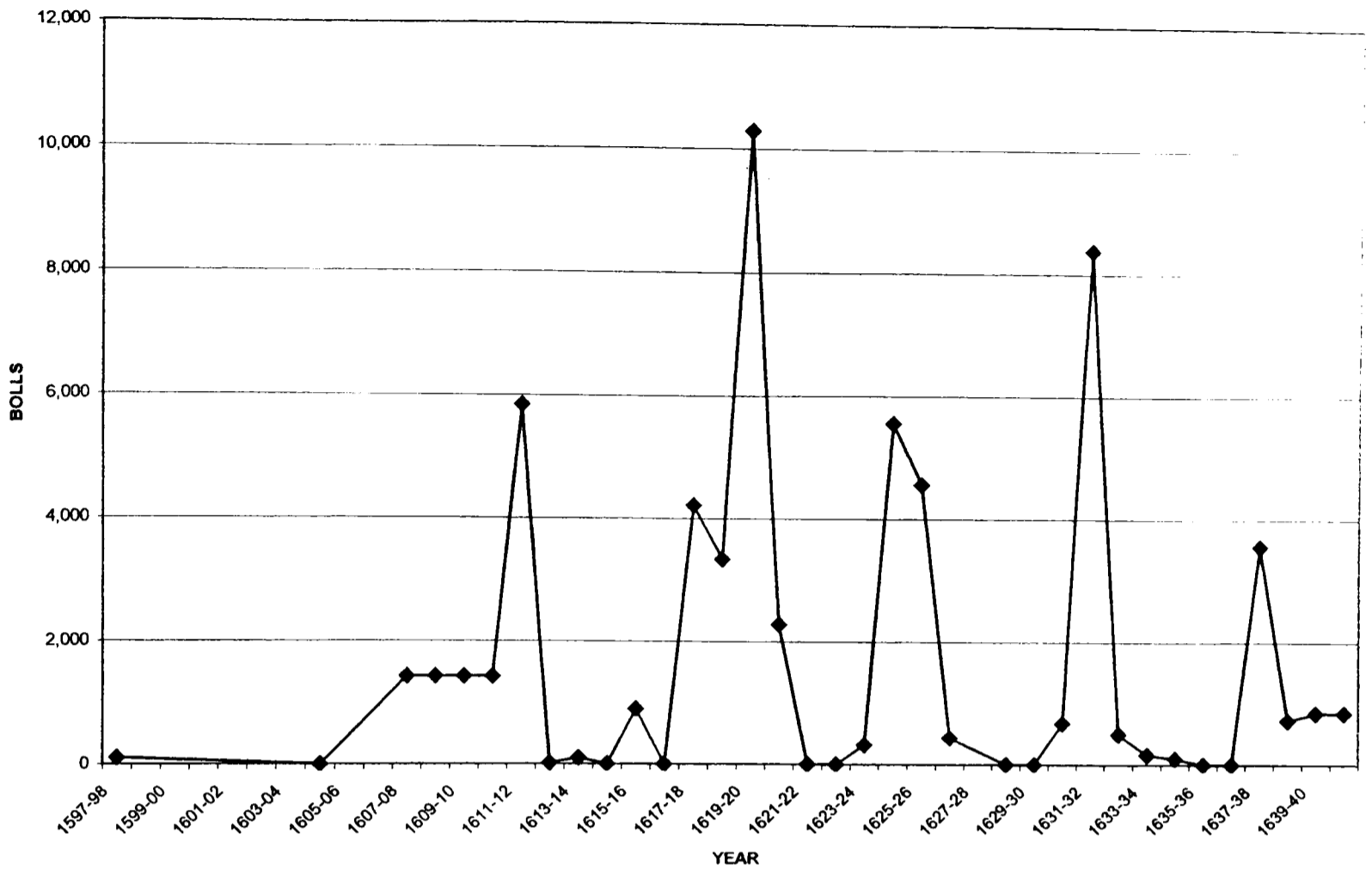


CHART 2-11f: CORN EXPORTS FROM NORTH OF THE SPEY 1616/17-1631/32

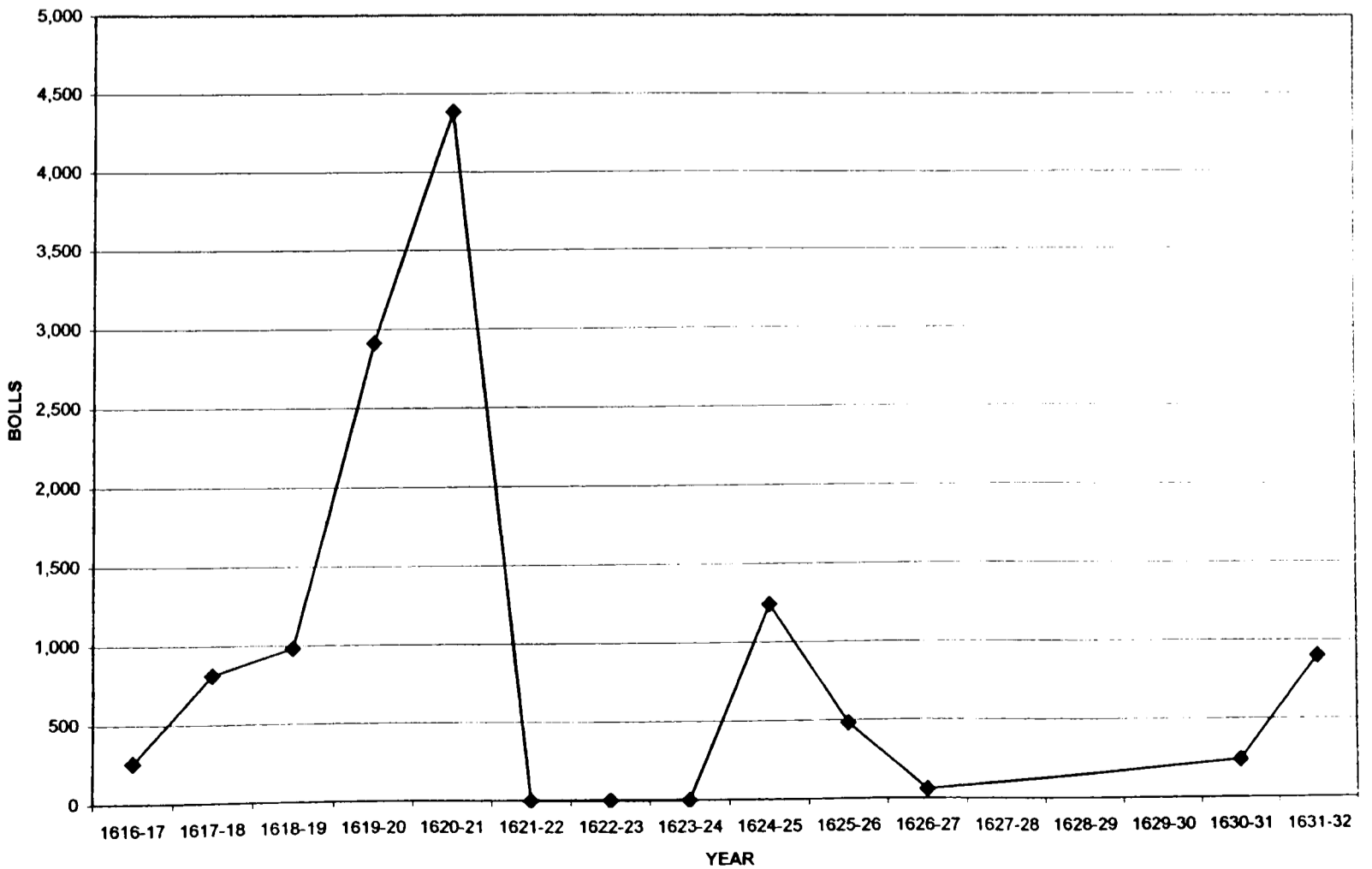


CHART 2-11G: CORN EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1611/12-1637/38

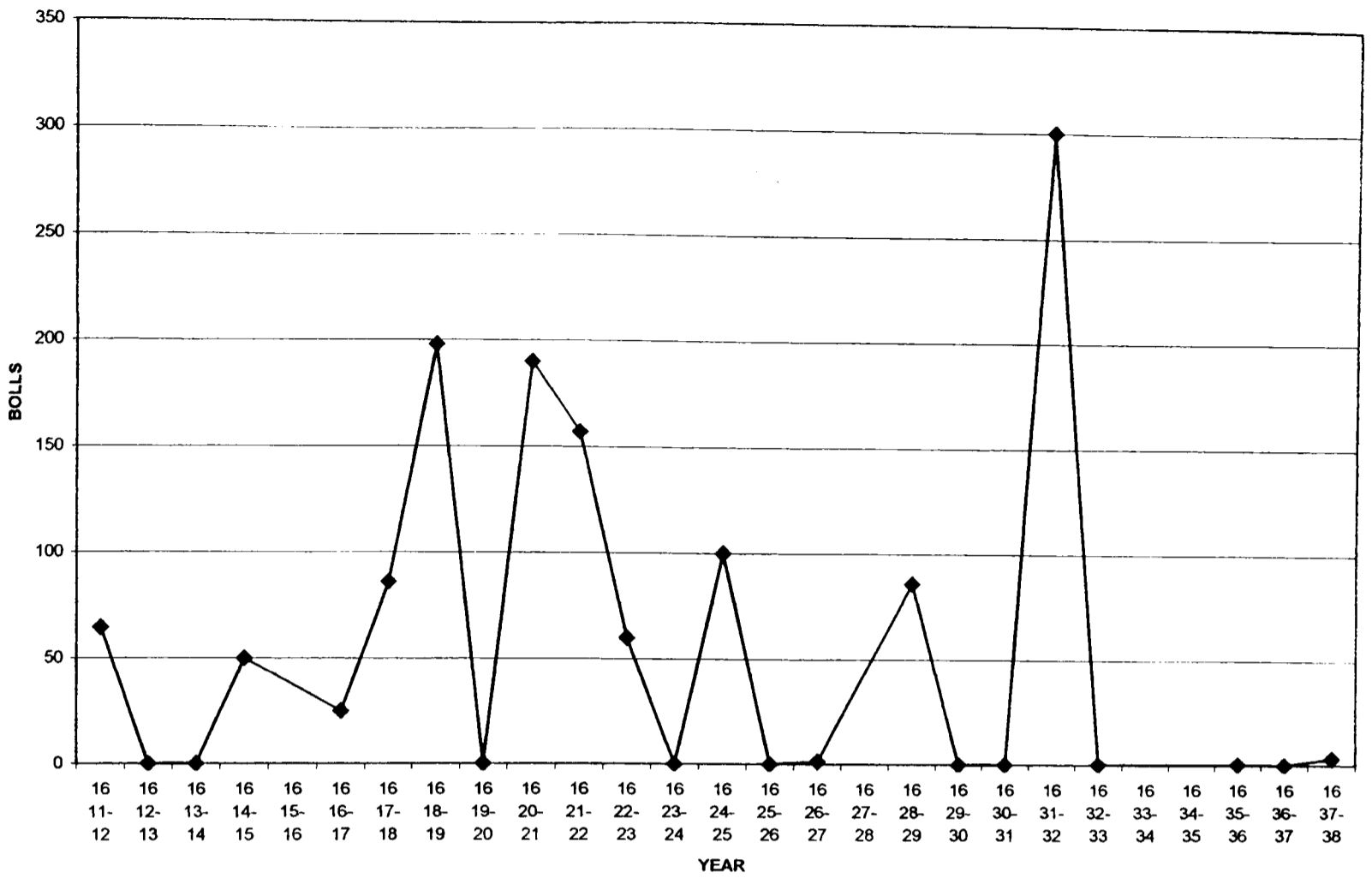


CHART 2-11H: CORN EXPORTS FROM THE BORDERS 1610/11-1630/31

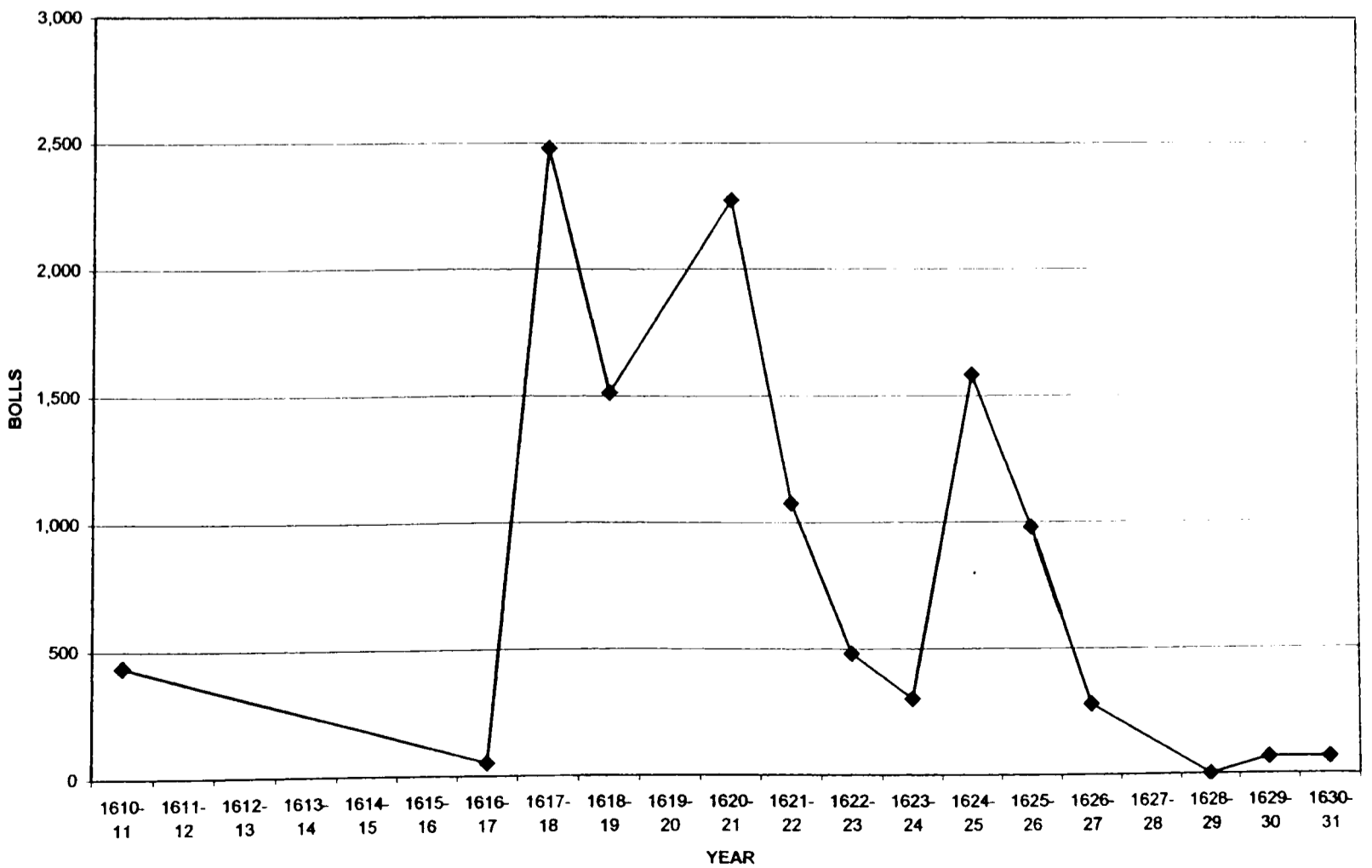


CHART 2-11I: CORN EXPORTS FROM EAST LOTHIAN 1609/10-1632/33

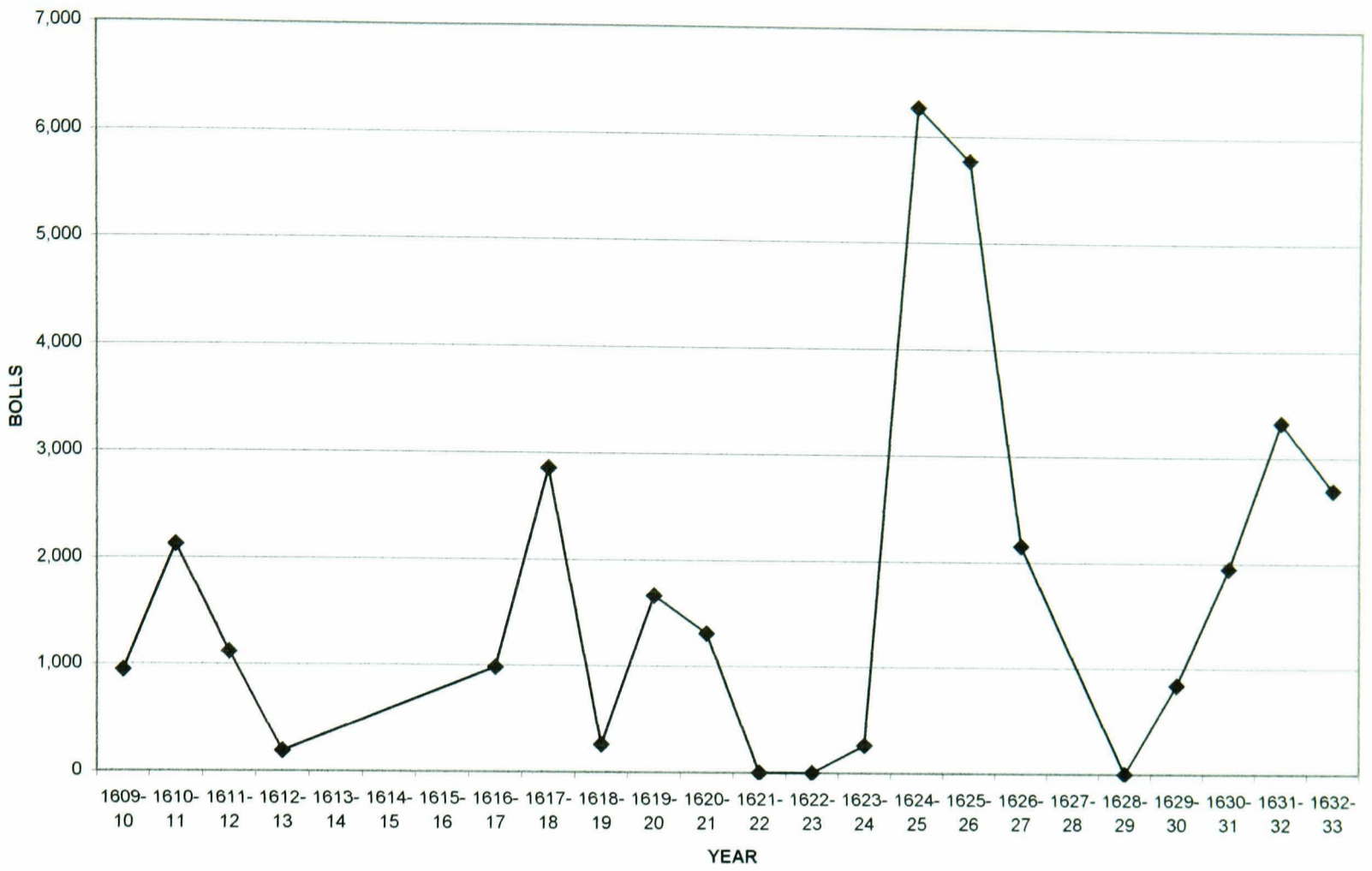


CHART 2-11J: CORN EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634

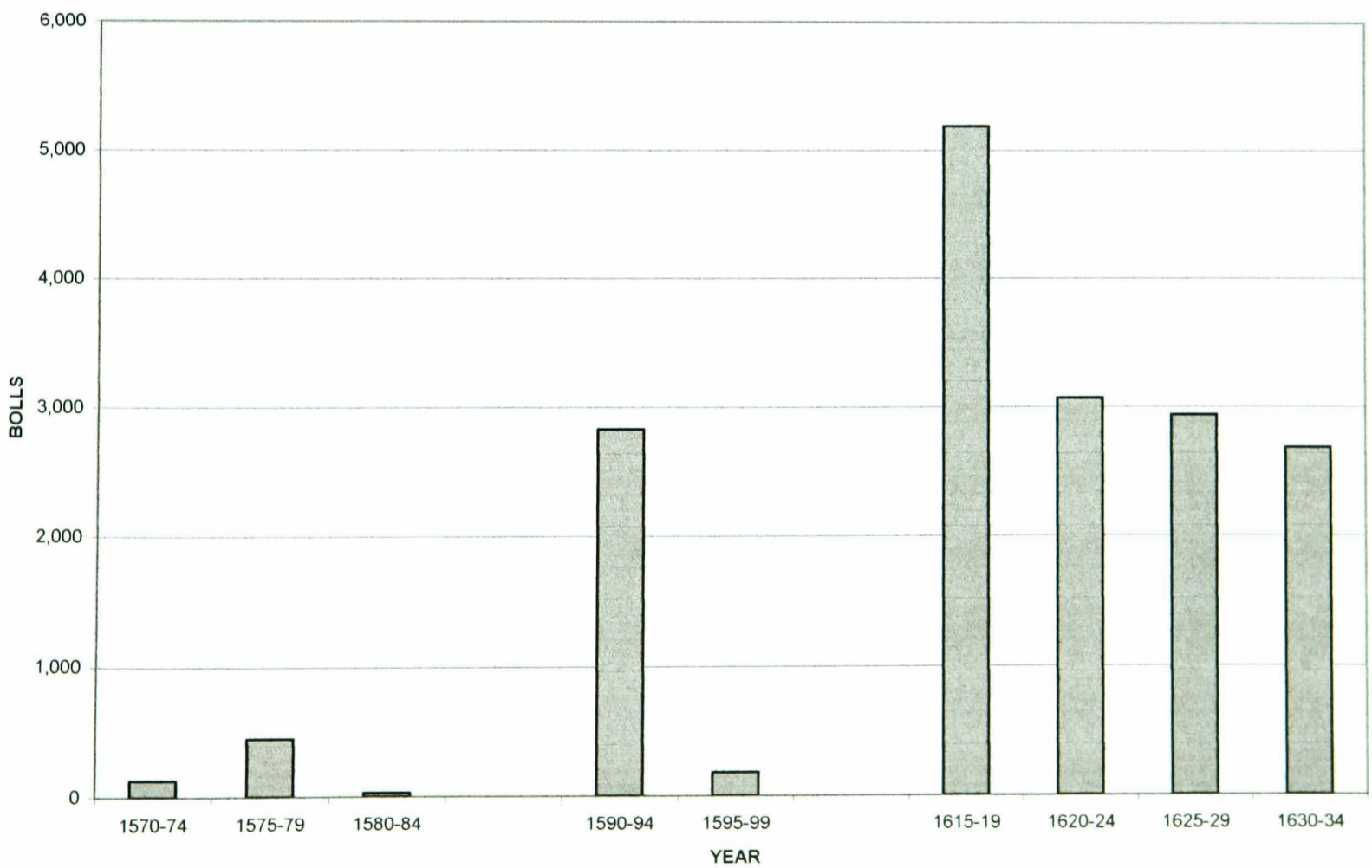


CHART 2-11K: CORN EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1629

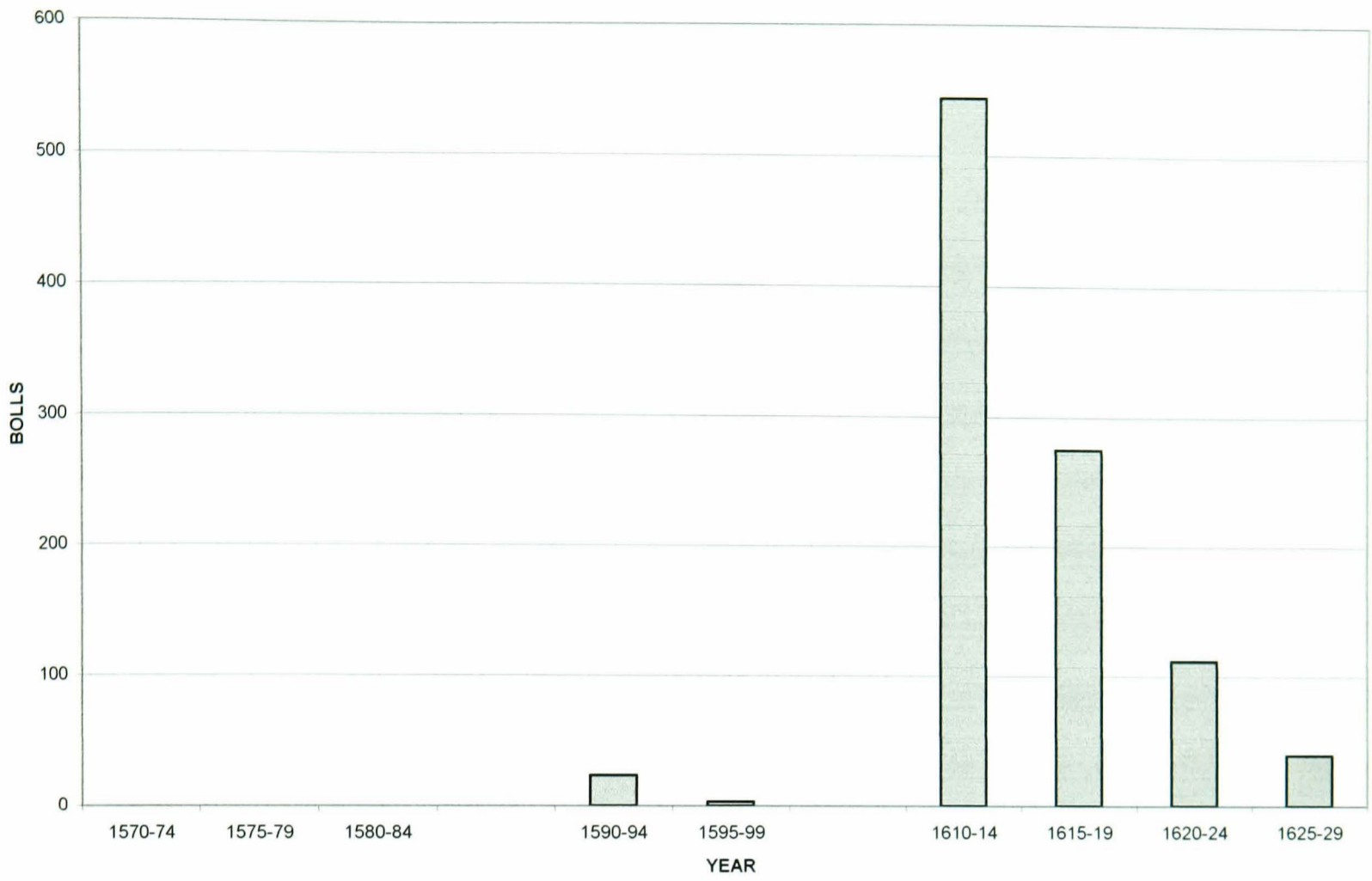


CHART 2-11L: CORN EXPORTS FROM PRECINCT THE EAST NEUK FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634

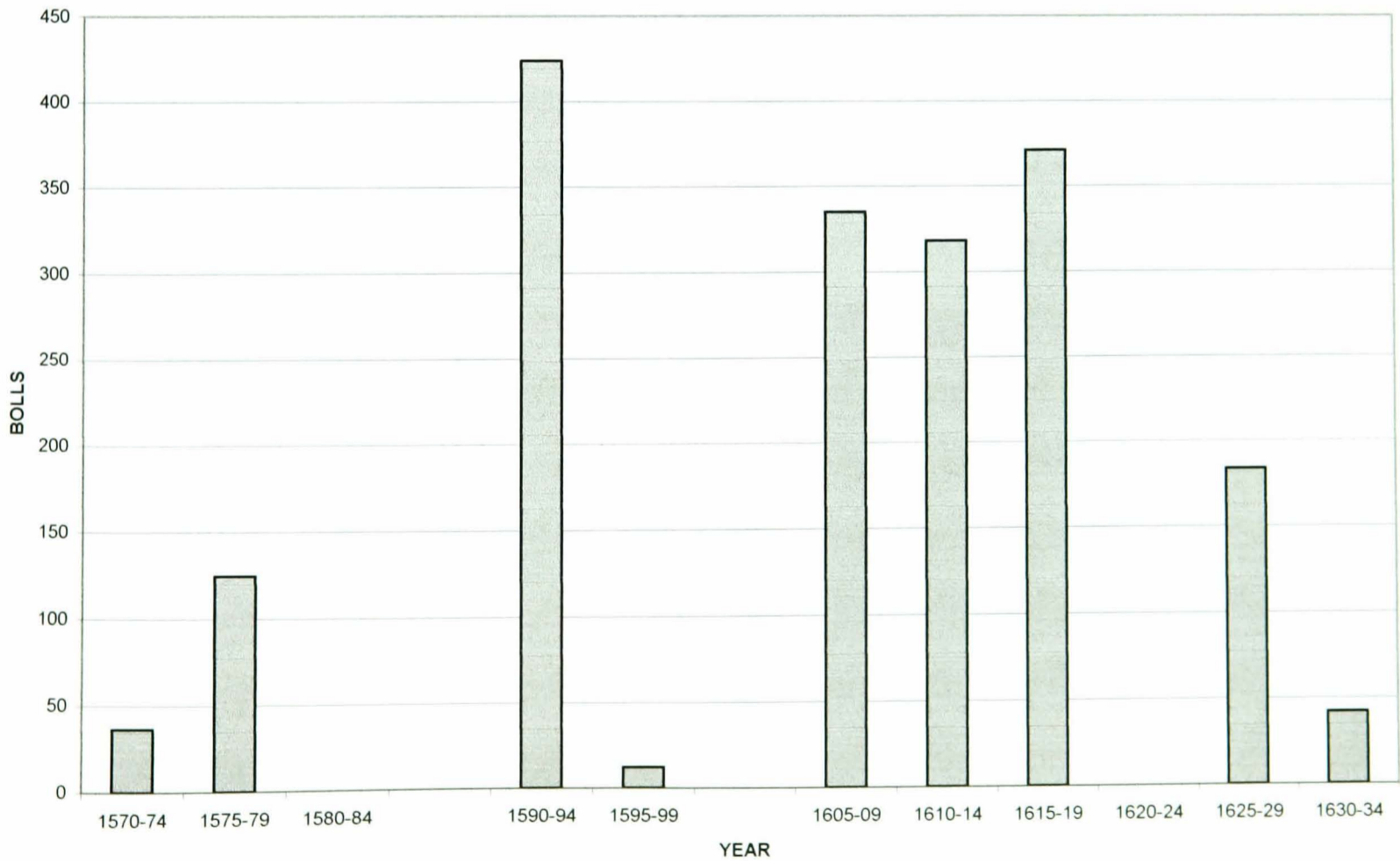


CHART 2-11M: CORN EXPORTS FROM THE TAY FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634

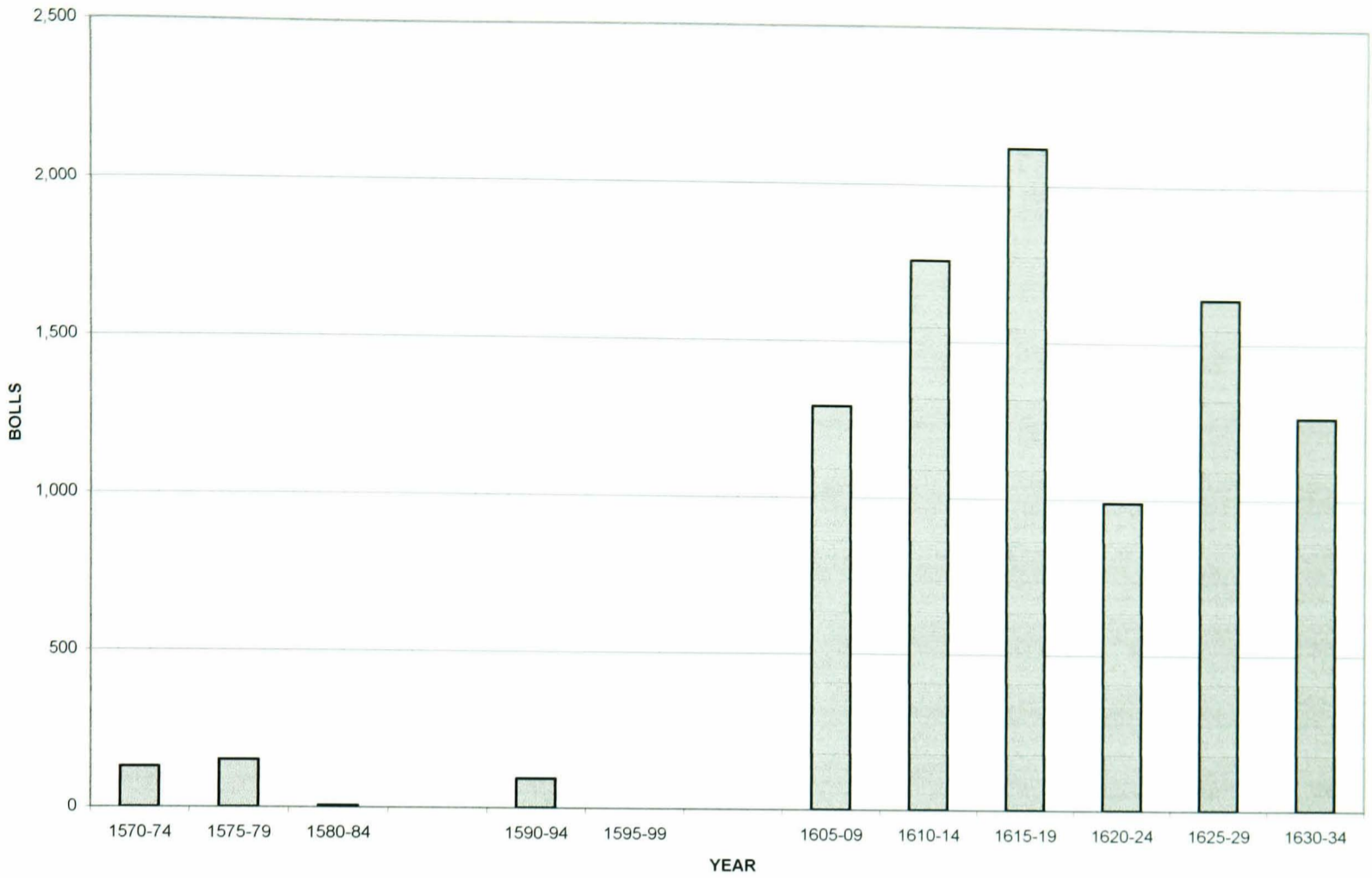


CHART 2-11N: CORN EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1645

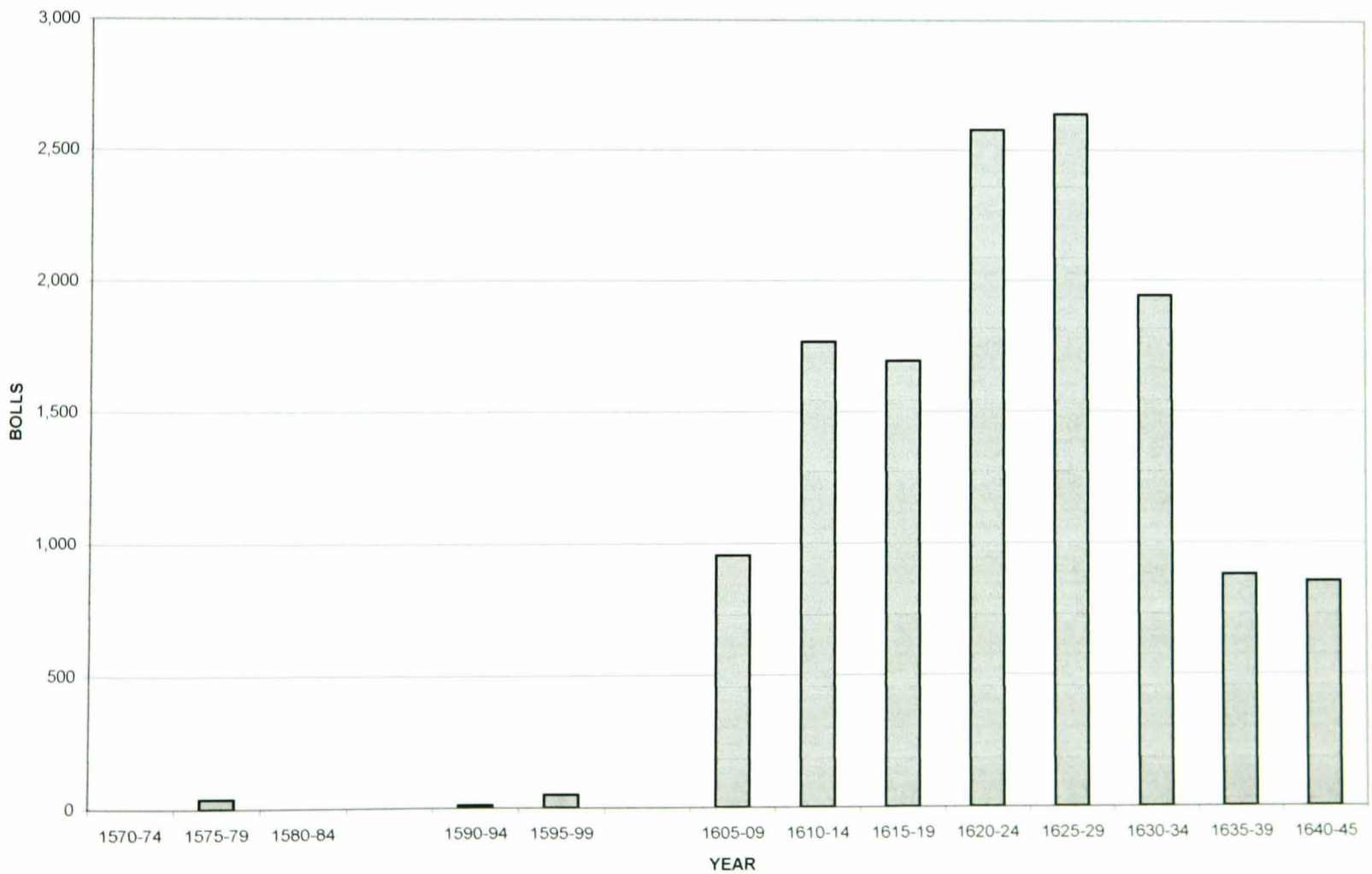




CHART 2-110: CORN EXPORTS FROM EAST LOTHIAN FIVE YEAR AVERAGES 1570-1634

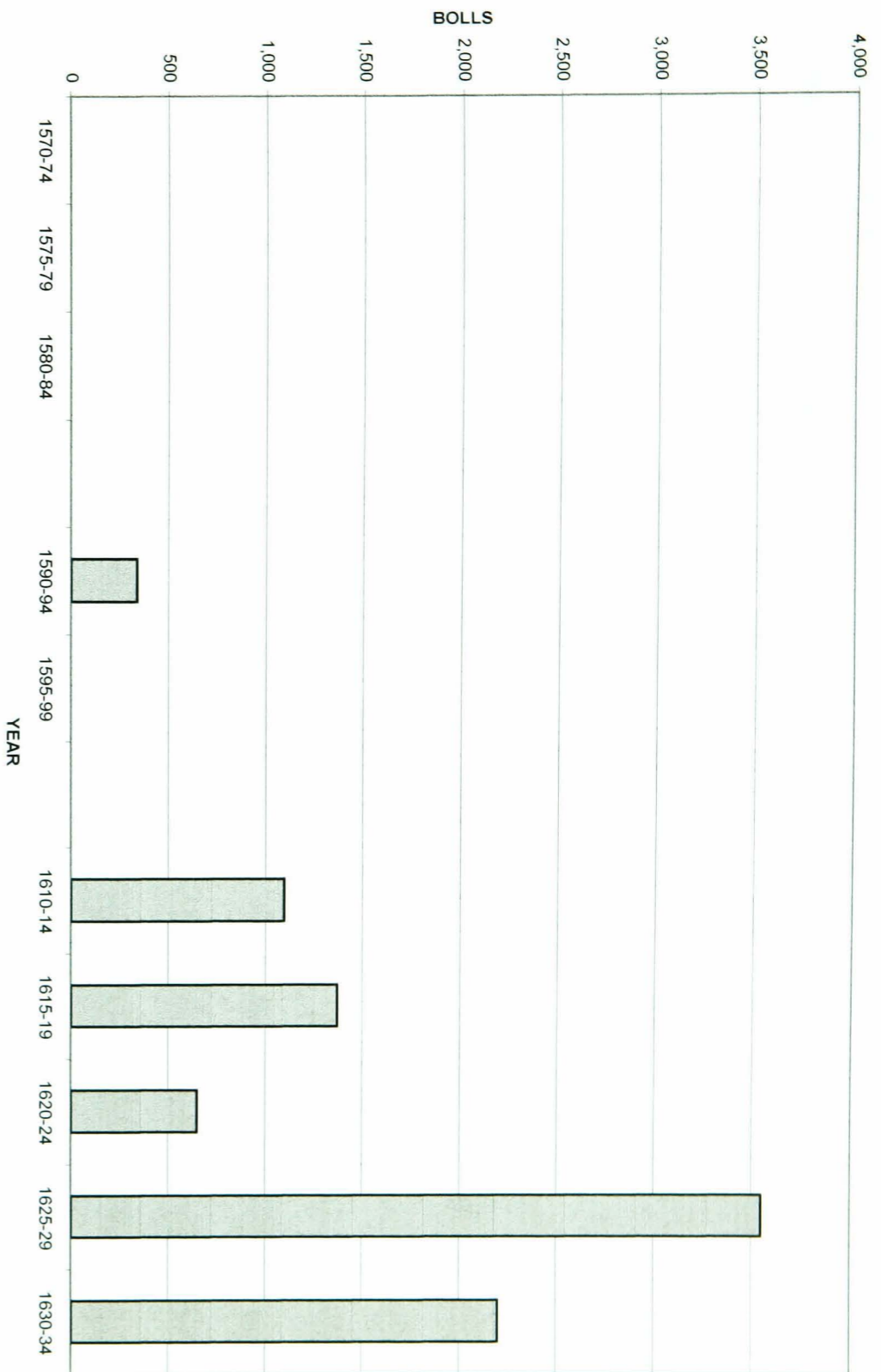
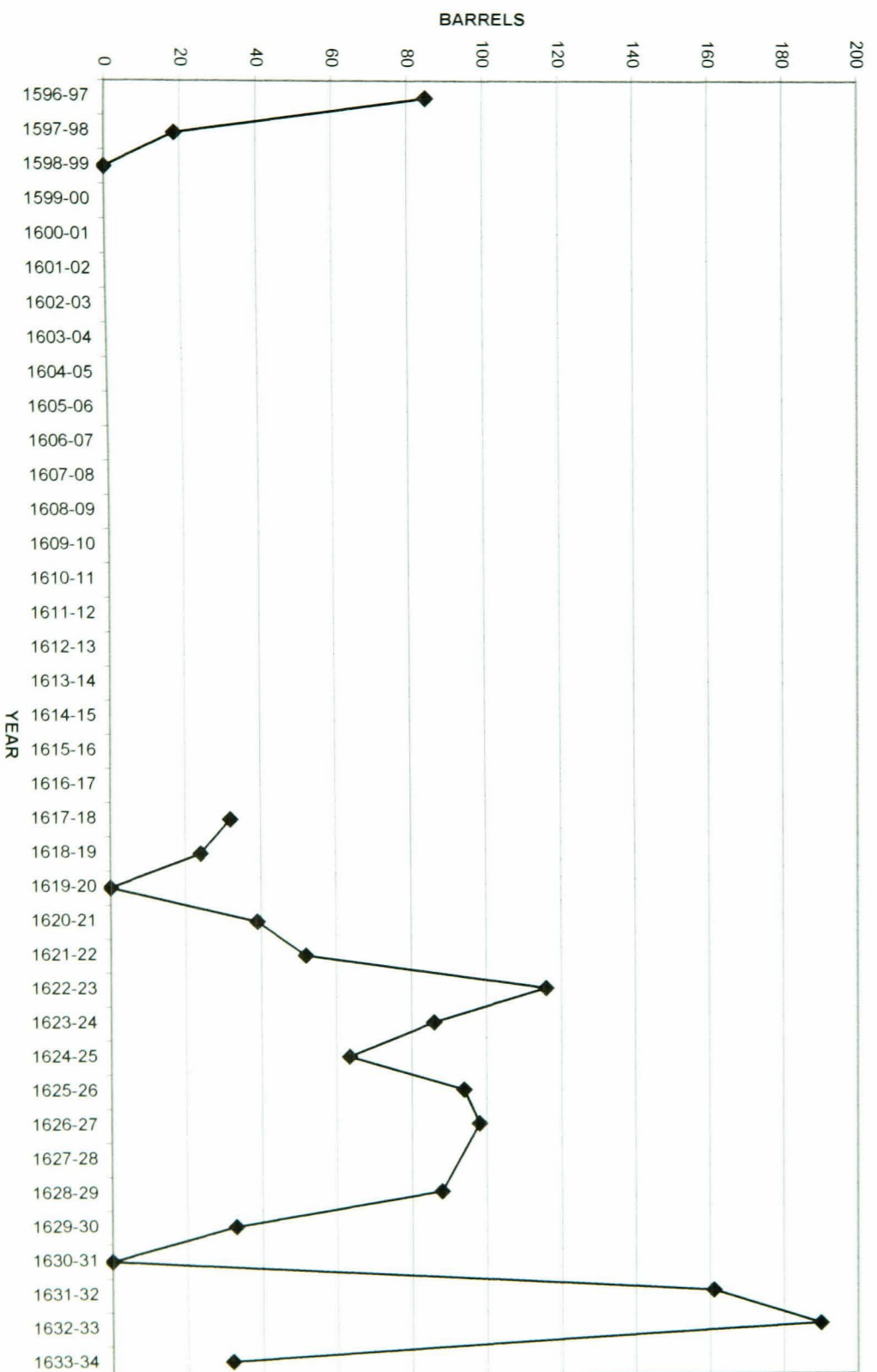


CHART 2-12A: BUTTER EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1596/97-1632/33



## 12. BUTTER

The export of butter was prohibited throughout the period unless a licence had been purchased from the Crown. Legal exports, frequently specified as Orkney butter or as 'corrupt' (putrid) butter,<sup>245</sup> took place regularly, and almost exclusively from Leith.<sup>246</sup> Butter was measured in lasts, barrels and firkins: it is assumed that twelve barrels made one last and four firkins of butter made one barrel.<sup>247</sup> It was customed at £0.15 per barrel from 1597 into the late 1620s.<sup>248</sup>

All that can really be said of butter exports is that as Chart 2-12a shows, lawful exports from Leith fluctuated but followed a generally upward trend over the 1620s and 1630s. The particular accounts indicate that the major markets for Scottish butter, good and corrupt, were the Low Countries and France as every consignment of butter listed was destined for either Veere or Dieppe.<sup>249</sup>

There is no doubt that in addition to these legal exports, butter was also on occasion exported illegally: in January 1616, for example, nine half barrels of butter destined for export were confiscated from various Leith mariners;<sup>250</sup> in January 1617 William Rutherford and Alexander Hamilton, both skippers of Leith, admitted to illegally exporting butter;<sup>251</sup> in November 1627 a case was brought against various burgesses of Dundee for violation of Acts of Parliament prohibiting the export of butter;<sup>252</sup> and it was acknowledged that the illicit export of butter from the Isles continued into the 1630s.<sup>253</sup>

## 13. TALLOW

Tallow was melted to make candles and soap and so was an essential item in seventeenth century Scotland. As a result, its export was heavily regulated, particularly in the face of dearth and ever rising prices. The exportation of native tallow had been banned since 1540,<sup>254</sup> and this prohibition remained in place throughout the subsequent one hundred years, with particular enforcements of previous Acts of Parliament made in 1573,<sup>255</sup> 1607,<sup>256</sup> 1609<sup>257</sup> and 1621.<sup>258</sup> Nevertheless, it was possible for a merchant to purchase a licence from the Crown in order to export tallow legally.<sup>259</sup> It is suggested, however, that

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<sup>245</sup> Sir Anthony Weldon (?) in 1617 commented: 'For their butter ... I will not meddle withal at this time, nor no man else at any time that loves his life'. (Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

<sup>246</sup> One consignment was recorded as having departed from Irvine 1626/27 and one from Montrose 1633-34. Irish butter was a re-exported product so is dealt with below.

<sup>247</sup> Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>248</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, N.A.S. E76/1/1, E76/3, supplement to Leith particular account 1626-27 (N.A.S. E71/29/9).

<sup>249</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/9, E71/9/11.

<sup>250</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, p. 444.

<sup>251</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, p. 248.

<sup>252</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. II, p. 115.

<sup>253</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. III, p. 428.

<sup>254</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, p.1. Unlicensed re-exports of Irish, Norwegian and Narva tallow were permitted and will be discussed in Chapter Three.

<sup>255</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 74r-75v.

<sup>256</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 1.

<sup>257</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p.408 c.?

<sup>258</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 613 c.12.

<sup>259</sup> See, for example, N.A.S. E76/2, E76/3.

such licences were only occasionally granted: the Register of the Privy Council refers only to the occasional licence granted for the export of spilt or refuse tallow that would have no use in Scotland.<sup>260</sup> Furthermore the entire series of enrolled accounts list only seven examples of legally exported Scottish tallow. All of these were sent from Clyde ports: from Glasgow and Dumbarton twelve barrels 1617-18,<sup>261</sup> three barrels 1618-19,<sup>262</sup> four barrels 1620-21,<sup>263</sup> an unspecified quantity 1621-22<sup>264</sup> and sixteen casks 1623-24<sup>265</sup>; from Ayr six barrels 1617-18;<sup>266</sup> and from Irvine four barrels 1623-24.<sup>267</sup> These tallow exports would have been subject to custom duty of £1 per barrel.<sup>268</sup>

Such volumes of legal exports would have been small when compared with the illicit trade of native tallow. This covert trade is alluded to by numerous cases in official records of customs officials confiscating unlicensed tallow found whilst awaiting export. In February 1603 three barrels of tallow destined for export were confiscated and kept in a house in Kinghorn whilst awaiting removal by customs officials when William Lyn of Pittenweem removed the tallow and exported it.<sup>269</sup> Four years later Alexander McMath, merchant of Edinburgh, was caught attempting to export tallow on his ship.<sup>270</sup> In October 1610 Roger Duncanson, merchant burghess of Edinburgh, illegally exported five lasts and eight barrels of tallow to Newhaven in France where his factor sold it at a profit of 44 French francs per barrel.<sup>271</sup> In December 1612 James Wallace, merchant burghess in Edinburgh confessed to attempting illegally to export ten stones, and Andrew Keir, skipper in Leith confessed to unlawfully trying to export fifty stones of tallow in Dutch ship from Leith to Rochelle.<sup>272</sup> In February 1615 William Mure, flesher in Glasgow, admitted that he had continued to export tallow for some years, particularly in 1613 and 1614, in contravention of the Acts of Parliament.<sup>273</sup> Later in 1615, custom officials apprehended and seized six barrels of tallow pertaining to Janet Mosie in Leith, and thirty barrels of tallow owned by John Orr, merchant burghess of Leith, both of whom had 'usit that unlauchfull and wicked trade of transporting talloun thir divers yeiris bigane'. Orr had barrelled the forbidden good as herring by placing a few fish at each end of the barrel and laying some herring scales upon the barrels.<sup>274</sup> In August 1616 a customs messenger found three lasts of tallow in James Chapman's ship of Leith. The ship and tallow were arrested and Chapman promised to return his ship to harbour at either Leith or

<sup>260</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, p. 750, first series, Vol. XIII, pp. 538-39.

<sup>261</sup> N.A.S. E38 569.

<sup>262</sup> N.A.S. E38 572.

<sup>263</sup> N.A.S. E38 576.

<sup>264</sup> N.A.S. E38 579.

<sup>265</sup> N.A.S. E38 585.

<sup>266</sup> N.A.S. E38 569.

<sup>267</sup> N.A.S. E38 585.

<sup>268</sup> N.A.S. E76/2, E76/3 state the value of a barrel of tallow was £20. Custom duty was levied at 5% of this value.

<sup>269</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p.537.

<sup>270</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 25.

<sup>271</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 74r-75v.

<sup>272</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, pp. 526-27, 529.

<sup>273</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, p. 798.

<sup>274</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, p. 444.

Burntisland and there to unload the tallow. Instead, however, he sailed out of Scottish waters with the tallow to 'disponit upoun the same at his pleasour without the cuntrey'.<sup>275</sup>

Two months later a ship of Leith belonging to William Robertson was searched and tallow was found therein, along with candles and other forbidden goods belonging to Harry Moresoun, merchant: the ship and her illegal cargo were arrested.<sup>276</sup> In October 1617 William Rutherford and Alexander Hamilton, both skippers in Leith, confessed to barrelling a large quantity of tallow and candles with the intention of exporting them, again the goods were confiscated.<sup>277</sup> In June 1618 several East Lothian men were denounced rebels and fined heavily for exporting a large quantity of tallow since the previous Martinmas 'be land to Beruik ... in the day and sometymes covertlie and quietlie in the night'.<sup>278</sup> In October 1618 the Clyde searcher found Archibald Andersoun, burges of Glasgow, intending to illegally export twenty barrels of tallow. The searcher seized four of the barrels, arrested the ship and went ashore to deliver the four barrels to Thomas Stewart. While the searcher was ashore Anderson set sail with at least sixteen barrels of the forbidden good, and Stewart later also exported the four confiscated barrels.<sup>279</sup> Finally, in 1623 numerous merchants and skippers of Edinburgh, Leith, Fisherrow, West Fife and Glasgow were accused of and fined for illegally exporting tallow 1619-23.<sup>280</sup>

Custom officials were aware, therefore, that despite the efforts of searchers - such as William Cunningham on the west coast between Glasgow and Ayr - several great quantities of tallow were being illegally exported from various ports and harbours. In December 1624, therefore, a new searcher - Peter Balmanno, merchant burges of Dundee - was specifically appointed to seek, apprehend and confiscate all tallow being exported from Scotland at whatever port, harbour, creek, river or other place, one half of confiscated tallow going to the King, one half to his own use.<sup>281</sup> How successful Balmanno was in this capacity is not known, but references to the unlawful export of tallow in the primary sources do decline markedly after 1625: Robert Carmichaell and Alexander Blair, mariners, burgesses of Dundee, certainly admitted illegally exporting twelve barrels of tallow to Holland in November 1627<sup>282</sup> and it was acknowledged that the illicit export of tallow from Lewis, Orkney, Shetland and part of the north-west mainland to Holland continued into the 1630s.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, pp. 8-9.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>277</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, pp. 248.

<sup>278</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, pp. 383.

<sup>279</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, p. 330.

<sup>280</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XIII, p. 201, 206, 213, 265.

<sup>281</sup> N.A.S. E4/4, ff. 356v-358r.

<sup>282</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. II, p. 115.

<sup>283</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. III, pp. 95, 428.

Smuggling therefore seems to have been the only feasible way of exporting tallow.<sup>284</sup> It is unfortunate that this clandestine activity was carried on to such an extent that the few legally recorded tallow entries are rendered fairly meaningless. It is certain that despite the prohibition on unlicensed exportation of tallow ‘the transport thereof [was] verie frequent and commoun throughout the kingdome’.

#### 14. LIVESTOCK

Live animals – lambs, sheep, horses and cattle – are recorded in the custom accounts as having been driven overland to England.<sup>285</sup> Prior to June 1612 there existed no particular place where livestock was to be brought to be customed. Thereafter, it was ordained that custom on livestock passing along the West March was to be paid at the ‘Kirk of Graitnay [Gretna] in Annandale’<sup>286</sup> on livestock passing along the Middle Marches at either Jedburgh or Kelso, and on livestock passing along the East March at Ayton or Duns.<sup>287</sup> One duty of the Warden of each of the Marches was to ensure that no animal was driven into England without first being brought to these specified places for the appropriate custom to be paid. If any illegally exported livestock was apprehended, it was to be confiscated: one-half going to the Treasurer for the King’s use and one-half to the Warden.

The export of livestock, specifically of nolt (which comprised oxen and black cattle) and sheep, was frequently prohibited over the early seventeenth century.<sup>288</sup> Such bans were imposed whenever it was feared that a shortage of animals or meat (particularly mutton) within Scotland might lead to high prices. During stormy weather in March 1615, for example, it was recognised that much livestock had died or had become feeble and weak. In order to preserve the Scottish stock of lambs and sheep and to avoid scarcity and high prices, the slaughter of lambs was forbidden throughout Scotland for the remainder of the year and the export of nolt and sheep to England and elsewhere was forbidden.<sup>289</sup> In prevailing circumstances of imperfect information concerning the price of livestock, it was decided in 1626 that in order to frame definite rules for the restraint of livestock exports when prices were high, or for permitting export on payment of a fixed custom when prices were moderate, the Justices of the Peace of all Scottish shires submit annually a report of the ordinary prices of oxen, cattle and sheep in the markets that had been held within their bounds from the beginning of the preceding May to the first

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<sup>284</sup> Rorke found the same for the pre-1597 period (*op. cit.*, p. 256).

<sup>285</sup> The Books of Rates suggest that livestock was also exported to Ireland. No references to this trade have been found in the custom accounts.

<sup>286</sup> A 1619 description of the western route from Dumfriesshire to Carlisle described ‘The hie way from the toun of Annend to the Kirk of Gretnay be the ordinarie way for all nolt-dryvaris, mairchendis, and traffikaris, and from the kirk of Gretnay throuche Serk at the fuird besdy Serkbrige to Rolland Mers, and swa to Cairlill’. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, p. 633).

<sup>287</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, pp. 394-95. This Act was printed and published at the market crosses at Dumfries, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Annan, Lochmaben, Jedburgh, Kelso and Duns.

<sup>288</sup> Prohibitions were imposed or renewed in November 1597 (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 425). April and August 1599 (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, pp. 476-77, 553). June 1605 (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, p. 56). March and April 1615 (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, p. 313, 323). August 1625 (*R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, pp. 121-22). June and August 1626 (*R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, pp. 300, 383-84) and August, September and October 1627 (*R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. II, pp. 61, 73, 91).

<sup>289</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, pp. 312-13.

Tuesday in August.<sup>290</sup> Prices did remain high and so the prohibition on the export of livestock remained in place over the late 1620s, before possibly being revoked over the 1630s. In 1644 custom officers were directed to keep a record of the number of cattle, names of the drovers and dates when they passed - records which, if kept, have unfortunately not survived.<sup>291</sup>

References to the export of livestock in the enrolled accounts are limited to lambs,<sup>292</sup> which were exported primarily in August, September and October each year and subject to £0.05 custom duty per head.<sup>293</sup> It seems that most of these lambs originated in south-eastern Scotland and were customed at Ayton and Duns, while others originated in eastern Fife and were customed at Dunbar before being driven southwards along the East March.<sup>294</sup> The only existing figures illustrating the extent of lamb exports along the East March are: 198 in 1611,<sup>295</sup> 237 in 1612,<sup>296</sup> 334 in 1613<sup>297</sup> and 315 in 1614.<sup>298</sup> In addition, 260 lambs are recorded as having been exported via the West March in 1621.<sup>299</sup>

The extent of sheep and horse exports can be inferred only from information contained within two account books pertaining to the West March. The first shows that between November 1617 and November 1618 4,492 sheep and 163 horses were customed at Dumfries or Alisonbank,<sup>300</sup> while the second shows that between November 1620 and November 1621 4,340 sheep and 65 horses were so customed.<sup>301</sup> Sheep were customed at £0.10 per head, horses at £1.00 per head.<sup>302</sup>

The cattle export trade to England involved livestock driven from the Highlands as well as beasts raised in south-western Scotland.<sup>303</sup> Described as a 'spasmodic and interrupted' trade over the sixteenth century,<sup>304</sup> the cattle trade is widely seen to have grown steadily throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>305</sup> Unfortunately, however, there exists little indication as to the extent of this

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<sup>290</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. I, p. lxxxv.

<sup>291</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 242; Haldane, A. R. B., *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997, p. 17.

<sup>292</sup> Some lambs were referred to as 'winter lambs'.

<sup>293</sup> This was the rate payable at Dumfries in 1621 (N.A.S. E71/10/5).

<sup>294</sup> N.A.S. E38 559, 561, 563.

<sup>295</sup> N.A.S. E38 557.

<sup>296</sup> N.A.S. E38 559.

<sup>297</sup> N.A.S. E38 561.

<sup>298</sup> N.A.S. E38 563.

<sup>299</sup> N.A.S. E71/10/5. The next chronological reference to lamb exports does not appear until 1665-66 when 622 lambs are recorded as having been customed at Alisonbank before crossing to England (Woodward, D., "Irish and Scottish Livestock Trades in the Seventeenth Century" in Cullen, L. M. and Smout, T. C. (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1977, p. 150).

<sup>300</sup> N.L.S. MSS 20.6.1 (8).

<sup>301</sup> N.A.S. E71/10/5. 6,003 sheep are recorded as having crossed from Alisonbank to England in 1665-66 (Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 150).

<sup>302</sup> These were the rates payable at Dumfries in 1621 (N.A.S. E71/10/5) and are 5% of the values given in the 1612 Book of Rates.

<sup>303</sup> Cattle breeding was of prime importance in south-western Scotland, unlike south-eastern counties which acted as a passage-way to England rather than being a breeding ground. (Haldane, *op. cit.*, p. 161).

<sup>304</sup> Haldane, *op. cit.*, p. 13 quoted in Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>305</sup> Haldane notes that by the mid seventeenth century the cattle trade to England had grown to such

growth. The 1611-14 'Table of Scottish Produce Exported Yearly' simply stated that a 'greit quantetie ... of sheip [and] nolt ... is transpoirrted by land dalie'.<sup>306</sup> Between November 1617 and November 1618 6,761 head of nolt were customed at Dumfries or Alisonbank for export to England via the West March;<sup>307</sup> and between November 1620 and November 1621 2,511 nolt were so customed,<sup>308</sup> all at a custom duty of £0.50 per head.<sup>309</sup> Thereafter, no references are available regarding the volume of nolt exports until the 1660s by which decade cattle exports had increased greatly over 1620s levels.<sup>310</sup>

There is no doubt, however, that in addition to these goods exported legally through the purchase of a licence from and payment of appropriate duty to the Crown, livestock was exported illegally to England. This is illustrated by contemporary reference to the 'grite hurt and skaith the commounwele of this realme sustenis be the schameles and avaricious behaviour of a grit nowmer of personis, quha, preferring thair awne privat gayne and commoditie to the commoun wele, daylie transportis girt nowmeris of nolt and sheip furth of this realme, sumtymes undir cullour of prevey licenceis unlawfullie and surreptitiouslie stollin and purchest of his Majestie and his officiaris, and sumtymes secreitlie and covertlie without licenceis, to the grit hurte and prejudice of all estaitis of personis and fostering and intertenying of derth'.<sup>311</sup> Complaints by the tacksmen and customars of non-payment of custom duty illustrate the scale of seizures. In March 1618, for example, the late tacksmen of the customs complained to the Privy Council that seven Scotsmen had not paid custom due on 301 nolt and 140 lambs exported by them to England in the year to November 1617.<sup>312</sup> In February 1620 the deputy customar of the East March complained that custom due on approximately 394 nolt exported in the year to November 1619 had not been paid.<sup>313</sup> It is likely, therefore, that as with tallow exports, the official figures substantially underestimate the true volume of Scottish livestock exports.

## 15. MISCELLANEOUS ANIMAL PRODUCTS

### I. FLESH

Flesh was exported from Scotland in the forms of salted beef<sup>314</sup> and venison, transported in barrels rather than in the form of fresh carcasses.<sup>315</sup> Duty on beef, venison and other types of meat was levied

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proportions that Scotland was described as little more than a grazing field for England. (Haldane, *op. cit.*, p. 18). See also Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>306</sup> "Table of Scottish Produce Exported Yearly, 1611-14" reproduced as Appendix Thirteen.

<sup>307</sup> N.L.S. MSS 20.6.1 (8).

<sup>308</sup> N.A.S. E71/10/5.

<sup>309</sup> This was the rate payable at Dumfries in 1621 (N.A.S. E71/10/5) and is 5% of the value noted in the 1612 Book of Rates.

<sup>310</sup> It was estimated in 1662-63 that 18,364 Scottish cattle were customed at Carlisle; in 1664 an estimated 30,961 Scottish cattle were customed at Carlisle and 16,932 at Berwick; and at Alisonbank alone 1,050 cattle were customed prior to crossing to England in 1665-66. These figures are all from Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>311</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. I pp. 476-77.

<sup>312</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, p. 326.

<sup>313</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, p. 196.

<sup>314</sup> Presumably ox and cow beef.

<sup>315</sup> N.A.S. E76/2. For a discussion of the problems involved in salting Scottish beef see Haldane, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226.

at £0.10 per barrel from 1597 until 1611,<sup>316</sup> £0.50 per barrel thereafter.<sup>317</sup> In addition a licence was required to be purchased from the Crown in order to export the product lawfully.<sup>318</sup> the trade being prohibited in years of meat or grain shortages within Scotland.

Legal exports of meat are recorded as having taken place from ports as far north as Caithness. Indeed, although small quantities of flesh are recorded as having been regularly sent overseas regularly from Leith and sporadically from West Fife and the East Neuk, it was the ports located north of the river Spey that were predominant. Over four times the volume of meat was transported directly overseas from the northernmost jurisdiction than was transported from Leith. In addition, it is likely that a proportion of the flesh exported from Leith had actually been shipped southwards from Caithness, Orkney and Shetland.<sup>319</sup> Only one particular account entry indicates a destination: the 270 barrels of beef exported from north of the Spey 1620-21 was bound to Flanders.<sup>320</sup> There is no doubt, however, that as with the other animal products referred to above, the official figures underestimate the true volume of flesh exports. Pretence that flesh was for the ships' voyage was only one means of smuggling,<sup>321</sup> an activity that led to an under-recording of actual flesh exports in the custom accounts.

## II. FEATHERS

Feathers, used for making beds, did not appear in the 1597 Book of Rates, but from 1611 were customed at £0.10 per stone.<sup>322</sup> Leith was the only port that exported feathers regularly over the 1610s and 1620s and did so to London and Veere. As Chart 2-15a shows, the volume of feathers exported from Leith fluctuated between 200 and 400 stones per annum 1617/18-1626/27 before increasing continuously, reaching a peak of over 1,300 stones in 1633/34.

## III. HART HORNS

Although the 1611 Book of Rates lists the horns of the buck, hart, ox and ram/sheep as being dutiable commodities,<sup>323</sup> the custom accounts only ever refer to hart horns which were customed at £0.15 per ten stones of weight from 1597.<sup>324</sup> Hart horns were exported extremely infrequently, the only references in the enrolled accounts being 21 stones exported from the Tay ports 1597/98, 40 stones from Leith 1628/29 and 31 stones from Leith 1629/30.

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<sup>316</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E76/1/1.

<sup>317</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E76/2, E76/3. From 1611 beef was valued at £10 per barrel and £10 per carcass.

<sup>318</sup> N.A.S. E76/3.

<sup>319</sup> Haldane, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>320</sup> N.A.S. E71/26/1.

<sup>321</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-58.

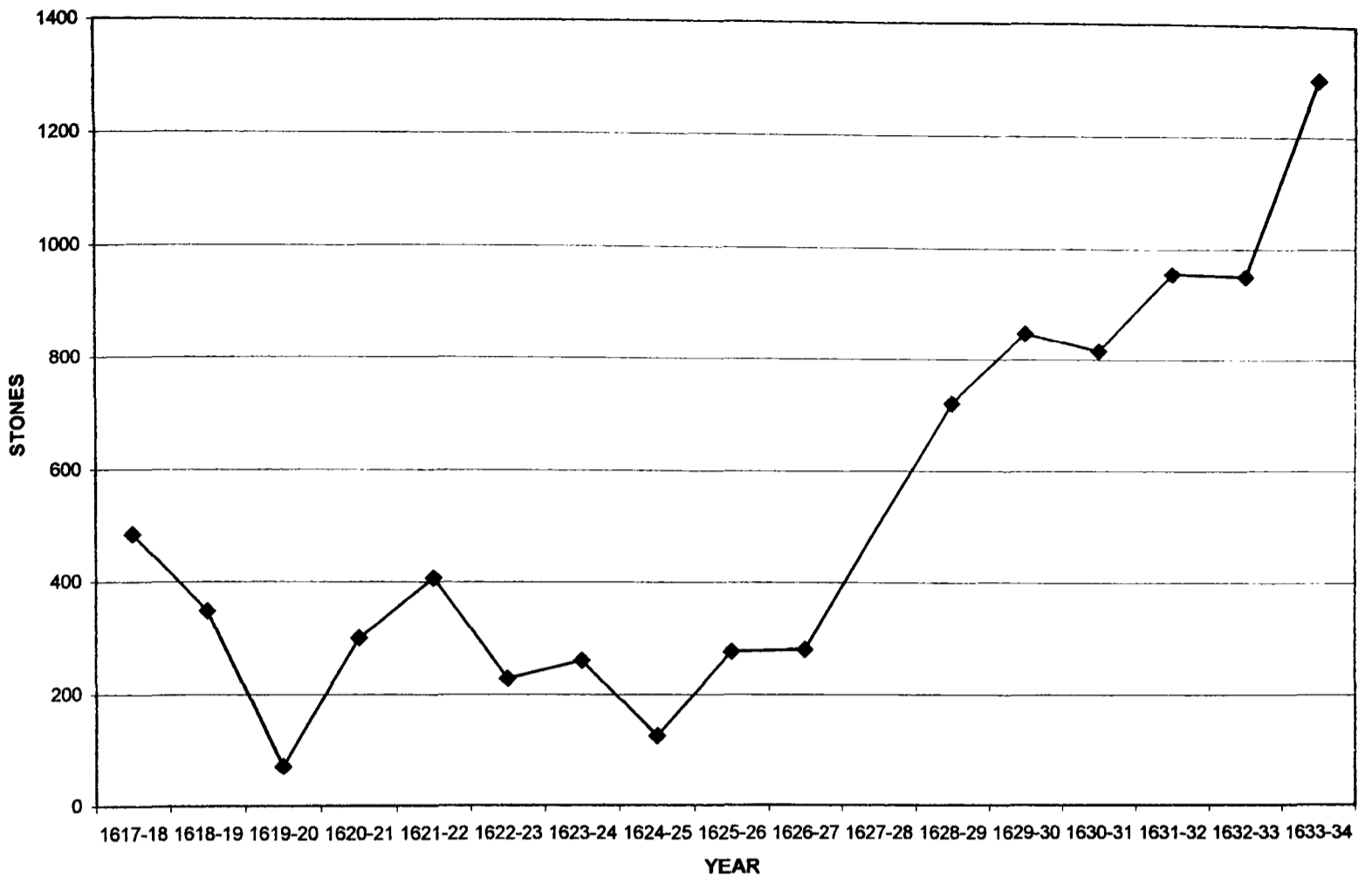
<sup>322</sup> As calculated from N.A.S. E38 series. The 1611 Book of Rates, however, values feathers at £4 per stone which would make them liable to £0.20 per stone custom duty.

<sup>323</sup> N.A.S. E76/2.

<sup>324</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E76/3 which shows that hart horns were valued at £3.00 per 'kip' of ten stones. Duty was levied at 5% of this value



CHART 2-15A: FEATHER EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1617/18-1633/34



## 16. LEAD ORE<sup>325</sup>

The Scottish lead industry was focused on ‘the leidhoillis’ at Crawford Muir in upper Clydesdale. It is not known how much ore was produced over the first half of the seventeenth century, although Smout estimates that 50 tons of lead ore were dug each year from ‘the kings mines’ around 1570, rising to 300-400 tons of per year on the eve of the Civil War.<sup>326</sup> Similarly, the proportion exported over the first half of the seventeenth century cannot be quantified, although it is believed to have been extremely small and that lead ore was a minor Scottish export.

As lead ore was primarily mined to yield its valuable silver content, legal exportation presumably took place strictly under licence,<sup>327</sup> and upon prior payment to the Crown of both export duty and fine silver payment in direct proportion to the volume of lead ore shipped. Over the second half of the sixteenth century, duties on the export of argentiferous ore had been relatively high. A January 1563 lease for Glengonnar and Wanlock, for example, agreed that 45 ounces of fine silver were to be delivered to the mint on each 1,200 stoncs of lead ore from exported. The subsequent 1565 lease agreed that 50 ounces of fine silver be delivered for every 1,200 stoncs of ore exported.<sup>328</sup> These figures suggest that the Crown could expect to receive at least half of the silver obtained from low-grade silver-lead ore.<sup>329</sup>

In contrast, over the first half of the seventeenth century lead ore exports were subject to an export duty of £0.50 per barrel<sup>330</sup> and bullion duty of only one ounce of silver (twelve denier fine) per six barrels<sup>331</sup> which equates to only 4.7 ounces of silver per 1,200 stoncs exported. This may suggest that the lead ore exports referred to in the custom accounts (14,400 pounds weight exported from Preston and Aberlady to Flanders in 1620,<sup>332</sup> 720 pounds from the Borders 1623-24,<sup>333</sup> 480 pounds from the Clyde over the same year,<sup>334</sup> 4,800 pounds from Leith to Venice or Leghorn in Italy 1627-28<sup>335</sup> and 300 pounds from the Forth 1628-29)<sup>336</sup> may have been near-sterile riddling ores rather than the highly argentiferous ores exported over the previous half century. Such low quality exports, perhaps destined for use in the continental *Saigerprozess* which allowed riddling ores to yield their meagre silver content as well as producing workable lead, became worthwhile in view of rising European lead and silver prices.

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<sup>325</sup> Smelted lead is considered to have been a re-export as it was listed as a re-export in the 1611-14 Survey and was imported regularly at Leith over the 1620s.

<sup>326</sup> Smout, T. C., “Leadmining in Scotland, 1650-1850” in Payne, P. L., *Studies in Scottish Business History*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1967, p. 104.

<sup>327</sup> Lead ore does not appear in either the 1597 or 1611 Book of Rates which suggests it was a prohibited good until 1612.

<sup>328</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-44.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.* p. 243.

<sup>330</sup> N.A.S. E76/3. One barrel contained 600 pounds weight of lead ore. The 1612 Book of Rates valued a barrel of ore at £10. Duty was levied at 5% of this value.

<sup>331</sup> N.A.S. E76/4.

<sup>332</sup> N.A.S. E71/24/2.

<sup>333</sup> N.A.S. E38 585.

<sup>334</sup> N.A.S. E38 585.

<sup>335</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/11.

<sup>336</sup> N.A.S. E38 597. In addition, there do exist references to lead ore extracted from mines at Crawford Muir being transported overland to Leith, presumably (though not necessarily) for export. (*R.P.C.*,

## 17. MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURES

### I. GLOVES

Gloves were made from leather<sup>337</sup> and exported at £0.15 per gross (twelve dozen) from 1597 onwards.<sup>338</sup> The Tay ports and Edinburgh/Leith were the major departure points for Scottish made gloves. As Chart 2-17a shows, exports from Leith fluctuated wildly over the 1610s, 1620s and 1630s, peaking at over 20,000 individual gloves in 1620-21. The particular accounts indicate that these gloves were destined solely for the Baltic markets.<sup>339</sup> Chart 2-17b illustrates the volume of gloves exported from the Tay to unknown destinations. It is clear that such exports peaked over the 1610s - over 24,000 individual gloves were shipped from Dundee and Perth in 1612/13 and over 31,000 in 1617/18 - before volumes stabilised at an average of just under 4,000 gloves per annum over the 1620s and 1630s. In addition, small quantities of gloves were exported overseas from the North East, Forth and Clyde.

### II. STOCKINGS AND HOSE

Stockings 'made of a warm stuffe of divers colours which they call Tartane'<sup>340</sup> were exported as hose, boot hose, 'prik' hose, woven hose and hose made in Leith Wynd, except when exported from Aberdeen in which case the terms 'shanks' was employed. Hose was not listed in the 1597 Book of Rates, but was customed £0.15 per hundred (120) pairs from that year onwards.<sup>341</sup> The major hose exporting precinct was Edinburgh and Leith from whence, as Chart 2-17c illustrates, over 37,000 pairs were exported 1597-98 and nearly 30,000-pairs were exported 1598-99. No further data is available until the late 1610s when an average of just under 15,000 pairs per annum were being exported. From 1620 hose exports recovered, regaining the former 30,000 pairs level over the early 1620s and again over the early 1630s. The particular accounts show that hose exported from Leith was destined primarily for the Low Countries, with significant amounts to the Baltic and small volumes to northern France and to England.<sup>342</sup> The North East was the only other fairly significant stocking exporting region: as Chart 2-17d shows, fluctuating quantities of woollen shanks were exported from Aberdeen over the late 1620s and 1630s to Baltic ports such as Danzig and Lübeck.<sup>343</sup>

### III. POINTS AND LACES

Leather points and laces were customed at £0.03 per gross from 1597 onwards.<sup>344</sup> The major exporting jurisdictions were Leith and the Tay ports, although consignments of considerable volume left from the Clyde ports also. Small scale exports from the Forth took place only over the late 1590s.

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first series, Vol. V, pp. 395, 414-15; first series, Vol. VI, p. 101).

<sup>337</sup> R.P.C., first series, Vol. V., p. 482.

<sup>338</sup> N.A.S. E38 series, E76/1/1, E76/3. In 1612 gloves were valued at £3.00 per gross.

<sup>339</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/9 and E71/29/11.

<sup>340</sup> Taylor in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 121;

<sup>341</sup> N.A.S. E38 series. In 1612 'wollen hois maid in Leith wynd and other places of this kingdome' was valued at £3.00 per hundred pairs (N.A.S. E28 76/3).

<sup>342</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/9, E71/29/11.

<sup>343</sup> N.A.S. E71.1/13, E71/1/14.

<sup>344</sup> Calculated from N.A.S. E38 series.

CHART 2-17A: GLOVE EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH/LEITH 1596/97-1633/34

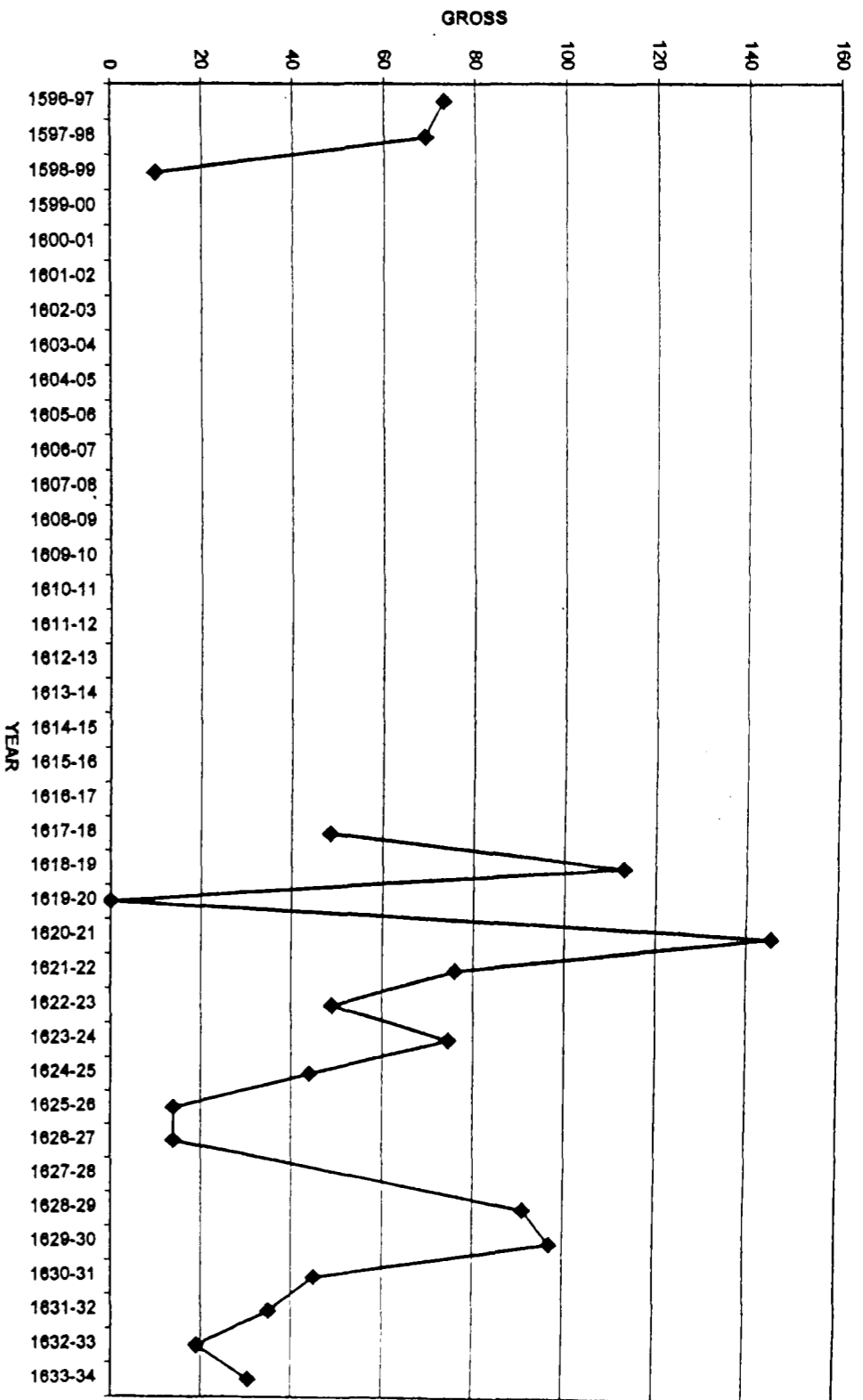


CHART 2-17B: GLOVE EXPORTS FROM THE TAY 1596/97-1637/38

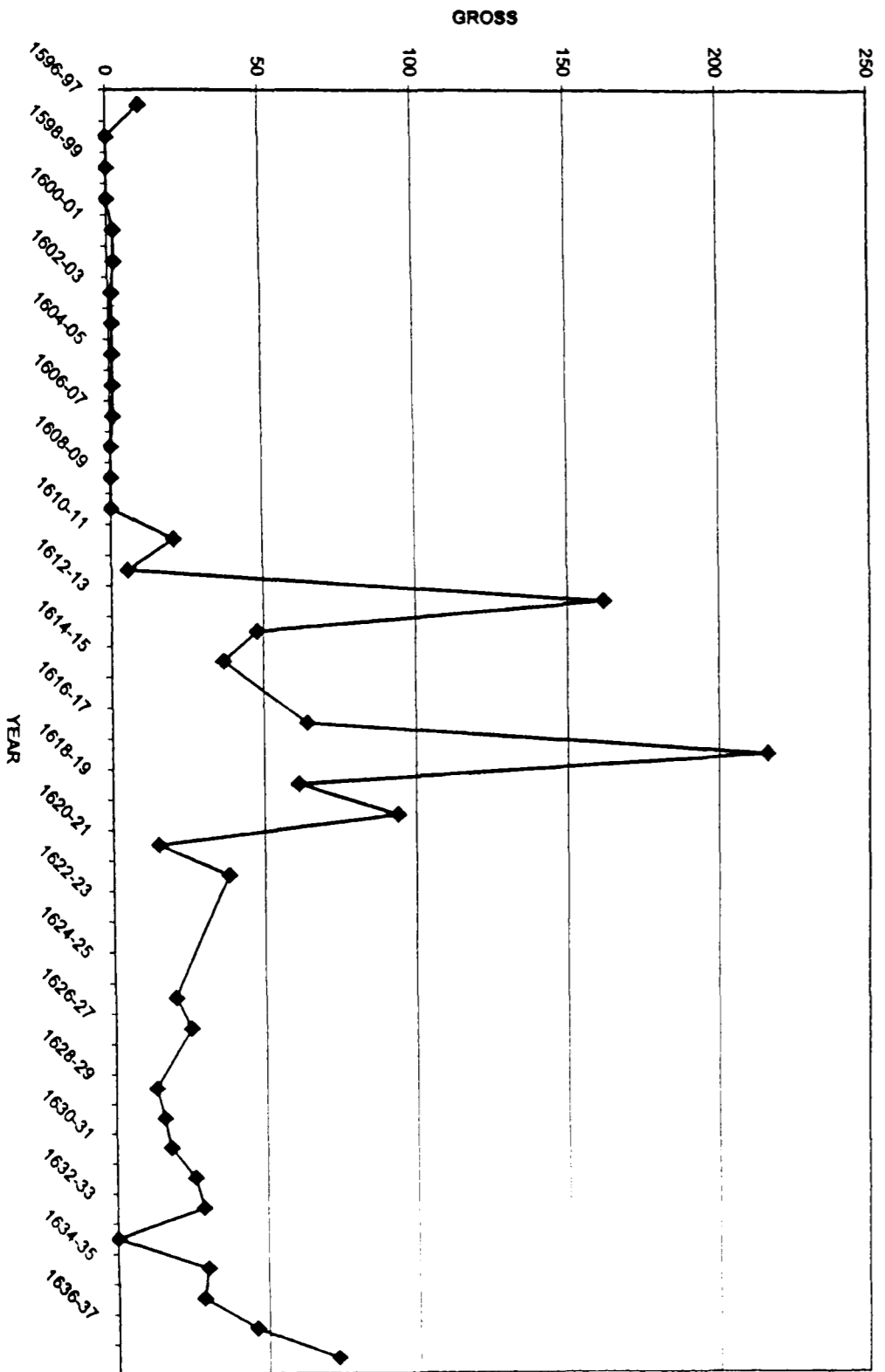


CHART 2-17C: EXPORTS OF HOSE FROM EDINBURGH AND LEITH 1596/97-1633/34

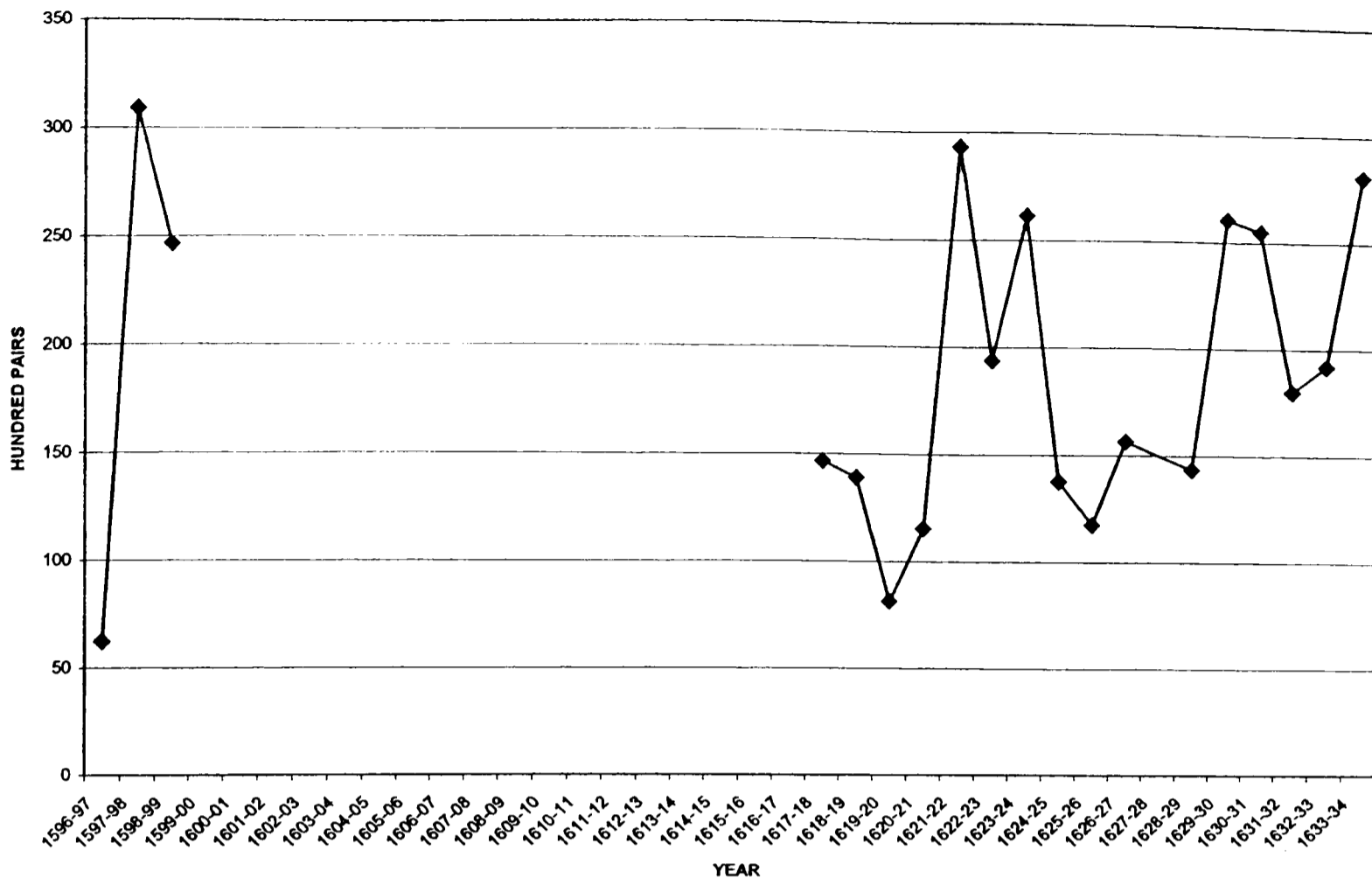
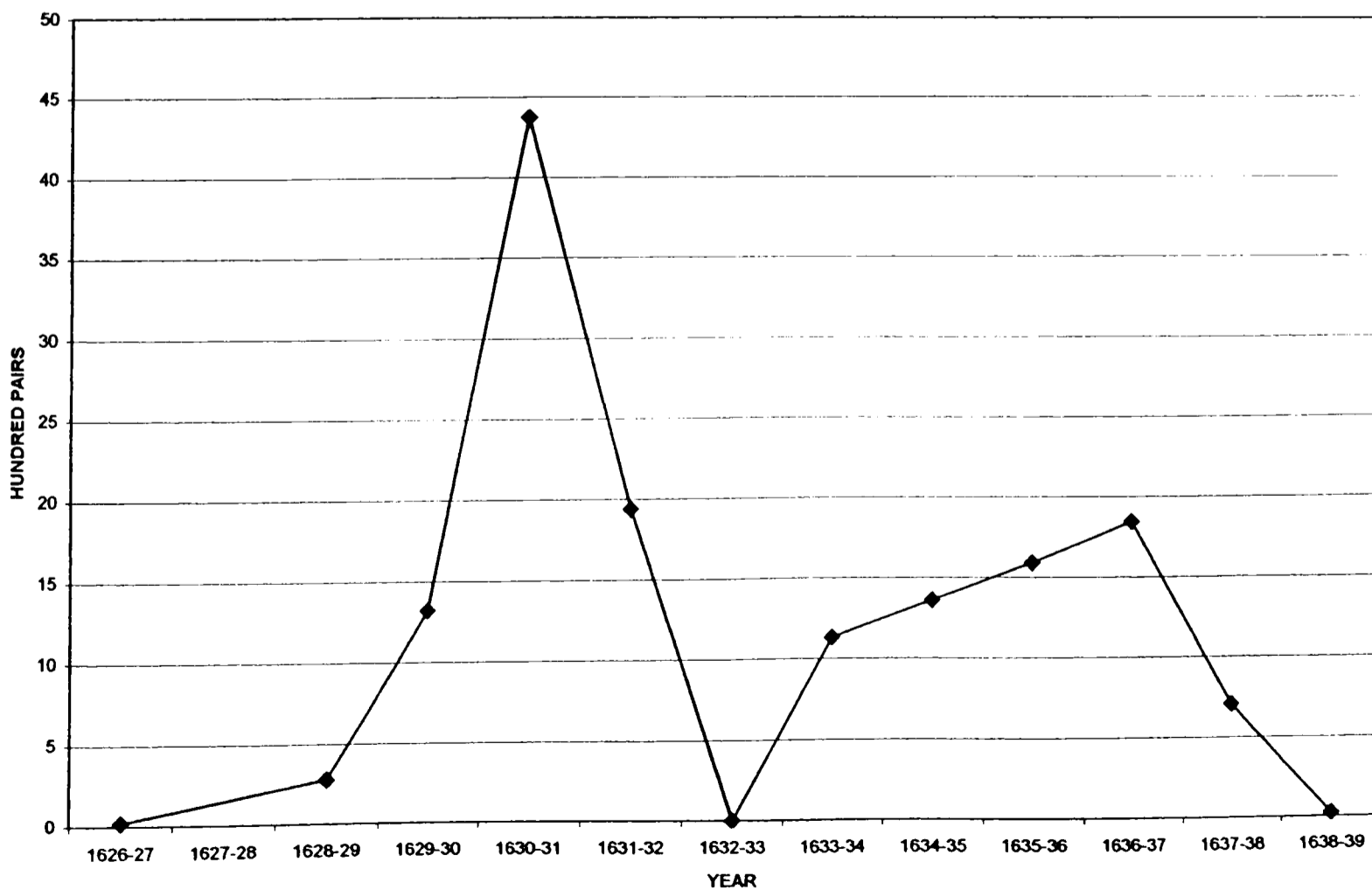


CHART 2/17D: SHANK EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST 1626/27-1638/39



#### IV. CUSHIONS AND BED COVERINGS

Although neither cushions nor bed coverings were listed in the Books of Rates, small volumes certainly were exported. Plain cushions and bed coverings were liable for £0.03 custom duty per piece while more elaborate embroidered cushions were liable for £0.05<sup>345</sup> and embroidered bed coverings for £0.20 per piece.<sup>346</sup> These goods were exported irregularly, in small volumes and only from Leith, the Forth and West Fife. The only known destination of such exports was Newcastle, which received the 96 embroidered cushions and four embroidered bed coverings exported from West Fife in March 1628.<sup>347</sup>

#### V. BLUE BONNETS

Blue bonnets were exported in small quantities only from the Clyde and only over the late 1630s. They were probably customed at £0.15 per hundred bonnets.<sup>348</sup>

#### VI. BOOTS, SHOES AND SHOEHORNS

That boots and shoes<sup>349</sup> do not appear in any edition of the Books of Rates suggests that their export was totally prohibited until at least 1612. Thereafter, exports continued to be forbidden whenever a scarcity of hides, leather or bark, and therefore high prices, prevailed - as occurred, for example, following the post-1617 reform of Scottish tanning techniques when increasing amounts of good quality Scottish leather were sent overseas for sale to foreign manufacturers<sup>350</sup> leaving a dearth of workable leather at home. Over the 1610s and early 1620s, therefore, shoes and boots were exported only sporadically from Edinburgh/Leith, the East Neuk, the Tay and the Clyde.

From December 1626, however, further exports of hides and leather without prior purchase of a licence from the Crown was forbidden, no doubt to the fury of the mercantile community. The resulting increased availability of leather within Scotland, however, presumably allowed increased production of native shoes and boots. When prices fell below certain levels, a proportion of these manufactured goods were then permitted to be exported. Such exports took place regularly between 1628 and 1637, but only from the East Neuk and at roughly the same level (5,000 to 8,000 pairs per annum) as had prevailed over the early 1620s. Unfortunately, there exist no clues as to the rate of duty levied on these shoes, boots and shoehorns.

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<sup>345</sup> Calculated from N.A.S. E38 series.

<sup>346</sup> N.A.S. E71/5/2.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>348</sup> The 1612 Book of Rates values 'bonnetts maid in Leith wynd and other places of this kingdome' at £3.00 per hundred. Duty was levied at 5% of this value.

<sup>349</sup> Shoehorns are included in this section as they were complementary to, and frequently customed alongside shoes and boots.

<sup>350</sup> See above pp. 64-66; *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XIII, p. 240, second series, Vol. I, pp. lxxxvii, 518.

## VII. HORSESHOES

Horseshoes were entered only twice in the enrolled accounts – 600 were exported from the Clyde 1628-29 and an unknown quantity valued at £10.00 from the same precinct 1638-39. The rate of duty payable on these horseshoes is unknown.<sup>351</sup>

## VIII. NETS

Nets - presumably fishing nets - were exported in small quantities only from the East Neuk of Fife over the late 1620s and early 1630s. Again, custom duty payable on these goods is not known.

## IX. WHISKY

Finally, despite intermittent grain shortages,<sup>352</sup> whisky, or aqua vitae was widely distilled throughout the Highlands and western Scotland by the early seventeenth century. It was made from malted barley, half a ton of grain being required to produce around 70 gallons.<sup>353</sup> Whisky was consumed as a medicinal tonic and as a beverage. It was distilled both by men of substance: Earls, Lords, Barons and Gentlemen for their own use; and on a small scale by common folk in their dwelling places, often as a sideline to agricultural occupations, using stills of between twenty and fifty gallons capacity.<sup>354</sup> Surplus whisky is recorded as having been exported only from the Clyde ports and only to Ireland,<sup>355</sup> and was possibly customed at £0.40 per gallon.<sup>356</sup> As Chart 2-17e illustrates, recorded exports of whisky fluctuated greatly at up to 225 gallons per annum over the 1610s, 1620s and 1630s. In addition, there is no doubt that 'illicit scotch' was smuggled into Ireland and from the mainland to the Western Isles of Scotland throughout the period.<sup>357</sup>

## 18. OTHER EXPORTS

### I. UNSPECIFIED VALUED GOODS

Entries of unspecified 'customable goods' with a value attached appear in the 1632-33 Leith enrolled account<sup>358</sup> and regularly throughout the 1630s in the Clyde custom accounts.<sup>359</sup> The worth of the goods would presumably have been agreed between the merchant and customar and export duty levied at 5% of the value.

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<sup>351</sup> Although the latter entry would have been customed at 5% of the value, that was £0.50.

<sup>352</sup> See above p. 103.

<sup>353</sup> Brander, M., *The Original Scotch. A History of Scotch Whisky from the Earliest Days*, London: Hutchinson, 1974, p. 5.

<sup>354</sup> Hume, J. R. and Moss, M., *The Making of Scotch Whisky A History of the Scotch Whisky Distilling Industry*, Edinburgh: Canongate, 2000 p. 23.

<sup>355</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/1, E71/9/2. Fynes Moryson in 1598 reported 'the inhabitants of the Westerne parts of Scotland carry into Ireland and Neighbouring places red and pickeled Herrings, Sea coales and Aquavitaie ... [in exchange for] ... Yarne and Cowes or Silver'. In Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland, op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>356</sup> The 1611 Book of Rates states that one barrel of whisky was valued at £80. Assuming one barrel comprised 10 gallons as the same source states, duty was levied at 5% of £8.00.

<sup>357</sup> Sillett, S. W., *Illicit Scotch*, Aberdeen: Beaver Books, 1965, pp. 5, 7-8.

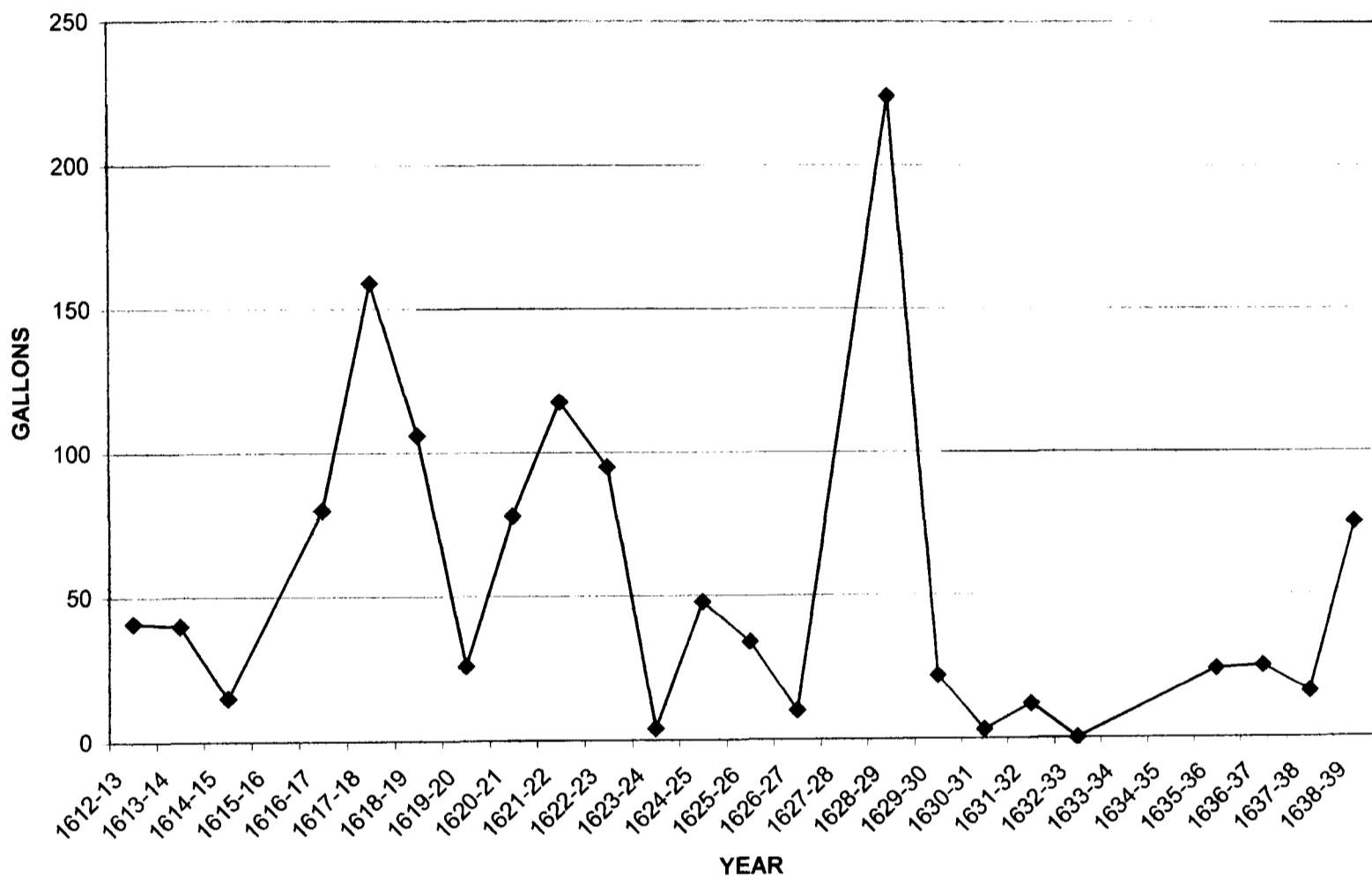
<sup>358</sup> N.A.S. E38 609.

<sup>359</sup> N.A.S. E38 600, 604, 607, 609, 629.

## II. OTHER GOODS

Only 42 of the 3,418 entries of native export listed in the enrolled accounts are not taken into consideration above. These include unspecified goods (merchants wares and small wares), unknown goods (such as balls and runes), untranslatable goods (such as 'trumpis' and 'lapidibus'), and unreadable goods. Their exclusion from analysis is unfortunate, but it is believed that neither the fortunes of the ports figures<sup>360</sup> nor the overall export figures are affected to any significant extent by their omission.

CHART 2-17E: WHISKY EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE 1612/13-1638/39



<sup>360</sup> Exclusions from analysis relate particularly to the Clyde jurisdiction and to a lesser extent to Edinburgh/Leith. Exclusions of exports departing from all other precincts are minimal.



## CHAPTER THREE: RE-EXPORTS

In addition to the exports discussed in Chapter Two, non-Scottish goods were also regularly exported from the realm, a phenomenon that had been increasing at a considerable rate over the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Included in this Chapter are commodities listed in the 1611-14 Export Survey as re-exports, those specified in the custom accounts as re-exports, raw materials not naturally available within Scotland and manufactured goods which were imported on a regular basis and believed not to have been produced in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

The starting point for establishing which goods appearing in the custom accounts constituted re-exports as opposed to exports of native commodities is the 1611-14 Export Survey which is reproduced as Appendix Thirteen.<sup>3</sup> The Survey usefully divided all Scottish exports into four general categories: 'commodities and wares of the land,' manufactured goods, fish and re-exports. According to the Survey, and as summarised in Table 3-1, re-exports encompassed a diverse range of goods and represented just over five percent of total Scottish exports.

**TABLE 3-1: SCOTTISH RE-EXPORTS, 1611-14 (annual averages)<sup>4</sup>**

CLASSIFICATION	VALUE (£)	% OF RE-EXPORTS
Baltic Wares <sup>1</sup>	25,754	66
Timber and Timber Products <sup>2</sup>	4,714	12
Metals <sup>3</sup>	2,112.30	5
Salt	1,744	4
Victual <sup>4</sup>	1,470	4
Textiles <sup>5</sup>	1,424	4
Beverages <sup>6</sup>	789	2
Dyestuffs and mordants <sup>7</sup>	531.70	1
Other <sup>8</sup>	517	1
<b>Total Re-exports</b>	<b>39,056</b>	<b>(5.3% of total exports)</b>

<sup>1</sup> Wax, hemp, tackle.

<sup>2</sup> Deals, knappald, pipe staves, pitch and tar

<sup>3</sup> "Auld" brass, iron, iron pots, lead.

<sup>4</sup> Rye, peas

<sup>5</sup> English cloth

<sup>6</sup> Wine, vinegar, hops

<sup>7</sup> Alum, brazil, "orcheid litt," madder

<sup>8</sup> Powder, soap, prunes, onions and onion seed.

<sup>1</sup> Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D, 2001, Vol. 1, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> In view of the constantly stated and repeated aim to limit the export of bullion from Scotland as much as possible (the importation of overseas goods was a major cause of such an outflow), it is assumed that commodities naturally available within Scotland were not imported in significant quantities, except in years of scarcity of essential goods such as grain.

<sup>3</sup> The 1611-14 Export Survey is printed in Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Scotland in the time of Queen Mary*. London: Methuen and Co., 1904, pp. 226-30. This Survey should not be analysed too closely since its provenance is not known.

<sup>4</sup> Source: Appendix Thirteen

The wording of certain entries in the Scottish custom accounts also denotes a re-exported good rather than a native Scottish export: English cloth, peas, beans and unspecified goods,<sup>5</sup> Irish butter, Irish tallow, French bear (barley), Flanders yarn and Danzig wheat being a few examples. Apart from such specific instances, the Scottish custom accounts do not separate re-exports from domestic exports. It is possible, therefore, that the export customs as calculated and discussed in Chapter Two include some non-Scottish produce, though the extent of such misrepresentation is not thought to be significant.

Nine separate re-export categories have been established - goods of a similar type and origin are grouped together (although inevitably there are some overlaps). These categories tie in with both the 1611-14 Export Survey classifications and the import categories referred to in Chapter Four:

- |                                     |                           |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Baltic wares                     | 6. Textiles               |
| 2. Timber and timber products       | 7. Beverages              |
| 3. Minerals, Metals and Metal wares | 8. Dyestuffs and mordants |
| 4. Salt                             | 9. Foodstuffs             |
| 5. Victual                          | 10. Miscellaneous         |

It will be seen that for most commodities, Leith was the major re-export port, participating in the re-export trade of a wide range of commodities. The Tay and Clyde jurisdictions also participated in the re-export trade to a significant extent, but in the trade of a slightly more limited range of goods. The Clyde ports, for example, were particularly prominent in the re-export of dyestuffs, mordants and foodstuffs, while Baltic wares, timber and timber products were particularly prominent re-exports from the Tay ports. It is these three jurisdictions, therefore, that will be focused upon as appropriate for much of the Chapter. The limited and specialised re-export trades of all other precincts will be discussed at the end.

## 1. BALTIC WARES

The re-export of Baltic wares really began only in the final third of the sixteenth century<sup>6</sup> and according to the 1611-14 Export Survey had become firmly established as by far the most important re-export category by the early 1610s. This category encompasses wax,<sup>7</sup> flax, linseed, hemp, tackle and cables, though it must be borne in mind that these goods were not necessarily imported directly from the Baltic prior to being re-exported. High quality timbers (such as wainscot) and timber by-products (such as pitch and tar) were undoubtedly also Baltic products but are analysed in the timber section. Similarly, the one entry of Narva tallow is included in the miscellaneous section below.<sup>8</sup> In addition, there is a

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<sup>5</sup> Exports of English goods via Scottish ports increased considerably after the Union of the Crowns, much to England's ire (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 304, first series Vol. IX, p. 388, first series Vol. XI, p. 377).

<sup>6</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

<sup>7</sup> Note that one consignment of exported wax was specified as Irish rather than Baltic wax (N.A.S. E38 597, ID 3347 Forth 1628-29). This entry has been omitted from Table Five.

<sup>8</sup> Tallow is assumed to have been a domestic Scottish export unless otherwise specified. All re-exports are included in the miscellaneous section because it was imported primarily from Ireland – only

possibility that a proportion of such 're-exports' were in fact native exports: linseed may well have been produced in Scotland as flax and hemp were certainly grown - particularly in western Scotland.<sup>9</sup> Cable yarn became subject to excise duties from the 1640s;<sup>10</sup> and there is no reason for Scottish bees not to have produced wax.<sup>11</sup> The impact of these possibilities on re-export figures, however, is thought unlikely to have been significant. As with native exports, the enrolled accounts show that throughout the first half of the seventeenth century custom duty on re-exports continued to be levied at their 1597 rates: wax £0.05 per stone and £0.80 per ship pound;<sup>12</sup> flax £0.05 per stone and £4.00 per last; hemp £0.03 per stone; hards £0.42 per pound; linseed £0.10 per barrel and £6.00 per last; tackle £0.05 per stone;<sup>13</sup> cable and cable yarn £0.05 per stone, £0.80 per ship pound and £6.00 per last.

Baltic ware re-exports from both Leith and the Tay ports comprised small and irregular shipments of flax, hemp, cable, hemp, linseed and tackle.<sup>14</sup> It was wax, however, that was dominant in each case: at Leith, wax increased as a proportion of total Baltic ware re-exports from an annual average of 84% of duty payable 1596-99 to an annual average of 97% of duty payable 1629-34. At the Tay ports, where wax is not recorded as having been re-exported before 1609, it increased from annual average of 76% of duty payable on all Baltic ware re-exports 1610-14 to 100% by 1620-24. Furthermore, as Table 3-2 illustrates, a high proportion of wax imports (just under 70% by volume at Leith between 1617-1626) was subsequently re-exported.<sup>15</sup> The particular accounts show that the principle destinations of wax re-exports from Leith were France and Italy.<sup>16</sup>

**TABLE 3-2: RE-EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF IMPORTS OF WAX AT LEITH  
1617/18-1625/26<sup>17</sup>**

PORT	PERIOD	IMPORTS (SHIPPOUNDS)	RE-EXPORTS (SHIPPOUNDS)	RE-EXPORTS AS % IMPORTS
Leith	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	186	77	41.4
Leith	Nov 1618-Nov 1619	319	276	86.5
Leith	Nov 1619-Nov 1620	426	152	35.7
Leith	Nov 1620-Nov 1621	433	360.3	83.2
Leith	Nov 1621-Nov 1622	118	144.5	122.5
Leith	Nov 1622-Nov 1623	307	207	67.4
Leith	Nov 1623-Nov 1624	175	119	68.0
Leith	Nov 1624-Nov 1625	145	62	42.8
Leith	Nov 1625-Nov 1626	32	59	184.4

one entry of Narva tallow appears in the custom accounts.

<sup>9</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IV, p. 206, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 268, 367-68.

<sup>10</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. VI, ii, p. 829a.

<sup>11</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>12</sup> N.A.S. E38 579 ID 1681 and E38 582 ID 1926 show that one pound was equivalent to one ship pound of wax.

<sup>13</sup> It is assumed that tarred tackle was customed at the same rate as unspecified tackle.

<sup>14</sup> Baltic ware re-exports from the Clyde were minimal in comparison to those from Leith and the Tay.

<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately enrolled import figures for the Tay ports do not exist.

<sup>16</sup> In 1611-12, 1626-27 and 1627-28 an average of 77% of wax was exported to France, 22% to Italy and miniscule amounts to both the Low Countries and England (Percentages calculated from N.A.S. E71/29/6, 29/9 and 29/11).

## 2. TIMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS

The wide variety of timber exports listed in the export sections of the enrolled accounts - bark, corbels, deals, joists, knappald, masts, oars, planks, scows, spars, staves and wainscot<sup>18</sup> - may be assumed to have been re-exports rather than native exports. Scottish timber had not been exported for a considerable time prior to 1597, whereas imports were already considered important.<sup>19</sup> The trade in re-exported timber had begun to develop slowly from the mid-1570s, was interrupted by the Norwegian-Danish wars of the 1580s, before expanding dramatically over the 1590s.<sup>20</sup> This upward trend continued well into the 1630s.

Over the first half of the seventeenth century as in previous decades, deals dominated the timber re-export trade. At Leith they accounted for at least 90% of timber customs in most years. Both the Tay and the East Neuk ports rarely customed any other type of timber; and deals are recorded as having been re-exported from all other eastern ports between Dunbar and Aberdeen, as well as from Glasgow. It is likely that these deals were Norwegian rather than the more expensive Prussian or Burgendorp varieties.

Alongside the wood referred to above, timber by-products were re-exported from Scotland. The most important of these were tar which was obtained from the distillation of wood, and pitch which was produced by boiling or distilling tar.<sup>21</sup> The price of pitch was therefore slightly higher than that of tar, but the export of both were subject to £0.05 per barrel or £0.60 per last custom duty, and they were usually listed together in both the enrolled and particular accounts. Re-exports of tar and pitch from Leith had boomed over the 1570s - averaging 350 barrels per year between 1573 and 1582, but had stagnated to an average of 300 barrels per annum over the 1590s.<sup>22</sup> Data are lacking until the late 1610s, when an annual average of only 31 barrels was re-exported.<sup>23</sup> Thereafter re-exports from Leith recovered slowly from an annual average of 74 barrels per annum over the 1620s to 292 barrels over the 1630s.

Soap and ashes<sup>24</sup> were the other timber by-product re-exports, both of which were customed at £0.05 per barrel or £0.60 per last. Soap was re-exported from Leith and the Clyde, accounting for nearly all

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<sup>17</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 569-591.

<sup>18</sup> Duty payable on re-exports of timber continued to correspond with those noted in the 1597 Book of Rates and were as follows: barrel staves £0.03 per hundred; pipe staves £0.05 per hundred; unspecified corbels £0.02 per hundred; oak corbels £39.60 per hundred; deals £1.00 per hundred; single roof spars £0.25 per hundred; double roof spars £0.50 per hundred; wicker spars £0.07 per hundred; oak roof spars £2.00 per hundred; joists £1.50 per hundred; knappald £0.10 per hundred; oars £0.25 per hundred; planks £1.00 per hundred; and scows £0.03 per hundred.

<sup>19</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Again, it is possible that exports of tar and pitch were native rather than re-exports, but the impact of this on re-export figures is unlikely to have been significant.

<sup>22</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-78.

<sup>23</sup> This is based only on data relating to 1617/18 and 1618/19.

<sup>24</sup> Ashes are included in this section as no custom duties were attached to re-exports of dyestuffs and mordants so it would not be possible to compare the scale of re-exports with imports of ashes in any case.

timber exports from western Scotland until the mid 1630s and around 80% thereafter as tar and pitch began to be re-shipped overseas. Small volumes of ashes were sent overseas from Leith, Dundee and Perth.

Tables 3-3a and 3-3b illustrate re-export volumes of the deals, tar and pitch referred to above as a proportion of their respective import volumes at Leith.<sup>25</sup> It is readily apparent that re-exports of these goods as a percentage of imports were much lower than was the case with Baltic wares. Only seven percent of imported deals and four percent of imported tar and pitch were subsequently re-exported at Leith - relatively low proportions which reflect the importance of imported timber and timber products to domestic economic activity. The particular accounts show that the primary destination of deals re-exported from Leith was France, with England also a significant market.<sup>26</sup> Conversely, the major destination for tar and pitch was England, France being the secondary market.<sup>27</sup>

**TABLE 3-3a: RE-EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF IMPORTS OF DEALS AT LEITH 1618/19-1625/26<sup>28</sup>**

PORT	PERIOD	IMPORTS (NUMBER)	RE-EXPORTS (NUMBER)	RE-EXPORTS AS % IMPORTS
Leith	Nov 1618-Nov 1619	29880	480	1.6
Leith	Nov 1619-Nov 1620	46800	120 <sup>29</sup>	0.3
Leith	Nov 1620-Nov 1621	49200	11040	22.4
Leith	Nov 1623-Nov 1624	28080	2160	7.7
Leith	Nov 1624-Nov 1625	31440	1680	5.3
Leith	Nov 1625-Nov 1626	38280	960	2.5

**TABLE 3-3b: RE-EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF IMPORTS OF TAR AND PITCH AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27<sup>30</sup>**

PORT	PERIOD	IMPORTS (LASTS)	RE-EXPORTS (LASTS)	RE-EXPORTS AS % IMPORTS
Leith	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	91.4	2	2.2
Leith	Nov 1618-Nov 1619	179.5	2.5	1.4
Leith	Nov 1620-Nov 1621	179	2	1.1
Leith	Nov 1621-Nov 1622	155	0.5	0.3
Leith	Nov 1622-Nov 1623	105.9	5	4.7
Leith	Nov 1623-Nov 1624	80.3	6	7.5
Leith	Nov 1624-Nov 1625	97.1	7.5	7.7
Leith	Nov 1625-Nov 1626	87.6	4.5	5.1
Leith	Nov 1626-Nov 1627	166	15.3	9.2

<sup>25</sup> Figures are presented only for years for which both import and re-export data are available. Yearly data relating to imports and re-exports of soap and ashes at Leith do not coincide.

<sup>26</sup> In 1611-12 and 1626-27 an average of 89% of deals were shipped to France, 11% to England. (Percentages calculated from N.A.S. E71/29/6 and 29/9).

<sup>27</sup> In 1611-12 and 1626-27 an average of 64% of tar and 92% of pitch was sent to England, 36% and 8% respectively to France. (Percentages calculated from N.A.S. E71/29/6 and 29/9). It is not possible to analyse the destinations of soap and ashes from surviving particular accounts.

<sup>28</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 572-591.

<sup>29</sup> Figure relates to June to November only so the percentage figure is misleadingly low.

<sup>30</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 569-594.

### 3. MINERALS, METALS AND METAL WARES

Scotland certainly did possess mineral deposits (lead ore was exported from the Clyde and the Forth, for example)<sup>31</sup> but her smelting and refining tended to be limited in scale, of a backward nature, and improvements in technique over the first half of the seventeenth century appear to have been limited.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, the 1611-14 Survey lists brass, iron, iron pots, lead and powder as re-exports rather than as native exports. Enrolled account entries of copper and copperas may be added to the re-export list.

Brass - which was obtained from copper - was the most regular and widespread re-export within this category. It accounted for an annual average of 10% of total re-exports of minerals, metals and metal wares from Leith over the late 1590s, 77% over the 1620s and 65% over the first half of the 1630s. Brass was sent overseas from almost every jurisdiction at some point over the first half of the seventeenth century,<sup>33</sup> although as with most other non-native exports, Leith and the Clyde ports dominated the trade. Brass exports had remained virtually static over the 1590s<sup>34</sup> and the available data suggest that export volumes stagnated thereafter at both the Clyde and Tay jurisdictions. At Leith, however, re-exports increased substantially over the 1620s and 1630s to a level approximately five times that of the late 1590s.

Copper re-exports had prospered in the 1590s,<sup>35</sup> and continued over the 1610s and 1620s to be sent overseas in fairly constant volumes from both Leith and the Clyde, though at slightly lower volumes than before. In addition, copperas was exported from the latter jurisdiction.<sup>36</sup>

Lead was listed a re-export in the 1611-14 Survey and was imported at Leith in successive years over the 1620s. Despite limited improvements in domestic refining, it is thus deemed fair to regard lead a re-export, rather than a native export as was the case of lead ore. As with copper, exports of lead had prospered over the last decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Over the first half of the seventeenth century, however, the volume sent overseas declined remarkably from an average of 36 stoness per annum 1596-98 to an average of only 3.4 stoness per annum over the early 1630s.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> See Chapter Two, p. 121.

<sup>32</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 285.

<sup>33</sup> Brass exports were customed at £0.03 per stone of fourteen pounds weight, £0.33 per barrel. £0.48 per ship pound and £0.66 per puncheon. (One ship pound is assumed to have contained 16 stoness (see N.A.S. E76/1/1/ copper entry) and that one puncheon consisted of two barrels of brass (Chapman, C. R., *How Heavy, How Much and How Long? Weights, Money and Other Measures Used by Our Ancestors*, Dursley: Lochin, 1995, p.40).

<sup>34</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>35</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

<sup>36</sup> Copper and copperas exports were customed at £0.03 per stone and £0.50 per ship pound.

<sup>37</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

<sup>38</sup> Lead exports were customed at £3.00 per fother of 150 stoness.

Iron smelting developed in Scotland over the early seventeenth century, but being actively discouraged in an attempt to preserve wood stocks, operated on a small scale.<sup>39</sup> Imports of this vital good - overwhelmingly from Stockholm and Danzig - were considerable, and a proportion was frequently re-exported.<sup>40</sup> Such shipments took place overwhelmingly from the Clyde, which suggests the metal was first transported across central Scotland, possibly via Bo'ness on the Forth. Iron pots<sup>41</sup> were shipped overseas from Leith and the Clyde, volumes increasing substantially - eighteen-fold at Leith between the 1590s and early 1630s and fifteen-fold at the Clyde ports between the 1610s and 1630s.

Finally, powder<sup>42</sup> - presumably gunpowder - was re-exported irregularly and in small quantities primarily from the Clyde to Ireland, possibly to military installations such as Carrickfergus Castle.<sup>43</sup>

The destination statements in the particular accounts are patchy, suggesting only that brass re-exports from Leith were shipped to England and the Low Countries; and that the primary destination for lead re-exports was France.<sup>44</sup> From the Clyde ports, all mineral, metal and metal ware re-exports were sent to Ireland.<sup>45</sup>

#### 4. GREAT SALT

The numerous monopolies granted to encourage the production of great salt in Scotland over the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had little lasting impact.<sup>46</sup> It may safely be assumed, therefore, that entries of great salt in the custom accounts refer to re-exports of 'Bay' salt previously imported primarily from Bourgneuf which was obtained by solar evaporation of seawater and used for the preservation of flesh and oily fish such as herring and salmon.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> In 1609 Parliament banned the manufacture of iron because it would cause the 'utter waisting and consumeing' of the woods in the Highlands, timber which, they felt, could be better used elsewhere. Previously, they noted, these woods had been unknown or at the 'leist unprofitable and unused' because of the savageness of the inhabitants, who were now in a state of 'general obedience'. The Privy Council, however, stated that there was not one iron mill in the country. They self-righteously added that the small amount of iron which was produced, used only scroggis, boughis and branches, old stocks, and cuttings of timber that served no other purpose. Thus, they reasoned, the ban should not stand, and any applications should be treated individually. In 1612 Parliament approved the licenses granted to Sir George Hay to manufacture iron throughout Scotland, and to Archibald Primrose, Clerk of the King's mines, to manufacture iron within the sheriffdom of Perth. It was noted that Hay had brought in a great number of strangers to work with natives in the 'arte and practize of making irne... not heirtofoir knawne'. *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 408b; c.59-60, p. 515; *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, p.351; Hume Brown, P. (ed.) *Scotland Before 1700 from Contemporary Documents*, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1893, pp. 274-75. Quoted from Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>40</sup> Iron exports were customed at £0.03 per stone.

<sup>41</sup> Exports of iron pots were customed at £0.20 per dozen.

<sup>42</sup> Exports of powder were customed at £1.33 per barrel of ten stones.

<sup>43</sup> All duties listed above are both listed in N.A.S. E76/1/1 and calculated from enrolled account entries. Omitted from analysis are sporadic re-exports of iron girdles, knives, sythes and sword blades as the rates of duty payable on these goods are unknown.

<sup>44</sup> In 1611-12, 1626-27 and 1727-28 an average of 58% of brass was shipped to England, 42% to the Low Countries. (Percentages calculated from N.A.S. E71/29/6, 29/9 and 29/11).

<sup>45</sup> N.A.S. E71/19/7, E71/9/1.

<sup>46</sup> Whatley, C. A., *The Scottish Salt Industry 1570-1850*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987, pp. 37, 39.

<sup>47</sup> *Salis grossi* is translated here as 'great' salt rather than 'coarse' salt which was the translation of the

The great salt re-export trade had historically been almost entirely confined to Edinburgh, prospering in the 1570s before collapsing in the 1590s.<sup>48</sup> Over the 1610s and 1620s Leith remained the dominant re-exporting port, although occasional shipments also left Scotland from West Fife, the East Neuk and Tay. As Table 3-4 illustrates, re-export volumes of great salt as a proportion of import volumes were again of minor significance: 6% of great salt imports were subsequently re-exported at West Fife 1617-18 and re-exports averaged only 3% of great salt imports at Leith over the 1610s and 1620s. The particular accounts show that great salt was shipped from Leith to the Baltic and to Ireland.<sup>49</sup>

**TABLE 3-4: RE-EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF IMPORTS OF GREAT SALT AT WEST FIFE 1617/18 AND LEITH 1617/18-1624/25<sup>50</sup>**

PORT	PERIOD	IMPORTS (CHALDERS)	RE-EXPORTS (CHALDERS)	RE-EXPORTS AS % IMPORTS
West Fife	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	157.5	9	5.7
Leith	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	1082.5	15	1.4
Leith	Nov 1618-Nov 1619	435	7.5	1.7
Leith	Nov 1620-Nov 1621	352.5	35	9.9
Leith	Nov 1621-Nov 1622	602.75	23.1	3.8
Leith	Nov 1622-Nov 1623	1333.5	40	3.0
Leith	Nov 1623-Nov 1624	390	5	1.3
Leith	Nov 1624-Nov 1625	698.75	3.1	0.4

## 5. VICTUAL

The 1611-14 Export Survey listed wheat, barley (bear), malt, oats, flour, bread and butter as domestic exports and rye and peas as re-exports.<sup>51</sup> In addition, entries of beans, Danzig wheat and French bear are treated here as re-exports. All victual entries have been standardised into bolls – one chalder contained sixteen bolls, one last contained 35.5 bolls and one barrel contained three bolls.<sup>52</sup> Re-exports of beans, peas and rye were customed at £0.05 per boll and wheat at £0.25 per boll.<sup>53</sup>

Market conditions must have played a significant role in the volume and direction of victual re-exports. Exports by sea and land were forbidden - and in any case there was little point in re-exporting the good - in times of dearth when domestic prices were high, as was the case in 1621 to 1623 and 1629-31.<sup>54</sup>

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editor of the final printed volume of *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. Only entries specified in the custom accounts as great salt are included in this section. Exports of small, white and unspecified types of salt are analysed in Chapter Two. It is possible, therefore, that a quantity of great salt re-exports may be misrepresented as native small salt exports. It appears from the custom accounts that great salt was customed at £0.80 per chalder, whereas the 1597 Book of Rates would suggest that it was customed at £0.40 per chalder as compared to £0.20 per chalder of small salt.

<sup>48</sup> Rorke, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>49</sup> In 1626-27 and 1627-28 approximately three quarters of great salt was shipped to the Baltic, one quarter to Ireland. (Percentages calculated from N.A.S. E71/29/9 and 29/11.)

<sup>50</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 569-587.

<sup>51</sup> Re-exports of hops are analysed in the beverages rather than victual section.

<sup>52</sup> See Chapter Two p. 102 for the method of calculating equivalent measures. The one entry of French bear, which was measured in tuns has been omitted as it is not known how many bolls comprised one tun of victual.

<sup>53</sup> N.A.S. E76/1/1 and calculated from entries contained within enrolled custom accounts.

<sup>54</sup> The Crown did permit, however, the export of grain under license and upon payment of custom duty for humanitarian purposes. For example, despite the bad harvests of 1629-30 in Scotland, England, France, Spain and elsewhere, up to 4000 bolls of bear, rye and wheat were licensed to be



On the other hand, following plentiful harvests such as those of 1614, 1618-20 and 1624 when prevailing domestic prices were low, it would be both legal and profitable to re-export corn. The custom accounts show that re-exports were indeed sporadic and clustered around years of plentiful domestic harvests. No one port was dominant in the re-exporting of foreign corn: Leith, the East Neuk, Tay (St Andrews rather than Dundee or Perth), Clyde and East Lothian ports all participated in the trade at some point over the first half of the seventeenth century. As would be expected and as illustrated in Table 3-5, relative to imports of victual, re-exports were minimal in the year following a domestic harvest failure. That only 1% of the volume of imported corn was subsequently re-exported between November 1623 and November 1624 is indicative of this when compared to the figures of 3% and 8% after the adequate harvests of 1617 and 1618.

**TABLE 3-5: RE-EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF IMPORTS OF VICTUAL AT LEITH 1617/18, 1618/19 AND 1623/24<sup>55</sup>**

PORT	PERIOD	IMPORTS (BOLLS)	RE-EXPORTS (BOLLS)	RE-EXPORTS AS % IMPORTS
Leith	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	7573	205	2.7
Leith	Nov 1618-Nov 1619	4260	340	7.9
Leith	Nov 1623-Nov 1624	39793	340	0.9

## 6. TEXTILES

Together with the ever-increasing export trade in domestically manufactured traditional coarse cloths and higher-quality cloths of the 'new drapery,' referred to in Chapter Two,<sup>56</sup> higher quality foreign-made textiles were occasionally re-exported from Scotland. In this respect, the 1611-14 Export Survey refers only to re-exports of English cloth.<sup>57</sup> In addition, Liege (Flemish) woollen and linen cloth,<sup>58</sup> Sluys (Flemish) linen cloth,<sup>59</sup> silk,<sup>60</sup> cards (which were imported regularly and used to comb textile fibres)<sup>61</sup> and worsted Flanders yarn<sup>62</sup> are included in this section.<sup>63</sup>

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transported by land from Teviotdale and the Merse to Northumberland, upon payment of half a mark per boll, for the consumption of the population of Newcastle. In addition, 3000 bolls were permitted to be exported overseas from Leith or East Lothian ports, and 1000 bolls from the Tay upon payment of 5s. Scots per boll plus due bullion. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IV, pp. xv, 190-91.)

<sup>55</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 569, 572 and 585.

<sup>56</sup> See pp. 83.

<sup>57</sup> Specified and unspecified types of English cloth are assumed here to have been customed at £0.60 per piece or dozen ells. (Duty calculated from entries in E38 587, 594.)

<sup>58</sup> Liege cloth was customed at £0.09 per piece when re-exported. (Duty calculated from entries in E38 579.)

<sup>59</sup> Sluys cloth was customed at £0.33 per piece. (Duty noted in N.A.S. E71/9/3.)

<sup>60</sup> Silk was customed at £0.67 per pound (Duty calculated from N.A.S. E38 594).

<sup>61</sup> Any re-exported cards were subject to duty of £0.12 per gross. (Duty listed in N.A.S. E76/1/1.)

<sup>62</sup> Flanders yarn was certainly re-exported from the Clyde, but as no duty figures are available the one entry is not be included in the statistical analysis.

<sup>63</sup> It is of course possible that some types of the cloth regarded as native exports may in fact have been re-exports.

As Table 3-6a illustrates, an extremely high proportion (91%) of English cloth imports at Leith were subsequently re-exported on average. According to the particular accounts, most of this English cloth (specifically Kendal cotton cloth) was re-exported from Leith to France and the Baltic, with significant amounts to the Low Countries.<sup>64</sup>

In contrast, Table 3-6b shows that a miniscule proportion of cards imported at Leith were subsequently re-exported. The Leith particular accounts do not indicate destinations, but the Clyde accounts show that all cards re-exported from the west were sent to Ireland.<sup>65</sup> Likewise, all Sluys cloth re-exported from the Clyde was sent to Ireland.<sup>66</sup>

**TABLE 3-6a: RE-EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF IMPORTS OF ENGLISH CLOTH AT LEITH 1617/18, 1618/19 AND 1624/25.<sup>67</sup>**

PORT	PERIOD	IMPORTS (DOZEN ELLS)	RE-EXPORTS (DOZEN ELLS)	RE-EXPORTS AS % IMPORTS
Leith	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	992.7	535.7	54.0
Leith	Nov 1618-Nov 1619	324.9	310	95.4
Leith	Nov 1624-Nov 1625	264	323.3	122.5

**TABLE 3-6b: RE-EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF IMPORTS OF CARDS AT LEITH 1617/18 AND 1623/24.<sup>68</sup>**

PORT	PERIOD	IMPORTS (NUMBER)	RE-EXPORTS (NUMBER)	RE-EXPORTS AS % IMPORTS
Leith	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	15372	72	0.5
Leith	Nov 1623-Nov 1624	5124	24	0.5

## 7. BEVERAGES

Beverage re-exports encompassed wine, vinegar, beer and hops. Although wine constituted by far the most important of Scottish imports in terms of Crown revenue,<sup>69</sup> it made up only a small fraction of total Scottish re-exports.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, wine re-exports represented a minuscule proportion of the volume imported: at least 3,875 tuns of wine were imported at Leith between November 1617 and November 1619, whereas just over 27 tuns (less than 1% of imports) were subsequently re-exported.<sup>71</sup> Although at least 1,211 tuns of wine were imported between November 1628 and November 1629, only 22 tuns (less than 2% of imports) were recorded as having been re-exported in the same period.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>64</sup> In 1626-27 and 1627-28 an average of 43% of English cloth was shipped to France, 37% to the Baltic and 20% to the Low Countries. (N.A.S. E71/29/9 and 29/11.).

<sup>65</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/1 and 9/3.

<sup>66</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/1 and 9/3.

<sup>67</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 569, 572 and 587.

<sup>68</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 569 and 585.

<sup>69</sup> See pp. 152-155.

<sup>70</sup> French and Spanish (Sack) wine was frequently re-exported in small quantities and was subject to re-export duties of £1.00 per tun, £0.33 per puncheon and £0.25 per cask. One tun is assumed to have comprised four casks and three puncheons (see p. 153). Again these rates of duty are in accordance with those set down in the 1597 Book of Rates.

<sup>71</sup> N.A.S. E38 568, 571.

<sup>72</sup> N.A.S. E38 596.

Re-exports as a proportion of imports of wine at the Tay and Clyde followed a similar pattern as illustrated by Table 3-7. The particular accounts suggest that the wine re-exported from Leith was sent to Ireland and Norway,<sup>73</sup> and that all wine re-exported from the Clyde was sent to Ireland.<sup>74</sup>

**TABLE 3-7: RE-EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF IMPORTS OF WINE AT VARIOUS SCOTTISH PORTS 1617/18-1628/29<sup>75</sup>**

PORT	PERIOD	IMPORTS (TUNS)	RE-EXPORTS (TUNS)	RE-EXPORTS AS % IMPORTS
Leith	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	3875	27	0.7
St Andrews	Nov 1617-Nov 1618	73.4	8.5	11.6
Dundee and Perth	Nov 1620-Nov 1621	326	2	0.6
Clyde	Nov 1625-Nov 1626	543	1	0.2
Clyde	Nov 1628-Nov 1629	94	2	2.1
Leith	Nov 1628-Nov 1629	1211	22	1.8

Vinegar was re-exported at £0.20 per tun of four casks,<sup>76</sup> two pipes<sup>77</sup> or 2016 pints.<sup>78</sup> Small consignments were shipped overseas from Leith infrequently over the 1590s and 1610s, before a similarly small - but more regular - re-export trade developed from the Clyde over the 1620s and 1630s despite the lack of an import trade in vinegar into any of the western ports.

Re-exports of drinking beer were customed at £1.00 per tun, £0.33 per last and £0.17 per barrel or bin.<sup>79</sup> Apart from the year July 1596 to July 1597 at Leith when nearly 175 tuns of beer were sent overseas,<sup>80</sup> the export of beer was, as in the case of vinegar, both irregular and small in scale. Nine tuns were exported from West Fife between June 1596 and July 1597, seven tuns were exported from the Forth in 1598, an unknown quantity was exported from the Clyde 1621-22 and ten tuns were exported from Leith between November 1625 and November 1626.

Finally, the Clyde ports were dominant in the re-exportation of hops: not insubstantial volumes were regularly exported from Glasgow in particular, presumably to Ireland,<sup>81</sup> throughout the 1610s, 1620s and 1630s. This was despite there being no reference in the custom accounts to the direct importation of hops either from England or from overseas. It is interesting to note in addition that hops do not appear in the export section in any of the three Books of Rates and neither was a valuation ever attached to an export entry. This suggests that once an import duty had been paid on the hops, the good

<sup>73</sup> In 1626-27 95% of wine exports were shipped to Ireland, 5% to Norway. (N.A.S. E71/29/6).

<sup>74</sup> N.A.S. E71/9/1.

<sup>75</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 569, 576, 591 and 597.

<sup>76</sup> 'Cellis' of vinegar as exported from the Clyde ports (N.A.S. E38 607, 629) have been translated as casks of vinegar.

<sup>77</sup> A. Hunter, *A Treatise of Weights, Mets and Measures of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1624, reprinted Amsterdam, 1974, p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> Calculated from Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>79</sup> The custom duty payable on a 'bin' of hops as exported from Culross (N.A.S. E38 531) was equivalent to that paid on a barrel of hops both at Leith and at Burntisland the previous year.

<sup>80</sup> N.A.S. E38 529.

<sup>81</sup> As suggested by N.A.S. E71/9/1, 9/2, 9/3.

was at no point subject to further duty if re-exported, and hence the hop export figures appearing in the custom accounts may be under-recorded.

## 8. DYESTUFFS AND MORDANTS

The dyestuffs and mordants listed in the 1611-14 Export Survey are alum, brazil, madder and 'orchard litt'. Enrolled account entries of indigo, medop, 'new litt,' redwood, sumach, 'stik litt' and woad may be added to the list. These goods are associated with southern Europe but as Chapter Four shows, they were imported in the main from the entrepôt ports of the Low Countries.<sup>82</sup>

Interestingly, with the exception of one entry of alum and two each of madder and sumach from Leith, and one entry of unspecified dye from the Borders, the re-export trade in all types of dyestuffs and mordants was confined to the west coast ports of Glasgow, Dumbarton, Irvine, Ayr and Kirkcudbright. Alum and madder constituted a regular trade from these ports throughout the late 1610s, 1620s and 1630s, whilst all other types were irregular exports. In this respect, the only stated custom duties payable on dyestuffs and mordants are in relation to the former: £8.00 per 120 pounds of alum and £4.00 per 120 pounds of madder were payable at the Clyde jurisdiction in 1626-27,<sup>83</sup> these high rates possibly imposed to discourage such re-exports. The re-export figures presented below thus encompass only these two types of good. The enrolled accounts show that, assuming the 1626-27 duty levels prevailed throughout the 1610s, 1620s and 1630s, the re-export trade in dyestuffs and mordants from the Clyde ports to Ireland was an extremely profitable one for the the Crown. The annual average duty payable on alum and madder, however, declined heavily over the 1610s and early 1620s but did so from a high level. From 1625 until the end of the 1630s duty payable increased rapidly to nearly six times that payable in the early 1610s.

## 9. FOODSTUFFS

Aside from the victual referred to above, the 1611-14 Export Survey lists prunes, onions and onion seed as re-exports. In addition, aniseed, apples, confects, currants, figs, honey, Irish butter, liquorice, pepper, raisins, rice, spices and sugar may be added to this list as they were regularly imported. Again, many of these are goods associated with southern Europe but as Chapter Four shows, substantial proportions were imported from the entrepôt ports of the Low Countries and the Baltic as well as from France and Spain.<sup>84</sup>

As with dyestuffs and mordants, the Clyde ports were overwhelmingly dominant, encompassing all recorded re-exports of such foodstuffs over the first half of the seventeenth century, with the exceptions of 218 barrels of Irish butter exported from Leith and the Forth, and four casks of prunes together with 480 pounds of raisins exported from Leith. As with dyestuffs and mordants also, the coverage of re-export duties is patchy. The only known custom duties payable on foodstuffs are £0.15 per barrel or

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<sup>82</sup> See p. 164.

<sup>83</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/3.

<sup>84</sup> See Chapter Four p. 158.

224 pounds weight of butter,<sup>85</sup> £0.50 per barrel, 31.5 gallons or 378 pounds weight of honey;<sup>86</sup> £1.00 per hundred pounds of raisins<sup>87</sup> and £0.05 per pound of sugar.<sup>88</sup> The figures presented below therefore seriously underestimate the true level of re-exports of foodstuffs from the Clyde.

## 10. MISCELLANEOUS

Other goods which were excluded from the 1611-14 Export Survey categories but which certainly were re-exported from Scotland encompass leather belts, combs, girdles, paper, plates, stiffing, tallow, tobacco pipes and unspecified English goods. Of these, export duty figures are available only for the belts,<sup>89</sup> paper<sup>90</sup> and tallow.<sup>91</sup> These three goods alone, therefore, represent the 'others' category below.

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<sup>85</sup> Stated in N.A.S. E76/1/1. Pounds weight to barrels conversion from Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>86</sup> Calculated from N.A.S. E38 534 and stated in N.A.S. E76/1/1. Barrels to gallons and pounds weight conversion from Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 61.

<sup>87</sup> Calculated from N.A.S. E38 591.

<sup>88</sup> N.A.S. E76/1/1.

<sup>89</sup> Belts were customed at £0.05 per gross as calculated from E38 572, 576 and 579.

<sup>90</sup> Paper was customed at £0.05 per ream as calculated from E38 589.

<sup>91</sup> Tallow was customed at £0.50 per barrel as calculated from N.A.S. E38 529, 531, 534 and stated in

## RE-EXPORTS BY JURISDICTION - LEITH

The Leith figures are relatively complete. Slightly under-recorded are figures for Baltic wares 1620-24, dyestuffs/mordants 1625-29, timber/timber products 1630-34 and metal and metal wares 1615-19, 1625-29 and 1630-34 because of unknown measure conversions. Significantly under-recorded is the figure for 'other' re-exports 1595-99 because the type of English goods was not specified; and omitted are figures for dyestuffs/mordants and foodstuffs 1595-99 because of unknown custom duties. It is believed that with the exception of 'other' re-exports 1595-99, overall duty figures are not affected to any significant extent as a result of these omissions.

Table 3-8a shows that in terms of total custom duty payable, re-exports from Leith prospered over the late 1590s when they averaged £521 per annum, but declined thereafter to relatively constant levels, averaging just over £350 per year between 1615 and 1634.

**TABLE 3-8a: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT LEITH  
(FIVE YEAR ANNUAL AVERAGES 1595-1634)<sup>92</sup>**

PERIOD	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS	MINERALS METAL AND METAL WARES	GREAT SALT	VICTUAL
	£	£	£	£	£
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	169.03	50.69	41.80	18.13	141.10
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	92.93	5.35	1.82	9.00	13.63
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	250.27	29.63	9.02	20.63	17.00
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	29.93	13.18	10.44	2.50	0
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	162.20	40.80	24.11	0	23.00

PERIOD	TEXTILES	BEVERAGES <sup>93</sup>	DYESTUFFS MORDANTS	FOODSTUFFS	OTHERS
	£	£	£	£	£
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	0	95.44			4.83
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	253.71	13.70	0	0	0.29
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	4.46	0	0	0	1.33
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	280.65	16.00	8.00	4.00	0
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	0.30	9.50	26.80	32.10	8.00

As Table 3-8b shows, within these aggregate figures Baltic ware re-exports from Leith (average 38% of total re-exports) and textiles (29%) were dominant. Next, in descending order of importance, came victual (9%), timber (7%), beverages (6%), minerals, metal and metal wares (4%), great salt (3%), foodstuffs (3%), dyestuffs and mordants (3%) and other goods (1%). The enrolled custom accounts therefore show that although Baltic wares were the most important group of re-exports at Leith, they were not dominant to the extent (66% of total re-exports) that the 1611-14 Survey suggests. The major difference between data extracted from the enrolled accounts and that from the Survey, however, is in regard to textiles: whereas the Survey notes that textiles accounted for only 4% of total Scottish re-exports, the enrolled accounts show the group comprised just under one-third of re-exports from Leith, accounted for by large but irregular volumes of English cloth.

<sup>92</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 529-613.

<sup>93</sup> Custom duties payable on all re-exported hops Nov 1625-Nov 1629 are omitted.

**TABLE 3-8b: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT LEITH  
(PERCENTAGES OF FIVE YEAR TOTALS 1595-1634)<sup>94</sup>**

YEAR	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER TIMBER PRODUCTS	MINERALS METAL METAL WARES	GREAT SALT	VICTUAL	TEXTILES
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1595-1599	32.7	9.8	8.1	3.5	27.3	0
1615-1619	23.8	1.4	0.5	2.3	3.5	65.0
1620-1624	75.3	8.9	2.7	6.2	5.1	1.3
1625-1629	8.2	3.6	2.9	0.7	0	77.0
1630-1634	49.6	12.5	7.4	0	7.0	0.1
Average	37.9	7.2	4.3	2.5	8.6	28.7

YEAR	BEVERAGES	DYESTUFFS MORDANTS	FOODSTUFFS	OTHERS	TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%
1595-1599	18.5			0.9	100
1615-1619	3.5	0	0	0.1	100
1620-1624	0	0	0	0.4	100
1625-1629	4.4	2.2	1.1	0	100
1630-1634	2.9	8.2	9.8	2.4	100
Average	5.9	2.6	2.7	0.7	100

<sup>94</sup> Deduced from figures contained within Table 3-8a.

## RE-EXPORTS BY JURISDICTION – THE TAY

The Tay figures too are relatively complete: slightly under-recorded are only figures for timber and timber products 1610-15 and Baltic wares 1630-34 because of unknown measure conversions; and for ‘other’ re-exports 1630-34 because of unknown duties. Overall duty figures are affected only slightly as a result of these omissions.

Table 3-9a shows that the Tay ports did not participate in the re-export trade in dyestuffs and mordants or foodstuffs, and only irregularly in great salt, victual and ‘other’ goods. In terms of total custom duty on the remaining categories of goods, that payable at the Tay remained stable between 1595 and 1605 at around £60 per annum, before increasing continually until 1614-19 when just over £130 per year was payable. Thereafter duty declined, levelling out at around £40 per annum over the 1630s.

**TABLE 3-9a: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT THE TAY  
(FIVE YEAR ANNUAL AVERAGES 1595-1639)<sup>95</sup>**

PERIOD	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS	MINERALS METAL AND METAL WARES	GREAT SALT	VICTUAL
	£	£	£	£	£
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	14.43	37.38	0.25	0	4.95
Nov 1600-Nov 1604	3.09	28.67	0.58	0	10.08
Nov 1605-Nov 1609	2.00	16.00	1.74	0	0
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	15.14	42.14	0.36	34.00	0
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	80.87	37.97	0	0	4.45
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	26.80	23.47	0	0	0
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	0	20.73	0	0	0
Nov 1630-Nov 1634		43.48	0	0	0
Nov 1635-Nov 1639	0	32.63	0	0	0

PERIOD	TEXTILES	BEVERAGES	DYESTUFFS MORDANTS	FOODSTUFFS	OTHERS
	£	£	£	£	£
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	0	3.88	0	0	0
Nov 1600-Nov 1604	0	16.83	0	0	0
Nov 1605-Nov 1609	0	0	0	0	0
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	9.00	0	0	0	0
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	0	8.50	0	0	0.13
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	0	2.00	0	0	0
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	0	0	0	0	0
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	0	0	0	0	
Nov 1635-Nov 1639	7.20	0	0	0	0

As Table 3-9b shows, within these aggregate figures, re-exports of timber and timber products were predominated (65%). Next, in descending order of importance, came Baltic wares (21%), beverages (5%), salt (4%), victual (3%), textiles (3%), minerals, metal and metal wares (1%) and others goods (negligible). Timber and timber products were, therefore, significantly more important and Baltic wares less important at Leith than the Export Survey would suggest.

<sup>95</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 529-615.



**TABLE 3-9b: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT THE TAY  
(PERCENTAGES OF FIVE YEAR TOTALS 1595-1639)<sup>96</sup>**

YEAR	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER TIMBER PRODUCTS	MINERALS METAL METAL WARES	GREAT SALT	VICTUAL	TEXTILES
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1595-1599	23.7	61.4	0.4	0	8.1	0
1600-1604	5.2	48.4	1.0	0	17.0	0
1605-1609	10.1	81.1	8.8	0	0	0
1610-1614	15.0	41.9	0.4	33.8	0	8.9
1615-1619	61.3	28.8	0	0	3.4	0
1620-1624	51.3	44.9	0	0	0	0
1625-1629	0	100.0	0	0	0	0
1630-1634		100.0	0	0	0	0
1635-1639	0	81.9	0	0	0	18.1
Average	20.8	65.4	1.2	3.8	3.2	3.0

YEAR	BEVERAGES	DYESTUFFS MORDANTS	FOODSTUFFS	OTHERS	TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%
1595-1599	6.4	0	0	0	100
1600-1604	28.4	0	0	0	100
1605-1609	0	0	0	0	100
1610-1614	0	0	0	0	100
1615-1619	6.4	0	0	0.1	100
1620-1624	3.8	0	0	0	100
1625-1629	0	0	0	0	100
1630-1634	0	0	0		100
1635-1639	0	0	0	0	100
Average	5.0	0	0	0.1	100

<sup>96</sup> Deduced from figures contained within Table 3-9a.

## RE-EXPORTS BY JURISDICTION – THE CLYDE

The Clyde figures are more problematic than the Leith and Tay figures. Slightly under-estimated because of unknown measures are timber and timber products 1625-29, 1630-34 and 1635-39, beverages 1620-24 and 1625-29; and because of unknown rates of duty victual 1615-19 and textiles 1620-24. Seriously under-estimated, however, are imports of dyestuffs and mordants, foodstuffs and 'others' as discussed above. In addition, the rate of duty on alum and madder may be questionable because it is taken from only one source - the duty payable on these goods is more likely to be over- rather than under-estimated.

Table 3-10a shows that the Clyde ports participated regularly in all re-export trades with the exception of victual, which was exported irregularly, and great salt which was not exported at all. In terms of total custom duty payable on the remaining categories of goods, it appears that levels fell from an average of £175 per annum 1610-14 to an average of around £60 per year 1615-25. Over the late 1620s and early 1630s, duties increased rapidly to reach an annual average of over £1,250 over the years 1635-39.

**TABLE 3-10a: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT THE CLYDE  
(FIVE YEAR ANNUAL AVERAGES 1610-1639)<sup>97</sup>**

PERIOD	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS	MINERALS METALS AND METAL WARES <sup>98</sup>	GREAT SALT	VICTUAL <sup>99</sup>
	£	£	£	£	£
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	8.00	0	6.26	0	0
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	0.77	0.48	2.71	0	0
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	0.15	0.82	3.14	0	0
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	0.21	2.25	22.01	0	0
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	0.23	0.43	5.01	0	0.40
Nov 1635-Nov 1639	4.16	14.10	12.87	0	0

PERIOD	TEXTILES <sup>100</sup>	BEVERAGES <sup>101</sup>	DYESTUFFS MORDANTS	FOODSTUFFS	OTHERS
	£	£	£	£	£
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	0	3.25	160.00		0
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	8.30	7.88	37.44		
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	2.82	4.00	24.80		25.90
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	12.26	1.82	351.95	15.15	4.95
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	0.13	1.70	305.79	27.18	4.47
Nov 1635-Nov 1639	0.21	0.45	946.25	272.57	0.88

<sup>97</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 557-625.

<sup>98</sup> Custom duties payable on iron girdles re-exported Nov 1635-Nov 1637 are omitted.

<sup>99</sup> Custom duty payable on thirty tuns of French bear re-exported from Ayr Nov 1616-Nov 1617 is omitted.

<sup>100</sup> Custom duties payable on worsted Flanders yarn re-exported from Glasgow and Dumbarton November 1623-November 1624 are omitted.

<sup>101</sup> Custom duties payable on hops re-exported Nov 1616-Nov 1617, Nov 1619-Nov 1621, Nov 1623-Nov 1624, Nov 1625-Nov 1627, Nov 1628-Nov 1631, Nov 1632-Nov 1633 and Nov 1635-Nov

As Table 3-10b shows, within the tentative aggregate figures referred to above, the primary re-exports from the Clyde ports were dyestuffs and mordants (75% of the total). Of less significance, and in descending order of importance, were foodstuffs (11%), 'other' goods (notably Irish tallow 9%), textiles (4%), minerals metal and metal wares (4%), beverages (4%), Baltic wares (1%), timber (1%) and victual (negligible). Re-exports from the Clyde as calculated from the enrolled accounts, therefore, bear little relation to the picture gained from the 1611-14 Export Survey.

**TABLE 3-10b: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT THE CLYDE  
(PERCENTAGES OF FIVE YEAR TOTALS 1610-1639)<sup>102</sup>**

YEAR	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER TIMBER PRODUCTS	MINERALS METAL METAL WARES	GREAT SALT	VICTUAL	TEXTILES
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1610-1614	4.5	0	3.5	0	0	0
1615-1619	1.3	0.8	4.7	0	0	14.4
1620-1624	0.2	1.3	5.1	0	0	4.6
1625-1629	0.1	0.5	5.4	0	0	3.0
1630-1634	0.1	0.1	1.5	0	0.1	0.0
1635-1639	0.3	1.1	1.0	0	0	0.0
Average	1.1	0.6	3.5	0	0.0	3.7

YEAR	BEVERAGES	DYESTUFFS MORDANTS	FOODSTUFFS	OTHERS	TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%
1610-1614	1.8	90.1		0	100
1615-1619	13.7	65.0			100
1620-1624	6.5	40.2		42.0	100
1625-1629	0.4	85.7	3.7	1.2	100
1630-1634	0.5	88.5	7.9	1.3	100
1635-1639	0.0	75.6	21.8	0.1	100
Average	3.8	74.1	11.1	8.9	100

1639 are omitted.

<sup>102</sup> Source: figures deduced from figures contained within Table 3-10a.

## RE-EXPORTS BY JURISDICTION – OTHERS

In addition to the three major re-exporting jurisdictions, each of which traded in a relatively diverse range of goods, the remaining precincts certainly did participate in the trade, albeit on a relatively small scale and in a more limited range of commodities.

### (a) FORTH

As 3-11 shows, re-exports from the Forth ports comprised timber, beverages, metal wares and ‘other’ goods which were exported irregularly and on a small scale over the late 1590s and late 1620s/early 1630s.

**TABLE 3-11: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT THE FORTH  
(FIVE YEAR ANNUAL AVERAGES 1595-1634)<sup>103</sup>**

PERIOD	TIMBER £	METAL WARES £	BEVERAGES £	OTHERS £
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	8.00	0	3.40	0
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	0	0.17	0	0
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	0	0	0	2.60

### (b) WEST FIFE

Table 3-12 shows that a greater volume of a wide range of commodities were re-exported from West Fife. Baltic wares, timber and timber products, minerals, great salt, victual, textiles, beverages and other goods (tallow) were re-exported, though only over the late 1590s and 1610s.

**TABLE 3-12: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT WEST FIFE  
(FIVE YEAR ANNUAL AVERAGES 1595-1619)<sup>104</sup>**

YEAR	BALTIC WARES £	TIMBER TIMBER PRODUCTS £	MINERALS £	GREAT SALT £
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	8.03	11.78	3.00	0.00
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	0	1.53	0.09	4.00
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	0	2.5	0	3.60

YEAR	VICTUAL £	TEXTILES £	BEVERAGES £	OTHERS £
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	1.53	1.17	3.11	0.83
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	0	0	0	0
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	0	0	2.50	0

### (c) EAST NEUK

Table 3-13 suggests that the East Neuk ports specialised in the re-export of timber and timber products – particularly of deals. Substantial volumes of timber were exported regularly over the late sixteenth century and throughout the first half of the seventeenth. Duty payable declined continuously between 1595/99 and 1610/14 before recovering until the mid-1620s when re-export volumes of timber from this jurisdiction actually surpassed those of Leith and the Tay ports. Thereafter, however, re-export

<sup>103</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 529-613.

<sup>104</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 529-572.

volumes from the East Neuk fell away quickly as the trade from Leith and the Tay recovered. Meanwhile, Baltic wares, minerals, victual, textiles and beverages were exported irregularly and in small volumes from this precinct.

**TABLE 3-13: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT THE EAST NEUK  
(FIVE YEAR ANNUAL AVERAGES 1595-1634)<sup>105</sup>**

YEAR	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS <sup>106</sup>	MINERALS	GREAT SALT
	£	£	£	£
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	1.10	23.48	2.00	4.12
Nov 1600-Nov 1604	0.50	3.47	0	0
Nov 1605-Nov 1609	0.50	3.47	0	0
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	2.13	0	0	0
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	0	2.87	0	0
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	0	34.14	0	0
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	0	7.67	0	2.67
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	5.13		0	0

YEAR	VICTUAL	TEXTILES	BEVERAGES
	£	£	£
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	3.43	3.17	6.93
Nov 1600-Nov 1604	0.33	0	0.56
Nov 1605-Nov 1609	0.33	0	0.56
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	0	0	0.41
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	0	0	0
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	0	0	0
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	0	0	0
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	0	0	0

#### (d) NORTH EAST

Table 3-14 shows that the North East ports re-exported a limited range of foreign goods. It may be argued that this jurisdiction specialised only in the re-export of Baltic wares: these were exported frequently over the 1590s, 1610s, 1620s and early 1630s. Small and infrequent volumes of timber, textiles and metal wares were also re-exported from Aberdeen and Montrose.

**TABLE 3-14: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT THE NORTH EAST  
(FIVE YEAR ANNUAL AVERAGES 1595-1639)<sup>107</sup>**

YEAR	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER	TEXTILES	METAL WARES
	£	£	£	£
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	3.00	5.90	0	0.21
Nov 1610-Nov 1614	1.80	0	0	0
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	0.90	0	0	0
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	12.60	0	0	0
Nov 1630-Nov 1634	4	0	8.40	3.38
Nov 1635-Nov 1639	0	0	12.00	0

<sup>105</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 529-572.

<sup>106</sup> The custom duty payable on two pieces of half ell timber exported 1630-34 is unknown.

<sup>107</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 529-613.

### (e) NORTH OF THE SPEY

From the ports located north of the river Spey, brass alone was sent overseas in only two instances, custom payable being £4.80 between November 1616 and November 1617, £10.80 between November 1630 and November 1631.

### (f) GALLOWAY

From the Galloway ports, random Baltic wares, timber products, metal wares and dyestuffs were exported between November 1613 and November 1614 only. £0.23 custom duty was payable on hemp, £0.30 on tar and £0.18 on brass during that accounting year.<sup>108</sup>

### (g) BORDERS

From the Borders jurisdiction, Baltic wares, minerals, metal and metal wares, textiles and beverages were exported irregularly and in small volumes as shown by Table 3-15:

**TABLE 3-15: DUTY PAYABLE ON RE-EXPORTS AT THE BORDERS  
(FIVE YEAR ANNUAL AVERAGES 1615-1629)<sup>109</sup>**

YEAR	BALTIC WARES	TIMBER	TEXTILES	METAL WARES <sup>110</sup>	BEVERAGES <sup>111</sup>
	£	£	£	£	£
Nov 1595-Nov 1599	0	0	0	2.25	0
Nov 1615-Nov 1619	1.04	0	42.00	0	0
Nov 1620-Nov 1624	0	0.05	0	1.56	2.00
Nov 1625-Nov 1629	0	0	0	0	4.00

### (h) EAST LoTHIAN

Finally, from East Lothian only timber and victual were exported. Duty payable was £12.00 on timber between November 1612 to November 1613, £0.60 on victual 1619-20 and £12.00 1620-21.

<sup>108</sup> The custom duty payable on 72 pounds weight of brazil exported 1613-14 is unknown.

<sup>109</sup> Source: figures calculated from N.A.S. E38 529-594.

<sup>110</sup> The custom duty payable on three kettles of brass and one brass pot is unknown so the 1610-24 metal wares figure is an under-estimation.

<sup>111</sup> The custom duty payable on 84 pounds weight of hops exported 1621-22 is unknown. In addition, the duty payable on three stones of dye which was re-exported overland to England 1623-24 is unknown.

## CHAPTER FOUR: IMPORTS

Chapter Two showed that for years in which the Crown leased the customs to tacksmen, the latter were not obliged to render general accounts to the Exchequer. From 1610/11, however, custumars were obliged to keep detailed records of all exports in order to facilitate the collection of bullion duties, an imposition that the Crown at no point leased. The bullion accounts, therefore, are justifiably used as an accurate proxy for the volume of exports from each jurisdiction in years for which an export account was not kept in order to produce a fairly coherent run of statistics over the forty year period.

Unfortunately, no such proxy exists for missing import accounts. Import series, therefore, are rather limited as compared to those of exports. While wine imports first became subject to the payment of duty in 1590, general duties were first imposed in May 1597 at twelve pence per pound worth of merchandise imported. Accordingly, the earliest existing import account pertains to the period May 1597 to November 1599<sup>1</sup> but unfortunately does not indicate imports at Scotland's major port of Leith.<sup>2</sup> The next account pertains to the year 1611 when the 'free trade' experiment with England had come to an end<sup>3</sup> but only imports from England were recorded. Finally, enrolled general import accounts are available for most years between 1617/18 and 1626/27. Accounts pertaining to imports of wine were enrolled separately and survive for most years between 1617/18 and 1628/29.<sup>4</sup> In both these cases seaborne imports at Leith are comprehensively covered, accordingly comments on import trends throughout the chapter centre on this jurisdiction.

Restrictions were seldom placed upon the import of goods. Where a prohibition on the import of an 'unnecessary ware' was imposed, it was usually done so in regard to official policy of attempting to retain as much bullion as possible within Scotland by actively encouraging import substitution.<sup>5</sup> Over the late 1590s, for example, in an attempt to lessen the drain of monetary resources from Scotland, the import of English cloth, woollen cloth and all wares made of wool was forbidden in view of the increasing availability of a tolerable standard of Scottish-made products.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, from the mid 1610s the import of leather from London by Scottish cordwainers was forbidden for the same reason.<sup>7</sup> From August 1621 the import of foreign glass was prohibited as it was believed that the manufacture of glass in Scotland had by then been brought to a 'reasonable perfection' and was of as good quality as

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<sup>1</sup> This first enrolled import account (N.A.S. E38 533) is printed in *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, Volume XXIII, 1595-1600*, Powell, G. (ed.), Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1908, pp. 315-337. Note that the editor used short rather than long hundreds and some translations are questionable.

<sup>2</sup> Import accounts pertaining to the Forth (Stirling), West Fife (Burntisland, Dysart, Kirkcaldy and Kinghorn), East Neuk, the Tay (Dundee and St Andrews), the North East (Montrose) and the Clyde (Ayr, Irvine and Glasgow) do appear.

<sup>3</sup> N.A.S. E38 557.

<sup>4</sup> N.A.S. E38 568, 571, 575, 578, 581, 584, 590, 593, 596.

<sup>5</sup> Gold and silver had to be imported in addition to the exportation of native merchandise in order to cover the cost of imported goods. Contemporaries regarded the import of unnecessary goods as a chief cause of the export of gold and silver from Scotland and the consequent domestic scarcity of coin.

<sup>6</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 119, c. 23 p. 136; *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. V, p. 386, Vol. VI, p. 321.

any glass imported from Danzig or London.<sup>8</sup> In November 1641 the import of strong waters was forbidden as these could also conveniently be made in Scotland.<sup>9</sup> Another reason for restricting the free import of certain goods was that excess supply within Scotland was forcing down prices. From August 1617 to January 1618, for example, the import of wine was forbidden in order that the excessive stock of wines imported to supply the expected demands of the King's Court and retinue during his Scottish visit may be sold off.<sup>10</sup> Finally, imports may be restricted because of war. Wine imports were again limited from 1628 because England was at war with France.<sup>11</sup> Note though, that as was the case with export prohibitions, it was possible for a merchant to purchase from the Crown a licence to import forbidden goods upon payment of relevant custom duty.

Individual imported goods are grouped into homogeneous categories listed below in descending order of importance in terms of duty payable:

- |                           |                               |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Beverages              | 7. Clothing and accessories   |
| 2. Textiles               | 8. Timber and timber products |
| 3. Foodstuffs             | 9. Fats                       |
| 4. Minerals               | 10. Metal wares               |
| 5. Fibres                 | 11. Miscellaneous             |
| 6. Dyestuffs and mordants |                               |

It is not possible to standardise the range of commodities appearing in any one category into volumetric terms. Therefore, duty payable per unit of each type good is taken to be the best method of reflecting the relative importance of each type of ware within a category. Specifically, these duties are calculated from entries contained within the enrolled accounts rather than from those laid down in any one of the Books of Rates,<sup>12</sup> and are listed as Appendix Fourteen. The enrolled accounts suggest that as with export dues, import duties remained relatively constant over time, albeit with slight variations between precincts.<sup>13</sup> A typical rate of duty is taken for each type of commodity<sup>14</sup> in order to ensure that the base figures remain constant and therefore allow meaningful comparison over time. Within each category the duty payable for each individual type of good was calculated for the quantity imported each year and then summed to produce a total figure. Note that all import figures pertain to a full accounting year, usually November to November.

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<sup>7</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c. 37 p. 557.

<sup>8</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XII, pp. 451-52.

<sup>9</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, c. 118 p. 418.

<sup>10</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XI, p. 170.

<sup>11</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. II, pp. xxxiii-iv.

<sup>12</sup> The duty payable figures as calculated from the enrolled accounts and from the particular accounts correspond closely.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, variations in duty imposed on cloth imported at Leith and the West Fife ports.

<sup>14</sup> For translations of imported goods from Latin and Scots into English see Appendix Seven.



## SEABORNE IMPORTS

### BEVERAGES

Of all imports, beverages - overwhelmingly wine but also vinegar, (drinking) beer and hops - generated by far the greatest revenue for the Crown. The wine customs were administered independently of the general customs: separate wine accounts were rendered to the Exchequer and when the general customs were set in tack the realm's wine impost was similarly leased to the highest bidder at the public auction. Until 1616/17 the wine impost was set in tack alongside, and are indistinguishable from, the general customs. From 1628/29 to 1647/48, however, the wine impost was set separately and leased to William Dick of Braid. As with all other imports, the owners/importers of wine were forbidden to unload their cargo until they had submitted to the Comptroller, within twelve hours of arrival in the port, raid or open harbour in which the beverage was to be unloaded, a full and true inventory of all wines imported, together with the names of the merchants/owners and surety was found for payment of the impost.<sup>15</sup> The customs on wine was to be paid in instalments, one-third within a month of unloading, another third within three months after the expiry of the first month, and the remaining third within three months thereafter.<sup>16</sup> A leakage allowance of ten percent of duty charged was to be repaid to wine merchants.<sup>17</sup>

Customs accounts are likely to underestimate the volume of wine coming into Scotland. Certain noblemen, barons and gentlemen were permitted to import wine either free of custom, or upon payment of one-third of custom otherwise due, provided that the wine was imported solely for the use of his own household. In these circumstances the merchant was obliged to exhibit to the Comptroller a formal certificate, signed by himself and the privileged purchaser, testifying the quantity imported and that it was for the purchaser's own use only.<sup>18</sup> In addition, under exceptional circumstances the Crown granted licences to certain merchants to import wine custom free. In July 1623, for example, William Wemyss, merchant of Glasgow, was granted a licence to import twenty three tuns of wine custom free as he was robbed of 6,000 crowns by Frenchmen and has lost five ships in the last six years.<sup>19</sup> Finally,

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<sup>15</sup> This was to be done under pain of confiscation of the importing ship and all wine carried on that ship.

<sup>16</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series Vol. VI, p. 291, Vol. VII, p. 177, Vol. IX, pp. 306-08. The importer may be charged with horning if an instalment was not paid within 24 hours of the expiry of each term.

<sup>17</sup> There were frequent complaints that this allowance had not been paid, particularly when the wine customs were set in tack. See, for example, *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 426.

<sup>18</sup> For example, in October 1604 Sir John Arnot was permitted to import thirty tuns of wine per annum free of custom (*A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c. 65 p. 320) and in May 1617 Sir Gideon Murray was similarly permitted to import thirty tuns of wine per annum (*A.P.S.*, Vol. IV, c. 48 p. 567). In February 1621 six hogsheads and two hogsheads of country wine imported for the Earl of Nithsdale and Sir William Grierson were to be 'defaisit' from the particular account of Dumfries (N.A.S. E71/10/6).

Complaints were occasionally submitted to the Privy Council in the name of these privileged groups, however, that they and the merchants from whom they purchased wine for their own use were troubled by the customers for payment of wine impost. To remedy this, it was ordained that, provided the nobleman, baron or gentleman held a ticket, signed by himself and his merchant stating the quantity of wine received, if a customer wrongly took such payment he would incur a fine of £100 per tun of wine, half going to the king and half to the aggrieved party. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VII, pp. 56, 356, Vol. X, pp. 510-11.)

<sup>19</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XIII, p. 312.

it must be noted that smuggling of this high value good was undoubtedly rife, but at present unquantifiable.<sup>20</sup>

One tun (252 gallons) is assumed here to have comprised four casks,<sup>21</sup> six barrikins,<sup>22</sup> three puncheons and six tierces.<sup>23</sup> Custom duty on wine imports had first been imposed in 1590 in an effort to raise Crown revenue and was payable even on wine that was subsequently re-exported.<sup>24</sup> In 1601-02, for example, James Douglas in Leith was ordered to pay his outstanding wine imposts including those on a tun of wine he had exported to Norway. Theoretically, prior to January 1601 the impost on wine imports was £7.80 per tun<sup>25</sup> and from that date £21 per tun was payable.<sup>26</sup> From November 1611 onwards the wine impost increased to £36 per tun<sup>27</sup> from which £3.60 per tun was to be rebated for leakage, so that in effect £32.40 per tun was payable in custom.<sup>28</sup> The enrolled accounts confirm that £32.40 per tun was payable and it is this figure that provides the base figure for duty payable calculations. One tun of vinegar also consisted of four casks; one tun of beer contained three lasts or six barrels; and one stone of hops weighed fourteen pounds.

Chart 4-1 shows that the import of all beverages at Leith increased year upon year from £50,000 in 1619/20 to almost £90,000 in 1625/26. Thereafter they declined sharply to around £40,000 per annum over the later 1620s, which coincides with the onset of the King's prohibition of wine imports from France. Within Scotland, Leith was dominant to the extent that duty payable here was consistently at least double, occasionally treble, that payable on imports of beverages at all other ports combined. An examination of the subsequent leases of the wine customs suggests that wine imports for the realm as a whole continued to increase significantly over the 1630s and 1640s. The annual tack paid for the impost increased from £56,000 in 1628/29,<sup>29</sup> to nearly £75,000 1629/30-1634/35,<sup>30</sup> £88,333 1637-38,<sup>31</sup> £102,000 1638/39<sup>32</sup> and £149,333 by 1646/47-1647/48.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> In January 1607, for example, two Dundee skippers, Andro Thomsoun and William Haliburton, were prosecuted for defrauding the customs. They had arrived in the Tay, submitted a note of wine imported, but Thomsoun had concealed nine tuns and Haliburton eight. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. XIV, p. 448.

<sup>21</sup> The enrolled accounts indicate that £32.40 was generally levied on a tun of wine and that £8.10 was levied on a cask of wine.

<sup>22</sup> The enrolled accounts indicate that £5.40 was levied on a barrikin of wine.

<sup>23</sup> Zupko, R. E., *Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985, p. 425; Chapman, C. R., *How Heavy, How Much and How Long? Weights, Money and Other Measures Used by Our Ancestors*, Dursley: Lochin, 1995, p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> A duty was to be paid to the king for every tun of French or Spanish wine, whether it was brought home and unloaded at Scottish havens and ports, or sold and 'transportit in uther cuntries'. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IV, p. 514; *A.P.S.*, Vol. III, c. 88, p. 586). In 1601-02 James Douglas in Leith was ordered to pay his outstanding wine imposts including those on a tun of wine he had exported to Norway. (*R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 353-54, Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D., 2001, Vol. 1, p. 273).

<sup>25</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 291.

<sup>26</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, pp. 201, 513.

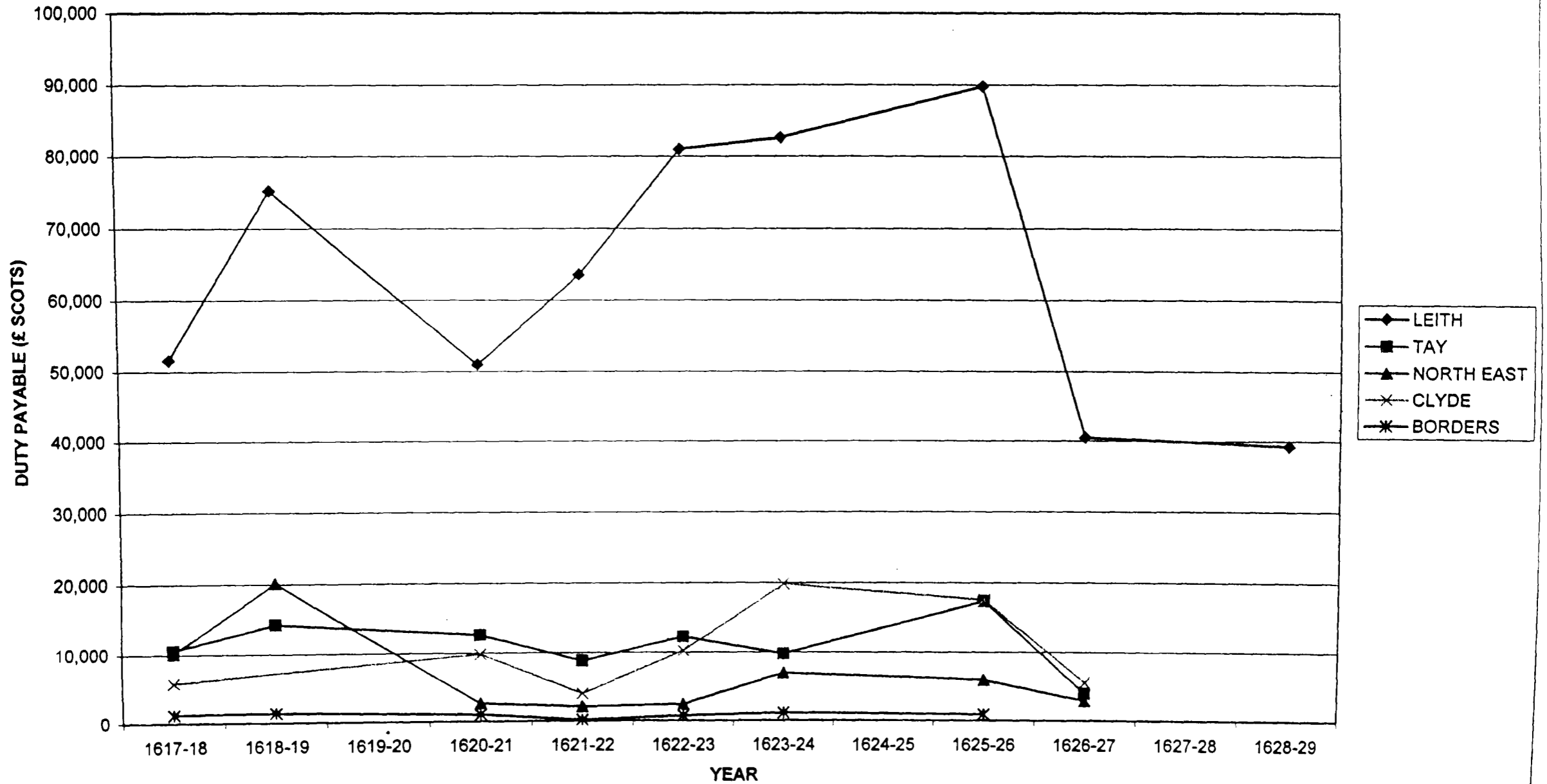
<sup>27</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. IX, pp. 306-08.

<sup>28</sup> N.A.S. E76/3: see Appendix Three (b).

<sup>29</sup> N.A.S. E24/47.

<sup>30</sup> Specifically £74,667 (N.A.S. E24/48, /49, /50, /51, /62, /63, /64; E38 599, 603, 606, 608, 612, 619).

**CHART 4-1: DUTY PAYABLE ON BEVERAGES IMPORTED AT LEITH, THE TAY, THE NORTH EAST, THE CLYDE AND THE BORDERS 1617/18-1628/29**



The specifications given to wine imports in the enrolled accounts suggest that most of the wine arriving in Scotland over the 1610s and 1620s came from Bordeaux in France, the remainder from Spain.<sup>34</sup> In addition, the particular accounts show that all wine shipped into Aberdeen 1618-19 and into Montrose 1620-21 was done so from Bordeaux.<sup>35</sup> The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts suggest that vinegar was imported solely from France. Drinking beer was transported from the Baltic (78%), England (22%) and the Low Countries (1%). Lastly, hops were brought from the Low Countries (50%), England (49%) and France (1%). Please refer to Appendix Ten (a) and (b) for a breakdown of European ports by geographic area and to Appendix Fifteen for a breakdown of the origins of each category of good imported from each geographic area.

## TEXTILES

Second to beverages in terms of Crown revenue came textiles which are taken to encompass all varieties of cloth (woollen, linen and silk) wool, knittings, thread, yarn, carpets, rugs and cards.<sup>36</sup> As Chart 4-2a illustrates, duty payable on imports of all textiles at Leith remained steady year upon year and declined from around £7,500 in 1617/18 to less than £2,000 in 1626/27. It is interesting to note that whereas from 1622/23 imports of woollen cloth were beginning to decline steeply as Chart 4-2b shows, imports of both linen and silk cloth were starting to increase quite dramatically (Charts 4-2c and 4-2d respectively). It must be noted, however, that as with wine imports, figures relating to cloth are likely to under-estimate the true extent of imports as noblemen were again permitted to import cloth for their own use free of custom duty, and subsequently such consignments were rarely recorded.<sup>37</sup>

The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts indicate that wool cloth came from England (82%), the Low Countries (13%), France (5%) and the Baltic (1%). Linen cloth was shipped from the Low Countries (48%), France (25%), England (14%) and the Baltic (13%). Silk cloth arrived from the Low Countries (54%), France (31%) and England (15%). Within the miscellaneous textiles category, cards were imported from France (64%) and the Low Countries (36%) with negligible amounts from England, while 100% of wool imports were transported from the Baltic.

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<sup>31</sup> N.A.S. E38 624.

<sup>32</sup> N.A.S. E38 624.

<sup>33</sup> N.A.S. E38 635, 642.

<sup>34</sup> Spanish wine was referred to as sack and tent.

<sup>35</sup> N.A.S. E71/1/12, E71/21/5.

<sup>36</sup> In terms of the measurement of cloth, a goad and yard were equivalent to an ell (approximately 37 inches) and a steik was equivalent to a piece, usually containing between twelve and fifteen ells. Notes of amounts of duty paid suggest that in some cases one 'dozen' signified one dozen pieces of cloth rather than one dozen ells of cloth (woollen cloth: ID 1734 West Fife 1622-23; linen cloth: ID 2059 Leith 1623-24, ID 2261 Leith 1624-25, ID 2765 Leith 1626-27, ID 1132 Leith 1619-20; silk cloth: ID 463 Leith 1617-18).

<sup>37</sup> For example, twelve packs of cloth imported overland from England for Lord Binning in October 1627 were not subject to the payment of import duty. (N.A.S. E71/29/9).

CHART 4-2a: DUTY PAYABLE ON ALL TEXTILES IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27

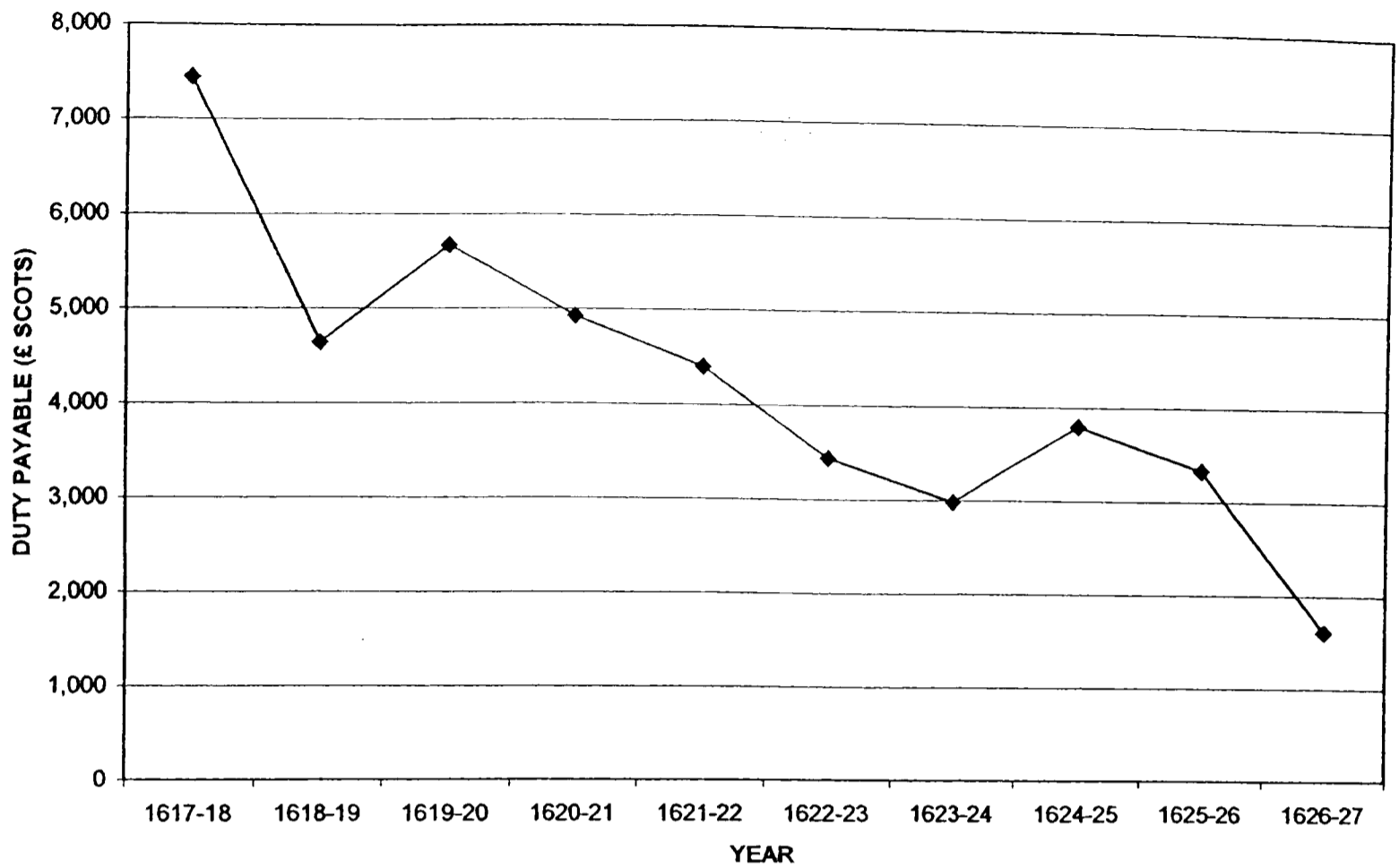


CHART 4-2b: DUTY PAYABLE ON WOOLLEN CLOTH IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27

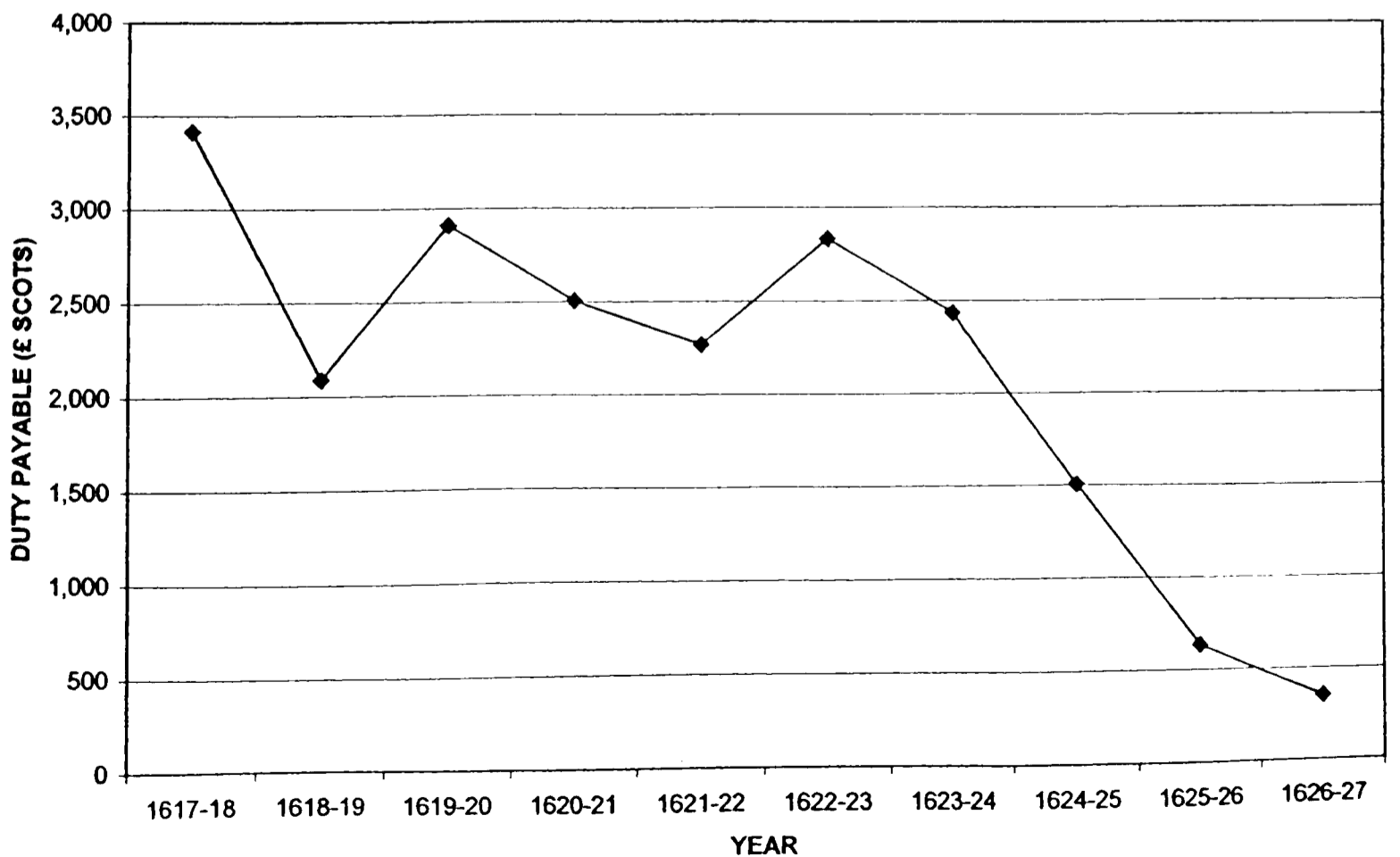
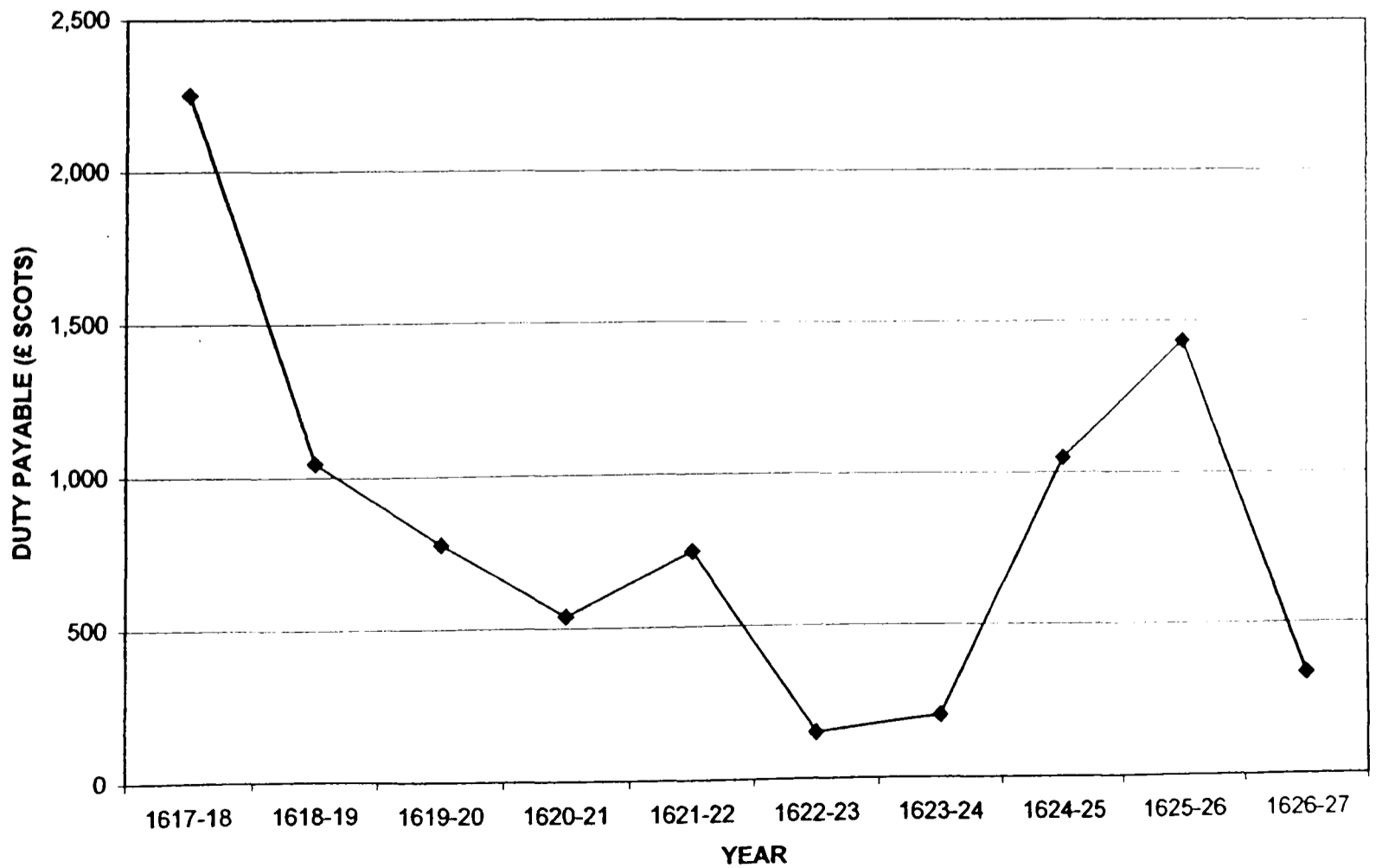


CHART 4-2c: DUTY PAYABLE ON LINEN CLOTH IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27



CHART 4-2d: DUTY PAYABLE ON SILK CLOTH IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27



## FOODSTUFFS

Third in importance amongst imports were foodstuffs. This encompassed corn (beans, bear/barley, malt, oats, rye and wheat), fruit and vegetables (apples, dates, prunes, figs, currants, raisins and onions), oil (olive and salad), seeds (annise and onion), spices (cinnamon, cloves, cumin, ginger, mace, nutmeg and pepper), almonds, butter, rice, capers, honey, liquorice, marmalade, saffron, sweetmeats and fish. Chart 4-3 illustrates duty payable on such imports at Leith both including and excluding the various types of corn. The surge in grain and victual imports between 1622 and 1624 occurred during time of harvest failure in Scotland.<sup>38</sup> The import of other foodstuffs declined during these years to compensate. Otherwise, imports of foodstuffs remained fairly constant over the 1620s, paying around £2,000 per annum in custom duty.

The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts indicate that all imports of almonds, currants, dates, liquorice, onions, rice, salad oil, seeds, spices and sugar candy came from the Low Countries. All imports of dairy produce (butter and cheese) were shipped from England, whereas all imports of honey arrived from France. Sugar was imported from the Low Countries (99%) and France (1%) with negligible amounts from England. Confections were transported from England (72%), the Low Countries (21%) and France (7%). Apples were brought from the Low Countries (46%), England (35%) and France (20%) and figs from the Low Countries (73%) and Spain (28%). Prunes came from France (98%) and the Baltic (2%) with negligible amounts from the Low Countries and raisins from the Low Countries (66%), France (19%) and Spain (16%). Lastly corn (bear/barley, beans, malt, meal, oats, peas, rye, rye meal and wheat) was shipped from Low Countries (52%), the Baltic (42%), France (5%) and England (1%).

## MINERALS

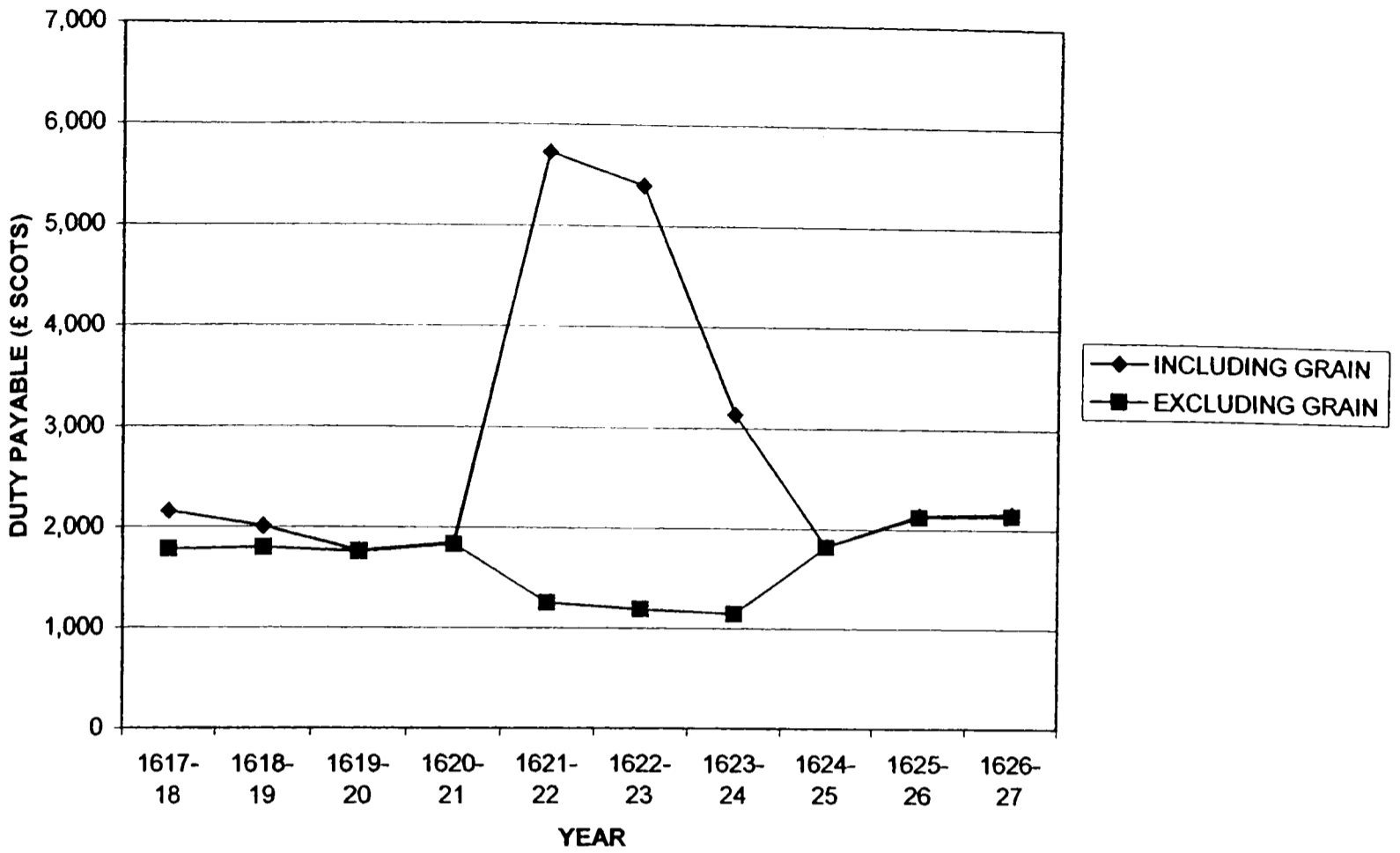
Chart 4-4 shows that taken as a whole, duty payable on imports of minerals at Leith - brimstone (sulphur), powder, iron (including English, white, Osmond and gad), steel, whinstone, lead, brass and salt - increased fivefold over the 1620s from £500 in 1618/19 to nearly £3,000 by 1626/27. It was only in 1623/24 that revenue temporarily dipped slightly before renewing its upward path.

The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts indicate that all imports of brimstone arrived from the Low Countries and that all copper was imported from the Baltic. Iron was transported primarily from the Baltic (95%) and also from the Low Countries (2%) and France (3%) with negligible amounts from England. Lead was brought from the Baltic (47%), England (38%) and France (15%). Salt came from France (73%), the Low Countries (23%) and Spain (4%). Powder was shipped from the Baltic (40%), the Low Countries (32%) and England (28%). Lastly steel was imported from the Low Countries (89%) and the Baltic (11%).

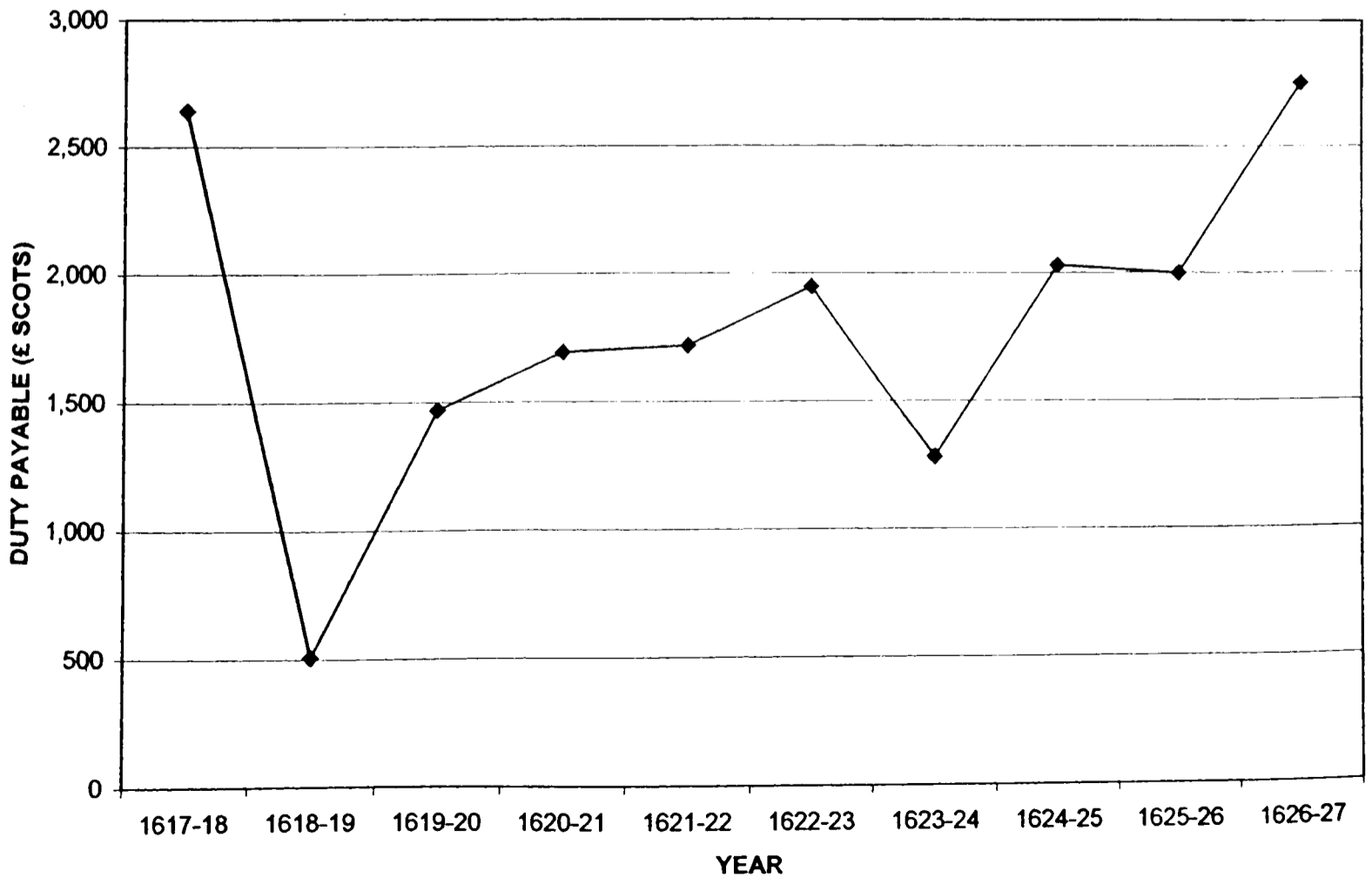
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<sup>38</sup> By the 1630s victual was described by contemporaries as having 'become the greatest comoditie now in Europe'. *A.P.S.*, Vol. V, c. 34 p. 49.

**CHART 4-3: DUTY PAYABLE ON FOODSTUFFS IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27**



**CHART 4-4: DUTY PAYABLE ON MINERALS IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27**





## FIBRES

Table 4-5 illustrates custom payable on imports of fibres. This shows that duty payable on hemp,<sup>39</sup> tows, cable and tackle at Leith remained relatively constant at between £200 and £300 per annum. Duty payable on imports of flax,<sup>40</sup> linseed (flaxseed)<sup>41</sup> and hards<sup>42</sup> however declined from over £2,500 in 1617/18 to around £300 in 1621/22 before increasing steadily to regain former levels by 1626/27. It must be noted that one would expect imports of fibres at Fife and Tay ports for use in the rapidly developing Scottish linen industry to be much greater than those at Leith. Unfortunately however, the enrolled accounts shed no light on the extent of these imports - the Dundee Shipping Lists would be more useful in this respect.

The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts indicate that flax<sup>43</sup> came overwhelmingly from the Baltic (97%), together with the Low Countries (3%) with negligible amounts from France and England. Hemp was shipped from the Baltic (54%) and the Low Countries (46%). Hards arrived from the Low Countries (72%), the Baltic (23%), France (3%) and England (1%). Linseed was imported from the Baltic (74%) and the Low Countries (26%). Tackle was transported from from the Baltic (82%) and the Low Countries (18%). Lastly tows were brought from the Low Countries (93%) and the Baltic (7%) with negligible amounts from France.

Overall, the primary source of Scottish supplies of fibres therefore was the Baltic. As Chart 4-6a illustrates, the printed volumes of the Sound Toll Registers<sup>44</sup> suggest that shipments of flax westwards through the Sound to Scotland tended to fall between 1574 and 1614, averaging around 70 lasts per annum.<sup>45</sup> From 1615 onwards, however, Scottish flax imports from the Baltic recovered and grew quickly, averaging nearly 300 lasts per annum and peaking at over 700 lasts per annum in 1641. Small volumes of linseed (flaxseed) were also transported westwards through the Sound in Scottish ships: such consignments were irregular and of negligible volume (under five lasts per annum) between 1574 and 1625, before increasing significantly to a peak of 28 lasts in 1642 as Chart 4-6b shows.<sup>46</sup> That green (raw) flax was grown in Scotland is suggested by frequent complaints about the unpopular

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<sup>39</sup> It is assumed that, as with flax, one last of hemp contained 1,700 pounds weight and therefore 121.4 stones (calculated from entries contained within the E38 enrolled accounts).

<sup>40</sup> It is assumed that one last of flax contained 1,700 pounds weight (Zupko, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 225) and therefore 121.4 stones. It is assumed that one stone of flax weighed 14 pounds although it is acknowledged that regional variations did exist – in Galloway, for example, one stone of flax weighed 16 lbs. and in Fife one stone of flax weighed 22 lbs (Zupko, *op. cit.*, p. 392).

<sup>41</sup> One last of linseed comprised twelve barrels.

<sup>42</sup> One last of hards comprised 2,400 pounds weight (calculated from entries contained within the E38 enrolled accounts).

<sup>43</sup> Flax was referred to in the particular accounts as lint.

<sup>44</sup> Bang, N.E. & Korst, K. (eds.) *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Oresund, 1497-1660*, Volumes Ia, Ic, Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel, 1906, 1922.

<sup>45</sup> It has been assumed that one last of flax comprised six ship pounds (Newman, J., *The Development of Russian Trade, 1680-1780: The British Contribution*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D., 1985).

Note, however, that this downward trend was interrupted between 1598 and 1601 when westwards shipments to Scotland temporarily increased to a level above those of the mid 1570s.

<sup>46</sup> Figures for westward shipments of both flax and linseed for each year 1574-1645 are taken from the tables 'Varer ført vestpaa, fordelt efter Skibenes Hjemsted'. Hor is translated as flax and Hørfro as linseed.

CHART 4-5: DUTY PAYABLE ON FIBRES IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27

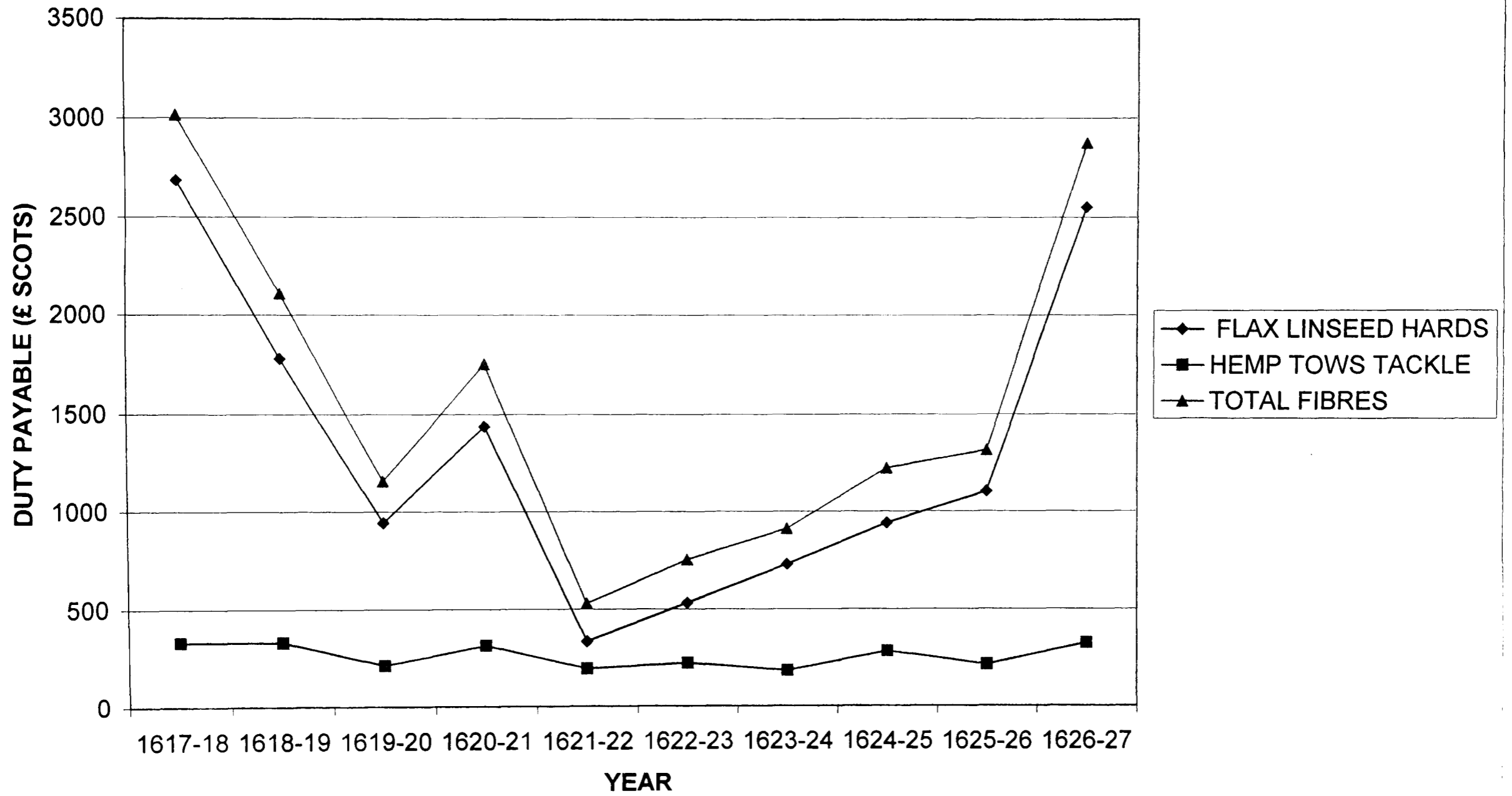


CHART 4-6a: TOTAL VOLUME OF FLAX CARRIED WESTWARDS THROUGH THE SOUND ON SCOTTISH SHIPS 1574-1645

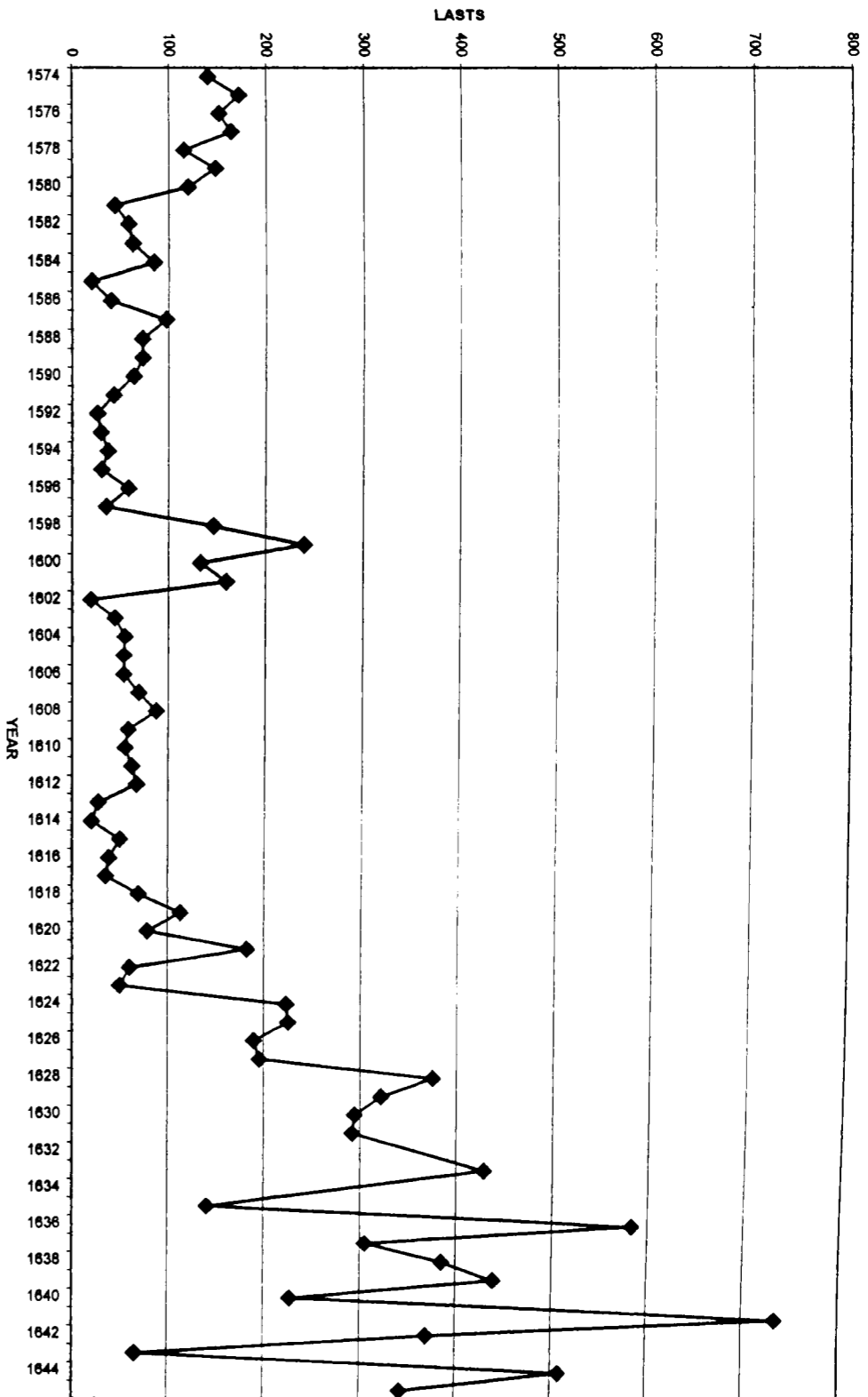
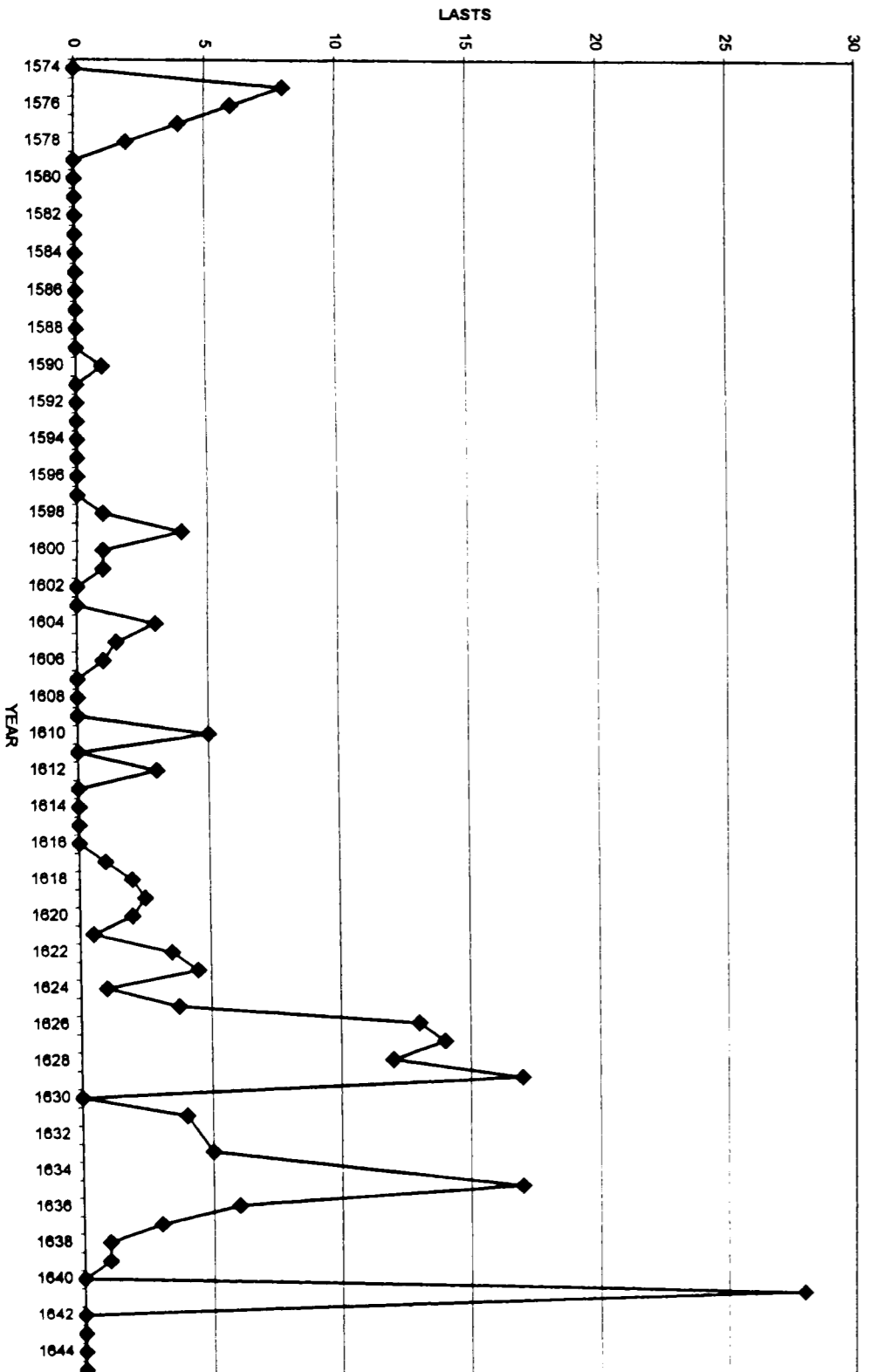
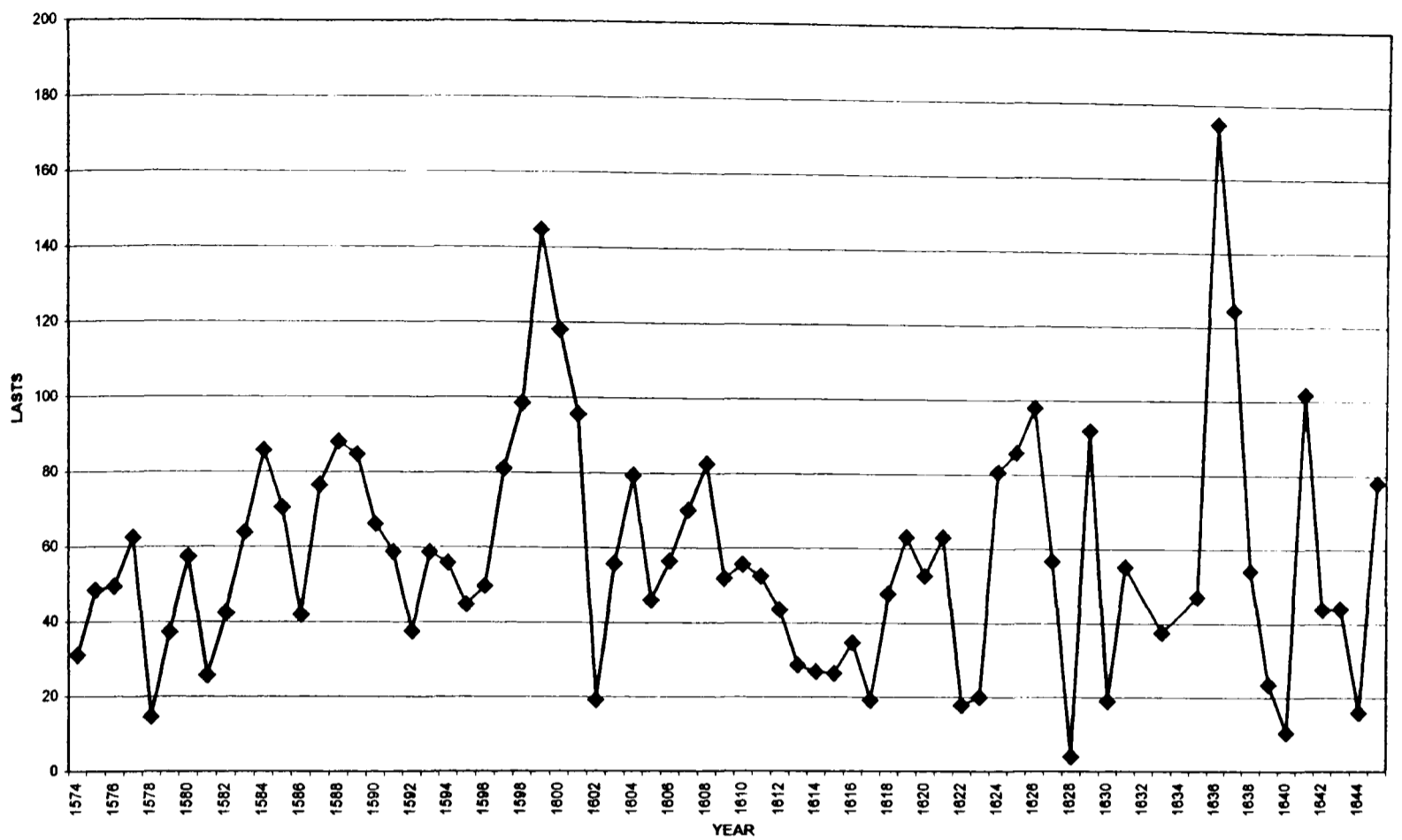


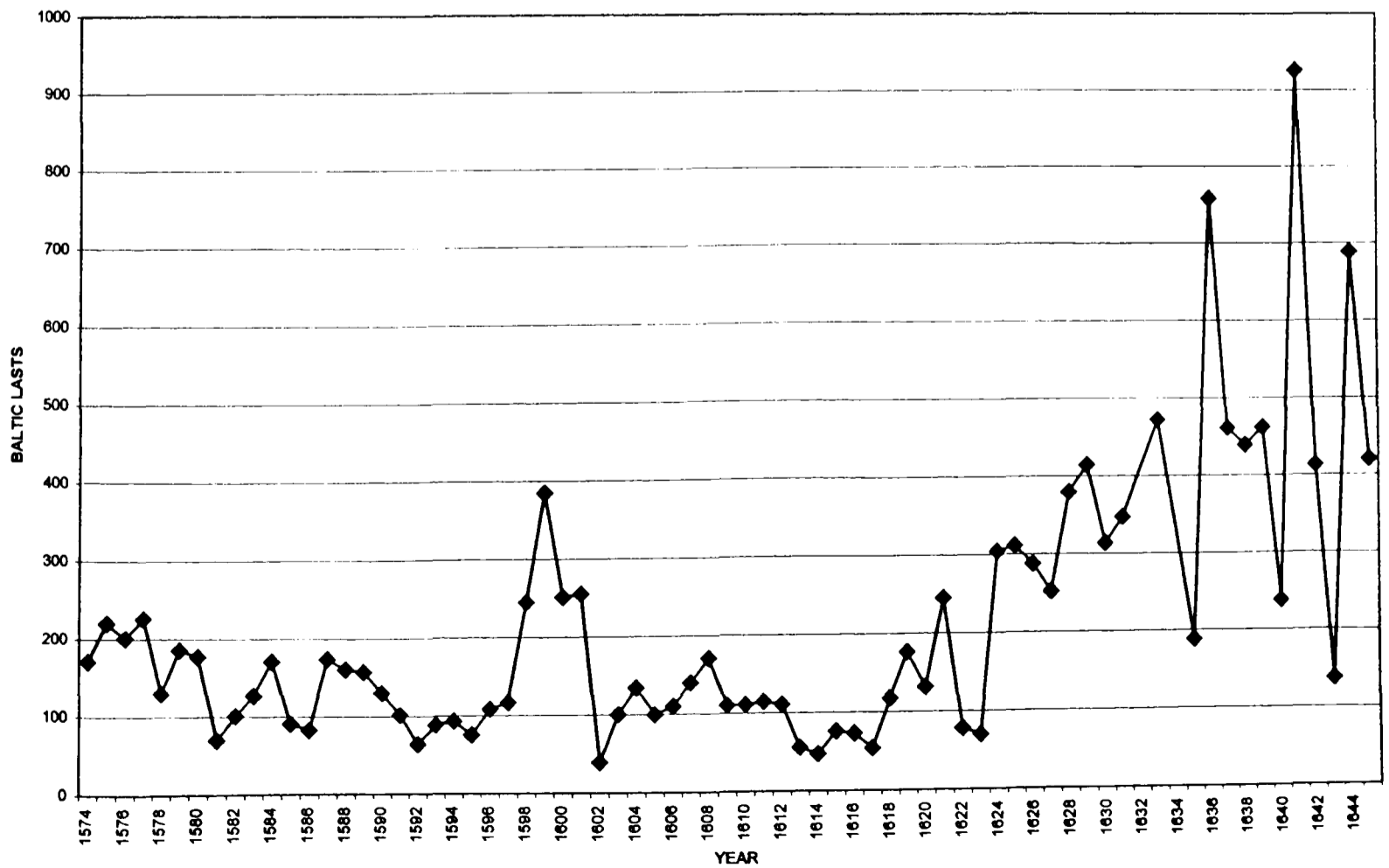
CHART 4-6b: TOTAL VOLUME OF LINSEED CARRIED WESTWARDS THROUGH THE SOUND IN SCOTTISH SHIPS 1574-1645



**CHART 4-6c: TOTAL VOLUME OF HEMP PASSING WESTWARDS THROUGH THE SOUND ON SCOTTISH SHIPS 1574-1645**



**CHART 4-6d: TOTAL VOLUME OF FLAX AND HEMP CARRIED WESTWARDS THROUGH THE SOUND ON SCOTTISH SHIPS 1574-1645**



practice of laying the flax and hemp in lochs, which poisoned the fish and other feeding creatures.<sup>47</sup>

The Sound Toll Registers also list shipments of hemp passing westwards through the Sound on Scottish ships. As Chart 4-6c illustrates, such shipments peaked at the turn of the seventeenth century and again in the late 1630s but were consistently of a smaller volume than the shipments of flax.<sup>48</sup> For an explanation of the increase in total imports of fibres from the Baltic over the 1620s and 1630s as illustrated by Chart 4-6d, please refer to Chapter Six.

## DYESTUFFS AND MORDANTS

This section encompasses argall azure, brazil, buckwood, cochineal, galls, indigo, 'litt,' 'medop,' nutgalls, sumach, Virginia wood, woad and zinziber as dyestuffs, together with alum, ashes and copperas as mordants.<sup>49</sup> Chart 4-7 shows that the import of dyestuffs and mordants at Leith peaked in the late 1610s before declining steadily over the early 1620s and then recovering somewhat over the second half of the 1620s.

The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts indicate that all imports of alum, azure, brazil, buckwood, madder and 'orchard litt' came from the Low Countries. All imports of 'argall' and cochineal were shipped from England and Spain respectively. Ash arrived from the Baltic (67%), England (31%) and the Low Countries (2%). Copperas was imported from the Low Countries (91%) and England (9%). Galls were transported from the Low Countries (87%), England (5%) and France (8%). Indigo was brought from the Low Countries (65%), Spain (33%) and England (2%). 'Medop' came overwhelmingly from the Low Countries (97%) together with France (3%) and a negligible amount from England. 'Sumach' was shipped from France (54%), the Low Countries (26%) and England (19%). Lastly, woad arrived from France (74%), England (22%) and the Low Countries (4%), together with a negligible amount from the Baltic.

## CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES

Clothing and accessories encompassed belts and girdles, buttons, collars and 'piccadills,' fans, garters, gloves, hangers, hats, hatbands, hose and stockings, knittings, masks, muffs, paper, 'pasments,' petticoats, ribbons, silk (lace, points, ties and welts), stiffing or starch, waistcoats and whalebone. Chart 4-8 shows that the import of clothing and accessories followed the same constantly declining pattern as did textiles as shown by Chart 4-2a, but at a significantly lower level.

The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts indicate that all imports of fans, hatbands, satin and miscellaneous clothing and accessories (childrens clothes, bags, buckles, feathers, hair brushes, masks,

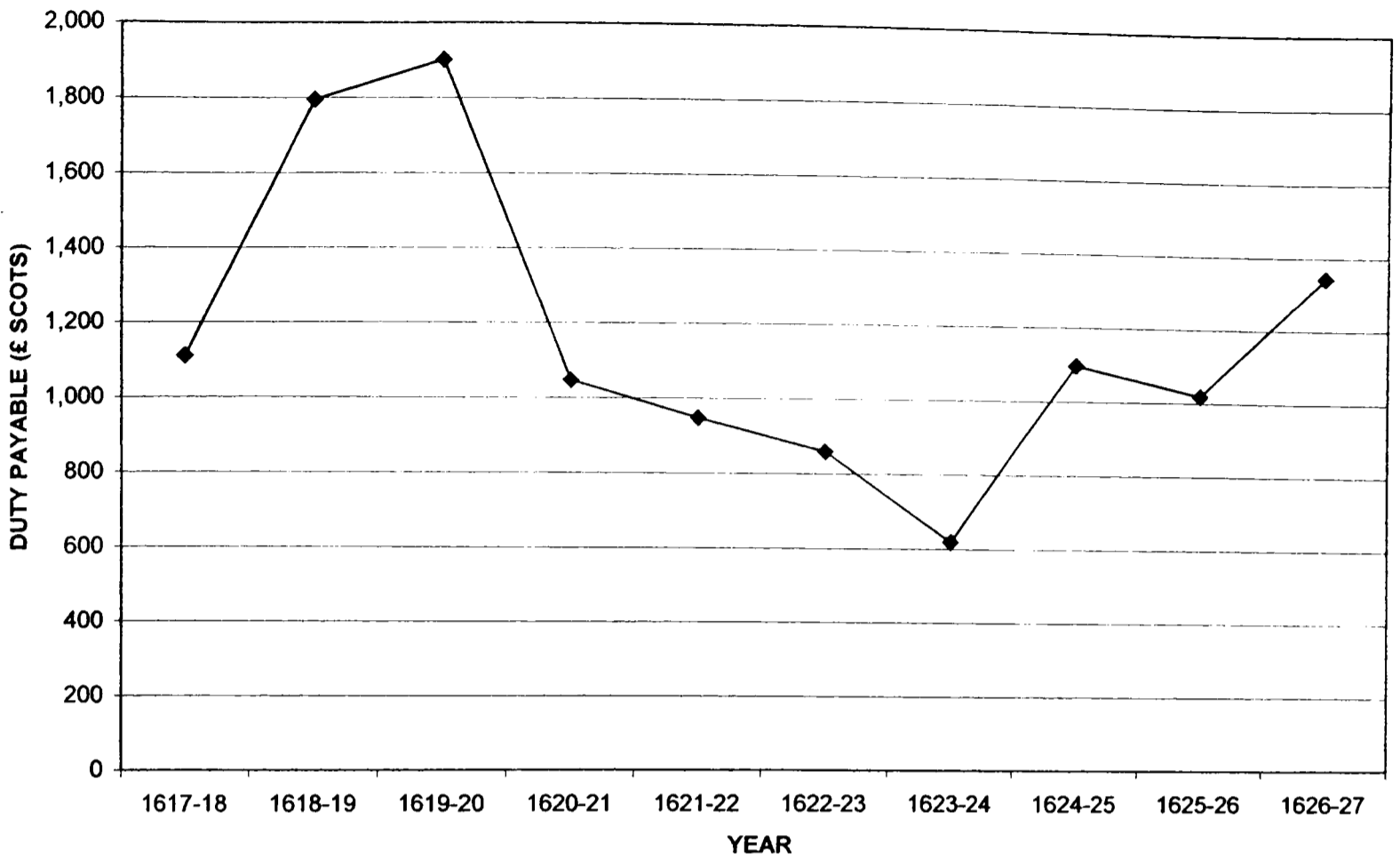
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<sup>47</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol VI, p. 367, first series, Vol. XII, p. 663, second series, Vol. II, p. 438, second series, Vol. VI, pp. 419-20.

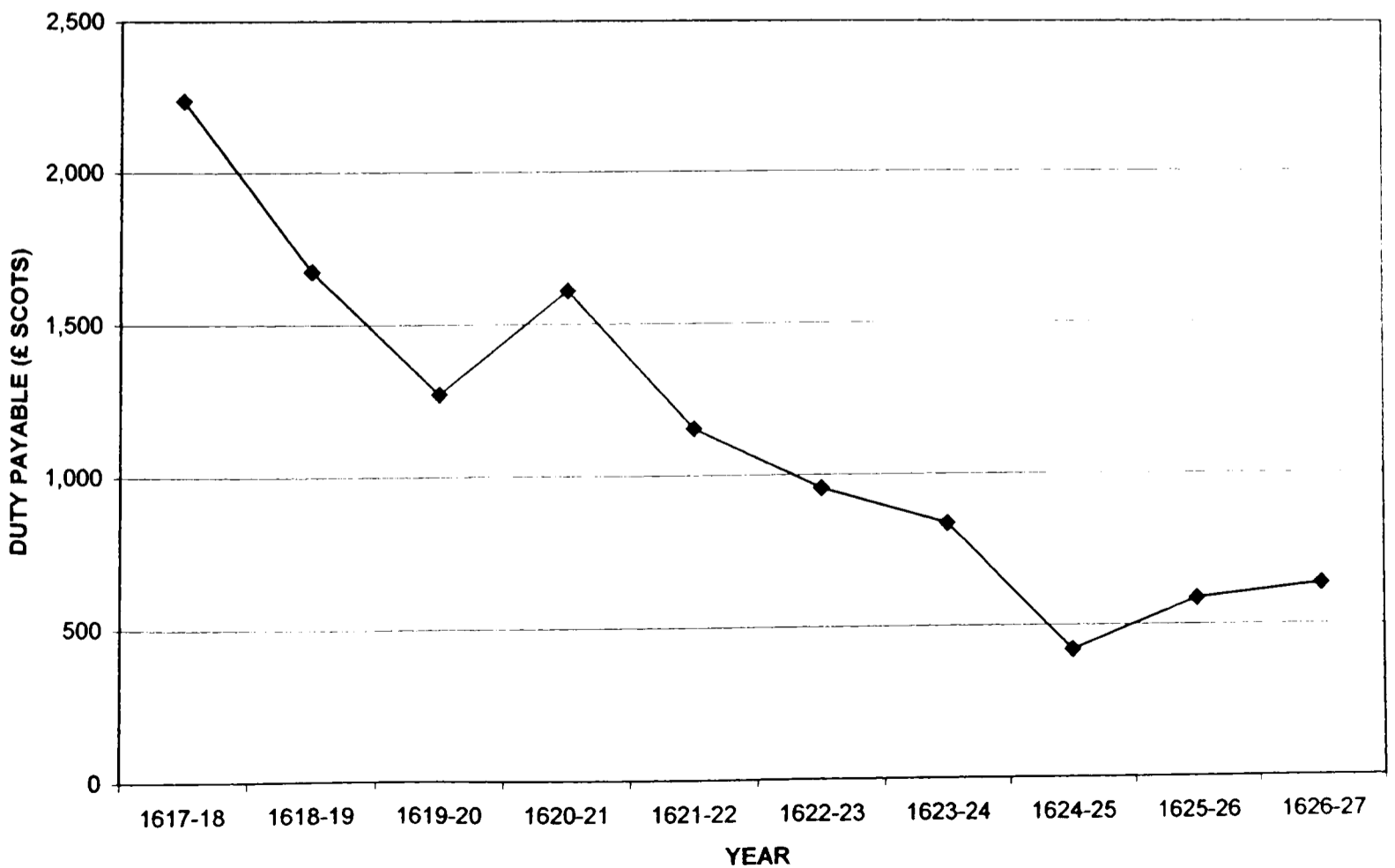
<sup>48</sup> The 'Varer ført vestpaa, fordelt efter Skibenes Hjemsted' table has again been used. Hemp is translated as hemp. Hempseed was at no time carried through the Sound on Scottish ships and shipments of tows were not itemised.

<sup>49</sup> Mordants were used to 'fix' the dyestuff.

**CHART 4-7: DUTY PAYABLE ON DYESTUFFS AND MORDANTS IMPORTED AT LEITH  
1617/18-1626/27**



**CHART 4-8: DUTY PAYABLE ON CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES IMPORTED AT LEITH  
1617/18-1626/27**



muffs, petticoats and points) were transported from England.<sup>50</sup> Collars and ‘piccadills’ were brought from England (85%), and France (15%). Garters came from England (39%), the Low Countries (35%) and France (25%). Girdles and belts were shipped from England (69%) and France (31%). Gloves were imported from England (88%), France (10%) and the Low Countries (1%). Hangers were transported from England (83%) and France (17%). Hats were brought from England (90%), France (8%) and the Low Countries (2%). Lace came from England (90%) and France (10%). Paper was shipped overwhelmingly from France (98%) and also from the Low Countries (2%). ‘Pasmments’ arrived from the Low Countries (74%) and France (26%). Stiffing/starch was imported from the Low Countries (43%) and England (57%). Lastly, hosiery was transported primarily from England (97%), smaller volumes from the Low Countries (3%).

## TIMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS

Next in terms of duty payable was timber, vital as a source of domestic and industrial fuel; in the construction of piers, harbours and domestic buildings; and for craftsmen, including shipwrights and coopers. In view of the limited domestic supply of timber, it had to be imported:

‘It is notour ... that in no tyme ... within the memorie of man thair hes bene ony tymmer transported furth of this kingdome the haill cuntrey being almost naked and mony yeiris ago spoiled of all the tymmer within the same, so that thair is no such a quantitie thairin as may serve the hundreth pairt of the necessair uses of the same, wherby your maiesties subiectis hes bene constrayned ... to mak their provision ... from foreyne pairtis’.<sup>51</sup>

Chart 4-9 shows that timber imports remained pretty constant over the decade 1617/18 to 1626/27 and that once again the majority of timber imports arrived at Leith (around four times the amount recorded as having been imported at the Forth, West Fife and East Lothian ports combined).

Timber was imported from two major sources. The first was Norway, which sent cheap, mass-produced timber to Scotland. The importance of this source is illustrated by ‘stulling’ or ‘Norway stulling’ (which consisted primarily of grain) being exported from Scotland to Norway under licence granted by the Crown specifically to be exchanged for Norwegian timber at times when the general export of grain was forbidden. All burnwood (firewood), joists, masts, spars and stings and 95% of deals imported at Leith 1621-22 and 1622-23 were imported from Norwegian ports.<sup>52</sup>

The second source was the Baltic from whence more cargoes of expensive, better quality timber such as wainscot and oak deals, as well as the timber products of pitch and tar,<sup>53</sup> arrived in Scotland. All

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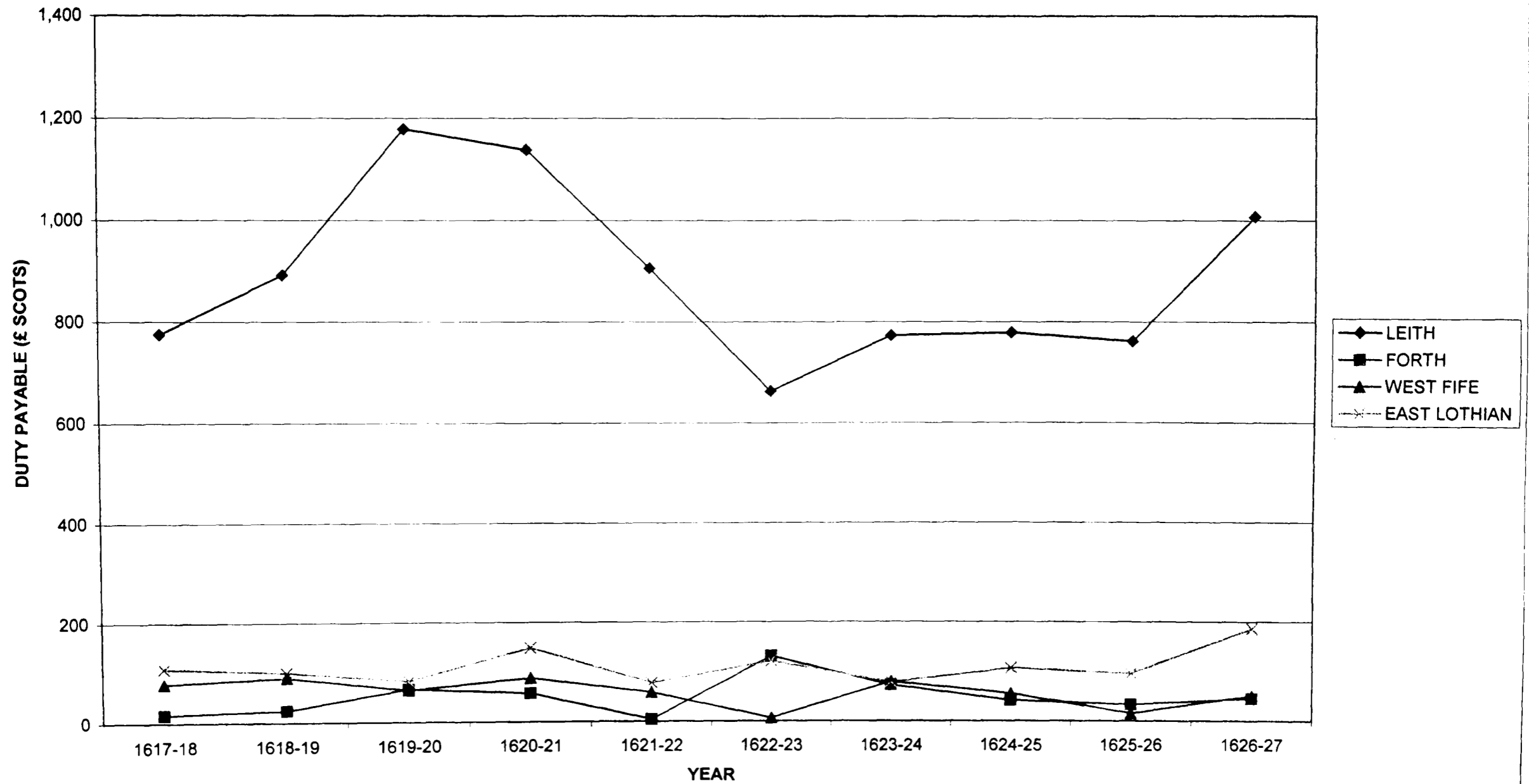
<sup>50</sup> All clothing and accessories imported from England were done so from London rather than from one of the outports.

<sup>51</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VIII, p. 543.

<sup>52</sup> In addition, 1% of imported tar and hazel, unspecified trees and timber by the ell were imported from Norway.

<sup>53</sup> Tar had long been used to protect sheep from damp and vermin.

CHART 4-9: DUTY PAYABLE ON TIMBER IMPORTED AT LEITH, THE FORTH, WEST FIFE AND EAST LOTHIAN  
1617/18-1626/27





scows and Swedish boards were originated in the Baltic, together with 94% of wainscot, 88% of knappald, 99% of tar and 97% of pitch.<sup>54</sup>

The other sources of timber and timber products were England from whence all imported bark was sent, and the entrepôt ports of the Low Countries which contributed 12% of incoming knappald, 7% of wainscot, 3% of pitch and 1% of deals.<sup>55</sup>

## **FATS**

Chart 4-10 shows that duty paid on imports of fats (whale/train oil, soap, wax and candles) declined steadily from a peak of £1,400 in 1618/19 to under £400 per annum between 1622 and 1624 before recovering to around £1,000 by 1626/27.

The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts indicate that unspecified types of oil came from the Low Countries (83%) and England (17%). Train (whale) oil was shipped from England (70%) and directly from Greenland (30%). Wax arrived overwhelmingly from the Baltic (99%) and also from the Low Countries (1%) together with a negligible amount from England (0.2%). Lastly all candles were imported from England.

## **METAL WARES**

Chart 4-11 shows that duty payable on imports of metal wares (sword blades, lanterns, knives, sythes/sickles, shovels, kettles, plates, pans,<sup>56</sup> brass clasps and brass work) remained relatively constant at between £600 and £700 until 1621/22 before declining rapidly to around one-third of previous levels.

The 1621-22 and 1622-23 Leith particular accounts indicate that all candlesticks, brass chandeliers, brass pots and pans (including frying and goose pans) were transported from the Low Countries. All copper cauldrons and copper kettles were brought from the Baltic. Iron pots came overwhelmingly from France (97%) and also from the Low Countries (3%). Sword blades were shipped primarily from England (97%) and also from the Low Countries (4%). Lanterns arrived from England (67%) and France (33%). In addition, irregular consignments of hamper locks, saddle nails, Sheffield knives, stirrup irons and sword hilts were imported from England, and iron locks were transported from the Low Countries.

## **MISCELLANEOUS**

This section encompasses all entries not categorised above. First, unspecified entries were grouped under general headings such as 'wares' or 'goods'. The quantity or weight of these entries was often not stated; but where quantity and duty were stated the amount payable did not change with time. It is deemed appropriate for analysis purposes, therefore, to leave duty entries as they appear in the enrolled

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<sup>54</sup> In addition, unspecified planks were imported from the Baltic.

<sup>55</sup> In addition, timber measured by the tun was imported from England, and unspecified planks were imported from the Low Countries.

<sup>56</sup> Specified in the particular accounts as dripping and frying pans (N.A.S. E71/10/5).

CHART 4-10: DUTY PAYABLE ON FATS IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27

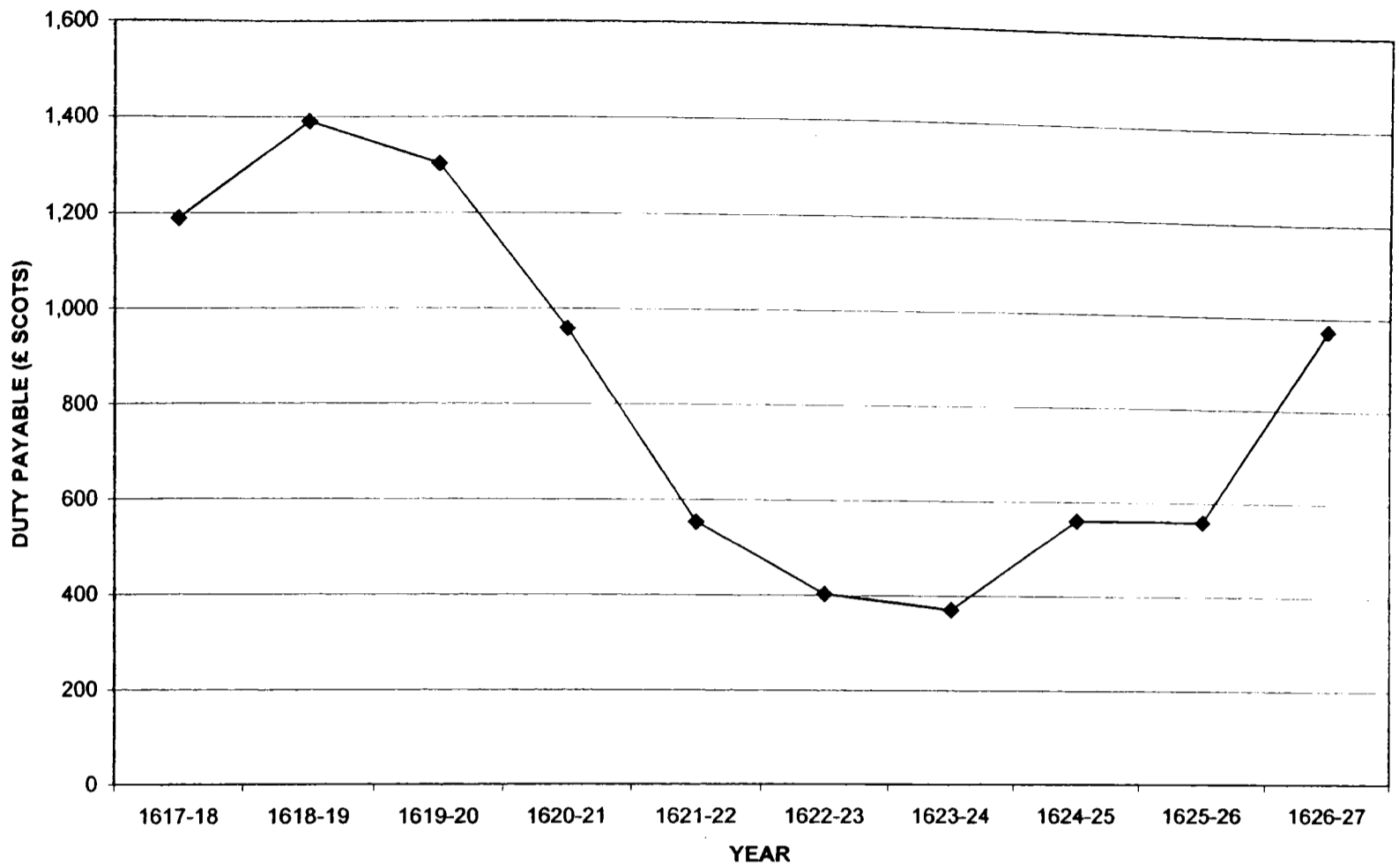
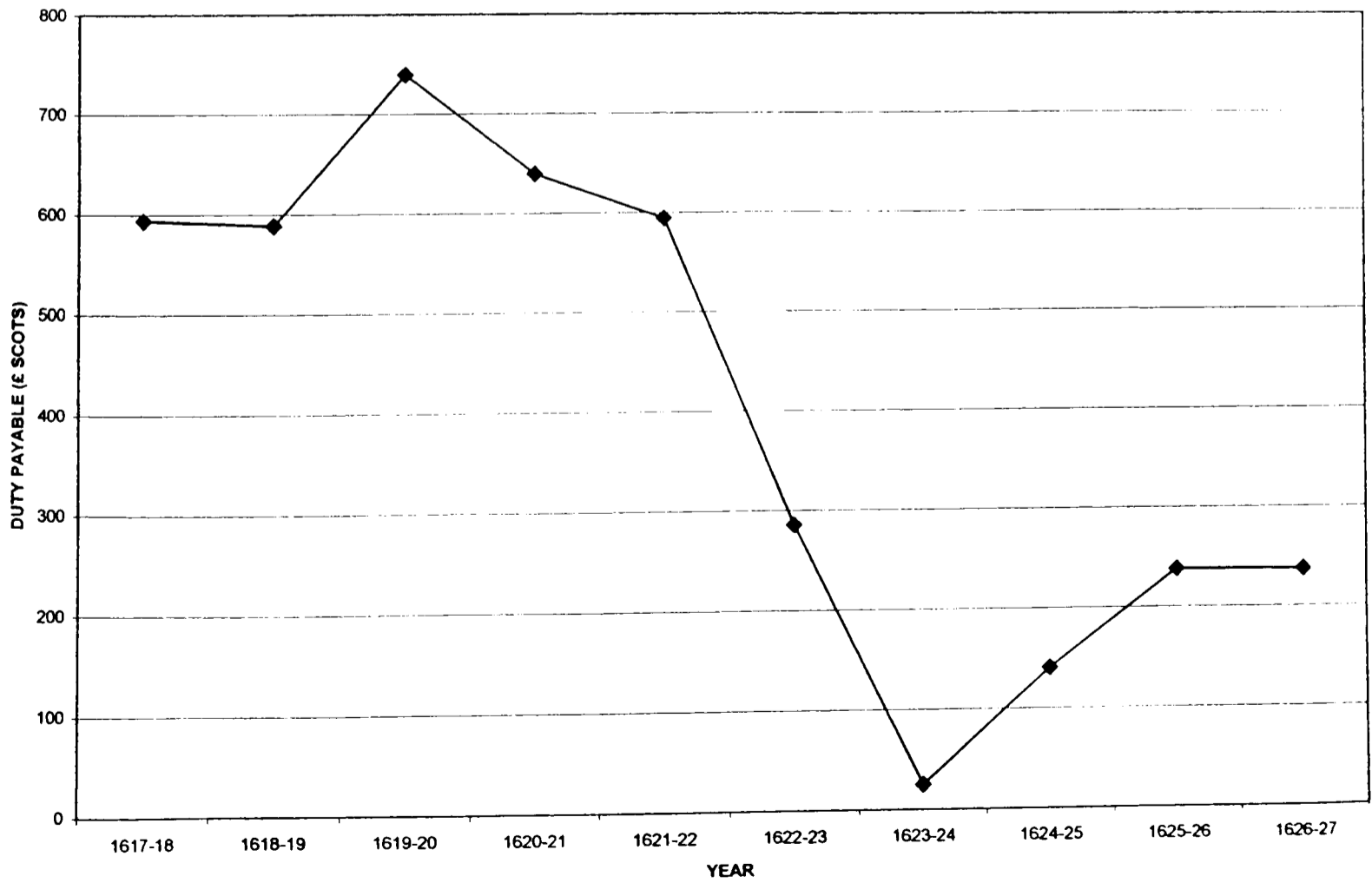
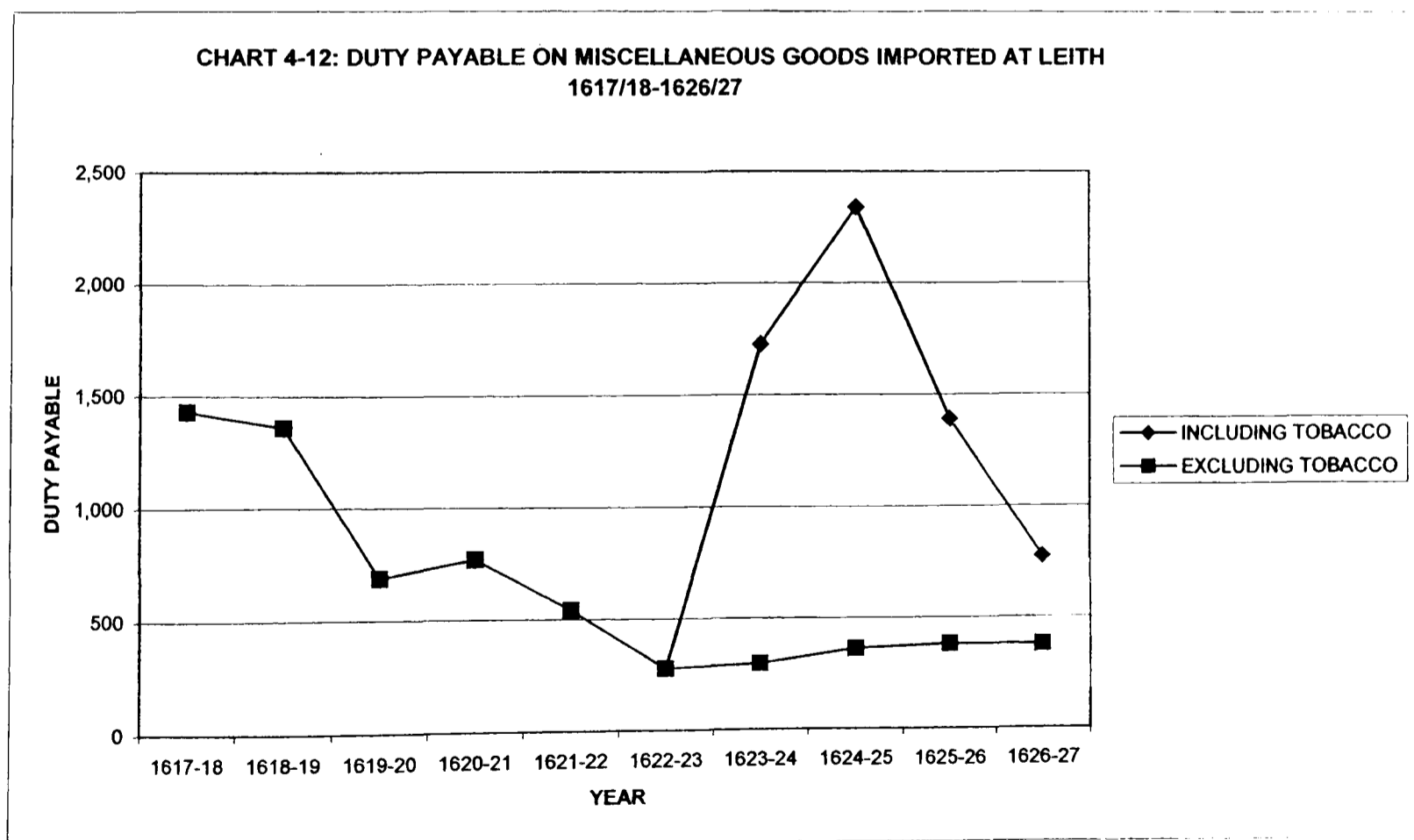


CHART 4-11: DUTY PAYABLE ON METALWARES IMPORTED AT LEITH 1617/18-1626/27



accounts. Second, are entries of commodities which were imported irregularly and in small quantities. These include skins, hides and leather;<sup>57</sup> elephants teeth; mirrors; glass; various types of glasses; playing cards; combs; pasteboards; pen holders; girths, stings and hoops; bow strings; bridles; tobacco pipes; tobacco; virginals; and drums - all of which appear with their respective rates of duty in Appendix Fourteen. Third, are goods which are either unknown, untranslatable or unreadable. Once again, their duty payable has been left as in the original accounts.

Chart 4-12 shows that duty payable on imports of these diverse goods, excluding tobacco, declined slowly throughout the period for which figures exist. Imports of tobacco were first recorded at Leith in 1622/23 and continued thereafter at substantial levels. This tobacco was imported primarily via English and European entrepôts throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1626-27 for example, 54% of tobacco imported into Leith came from the Low Countries, 33% from England and 13% from the Baltic;<sup>58</sup> and in 1627-28, 81% of tobacco imported into West Fife came from England and 19% from the Low Countries. Evidence does exist to show, however, that over time Scottish merchants managed to raise sufficient capital to voyage across the Atlantic in order to exchange native goods for this valuable commodity that was then shipped directly back to Scotland. In 1643, for example, John Hamilton of Boghall “made an adventure to the West Indies for the credite and benefite of the cuntry by exporting spareable commodities and returneing a great quantitie of Tolbacco,” amounting to 100,000 pounds weight which by then was subject to excise duty as well as traditional import custom.<sup>59</sup>



<sup>57</sup> A dearth of marikin leather in Scotland meant that shoemakers had to import skins from Denmark and Sweden (*A.P.S.*, Vol. V, p. 618).

<sup>58</sup> *N.A.S.* E71/9/10.

<sup>59</sup> *A.P.S.*, Vol. VI, c. 244 pp. 227-28.

## OVERLAND IMPORTS FROM ENGLAND

The particular accounts pertaining to Edinburgh are useful in attempting to determine the relative importance of the overland trade from England as compared to sea-borne trade into Leith. Overland imports were to pass through either Berwick or Carlisle where officers searched the goods and received all duties. It is probable, however, that despite the presence of wardens on the Marches to regulate trade passing along them, not insubstantial amounts of merchandise were carried from England to Scotland on horseback without submitting an entry to any searcher or customer or paying duty. It must thus be borne in mind that recorded figures are necessarily incomplete viz-a-viz the actual level of trade. It was primarily cloth that was recorded as having been imported into Scotland by land as will be shown over the remainder of this section. Other noticeable overland imports were clothing and accessories and horse furniture (bridles, bridle bits, cruppers, stirrup leather, stirrup irons, belts and ties).

Duty payable per unit of each individual good is again taken to be the best reflection of the relative importance of each type within a category and these are calculated from the particular account entries<sup>60</sup> before being summed to produce an annual figure. As Appendix Sixteen illustrates, a high degree of correlation existed between duties payable on textiles as calculated from the particular accounts and those calculated from the enrolled accounts which suggests the seaborne/overland comparison is indeed meaningful.

The earliest hint of the extent of overland imports of cloth from England to Edinburgh was a total of £249.00 duty payable on consignments of only Yorkshire cloth and frieze between November 1621 and November 1622.<sup>61</sup> This compares with a total of £2,266.41 duty payable on *all* types of woollen cloth imported by sea at Leith over the same period.

The first full particular account listing overland imports of cloth from England to Edinburgh covers November 1624 to November 1625.<sup>62</sup> The custom payable on woollen cloth was £1,246.50 and on linen cloth £332.00, totalling £1,578.50 duty on cloth imported overland. These figures represented 83% of seaborne woollen imports and 36% of seaborne linen imports into Leith.

The second full particular account covers November 1626 to November 1627.<sup>63</sup> The custom payable on woollen cloth was £2,703.20, on linen cloth £406.80, on silk cloth £95.08 and on unknown types of cloth £22.60, totalling £3,227.68 on cloth imported overland. These figures represented 772% of seaborne woollen imports and 109% of seaborne linen imports into Leith: in both cases a huge increase in overland cloth imports as a proportion of total imports.

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<sup>60</sup> The particular accounts also show that rates of duty remained constant over the 1620s.

<sup>61</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/7.

<sup>62</sup> N.A.S. E71/30/30.

<sup>63</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/9.

The third full particular account covers November 1627 to November 1628.<sup>64</sup> The custom payable on woollen cloth was £2,956.25, on linen cloth £367.05, on silk cloth £70.09 and on unknown types of cloth £27.00, totalling £3,420.39 on cloth imported overland. Although no enrolled account is available for this year to allow a comparison, and although available data are fragmentary, extant figures do strongly suggest that whereas the value of seaborne imports of woollen cloth into Edinburgh/Leith was declining over the 1620s, that of overland imports was increasing substantially. Meanwhile, the value of seaborne imports of linen cloth were also declining, but that of overland imports remained relatively constant.

The only other extant particular account which reflects the extent of overland imports of cloth pertains to the Clyde jurisdiction between November 1626 and November 1627. In this case cloth was customed at slightly different rates to that arriving in the capital,<sup>65</sup> and the total duty payable was £132.60 which was an insignificant total relative to the £3,228 at payable in Edinburgh that year.

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<sup>64</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/11.

<sup>65</sup> Cloth imported overland into the Clyde jurisdiction was customed as follows: unspecified cloth £6.65 per pack, hardware £3.00 per pack, Manchester ware £4.00 per pack and combined consignments of hardware and Manchester ware £3.50 per pack.

## CHAPTER FIVE: FORTUNES OF THE PORTS

Having charted the development of the Scottish export, re-export and import trades over the first half of the seventeenth century, it is now appropriate to analyse the overall volumes and patterns of trade of each of the individual custom jurisdictions. Forming the basis for this chapter is Appendix Seventeen (a) to (k). This appendix specifies, for each year for which custom figures are available,<sup>1</sup> the total duty payable on all goods exported and re-exported from each Scottish jurisdiction, at the rates operable in 1612.<sup>2</sup>

### JURISDICTION ONE: EDINBURGH AND LEITH

Edinburgh was throughout the period Scotland's 'chiefe Citie'<sup>3</sup> and by far the busiest commercial centre. Her overseas trade was conducted through the port of Leith<sup>4</sup> which was situated upon 'a creek of the Sea ... some mile from Edenborow'.<sup>5</sup> Leith possessed 'a most commodious and large Haven',<sup>6</sup> which was illustrated in Timothy Pont's map of Lothian c.1600 as two arcs of buildings lining the harbour, formed into a semicircle by a bridge across the Water of Leith. As Chart 5-1 illustrates,<sup>7</sup> over the 1600s the volume of trade at Leith declined from late sixteenth century levels, before recovering from c.1618. That it subsequently increased greatly was reflected in the construction of a stone pier using material from Bruce's coalmine at Culross, which had been destroyed in a storm in 1625. By 1636 Leith possessed, in addition, two wooden piers.<sup>8</sup>

Over the period 1597-1645 as a whole, 35% of duty payable on both recorded native exports and total exports was payable at Leith.<sup>9</sup> This compares with Edinburgh and Leith accounting for approximately 29% of the Royal Burgh tax burden over the same period, before it increased to 36% in 1646.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix Six (a) to (k) for availability of custom accounts.

<sup>2</sup> These rates of duty are summarised in Appendix Twelve.

<sup>3</sup> Moryson, F. in Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Edinburgh: James Thin, 1973, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> There was ongoing contention between Edinburgh and Leith throughout the first half of the seventeenth century over Leith's subordination and her desire for freedom from Edinburgh's dominance.

<sup>5</sup> Moryson in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> All Charts are positioned at the end of this chapter.

<sup>8</sup> It must be noted, however, that in 1636 Brereton described Leith as 'a poor place' with 'a pretty little haven, neither furnished with near so many ships as it capable of, nor indeed is it a large haven capable of many ships. There are two neat wooden piers here erected, which run up into the river, but not one ship saw I betwixt them'. (Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 142).

<sup>9</sup> Specifically 35.2% on native exports and 35.3% on native exports plus re-exports. Inevitably, some goods that theoretically should have been customed in their original jurisdiction were actually customed at Leith and so included in the accounts of Edinburgh/Leith. This leads to a slight overstatement of this precinct's importance in Scottish overseas trade.

<sup>10</sup> The Extent Rolls (or general tax rolls) of 1597, 1601, 1606, 1607, 1612, 1635 and 1642 were drawn up by the Convention of Royal Burghs and list each Burgh's share of a specified sum. The Rolls provide a valuable insight into the relative wealth of Burghs and are taken to directly reflect their relative wealth and economic importance. Admittedly, the financial position of each burgh was not based entirely on overseas trade, but such commerce must have been a major contributor in most cases. The Extent Rolls of 1597, 1601, 1606, 1607 and 1612 are printed in *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland 1597-1614 with Extracts from Other Records Relating to*

As would be expected, Leith's trading base was the broadest of all jurisdictions. She participated in the entire major and most of the minor export trades. Of native exports, particularly significant were woollen cloth,<sup>11</sup> wool<sup>12</sup> and sheep and goat skins/fells.<sup>13</sup> Duty payable on re-exports averaged 4.1% of that payable on native exports over the period 1597-1634.<sup>14</sup> In addition, as discussed in Chapter Four, Leith was the centre of a thriving import trade over the 1620s.

## JURISDICTION TWO: THE FORTH

The major trading ports of the Forth area were Stirling, Culross, Borrowstounness (Bo'ness), Blackness and Queensferry. Together, they accounted for 13% of duty payable on both native exports and on total exports 1597-1645,<sup>15</sup> ranking third behind Edinburgh/Leith and the North East. These ports were all adversely affected by the ongoing practice of foreign merchants arriving for coal and salt of casting their ballast (stones and sand) into the river above Queensferry with the result of there developing a lack of sure anchoring for ships in many parts.<sup>16</sup>

Stirling's share of total Royal Burgh taxation over most of the period was 2.3%, before falling to 1.8% from 1635 and 1.1% from 1642 in the face of successive outbreaks of plague which caused a cessation in her overseas trade. The merchants of Stirling transferred their activities to Borrowstounness (Bo'ness), whose development adversely affected the prosperity of Linlithgow's port of Blackness. Indeed, throughout the first half of the seventeenth century Linlithgow applied constant pressure on the Convention of Royal Burghs to revive her decaying port.

Culross, the location of Sir George's Bruce's unique undersea coal mine<sup>17</sup> and forty four salt pans,<sup>18</sup> had been authorised to export minerals since 1588. Over the early seventeenth century the town dominated Scotland's coal<sup>19</sup> and salt production.<sup>20</sup> Despite the huge mineral industry and the

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*the Affairs of the Burghs of Scotland 1345-1614*, Edinburgh: William M Paterson, 1870, pp. 10, 562-67; that of 1635 in *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1635-1642*, Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society 1871, pp. 78-80; and that of 1642 in *Extracts from the Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland 1615-1676*, Edinburgh: William M. Paterson, 1878 pp. 332-333.

<sup>11</sup> Woollen cloth accounted for 31.5% of total duty payable at Leith 1597-1634, and an average of 44% of duty payable on woollen cloth at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26 (these being the only years for which complete custom accounts pertaining to each jurisdiction survive).

<sup>12</sup> Wool accounted for 16% of duty payable at Leith, and an average of 87% of duty payable throughout Scotland 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>13</sup> Sheep and goat skins/fells accounted for 15% of duty payable at Leith, and an average of 72% of duty payable on those skins/fells throughout Scotland 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>14</sup> See pp. 141-42 for details of Leith's re-export trade.

<sup>15</sup> Specifically 13.0% on native exports and 12.5% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>16</sup> *R.P.C.*, second series, Vol. IV, p. 294.

<sup>17</sup> See Taylor in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 115-17; Barbé, L. A., *Sidelights on the History, Industries & Social Life of Scotland*, Glasgow: Blackie and Son Limited, 1919, pp. 206-07; and Bowman, A. I., "Culross Colliery: a Sixteenth-Century Mine" in *Industrial Archaeology*, VII, 1970, pp. 353-72.

<sup>18</sup> Smith, R., *The Making of Scotland A Comprehensive Guide to the Growth of its Cities, Towns and Villages*, Edinburgh: Canongate, 2001, p. 222.

<sup>19</sup> So important was her coal export trade that the Culross Chalder was standardised in 1663 as the basis for Scottish coal measurement.

possession of some 'fine vessels' in the 1640s,<sup>21</sup> Culross was consistently responsible for only 0.5% of Scottish taxation contributions 1597-1646.

Lastly, the small settlement of Queensferry, which was confirmed as a Royal Burgh in 1636, so appears only in the 1642 Extent Roll when she was to contribute 0.2% of the total.

As Chart 5-2 illustrates, duty payable on exports from the Forth increased greatly over the 1610s and held steady over the 1620s before declining slightly over the 1630s. As indicated above, the greatest contributions came from the coal and salt exported through Culross.<sup>22</sup> In contrast, sheep and goat skins/fells and woollen cloth, the third and fourth most important exports from the area, each accounted for only 2.2% of total duty paid at the Forth ports. Duty payable on re-exports from the precinct was only 0.1% of that payable on native exports over the period 1597-1636.<sup>23</sup>

### **JURISDICTION THREE: WEST FIFE**

The authorised trading ports of West Fife were Inverkeithing, Burntisland, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dysart and Wemyss. Together they accounted for 3% of duty payable on both native exports and total exports 1597-1645,<sup>24</sup> ranking sixth and seventh respectively of the eleven custom jurisdictions. Kirkcaldy consistently rendered her own salt accounts. Otherwise all customs receipts of these ports were administered together.

The Extent Rolls suggest that Dysart, also known as 'Little Holland,' was the most economically active town of West Fife. The construction of a new harbour with a large stone-built pier from 1617 reflected this prosperity. The town was required to contribute 2% of the total Scottish taxation until 1635 by which time her harbour was becoming choked with stones and sand. The resulting decline in overseas trade perhaps explains the decline in her required contributions to 1.5% of the Scottish total from 1635 onwards.

West Fife's second port was Kirkcaldy, which was responsible for 1.5% of Scottish taxation over the 1600s, dipping slightly to 1% from 1612, before increasing to 2.3% from 1635 and 2.4% from 1646. Her economic potential was reflected from the beginning of the seventeenth century by the construction of a second pier as a complement to the existing wooden pier. Unusually, the original pier was subsequently dismantled for use elsewhere.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The coastline of the Forth was dominated by salt-pans: 'all along the shore of Frithe are placed, even almost to Sterlin, from beyond Musselburgh, salt-pans, wherein a mighty proportion of salt is boiled ... the works are not easily to [be] numbered'. (Brereton in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 148).

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Smith *op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>22</sup> Coal and salt respectively accounted for 48% and 45% of total duty payable at the Forth ports 1597-1636, and an average of 85% and 75% of duty payable on minerals at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 147 for a summary of re-exports from the Forth.

<sup>24</sup> Specifically 2.9% on native exports and 2.9% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>25</sup> Dennison, Torrie, E. P. and Coleman, R., *Historic Kirkcaldy The Archaeological Implications of Development*, Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 1995, p. 15.



Burntisland was a renowned safe haven and is referred to as the head port of the West Fife jurisdiction.<sup>26</sup> Her general tax contributions remained at 0.8% until 1646, rising to 1.1% thereafter.

Kinghorn was obliged to contribute 0.9% of Scottish taxation 1597-1605, declining to 0.7% 1606-1645. In 1623 her overseas trade collapsed as some of her ships were lost to Turkish pirates and the harbour was destroyed by a storm.<sup>27</sup> From 1646 her required taxation contribution fell further to 0.5% of the Scottish total.

Lastly, Inverkeithing was the minor port of the district, her contributions accounting for 0.5% of Scottish taxation throughout the period.

Chart 5-3 shows that exports from West Fife fluctuated greatly over time but followed an upward trend. As with the Forth ports, those of West Fife also specialised in the export of coal and salt, this time through Kirkcaldy from the 1590s to late 1620s and through Wemyss thereafter.<sup>28</sup> The next most valuable exports were linen yarn and linen cloth, which respectively accounted for 10% and 5% of the total. Duty payable on re-exports from West Fife accounted for only 1.6% of that payable on native exports over the period.<sup>29</sup>

### **JURISDICTION THREE: EAST NEUK**

Crail, Anstruther and Pittenweem were primarily fishing villages, their export trade centred upon sea fish. Together they accounted for 2.5% of duty payable on both native exports and on total exports 1597-1645,<sup>30</sup> ranking eighth of the eleven jurisdictions.

Crail's required contributions towards national taxation remained at 0.5% up to 1634, before increasing to 1.2% from 1635 onwards.

In contrast, the proportion of national taxation payable by Anstruther Easter and Anstruther Wester, which had both acquired harbours by 1597, declined over time. Anstruther Easter's contribution declined from 1.7% 1597-34 to 1.6% 1635-45 and 0.8% 1646 onwards. Similarly, Anstruther Wester's contribution fell from 0.5% 1597-1634 and 0.3% 1635 onwards. By the 1600s the harbour of Anstruther Easter was described as being in a 'ruinous and decayed' state on account of storms, floods and high tides.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, over the 1610s Anstruther Wester's officials appealed to the Convention of Royal Burghs for assistance in repairing her harbour.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> N.A.S. E4/4 ff. 267r-267v, 338v-339v.

<sup>27</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

<sup>28</sup> Coal and salt respectively accounted for 42% and 26% of total duty payable at the West Fife ports 1597-1646, and an average of 13% and 11% of duty payable on minerals at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>29</sup> See p. 147 for a summary of re-exports from West Fife.

<sup>30</sup> Specifically 2.6% on native exports and 2.5% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>31</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 232.

<sup>32</sup> Stevenson, S., *Anstruther A History*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989, p. 8.

Similarly, the proportion of national taxation payable by Pittenweem declined over time from 0.9% 1597-1634, 0.8% 1635-45 and 0.7% 1646 onwards. Again, repairs to her harbour had to be undertaken in the early 1600s.<sup>33</sup> By the 1630s the town was described as 'very populous' with 'ane guid safe harberie'.<sup>34</sup> Thereafter, her trading fortunes seem to have declined as 'between the years 1639 to 1645, it lost no fewer than thirteen sail of large vessels, which were either wrecked or taken by the enemy'.<sup>35</sup>

Chart 5-4 shows that the export trades from the East Neuk grew consistently over the 1610s and 1620s before decline set in over the 1630s. As indicated above, these ports specialised in the export of sea fish, primarily herring.<sup>36</sup> The next most valuable exports were corn (10% of duty payable), salt (8%) and fish oil (2%). Duty payable on re-exports from the East Neuk accounted for 3.1% of that payable on native exports.<sup>37</sup>

#### **JURISDICTION FOUR: THE TAY**

Over the period 1597-1645 as a whole 12% of duty payable both on native exports and on total exports was payable at the Tay ports of Dundee, Perth, Arbroath and St Andrews,<sup>38</sup> such proportions being a shade less than those payable at the Forth ports.

Dundee was the major trading town of the jurisdiction. Pont's sketch of 'Dun-Tay' c.1600 illustrated a busy seaport with numerous ships moored in the Firth. She remained second only to Edinburgh/Leith in her share of the national tax assessment, which fell from 10.8% of the total 1597-1634 to 9.3% of the total 1635-45. Dundee was first raided by General Monck in 1645, an event which precipitated short-term decline, her share of national taxation falling to thereafter to 7%.

Perth was described in 1618 as 'a fine town ... but much decayed'.<sup>39</sup> Her share of national taxation declined over time from 6.2% 1597-1634, 5.5% 1635-45 and 4% thereafter. This may be partly explained by the town's susceptibility to plague - which presumably caused a cessation in overseas trade, and floods, which constantly damaged local infrastructure.

Arbroath was sufficiently important to be made a Royal Burgh in 1599. Pont's map c.1600 showed a large square coastal settlement, fronted by ships lying between two piers. Little further development seems to have taken place over the first half of the seventeenth century: both trade and the local fishing industry languished<sup>40</sup> which may explain why the town's share of national taxation remained at 0.7% 1597-1634 and 0.5% from 1635 onwards.

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<sup>33</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. VI, p. 328.

<sup>34</sup> Eunson, E., *Old Pittenweem*, Ochiltree: Stenlake, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 762.

<sup>36</sup> Sea fish accounted for 76% of total duty payable at the East Neuk ports 1597-1637, and an average of 42% of duty payable on sea fish at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>37</sup> See pp. 147-48 for a summary of the East Neuk's re-export trade.

<sup>38</sup> Specifically 12.2% on native exports and 12.2% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>39</sup> Taylor in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>40</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Lastly, St Andrews was constantly cited as one of the 'greater towns' of Scotland and her contribution to national taxation increased from 2.8% 1597-1634, to 3% 1635-45 and 3.3% thereafter.

Chart 5-5 shows that the export trades of the Tay grew apace over the late 1600s to early 1620s before falling off rapidly. Woollen cloth was the primary native export from these ports.<sup>41</sup> Next came sheep and goat skins/fells (12% of duty payable), salmon (11%) and corn (9%). Duty payable on re-exports from the Tay accounted for 3.6% of that payable on native exports.<sup>42</sup>

#### **JURISDICTION FIVE: NORTH EAST**

The ports of Aberdeen and Montrose together accounted for 24% of duty payable on both native exports and total exports 1597-1645,<sup>43</sup> ranking second behind Edinburgh/Leith. As Chart 5-6 illustrates, the value of her export trades increased six-fold over the 1597-1639 period as a whole.

Aberdeen was the second town of Scotland. Her growing prosperity was reflected in the establishment of a shipyard in 1606, ongoing improvements made to the harbour over the following years, the construction of a windmill and two tide mills over the 1610s and land reclamation projects around the harbour over the 1620s. By 1637 there were about 370 members in the Aberdeen merchant guild, of whom some seventy-five traded overseas in any one year, many specialising in plaiding.<sup>44</sup> Aberdeen's tax contribution reflected this prosperity. She was consistently required to pay 8% of national taxation from 1597 before the sacking of the town by the Marquis of Montrose in 1644 and plague in 1646-47 led to the collapse of the woollen cloth trade and a reduction in her Burgh obligations to 6.7% from 1646.

Situated in a natural harbour, Montrose was also a flourishing port town. 'Ane heavn pier bulwark and landing place for all the vessels repairing to our said burgh'<sup>45</sup> was completed over the 1600s and underwent considerable repair over the 1630s. The harbour had become so crowded by 1638 the burgesses appointed a 'shoremaster' to ensure that every ship was allotted a convenient landing place and that no damage occurred.<sup>46</sup> Her Burgh tax contributions accounted for 1.6% of the total 1597-1634, rising to 2.7% 1635-46. Thereafter they fell to 2% as the town was attacked by the Royalist Highlanders and then ravaged by plague.

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<sup>41</sup> Woollen cloth accounted for 57% of total duty payable at the Tay ports 1597-1638, and an average of 22% of duty payable on woollen cloth at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>42</sup> See pp. 143-44 for a discussion of the Tay's re-export trade.

<sup>43</sup> Specifically 24.46% on native exports and 23.75% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>44</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Jackson, G. and Lythe, S. G. E. (eds.), *The Port of Montrose. A History of its Harbour, Trade and Shipping*, Tayport: Hutton Press, 1993 p. 28.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

These two ports specialised in the exportation of woollen cloth (plaiding)<sup>47</sup> and salmon.<sup>48</sup> Duty payable on re-exports from the North East accounted for a miniscule 0.10% of that payable on native exports.<sup>49</sup>

### **JURISDICTION SEVEN: NORTH OF THE SPEY**

The small ports located to the north west of the river Spey accounted for 3% of duty payable on both native exports and total exports 1597-1645,<sup>50</sup> ranking fifth and sixth respectively of the eleven custom jurisdictions. This compares with combined Royal Burgh general taxation contributions of 2.5% of the total 1597-1634, rising to 2.9% 1635-45 and 3.3% 1646 onwards.<sup>51</sup> Findhorn, which had long functioned as the port of Forres, was recognised as a town in its own right by the mid-1630s and appears to have been the major port of the area.

As Chart 5-7 illustrates, overseas trade from the northernmost ports increased greatly over the late 1610s and 1620s before declining thereafter. They dealt in a fairly narrow range of native exports with salmon the dominant commodity.<sup>52</sup> Of less importance were corn (14% of duty payable), flesh (6%) and sea fish (3%). Re-exports were insignificant.

### **JURISDICTION EIGHT: THE CLYDE**

The Clyde ports of Glasgow, Dumbarton, Irvine and Ayr together accounted for 3% of duty payable on native exports and 4% of duty payable on total exports 1597-1645,<sup>53</sup> ranking seventh and fifth respectively of the eleven jurisdictions.

Dumbarton was initially the head port of the Clyde, on account of the shallowness of the Clyde, which prevented anything other than boats and small vessels sailing onwards to Glasgow. She was, however, continually affected by floods from the river Leven,<sup>54</sup> the resulting decline in economic activity reflected in her falling tax contributions: she was responsible for 1.1% of Burgh taxation 1597-1905, falling to 0.9% 1606-34 and 0.6% 1635-46 and beyond.

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<sup>47</sup> Woollen cloth accounted for 56% of total duty payable at the North East ports 1597-1641, and an average of 31% of duty payable on woollen cloth at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>48</sup> Salmon accounted for 32% of total duty payable at the North East ports 1597-1641, and an average of 45% of duty payable on salmon at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>49</sup> See p. 148 for a summary of the North East's re-export trade.

<sup>50</sup> Specifically 3.1% on native exports and 3.0% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>51</sup> These figures are based on the tax obligations of Inverness, Tain and Forres.

<sup>52</sup> Salmon accounted for 73% of total duty payable at the Spey ports 1597-1633, and an average of 24% of duty payable on salmon at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>53</sup> Specifically 2.7% on native exports and 4.3% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>54</sup> Dumbarton repeatedly sought aid in 'keiping of thair toun and herberie fra wushing away be the sey and watter'. She was granted successive licenses to uplift additional imposts (petty customs) on goods shipped to and from the river Leven (*R.C.R.B., 1571-1614*, pp. 90-91, 207-08, 240; *R.C.R.B., 1615-1676*, pp. 46-47, 271.)

Conversely the general tax contributions of Glasgow increased over time from 4.5% 1597-1611, 4% 1612-34, 5.5% 1635-45 and 6.5% 1646 onwards, a reflection in part of the towns growing overseas trade. Following ongoing complaints from merchants about the sanding of the river and the lack of causeways to the apparent decay of the town, Glasgow was granted a licence to levy petty customs on the Clyde for nine years to finance reparation of these matters. Clearing of the channel began in May 1600 and in 1601 a small customhouse was built upon the end of Glasgow Bridge which was as far as vessels could travel up the Clyde. Glasgow finally became a Royal Burgh in 1611, its population having reached some 7,600 compared with 5,000 at the turn of the century.<sup>55</sup> The first quay at the Broomielaw was constructed about 1625, the Tolbooth was erected in 1626,<sup>56</sup> and by 1635 Glasgow was, with Perth, the third richest burgh in Scotland (although only a fifth as rich as Edinburgh). A year later Brereton described Glasgow as a 'city' with an estimated population of 20,000.<sup>57</sup>

Further south was located Irvine and Ayr. Pont's map of c.1600 showed 'Irrwin' as a large town with a river bridge. She was required to contribute 1.2% of national taxation between 1597 and 1645, falling to 1.0% from 1646 after the harbour began silting up.

Although Ayr was described by Brereton in 1636 as having 'a bare naked haven, no pire, no defence against the storms and weather ... [but] a better store of shipping that at Erwin,'<sup>58</sup> Ayr had been since the 1590s the largest trading port on the west coast. She was responsible for 2.2% of burgh taxation between 1597 and 1645, dropping to 1.4% thereafter.

As Chart 5-8 illustrates, exports from the Clyde followed an upward trend over time, although as Chart 5-9 shows, the value of native exports actually declined over the 1620s and 1630s. Nevertheless, these ports traded in a broad range of native produce - including whisky, which was not exported from any other Scottish jurisdiction. The major exports, however, were woollen cloth and sea fish.<sup>59</sup> Next came coal and sheep and goat skins/fells (each 9% of duty payable), linen cloth (7%), hides (6%), whisky (5%), salmon (4%), corn (3%) and salt (2%). In addition to these seaborne exports, it is certain that linen yarn and cloth were also transported overland to England from the Clyde area via the West Marches.<sup>60</sup>

It was, moreover, the re-export trade that was a particularly important activity at the Clyde ports: duty payable on re-exports was at least 125% of that payable on native exports over the 1597-1639 period as a whole. As discussed in Chapter Three re-exports from this jurisdiction increased greatly, particularly

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<sup>55</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

<sup>56</sup> Brereton described Glasgow's toolbooth as 'a very fair and high-built house'. Brereton in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>57</sup> Brereton in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>58</sup> Brereton in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>59</sup> Woollen cloth and sea fish each accounted for 26% of total duty payable at the Clyde ports 1597-1639, but a respective average of only 3% and 3.5% of duty payable on those goods at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>60</sup> See N.A.S. E71/9/3.

over the 1630s, and even this figure is most likely to be an underestimate as the duty payable on substantial volumes of re-exported dyestuffs and foodstuffs is unknown.<sup>61</sup>

### **JURISDICTION NINE: GALLOWAY**

The Galloway ports accounted for a meagre 0.5% of duty payable on both native exports and total exports 1597-1645, ranking eleventh of the eleven jurisdictions. This minor precinct was centred upon Kirkcudbright which was expected to contribute 0.9% of Scottish general taxation throughout the period.

Other trading ports of the area were Wigtown, Whithorn and Portpatrick. Pont's map showed Wigtown as a substantial place with a series of mills lining the banks of the river Cree. Her economic importance declined over time with the silting up of the harbour but her general taxation contributions remained at between 0.7% and 0.8% of the Scottish total throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.

Whithorn was an ancient trading settlement, shown on Pont's map as on a par with or slightly larger than Wigtown and Kirkcudbright. She was consistently responsible for 0.3% of burgh taxation. Lastly, Portpatrick was located on the military road that was laid out across Galloway to aid the Plantation of Ulster. Portpatrick was chartered as a burgh of barony in 1620. By 1627 it had become the ferry port for Belfast and had a livestock trade with Ireland. Brereton noted in 1636 'a most craggy, filthy passage, and very dangerous for horses to go in and out; a horse may easily be lamed, spoiled, and thrust into the sea; and when any horses land here, they are thrown into the sea, and swim out'.<sup>62</sup>

Chart 5-10 shows that the value of exports from the Galloway ports remained relatively constant over time. Sheep and goat skins/fells dominated the restricted range of native goods.<sup>63</sup> The only other significant native exports were hides (9% of duty payable) and wool (3%). In addition, re-exports from Galloway were negligible.<sup>64</sup>

### **JURISDICTION TEN: THE BORDERS**

The seaports of the Borders were Eyemouth in the east and Dumfries in the west. Eyemouth's harbour was partly built of pudding stone from the French fortifications and as a Free Port and burgh of barony since 1597, was not required to contribute to Royal Burgh taxation.

Meanwhile, Dumfries faced problems of flooding in 1618, famine in 1623 and piratical activity in the Solway Firth over the 1630s, which possibly resulted in the trade of south-west Scotland being carried on through Kirkcudbright instead. The tax assessment of Dumfries, however, remained at 1.8% of the

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<sup>61</sup> See pp. 139 and 145-46.

<sup>62</sup> Brereton in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>63</sup> Sheep and goat skins/fells accounted for 86% of total duty payable at the Galloway ports 1610-1626, which averaged 8 % of duty payable on those skins/fells at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

Scottish total 1597-1611, before increasing to 1.6% from 1612 and 2.2% from 1635. The Civil War subsequently seriously affected Dumfries, whose contributions fell back to 1.7% from 1646.

These ports together accounted for less than 1% of duty payable on both native exports and total exports sent overseas by sea 1597-1645<sup>65</sup> and as Chart 5-11 illustrates the volume of this trade increased over the 1600s and 1610s before declining rapidly thereafter. Corn<sup>66</sup> and sheep and goat skins/fells<sup>67</sup> were the most valuable exports, other notable commodities being hides (10.5% of duty payable), wool (9%) and woollen cloth (7%). Again, recorded re-exports from this precinct were negligible.<sup>68</sup>

Although seaborne exports of linen yarn and linen cloth from the Border ports accounted for only 2.0% and 0.2% of total respectively, a substantial overland trade in these goods, together with livestock, is known to have developed over the first half of the seventeenth century to a greater extent than previous historians have been willing to believe.

#### **JURISDICTION ELEVEN: EAST LOTHIAN**

Finally, the East Lothian ports of Preston, Dunbar and Haddington's port of Aberlady accounted for only 2% of duty payable on both native exports and total exports 1597-1645,<sup>69</sup> ranking ninth of the eleven jurisdictions.

The coast of the precinct was, like that of the Forth, lined with 'an infinite, innumerable number of salt work [with] with iron pans eighteen foot long and nine foot broad'.<sup>70</sup> It was Preston, often referred to as 'the Pannes' and 'Salt Preston' that was the centre of salt exportation within East Lothian. Pont's map of c.1600 showed a curved pier named 'Achesons Haven' as the principal feature of 'Prestoun pans' while Preston was located slightly inland. Preston also the centre of the linen yarn-export trade to London.

Dunbar was formerly a town of some importance but at the end of the sixteenth century was described as lying ruined and small with a poor population.<sup>71</sup> She was primarily a herring fishing port and from 1615 a centre of the making of red herring which was regularly exported to France.<sup>72</sup> She possibly had harbour and pier by 1631<sup>73</sup> and in 1636 Brereton reported that she possessed a 'haven made of great

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<sup>64</sup> See p. 149.

<sup>65</sup> Specifically 0.9% on native exports and 0.9% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>66</sup> Corn accounted for 45% of total duty payable at the Borders ports 1597-1631, an average of only 6% of duty payable on corn at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>67</sup> Sheep and goat skins/fells accounted for 28% of total duty payable at the Borders ports 1597-1631, an average of only 3% of duty payable on those skins and fells at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>68</sup> See 149.

<sup>69</sup> Specifically 2.4% on native exports and 2.4% on native exports plus re-exports.

<sup>70</sup> Brereton in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>71</sup> Moryson in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>72</sup> *R.P.C.*, first series, Vol. X, pp. 436-439, Vol. X, p. 641.

<sup>73</sup> McDonald, J., *Guide to Dunbar: Descriptive History of the Burgh, Castle and Battle*, Haddington: D.

stones piled up, whereinto at a spring-tide a ship of one hundred ton may enter, but not without much hazard'.<sup>74</sup> Her contributions to national taxation increased over time from 0.5% of the Scottish total 1597-1634, to 0.6% 1635-45 and to 1.1% from 1646 onwards which reflected her growing prosperity.

Haddington was 'a pleasant village,'<sup>75</sup> which engaged in overseas trade primarily through her port of Aberlady and specialised in the export of hides skins and fells. Haddington's contribution to national taxation remained at between 1.8% and 1.9% of the total throughout the period 1597-1645.

Chart 5-12 shows that exports from East Lothian increased throughout period, with particularly intense growth occurring over the second half of the 1620s. Native exports from the area comprised the most limited range of any custom jurisdiction. In terms of duty payable, the most important items were corn,<sup>76</sup> sheep and goat skins/fells<sup>77</sup> and salt.<sup>78</sup> As with the other smaller precincts, re-exports from East Lothian were minimal (0.2% of the value of native exports).<sup>79</sup>

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& J. Croal, 1885, p. 3.

<sup>74</sup> Brereton in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>75</sup> Fynes Moryson (1598) in Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>76</sup> Corn accounted for 33% of total duty payable at the East Lothian ports 1597-1633, an average of 10% of duty payable on corn at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>77</sup> Sheep and goat skins/fells accounted for 30.5% of total duty payable at the East Lothian ports 1597-1633, an average of only 0.03% of duty payable on those skins and fells at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>78</sup> Salt accounted for 24% of total duty payable at the East Lothian ports 1597-1633, an average of 14% of duty payable on corn at all Scottish custom jurisdictions 1618/19, 1621/22 and 1625/26.

<sup>79</sup> See Chapter Three p. 149.



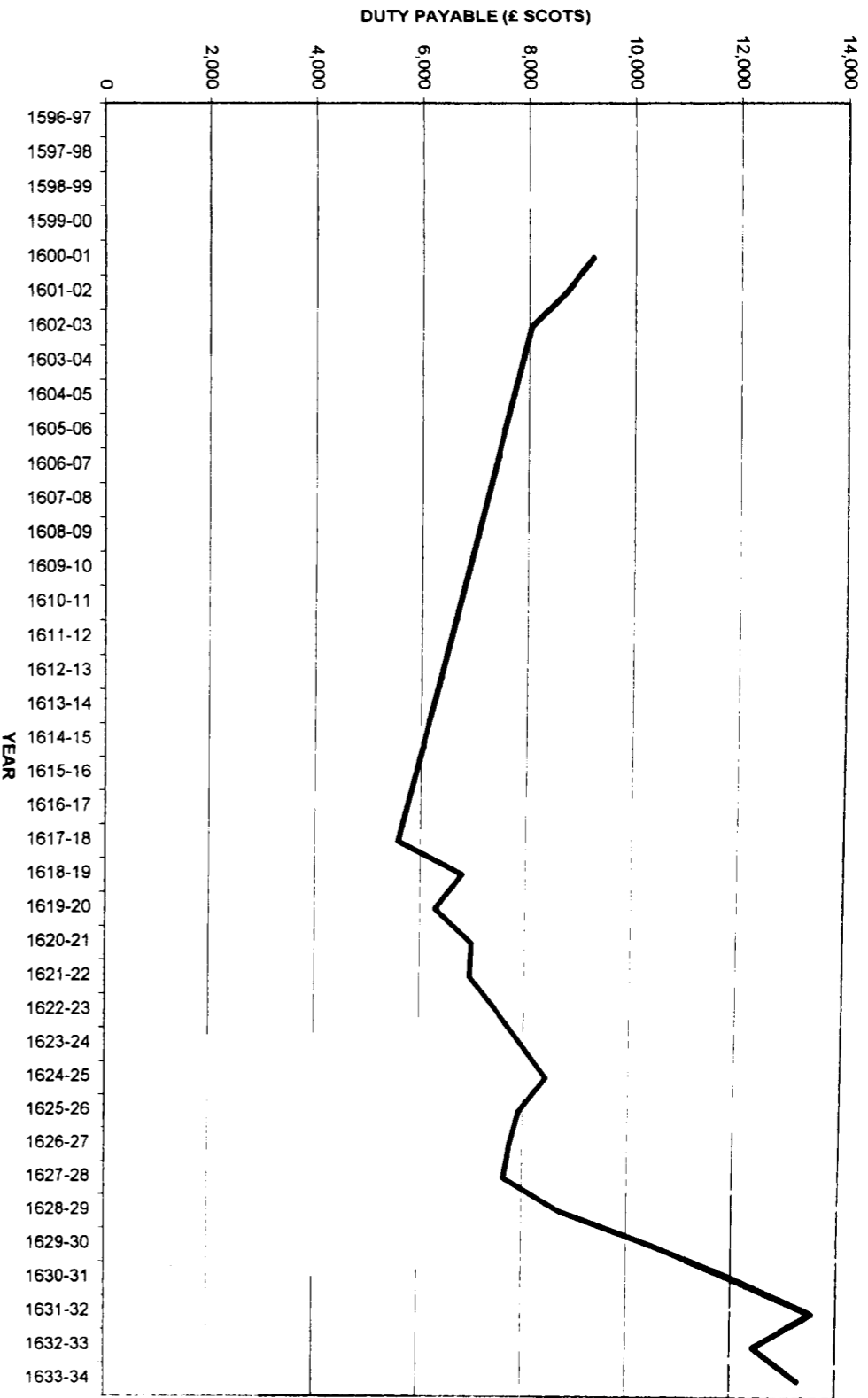


CHART 5-1: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM EDINBURGH AND LEITH (FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1633/34

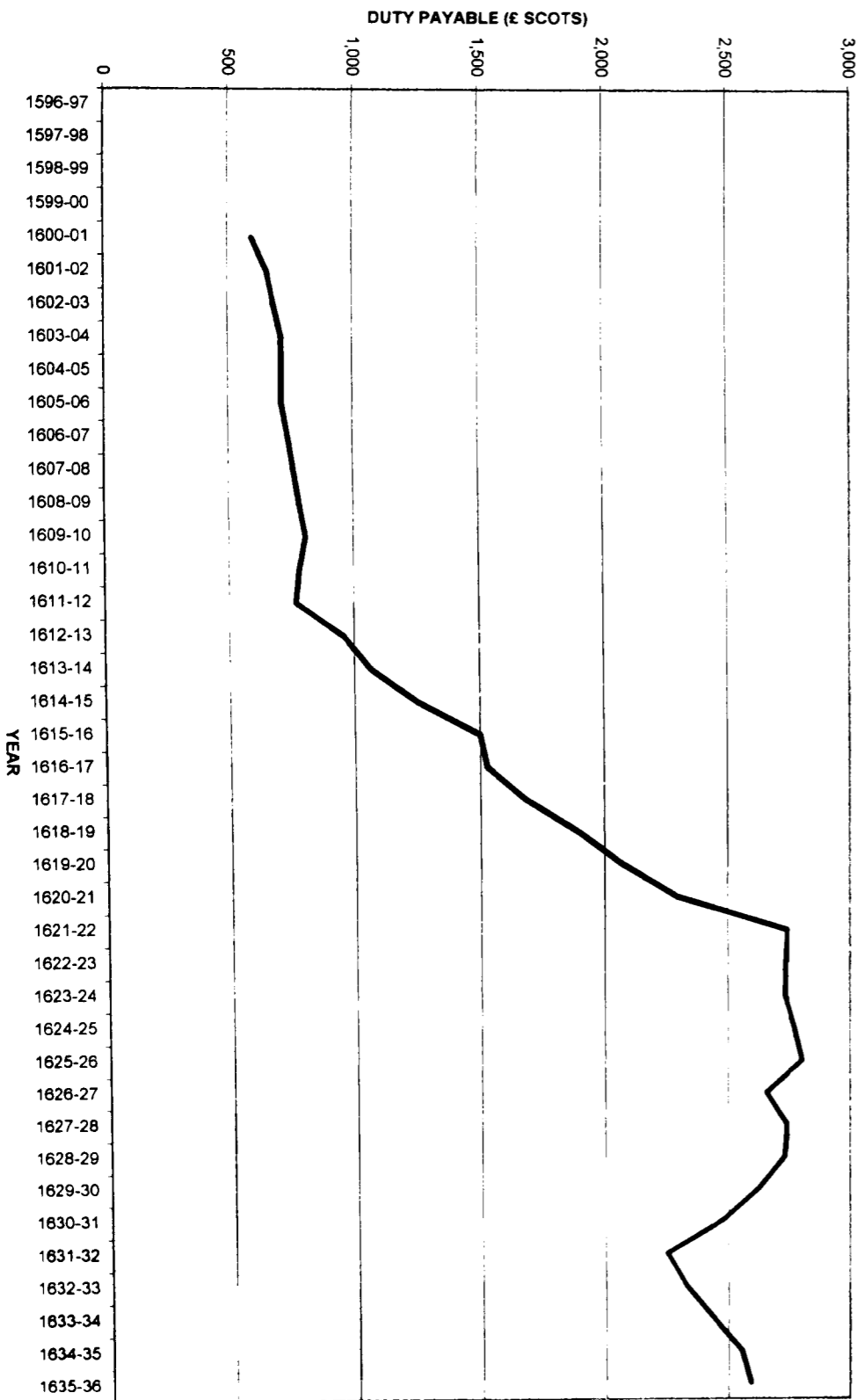
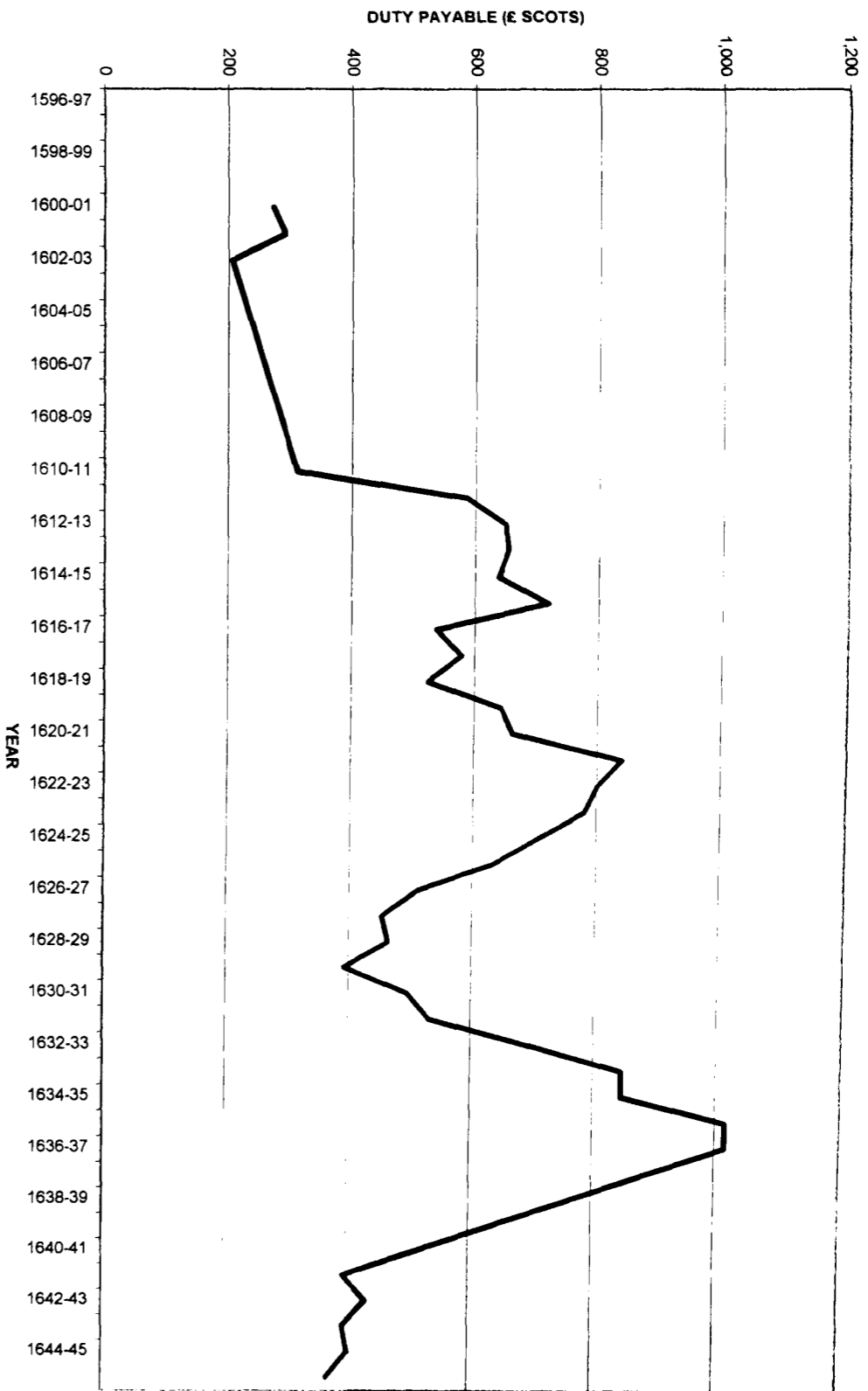
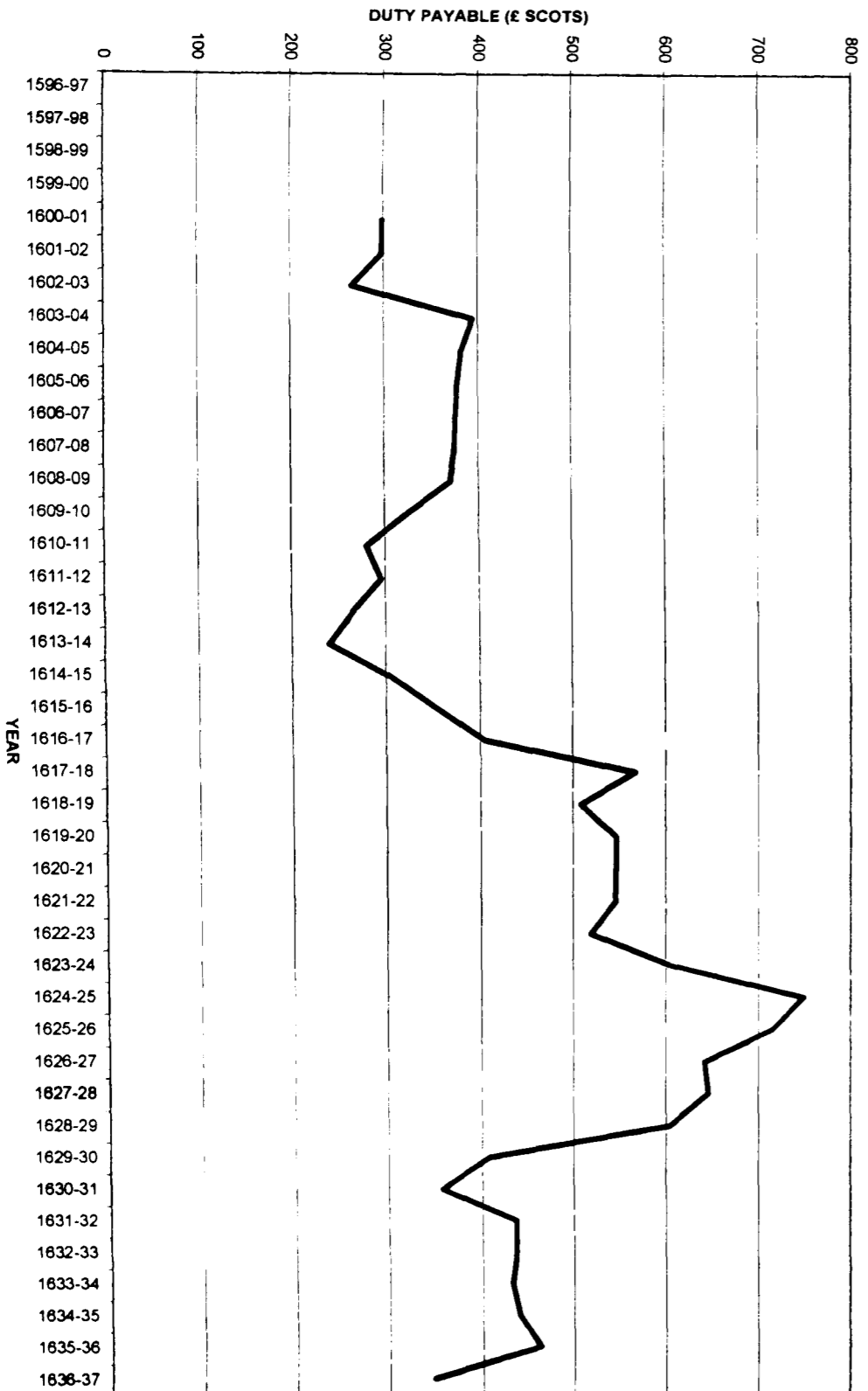


CHART 5-2: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM THE FORTH (FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1635/36

**CHART 5-3: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM WEST FIFE  
(FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1645/46**



**CHART 5-4: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM THE EAST NEUK  
(FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1636/37**



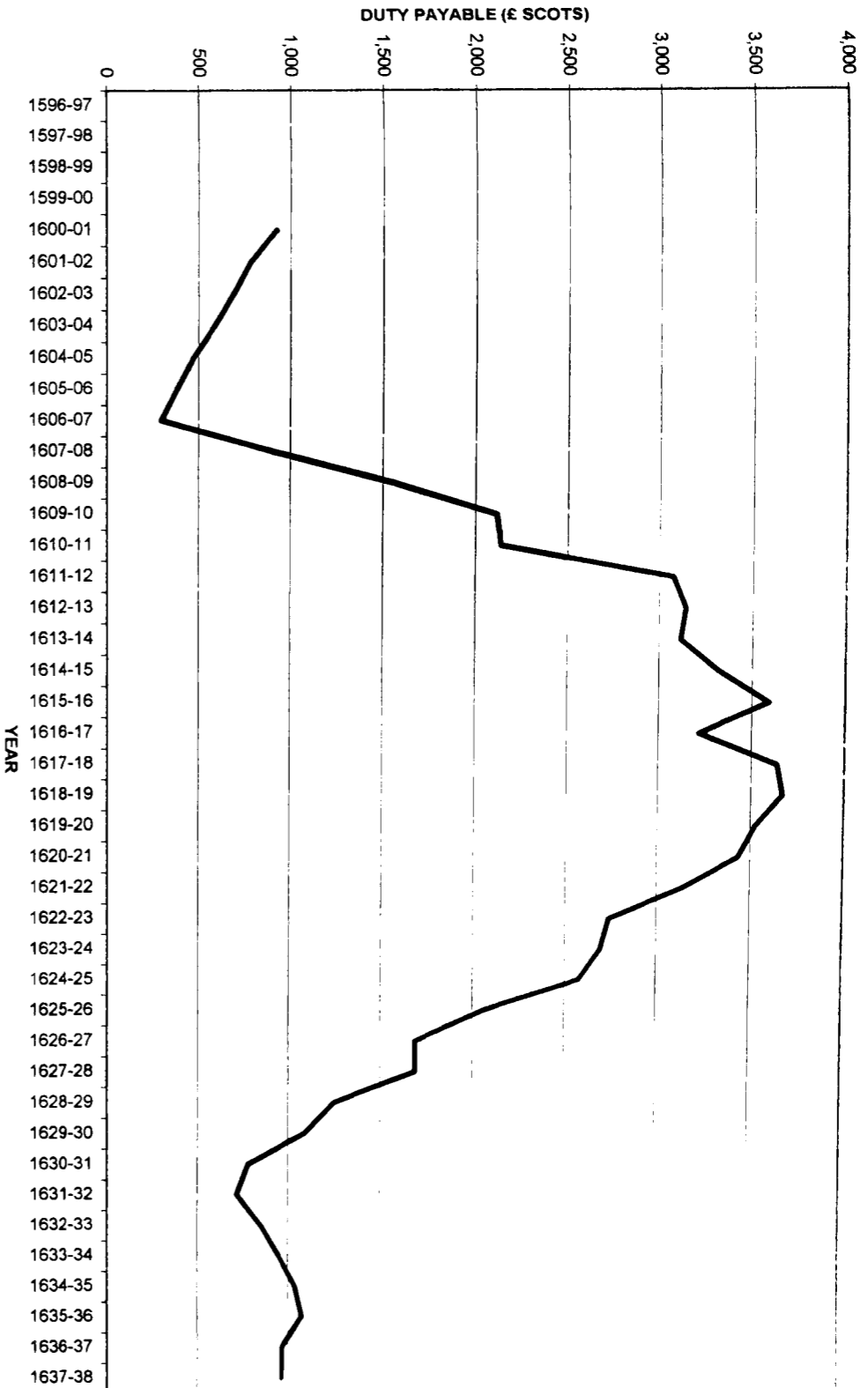


CHART 5-5: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM THE TAY  
(FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1637/38

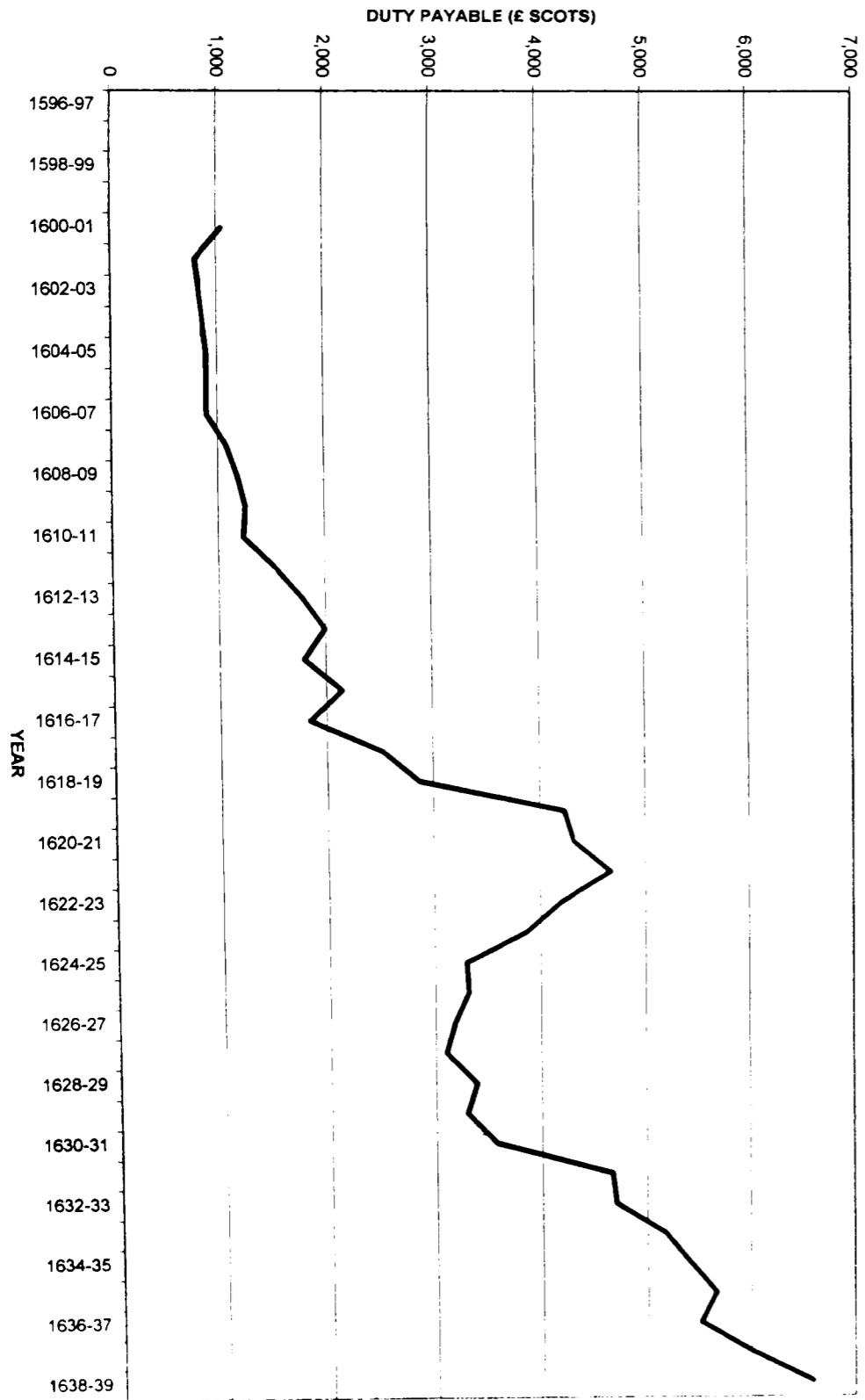
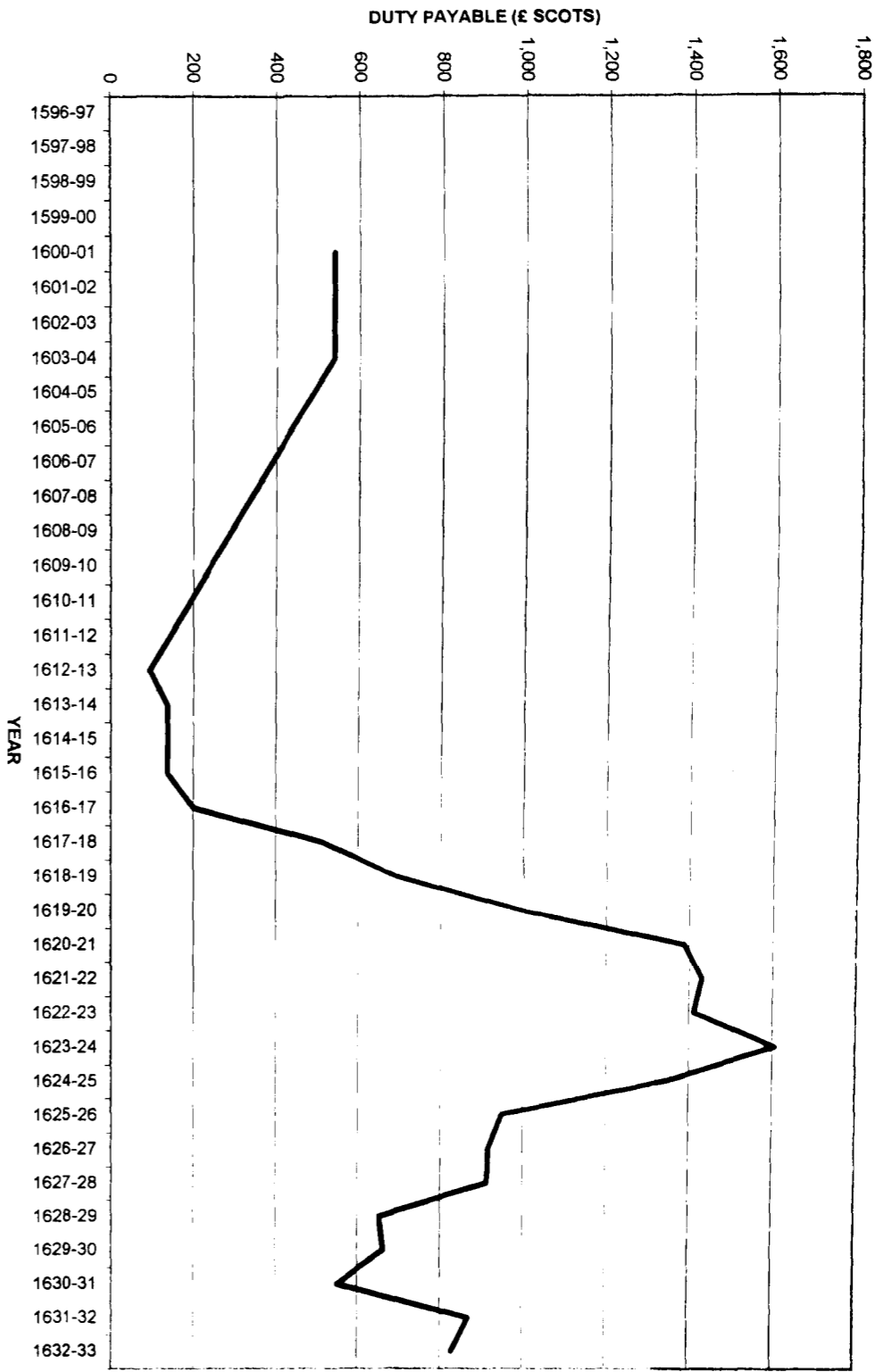
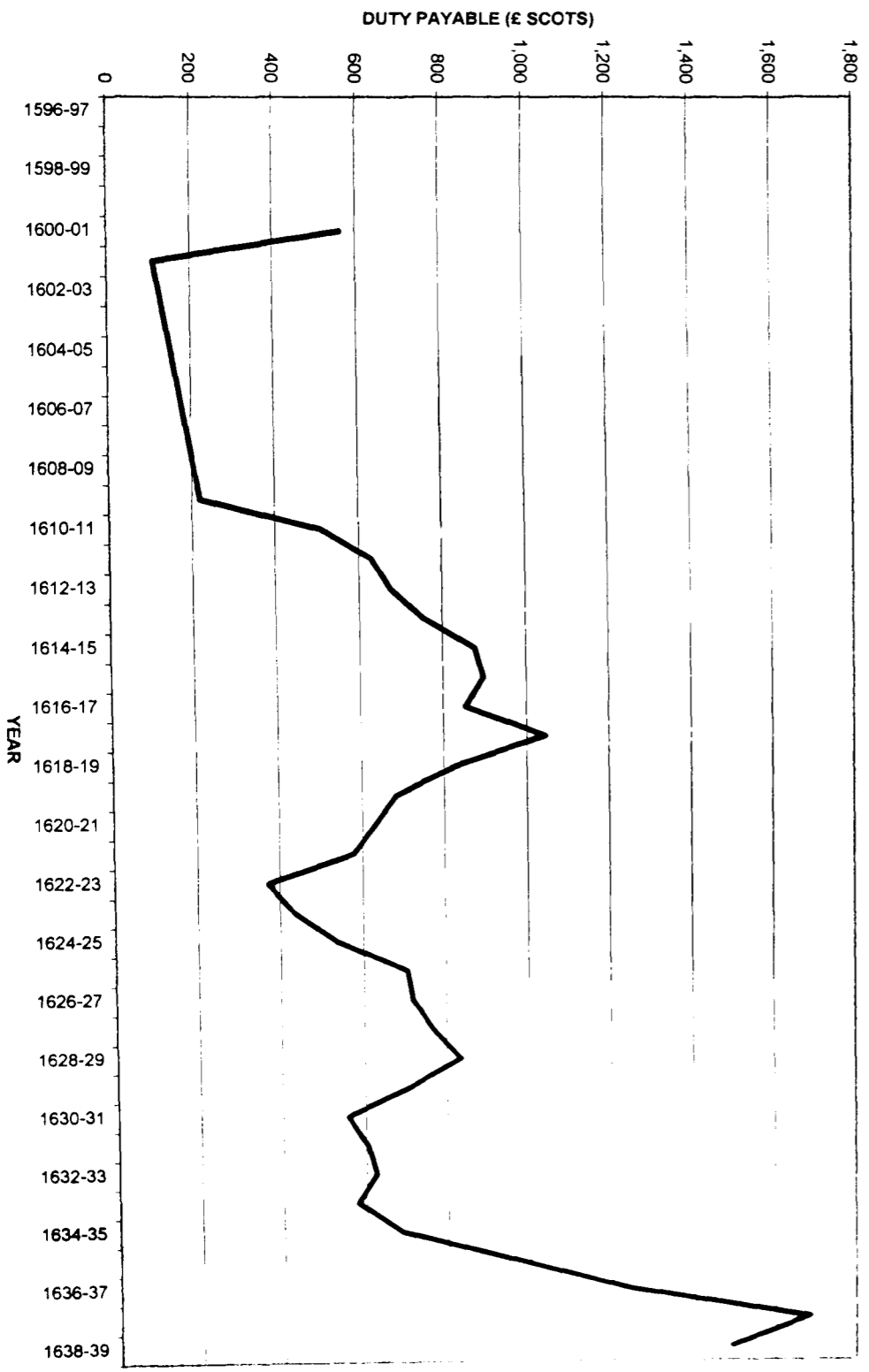


CHART 5-6: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM THE NORTH EAST  
(FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1643/44

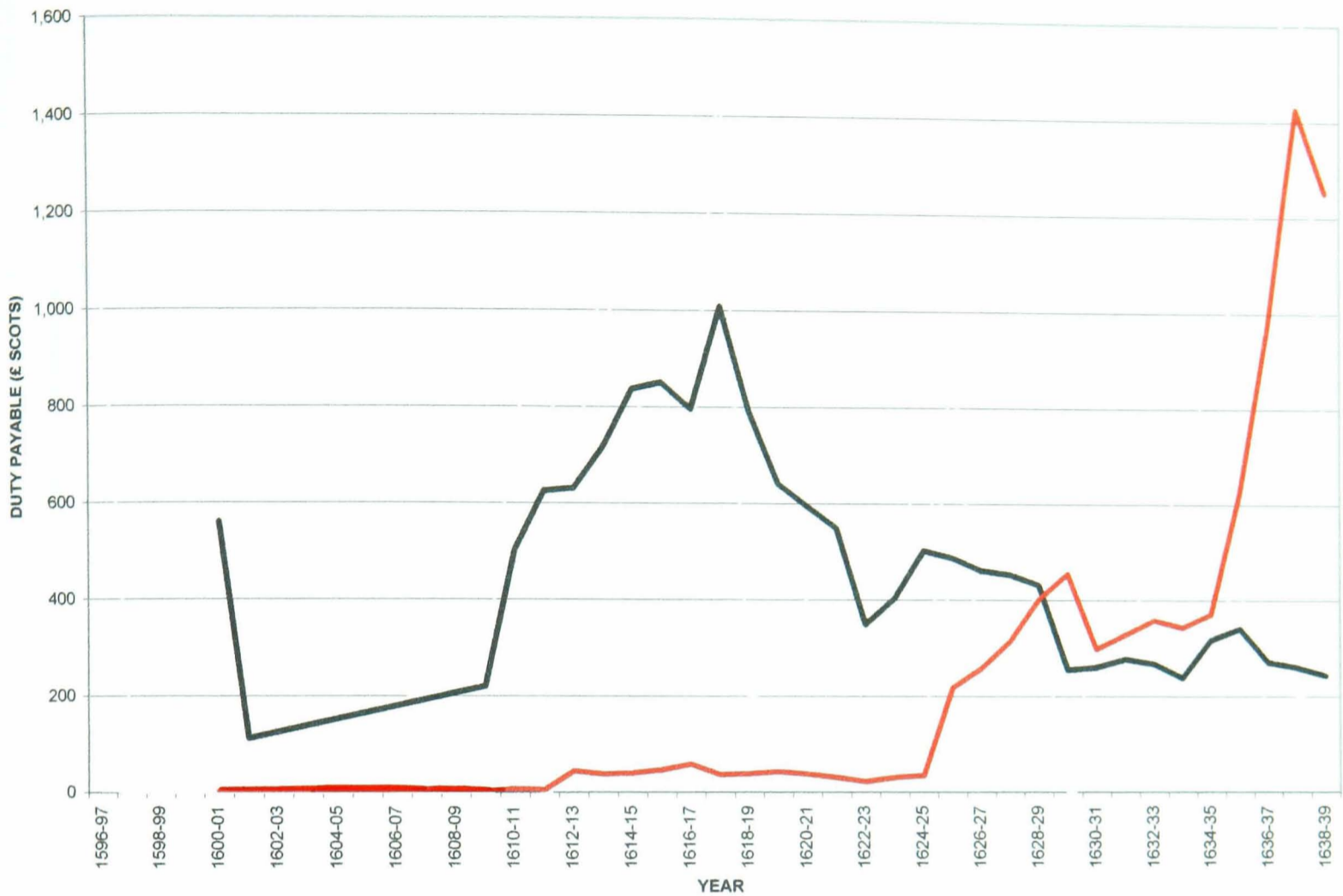
**CHART 5-7: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM NORTH OF THE SPEY (FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1632/33**



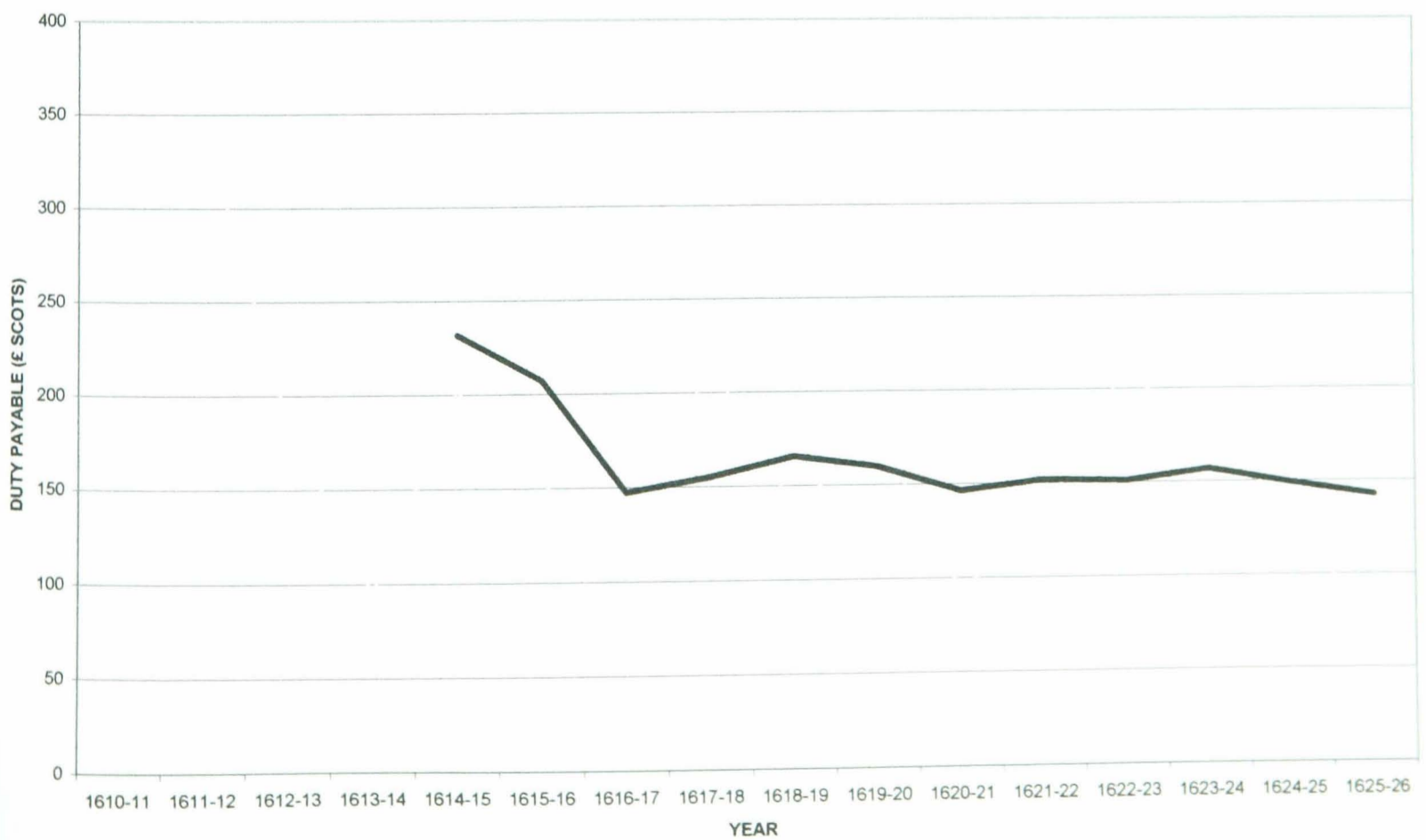
**CHART 5-8: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE (FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1638/39**

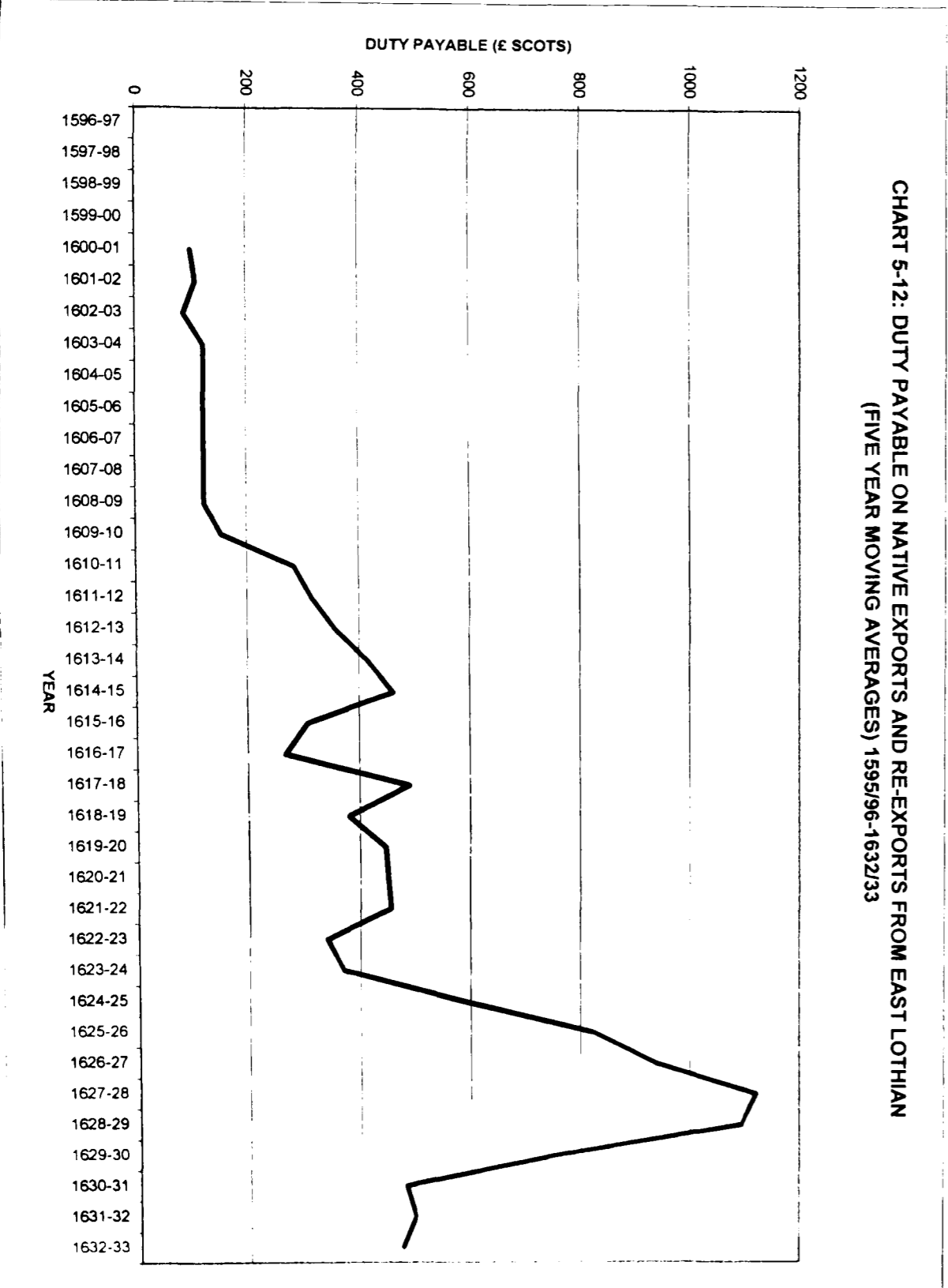
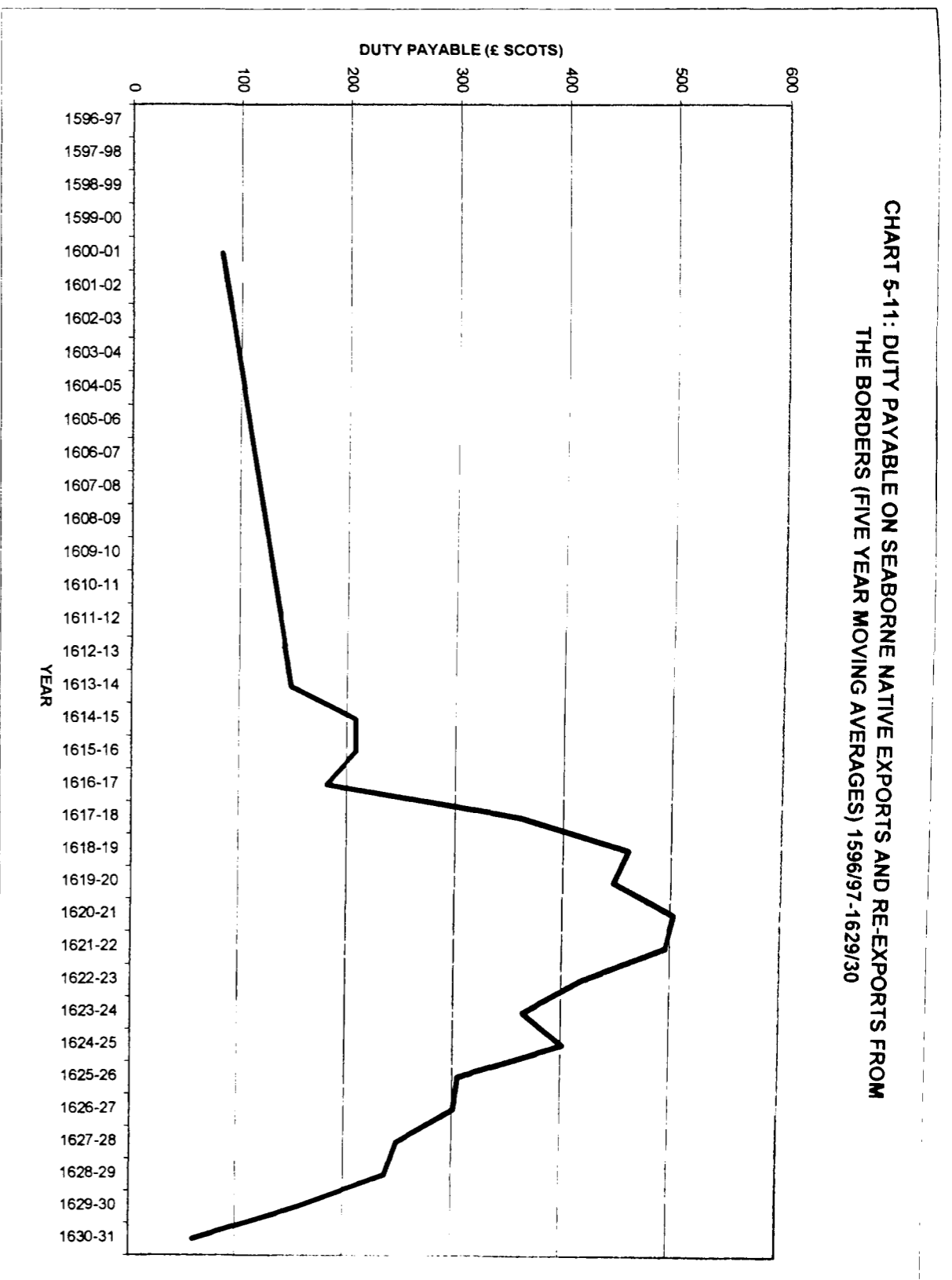


**CHART 5-9: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM THE CLYDE  
(FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1596/97-1636/37**



**CHART 5-10: DUTY PAYABLE ON NATIVE EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS FROM GALLOWAY  
(FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES) 1610/11-1625/26**





## CONCLUSION: STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN SCOTTISH OVERSEAS TRADE 1597-1645<sup>1</sup>

The late sixteenth-century recovery, which had brought the protracted late medieval decline in the Scottish overseas export trade to an end, as described by Dr Martin Rorke, continued to run its course during the opening years of the seventeenth century. Successive phases of currency debasement, in 1558-1562, 1576-1580 and 1593-1597, had seen Scottish overseas exports increase. Successive recalls of the coinage had brought each cyclical upswing to a halt, precipitating a short-term crisis. Yet measured across cyclical peaks between 1558/62 and 1593/97 the Scottish overseas export trade increased by almost one-third.<sup>2</sup>

### THE SCOTTISH EXPORT TRADE 1597-1645

Unfortunately, with the institution of a new customs regime in 1597 the collection of the national customs of the realm was set at 'tack' (leased). For some fifteen years, which encompassed both the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the subsequent Anglo-Scottish 'free trade' experiment of 1605-11, the picture is somewhat obscured. An examination of successive leases, however, at least suggests that the cyclical upswing of 1593-97 continued until 1603, before another recall of the coinage once again precipitated a short-term crisis.<sup>3</sup> It was not until 1609/14 that trade recovered and marginally surpassed its previous cyclical peak as Chart 6-1 illustrates.<sup>4</sup> These years, however, marked the end of one era and the beginning of another as the nation's overseas trade began to rapidly grow, exports increasing by some 85% during the years 1610/14 – 1620/24.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter, following another short-term crisis during the late 1620s, it increased again, attaining a level during the years, 1630/34, which was twice that of the years 1610/14.<sup>6</sup>

As in the late-sixteenth century, moreover, the main catalyst behind this growth came from 'new' exports. During the years from 1558/62 to 1593/97 the trade in minerals (coal and salt) and victuals (corn) together with re-exports had accounted for 90% of the total increase in Scottish overseas exports. These wares became established with a 10% share of total overseas exports as depicted by

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is based on a short paper presented to the New Researchers Sessions at the Economic History Society Annual Conference at Trevelyan College, University of Durham, April 2003. I am grateful to Professor Ian Blanchard for his assistance in the preparation of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597*, University of Edinburgh Ph.D., 2001, Vol. 1, pp. 312-17.

<sup>3</sup> The Scottish customs were leased in November 1597 for five years at £30,000 per annum, in November 1602 for £60,000 and in November 1603 for £70,000. Thereafter, the incumbent tacksmen were prepared to take on a five year tack from November 1604 for only £63,333 per annum. From November 1609 the customs of the realm (excluding north-eastern Scotland) were leased for five years for an annual rent of £75,900. (*A.P.S.*, Vol. IV. c. 8 p. 165, c.12 p. 167; *R.P.C.* first series, Vol. VIII, pp. 810-13; N.A.S. E38 545, 549, 559.

<sup>4</sup> Custom figures are derived from enrolled and particular accounts of the Scottish customs administration held in the N.A.S. E38 and E71 series.

<sup>5</sup> Figures for 1610/14 are from N.A.S. E38 557-563, and those for 1620/24 are from E38 576-585. Both sets are standardised at 1612 custom rates.

<sup>6</sup> Figures for 1630/34 are from N.A.S. E38 604-613, standardised at 1612 rates.

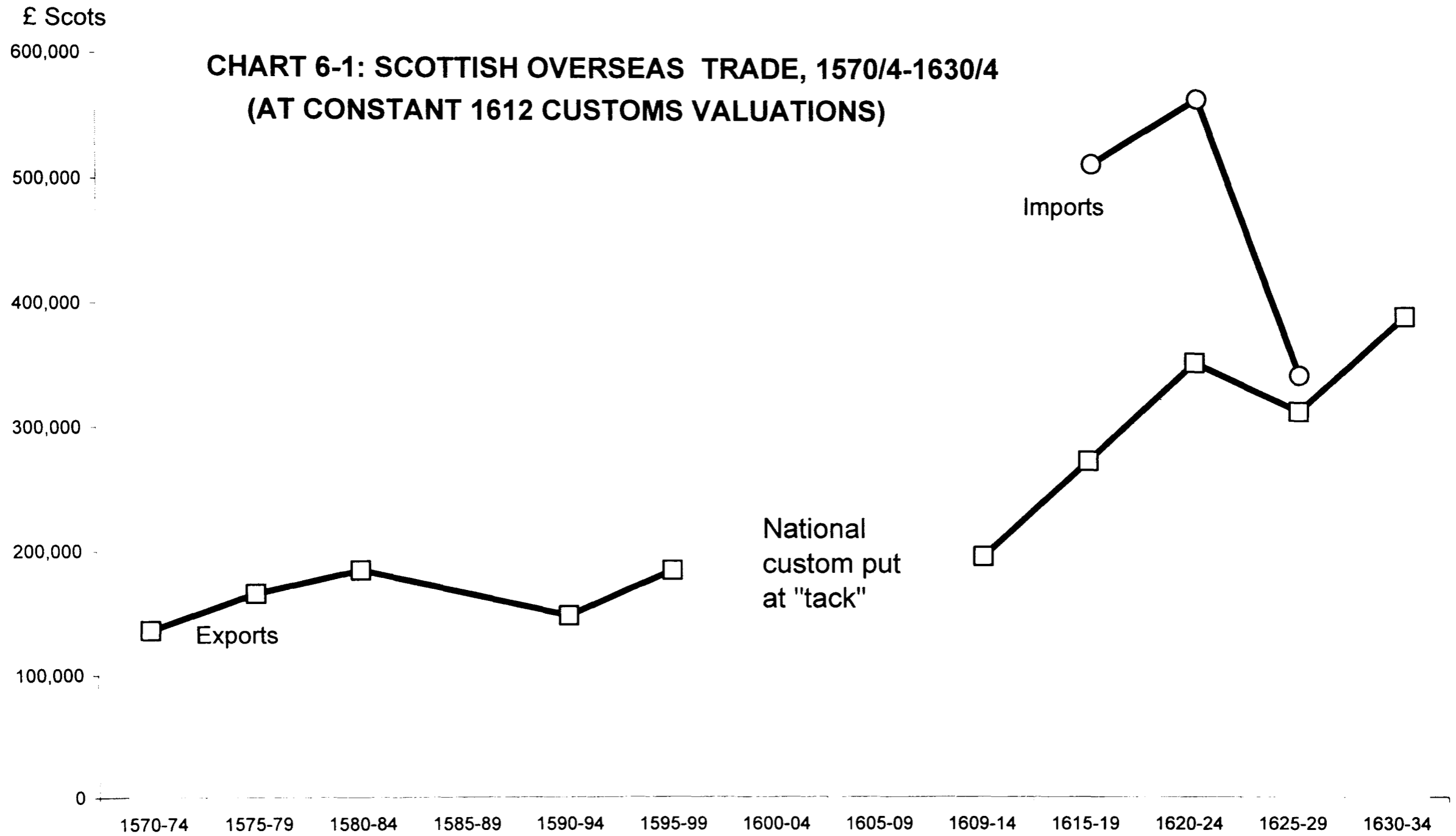




Chart 6-2. Subsequently, from 1593/97 to 1609/14 the trade in these 'new' export wares, and for the first time, linen yarn and cloth, gathered momentum, until by the later date they comprised about a quarter of total Scottish overseas exports. Then, even as Scottish overseas exports doubled between the peaks of successive cyclical trade booms of 1609/14 to 1620/24 and 1630/34, a new, more balanced, pattern of trade began to emerge. During these years both 'old' wares, particularly wool, fells and woollen cloth, and 'new' wares - coal, salt, victuals and linen yarn and cloth - made roughly equal contributions to the growth of Scottish overseas exports. By the latter date the 'old' wares comprised about two-thirds and the 'new' wares one-third of the nation's overseas trade, each supplying very different markets in a completely transformed trading pattern.

In 1610/14 the distribution of Scottish overseas exports as shown by Chart 6-3 retained much the same form as the previous one hundred years. The premier destination remained the Low Countries marts accessed via the Scottish Staple at Veere in Zeeland through which passed, as before, the nation's wool and wool fells, hides and skins. These 'traditional' wares, however, now comprised only some 5% of total Scottish exports sold at the Staple. Ships sailing thence carried predominantly the 'new' products of the late sixteenth century – coal (22%) and victuals (7%) – together with cheap plaiding (66%), which during the late sixteenth-century boom had displaced wool and fells as the primary woollen export. As a century earlier there sailed in consort with the Stapler's fleet other vessels, which passed on to Scandinavia or through the Sound to Baltic ports. These carried much the same wares as the Staplers. 'Traditional' wares again played only a minor role in this trade (7%) which was again dominated by the 'new' products of the late sixteenth century – coal/salt (14%) and victuals (33%) – together with cheap plaiding (45%). In the southerly trades, France and Spain were also the recipients of the 'new' products of the late sixteenth century – coal (20%) and victuals (68%) – and plaiding (10%). Nor, finally, was the Scottish seaborne trade to England, which now ranked second to the Netherlands in the nation's export trade, significantly different. The 'new' products of the late sixteenth century – coal<sup>7</sup> and salt (16%) and victuals (5%) – together with cheap cloth and plaiding (68%) again predominated, but now with a completely new export ware - linen yarn (7%). In Scotland's seaborne trade yarn still played a minor role in the early 1610s.<sup>8</sup>

Yet in the aftermath of the Union of the Crowns and the ephemeral Anglo-Scottish experiment in 'free trade', yarn began to pass south by other routes. With the suppression of cross-border 'reiving' and consequent pacification of the Border area, overland trade across Scotland's southern border by way of the East, Middle and West Marches increased rapidly to around 33% of total exports as illustrated by Chart 6-3. By the second decade of the seventeenth century some 215 dozens of linen cloth passed legally overland to England annually,<sup>9</sup> together with 6,761 cattle,<sup>10</sup> 4,853 sheep and lambs,<sup>11</sup> 163 horses<sup>12</sup> and 436 bolls of grain.<sup>13</sup> A new age was dawning:

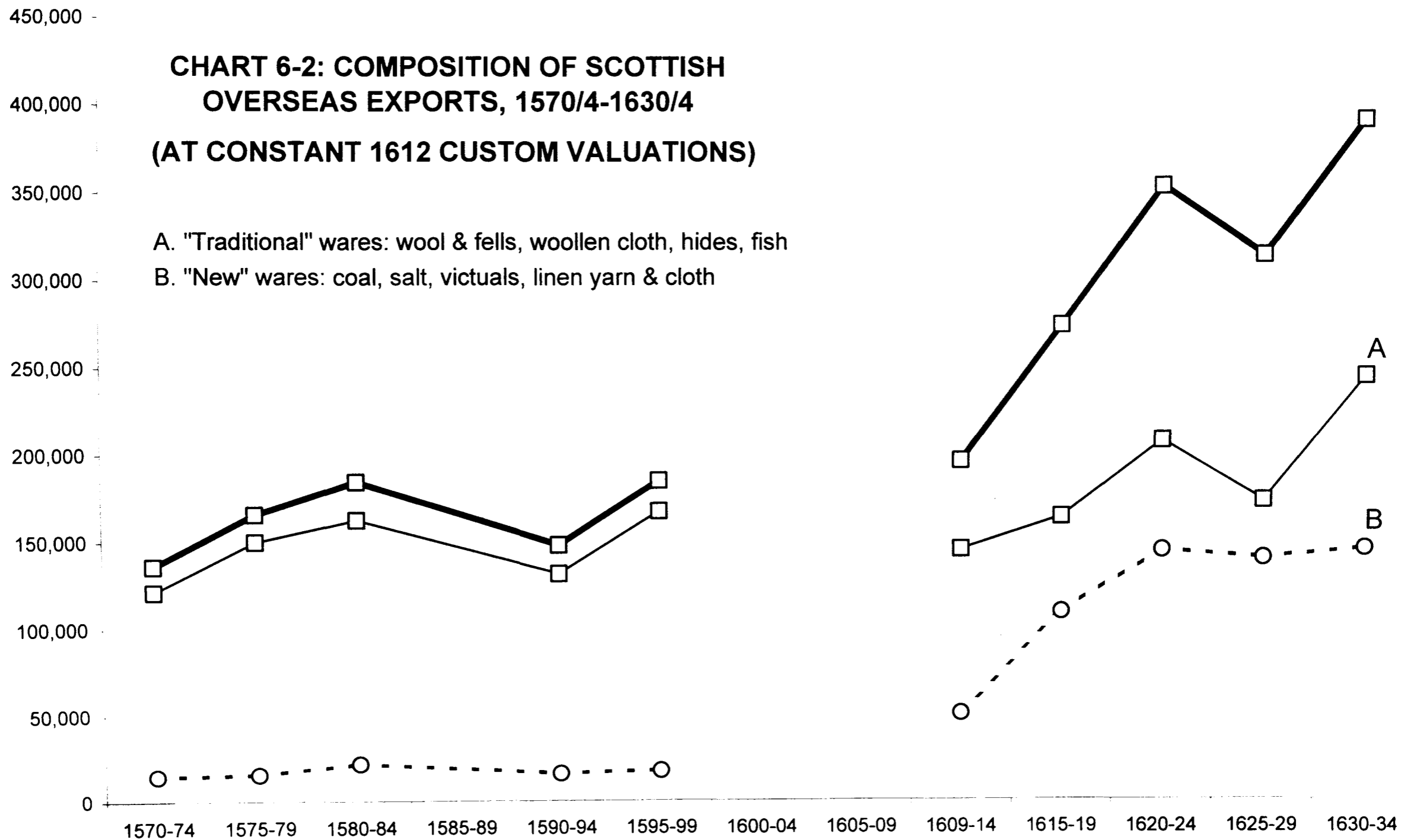
<sup>7</sup> Scottish coal was in high demand for domestic use in London because it was regarded as clean burning.

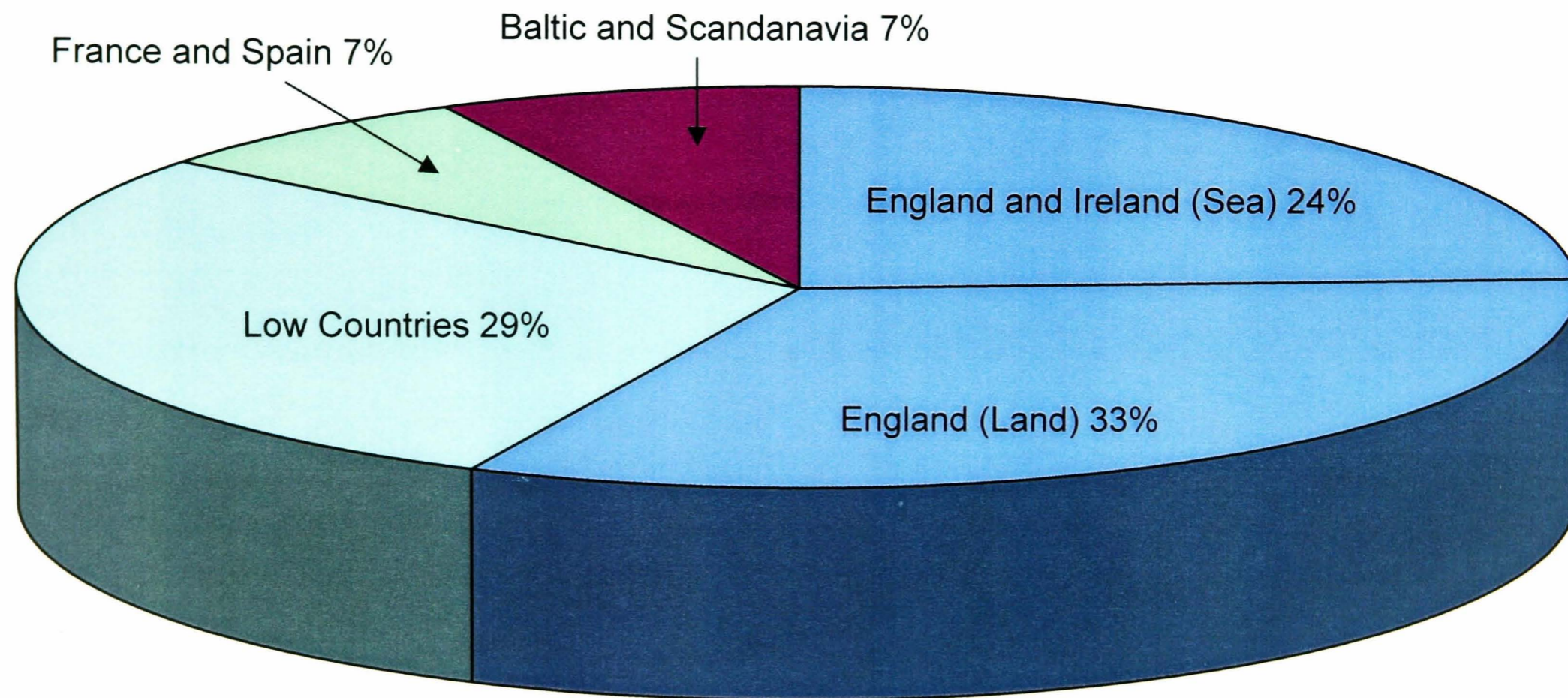
<sup>8</sup> The geographic distribution of exports has been calculated using statements of (intended) destinations entered in the N.A.S. particular accounts (E71 series).

<sup>9</sup> N.A.S. E38 557 East Marches 1610-11.

**CHART 6-2: COMPOSITION OF SCOTTISH  
OVERSEAS EXPORTS, 1570/4-1630/4  
(AT CONSTANT 1612 CUSTOM VALUATIONS)**

A. "Traditional" wares: wool & fells, woollen cloth, hides, fish  
 B. "New" wares: coal, salt, victuals, linen yarn & cloth





**CHART 6-3: DISTRIBUTION OF SCOTTISH EXPORTS, 1610/9.**  
 £ Scots 149,061 at constant 1612 customs rates based on ports,  
 including Edinburgh-Leith, engrossing ca 30% of total trade

(1) Scotland's seaborne trades, which have attracted most historians' attention, by this date contributed little more than two-thirds to the nation's foreign trade. Almost a third passed southwards overland.

(2) As a result England became Scotland's biggest customer absorbing about half (55%) of her total exports.

(3) The goods supplied thence, moreover, were completely new export wares – small quantities of linen yarn and cloth and large numbers of livestock.

During the subsequent English economic crisis of the 1620s the balance shifted once more towards the seaborne sector of the export trade with the Low Countries-Baltic commerce increasing both absolutely and as a proportion of the whole illustrated by Chart 6-4. An increasing number of vessels sailed for the Veere Staple carrying much the same products as before, but in much greater quantities.<sup>14</sup>

'Traditional' wares – wool, fells and hides and skins - continued to constitute only some 1% of total Scottish exports sold at the Staple. Ships sailing thence carried predominantly the 'new' products of the late sixteenth century – coal (7.5%) and victuals (1%) – but overwhelmingly transported cheap cloth and plaiding (90%). Those ships travelling on to the Baltic carried a similar array of wares, although 'traditional' hides, skins and leather enjoyed a more prominent position (14%) alongside victuals (6%) and cheap plaiding (70%). A burgeoning volume of Scottish wares passed to the Netherlands and Baltic hinterland beyond. Returning, the ships increasingly brought with them substantial quantities of flax and hemp<sup>15</sup> which as a result of the acute devaluation of the Baltic currencies during the 'Kipperzeit und Wipperzeit'<sup>16</sup> of 1618-23 had become increasingly cheap.

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<sup>10</sup> N.L.S.) MSS 20.6.1 (8) West Marches 1617-18.

<sup>11</sup> N.L.S. MSS 20.6.1 (8) West Marches 1617-18, N.A.S. E38 557, 559, 561 and 563 East Marches 1610-11, 1611-12, 1612-13 and 1613-14.

<sup>12</sup> N.L.S. MSS 20.6.1 (8) West Marches 1617-18.

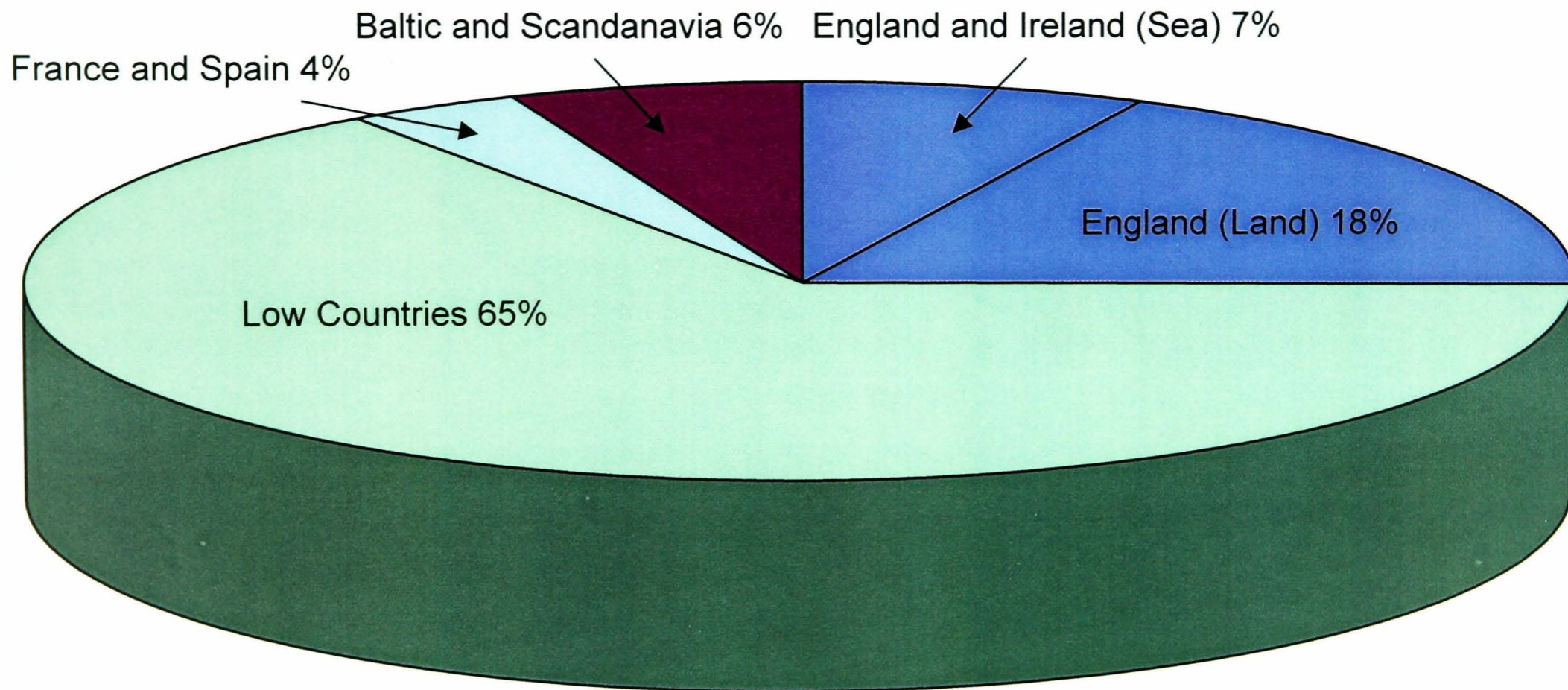
<sup>13</sup> N.A.S. E38 557 East Marches 1610-11.

<sup>14</sup> Davidson, J. and Gray, A., *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, London: Longman, Green & Co., 1909; Rooseboom, M. P., *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910.

<sup>15</sup> Zins, H., *England and the Baltic in the Age of Elizabeth*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972, particularly statistics and other materials, *ibid*, pp. 192-4, 196, 216, 230, 234-6 on Scotland; Attman, A., *The Russian and Polish Markets in International Trade, 1500-1650*, Göteborg: Meddelanden från Ekonomisk-historiska institutonen vid Göteborgs universitet, 1973; Attman, A., *The Struggle for Baltic Markets. Powers in Conflict 1558-1618*, Göteborg: Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis, Humaniora 14, 1979; Blanchard, I., "The Long Sixteenth Century," circa. 1450-1650 (unpublished paper), particularly section 3b-c.

<sup>16</sup> Kindelberger, C. P., "The Economic Crisis of 1619 to 1623" in *The Journal of Economic History*, LI, 1, 1991, pp. 149-175; Bogucka, M., "The Monetary Crisis of the XVIIth Century and its Social and Psychological Consequences in Poland" in *Journal of European Economic History*, IV, 1975, pp. 137-152; Klima, A., "Inflation in Bohemia in the Early Stage of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century" in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Economic History Congress*, Flinn, M (ed.), Edinburgh, 1978, pp. 375-386; Schöttle, G., "Die grosse deutsche Geldkrise vom 1620-3 und ihr Verlauf in Oberschwaben" in *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, NF. 30, 1921, pp. 36-57; Wuttke, R., "Zur Kipper- und Wipperzeit in Kursachsen", *Neue Archiv für Sachsische Geschichte und Alterstumkunde*, XV, 1916, pp. 119-156.





**CHART 6-4: DISTRIBUTION OF SCOTTISH EXPORTS, 1625/9.**  
 £ Scots 167,992 at constant 1612 customs rates based on ports, including  
 Edinburgh-Leith, engrossing ca 30% of total trade

Transformed into linen yarn and cloth by cheap domestic labour, these raw materials provided the basis for a 'new' Scottish industry and export trade, one that focused overwhelmingly on one market – England. By the late 1620s, even amidst the turmoil of the contemporary short-term trade crisis, some 7,562 linen cloths and 63,078 lbs. of yarn were exported from Scotland<sup>17</sup> - or respectively some four and three quarter and eight and three quarter times more than in the early 1610s. In the overseas trade to England at least at this time linen products (59% of the total) certainly did reign supreme. Yet in spite of this undoubted importance, the exceptionally rapid growth of linen yarn and cloth exports proved insufficient to compensate for the decline in the livestock trades as Scotland was drawn into the contemporary English trade crisis.<sup>18</sup>

Yet this was but a passing interlude, and with the subsequent recovery of the overland livestock trade during the 1630s and the overall growth of Scottish exports, the patterns of trade observable in the early 1610s reasserted themselves but at a much higher level than ever before.

### **THE SCOTTISH IMPORT TRADE 1597-1645**

Available data on the import trades is much less available than that for exports. The regular recording of information concerning imports begins only in the late 1610s. Thereafter, however, the import trade seems to have followed the same course as exports, rising through the years from 1615-19 to 1620-24 before being subject to an acute crisis in 1625-29 as shown by Chart 6-5. The distribution of this trade at the height of the boom, in 1622-23 displayed the same high degree of specialisation as one hundred years before. The Low Countries and more specifically the Scottish staple at Veere in Zeeland remained the principal source of imports. Here, as in Haliburton's day, the Scots merchants could obtain French and Italian silks; spices; fruits, fresh and dried, and sugar and confections. They also enjoyed here access to the Netherlands marts from whence they could obtain small quantities of entrepôt-wares such as Baltic timber, hemp and flax, French metal wares and Iberian fruits and nuts. Most of these latter wares, however, at this time were shipped to Scotland directly from their point of origin. From Scandinavia and the Baltic most timber (92%), flax, hemp and tackle (79%) and a significant proportion of metals (copper, iron and lead 67%) and grain was transported as part of a 'direct' trade to Scotland. In the trade in metal wares similarly about a half to two-thirds of Scottish imports passed directly to Scotland from France, the residual being sold to the Scots in the Low Countries alongside similar wares of local provenance.

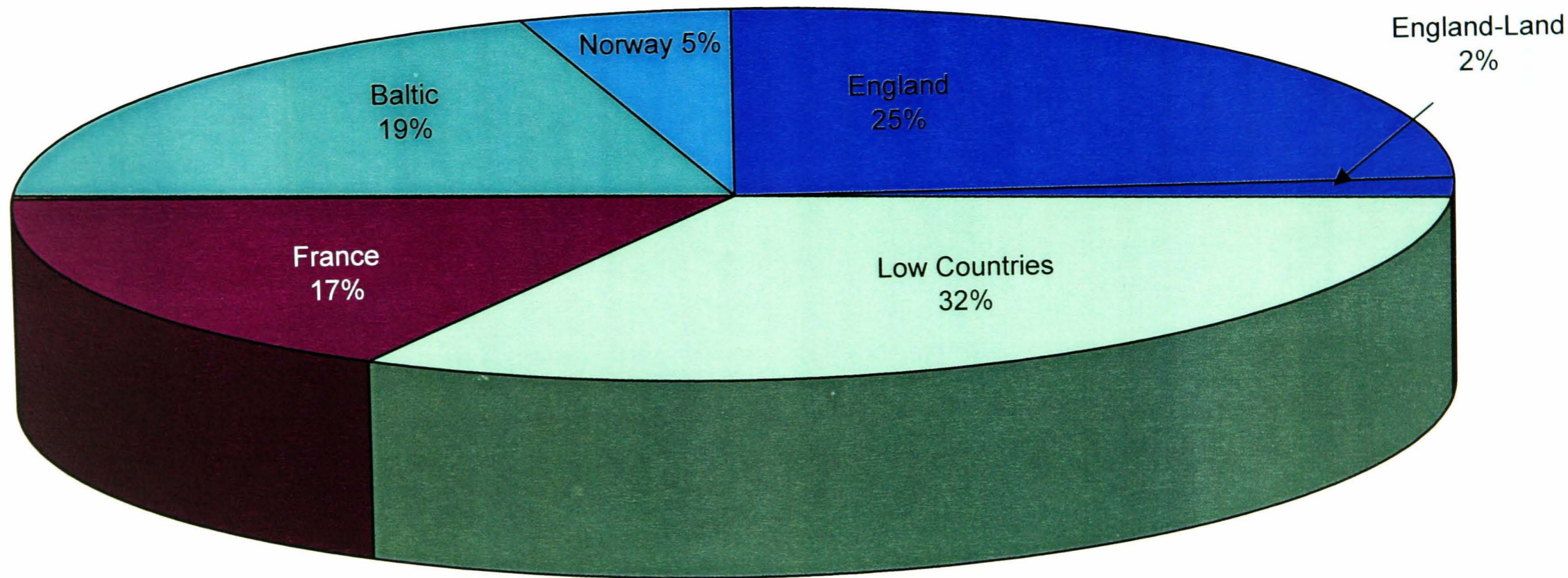
Nor in respect to England, which in 1622-23, ranked second to the Netherlands in the Scotland's import trade, was the situation significantly different. England dominated (supplying 75%) the important import trade in woollen cloths, clothing and accessories (comprising some 30-40% of the

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<sup>17</sup> N.A.S. E38 591, 594, 597; N.A.S. E71/9/3. This latter calculation assumes that one pack of linen cloth contained 6c (that was 720) ells, that one pack of yarn weighed 120 pounds and that mixed packs contained equal quantities of cloth and yarn..

<sup>18</sup> Supple, B., *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.





**CHART 6-5: DISTRIBUTION OF SCOTTISH IMPORTS, 1622-3.**  
£ Scots 685,222 at constant 1612 customs rates.

total trade) and at this time most of these wares were shipped, predominantly to Edinburgh, by sea. Moreover, this was the only product to survive the turmoil of the subsequent crisis years, 1624-29. In all the other seaborne import trades, these years witnessed an acute crisis, commercial activity falling by 1627 to less than half its former, 1621-23, level. Nor was the English seaborne trade in woollen cloths, clothing and accessories unaffected by the crisis, but even as this branch of the import trade declined, a rapid growth in overland trade in these wares from England ensured that imports of woollen cloths, clothing and accessories continued to expand. The earliest hint of the extent of overland imports of cloth from England to Edinburgh was a total of £249.00 duty payable on consignments of only Yorkshire cloth and frieze between November 1621 and November 1622.<sup>19</sup> This compares with a total of £2,266.41 duty payable on *all* types of woollen cloth imported by sea at Leith over the same period. The first full particular account listing overland imports of cloth from England to Edinburgh covers November 1624 to November 1625.<sup>20</sup> The custom payable on woollen cloth was £1,246.50 and on linen cloth, £332.00, totalling £1,578.50 duty on cloth, imported overland. These figures represented 83% of seaborne woollen imports and 36% of seaborne linen imports into Leith. The second full particular account covers November 1626 to November 1627.<sup>21</sup> The custom payable on woollen cloth was £2,703.20, on linen cloth £406.80, on silk cloth £95.08 and on unknown types of cloth £22.60, totalling £3,227.68 on cloth imported overland. These figures represented 772% of seaborne woollen imports and 109% of seaborne linen imports into Leith. In both cases this represented a huge increase in overland cloth imports as a proportion of total imports and, when the overseas import trade from elsewhere was in high decline, it probably ensured an overall expansion in the English imports of woollen cloths, clothing and accessories. This was, moreover, probably sufficient to make England the principal supplier of Scottish imports.

The first half of the seventeenth century thus witnessed a major structural change in Scottish foreign trade. In the aftermath of the Union of the Crowns in 1603, Scotland's export trade expanded rapidly, successive 'booms' in 1610/14 to 1620/24 and 1630-34 seeing it double in size and seeing England become its biggest customer, engrossing almost half of the trade. From the 1620s, moreover, English trade in woollen cloths, clothing and accessories established that nation as the principal supplier of Scottish imports. A new age had certainly dawned within which England reigned supreme in Scotland's foreign trade.

## **FOREIGN TRADE AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN SCOTLAND, 1597-1645: NEW RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES**

As has been shown, structurally Scottish foreign trade underwent fundamental changes during the early seventeenth century. Yet but little is known about the contemporary domestic commercial-industrial or agrarian supply systems, from and through which passed the burgeoning volume of 'new' export wares- linen cloth and yarn, woollen plaiding and livestock. In terms of issues for future research to

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<sup>19</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/7.

<sup>20</sup> N.A.S. E71/30/30.



which this thesis gives rise, it will thus first be vitally important to gain further understanding of the developing internal structure of early modern Scottish economy. The livestock<sup>22</sup> and textile industries (plaiding exported predominantly from the Northeast and linen from the Forth ports and overland by way of the East, Middle and West Marches) in particular merit immediate attention. Research too on the coastwise movement of commodities around the Scottish coast and on the internal movement of these goods would be advantageous. In this regard, it is recognised that additional detail on the cross-border overland trade with England would be of great benefit to supplement this research. Such research would moreover throw indirect light on other sectors of the economy also illuminated by this study of Scotland's overseas trade. Livestock passing southward required grazing grounds where the animals could feed - and manure the land. The enriched land, when ploughed and sown, would yield abundant crops some of which were now exported for the first time, from the ports of Fife and Lothian. It was through these ports and those of the Tay, moreover, that the growing volume of imported flax and hemp passed to be worked up in an industry employing large amounts of 'cheap' labour. Agriculture here was clearly changing, releasing labour for employment in industry and enhancing yields-a process worthy of further research. As a result Scotland in 'good' years during the early seventeenth century become a net exporter of grain. It was, however, a marginal one and continued to be seriously affected by the occurrence of famine. Between 1622 and 1624 when domestic harvests failed, for example, grain imports surged, the import of other foodstuffs declined in compensation, and the export of grain collapsed. Once harvests improved, however, the grain trade would return quickly to previous levels.

Outbreaks of plague within Scotland also influenced short-term trading patterns as mercantile activity at affected ports was prohibited: the visiting 'plague of pestilence' temporarily halted overseas trade at the port of Glasgow in the late 1610s for example.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, Scottish trade with foreign ports, which were suffering plague, was restricted in order to avoid bringing disease back to Scotland. Examples of such prohibitions are with Danzig and other Baltic ports in the early 1600s, northern England in the early 1630s and London in 1603, 1625, 1630 and 1636-38. Further research, like that of Laura Stewart,<sup>24</sup> into these events might throw considerable light on the changing role of foreign and domestic supply sources in Scottish urban provisioning systems.

Outwith Scotland, it would be interesting to gain a clear idea of exactly *why* Scottish trade to the Low Countries increased so dramatically in the 1620s. The Spanish-Netherlands truce of the 1610s certainly encouraged increased trade with the Low Countries from that decade, but it may also have resulted from an increased overland trade in 'cheap', poor-quality textiles, which like the overseas trade in these

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<sup>21</sup> N.A.S. E71/29/9.

<sup>22</sup> Alex Koufopolous of Economic and Social History, School of History and Classics, University of Edinburgh, is currently undertaking detailed research into the early modern Scottish cattle industry. His findings will be invaluable in aiding a better understanding of just why this export was so vital in Scottish trade.

<sup>23</sup> *R.P.C.* first series, Vol. VI, p. 510

<sup>24</sup> Unpublished paper presented for Economic and Social History, School of History and Classics, University of Edinburgh, in August 2003.

wares via the Baltic, were transported to Central European markets. Only investigations in Netherlands archives could throw light on this question.

Detailed research too into the effects of piracy and free-booting off both the east and west coasts of Scotland would also be interesting and highly useful in determining the extent to which such activities particularly in the 1620s forced change in intended directions of Scottish trade.

Perhaps the most important issue, however, relates to the growth of the reciprocal Anglo-Scottish trade following the Union of the Crowns in 1603 until it came to encompass half of Scotland's export trade and a third of its imports. Why was the demand for Scottish linen yarn, linen-cloth and livestock so great in England? For example, how did the quality of the Scottish article compare to that of the English equivalent? Why could the English not compete effectively on price? To what extent did European cloth, and in particular linen-cloth, compete with the Scottish in the English market?

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## MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

### NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SCOTLAND

#### E38 SERIES EXCHEQUER ROLLS (ENROLLED ACCOUNTS)

- N.A.S. E38/529. Custumariorum anni domini 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> nonagesimi septimi. 1597.
- N.A.S. E38/531. Custumariorum anni domini 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> nonagesimi octimi 1598.
- N.A.S. E38/533. Custumariorum de bonis Importatis infra Regnum Anni Domini etc v<sup>c</sup> nonagesimi noni. 1599.
- N.A.S. E38/534. Custumariorum anni domini [ ] Bonorum exportatum extra Regnum 1599.
- N.A.S. E38/536. Custumariorum anni domini etc Sexcentesimo 1600.
- N.A.S. E38/537. Custumariorum vi<sup>c</sup> primi 1601.
- N.A.S. E38/539. Custumariorum anni Domini etc 1602.
- N.A.S. E38/541. Custumariorum anni domini etc sexcentesimo tertii. 1603.
- N.A.S. E38/543. 1604. Custumariorum anni domini Sexcentesimo quarti. 1604.
- N.A.S. E38/545. 1605. Custumariorum Anni Domini <sup>m</sup> vj<sup>c</sup> Quinto.
- N.A.S. E38/549. Custumariorum anni domini <sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> septimo. 1607.
- N.A.S. E38/551. Custumariorum anni domini <sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> octavo. 1608.
- N.A.S. E38/553. Custumariorum anni domini m vi<sup>c</sup> nono. 1609.
- N.A.S. E38/555. Custumariorum anni domini j<sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup>-decimo. 1610.
- N.A.S. E38/557. Custumariorum anni 1611.
- N.A.S. E38/559. Custumariorum anni domini j<sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> duodecimi. 1612.
- N.A.S. E38/561. Custumariorum anni domini j<sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> decimi tertii. 1613.
- N.A.S. E38/563. 1614. Custumariorum anni domini j<sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> Decimi Quarti.
- N.A.S. E38/564. Custumariorum anni domini i<sup>m</sup> sexcentesimo decimi quinti. 1615.
- N.A.S. E38/566. Custumariorum anni Domini Millesimi Sexcentesimo Decimi Septimi. 1617.
- N.A.S. E38/568. Custumariorum anni Domini Millesimi Sexcentesimo Decimi Octavi. Et Vini: 1618.
- N.A.S. E38/569. Custumarum et Argenti lie Bullioun anni domini etc Sexcentesimo decimi octavi. 1618.
- N.A.S. E38/571. Balliurum Burgorum anni Domini Millesimi Sexcentesimo Decimi Noni. 1619.
- N.A.S. E38/572. Custumariorum et argenti lie Bullioun anni Domini millesimi sexcentesimo decimi noni. 1619.
- N.A.S. E38/573. Custumariorum anni domini j<sup>m</sup> vigesimi. 1620.
- N.A.S. E38/575. Ballivorum Burgorum Anni Seximi vigesimi primi 1621.
- N.A.S. E38/576. 1621 Computum Custumariorum anni Domini j<sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> xxi
- N.A.S. E38/578. Ballivorum Burgorum anni [etc] sexcentesimo vigesimi secundi et vini.
- N.A.S. E38/579. Computum custumariorum anni domini i<sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> xxii. 1622.
- N.A.S. E38/581. Ballivorum Burgorum Anni Sexcentesimo vigesimi tertij et vini.
- N.A.S. E38 582. Bullion 1623 / Magne Custumariorum burgorum 1623.
- N.A.S. E38/584. Firme burgalis burgorum ac parva Magne impositie vini Anni domini millesimi seximi vigesimi quarti 1624.
- N.A.S. E38/585. Magne custume [ ] Bullion anni dni 1624 Computum custumariorum anni 1624.
- N.A.S. E38/587. Comptum Custumariorum anni 1625.
- N.A.S. E38/590. Rotulus firmarum burgalium anni 1626 [Regis] Carolingis 2: et vini.
- N.A.S. E38/591. 1626. Rotulus Custumariorum anni Millesimi Sextimi vigesimi Sexti. Regina [ ] Regis Caroli secunda anni.
- N.A.S E38/593 Rotulus firmarum burgalium anni etc seximi vigesimi septimi una cum magna ac parva impositione vini
- N.A.S. E38/594. Rotulus computorum custumariorum a primo Novembris 1626 in primum Novembris 1627.
- N.A.S. E38/596. Rotulus balliurum burgorum.
- N.A.S. E38/597. 1629: Custumariorum a primo Novembris 1628 in primum Novembris 1629.
- N.A.S. E38/599. Rotulus Ballivorum Burgorum una magna cum parva impositione vini 1630  
1630 Magne impositio vini
- N.A.S. E38/600. Rotulus custumariorum a primo Novembris 1629 In primum Novembris 1630.
- N.A.S. E38/603. Rotulus Ballivorum Burgorum una magna cum parva impositione vini 1631.
- N.A.S. E38/604. Custumariorum primo Novembris 1630 in primum Novembris 1631.
- N.A.S. E38/606. 1632 Ballivorum Burgorum anni 1632 Magna impositio vini 1632

- N.A.S. E38/607. Customariorum a primo Novembris 1631 In primum Novembris 1632.
- N.A.S. E38/608. Ballivorum Burgorum una cum magna ac parva impositione vini a primo Novembris 1631 in primum Novembris 1632 1633
- N.A.S. E38/609. Customariorum a primo Novembris 1632 In primum Novembris 1633.
- N.A.S. E38/612. Ballivorum Burgorum una cum magna ac parva impositione vini a primo Novembris 1632 in primum Novembris 1633 1634
- N.A.S. E38/613. Arrendatariorum Customariorum a die primo mensis Novembris 1633 In primum diem mensis Novembris 1634.
- N.A.S. E38/615. Customariorum et collectorum argenti lie bullion a primo Novembris 1634 in primum Novembris 1636. Necnon a primo Novembris 1636 In primum Novembris 1638.
- N.A.S. E38/619. 1636 Ballivorum burgorum anni 1636 Una cum magne ac parva impositionis vini a primo Novembris 1634 in primum Novembris 1635
- N.A.S. E38/624. 1642 Ballivorum Burgorum 1639 1640 1641 1642
- N.A.S. E38/629. Rotulus arrendatariorum Customariorum Necnon collectorum argenti lie bullion bonorum extra regnum Intra tempus subscriptus exportatorum.
- N.A.S. E38/635. 1647 Arrendatariorum customariorum et magna impositione vini A primo Novembris 1646 in primum Novembris 1647 exclusive Una cum argentum lie bullion bonorum exportatorum infra tempus prescriptus
- N.A.S. E38/636. Bullion coal and salt at weymes 1642. 1643. 1644. 1645 et 1646. without eny [ ].
- N.A.S. E38/642. Arrendatariorum customariorum et magne impositionis vini a primo Novembris 1647 inclusive in primum Novembris 1648 exclusive

#### **E71 SERIES PORT BOOKS (PARTICULAR ACCOUNTS)**

- N.A.S. E71/1/11 Aberdeen Bullion Account January 1617 to January 1618.
- N.A.S. E71/1/12 Aberdeen Wine Account 1618 to 1619.
- N.A.S. E71/1/13 Aberdeen Customs Account November 1626 to November 1627.
- N.A.S. E71/1/14 Aberdeen Bullion Account November 1638 to November 1639.
- N.A.S. E71/3/6 Ayr Cocket Book July 1609 to July 1610.
- N.A.S. E71/3/7 Ayr Extract from Account 1617-1621.
- N.A.S. E71/3/8 Ayr Customs Account November 1626 to November 1627.
- N.A.S. E71/5/2 Burntisland Customs Account November 1627 to November 1628.
- N.A.S. E71/6/11 Crail Customs Account April 1620 to October 1620.
- N.A.S. E71/9/1 Dumbarton, Glasgow and Clyde Bullion Account November 1618 to November 1619.
- N.A.S. E71/9/2 Dumbarton, Glasgow and Clyde Bullion Account November 1620 to November 1621.
- N.A.S. E71/9/3 Dumbarton, Glasgow and Clyde Customs Account November 1626 to November 1627.
- N.A.S. E71/10/5 Dumfries Customs Account January 1621 to October 1621.
- N.A.S. E71/10/6 Dumfries Wine Account February 1621.
- N.A.S. E71/10/7 Dumfries Bullion Account May 1621 to July 1621.
- N.A.S. E71/11/1 Dunbar Customs Account November 1627 to November 1628.
- N.A.S. E71/12/12 Dundee Customs Account January 1611 to November 1611.
- N.A.S. E71/14/1 Eyemouth Customs Account November 1609 to November 1610.
- N.A.S. E71/15/1 Forth Customs Account November 1617 to November 1618.
- N.A.S. E71/15/2 Forth Customs Account November 1619 to November 1620.
- N.A.S. E71/15/3 Forth Customs Account November 1621 to November 1622.
- N.A.S. E71/19/7 Irvine Bullion Account November 1622 to November 1623.
- N.A.S. E71/21/4 Montrose Bullion Account November 1618 to November 1619.
- N.A.S. E71/21/5 Montrose Wine Account March 1621.
- N.A.S. E71/21/6 Montrose Bullion Account November 1622 to November 1623.
- N.A.S. E71/24/1 Preston and Aberlady Entry Book January 1620 to October 1620.
- N.A.S. E71/24/2 Preston and Aberlady Customs Account November 1619 to November 1620.
- N.A.S. E71/26/1 Spey Customs Account November 1620 to November 1621.
- N.A.S. E71/27/7 Stirling Customs Account July 1598 to July 1599.
- N.A.S. E71/28/1 Salt Customs Account July 1599 to August 1600.
- N.A.S. E71/29/5 Edinburgh Entry Book January 1611 to November 1611.
- N.A.S. E71/29/6 Edinburgh Entry Book July 1611 to June 1612.
- N.A.S. E71/29/7 Edinburgh Entry Book November 1621 to November 1622.
- N.A.S. E71/29/8 Edinburgh Entry Book November 1622 to November 1623.

N.A.S. E71/29/9 Edinburgh Entry Book November 1626 to November 1627.  
N.A.S. E71/29/10 Edinburgh Entry Book (Tobacco) November 1626 to November 1627.  
N.A.S. E71/29/11 Edinburgh Entry Book November 1627 to November 1628.  
N.A.S. E71/30/30 Edinburgh Customs Account November 1624 to November 1625.

#### **E4 SERIES EXCHEQUER ACT BOOKS OR REGISTER**

N.A.S. E4/3 Lords Auditors of Exchequer Customs 1597  
N.A.S. E4/4 Lords Auditors of Exchequer December 11 1611 to July 31 1624  
N.A.S. E4/5 Exchequer Act Book 1634 to 1639

#### **E73 SERIES MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS**

N.A.S. E73/1 Leith Customs Accounts 1605-1608  
N.A.S. E73/2 Tacksman Accounts 1609-1611  
N.A.S. E73/3 Leith Customs Account 1620-21  
N.A.S. E73/4 Galloway and Kirkcudbright Customs Account 1626-1627  
N.A.S. E73/5 Edinburgh (Leith) Customs Account 1627-1628  
N.A.S. E73/6 Tacksman Accounts 1633-1634  
N.A.S. E73/7 Seizures Account [before 1634]  
N.A.S. E73/8 Tacksman Accounts 1635  
N.A.S. E73/9 General Collector Accounts 1639-1641  
N.A.S. E73/10 Tacksman Accounts 1641-1646

#### **E74 SERIES BULLION ACCOUNTS**

N.A.S. E74/1 Various ports 1613-1614  
N.A.S. E74/2 Various ports 1614-1615

#### **E76 SERIES BOOKS OF RATES**

N.A.S. E76/1 1597 Book of Rates  
N.A.S. E76/2 1611 Book of Rates  
N.A.S. E76/3 1612 Book of Rates  
N.A.S. E76/4 1612 Book of Rates with A.B.C. of the Bullion  
N.A.S. E76/5 1612 Book of Rates

#### **NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND**

N.L.S. MS 31.2.16 Treaties etc relating to fisheries commencing 1618  
N.L.S. MS 20.6.1 (8) Account of Goods carried into England in 1618 by the West Marches  
N.L.S. MS 33.1.1 Letters concerning whale and other fishing 1615-16  
N.L.S. MS 2263 Salt and Coal Accounts 1618/19 to 1629/30

#### **EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS**

La. II. 52-53 Original papers regarding Trade in England & abroad, drawn up by "John Keymer" for information of King James I about 1620.

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