

Silk Gloves and Cast Iron Boilers: A Study of Cargoes from Scotland to Australia, 1820–1824

MICHAEL NIX

Between 1820 and 1829 over 240 vessels carrying goods and passengers arrived in Van Diemen’s Land from Britain and Ireland. Most came from London, but a significant number had commenced their voyages from Leith, the port of Edinburgh, Scotland. A wide range of merchandise and emigrant property exported from Leith was landed at both Hobart and Sydney. This paper aims to add to the existing body of knowledge of British colonial trade in the early nineteenth century. It specifically focuses on the period between 1820 and 1824 and examines customs and newspaper sources and the methods of recording or reporting shipments. The paper also explores the types and varieties of goods shipped. These are linked, where possible, into the complexities of Leith’s coastal trades and colonial and foreign re-exports. Through cross-referencing with other sources they are also connected to the people who shipped, crafted or manufactured them.

INTRODUCTION

In his *Two years in New South Wales*, first published in 1827, the Dumfriesshire born surgeon Peter Cunningham wrote of his enthusiasm and optimism for the colonial settlement in Australia and painted a picture of a society making considerable economic progress. He referred to Sydney and other centres of population possessing thriving businesses, improved road systems and prospering import and export trades. Unable to easily unravel Sydney’s overseas commerce from that of Van Diemen’s Land, he commented that

but six years ago their whole intercourse with England did not exceed three ships annually, while in the thirteen months proceeding June 1826 we had twenty-four ships from England, conveying to us numerous respectable emigrants, and importing cargoes valued at £200 000, while we exported in seventeen ships to England, cargoes ... to the value of £100 000 (Cunningham: 216–217).

The author also noted ‘eleven auctioneers for expeditiously disposing of colonial and foreign wares’, and a chamber of commerce ‘to push forward and watch over colonial enterprise, effect insurance, and arbitrate in matters relating to shipping’ (Cunningham 1966:216–217).

Although Cunningham refers to England as the source of shipments, a significant number of vessels were from Scotland, although some were English owned. When the Whitby registered ship *Skelton* departed Leith (the port of Edinburgh) in June 1820, she was the first vessel to sail direct with passengers and cargo from Scotland to Australia. Within two years, a joint stock enterprise, the Australian Company, had been formed in the port with four ships to provide the first planned, regular service between the United Kingdom and the colony (Nix 2005:21–39).

To place Leith’s trade in perspective, Table 1 examines the ports of departure and the number and tonnage of vessels, excluding convict transports, that arrived in Van Diemen’s

Table 1: The number and tonnage of vessels arriving in Van Diemen’s Land and New South Wales from Britain and Ireland between 1820 and 1829 and their ports of departure (data based on Nicholson, 1981: *passim*; Nicholson, 1983: *passim*; Cumpston: *passim*. Tonnage data standardised using Lloyd’s Registers).

Port/Year	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	Total Vessels	Total Ton	% Tot Ton
London	8	10	16	20	11	23	14	22	29	35	188	-	-
	2744	3355	4079	5151	3557	6785	4129	6454	8492	10454	-	55200	76.1
Leith	1	1	3	3	2	2	2	2	4	5	25	-	-
	260	415	962	1011	790	858	827	858	1288	1751	-	9020	12.5
Liverpool	-	1	1	-	1	1	2	3	5	3	17	-	-
	-	352	582	-	262	369	591	723	1701	705	-	5285	7.3
Greenock	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	4	-	-
	-	-	-	-	142	-	-	402	257	309	-	1110	1.5
Glasgow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	4	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	144	395	192	-	731	1.0
Plymouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	363	-	-	-	363	0.5
Dublin	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	-	-	-	-	360	-	-	-	-	-	-	360	0.5
Cork	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	-	-	-	253	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	253	0.3
Portsmouth	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	-	250	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	0.3
Total No Vessels	9	13	20	24	16	26	18	30	41	45	242	-	-
Total Tonnage	3004	4372	5623	6415	5111	8012	5547	8944	12133	13411	-	72572	100.0

The first line for each port shows the number of vessels, the second line the aggregated tonnage.

Land and New South Wales between 1820 and 1829. Based on data extracted from various volumes of *Shipping arrivals and departures* (Cumpston 1977; Nicholson 1981, 1983), a total of 242 merchant vessels measuring 72 572 registered tons sailed for the island from various ports in Britain and Ireland, many calling at other ports before leaving territorial waters. The highest aggregated tonnage amounting to 55 200 – just over three quarters – was from London, followed by 9020 from Leith and 5285 from Liverpool. A further 3067 tons came from the Clyde ports of Greenock and Glasgow, from the English Channel ports of Plymouth and Portsmouth, and from the Irish ports of Dublin and Cork. London obviously dominated the trade, but Leith's role was not insignificant: its total tonnage amounted to almost one-sixth of the capital's and was slightly larger (by almost 700 tons) than all the other ports combined, including Liverpool. However, in terms of Leith's overall export trade the number of vessels and their tonnages were relatively small. In 1820, for example, two vessels amounting to 675 tons sailed for Australia; during the same year 153 other vessels totalling 20 253 tons departed for overseas ports, all in the northern hemisphere (*LCL*; NAS, E 504/22/89–92).

In discussing computerised trade data with Kylie Seretis, a Sydney archaeologist working until recently in the Archaeology Department of Glasgow University, she suggested I write a paper on goods exported from Leith, a principal warehousing port, to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales. Subsequently, it was decided that in order to make the study manageable only those cargoes leaving the port in the first five years of the 1820s should be included, a more cohesive approach than sampling over the decade. Its purpose would be: to briefly explore Customs and associated sources; to relate these records to newspaper advertisements in Hobart and Sydney; to examine the extent and range of goods exported; to note the possibilities of finding information about exporters, especially those involved in manufacturing; and to identify the kind of merchandise from colonial and foreign ports that were re-exported for the Australian market.

SHIPPING SOURCES AND CUSTOMS PROCEDURES

In November 1819 the *Skelton*, James Dixon Jnr master, arrived off Leith in the Firth of Forth from the Russian port of Riga. The vessel's owners, the Yorkshire firm of Dixon and Co., included the merchant James Dixon Snr of Silver Lane, Whitby, and William Dixon, a merchant in the village of Skelton. Well aware of national difficulties in procuring ships to carry emigrants to Australia they decided to 'fit up' their vessel 'for the conveyance of such persons as were to emigrate to the new settlements' (Dixon 1984:13). The idea for the venture, made during a severe economic recession in overseas trading and termed an 'experiment' by one Leith observer, probably stemmed from James Snr who, as principal owner, would have maintained a weather eye on the country's shipping intelligence.

By entering his vessel 'outwards' for Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales, Dixon enabled merchants and agents, having calculated *ad valorem* or declared values for their dutiable shipments, to enter goods for exportation by bills of entry. A warrant and cocket for shipping were issued and comptrolling searchers instructed:

to cast, examine and compare with the entry, the indorsements on all cockets and shipping bills for goods intended to be shipped from your Station, taking especial care that such cockets and shipping bills be properly and correctly indorsed by the Merchants (NAS, CE 57/4/79:4).

The *Skelton* sailed for Leith Roads on the 14 June 1820 to embark passengers and their luggage. After Customs officers had reconciled and filed all documentation, clearance was effected three days later. On the 20th, the vessel departed for Hobart and Sydney. Details of the goods stowed in her hold and duties paid can still be found in the Collector's Quarterly Accounts – the Quarter Books – in the National Archives of Scotland, part of the Exchequer records (NAS, E 504/22).

On the same day the *Skelton* began her long voyage, her cargo manifest was published in the *Leith Commercial List (LCL)*. First produced in March 1813 by William Reid and Company, booksellers and printers in Leith, the newspaper's primary purpose was to provide the mercantile community with 'a correct list, from the Custom-house books, of the Imports, Exports, Arrivals, Sailings, etc., of vessels at this port'. To keep businessmen informed about the activities of competitors and to assist shopkeepers sourcing wholesale goods, the publication was distributed every Tuesday and Friday. Accurate reporting was expected: in 1841, for example, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce successfully applied to the Treasury in London for access to Customs records to produce the *Clyde Bill of Entry and Shipping List*. They were commanded 'to ensure the publication of correct and authentic accounts by responsible parties' (Parliamentary Papers 1845:6–7).

FIRST CARGO AND SHIPPERS

The *Skelton's* long turn-round time in Leith prior to sailing suggests Dixon found assembling a cargo a slow and troublesome process. In the second week of March 1820 he was in Glasgow promoting his 'experiment' amongst the merchant community. In the following week he announced in the Edinburgh press the securing of a 'large proportion' of passengers, but it was not until 4 April that his vessel was at her berth ready for taking in shipments – enabling her to be listed in the *LCL's* 'Loading for Foreign Ports' section. The first venturers to come forward with merchandise were James Duncan and Co., shipbrokers in Baltic Street, Leith, who attended the Custom House on May 18 and entered American rice, Dutch Geneva (genever) and French brandy. They were followed four days later by the passenger Frederick Langloh, a lawyer of Grey's Inn Square, London, and Dixon, whose bill of entry noted seven casks containing over one ton of Glauber's salts or crystalline sodium sulphate, a substance useful as a laxative.

Another 42 entries were made, the last on 16 June when Peter Forbes and Co., wine and spirit merchants in Adam Square, Leith, dispatched an unspecified number of printed cotton shawls. They were recorded free of duty, but the shawls' British manufactured packaging, worth 10s., cost the firm 1d. Some of the entries noted a dozen unexempt items discovered during checks on passengers' belongings 'in baggage sufferance No. 33', dated 5 June, and No. 35, dated 15 June, consisting of a clock, two mirrors, two guns, saddlery, musical instruments, one hundredweight (cwt) of hardware, over 7 cwt of books, a picture, some cabinet and upholstery ware, and 500 pieces of common earthenware. A Customs clerk worked out an overall value of £194 15s. and charged a tariff of 19s. 7d. which was collected from their assuredly galled emigrant owners (NAS, E 504/22/90).

A careful comparison of the Quarter Books with the *LCL* has already been undertaken and published in *Scottish Archives* (Nix 2003:82–95). Here the cargoes of the first three vessels to sail from Scotland to Australia, during 1820 and 1821, were analysed. The study helped demonstrate the differences between the two sources and the advantages of combining both to create a somewhat richer picture of the

extensive range of goods shipped. It also shows that the official inspection of the Quarter Books was exacting since they were central to both internal auditing and to the Treasury in balancing its own books nationally. Customs Examiners, for instance, noted on 21 October 1822 the discovery of ‘the sum of 1d. ... short charged on 38 Knees of oak Imported ... by Robert Menzies & Co.’ (Leith shipbuilders). The tiny amount was duly collected and added to the grand total, amounting to £49 041 6s. 5½d. for the quarter (NAS E 504/22/98).

One task of Customs officers was to consistently record entries which readily identified goods with the standardised language of the 1819 *Consolidated Customs Act*: ‘cotton shawls ornamented with worsted and silk’ and ‘checked cottons & cotton for stitching and sewing’, for example. The *LCL*, serving a very different purpose, sometimes provided detail missing in the Quarter Books. While the latter recorded ‘agricultural implements’, the *LCL*, drawing on bills of entry for its data, occasionally referred to actual items such as ‘iron ploughs’, ‘scythes’ and ‘turnip barrows’. More generally though it used broad terms such as, when reporting textiles, ‘cottons’, ‘muslins’ and ‘linen’ (see Act 59 Geo. III c. 52: Tables A and C).

The two sources also differed in another important way. Whereas Customs officers were concerned with determining the accurate collection of duties, shippers and carriers were more interested in the identification of their goods. Thus, Customs records focus on tallies, weights and measures and containers with specific capacities, such as hogsheads, casks, pipes, tierces, pieces and barrels, and the quantities held. These are also found in the *LCL*, but so too are non-standard sizes of containers such as trunks, bags, boxes, crates and packages. Thus, Joseph Blunt noted in his *Shipmaster’s Assistant* that masters on reporting their vessels should set ‘forth an account of the particular marks, numbers and content of all parcels of goods on board’ (Blunt 1974:552). Packaging, be it bottles or barrels, was regarded as of British manufacture and, on exportation, subject to the payment of duty separate to the goods contained in them, although linen wrapping was

free. Thus, contents could go duty free while charges were made on containers.

To save space the *LCL* often provided edited information, amalgamating into a single report several Quarter Book entries made by the same exporter, often over a period of time. Entry 416, dated 13 June 1820, taken at random as an example, shows Adam Anderson, an Edinburgh merchant, affreighting just over 7 cwt of ‘hardware and cutlery’, tinplates and 2½ cwt of cast iron. Valued at £77 including £1 for packaging, the total ‘Consolidated Customs’ payable at the rate of 0.5 per cent on British goods amounted to 7s. 9d. (NAS E 504/22/90). The matching equivalent record in the *LCL* stated: ‘3 casks of hardware and cutlery, 6 boxes tinplate, 6 camp ovens by Adam Anderson’ (*LCL*: 20 June 1820). Containers, not weights, are used in the published version.

The nominal linkage of names of shippers in the Customs records and the *LCL* to the *Edinburgh Post Office Directories* enabled the identification of many exporter occupations, places of work and residence and, in some cases, makers and manufacturers of merchandise. Before the *Skelton’s* departure 13 companies or partnerships forwarded shipments (Table 2). Most, if not all, were from either Edinburgh or Leith and comprised booksellers, publishers and stationers, merchants (dealing in wines, spirits and tea), a saddler, ironmonger, sugar refiner and a rope- and sail-maker. Individual shippers consisted of several merchants, a Custom House broker, a brewer, a printer and most probably a painter and glazier. Some exporters served as agents for others: Thomas Walker, possibly a tailor by that name in Thistle Street, Edinburgh, for example, acted for William Dixon, part-owner of the *Skelton*, who shipped a quantity of ‘stuffs of silk’. John Broadfoot, a shipping agent in Quality Street who would later play a key role in the development of Scottish-Australian trade, may have rendered a similar service to David Jamieson, an emigrant wanting to export agricultural implements, although Jamieson may have used the ironmongers Redpath and Brown in Constitution Street, Leith (NAS, E 504/22/90; *LCL*: 20 June 1820; *Edinburgh Post Office Directory*, 1820–1821).

Table 2: Occupations and places of residence, excluding addresses, of shippers exporting goods from Leith to Australia in June 1820 (*LCL*; NAS, E 504/22/90; *Edinburgh Post Office Directory*, 1820–1821).

Shipper	Name	Occupation	Place of Residence
Company or partnership	Brooke & Co.	-	-
	Fairburn & Anderson	booksellers, publishers and stationers	Edinburgh
	George Gibson & Son	merchants	Leith
	James Duncan & Co.	ship-brokers	Leith
	James Wyld & Co.	wine, spirit and general merchants	Leith
	Maxton & Boag	saddlers	Edinburgh
	Peter Forbes & Co.	wine and spirit merchants	Edinburgh
	Redpath & Brown	ironmongers	Edinburgh
	Waugh & Innes	booksellers, publishers and stationers	Leith
	William Bertram & Co.	wine and spirit merchants	Leith
	William MacFie & Co.	sugar refiners	Leith
	William Thorburn & Sons	tea merchants	Leith
	Williamson & Gavin	rope- and sailmakers	Leith
	Individual	Anderson, Adam	merchant
Broadfoot, John		merchant and shipping agent	Leith
Brown, William		[possibly of Brown & Co., painters, glaziers and colourmen]	Edinburgh]
Dixon, James jnr		shipmaster	Whitby
Dudgeon, Alexander		brewer	Leith
Harper, James		-	-
Hastie, George		-	-
Henderson, Robert		printer	Leith
MacNaughton, Archibald		ship and Custom House broker	Leith
Maitland, James		-	-
Walker, Thomas		[possibly a tailor]	Edinburgh]
Langloh, Frederick		lawyer (passenger)	London
McLeod, Donald		half-pay army officer (passenger)	Isle of Skye
McQueen, John		[agent dealing with Customs duty on passengers’ luggage]	-

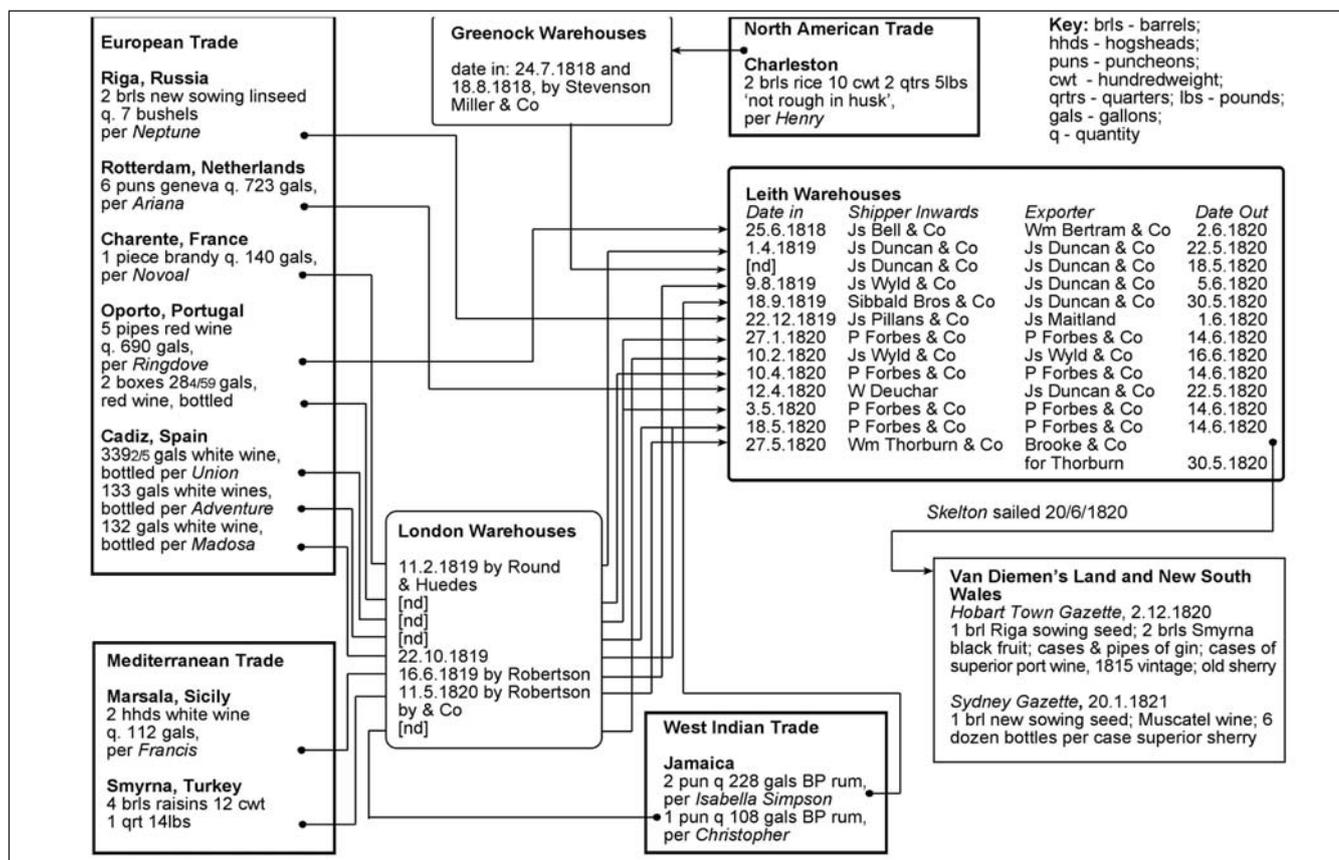


Fig. 1: Diagram showing the flow of colonial and foreign goods imported or brought coastwise into Leith and re-exported to Australia on the *Skelton* in 1820 (NAS, E 504/22/90).

Figure 1, based mainly on the Quarter Books, shows the foreign and colonial ports from whence goods were imported before re-exportation and advertisements place after the arrival of the *Skelton* in Australia. Thirteen shipments are listed under Leith's bonded warehouses of which just four were imported directly into the port. The first five pipes of red wine from Oporto in Portugal landed at Leith from the *Ringdove*, was warehoused on 25 June 1818 by James Bell and Co. of Shore, Leith, two years before the *Skelton* sailed. Removed from bonded storage on 2 June 1820 by the wine and spirit merchants William Bertram and Co. of Duke Street, Leith, they would have been escorted to the ship by Customs cart followers to ensure untampered arrival at the quayside. Another shipment, two puncheons containing 228 gallons of Jamaican rum, was unloaded on 18 September 1819 from the regular West Indian trader *Isabella Simpson*, a vessel owned by the importers Sibbald, Brothers and Co. It was shipped on the *Skelton* by the ship-brokers James Duncan and Co. of Baltic Street, Leith, who also exported the six puncheons of Geneva from Rotterdam. Two barrels of linseed from Riga imported with another 1748 barrels in mid November 1819, had been received from the *Neptune* by the merchants James Pillans and Company of Constitution Street, Leith, the *Skelton's* agent. It was removed from bond by James Maitland on 1 June 1820 (LCL: 19 Nov. 1819; NAS, E 504/22/90).

The remaining nine shipments arrived via the coastal trade from London (8) and Greenock (1) on the west coast of Scotland before storage in Leith's warehouses. Over 600 gallons of Spanish wine, affreighted on the *Skelton* by the exporters Peter Forbes and Co., had arrived in London from Cadiz in three vessels, the *Union*, *Adventure* and *Madosa*. After warehousing it was conveyed to Leith in the 158 ton regular trading smack *King George*, Gordon master, a vessel owned by the Old Shipping Company of Leith. All the wine was removed from storage on the same day with an additional

28⁴/₅ gallons of Portuguese red, worth £39 8s. The whole was contained in 264 dozen bottles weighing over two tons, packed in 44 boxes and valued at £6 12s. (NAS, E 504/22/90: 14 June 1820). The tariff charged confirms the bottles were British made and suggests bottling probably occurred locally. 'Glasshouses' were located in both Edinburgh and Leith. In 1816, Dr Spiker, librarian to the King of Prussia, observed when visiting the port that it 'carries on great trade in white glass, especially in bottles and drinking glasses, which are preferred even to English' (Spiker 1820:178). Bottling was specifically mentioned in the Customs books on 29 October 1824:107 gallons of French red wine bound for Australia had been decanted into 114⁷/₁₂ dozen quart bottles (NAS, E 504/22/108: 29 June 1824; see Act 4 Geo. IV c. 24 s. 56).

One piece of brandy from Charente in France, warehoused in London in February 1819, was received in Leith a few weeks later. Sicilian white wine from Marsala was similarly imported during the same year, although when the four barrels of raisins from Smyrna (now Izmir in Turkey), imported into London by Robertson and Co., were landed is uncertain. The latter were brought coastwise by William Thorburn and Co., tea merchants in Kirkgate, Leith. London also received more Jamaican rum while Greenock was the recipient, in mid 1818, of rice from Charleston in the United States.

Arrival in Australia

During the passage outwards the *Skelton* remained in Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope for about 15 days during which Dixon 'exchanged a few goods in the barter trade, viz. hops for wines, manufactures for Holland gin' (Dixon 1984:24). Such trading was normal practice: Dixon, on his second Australian voyage in 1822 obtained bags of sugar and 300-400 baskets of tobacco destined for Hobart (HTG: 28 Dec. 1822). Later in the same year, the English merchant John

Leake of Hamburg similarly bought goods when the *Andromeda*, from Leith, put into Rio de Janeiro. His purchases included tobacco, snuff, large glass tumblers, sugar, tea and tapioca, while other expenses, paid in rix dollars, covered the costs of ‘thrashing’ some corn and ‘Negro hire to the quay’ (UTA, Leake Papers).

It should also be noted that not all goods that arrived in Australia from Leith were loaded in the port. Vessels sailing ‘south about’ (‘north about’ meant passing through the Pentland Firth) called at other British ports before heading out into the Atlantic. Leake, prior to boarding his ship at Portsmouth, travelled by smack from Leith to London where he made various purchases such as: a dozen pairs of leather gaiters and a couple of dozen men’s canvas trousers from Favell and Bousfields, sloop sellers with outlets in Lower Thames Street, Tooley Street and Lower Thames Street; fine best crepe, pink satin, and sarsenet from Edward W. and Francis Phillips, silk and ribbon manufacturers in Goldsmith Street in Cheapside; and clover seed and rye grass from John Sinclair. These were loaded at Portsmouth where Leake embarked, after buying more items in Gosport (UTA, Leake Papers).

On the 27 November, 161 days from Leith, the *Skelton* leisurely approached Hobart Town, in the broad estuary of the River Derwent where she was boarded by a pilot. Soon afterwards he was joined by Dr Edward Bromley, a surgeon turned Naval Officer, who took charge of the *Skelton*’s papers, amongst them the cargo manifest. As yet there was no Custom House. Soon after 3 pm Dixon anchored in Sullivan’s Cove. Five days later, on 2 December, the *Hobart Town Gazette* reported the *Skelton*’s arrival. Dixon, besides selling goods himself, arranged with the agents Kemp and Co. in Macquarie Street to sell some of the merchandise and they placed an advertisement in the paper headed ‘Valuable Investment Just Arrived per Ship Skelton’.

Dixon, remaining in Hobart for nearly six weeks, disposed of much of his cargo and affreighted provisions and wool prior to sailing for Port Jackson on 5 January 1821. Before the *Skelton* entered Sydney Cove on the 16th, John Piper, the port’s extravagant and gregarious Naval Officer and collector of duties, was rowed out by his convict boat crew, boarded the ship and, like his Hobart counterpart, took possession of her papers as a security against transgressions of the port’s regulations (Dixon 1984:53–54). The *Skelton* anchored during

the afternoon, seven months after leaving Leith, and Dixon went to the Naval Office, reported his vessel and entered the remnants of her British cargo (MLS, Bigge Report). He would have also acquired a general permit that allowed him ‘to open the vessel’s hatches’ for the sale of goods (Steel 1821:284). Advertisements were placed in the *Sydney Gazette* on the 20th, one for sundry merchandise – ‘Apply to Captain, on board’ – the other for books – ‘The invoice may be examined at Mr Smith’s 68 George-street, and application may be also made to Mr Elder, Parramatta’.

Australian auction and sale notices disclose a great variety of products ready for resale otherwise hidden in the enumeration terminology of the Quarter Books and the even terser *LCL*. The advertisement in the *Hobart Town Gazette* lists ‘choice and well-selected articles’ such as: ‘superior port wine’ made in the year of Waterloo; ‘Smyrna black fruit’ (otherwise ‘raisins’); ‘Riga sowing linseed’ (not simply ‘linseed’); ‘Edinburgh cotton shawls’ (those shipped by Forbes and Co.); and a more descriptive ladies’ and gentlemen’s boots and shoes. In the *Sydney Gazette* ‘confectionery’ is revealed to be ‘bottled gooseberries, cherry brandy, syrup ditto, currant jelly, and strawberry jam’. ‘Printed books’ became ‘the Edinburgh Review, the Edinburgh Annual Register, Brown on Rural Affairs’, the first two published by Archibald Constable, the last by Ogilvie, Fairburn & Anderson, both of Edinburgh. Names of ‘much admired authors’ were also listed, amongst them Newton, Burn and Kincaid.

The journeys of some goods can be traced from their port of origin to individual advertisements in Australia. The four barrels of Smyrna raisins, for instance, were off-loaded in London on 11 May 1820, received at a Leith warehouse via the coastal trade 16 days later, and loaded onto the *Skelton* at the end of the month (see Fig. 1 above). Two of the barrels were advertised in Hobart in December. The two barrels of Riga linseed from the *Neptune*, deposited in a Leith warehouse on 22 December 1819, were separately advertised in Hobart and Sydney. Who bought them there, however, is not known.

Quite a few items were not advertised for sale. While a total of 68 shipments were recorded loaded at Leith in the Quarter Books and 61 listed in the *LCL*, the *Hobart Town Gazette* announced only 18 items and the *Sydney Gazette*, combined with a Sydney Naval Office record noted in Commissioner Bigge’s transcriptions, 20. Table 3, using a

Table 3: Comparison of sources showing a selection of domestically produced goods exported on the *Skelton* (NAS, E 504/22/90, *Leith Commercial List*, *Hobart Town Gazette*, *Sydney Gazette*, MLS, Bigge Report).

Customs Quarter Books		LCL		Australian sources	
Shipper	Goods	Shipper	Goods	<i>Hobart Town Gazette</i>	<i>Sydney Gazette</i> * / <i>Naval Office</i> †
John Broadfoot	1/2 bushels forest seeds	John Broadfoot	1 cask forest seed	-	-
Alexander Dudgeon	27 gals beer ale	Alexander Dudgeon	1 cask beer ale	-	1 cask ale† London porter*
William MacFie & Co.	1 cask q. 3 cwt 2 qrtrs 21 lbs single loaf sugar	William MacFie & Co.	2 casks refined lump & loaf sugar		1 cask refined sugar†
Alexander Dudgeon	27 gals beer ale	Alexander Dudgeon	1 cask beer ale	-	-
Frederick Langloh	8 pieces woollen cloth, superfine	Frederick Langloh	4 cases woollen cloth	-	
Archibald MacNaughton	28 lbs stuffs of silk & worsted ornamented with cotton	Archibald MacNaughton	1 box stuffs of silk & worsted		
John McQueen	2 mirrors	-	-	-	-
Adam Anderson	2 cwt 2 qrtrs cast iron	Adam Anderson	6 camp ovens	-	-
D. McLeod	agricultural implements	D. McLeod	1 pair smith’s bellows	-	-
John McQueen	7 cwt corks	John McQueen	29 bales corks	quantity corks	28 bags corks† common corks*
Frederick Langloh	2 millstones	Frederick Langloh	2 millstones	-	-

variety of domestically produced goods (not re-exports) as examples, gives an indication of how the different sources relate. Some items, under the name of John McQueen, were found in passengers' luggage entered in the Quarter Books. They were not printed in the *LCL* because the manuscript information was recorded, not in exporters' bills of entry, but in luggage sufferances, documents not used by the newspaper publisher. Other goods, shipped by settlers for farming purposes, would not have been for sale. Major Donald McLeod of the Isle of Skye, for instance, took two ploughs and a pair of smith's bellows to Van Diemen's Land. Declaring ownership of goods and merchandise 'of English manufacture' and cash 'likely to amount' to £8–10 000, the lawyer Frederick Langloh, writing to the Colonial Office in February 1820, stated his desire to proceed with his wife to Australia as an agriculturalist. He took with him the farmer James Parker of Boston, Lincolnshire, who was 'completely conversant in agricultural pursuits' (TNA, CO201/102: 1 Jan. 1820). Amongst Langloh's goods were 'two millstones', probably for his own use.

In March the previously mentioned David Jamieson, a Leith merchant of about ten years standing, wrote to the Colonial Office requesting a grant of land. Married with two children under five he wanted to sail in the *Skelton*, taking with him the family's servant Mary Ann Cundell. With six years business experience in India, his primary objective was to farm, but he also requested

that he may be allowed to carry out about Five Tons of agricultural implements, and other articles suitable for the markets of the Colony to the extent of about Five Hundred Pounds

In a subsequent letter dated 21 April, he further revealed that his

investment out is made up in various Goods, and likewise Goods consigned to me, on the sale of which I shall have a handsome commission so that under these circumstances, it would be difficult to say the extent of my means on my arrival in the Colony (TNA, CO 201/102: 28 March 1820; 21 April 1820).

Jamieson, however, is not amongst the list of exporters because, unlike McLeod and Langloh, he used an agent to organise shipping. Probably sold privately, none of his property appeared in the Hobart press, nor amongst the goods advertised in Sydney.

GOODS FROM SCOTLAND, 1820–1824

Dixon's voyage proved so successful another ten vessels followed from Leith between 1820 and 1824: the *Skelton* and *Westmorland* departed in 1820; the *Castle Forbes* in 1821; the *Minerva*, *Urania*, *Skelton* and *Andromeda* in 1822; the *Greenock* and *Triton* in 1823; and the *Portland* and *City of Edinburgh* in 1824 (the last four belonged to the Australian Company). In all, according to the Leith Customs accounts, 1631 shipments, excluding goods landed during the outward passage at Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope, were loaded on all 11 ships. 1451 (89 per cent) are identifiable as British products: 96 were dutiable items found during routine checks in passengers' baggage and another 14 shipments were purchased at auctions following condemnation after seizure by either Customs or Excise. The remaining 180 shipments (11 per cent) consisted of re-exports and Irish goods: 125 from foreign countries; 30 from the colonies; and 25 from Ireland (NAS E 504/22/90–108; *LCL* 1820–1824).

By analysing the types of goods described in the Quarter Books about 290 different commodities were identified. They are classified and listed in Table 4, each commodity having

been counted once even though several shipments of the same kind may have been loaded onto the same vessel. Each group has been enhanced with additional data drawn from the *LCL* and Australian sources. It is, however, only possible within the limits of this paper to examine cursorily some of the categories and to indicate where some of the goods were made. With little or no market knowledge to guide them, exporters did not at first dispatch livestock until the departure of the privately chartered brig *Urania* in 1822. Five pairs of Saxon rams and ewes were imported into Leith from Hamburg and landed from the smack *Glasgow* with special Customs permission (Fig. 2). The property of James Reid, one of the leaders of the *Urania* emigrant group, the animals were kept in Gray's Yard, Sheriff Brae, until their re-exportation was permitted under a special Treasury order. Later, another dozen sheep, Saxon merinos, also from Hamburg, were landed in readiness for shipment on the *Andromeda*. Four, procured in Leipzig from the Elector of Saxony, belonged to John Leake, the rest to his friend Benjamin Horne (NAS, E 504/22/98: 18 June 1822; CE 57/2/75: 31 May 3 June 1822; UTA, Leake Papers: account 5; Von Stieglitz 1965:49; Nicholson 1983: 84–85).

Table 4: Classified list of goods carried by the first 11 vessels to sail from Leith to Australia, showing the number of vessels carrying each type of merchandise, with additional, otherwise unspecified goods recorded in the *LCL* shown in [] brackets. All items identified in Australian sources are shown in { } brackets (NAS, E 504/22/90–108, E 504/15/145–146; *Leith Commercial List*; *Hobart Town Gazette*; *Sydney Gazette*; *MLS*, Bigge Report).

Category	Goods	No Vessels
AGRICULTURE, HORTICULTURE, TIMBER & FISHING		
Livestock	cows & oxen	3
	foreign sheep, rams & ewes	2
	calves	1
	horse	1
	{Ayrshire bull, one year old milk breed; cow in calf; two year old cows; cart horse; lambs; sheep; Saxon sheep}	
Produce	garden seed	8
	clover seed	5
	grass seed	5
	rice (USA)	4
	beans	3
	hops	3
	plants	3
	barley	2
	bran	2
	forest seed	2
	hay	2
	oatmeal	2
	oats	2
	turnips	2
	flax	1
	horse hair	1
	linseed	1
	oil cake	1
	peas	1
tobacco, common	1	
tobacco, roll	1	
wheat	1	

{arrowroot; red & white clover seed; garden seeds of all kinds; hops; hawthorn berries; linseed; linseed oil; Riga sowing linseed; annual & perennial rye grass; oatmeal; fresh turnip seed; yellow turnip; split peas; tobacco; tobacco, leaf; tobacco, manufactured}

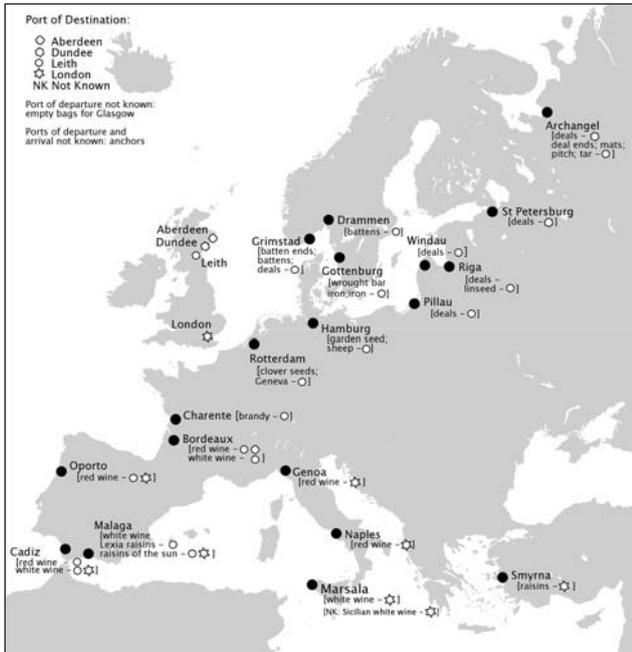


Fig. 2: Map showing the direction of trade from various European and Mediterranean ports and the goods re-exported from Leith to Australia between 1820 and 1824, including those carried by the Skelton (Leith Commercial List; NAS, E 504/22/90-108).

Category	Goods	No Vessels
Timber	deals	7
	battens	4
	deal ends	3
	batten ends	2
{battens, Baltic fir; deals; deal ends; Norway deals}		
Fishing	fishing tackle	2
	{fish hooks; whale lines}	
FOOD & DRINK		
Dairy	cheese	5
	Irish butter	3
{butter; double rose Cork butter; Cheshire cheese in lead; Dutch cheese; cheese; annatto for cheese colouring; Irish butter}		
Meat	Irish salted pork	4
	Irish hams	3
	bacon & hams	2
	Irish salted beef	2
	beef tripe	1
	beef	1
{prime mess beef & pork; hams; smoked and prime hams; Yorkshire hams; Irish mess pork; pork}		
Fish	herrings & white herrings	6
	whiting	3
	dried ling fish	1
	salmon	1
{Loch Fyne herrings; fish; herrings; white herrings}		
Sugar	refined sugar crushed & broken	10
	single loaf sugar	9
	double refined sugar	1
	lump sugar in loaf	1
	molasses	1
	refined sugar candy	1
{refined sugar; sugar, patent refined loaf}		

Category	Goods	No Vessels
Miscellaneous	pickles & sauces	7
	raisins (Lexia/sun)	7
	confectionery	5
	white salt	2
	mustard	1
	vinegar	1
	{prunes; bottled vinegar; solid vinegar}	
{biscuit; confectionery; French prunes; pickles and preserves; Scotch marmalade; Smyrna black fruit; mushroom ketchup; bottled gooseberries; cherry brandy; syrup brandy; currant jelly; strawberry jam; mustard; raisins; vinegar; bottled vinegar; raspberry vinegar; salt; Vermicelli}		
Beer & Ale	beer ale	7
	beer, porter	5
	beer, ale & porter, bottled	2
	beer ale, solid	1
	beer, ale & porter	1
	beer, small	1
	beer, strong ale & porter, solid, bottled	1
	bitters	1
{ale; bottled ale; Edinburgh ale; porter; London porter}		
Spirits	BP (British Plantation) rum	10
	Geneva	10
	brandy	8
	British spirits	1
{brandy; Cognac brandy; Geneva; Old Jamaica rum; Jamaica and Grenada rum; Hollands; whisky; Scotch malt whisky}		
Wines	Portuguese red	11
	French red	8
	Spanish white	8
	Madeira white	5
	Tenerife white	3
	Fayal white	2
	Sicilian red	2
	Spanish red	2
	French (unspecified)	1
	French white	1
	Genoese red	1
	Italian (unspecified)	1
	Naples red	1
{claret; bottled claret; Frontignac; bottled old East India Madeira; bottled Madeira; old sherry; port wine; red wine; superior port wine, 1815 vintage; Vin de Graves; London particular Madeira wine; wine; wine rubbers}		
Coffee	BP (British Plantation) coffee	6
	foreign coffee	1
RAW MATERIALS	ochre	2
	black lead	1
	cement	1
	chalk	1
	lead	1
	stone blue (indigo in lumps)	1
{blue; blue verditer; cement; chalk; ochre}		
MANUFACTURING		
Oils, Fats & Chemical Processing, etc.	hard soap	9
	painter's colours	7
	linseed oil	4
	pitch	4
	apothecary wares	3
	blacking	3
	Glauber's salts	3
	glue	3

Category	Goods	No Vessels
Oils, Fats & Chemical Processing, etc. (cont.)	gunpowder	3
	oil of turpentine	3
	starch	3
	tar/tar of Russia	3
	Epson salts	2
	aqua fortis	1
	essence containing spruce	1
	oil of vitriol, bottled	1
	powder for making starch	1
	red lead	1
	refined saltpetre	1
	rosin	1
	soft soap	1
	spirits of Hartshorn	1
	spirits containing salt	1
	tallow candles	1
	wax or spermaceti candles	1
	whale oil	1
	white lead	1
whitening	1	
[magnesia; coal tar varnish]		
{black varnish; blacking; Day & Martin's blacking; lamp black; candles; wax or spermaceti candles; Epson salts; Glauber's salts; glue; gunpowder; medicines; oils; paints; painters' dry colours; pitch; rosin; size-coloured paints; Scotch soap; hard, white, yellow soap; soda; spirits of turpentine; putty; yellow olive made putty; starch; tar; wax or spermaceti candles; verdigris; varnish; coal tar varnish; whitening Olympian green}		
Clay Products	common earthenware	10
	porcelain (incl. gilt/ornamented)	5
	tobacco pipes	5
	stoneware (brown/red)	3
	fire bricks	1
{earthenware; chinaware; dinner sets; tobacco pipes}		
Textiles, Clothing & Accessories	<i>Clothing and Accessories:</i>	
	apparel	11
	haberdashery and millinery	8
	jewellery	5
	beaver hats	4
	umbrellas and parasols	3
	felt hats	2
	straw hats	2
	apparel and millinery	1
	cloth caps	1
	combs	1
	slops & negroes clothing	1
	<i>Cotton:</i>	
	cottons (checked, dyed, plain, printed, stained)	8
	cottons (cords, fustian, gingham, jeans, towelled, velveteens)	6
	cotton hosiery (stockings and other sorts)	4
	muslins, plain, stained, printed, dyed	4
	cottons, Irish (checked, printed, striped, ornamented with silk)	3
	cotton tapes and small wares	3
cotton counterpanes	2	
cotton shawls, printed and dyed	2	
cotton thread	2	
cotton twist	2	
cotton yarn	2	
cotton handkerchiefs, Irish plain	1	
cotton handkerchiefs, printed	1	
cotton lace	1	
cotton patent net	1	
cotton shawls, Irish plain	1	
calico	1	
calico, Irish dyed	1	

Category	Goods	No Vessels
Textiles, Clothing & Accessories (cont.)	calico, printed	1
	muslins, Irish plain white	1
	<i>Lace:</i>	
	lace and linen thread	1
	lace containing silk	1
	lace containing thread	1
	<i>Linen:</i>	
	linen, plain	8
	linen, plain Irish	4
	linen tapes and small wares	3
	linen thread (stitching or sewing)	3
	linen, bed and table	2
	linen, checked or striped	2
	linen, damask plain and diaper	2
	linen, plain white	2
	sheeting	1
	<i>Silk:</i>	
	stuffs of silk and worsted (mixed, ornamented with cotton, mixed with inkle and cotton)	7
	silk gloves	1
silk lace	1	
silk ribbons	1	
silk stockings	1	
<i>Wool:</i>		
woollen cloth (inferior quality, superfine)	8	
stuffs of woollens and/or worsted	6	
woollen and worsted hosiery (of different sorts, stockings)	4	
blanketing/blankets	3	
woollen tapes and/or small wares	2	
woollen flannels	2	
worsted mixed with cotton	1	
<i>Not defined</i>		
tapes and small wares	3	
diaper, Irish	1	
hosiery	1	
thread	1	

[bedding]

{apparel; black bombasets; braces; breeching; Britannia, cambric, checked, flushed & Turkey red handkerchiefs; buttons & threads; calicoes, printed; cambrics; check shirts; checked & gingham striped; clothing; coloured hooks; combs, assorted; corduroy in the piece; corduroys; cotton Edinburgh shawls; cotton linings or tents; cottons; cotton goods; damask table cloths and napkins; diaper for towelling; dress coats, gent's fashionable wearing apparel; dressing cases; Edinburgh silk shawls; elegant boys' dresses; figured poplins; flounced, rosette, sewed & tamboured robes; fustians; gent's fashionable surtouts; gent's hunting coats, gent's fashionable wearing; green baize; haberdashery; hats; hosiery; imitation Angola, Mexican & printed shawls; Irish linen, shirting, table linen & towelling; jackets; men's braces; kerseymere & striped jean trousers; ladies' & gent's ready made clothes; ladies' handkerchiefs; small Pullicate handkerchiefs; ladies' stays; Marcella vests; millinery; book, cambric, fancy, Jaconet, lappet, mull muslins; needles & pins; Norwich crepes; plain & figured gauzes for window/bed curtains; printed cambrics; printed cottons; cotton tapes; quilting; Ravenducks; Shetland hose; short fustian coats; short moleskin coats; silks and worsted stuffs; slops; stockings; tartan plaid; tartans, assorted; toilenet; trousers with moleskin; twist checks; velveteens; web cord; worsted web}

Category	Goods	No Vessels
Other Fibre Based Products	cordage and new rope	9
	carpeting (some described as woollen)	8
	bags	5
	sailcloth	4
	matts of Russia (for dunnage)	3
	woollen rugs	2
	{bags; white canvas; canvas fit for cart covers; carpeting; cordage; staple English cordage; European cordage & rope; hammocks; fore sail; line; matts; sacking; shoemaker's hemp; shoemaker's thread and cordage}	
Glass Products	flint glass	8
	window glass	5
	common bottles	4
	mirrors	3
	flint or phial glass	1
	crown glass	1
	{crystal goblets; crystal tumblers; crystal wines; glass; looking glasses for dressing rooms; window panes; window glass}	
Leather Products	saddlery & or harness	11
	boots & or shoes	9
	wrought leather	4
	leather gloves	3
	leather	1
	leather goods	1
	{boots and/or shoes; double twisted back bands; cart & plough traces; cart traces, extra fine; gloves; twisted plough traces; ladies' and gent's saddles; saddlery; brown linen shoes}	
Metal Products	<i>Brass:</i>	
	brass of other sorts	1
	<i>Copper:</i>	
	wrought copper	2
	copper bolts	1
	<i>Iron:</i>	
	iron nails	9
	bar iron	8
	cast iron	7
	wrought iron	7
	iron hoops	5
	hoops & rod iron	3
	anchors & grapnel (including foreign)	2
	iron wire	2
	bolt iron	1
	bolts & rivets	1
	cast & wrought iron	1
	cast iron beam & weights	1
	cast iron boiler	1
	cast iron oven	1
	cast iron stoves	1
	cast iron wheel	1
	iron chain cables & apparatus	1
	iron chains	1
	rod iron	1
	iron ordnance	1
	<i>Lead:</i>	
	lead shot	4
	<i>Pewter:</i>	
	pewter	1
	<i>Silver & gold:</i>	
	silver plate, old & new	4
	foreign silver coin	2
	plated & gilt ware	2
	foreign bullion	1

Category	Goods	No Vessels
	<i>Steel:</i>	
	cast steel	1
	swords	2
	<i>Tin:</i>	
	tinware	7
	tinplates	1
	tin, unwrought	1
	<i>Not defined:</i>	
	hardware	11
	hardware & cutlery	8
	candle moulds	2
	lead & shot	2
	shot	2
	Irish hardware	1
	{beam & weights; scales and beams with weights; camp ovens; cast iron pots; copper still; dollars; fire dogs; frying pans; hoop iron; boiler; mooring swivels; stationary iron boiler; sand boiler; wrought iron wheels}	
	{anchors; superior axes; brewing ton vats; boilers with furnaces; brass pans; caulking irons; church bell; chains; cutlery; grapnels; grates; hardware; hooks and hinges; iron; assorted iron; iron bars; iron pots & kettles; ironmongery, of all descriptions; kitchen grates with ovens; lead; lead pipe; lead shot; round & oval frying pans; nails; nails, assorted in small packets; ovens; patent cooking machine; rivets; nail & hoop rod iron; rifle pieces; stoves; tin goods of all descriptions; toasting forks; wire; weights}	
Tools, Implements & Machinery	agricultural implements & machinery	11
	machinery (unspecified)	8
	carpenter's tools	7
	smith's bellows	4
	brushes	3
	cheese press	1
	spades & shovels	1
	{churns; fanners (winnowing machines); flour mill; grinding mills; harrows (some iron); plough irons; plough mounting; ploughs (some iron); scythes; sickles; smiths anvils; smiths vices; thrashing machine; turnip barrow; wheelbarrow & wheel; turning lathe}	
	{agricultural implements; barrel churn; cheese press; cross-cut saws; falling axes; garden rakes & hoes; harrow teeth; hoes; iron ploughs; plough socks; two horse ploughs; hammers; hand saws; assorted saw-files; paint brushes; pit saws; saws; ship scrapers; scouring paper; shovels; scythes; sickles; spades & shovels; masons' tools; wrights' hammers}	
Mechanical Devices	guns (including pistols and muskets)	10
	musical instruments	9
	clocks	8
	mathematical & optical instruments	1
	{eight day clocks; piano fortes; violin}	
	{watches}	
Paper-making, Printing and Stationery	printed books	11
	stationery	9
	playing cards	1
	stationery & printing materials	1
	stained paper	1
	{paper}	
	{fine pocket bibles; memorandum books; music & books; ruled & plain paper books; packing papers; pencils; writing papers; playing cards; washable paper hangings & borders; books, extensive and valuable books; books, many late publications; stationery; extensive assortment & choice selection books}	

Category	Goods	No Vessels
Stone Products	grindstones, large & small	4
	gun flints	2
	millstones, some large	3
	plaster of Paris	1
	sculptured marble	1
	slates	1
	slates in frames	1
	stucco	1
{slates; stucco}		
Wooden Products	wooden ware	3
	corks	2
	corks and bungs	2
	anchor stock	1
	blocks	1
	turnery	1
	oar	1
{doors and windows; empty casks; spinning wheel; tubs; window frames; wooden blocks}		
{backgammon boxes; blocks of sizes; common corks; new water butts}		
Cabinet & Upholstery Wares	cabinet & upholstery wares	11
	cabinet ware	6
{beds; chairs; chest of drawers; bedstead sheeted; writing table}		
{mahogany chairs with hair bottoms; furniture}		
Vehicles & Parts	cart	2
	gig, complete	2
	chariots	1
{axles; axle trees; iron axles & wheels; carriage; cart axles & bushes; cart wheels; swingle trees}		
{cart bodies with shifting sides; cart mountings; waggon complete with harness; cart wheels; cart}		
Sundry	pictures	5
	military stores	2
	snuff (including 'rappee')	2
	shooting material	1
	toys	1
{powder flask}		
{boys' marbles; snuff}		

Of more than one ton of clover seed a third came from Rotterdam while some garden seeds arrived from Hamburg. All timber – deals (thin fir planks), deal ends, battens and batten ends – sent to the colony was supplied from the Baltic. Most came direct to Leith from the Norwegian ports of Drammen and Grimstad and from the Russian ports of Archangel, St Petersburg and Windau. Three shipments from Riga, St Petersburg and Archangel had originally been forwarded to Dundee, but their proprietors failed to pay Customs duties and, abandoned, they were sold at auction to the shipping agent John Broadfoot (NAS, E 504/22/97: 26 Feb. 1822). Corks, bungs and taps, subdivided by quality into superfine, fine, common and coarse, were produced, in a process notable for its dirtiness, by local cork-cutters such as Alexander Urquhart of Bank Street, Edinburgh, who exported five cwt of corks and bungs in 1824. He valued them at the Custom House at £18 8s. per cwt. During 1820 cork was

imported into Leith from Tarragona, Bordeaux and Oporto. Not to be forgotten either, and not listed in the table, are all the different types of containers such as barrels and crates that were made in Leith and Edinburgh.

Foodstuffs were transported from various parts of the British Isles. From the English counties of Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Cheshire came cheese, some in lead and some 'packed in small boxes containing 1 cheese each'. Yorkshire sent hams. From Ireland came salted beef, pork, tongues, hams and butter, including Cork double rose (Irish trade, not yet incorporated into the British coastal system, was entered in the Quarter Books as if foreign until late 1823). Contributions from Scotland included Loch Fyne herrings and the first recorded shipment of salmon direct from Scotland to Australia shipped on the *Castle Forbes* in August 1821. Other foodstuffs included cheese from Holland and rice from Charleston and Savannah in the United States (Fig. 3).

Raw sugar was imported from Jamaica for processing in the Clyde ports and in Leith. Most single refined sugar was exported to Australia either in loaf or 'crushed or broken' form. All the lump sugar, about three-fifths of all sugar sent, was processed by Robert MacFie and Co. of Glasgow, while William MacFie and Co. of the Leith Sugar House in Elbe Street and the Leith Sugar Refining Co. in Coburg Street accounted for another quarter between them. Of little significance in terms of volume were a single box of the more expensive double refined sugar and two boxes containing 'candy'.

In all 34 107 gallons of colonial rum were re-exported from Leith; most came from Jamaica (86.5%), but some was brought from Demerara (11%) and Berbice (2.5%) in the South American colony of British Guiana. A small quantity, approximating 100 gallons per vessel, was for consumption by passengers and crew. Of the overall total 17 397 gallons were first received and warehoused in Aberdeen, London, Port Glasgow and Greenock before transfer to Leith's bonded warehouses. Some appear to have been transhipped in Jamaica after arriving from other West Indian islands such as Grenada. Some 6444 gallons of Geneva (including 2470 on

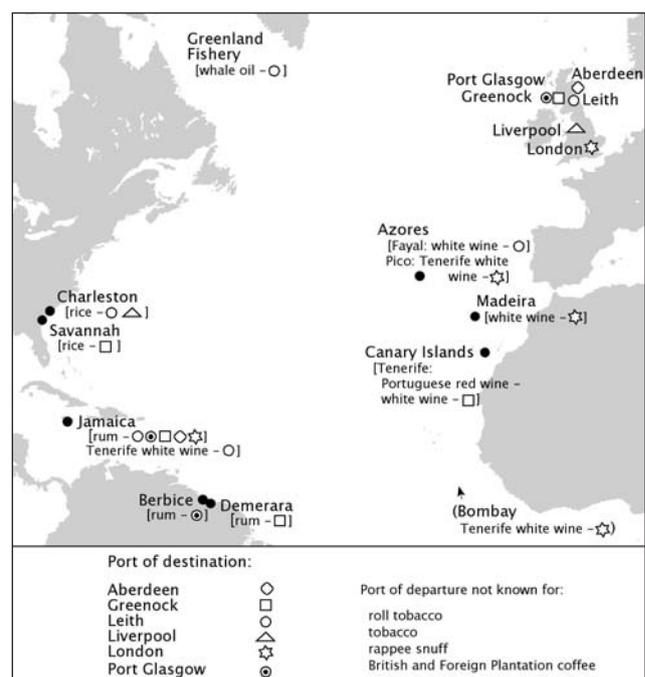


Fig. 3: Map showing the direction of trade from various North and South American and Caribbean ports and the goods re-exported from Leith to Australia between 1820 and 1824, including those carried by the Skelton (Leith Commercial List; NAS E 504/22/90-108).

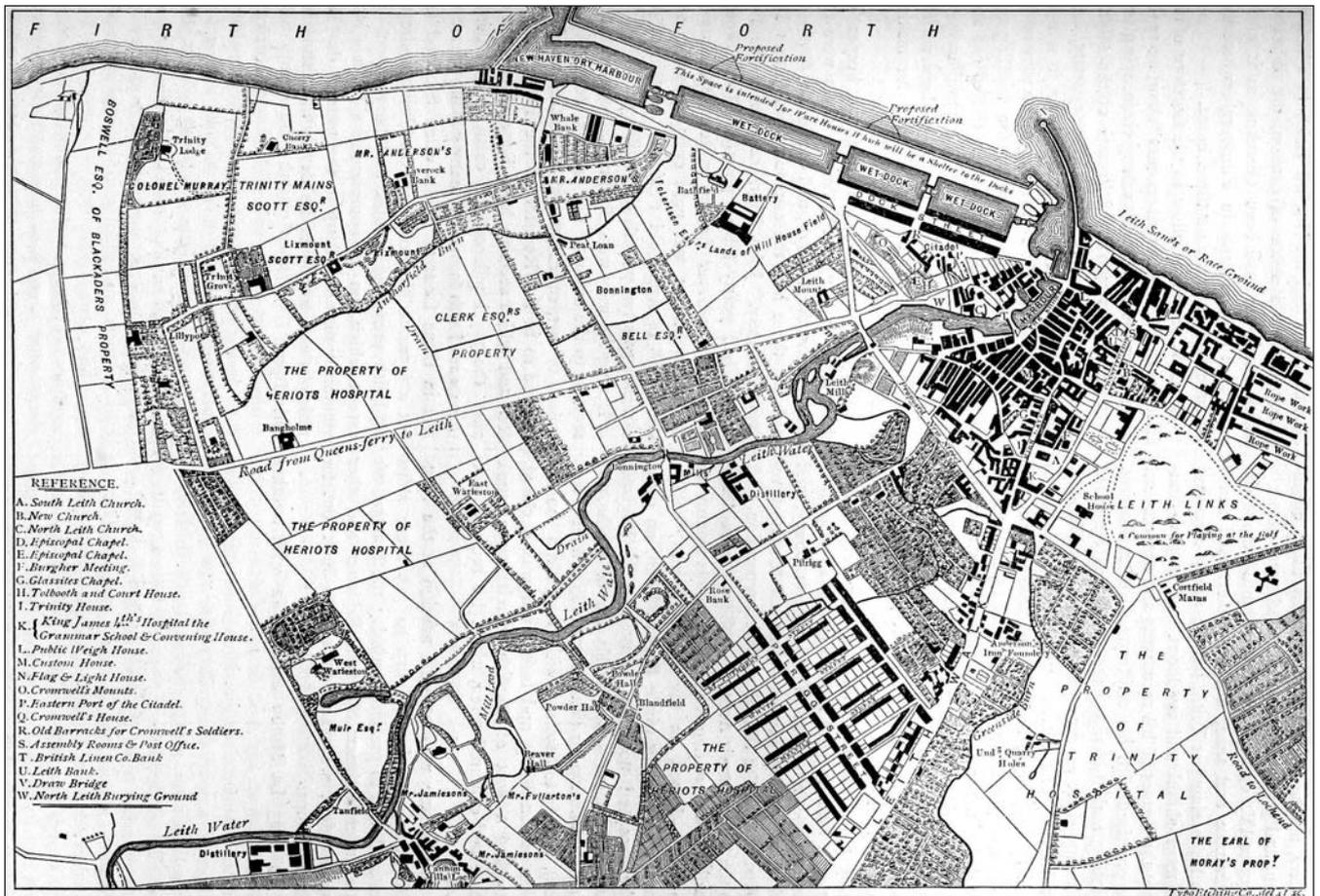


Fig. 4: Map of Leith by John Ainslie, 1804. The map shows the proposed Wet Dock, but only the two basins nearest the town were constructed. Vessels bound for Australia sailed from the one on the right. To the right of the harbour entrance, along the shore-line, were located substantial glass and rope works (Grant 1890:200).

the *Skelton*), the best of which was Hollands, were re-exported, two-thirds coming from Rotterdam and the remainder, probably from the same port, sold at auction as Customs seizures after condemnation in the Court of Exchequer. (The very best gin, according to the *LCL* of 11 November 1842, came from the village of Scheidam, near Rotterdam.) A further 4251 gallons of French brandy (671 by the *Skelton*) were received in Leith from Charente before redirection to Australia.

Table 5 shows that by far the most popular wines came from the Iberian peninsular. Much of the Portuguese red was carried from Oporto either directly to Leith or channelled through London; 37 gallons came from the Spanish Canary Islands. Before re-exportation some 692 gallons were fortified with 102 gallons of French brandy. All the Spanish white wine, first landed at either Leith or London, was dispatched through Malaga and Cadiz from whence came 179 gallons of Spanish red. Other wines were carried from the Portuguese and Spanish north Atlantic islands of the Azores (Fayal), Madeira and the Canary Islands (Tenerife), small quantities arriving indirectly via Jamaica and very circuitously from the Indian port of Bombay. The third most popular wine, French red, was from Bordeaux and included Vin de Graves and Frontignac. Almost all was imported directly into Leith although just over 370 gallons arrived from Aberdeen after being salvaged from the cargo of a stranded vessel called the *Grace*. Forty gallons of white wine were also from Bordeaux and a further small quantity of unspecified French wine, probably seized while being smuggled, was condemned by a justice of the peace and auctioned. Sicilian red and Marsala white passed through London, as did Italian reds from Genoa

and Naples, before transfer to Scotland in Leith smacks. Thus, about 57 000 gallons of wines and spirits averaging about 5200 per ship were dispatched.

Table 5: Quantities of foreign wine re-exported from Leith to Australia and the Cape of Good Hope between 1820 and 1824 (NAS, E 504/22/90-108).

Wine	No. Gallons
Portuguese red wine	5313.1
Spanish white wine	2386.5
French red wine	1323.9
Sicilian red wine	1217.0
Madeira white wine	913.8
Fayal white wine	459.0
Italian red wine	266.0
Tenerife white wine	189.0
Spanish red wine	179.0
Sicilian white wine	112.0
Naples red wine	44.2
French white wine	40.0
Unspecified French wine	2.0
Total	12445.5

Amongst the products of the chemical processing industries are found painter's colours, some described as 'mineral brown' and 'red, green, black and yellow'. Seventeen loads were shipped, ten by Smith and Muir, white lead manufacturers, merchants and agents in Charlotte Street, Leith. They also exported linseed oil, a boiled substance



Fig. 5: Entrance to Leith harbour, 1826, after Sir A.W. Callcott. The walls of the Wet Dock, completed in 1818, are on the right (Grant 1890:272).

expressed from flax seed and generally employed by painters and printers. Tar, extracted from pine trees, and pitch, a mixture of tar and coarse resin, used in caulking the seams of vessels' decks and sides, came from the Russian port of Archangel. One hundred barrels of tar and 20 barrels of pitch were re-exported, along with another 70 barrels of pitch possibly mixed in Leith. Both products, from the ship *Greenock*, were advertised in Hobart in November 1823. Gunpowder, valued according to one shipment at just over £7 per cwt, almost certainly came from one or more of the Midlothian mills outside Edinburgh. It seems most probable that Maxwell and Co., merchants in Charlotte Street, Leith, and exporters of whale oil from the 'Greenland Fishery' at the end of 1820, were ignorant of Australia's burgeoning whaling industry. No other future exporter made the same mistake.

Tallow from Russia was used for candle and soap making and leather dressing. In February 1824, 5000 pounds (lbs) of tallow candles were shipped, with an exporter's valuation of £28 per 1000 lbs. Hard and soft soap are presumed to have come from local manufactories although an unspecified quantity was English. One shipment, dated 6 August 1823 and consisting of more than a ton of hard soap, was worth just over £3 the cwt. During 1825 the overall output of Leith, Portobello, Prestonpans, Tranent and Musselburgh, all located around Edinburgh, topped 1340 tons of hard soap – generally made in Scotland by uniting salt or potash with oil or fats – and over 93 tons of soft soap – made with train oil and greenish or blackish in colour (Parliamentary Papers, 1826–1827; *LCL*: 31 May 1842). By-products of the process included rosin and turpentine, the former shipped to Australia by Millar and Nicole, oil and colour merchants in Broad Wynd, Leith.

Although earthenware was forwarded on all but one of the 11 vessels, identifying individual potteries was impossible because manufacturers used shipping agents. Potteries in the region were located to the east of Edinburgh in villages between Prestonpans and Portobello. They produced brown and decorative pottery and stoneware. More centres were situated at Bo'ness and across the Firth of Forth at Kirkcaldy. Of the 52 406 pieces tallied by Customs officers, 50 297 were entered as 'common earthenware'; the aggregated valuation of 15 599 items averaged just over 8d. each. Another 1889 pieces were described as red or brown stoneware and a further 220 items as either plain or gilt and ornamented porcelain. Other clay products consisted of fire bricks and 100 410 tobacco pipes, some sent by William Paterson, tobacconist in Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh. John Broadfoot despatched 200 gross in October 1824, his Customs declaration giving a value of 1¹/₂d. a dozen.

Cotton textile production was a significant business in Edinburgh and Leith, although raw materials were not imported directly. The industry's centre of gravity in Scotland was to the westward around Glasgow and in Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire where steam powered mills such as New Lanark were located near substantial water supplies. Textiles were exported from Leith in large quantities. Some came from a various parts of Scotland: John Ness Jnr dispatched from Kirkcaldy in Fifeshire 1647 yards of checked and striped linen; John Malcom sent 45 pieces (1909 yards 3 feet) of plain linen made from flax and hemp from Brechin in Angus, probably through the port of Montrose; and James Johnstone forwarded from Tibbermore near Perth another 37 pieces (2685 yards with a breadth of 25 inches and above and valued at £113 8s. 4d.) of similar material. Clothes amounted to 71

shipments. Amongst them were ready-made 'wearing apparel' such as 'boys' elegant dresses', 'gentlemen's fashionable dress coats and surtouts', 'woollen Marcella vests' and 'moleskin trousers', as well as over a 1.5 tons of 'slops and negroes' clothing'. Edinburgh exporters included William Patison, haberdasher and linen draper on South Bridge, and Frederick Schultze, clothier, corset and hat maker in St Andrews Square. Frederick Schultz Jnr, a settler in Hobart, advertised in May 1825 a variety of goods for sale at his shop at the corner of Collins and Elizabeth Streets. Included were some landed from the Leith registered *City of Edinburgh* (HTG: 20 May 1825).

Millinery and haberdashery, the kind of handiwork for which Edinburgh was particularly celebrated, were also affreighted. Amongst the exporter hat makers in the town were Grieve and Scott, whose factory was in St John Street, Patrick MacKay in Candlemaker Row and Mrs Riddle, a specialist in straw hats, in Nicholson Street. The shawl and silk manufacturers, Gibb and MacDonald, of South Bridge Street, Edinburgh, shipped 128 lbs of 'stuffs of silk cont[aining] silk and worsted' in 1823. Alexander Ross of the Irish Linen Warehouse, Edinburgh, and Dixon, the shipmaster, dispatched most of the Irish plain linen for exportation while much of the Irish plain white muslins and cotton, including handkerchiefs and shawls, were exported by William Hill, a manufacturer in Cochrane Street, Glasgow, and dispatcher of a few pounds of unspecified Irish hardware. Some of Ross's linen, made of hemp and flax in 66 pieces measuring 2360 yards by at least 25 inches, was worth 1s. 3d. per yard.

The 'Europe cordage' referred to in the *Hobart Town Gazette* was part or all of the 34 coils made by Williamson and

Gavin, rope- and sailmakers in Timber Bush, Leith, 'from foreign rough hemp legally imported' and 'not untarred or twice laid'. It weighed just over 2 tons 14 cwt and was valued by the exporters at £167 1s. 3d. (NAS, E 504/22/90: 14 June 1820). Other similar exporters in the same town were Peter Gavinson Jnr, the Edinburgh Roperie Co., James Sceales and James Hay. Sceales and Williamson and Gavinson also dispatched a total of 83 pieces of sailcloth made from hemp and measuring 2602 elles (45 inches per elle). During 1820 hemp, at its very best clean, soft, tender and of long staple, was reported at the Leith Custom House from St Petersburg, Riga, Archangel and Hamburg. Another 178 pieces containing 5574 elles came from Samuel Rennie and Sons of Arbroath and James Johnstone of Tibbermore. Empty bags, brought from Glasgow via the Forth and Clyde Canal, had previously been used to carry foreign wheat (almost certainly from the Baltic) and may have been thought useful for wool. Much of the leather ware consisted of saddlery and harness, as well as boots and shoes.

Leith flint or crystal glass, exalted in *The First Statistical Account* as of the finest quality anywhere in Europe (Anon 1998:26), was prized for its transparency and sparkle and generally used in the making of table glasses, ornamental objects, globes and imitation gems and stones. Bailey and Co. of the Mid Lothian Glass Works in Canongate, Edinburgh, manufactured about half the flint glass sent from Leith to the colony. Four of their shipments totalled more than 2 tons at an average price of about 1s. 11d. per pound. Leake bought from Bailey's direct: his purchases included ringed, quart decanters and carafes, and moulded mustard pots and cruets (UTA, Leake Papers). Amongst the glass products on the *Urania*



Fig. 6: Leith harbour from the pier in 1829, after an engraving by Thomas Shepherd (Grant 1890:205).

offered for sale at Kemp and Co.'s Hobart store were 'tumblers, goblets, wines, etc.' and 'window glass' (*HTG*, 18 Jan. 1823). Bottles were shipped by the Edinburgh Glass House Co., sited at the east end of Baltic Street, Leith. Two shipments by the firm weighed 242.5 cwt at 16s. 4d. per cwt or about 3d. per pound. Mats, used by the Edinburgh Glass House Company as dunnage to protect its bottles, were from Archangel.

Over 20 tons of bar iron were exported. One ton loaded onto the *City of Edinburgh* is known to have been carried from Gottenburg (Göteborg), Sweden, to Leith during 1824 by the 138 ton brig *Romulus* (NAS, E 504/22/108: 19 Oct. 1824). The rest probably came from the same port or St Petersburg. Tinware, cutlery and hardware accounted for many tons of freight. Hugh Murray of St Leonards on the Macquarie River near Campbell Town, Van Diemen's Land, an emigrant who had sailed from Leith on the *Urania* in 1822, wrote to his brother David in Edinburgh, informing him that 'Shott's warehouse at the back of Canongate [Edinburgh]' was the best place to buy 'nice tinned dishes for basins, milk, etc.'. He thought the most useful pots were 'of the three footed kind' (trivets) of which 'one large and two or three smaller' were essential, and suggested they should be purchased at the Carron Company's warehouse in Coburg Street, Leith, with 'a large oval pot, one of which I have, a most useful thing' (*The Scotsman*: 2 June 1824). This notable firm, famed for its carronades, shipped over a ton of cast iron. Also from Leith came silver plate amounting to 251 ounces of which 181, of the finest quality and valued at £72 10s., were made sometime in late 1824 by Alexander Henderson, a silversmith in Nicholson Street, Edinburgh, and stamped at the old Goldsmith's Hall.

Between 1820 and 1824, 'agricultural implements' amounting to 91 shipments were exported on all 11 vessels, including shovels and spades, iron ploughs and harrows, scythes and sickles, and winnowing machines (fanners). Unfortunately, the products of the innovative Samuel Morton of the cart-wheel manufactory at the foot of Leith Walk, Leith, with a few exceptions such as a cart, gig and turning lathe, were not specified, although a 'drill machine' was despatched by him from Leith on the Australian Company's *City of Edinburgh* in September 1826 (*LCL*: 26 Sep. 1826). At least one iron plough was made at the Carron iron foundry. It is likely the millstones exported by Langloh came from Bordeaux, the usual source in Leith for such material, although it is probable they were dressed locally.

Edinburgh, a major administrative centre with a distinctive publishing role in Scottish cultural life, was crucial to a paper-making industry whose mills extended above and below Edinburgh along the Water of Leith. Paper products included different kinds of stationery (ruled, memorandum and plain paper books, for example), and washable paper hangings and borders. Books, sent on all 11 vessels, were provided by the Edinburgh booksellers, publishers and stationers Waugh and Innes in Hunter Square and the already mentioned Fairburn and Anderson on North Bridge, and by William Reid and Co., publishers of the *LCL*.

CONCLUSION

This paper has tightly focused on the exports of one particular Scottish port which entered into a new trade with Australia at the beginning of 1820 and quickly established itself as the most significant exporter to that region after London. For archaeologists, it is hoped that this approach contributes something to the existing knowledge of British colonial trade in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and suggests the amount of organisation, management and handling that were

required to make an intricate, far-reaching trading system work, even before goods were loaded for exportation to Australia.

The goods carried by the 11 vessels that departed Leith between 1820 and 1824 represents a microcosm of the overland and maritime trading networks of the port. They are intimately linked with the complexities of diverse and extensive coastal, colonial and foreign shipping operations that embraced commercial connections – some stretching thousands of miles – with Europe, North America and the Caribbean, and indirectly with South America and the Middle East. That some foreign and colonial goods re-exported to Australia were first landed in British ports other than Leith adds to an already complex overall picture, while merchandise brought via the coastal trade from London and other English ports, from Ireland and from the west of Scotland along the Forth and Clyde Canal, makes it impossible to determine the origin of some of the goods. However, it has been possible to trace individual products, both foreign and colonial, in their passage from their first port of dispatch to their receipt in Australia. And it has also been possible, by cross-referencing with *Post Office Directories* and other sources, to go beyond the products themselves to glean information about shippers and manufacturers. Here the potential has been demonstrated for associating makers with products by identifying occupations and places of work. They, in turn, provide useful pointers for further in-depth research.

Yet for all the evidence from Customs sources and British and Australian newspapers there has to be a word of caution. Leake records, in an account book listing Scottish and English goods he dispatched on the *Andromeda*, hundreds of individual or groups of items invisible to the sources used. Based on his evidence it is important to state that this study falls short in expressing the vast range of goods shipped and, just as importantly, the many variations within product types. Instead of hoes, rakes, spades and shovels, for instance, Leake refers to: Dutch, turnip and 7 inch hoes; garden rakes and rake heads, some with 52 teeth; clay, garden and paring spades; square and round shovels; pronged and potato forks; and hay forks with no handles. His saws include frame saws, crosscut saws of different sizes, and cast steel hand, compass and six foot pit saws, sharpenable with 5½, 6, 6½ and 7 inch pit saw files. Even his stationery references are more descriptive: superfine foolscap, card straw and scroll post paper, HH and slate pencils, India rubber, ink powders and red wax. Leake's account book takes us into an even greater level of detail.

NOTES ON WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND CURRENCY

1 hundredweight (cwt) = 4 quarters (qrts) or 112 pounds (lbs)

1 cwt	50.8 kilograms
1 qrt	12.7 kilograms
1 lb	0.45 kilograms
1 gallon	4.5 litres
1 yard = 3 feet or 36 inches	
1 yard	0.914 metres

The old British currency of pounds (£), shillings (s.) and pence (d.) has been retained: there are 20 shillings to the pound and 12 pence to the shilling.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks for their assistance to: Margaret Harman, Tasmaniana Library and Robin Walsh, Macquarie University

Library, in Australia; Ann Nix, Edinburgh Central Library, Kylie Seretis, University of Glasgow, and Alison Jones and Rebecca Quinton, Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, in Scotland.

ABBREVIATIONS

HTG: *Hobart Town Gazette*
LCL: *Leith Commercial List*
MLS: Mitchell Library, Sydney
NAS: National Archives of Scotland
TNA: The National Archives
UTA: University of Tasmania Archives

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANON 1998 rep. *The first and second statistical accounts of the City of Edinburgh, 1799 and 1845*, West Port Books, Edinburgh.
- BLUNT, J. 1974 rep. *The shipmaster's assistant and commercial digest: containing information useful to merchants, owners and masters of ships*, Macdonald and Jane's, London.
- CUMPSTON, J.S. 1977. *Shipping arrivals and departures: Sydney 1788–1825*, I, Roebuck Society, Canberra.
- CUNNINGHAM, P.M. 1966. *Two years in New South Wales*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney and London.
- DIXON, J. 1984 rep. *Narrative of a voyage to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land in the ship Skelton, during the year 1820 with observations on the state of these colonies, and a variety of useful information, calculated to be useful to emigrants*, Melanie Publications, Hobart.
- Edinburgh Post Office Directory, 1820–1825.*
Hobart Town Gazette (HTG).
- GRANT, J. *Old and New Edinburgh*. Cassel & Co. London.
Leith Commercial List (LCL).
Lloyd's Registers, 1820–1829.
Mitchell Library, Sydney (MLS), BT Box 25, Bigge Report Appendix, 5683.
- National Archives of Scotland (NAS), CE 57/2/75, Letter Book, Board to Collector.
- NAS, CE 57/4/79, 1846, Instructions for the searchers, landing and coastwaiters at the outports, London.
- NAS, E 504/22/89–108, Collector's quarterly accounts, port of Leith.
- NICHOLSON, I.A. 1981 rep. *Shipping arrivals and departures: Sydney 1826–1840*, II, Roebuck Society, Canberra.
- NICHOLSON, I.A. 1983. *Shipping arrivals and departures: Tasmania 1803–1833*, Roebuck Society, Canberra.
- NIX, M. 2003 'A comparison of published and unpublished records relating to trade between Leith and Australia in the early 1820s', *Scottish Archives*, 8.
- NIX, M. 2005 'The Australian Company of Edinburgh and Leith: 1. A Mode of Business', *The Great Circle, Journal of the Australian Association for Maritime History*. 27(2) 2005.
- Parliamentary Papers of Great Britain, 1845 (629), LXVI, Customs Bills of Entry.
- Parliamentary Papers of Great Britain, 1826–1827 (336), XVIII, Account of Soap made in Great Britain.
- SPIKER, S.H. 1820. *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland in the year 1816*, London, I.
- STEEL, D. *The ship master's assistant and owner's manual containing general information necessary for merchants, owners and masters of ships, and all other persons concerned or employed in the merchant-service, relative to the mercantile and maritime laws*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, London, 1821.
- Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*
The National Archives (TNA), CO 201/102, Colonial Office Papers.
The Scotsman.
University of Tasmania Archives (UTA), L.1.A.b., John Leake Papers.
- VON STIEGLITZ, K.R. 1965. *A short history of Campbell Town and the Midland pioneers*, Telegraph Printery, Launceston.