
3. The Newark Coal and Salt Work Company: its social and economic impact

Paula Martin

Introduction (Illus 1.1)

The Newark Coal and Salt Work Company, established in 1771, leased a colliery and built saltpans on a site between St Monans and Pittenweem, at the eastern extremity of the Fife Coalfield (Whatley 1984a, 37). The enterprise flourished until the early 1790s, then continued on a reduced scale for a further 20 years. Then, unlike many industrial sites, it was abandoned, reverted to farmland and was almost forgotten. There was little to see except a roofless 'windmill' at the top of the raised beach (Donnachie & Stewart 1987, 291 and pl XCVII.3).

The colliery was on the easternmost edge of the parish of St Monans, 0.75 km from the burgh; the coal and salt were exported from the adjacent parish of Pittenweem, 2.5 km to the east. In *The Old Statistical Account of Scotland* the ministers of Pittenweem (1790–1) and St Monans (1790) both described the coal and saltworks. As a result, a few later writers have assumed there to have been two separate enterprises. Further confusion has been caused by the use of the place-name St Philips, which refers to the actual site of the saltpans, and the name Newark Coal and Salt Work Company, from the estate of Newark and St Monans. The works stood on the eastern boundary of the estate, although Newark Castle itself stands to the west of the town of St Monans.

The Old Statistical Account of Scotland highlights the economic benefits brought by the coal and saltworks. Mr Archibald Gillies, minister of St Monans, described the various coalworks in the area, as 'Likewise one of the neatest and best contrived salt-works upon the coast, called St Philip's ... The coal and salt, besides what is sold to the country, are exported at Pittenweem' (OSA X, 739). The economic effects were also felt further afield. The minister of Anstruther Wester reported that, 'The population is rather increasing at present, owing to the revival of the coal and salt works at Pittenweem, and the consequent increase of shipping' (OSA X, 35).

It is known that both coal and saltworkings had been carried on along the coast in this area since

the Middle Ages (Whatley 1984a, 24; Whatley 1987, 37; Wood 1887, 295–6). The monks of the medieval priory at Pittenweem had controlled the working of the local coal reserves. There were earlier saltpans to the east of St Monans, but not as far from the town as the St Philips site. It is possible that there were earlier pans on the St Philips site as well (Murdoch & Lewis this volume, page 22). There were also pans to the west of Pittenweem. There is a bucket pot cut in the rocks beside the old swimming pool below the West Braes, and traces of buildings on the cliff above. In the 1530s the priory of Pittenweem feued a number of plots for saltpans (StAU ms37521). There were at least two saltpans in the same area in 1594. Coal near Pittenweem was 'believed to have been wrought by Oliver Cromwell, who took possession of the Earl of Kelly's estate ... and a pit is still to be seen, that goes by the name of Cromwell's pit' (OSA X, 694–5). The table of customs approved by St Monans Town Council in 1717 quoted dues for the export of coal, and the import and export of salt. Tenants of Pittenweem Sea Box Society in the late 17th and early 18th centuries were allowed reductions in their rent because of the presence of coal-pits on their land, and in one case because of damage done to the crop by the colliers. In the 1730s and 1740s the Earl of Kellie was mining coal on his land and leased out at least one saltpan.

By the 18th century 'as much coal was taken out as could be procured without a fire engine', and to reach the deeper seams capital investment was needed in the form of pumps to drain the pits (OSA X, 694–5). The first attempt to do this was made by the Earl of Kellie, who in March 1740 applied to Pittenweem Town Council for permission to divert the Dreel Burn to power 'a water machine on his Coal', presumably to pump water from the pit. The Newark Company's developments in the 1770s were on a larger scale than any earlier workings. Pittenweem coal had a high reputation for quality, and had a ready market. Combined coal and saltworks were more viable than separate enterprises, as saltpans burned the lowest grade of coal which was otherwise un-

saleable, and both works could share the capital investment of a waggonway.

Sir John Anstruther and the Newark Coal and Salt Work Company

St Monans was a burgh of barony, its superior being Sir John Anstruther of Elie House. It had little common good beyond its customs and shore dues, and its harbour was very small, with a difficult entrance, affording limited protection from storms. Pittenweem, however, barely 2 km to the east, had been a royal burgh since 1542; its harbour was larger and safer, and its economy more broadly based. Whereas St Monans made its living by fishing, Pittenweem had been a centre for merchants and traders, with links all around the North Sea and beyond. It was also a market town serving the needs of its agricultural hinterland. Pittenweem, like all the east coast burghs, had suffered during the Civil War and never regained its former status and wealth. The later 18th century, however, saw a slow recovery, greatly boosted by the revival of the coal and salt industries.

Sir John Anstruther (1718–99), who inherited the Elie estate in 1753, was a typical 18th-century landowner, experimenting with various enterprises to exploit and improve his estate. He gradually built up his landholdings in the area both by inheritance and by purchase, including in 1770 the estate of Kellie, with which came the feudal superiority of Pittenweem (Anstruther 1923, 104–5; Wood 1887, 227, 263–4). After this purchase, he owned, in terms of rental value, 85 per cent of the parish of Anstruther Wester, 78 per cent of Elie, 46 per cent of St Monans, 27 per cent of Pittenweem and 23 per cent of Carnbee, as well as smaller holdings in the parishes of Cameron, Ceres, Crail, Kilconquhar and Kilrenny (Timperley 1976, 137–56). He was probably the largest landowner the East Neuk of Fife has ever known. He was also a leader in the enclosure movement in Fife. He enclosed his lands of Elie and Newark, and his estate of Airdrie was the first enclosed land in the parish of Crail (OSA X, 169, 348, 742). In 1756 he tried to set up a whale fishing company based in Anstruther, but it does not seem to have lasted long (Fraser 1890, 340–1). Sir John added a large new wing to Elie House, and built the Lady's Tower on Elie Ness as a summerhouse for his wife, Janet Fall.

As feu superior, Sir John was automatically elected to Pittenweem Town Council, while in St Monans he was the baron and had to approve the list of Councillors presented to him annually. In 1752 his factor, Gavin Hogg, was made an honorary burgess of Pittenweem. Robert Fall, Sir John's brother-in-law and main partner in the Newark Coal and Salt Work Company, was

elected to Pittenweem Town Council in 1769, despite some protests. In 1772 Philip Brown, 'Clerk to the Coal Company', was admitted burgess, and he and Gavin Hogg filled the two vacancies on the Council. Sir John's power base was thus complete.

In 1771, when demand and prices for salt were high, Sir John Anstruther and Robert Fall set up the Newark Coal and Salt Work Company (Whatley 1984a, 37). Fall was a grain merchant in Dunbar, a town with which the East Neuk burghs had long had close links. He was described by the poet Robert Burns, who dined with him in 1787, as 'an eminent merchant and most respectable character, but undescribable, as he exhibits no marked trait' (*Dunbar and District Guide*, 12). The two partners, on behalf of the Company, petitioned Pittenweem Town Council in 1771. They offered to repair and, if necessary, enlarge the harbour; in exchange 'all ships and boats resorting to the harbour of Pittenweem, and carrying away coal, salt or any kind of manufactory, made from or wrought by the coal from any part of Sir John's estate ... [were to] be free of anchorages or any other dues ...'. The same was to apply to goods entering the harbour for use at the coal and saltworks. Such boats were also to have preference in berthing in the new part of the harbour. The Council agreed, but later that year decided to charge a farthing a ton anchorage dues. Sir John did not quibble.

Nine salt pans were built in total, six in 1772, two in 1773 and one in 1774 (Whatley 1984a, 37). In 1773 the Company petitioned the Town Council for permission to make a waggon road from the colliery to the harbour at Pittenweem, some of it across agricultural land owned by the burgh. The road was laid as soon as the crop was harvested that year. The contract between the Newark Company and Pittenweem Town Council regarding the harbour was confirmed in 1780, by which time Sir John had 'already made a Bason and Quays for shipping Coals Salt etc' and had also 'rebuilt great part of the old Pier which was beat down by Storm'. He also had permission to do whatever he felt was necessary in the future.

In 1794, however, Sir John Anstruther gave notice to Pittenweem Town Council that the Newark Coal Company was to 'give up the working of the Coal belonging to the said Company' from 5 July that year, and was therefore giving 12 months' notice that the partners wished to end their contract relating to Pittenweem harbour. This was done amicably, as inspectors agreed that the pier had been returned to the Council 'in a Better Situation than ever they saw it at any Former Period for Forty Years Past'. The waggonway, therefore, also went out of use in 1794, but where it ran across land owned by Pittenweem Town Council its route was preserved for many years in case it should be needed again, despite a number of applications to use the land for other purposes.

Table 1. 'Collection of Rent paid by Newark Coy to Sir John Anstruther Bart' (from NAS GD147/62/11).

				Sales	£	s	d
To 1/9 of	2585	8	-	1771+1772	287	5	4
Do	3524	-	6	1773	391	11	2
Do	3[26]4	13	5 ¼	1774	362	13	8 ½
Do	3[243	16	10 ½]	1775	360	8	6 ½
Do	4228	17	[1 ½]	1776	469	17	5 ½
Do	4190	9	4	1777	465	12	1
Do	4412	8	2	1778	490	5	4
Do	3716	15	3	1779	412	19	5
Do	4003	12	11	1780	444	16	11
Do	3411	9	10	1781	379	1	1
Do	273[2]	2	11 ½?	[1782]	[303	11	[5]
Do	2617	2	11 ½?	[17]83	290	15	10 ¾
Do	2914	6	- ½	1784	326	16	2 ½
Do	3452	2	2 ½	1785	383	11	4 ¼
Do	3640	3	10	1786	404	9	3
Do	3807	19	6	1787	423	2	2
Do	2827	2	4	1788	314	2	5 ¾
Total	58,599	11	8 ¼		6510	19	9 ¾

In 1773 the regular customs, anchorages and shore dues of the town of Pittenweem were roup'd (auctioned) for £4. 2s, while the farthing a ton anchorage dues for coal and salt boats were roup'd separately for £8. 5s. This figure represents at least 8000 tons of coal or salt passing through the harbour (Cook 1867, 150). In 1774 the dues were roup'd all together for £11. 11s, and in 1775 for £12. 2s. Unfortunately, the Town Council minutes for the next 20 years are missing, but it does appear from the figures which do survive that the works did have a significant effect on the volume of shipping using the harbour of Pittenweem. David Loch wrote in 1778 that Pittenweem had been in decline:

but the coal and salt works erected by Sir John Anstruther and Mr Robert Fall, have saved the town, and made it flourish more than any other on the east coast of Fife. These gentlemen, at their sole expense, have built a new harbour, and repaired the old one; and have laid waggonways from their coal pits to the harbour. They ship many thousand tons of coal annually, and many thousand bushels of salt

(Loch 1778, 47).

The new harbour referred to here is the inner pier built by Sir John as the terminus of the waggonway (Illus 4.7).

It seems that at first Sir John and Robert Fall were equal partners, and main shareholders; there are a few references to other shareholders in the early days of the company, but never by name. Fall became bankrupt in 1788, and it would appear that his shares were then bought by others, including

the burgh of Pittenweem. Certainly the Town Council sent a representative to the Annual General Meeting of the 'Coal Company' from 1795 or earlier, until 1807.

The coal works

In 1854 the new owner of Elie estate commissioned a report on the coalfield from David Landale, a mining engineer. He compiled it from 'a dozen of old books' containing 'occasional surveys and sketches and elaborate notes' kept by Gavin Hogg 'ending 1795' (NAS GD147/62/11). As far as is known, most of this material has not survived. According to the report, the colliery was leased to the Newark Coal Company by Sir John Anstruther in 1771 for a ninth of the gross sales. Landale reproduced in his report the annual gross sales figures for the first 17 years of the company's operation, which yielded an annual rent for Sir John ranging from £287. 5s 4d in 1771/72 to £490. 5s 4d in 1778 (Table 1). Between 1773 and 1793 the average annual production of the colliery was 22,225 tons (NAS GD147/62/11). But by 1788 it was said that the colliery relied on the salt pans to keep going (NAS GD172/503/2), and certainly high production did not automatically mean high profits, as both capital and labour costs were also high.

In 1790 the running costs of the Coal and Salt Company were said to be about £50 per week (OSA X, 695). According to Landale, the steam engine at the colliery usually ran for about 12 hours a day in summer, but in the winter it had to be run for 20 hours; even then there were times almost every winter when the pump was defeated

by the volume of underground water, and the colliers had to retreat to poorer upper seams. We know that the works employed 36 colliers (NAS GD147/62/11), although Landale makes no reference to their pay or to capital expenditure. Some comparative information, however, survives in the records of the Halbeath Colliery, near Dunfermline. This enterprise had 4 miles of waggonway valued in 1784 at £1050 (the Newark Coal Company had 2.4 miles), and a fire engine valued at about £250 (Payne 1982, 3).

The customs records for the Anstruther area list exports which are almost certainly all from Pittenweem harbour (Table 2). There were no exports of any goods in the few years up to and including 1771. In 1772 exports of coal started, some cargoes specifically in the name of Gavin Hogg. As the trade developed, other goods, such as malt and potatoes, were carried as well and various goods imported. From 1784 the cargoes were going out in larger ships, mainly coming from Ostend, Middelburg and Amsterdam. This was because customs duties on coal were so high that exports were only economic if transport costs could be kept down (Douglas 1974, 215). Once the coal exports stopped, the other cargoes also stopped, and exports remained nil from 1797 to 1820, when some salt herring was shipped out (NAS E504/3/4-11).

Landale stated that the production of the colliery between 1773 and 1793 was 444,001 tons 'of coal of all kinds, 281,209 tons of which were mixed or small coal' (NAS GD147/62/11). The average annual exports over the same period were about 1275 tons, which represents less than 6 per cent of the total output, or 16 per cent of the better grades of coal. The customs books do not record coastwise shipments, which were presumably much higher. Illus 3.1 shows the annual gross sales figures plotted against the annual export figures. The rise and fall in the two series of figures coincides reasonably closely. From 1784, however, exports represented a higher proportion of the total output than was the case from 1772 to 1783. After 1790 exports fell, and at Dysart, Wemyss and Methil they also fell as a proportion of total production (Douglas 1974, 217). There would also have been at least some local sales, collected from the 'coal hill' by carters from the surrounding area (Duckham 1970, 205).

No reason was given for the Newark Company giving up the waggonway and harbour facilities in 1794, though it is clear that exports, and therefore probably total production, were falling by this time. Landale in his report referred to frequent fires, including one in 1773 and a major fire in 1794 (NAS GD147/62/11). Perhaps after over 20 years of mining all the most accessible coal had been removed, and output was decreasing naturally without further capital investment in new shafts or

Table 2. Coal export figures from the Anstruther customs area (almost certainly all from Pittenweem), between 1772 and 1797 (from NAS E504/3/4 to E504/3/11).

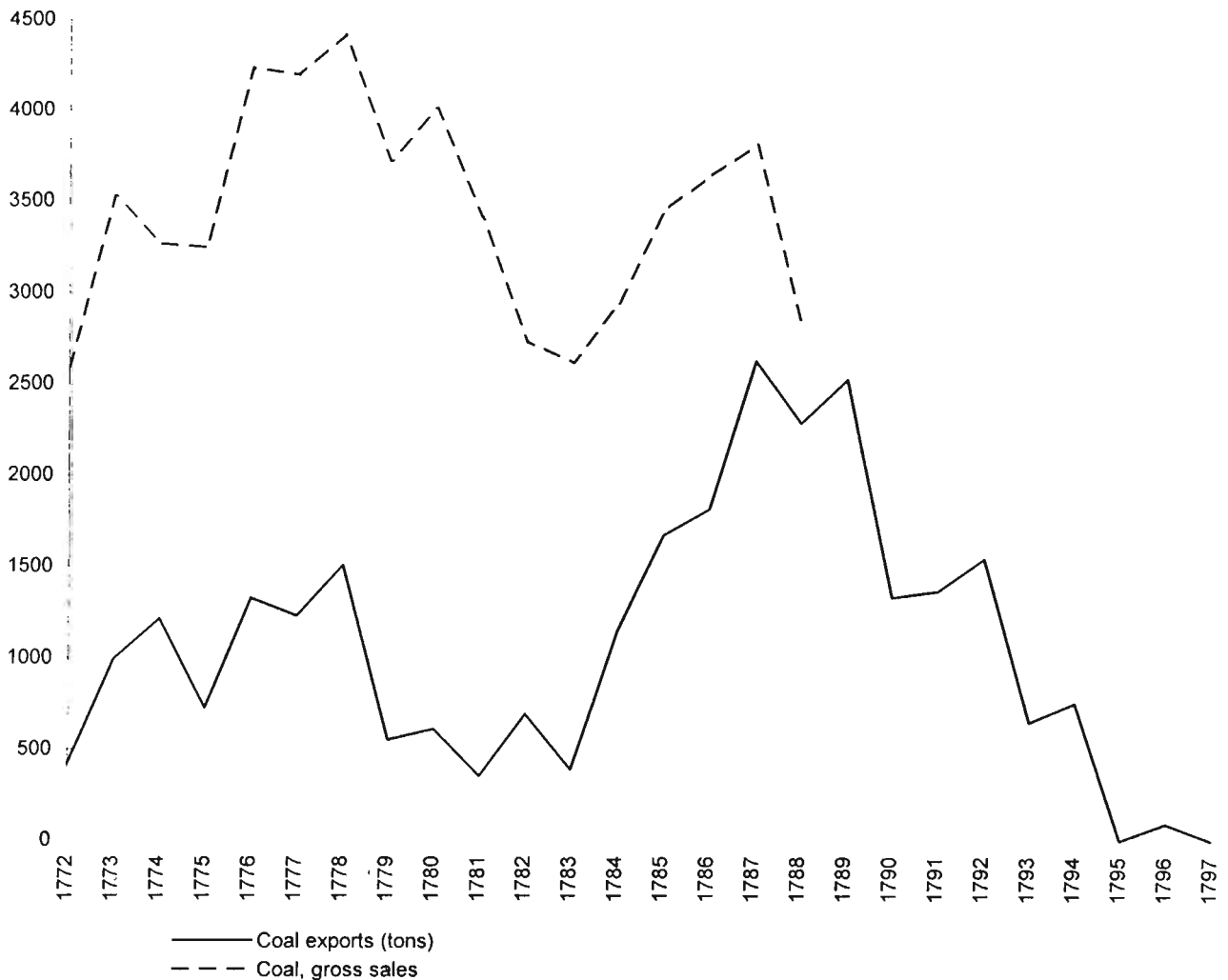
Date	Tons of coal	Date	Tons of coal
1772	418	1785	1669
1773	992	1786	1811
1774	1211	1787	2624
1775	726	1788	2285
1776	1323	1789	2521
1777	1227	1790	1328
1778	1503	1791	1363
1779	553	1792	1539
1780	611	1793	650
1781	352	1794	756
1782	388	1795	0
1783		1796	93
1784	1142	1797	0

machinery. The fire may have been the last straw rather than the main cause of the works closing, or if it happened towards the end of 1794, it may have been the consequence of reduced production and therefore reduced maintenance.

In May 1796 Pittenweem Town Council agreed to hold on to its shares in the Coal Company for another two years 'in case a lease of the coal is agreed upon by Sir John Anstruther for a short period'. This implies that the original lease had been for 25 years. The Town Council minutes record the continued holding of Annual General Meetings of the Coal Company until 1807, and a dividend was paid in 1802. From about 1795 the complex of colliery buildings was described as 'Coal Farm' instead of 'the Coal Work', so it seems that at least some of the buildings were put to a new use at this time. According to Landale, however, the engine did not stop until 1803, and in 1854 the engine pit was still 'standing open and walled round', though other pits had been filled in (NAS GD147/62/11).

It is unclear what happened to the coal works after 1794. Robert Fall died in 1797, and Sir John Anstruther in 1799. Philip Anstruther, Sir John's oldest son, who seems to have acted on his behalf in the salt and coal proprietors' associations from at least 1790, died in 1808 (NAS GD172/503/14; GD172/496/33; Anstruther 1923, 112). *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* for Pittenweem in 1845 misleadingly claimed that the coal works restarted by Sir John Anstruther 'still continues' (NSA Fife, 984). The minister of St Monans, however, explained that the coal, formerly 'wrought to the depth of ten fathoms':

had been given up for twenty-five years, when it was resumed, about nine years ago, the shafts being driven to the depth of 27 fathoms. For eighteen months, the working of the coal has been wholly abandoned, owing to the tacksman not having capital to



Illus 3.1. Coal gross sales (£ sterling) and exports (tons), Newark Coal and Salt Work Company, 1772–97.

meet the requisite outlay, and the engine not having been judiciously placed. Wrought in an effective manner, it might have afforded employment for one hundred persons. The number actually employed is said not to have exceeded thirty

(NSA Fife, 340).

Repeated attempts were made throughout the second half of the 19th century to revive the local coal mining industry, though Sir John's heirs appear not to have shown the same enthusiasm for industrial development that he had done. In addition, several of his successors died young, and the estate had passed through four other hands by the time it was inherited in 1831 by Sir Windham Carmichael Anstruther, a grandson of Sir John. According to the family history, 'Sir Windham was of spendthrift habits', and after legal action to get the entail broken, he sold the estate (Anstruther 1923, 104–5, 112, 120–1; *Pittenweem Register* 20 July 1850).

On 27 October 1849 the *Pittenweem Register* reported a rumour that, if the entail could be

broken, the former coal mines were to be sold. The editor claimed that 'constant employment for 500 men is at stake, and the exportation to foreign countries of thousands of tons of coals annually, – it being the best coal in Scotland for export'. When the estate was offered for sale in 1852, the *Pittenweem Register* (28 February) commented, 'It is well known that the coal is the best in Great Britain for exportation, and that a rail-road was formed from the pit's mouth to the harbour of Pittenweem, which could be put in working order at very trifling expense'. When he announced the sale of the estate for £145,000, the editor made the point again, 'The coal is of the very best description, and, in quantity, almost inexhaustible. For years after it had ceased to be exported, the sign-boards of the Coal Stores in Hamburg continued to have written on them – "Pittenweem Coal", which is a proof that it had a preference in the market' (*Pittenweem Register* 18 December 1852).

Folk memory perhaps exaggerated not only the quality of the local coal, but the numbers once employed in the industry. Landale stated that the works employed 36 colliers (NAS GD147/62/11).

According to *The Old Statistical Account of Scotland* there were 36 miners and colliers in Pittenweem parish (OSA X, 696). Even allowing for more in St Monans parish, and about 20 salters, plus those employed in transporting the coal by both land and sea, the folk memory figure of 300 men (Cook 1867, 150), or even 500 (*Pittenweem Register*, see above), seems unrealistically high.

Elie estate was bought in 1853 by William Baird of Gartsherrie (1796–1864), an iron master from the west of Scotland, and local hopes were raised that the pits would be re-opened. According to the *Pittenweem Register* (2 July 1853), 'A tunnel is spoken of for conveying the coal to the harbour, instead of the old waggon-road'. Soon after he bought the estate, William Baird commissioned a report by the mining engineer David Landale. This concluded that there were reserves still to be worked, 'I have no doubt, there is as much more to be got, or 22,000 tons, for 20 years, by deepening the pit other 25 fathoms ...', but the return on investment might seem small to Baird 'accustomed as he has been to clean and level lying [coal] fields, with little water, but with edge seams like these, and the heavy water, an extended output cannot be got even altho they could be sold, and the cost of working and redding is very high, as compared with the west country coals' (NAS GD147/62/11). The *Pittenweem Register* reported on 27 May 1854 that the coalfield was advertised to let. Not only were there no takers, but that year saw work cease at both Kellie and Gibliston collieries, and the only working collieries left in the east of Fife were at Grange and Largoward (*Pittenweem Register* 2 September and 14 October 1854).

Anstruther v Anstruther

One of the most informative sources for the study of the coal and saltworks is the map drawn by Gavin Hogg as evidence in a lawsuit in 1785 between Sir John Anstruther of Elie and his second cousin, Sir Robert Anstruther of Balcaskie (NAS RHP22; CS271/60143) (Illus 4.2). According to submissions in the case, Sir John Anstruther and his partners had about 15 years previously 'erected an Engine on the lands of Newark Close upon the March of the Pittenweem lands and proceeded to put down sinks and erected every Machinery they had use for and have continued the work upon an extensive scale ever since'.

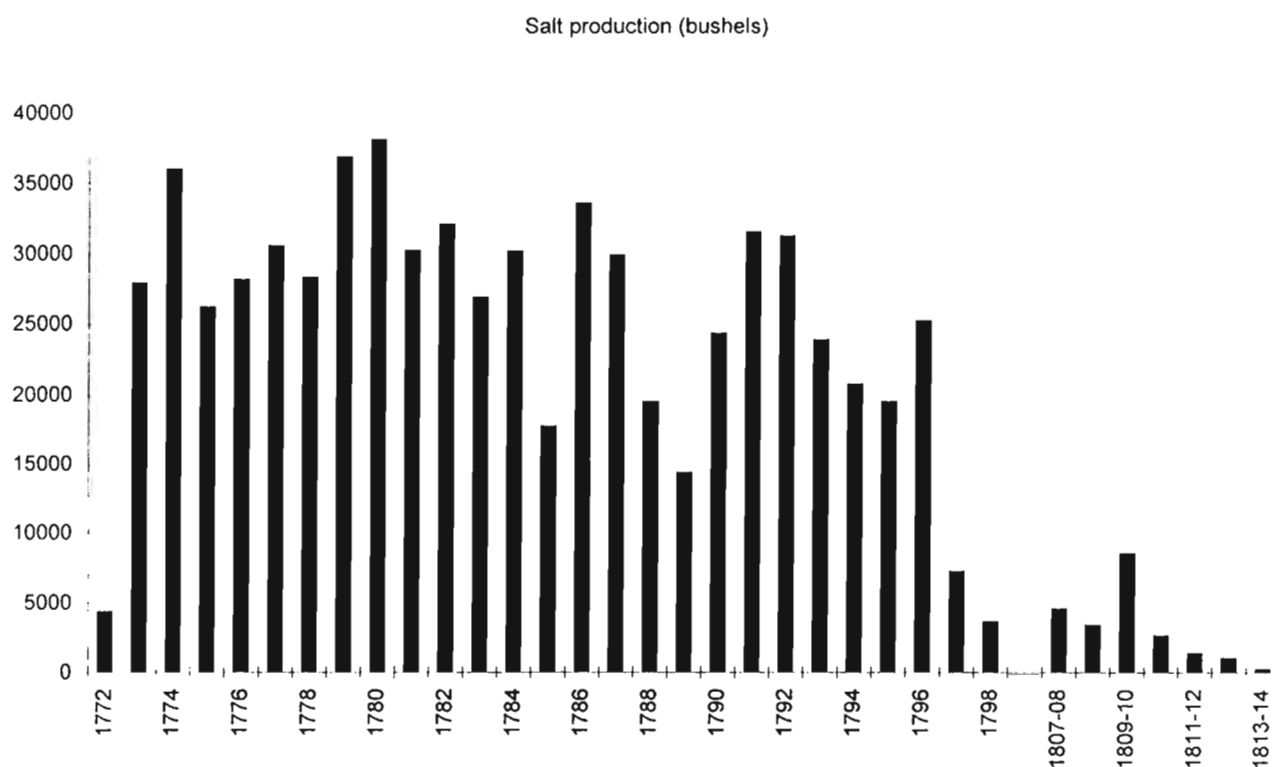
In the prosecution of these operations they found it advantageous to conduct some of the water brought up by the Engine from it to the Coal pits for the purpose of raising the Coal. The Water for this purpose is conveyed through wooden pipes laid so far under the ground as not to obstruct the labouring. Towards the end of last year ...

having opened a new pit at some distance from the other ones and having resolved to raise the Coals at it by means of water made a small Cutt or ditch of about two feet wide and a proper deepness in order to lay the pipes into and about the month of January last the pipes were accordingly laid in it, and the surface smoothed over so as not to interrupt the labouring in the smallest degree.

While the actual works were on Sir John's own land, it is clear that the reason he had bought the superiority of the lands of Pittenweem was in order to be able to carry out activities relating to the coal and saltworks. The land his pipe and the waggonway crossed was divided into long narrow rigs, and was mostly owned by the burgh of Pittenweem. A number of strips, however, including one through which the pipe was laid, belonged to Sir Robert Anstruther. Sir Robert asked for the pipe to be removed, and when this was not done, he cut it. Following a succession of cuts and repairs, Sir John resorted to legal action. Sir Robert disputed Sir John's purchase of the superiority of Pittenweem, saying that this had belonged to the priory and had then lapsed.

It is clear from the arguments put forward that Sir John had bought and exchanged pieces of land in order to reinforce his rights in the area, and that because of Sir Robert's objections the waggon road had been laid 'a considerable way round about, carefully avoiding to touch or come near his ground'. Sir Robert argued that 'the present aqueduct was made and pipe was laid for the benefit, not of any coal in the Lordship of Pittenweem, but of a quite different Estate', and therefore the works had no right over his property 'with which Sir John's lands have no Sort of Connection, Except the Misfortune of Vicinity'.

Sir Robert also felt it unfair that the town of Pittenweem was not asserting its rights because Sir John's 'factor or Coalgrieve, is or was One of the Magistrates, Most of the Other people employed About the Coal are in the Council or closely connected with Him', so it was not surprising that the 'Town or Neighbourhood discovered a Bashfulness to Enter into a Disputation about the Extent of their Rights'. Sir John, for his part, argued that 'few Coalleries ... [were] so situated as not to have waggon roads or aqueducts through the properties of strangers', and claimed that Sir Robert was being petty and unneighbourly. Indeed, when Sir John had taken legal advice in 1770 before starting the enterprise, he had been told that he did have the same rights as the Earls of Kellie who had worked the coals before him, and while there technically might be problems about a waggon road, logic dictated that the overall economic benefits to the area should make objections less likely or reasonable. The outcome of the 1785



Illus 3.2. Salt production (bushels), Newark, Coal and Salt Work Company, 1772–98 and 1807/8–1813/14.

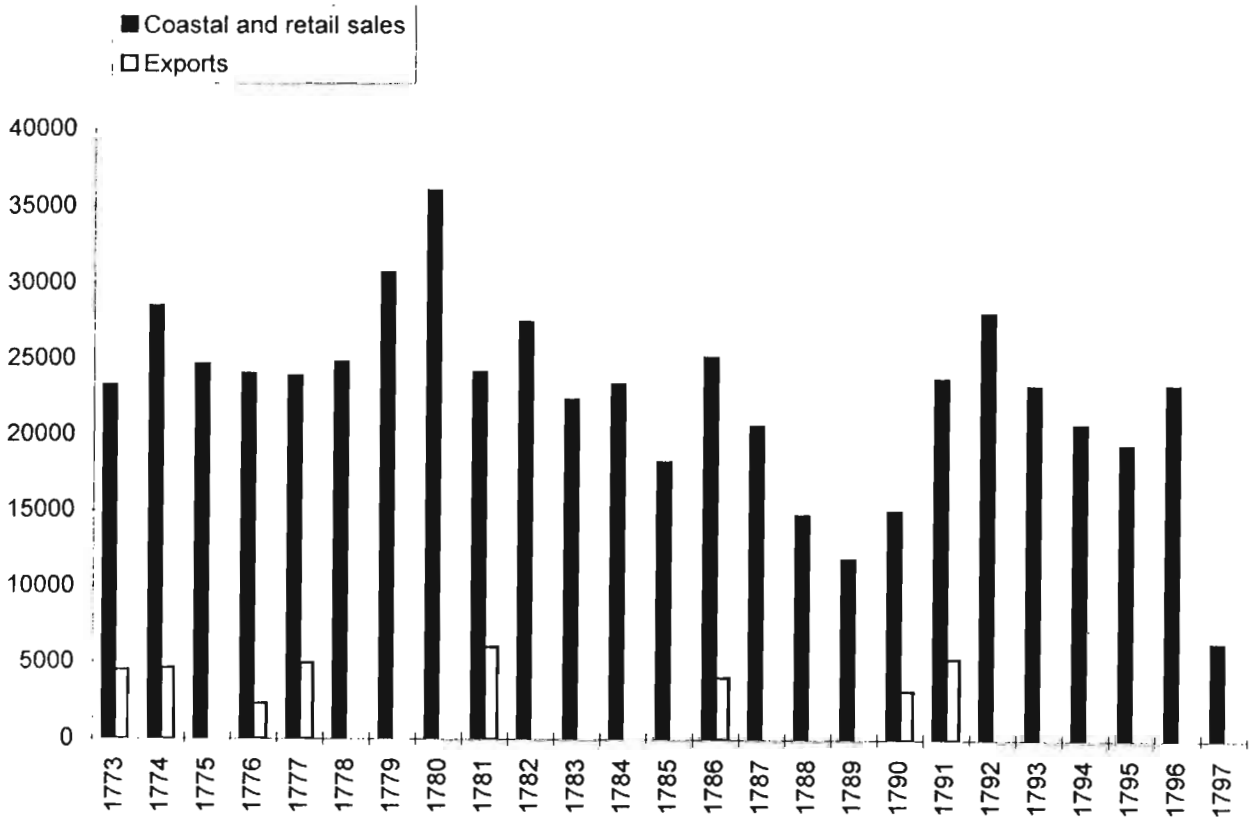
case is not on record, but the map survives, with the small disputed piece of pipe clearly marked on it, though not the rest of its route (NAS RHP22) (Illus 4.2).

The price of salt was high when the building of the pans started in 1771, but had already dropped by the time the complex was complete. There was another price boom in 1793, when war with France meant an end to imports of salt from that country. Quarterly figures for salt production at the St Philips pans survive in the customs records from 5 July 1772 to 5 April 1798 (Appendix 1). As has been shown above, coal production was cut back to such an extent in 1794 that little or none was to be produced for export, and the waggonway ceased operation. After this date, salt for export and for 'coastwise' sale up and down the east coast of Scotland, was presumably transported to Pittenweem along the shore. Unusually, the coastal path between the pans and Pittenweem has been cut into the rock in places to accommodate the width of a cart. After 1794 enough coal must have continued to be produced to supply the salt pans, as they clearly continued to work, and it took several tons of coal to produce one ton of salt (Murdoch & Lewis this volume, page 23).

The figures in Illus 3.2 (taken from those in Appendix 1) are for duty paid when the salt left the girdel, and there was an unknown and probably variable time lag between production and the payment of duty. The fluctuations may result from a number of reasons (Whatley 1984a, 12–16), some

local, but some general. The dip in 1789, for example, and good year in 1791 are paralleled in the records of the pans at Halbeath (Payne 1982, 18). The figures reproduced in Appendix 1 include salt supplied duty-free to fisheries. The St Philips works supplied more fishery salt than most other works because of local demand (Whatley 1984a, 36). The second column is for salt exports, of which there were none in some years. Export salt and fisheries salt rarely overlap. The bulk of the production is contained in the third column, of 'coastwise' sales (unfortunately their exact destination is not specified). A small amount was also retailed locally. The total includes all these, plus the occasional coastal cargo allowed duty-free to replace a cargo lost at sea on which duty had already been paid. The figures show how salt production fluctuated. In general, the highest production was in the summer quarter (5 July to 10 October), and the lowest in the subsequent quarter (10 October to 5 January), but this is not always the case. The highest demand for fisheries salt was also in the summer. The figures for the first quarter of 1794 are split, one set running from 5 January to 3 March, and another from 3 March to 5 April. Perhaps this is further evidence of the changes which took place in 1794.

Illus 3.3 shows the annual totals of exports compared with the annual totals of coastwise and retail sales. Whatley (1984a, 32–3), looking at overall figures for Fife, has shown that retail sales increased towards the end of the 18th century, and



Illus 3.3. Retail and coastwise sales of salt (bushels), compared with exports, 1773–97.

coastal shipments increased to 64 per cent of production by 1786–9. At St Philips, for the same three years (April 1786 – April 1789), total sales were 74,970 bushels. This breaks down into fisheries 18,796 bushels (25 per cent), exports 0, coastwise 52,103 bushels (69.5 per cent) and retail 4071 bushels (5.5 per cent). Table 3 shows similar figures for 1773–6, 1783–6 and 1793–6. These show clearly that coastwise sales were both the most important and the most consistent.

Most of the coastwise sales went to other ports on the east coast of Scotland. The customs records do not record destinations of shipments. There are two references in other sources. David Loch (1778, 47) said that 'many north country vessels' came to Pittenweem to buy salt, and an article in the *Scots Magazine* in 1804 said that 'The east part of Berwickshire is supplied with salt from Cockenzie and Newark'. The same writer stated that a family of eight consumed 4 bushels of salt per year (1804, 760–1).

In the early 1770s a Salt Association was formed by the proprietors of salt pans on both coasts of the Firth of Forth, in an attempt to regulate output and avoid price fluctuations. The group set annual targets in 1787 of 45,000 bushels for Wemyss and Bo'ness, 30,000 bushels for Newark and Cockenzie, 14,000 bushels for Grange and 6000 bushels for St Davids. Any works producing more than this was to pay 6d per bushel into the kitty (NAS GD172/503/1). This same report pointed out that inland

and coastal sales were 'ascertained and varies very little one year from another', and suggested that efforts should therefore be made to increase exports. The figure of 30,000 bushels for the Newark Company represented a reasonable figure, as the average production of the works between 1773 and 1786 had been just over 30,000 bushels per year. From 1787 to 1796, however, the average annual production fell to just under 24,000 bushels.

One of the concerns of the Salt Association was the amount of salt sitting in girnels unsold. In the three months to 24 May 1790, for example, the Newark Company was said to have made 5250 bushels of salt, of which 500 bushels were sold by land, 3776 bushels by 'sea sale' and 1228 bushels to the fishery, making total sales of 5504 bushels, with 20,085 bushels 'on hand'. In the following two months the works made 5013 bushels, of which they sold 196 bushels by land, 1220 bushels coastwise, and none to the fisheries, but exported 2640 bushels. This meant total sales of 4056 bushels, leaving an increased stockpile of 21,042 bushels, which was 87 per cent of the total amount sold in that year. None of the other five works in the cartel had any exports during this period (NAS GD172/503/10 & 11). In February 1794 the proprietors agreed that as there was a shortage of salt, they would ban exports for a year, provided the price stayed above 1s 6d per bushel, and would also repair or erect extra pans (NAS GD172/503/34), but within six months the Newark company had

Table 3. The varying percentages of exports, coastwise, fisheries and retail sales of salt. The figures for 1783–6 are missing one winter quarter. Taken from NAS E536/59–61, 69–71, 80–2).

Date	Fisheries	% of total	Exports	% of total	Coastwise	% of total	Retail	% of total	Total
1773–6	4460	5%	4822	6%	63,566	74%	12,770	15%	85,618
1783–6	14,205	17%	4000	5%	59,797	72%	4678	6%	82,680
1793–6	2560	4%	0	0%	51,094	79%	10,750	17%	64,404

Table 4. Bushels of salt made at St Philips, 1807–14. Extracted from NAS GD164/892 'An Account of the Quantities of Salt made, and of the Amount of Duties paid thereon at the several Salt works upon the Firth of Forth for the Ten Years ending 5th July 1817'.

Date	Robert Maltman (bushels)	John Bayne & Co (bushels)	John Boddie & Co (bushels)
5.7.1807–5.7.1808	4500		
5.7.1808–5.7.1809	3336		
5.7.1809–5.7.1810	4261	4190	
5.7.1810–5.7.1811	462	2121	
5.7.1811–5.7.1812		1348	
5.7.1812–5.7.1813			986
5.7.1813–5.7.1814			189
5.7.1814–5.7.1815			0
Total	12,559	7659	1175

reduced its operations and closed the waggonway.

In September 1797 Pittenweem Town Council raised their duty on exported salt from a farthing a ton to a penny halfpenny – a six-fold increase – though the rate for coal remained the same. 1797 saw a general rise in salt production in Scotland, stimulated by shortages and a rise in price because of the war with France, and the increased duty would be expected to be a reaction to booming salt exports. But although the output of the St Philips saltworks was the sixth highest in Fife between 1795 and 1798 (Whatley 1984a, appendix 2), it fell sharply between 1796 and 1797. Nationally, prices fell again between 1798 and 1806, and then sales picked up again until the removal of duties in 1823, but the official customs records do not survive after the first quarter of 1798 (Whatley 1984a, 39–41).

However, there is a private copy of annual salt production figures for the various saltworks on the Forth between the year ending July 1808 and the year ending July 1817 (NAS GD164/892). The figures for St Philips are given in Table 4 and Appendix 1. Between 1808 and 1814 the St Philips works had three different proprietors. The first was Robert Maltman, who had been Sir John Anstruther's factor. Overlapping with him was John Bayne and Company, who were succeeded by John Boddie and Company. The last reference to the St Philips salt pans in local sources is in Pittenweem Town Council minutes of 1811, where it is recorded that the former burgh treasurer, John Bayne, 'in going down to shut or open the sluice at the salt pans was suffocated and drowned'. There

was a boom in salt sales after 1806, and it would appear that several local men tried to keep at least some of the pans going, with diminishing success. The overlap between Maltman and Bayne would imply that neither man was working all nine pans. There was no salt produced at St Philips between July 1814 and July 1817, and it seems unlikely that the pans were ever used again, as they had long been out of production by the time *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* was written in the 1840s.

The collection of salt duties entailed the employment of quite a number of men to ensure compliance with the regulations. Prestonpans, for example, had 10 salt officers and 14 watchmen, Kirkcaldy had 8 officers and 10 watchmen. Anstruther area in 1779 had a collector, a supervisor, an officer and four watchmen. At first the St Philips saltworks had been supervised from Kirkcaldy, but once the enterprise really got going a separate unit was established. The collector, supervisor and officer and two watchmen started work on 5 January 1774, with two more watchmen being added from 5 January 1776. The supervisor and collector both received £5 per annum, the watchmen £15 each, and the officer £25 (PRO T45/5).

In 1779 the salt pans must have been booming, as two 'extraordinary' watchmen were appointed, and the collector and supervisor both received an extra £5 for 'extraordinary trouble'. 1779 saw the peak of salt production at St Philips (as shown in Illus 3.2), and presumably elsewhere as well, as both Kirkcaldy and Prestonpans employed seven

extra watchmen that year (PRO T45/5). By 1794, however, the establishment was back to normal, with collector, supervisor, officer and four watchmen, at the same rates of pay as in 1779 (PRO T45/3).

Among the customs returns for salt from the pans at St Philips are a few documents relating to fines and seizures of salt (NAS E536/74/4, 75/4, 76/4, 77/4, 81/4, 83/4, 84/4). These list the date of the seizure, who seized the salt, from whom, the amount recovered, and whether and when the miscreant was fined. Between 1787 and 1798 there are seven surviving records. The seizers were nine men, one of whom was the salt officer and two of whom were saltwatchmen (PRO T45/3 & 5). They accounted for 34 seizures from about 22 individuals, four of whom were caught twice and two three times. Of these 22, one was a known salter, four others were male, and four of the five lived at St Philips. Fifteen of those caught were women, some of whom are known from other sources to have been the wives or daughters of salters, and one of whom was the wife of one of the male offenders.

The place of seizure, where specified, included St Philips (14 times), 'St Philips on the high road' (6 times), and once in the offender's house at St Philips. A few seizures were made in St Monans, Pittenweem and Anstruther. Some recoveries were recorded as 'found on the road', sometimes with the additional comment 'person run of [sic]'. The amounts stolen were small, ranging from 3 bushels down to an eighth of a gallon. According to the 19th-century historian of St Monans (Jack 1844, 147–51) 'although a gauger on the part of the Government and an overseer on the part of the proprietor were in constant attendance, it was just as impossible to prevent the salters from pilfering as to intercept the flux and reflux of the tides'. He claimed that the salters boasted of their skill in smuggling, and felt no guilt. He also mentioned the involvement of women. It would appear from the customs seizure documents, however, that either the men got caught less frequently, or the theft of salt was generally carried out by the wives and daughters of the salters rather than by the men themselves.

Social history

In 1790 the colliery was employing 36 men from the parish of Pittenweem, and an unknown number from the parish of St Monans. Several houses had been built around the coalwork, and there were also 'a number of houses for salters, etc.' (OSA X, 696, 739, 745). By analogy with similar works, the salt pans would have employed about 20 people (two men per pan and a couple of extra hands). It cannot have been a very pleasant place to live. In 1792 the minister of Dysart complained that, 'the engine and salt pans occasion

much smoke, which is very disagreeable, destroying vegetation in the gardens, and penetrating the inmost recesses of the houses' (OSA X, 343).

We know virtually nothing about the men and women who worked in these various enterprises. In 1719 the population of St Monans was categorised in the Town Council minutes as 'feuars, tenants and coallers to the Hon Sir Alexander Anstruther of Newark and St Monans'. According to *The Old Statistical Account of Scotland* for Pittenweem 'the population has increased very considerably within these 25 years, owing to the colliery and salt-works'. In St Monans it was claimed that the works had 'brought a number of persons, and their families, into the parish, from other parts of the country'. The effect also spread to neighbouring parishes such as Anstruther Wester (OSA X, 35, 696, 745). It is unclear, however, where these extra workers came from, or what happened to them or their successors when the works closed.

The names of 27 colliers, plus five grieves or overseers, and an engineer, survive in Town Council, Kirk Session and other records for Pittenweem and St Monans. Seven of the names are distinctively local, while some others are clearly not. *The Old Statistical Account of Scotland* for Carnbee, the parish immediately inland from Pittenweem, noted that all the coalworks in the parish had ceased, and 'a great many of those colliers, and other workpeople in that line, who were wont to find constant employment here, found themselves under the necessity of going elsewhere for business in the way to which they had become accustomed' (OSA X, 110). It seems likely, therefore, that many of the colliers who worked for the Newark Coal Company were recruited fairly locally.

As the works seems to have wound down over a long period, there was probably no mass exodus of skilled men, although some did leave. The enumerator for the 1841 census in St Monans noted that since the coalworks had 'been discontinued ... several families have moved from the place'. There were still three former colliers, now paupers, recorded in the 1851 census. One of them had sons who had been described as colliers in 1841, but ten years later were listed as agricultural labourers. The *Pittenweem Register* of December 1849 noted the death, in an accident at a lime quarry, of 'Mr William Redpath ... either the last, or among the very last of the workmen who were employed at the Pittenweem coal works'. In August and September 1853, however, the newspaper traced two further survivors.

Unlike the colliers, there was no local pool of experienced salters, but Sir John Anstruther seems to have had no trouble acquiring them. The names of only six salters survive, as well as eight people who were probably related to salters, eight saltwatchmen, two salt agents and an overseer, but the

salters have proved easier to trace than the colliers. John Gerrard, his wife and six children moved from the parish of Wemyss, and two more children were born in St Monans. James Caution and his family came from Torryburn via Culross. Two of the salters were called Gowans. Although the name Gowans is quite common in Fife, half of the occurrences of the name in the late 18th century were at places with saltworks; between 1770 and 1800 the largest number of Gowans in Fife were at St Monans. One of the associated characters was another Caution, one another Gowans, one probably the wife of a Gerrard, and another probably from Wemyss. Some of the salters seem to have settled down in St Monans, where their children found other employment. One salter's son was recorded as a carpenter in 1803, while in 1806 St Monans Kirk Session minutes tell the story of a young sailor, whose father lived at the pans, who was accused of getting a girl pregnant during a walk along the old waggonway.

The traditional view of the status of colliers and salters is that between 1606 and 1799 they were serfs, bound for life to their masters, living in ghettos, and shunned by the rest of the population, but certainly by the time *The Old Statistical Account of Scotland* was written in the 1790s this seems to have no longer been the case. In Pittenweem, we are told, 'the colliers are all free, stand engaged by the year, and are paid in proportion to the work they respectively perform. A good and laborious collier will earn about eighteen shillings a week'. This was a high wage, and twice as much as an agricultural labourer earned. We are also told that a charitable society had been formed recently 'by the people connected with the colliery. This seems to be a most laudable and humane institution, as accidents often happen at collieries ...'. This does not sound as though the colliers were despised, rather that they were recognised and respected as skilled workers.

Recently, Professor Christopher Whatley and others have pointed out that some aspects of the lifestyle of these workers were not due to legal servitude, but to factors related to the type of work (Whatley 1991). The separate housing was provided for reasons of efficiency, close to the workplace and away from distractions, but also as an inducement to skilled men to move. The names of colliers and salters employed at the Newark Coal and Salt Company's works have been gathered from Town Council minutes, parish registers and Kirk Session minutes for Pittenweem and St Monans. In none of these sources is any impression given that colliers or salters were regarded as inferior. Their trade was given after their name as it was for many people, as a means of identification, and nothing more.

The colliers and salters lived in isolation partly because housing was provided on site, and partly

because any group whose work involves relying on one's companions for safety develops a strong group identity. Also, where an industry employed the wives and even the children of its male workers, the women were to some extent excluded from the normal social life of the community. This lessened the chance of mixed marriages, and so the separation was perpetuated. When women worked, especially in an industry involving dirt and pollution, they had less time for cleaning either themselves or their houses, and may well have been regarded by other women as dirty or slovenly. On the other hand, they cannot have been completely isolated at St Philips, so close to St Monans.

Similar isolated groups of workers were to be found in other industries too, and particularly, in this area, in the fishing industry. In the 16th and 17th centuries there had been several totally separate fishing communities in the East Neuk of Fife: Lower Largo and Drummochy; Lower St Monans; Nether Kilrenny (Cellardyke); Fife Ness; and the Isle of May. During the 18th century, as fish became less abundant within the Firth of Forth, the more isolated of these settlements, such as Fife Ness and the Isle of May, were abandoned, and the rest developed into more mixed communities, but fishermen still lived in tight-knit groups within larger towns and villages. In the 1841 census of Pittenweem, for example, over a third of the fishermen and over half the net-makers lived in a block of 40 houses around the west haven, very separate from the tradesmen and professional men in the High Street, or the sea captains and ship owners around the main harbour. The wives of fishermen had no occupation listed, but we know from other sources that they were kept busy baiting lines and mending nets. Every other female over the age of ten, however, daughters, sisters and widows of fishermen, was listed as a net-maker. This home-work must have isolated these women from the other women of the town. The fishermen themselves were regarded as inferior by the merchant seamen, and tended to get blamed for any damage to the main harbour.

In St Monans, however, the social isolation of the colliers and salters was probably more easily broken down than in larger settlements. St Monans was the poorest of the East Neuk burghs, and the one most dependent on a single industry – fishing. Consequently, many of the men were away at sea much of the time. In the first half of the 19th century the town had difficulty finding 15 men to serve on the Council, and, even then, could not hold meetings during the summer months because too many Councillors were away at sea. This was an isolated community, bypassed by the coast road, and inward-looking, resulting in a degree of inbreeding, therefore an influx of new blood was to be welcomed. Perhaps this is why many salters

stayed on when the pans closed down. Pittenweem was larger, with a more mixed economy, and so had less need to welcome extra people, particularly if their specific skills were no longer needed.

Examples of the social integration of the colliers and salters into St Monans start with two colliers who appear in the Town Council records in 1778 bidding for the street dung, and, incidentally, signing their names clearly. They later became Councillors, one in 1794 and one in 1796, and both served as bailies from 1805 onwards. Because of the differences between Pittenweem and St Monans, the long-term social and economic effects of the coal and saltworks appear to have been different. There is no doubt that the Newark Coal and Salt Work Company helped to revive the fortunes of Pittenweem. But when coal and salt exports declined, other cargoes eventually replaced them. Thanks in part at least to the money spent on the harbour by Sir John Anstruther, trade continued to flourish, symbolised by the building in 1806 of a massive 'granary' or warehouse on the quayside where the coal had previously been piled up awaiting shipment.

In St Monans, too, the economy boomed in the 19th century. As fishing boats got larger, the harbour was enlarged and improved by the fishermen, and eventually new housing was built to ease overcrowding. This improvement in the fortunes of the town could well have been stimulated by the influx of new blood from the salter families

who stayed on.

One of the most successful business families in St Monans today is descended from a salter. John Gerrard and his wife were married in the parish of Wemyss in 1761, and had six children there. At some time between 1772 and 1776 they moved to St Monans, where their last two children were born. In 1806 John Gerrard was still living at the pans. His youngest son, Peter, born in 1780, was a sailor, and in 1808 he married a local girl. In the 18th century there were 21 Gerrards in Wemyss (none after 1775), eight in St Monans, two in Dysart, and one in Pittenweem. During the 19th century the name was found more widely in Fife. In the current telephone directory for Fife there are 19 domestic entries for Gerrards, six of them in St Monans. There are two business entries – a grocer's shop in St Monans, and the related fish merchant, haulage contractor and ships' chandler in Pittenweem.

The Newark Coal and Salt Work Company can be shown to have been a thriving and profitable concern for about 25 years, and its success seems to have marked the end of the economic stagnation which had characterised the East Neuk of Fife for over a century. The legacy of the enterprise was improved infrastructure in Pittenweem and a boost to the population in St Monans, which served in different ways to stimulate the continued growth and development of both burghs.

Appendix 1

Figures (in bushels) for salt from the St Philips Salt Works, 1772–84, on which duty was paid, or which was supplied to the fishery exempt from duty, extracted from NAS E536/58/4 to E536/84/4. The

two duty-free entries under coastwise salt were to replace amounts on which duty had been paid but which had been lost at sea. Also annual totals for 1807–15, extracted from GD164/892.

Reference	Date	Fishery (duty-free)	Export	Coastwise	Retail	Total Output
E536/58/4	5.7.72–10.10.72	0	0	1200	860	2060
	10.10.72–5.1.73	0	0	1800	454	2254
	5.1.73–5.4.73	0	4300	2400	391	7091
E536/59/4	5.4.73–5.7.73	0	200	3100	593	3893
	5.7.73–10.10.73	100	0	11,000	1507	12,607
	10.10.73–5.1.74	0	0	3414	858	4272
E536/60/4	5.1.74–5.4.74	0	2000	4000	563	6563
	5.4.74–5.7.74	40	2622	7600	1049	11311
	5.7.74–10.10.74	2770	0	8442	4128	15,340
E536/61/4	10.10.74–5.1.75	50	0	2000	656	2706
	5.1.75–5.4.75	0	0	3200	399	3599
	5.4.75–5.7.75	0	0	7050	660	7710
E536/62/4	5.7.75–10.10.75	1500	0	10,760	806	13,066
	10.10.75–5.1.76	0	0	1000	740	1740
	5.1.76–5.4.76	0	0	2000	811	2811
E536/63/4	5.4.76–5.7.76	0	2300	2670	607	5577
	5.7.76–10.10.76	1765	0	11,536	1300	14,601
	10.10.76–5.1.77	0	0	4500	585	5085
E536/64/4	5.1.77–5.4.77	200	3400	4400	631	8631
	5.4.77–5.7.77	0	0	2120	408	2528
	5.7.77–10.10.77	1500	0	7600	801	9901
E536/65/4	10.10.77–5.1.78	0	1522	7600	283	9405
	5.1.78–5.4.78	0	0	1400	228	1628
	5.4.78–5.7.78	2800	0	7400	255	10455
E536/66/4	5.7.78–10.10.78	640	0	7080	889	8609
	10.10.78–5.1.79	0	0	7170	339	7509
	5.1.79–5.4.79	0	0	6230	403	6633
E536/67/4	5.4.79–5.7.79	1200	0	4780	412	8592
				+2200 duty-free		
	5.7.79–10.10.79	4920	0	9850	511	15,281
E536/68/4	10.10.79–5.1.80	0	0	5552	710	6262
	5.1.80–5.4.80	840	0	9750	346	10936
	5.4.80–5.7.80	730	0	9470	556	10756
E536/69/4	5.7.80–10.10.80	400	0	7050	468	7918
	10.10.80–5.1.81	0	0	7700	662	8362
	5.1.81–5.4.81	1070	0	3500	436	5006
E536/70/4	5.4.81–5.7.81	4908	0	8060	411	13379
	5.7.81–10.10.81	40	0	6600	454	7094
	10.10.81–5.1.82	0	0	4040	613	4659
E536/71/4	5.1.82–5.4.82	0	0	9762	424	10186
	5.4.82–5.7.82	3870	0	6210	430	10510
	5.7.82–10.10.82	740	0	2400	484	3624
E536/72/4	10.10.82–5.1.83	0	0	7152	534	7686
	5.1.83–5.4.83	168	0	3436	458	4062
	5.4.83–5.7.83	3988	0	5610	475	10,073
E536/73/4	5.7.83–10.10.83	300	0	5604	373	6277
	10.10.83–5.1.84	0	0	5934	418	6352
	5.1.84–5.4.84	0	0	3650	302	3952
E536/74/4	5.4.84–5.7.84	2482	0	7059	478	10,019
	5.7.84–10.10.84	4275	0	5428	1154	10,857
	10.10.84–5.1.85	6	0	4850	390	5246
E536/75/4	5.1.85–5.4.85	0	0	4528	162	4690
	5.4.85–5.7.85	2364	0	8842	214	11,420
	5.7.85–10.10.85	790	0	3352	541	4683
wanting	10.10.85–5.1.86					
	5.1.86–5.4.86	0	4000	4940	171	9111

Reference	Date	Fishery (duty-free)	Export	Coastwise	Retail	Total Output
E536/72/4	5.4.86-5.7.86	500	0	6670	225	7395
	5.7.86-10.10.86	3902	0	5960	1351	11,213
	10.10.86-5.1.87	0	0	5488	295	5783
	5.1.87-5.4.87	4410	0	5500	195	10,105
E536/73/4	5.4.87-10.5.87	2150	0	450	93	2693
E536/74/4	10.5.87-5.7.87	370	0	2480	160	3010
	5.7.87-10.10.87	2294	0	7229	453	9976
	10.10.87-5.1.88	0	0	3880	151	4031
E536/75/4	5.1.88-5.4.88	670	0	4300	145	5115
	5.4.88-5.7.88	1320	0	4220	181	5721
	5.7.88-10.10.88	1942	0	4996	335	7273
	10.10.88-5.1.89	800	0	330	178	1308
E536/76/4	5.1.89-5.4.89	438	0	600	309	1347
	5.4.89-5.7.89	150	0	5100	180	5430
	5.7.89-10.10.89	1920	0	3920	1032	6872
	10.10.89-5.1.90	0	0	200	444	644
E536/77/4	5.1.90-5.4.90	1148	0	2000	486	3634
	5.4.90-5.7.90	80	2640	2996	231	5947
	5.7.90-10.10.90	4880	0	6116	485	11,481
	10.10.90-5.1.91	0	500	2384	281	3165
E536/78/4	5.1.91-5.4.91	1199	0	9540	192	10,931
	5.4.91-5.7.91	600	5260	3710	195	9765
	5.7.91-10.10.91	700	0	9070	279	10,049
	10.10.91-5.1.92	0	0	440	272	712
E536/79/4	5.1.92-5.4.92	1114	0	6950	249	8313
	5.4.92-5.7.92	1160	0	2950	211	4321
	5.7.92-10.10.92	200	0	8784	411	9395
	10.10.92-5.1.93	700	0	8120	303	9123
E536/80/4	5.1.93-5.4.93	0	0	5750	343	6093
	5.4.93-5.7.93	0	0	6800	570	7370
	5.7.93-10.10.93	160	0	3516	974	4650
	10.10.93-5.1.94	380	0	3060	2216	5656
E536/81/4	5.1.94-3.3.94	100	0	120	1262	1482
	3.3.94-5.4.94	0	0	1700	479	2179
	5.4.94-5.7.94	0	0	2900	902	3802
	5.7.94-10.10.94	0	0	5400	582	5982
E536/82/4	10.10.94-5.1.95	0	0	6400	907	7307
	5.1.95-5.4.95	0	0	2600	549	3149
	5.4.95-5.7.95	0	0	4288	398	4686
	5.7.95-10.10.95	0	0	2400	839	3239
E536/83/4	10.10.95-5.1.96	80	0	7510	735	8325
	5.1.96-5.4.96	1840	0	4400	337	6577
	5.4.96-5.7.96	0	0	5500	311	5811
	5.7.96-10.10.96	0	0	7586	230	7816
E536/84/4	10.10.96-5.1.97	0	0	3606	1312	4918
	5.1.97-5.4.97	866	0	0	297	1163
	5.4.97-5.7.97	0	0	1607	213	2420
				0	+607	
	5.7.97-10.10.97	0	0	duty-free	371	371
	10.10.97-5.1.98	40	0	2040	1152	3232
	5.1.98-5.4.98	120	0	3000	485	3605
GD164/892	5.7.1807-5.7.08					4500
	5.7.08-5.7.09					3336
	5.7.09-5.7.10					8451
	5.7.10-5.7.11					2583
	5.7.11-5.7.12					1348
	5.7.12-5.7.13					986
	5.7.13-5.7.14					189
	5.7.14-5.7.15					0