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ABSTRACT

of

B. Phil. Thesis

Title: "The Administration of an Estate in Fife during the  
Eighteenth Century: The Rothes Estate at Leslie and  
Ballinbreich."

by

John Hosie

The Eighteenth Century was a time of political, economic and social change for the people of Scotland. During this time the great proprietors of the realm dominated the life of the country and invested heavily in farming and industry, in particular coal-mining.

Although the County of Fife may have been less progressive in some respects than other regions there were some men of vision who foresaw the importance of this economic revolution to the future of their estates as well as the country. The ninth and tenth Earls of Rothes, who inherited the great house of Leslie along with its policies and estates, were such men. At all times they struggled to keep abreast of the new developments, and had fate been kinder, especially with regard to coal-mining, then perhaps great fortunes might have been made. This was not to be, and when the great fire of 1763 destroyed three of the four wings of Leslie House, the situation became so difficult for the tenth Earl that he and his heirs were eventually forced to part with their lands in order to clear the accumulating debt.

This thesis is a study in depth of the economic activities of the ninth and tenth Earls of Rothes whose estates at Leslie and Ballinbreich were among the grandest in Fife. The opening chapters are descriptive of the life enjoyed by the Leslie family and their servants at Leslie House, one of the county's great manor houses. The contributions of two of Scotland's greatest architects, Sir William Bruce and William Adam, to the building and maintenance of the property are noted.

Then there is an examination of the documents relating to the improvements carried out in agriculture. The Earls showed great concern for the planning of their policies, in particular of the plantations and Home Farms surrounding the great house. Every effort was made to beautify their estates by the latest improvements in landscaping and gardening in order to enhance the quality of life at Leslie.

Lastly, but by no means secondary to agriculture, were the coal-mining enterprises in which the Earls were engaged. In this respect it could be said that developments in Fife kept pace with those elsewhere. Coal, a growth industry during the Eighteenth

Century, attracted much investment and in this activity the great landowners were to play a prominent role. New technologies were introduced with some experimentation as well in order to combat the ever-present problems -- faulting, flooding and ventilation. The reader should find the chapter on the new coal-works at Strathore interesting, since it was at Strathore that the National Coal Board sunk the Rothes Colliery in 1960.

The thesis should also be of interest to residents of Glenrothes for the lands on which the New Town is situated were at one time the principal farm-lands of the Rothes Estate at Leslie.

J. Hosie  
Glenrothes  
October 1975

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AN ESTATE IN FIFE DURING THE  
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE ROTHES ESTATE AT LESLIE  
AND BALLINBREICH

A HISTORICAL STUDY

by

JOHN HOSIE

being a dissertation submitted to the University  
of St. Andrews in application for the degree of  
Bachelor of Philosophy of that University.



TL 8683

I was admitted to the University of St. Andrews, Faculty of Arts, in October 1969 in accordance with St. Andrews Ordinance No. 12, as a Research Student. I was admitted to candidacy for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy with effect from 1 October 1969, in accordance with St. Andrews Ordinance No. 50. In pursuit of my studies for this degree I have been a matriculated student of the University of St. Andrews in the academic years 1969 - 75 spending the above period as a part-time student.

I hereby certify that the material presented in this dissertation is wholly my own, where not otherwise acknowledged, and that none of this material has been presented in any previous application for a Degree.

John Hosie

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## Introduction

Several years ago a student of Kirkcaldy Technical College, while engaged in a local history project, discovered a collection of old manuscripts relating to life on the Rothes Estate at Leslie. These papers were found in a cottage scheduled for demolition, so it is fortunate, indeed, that they were saved from destruction. It is probable that the cottage in which they were found was at one time occupied by one of the factors, for a large number of the documents relate to the work for which the factor was responsible. The Rothes Papers are now in the possession of the curator of Kirkcaldy Museum and Art Gallery. At present they are to be found in the Archives Room of the Industrial Museum at Forth House, Kirkcaldy.

The papers deal mainly with the economic aspects of life on the Rothes Estate at Leslie, though some concern the estate at Ballinbreich. I have obtained most of my information from them and have attempted to present the reader with a vivid picture of life on a Fife estate during the eighteenth century. Most of the documents relate to the activities of the ninth and tenth Earls of Rothes (1700-67), who, because of their military and political commitments, were frequently absent from Leslie, spending considerable time in London and Ireland. Because of this absenteeism, a great deal of responsibility was given to their factors, who managed their affairs, often taking full responsibility for their actions.

During the eighteenth century Scotland was to experience many changes in her social, political and economic life. Politically, after the Act of Union in 1707, in the House of Lords of the British Parliament were to sit sixteen representative peers, elected by their fellow peers and responsible to their nation at a time when the

Upper Chamber was still a seat of power. Economically, in agriculture, the Age of Improvement was to overshadow all other events and progress made in this direction would largely depend on the attitude of the great landowners and those who administered their estates; in the field of industry, for the great proprietors in Fife, the main interests were in linen, paper and coal. The Earls of Rothes, like their neighbours, St. Clair, Leven, Wemyss and Balbirnie, were greatly interested in developing their coal mines; from the manuscripts it has been possible to follow the development of one of the Rothes' pits, from the time the first bores were made to the first extraction and sale of the coal. For this reason I have concentrated my work on the coal-mining activities that took place on the Rothes Estate; the chapters on coal-mining are major ones. In these chapters I have stressed the roles fulfilled by the overseers, factors and grieves in managing the collieries and the labour performed by sinkers, hewers and drawers in winning the coal.

In the chapters on the agricultural activities of the Earls of Rothes I have dealt mainly with the development of the policies, with special consideration given to the gardens and enclosures, parklands and plantations at Leslie, the latter considered to be, with the exception of the House, one of the most attractive features of the estate. As well, I have referred to some of the activities at Ballinbreich.

The chapter on Leslie House deals mainly with the maintenance of the house and the duties and wages of the household staff, with a section on the furnishings, gallery and library of the house. It should be evident from the contents listed in the Inventory that Leslie House, before the fire in 1763, was one of the great showpieces of Scotland.

The chapter on the family is only intended to acquaint the reader with the Leslie family and the place it held in Scottish history during this period. It is brief and serves as an introduction to the main themes of my thesis.



## CHAPTER I.

### Historical Background of the Family

The Leslie family, which became a power behind the throne of Scotland, owned lands in an area extending from the Firth of Forth to the Moray Firth. This ancient family derive their descent from Bartholomew, a Flemish baron, who settled with his followers in the district of Garioch in Aberdeenshire, in the reign of William the Lion. He obtained the barony of Leslie in that district, from which his descendants adopted their name. Norman de Leslie, the fourth in descent from him, obtained from Alexander III in 1283, a grant of woods and the lands of Fythkill in Fife; these lands were afterwards called Leslie and remained in the possession of the family until 1919 when the House and policies were sold.

In 1457 George Leslie was created first Earl of Rothes, being styled Dominus de Rothes in a charter signed in Aberdeen on 24 October 1396 by one of his ancestors, Sir George Leslie, who was to be engaged as Sheriff of Fife in the same year. It would appear that George Leslie of Rothes, son of Norman Leslie, was created Earl of Rothes by King James II before 20 March 1457, as by a charter of that date, the king, for a singular favour which he did bear to his beloved cousin, George, Earl of Rothes, Lord Leslie, granted and confirmed to the said Earl the lands and barony of Ballinbreich, the lands and barony of 'Taxis' in the shire of Fife,<sup>1</sup> the town of Leslie in the shire of Fife - all united into one free barony, called the barony of Ballinbreich, to be holden of the king and his successors; at the same time the town of Leslie Green was erected into a free burgh of barony. Through his father and mother George was descended from both the royal families of

Bruce and Stewart.

Later, in 1539, a charter signed by James V at St. Andrews granted to George, the fourth Earl of Rothes and his heirs, the lands and barony of Leslie, and others, and confirmed all the privileges formerly granted to the town of Leslie as a free burgh of barony.

The seventh Earl and first Duke of Rothes, John, succeeded his father, the sixth Earl, who had served Charles I as a commissioner during 1639-40 between the King's majesty and his subjects of Scotland and between the kingdoms of Scotland and England in the negotiations begun at Ripon and afterwards concluded and ratified by the parliaments of both kingdoms. The seventh Earl succeeded his father in August, 1641, and, as he was only eleven years old at the time, was made a ward of General Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgony until of age. He inherited all the lands belonging to his father in April 1642, while in March 1642 he had received a gift from Charles I, consisting of a yearly pension of £10,000 Scots during the space of his natural life, to begin at Martinmas 1641. He settled at Leslie in March 1650, having previously been with his father-in-law, the Earl of Crawford, at Struthers.

During the Civil War he accompanied the royal army into England, having been appointed Colonel of one of the two regiments of horse levied in Fife for the king's service. At the battle of Worcester on 3 September 1651 he was taken prisoner and detained in the Tower of London, being later moved in 1654 to Newcastle. Through the intervention of the Countess of Dysart he was set at liberty and returned to Scotland in 1655. To prevent a duel between Rothes and Viscount Howard, Oliver Cromwell had the seventh Earl committed to Edinburgh Castle in 1658, his estates being sequestrated in April 1658.

He was freed on 1 December 1658 and allowed to return to Leslie on giving security. He obtained a discharge from J. Bayne, receiver-general to Oliver Cromwell, for the sum of £333:6:8 Sterling, in full of the fine imposed on him by virtue of the ordinance of pardon and grace to the people of Scotland, on 2 February 1658.

On the restoration of Charles II he was granted a pension by the king of £1,000 Sterling a year for his lifetime, in lieu of his former pension of £10,000 Scots, and was also given a commission nominating him president of the Privy Council of Scotland on 30 August 1660. John returned to Leslie in September 1660 and was to serve the king as High Commissioner to the parliament which met at Edinburgh in 1663. The Royal Lifeguards were established by King Charles II under the command of the Earl of Rothes who was later appointed general of the forces in Scotland in 1666, and a year later made Lord High Chancellor for life. As well as the above, he was appointed Colonel-in-Chief of the militia of Fife and Kinross.

During the period of detention during the Civil War, John's lands and baronies of Leslie, Ballinbreich and others had been obtained in 1656 by Robert Dempster, who later sold them to the Countess of Buccleuch, under a reversion on a back-tack to the Earl of Rothes, dated 7 January 1659. Anne, the Countess of Buccleuch, renounced the above lands in favour of the Earl of Rothes on 19 May 1663.

By the execution of a tailzie of his estates and earldom on 11 May 1660 and another dated 17 September 1662, John obtained a charter on 4 July 1663 of the title, honour and dignity of Earl of Rothes, Lord Leslie, and Ballinbreich, with the whole earldom, lands, baronies and lordships therein mentioned, to him and his male heirs, whom failing, to the eldest female heir, on condition that such female heir should

marry a gentleman of the name of Leslie, and that the children, male and female, of such heir should bear the name and arms of Leslie. Shortly afterwards, in 1667, work was started on the building of Leslie House under the supervision of Robert Mylne and Sir William Bruce. John was created by a patent, dated 29 May 1680, and signed by Charles II at Windsor Castle, the Duke of Rothes, Marquis of Ballinbreich, Earl of Leslie, Viscount of Lugtown, Lord Auchmuty<sup>2</sup> and Caskieberrie. This title would pass to his male heirs, and, failing this, to the heirs of the tailzie.

John, the seventh Earl, died at Holyrood Abbey on 27 July 1681, and there being no male heir, the title of Duke of Rothes became extinct. However, he was succeeded in his title of Earl of Rothes by his eldest daughter, Lady Margaret, (eighth) Countess of Rothes and Countess of Haddington. Margaret inherited lands in the shires of Aberdeen, Fife, Perth, Kincardine, Forres and Inverness on 16 May 1682, and on the same day in the lands and barony of Rothes in the shire of Elgin, and in the title and dignity and estates of the earldom of Rothes. On 4 July 1663 by a deed of entail executed by the seventh Earl and by a charter of request obtained under the sign-manual on his own resignation, which was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the same year, his eldest female heir was to succeed him, without division, in the earldom and estate of Rothes. The Privy Council did not interfere and decided to remit the matter in debate to the lords of Session in accordance with the law. The case was so clear that Lord Lindores did not think it worth his trouble to move further in the question of the honours which were to be vested in the direct descendants of Margaret, eighth Countess of Rothes.

The Countess, with the consent of her husband, Charles, Earl of Haddington, executed a deed of tailzie on 1 January 1684 which was

registered on 31 October 1749. By this she obtained a charter under the Great Seal, dated 8 July 1687, of all the lands and barony of Ballinbreich and others, to herself in liferent, and to their son, John, Lord Leslie, and the other heirs mentioned in fee; a sasine followed on 25 March 1689, registered on 1 May 1689. By a patent, dated 12 December 1689 at Holland House, it was agreed by the Earl of Haddington and the Countess of Rothes, Lady Margaret Leslie, that if there were but one son by the marriage, or, failing sons by this or any subsequent marriage of the Earl of Haddington, if the eldest daughter should succeed, such heir should assume the name of Leslie and should be called the Earl or Countess of Rothes and Haddington; if there were two or more sons by the marriage, the eldest son should succeed to the titles and estates of the earldom of Rothes. The Earl of Haddington bound himself to institute his second son as heir of tailzie to the titles and estates of the earldom of Haddington. Margaret, the eighth Countess of Rothes and Haddington, died on 20 August 1700 and was succeeded by her eldest son, John, the ninth Earl of Rothes.

In order to prevent any dispute relating to the titles of the Earl of Haddington, a new patent was granted to John, the Earl of Rothes, who resigned the title of Haddington, which was granted to Thomas, Earl of Haddington, his younger brother and to his male-heirs, or, failing this, to the heirs of their father, Charles, Earl of Haddington. This new patent was dated at St. James' on 22 October 1702. John was served heir to his mother, the Countess of Rothes, in the lands of Mildean and others at Dunfermline on 21 March 1707; he inherited the barony of Newton on 18 March 1708. On 3 June 1710 he sold the lands of Easter Pitteuchie (Pitteuchar) to James Moyes.

The ninth Earl took a very active part in the affairs of Scotland. He was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1704 and served in this capacity for one year. He was chosen as one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland at the general elections of 1708, 1715 and 1722. After the accession of George I the Earl of Rothes was appointed Vice-Admiral of Scotland in November 1715, and in the following year was made Governor of Stirling Castle. From 1715 to 1721 he represented the king as the High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. He was also active in military campaigns during the First Jacobite Rebellion in 1715, failing to seize Perth from the rebels in September, but defeating the Jacobites at Kinross on 26 September when a detachment of Scots Greys took part. A month later Leslie House was searched by the Jacobites. The Earl of Rothes commanded the horse volunteers at the battle of Sheriffmuir on 13 November 1715 which resulted in a defeat for the Jacobite forces. He was rewarded for his services to the Crown and along with David, the Earl of Buchan and others received a royal commission in 1716 to visit the University of Aberdeen and all the academies and schools of the same, and to examine the professors and principals concerning their past conduct towards Church and State. As well as being honoured in this way, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Aberdeen, Hereditary Sheriff of Fife and Commander of the Forces in Ireland. He was also one of the first landowners to introduce the cultivation of turnips in Scotland. Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk made this observation which is recorded in the Monymusk Papers: "Turnips in fields for cattle, by Erle of Rothes, and very few others, were wondered at." In the chapter on agriculture a more detailed account of the farming

practices followed by the Earl of Rothes is given.

The ninth Earl died on 9 May 1722 and was succeeded by his eldest son, John, tenth Earl of Rothes, who was served lawful heir of entail to his father in all the lands of the tailzie made by Margaret, Countess of Rothes, in 1684, with the exception of the barony of Rothes of those parts which had been disposed to Grant of Elchies on 30 August 1722. Like his father the tenth Earl took an active part in military affairs, entering the army as a captain of the dragoons in 1715, and in 1717 obtaining a company in the Foot Guards; in 1719 he was made Lieutenant Colonel of the 21st Regiment. When his father died in 1722, the tenth Earl succeeded him as Governor of Stirling Castle. He was elected as one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland in 1723, and re-elected at the general elections of 1727, 1747, 1754 and 1761. The tenth Earl took command of the 25th Regiment on 29 May 1732. He served as Major-General in the Army from 26 February 1743 and acted as such at the battle of Dettingen on 16 June 1743. A year later he was appointed Chamberlain of Fife and Strathearn. He was made Colonel of the second troop of Horse Grenadier Guards on 25 April 1745 and on 29 May 1745 was appointed Colonel of the 6th or Inniskilling Dragoons. During the battle of Rocoux on 1 October 1746 he was head of the first line of cavalry. In 1750 John, the tenth Earl, obtained command of the Scots Greys and in 1751 he was appointed Governor of Duncannon fort and a Lieutenant-General on the Staff in Ireland. He assumed command of the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards in April 1752 and was invested with the Order of the Thistle in March 1753.

When the tenth Earl died on 10 December 1767 he had served as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, General in the Army,

Colonel of the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, Privy Councillor in Ireland, Knight of the Thistle and Representative Peer of Scotland. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, John, who inherited his father's lands and title as the eleventh Earl of Rothes. He had served as an Ensign in his father's 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, but his military career was a short-lived one as he died at Leslie on 18 July 1773, aged 29, leaving a widow, Lady Jane Maitland, the second daughter of Captain Maitland of Soutra, in the county of Haddington. When the Earl's widow re-married, in accordance with the patent of 1689, the title and properties passed to Jane Elizabeth, sister of the deceased Earl. She was served heir of tailzie to John, Earl of Rothes, her brother, in the earldom of Rothes and in the lordship and lands of Leslie and others, on 27 June 1775.

The twelfth Countess of Rothes' right to succession was contested by her uncle, the Honourable Andrew Leslie, the eighth son of John, the ninth Earl, but the Court of Session determined in her favour and judgment was confirmed by the House of Lords on 10 May 1774. She was married twice, first at London to George Raymond Evelyn, the youngest son of William Evelyn Glanville of St. Clare in Kent. The surviving son of this marriage succeeded her in 1810 as the thirteenth Earl of Rothes. When her first husband died in 1770 the Countess of Rothes married Sir Lucas Pepys, Baronet, Physician to the king, and physician-general to the army.

George William, the thirteenth Earl of Rothes, inherited the title and estates of the House of Rothes on 24 August 1810. He got a disposition of the lands of Stenton, Milndean and others from Catherine Leslie, the only child and heir of the Honourable Thomas

Leslie. Like his mother, George William was married twice, first to the Honourable Henrietta Anne Pelham, the eldest daughter of Thomas, Lord Pelham of Stanmore on 24 May 1789. To this marriage was born a daughter, Henrietta Anne, who succeeded her father as the fourteenth Countess of Rothes when he died on 11 February 1817. George William, after the death of his first wife in 1797, remarried, his second wife, Charlotte Julia Campbell, being the daughter of Colonel John Campbell of Dunoon. When the thirteenth Earl died in 1817 his widow had a tablet with the following inscription placed in Wotton church in memory of her husband: "To the memory of George William, Earl of Rothes, Baron Leslie of Bambreich, son of George Raymond Evelyn, Esq. and Jane Elizabeth Leslie, Countess of Rothes in her own right, whom he succeeded in 1809, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, born 23 March 1768, died 11 February 1817. His afflicted widow and once happy wife inscribes this marble, wishing that heaven to her may grace supply to live as well and as prepared to die."

The fourteenth Countess of Rothes, prior to her succession to the title and lands of Rothes, had married George Gwyther in 1806, and to marriage was born George William Evelyn, who succeeded the Countess on her death in 1819. The fifteenth Earl married Louisa, the third daughter of Colonel Anderson Morshead, Colonel-Commandant of Engineers, who bore him a son, George William Evelyn Leslie, who succeeded him as the sixteenth Earl of Rothes in 1841. He died unmarried at Edinburgh on 2 January 1859 and was succeeded by his only sister, Henrietta Anderson Morshead, the seventeenth Countess of Rothes. She married the Honourable George Waldegrove, the youngest son of William Frederick, the eighth Earl Waldegrove, who

assumed the name of Leslie and represented the borough of Hastings in Parliament from 1859 to 1868.

This is only a brief history of the Rothes or Leslie family, but it is evident that after the death of the tenth Earl in 1767, the family was to play a less active role in the affairs of Scotland, becoming more involved in English life. In this thesis I am concerned mainly with the developments that occurred at the Rothes Estate at Leslie during the time when the ninth and tenth Earls, particularly the tenth Earl, were playing an active part in the military and political life of Scotland. The tenth Earl was frequently absent from Leslie House, and had to rely on many others - his factors, grieves, overseers as well as his wife to manage the estates for him. This is illustrated very clearly in the running of his coal mines and farms, and it would seem that he was unable to devote as much time to these activities as he would have liked, his other commitments taking priority over them. With the need to sell his lands at Ballinbreich in order to raise money for the rebuilding of Leslie House after the fire of 1763 his estate dwindled in size while the heavy debts incurred by his successors forced them to sell some of their lands at Leslie as well. Most of the selling of lands belonging to the estate occurred after 1859, terminating in the sale of the House and policies in 1919.

Footnotes and References - The Family

1. Tacis - old spelling of Teasses; this barony lay to the south of Ceres and included Teassesmill, Hall Teasses and Hill Teasses. Position on O.S. map, Sheet 56, Ref. No. 407081.
  
2. Auchmuty - west of Balgonie and south of Balbirnie; long the property of Sir David Auchmutie, who died on the borders of England, "where he had gone some weeks before", says Lamont, "for feare of captioun be his creditors"; and in 1670 Lamont states that the Chancellor, Earl of Rothes, purchased the lands of Auchmuty from Mr. George Gibson, "who had some legall right to it from the deceased Sir William Auchmoutie. It stood him about 28 thousand merks being estimat betwixt 14 and 16 chalders of victuall, and 100 merks yearly".  
See History of the County of Fife by John M. Leighton, Esq. Vol. III., 123.

For information on the Leslie family I have used for my source, Historical Records of the Leslie Family, Vol. II by Col. K. H. Leslie of Balquhain. These records deal in the main with deeds and titles and are kept in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

CHAPTER II.Leslie House(a) Architecture and Furnishings

John Leslie, the seventh Earl and first Duke of Rothes, was the person responsible for the building of Leslie House. He, like many of his contemporaries, in particular Sir William Bruce and the Earl of Lauderdale, wished to introduce new fashions in art and architecture into Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Rothes, serving the country as Lord Chancellor during the decade following the Restoration, was in close contact with the culturally stimulating atmosphere of the English court and was, no doubt, greatly influenced by the virtues of English life at that level. In architecture the English Palladian movement was extremely popular, there appearing on the scene mansion houses and gardens modelled after the late Renaissance style which attempted to revive the severity and dignity of Roman architecture as derived from Vitruvius.<sup>2</sup> This was an age of English Classicism spread throughout the country by the great architects of the day - Jones, Wren, Vanbrugh, Talman and others. They adapted the finest features of Italian design to meet the demands made on them by the great landowners in the South and built some of the finest and noblest structures to appear on the English landscape. They were indebted to the outstanding Italian architects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries - Bramante, Barbaro, Sangallo, Michael Angelo, Raphael Urbin and others, but above all to the great Palladio, whom Colen Campbell in his Vitruvius Britannicus considered to be the greatest of all, 'exceeding all who had gone before him and surpassing his contemporaries'.<sup>3</sup> The leading British architects, as Campbell included the Scot, Sir William Bruce,

in his list, were thought to be superior to the Italians of the seventeenth century, whose designs were too extravagant and ornamented. Only Palladio escaped this criticism as made by Campbell and thus made his contribution to the architectural renaissance sweeping the British countryside. Great public buildings and mansion houses, featuring Palladian style and design, were built by the English Classicists, who were in time to reach and even surpass the standards being set by their contemporaries on the Continent.

When classical architecture eventually penetrated into the northern kingdom after the Restoration a more formal variety of country house began to make its appearance. During the period 1660 - 1750, the Age of Scottish Classicism, the architectural scene was dominated by three men, Sir William Bruce, James Smith and William Adam, Senior.<sup>4</sup> Both Bruce and Adam were to be engaged by the Earls of Rothes in the building and maintenance of the great mansion house which arose on the banks of the River Leven in Fife and was often known as the Palace of Leslie or Rothes Palace.

Both Rothes and Lauderdale turned to a trusted ally and friend, Sir William Bruce, rather than to the ageing master craftsman of the old school, John Mylne, for guidance in the task of erecting on their estates the kind of stately homes that would match those being developed in England.<sup>5</sup> Bruce was an ambitious young man of their own social and political background and familiar with the new English architecture. The seventh Earl of Rothes is the first recorded patron of Bruce's architectural activities which expanded after Sir William's return from extensive 'fact finding' trips to France, Italy and Holland, trips which greatly influenced his work, in particular the splendid landscaping soon to be featured in his own grand vistas. One

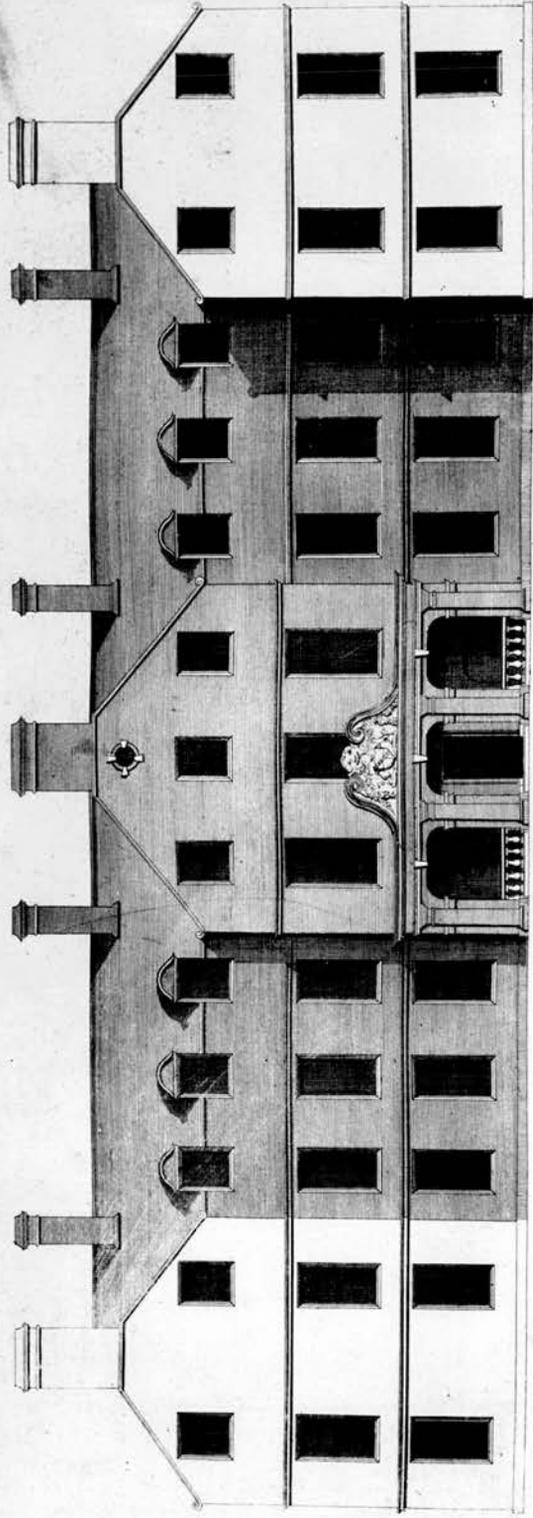
of the outstanding characteristics of Bruce's work was the grandeur of conception, the ability to envisage house, gardens and landscape as related components of an integral design. He was also very sensitive in his selection and handling of materials, in particular the harnessing of the distinctive properties of Scottish sandstone, with which he achieved effects of great subtlety and refinement. Although a first generation Classical architect, he had a great respect for medieval tradition, there being an element of romanticism in his nature.<sup>6</sup> These were the characteristics applied by Bruce to his buildings, whether they were adaptations of existing structures or brand new buildings in the classical idiom. He was a master at designing the formal gardens surrounding the mansion houses built under his supervision, in particular those of Kinross House where he could exercise his architectural talents to the full without having to meet the wishes of some client.

Leslie House was built during the time Bruce was active at Balcaskie in Fife. It was one of several projects, the others being Panmure in Forfarshire and probably Moncrieffe House as well.<sup>7</sup> Like Panmure, work on Leslie House was begun by John Mylne, Master Mason to the King, shortly after the Restoration.<sup>8</sup> Mylne had been appointed Principal Master-Mason to the Crown and also Master-Mason to the town of Edinburgh in 1636. Prior to his being commissioned to direct the building operations at Leslie he had carried out extensive works at Edinburgh Castle, 1639-40 and designed the Tron Church in 1647. In 1663 he made designs for a new palace at Holyrood and three years later completed his plans for Panmure House and for the existing Town Hall and Grammar School at Linlithgow as well as

Leslie House.<sup>9</sup> He never completed these projects as his death occurred on 24 December 1667.

Robert Mylne, his nephew, succeeded him as Principal Master-Mason to the Crown on 28 February 1668 and, along with Sir William Bruce, worked on many of the buildings started by his uncle.<sup>10</sup> Leslie House was built under the direction of King Charles II's Master-Mason although Bruce supervised the work at Leslie. Bruce is said to have owed his advancement to activities undertaken in the royalist cause in the years before the Restoration. Certainly he stood high in royal favour during the early years of Charles II's reign, receiving the lucrative office of Clerk to the Bills in 1660 and a baronetcy eight years later.<sup>11</sup> Thereafter he combined what became an increasingly fitful political career with the life of a country gentleman acquiring estates in Fife and Kinross and serving on occasion as sheriff of his county and as a member of Parliament. His loyalty to the house of Stewart must have remained constant for towards the end of his life he was imprisoned on more than one occasion for real or alleged Jacobite activities.<sup>12</sup> He was on intimate terms with John Leslie, the seventh Earl of Rothes, who became the first Duke of Rothes in 1668 and served as Lord Chancellor to Charles II. Not only did Leslie favour Bruce by making him overseer of the building of Leslie House, but in 1687 the two families were to be linked even more closely by the marriage of Christian Leslie, the seventh Earl's daughter, to John, Sir William's only son.<sup>13</sup>

Bruce, described by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik in 1717 as the 'introducer of Architecture in this country',<sup>14</sup> was clearly in charge at Leslie, supervising both the building of the great house and the



England 1834

R. Cooper Sculp.



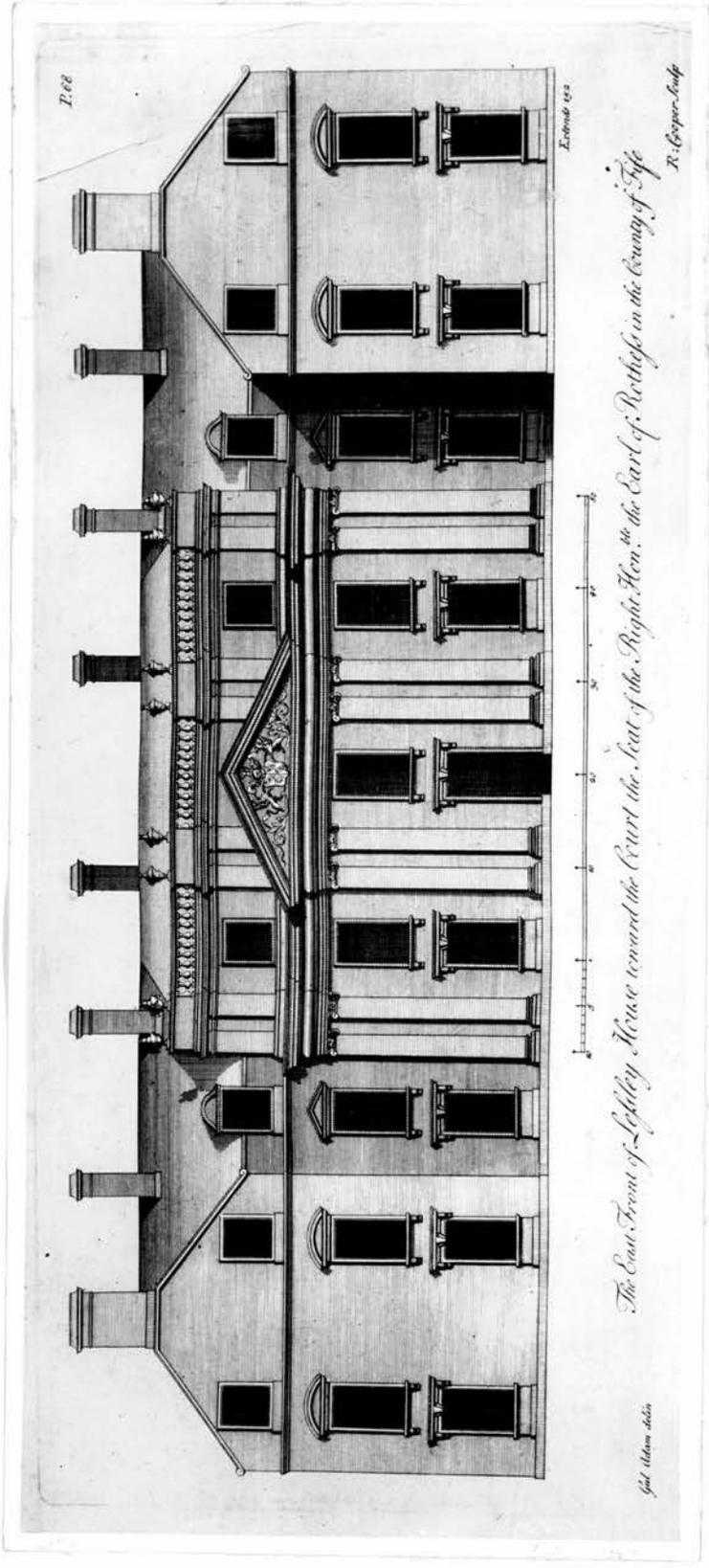
*The West Front of Leslie House toward the Court the Seat of the Right Honourable the Earle of Teighle in the County of Effe*

J. Adam del.

West Front of Leslie House

landscaping of the terraces and gardens surrounding it. As has been already mentioned, Bruce was greatly influenced by his visits to the Continent during this period. He had building materials shipped from Rotterdam to Pittenweem and then to his house at Balcaskie where he was adapting an existing structure and incorporating into this building the baronial features common to this period.<sup>15</sup> Baroque carvings were a prominent feature at Balcaskie where Dutch woodcarvers were employed. Another feature of Balcaskie was the creation of the terraced gardens or parterres which were also to appear at Leslie. Not only did Bruce have materials shipped from Holland for the building of Balcaskie, but it is clear that besides transporting marble, 'trees', vases and 'plamoy' for the King's Commissioner, the Earl of Lauderdale and for the Earl, later Duke, of Rothes (a near neighbour in Fife) Bruce brought quite a lot over for himself to use in the beautiful 'Italian' terracing at Balcaskie.<sup>16</sup> Bruce, in fact, supplied Robert Mylne in 1668 with black and white marble floor tiles, most likely imported from Holland, some of which are still to be seen in the entrance hall at Leslie. A receipt from Robert Mylne for 618 'whait polished pevemant marbaill' and 1228 'black bastard marbale stones polished' is dated 10 July 1668.<sup>17</sup>

Leslie House, one of the most impressive mansion houses built during the late seventeenth century, was built round a court like that of the Palace of Holyrood House. The Duke of Rothes had it enlarged to outshine Holyrood; the Long Gallery and the other apartments were deliberately made one foot larger all round for that purpose.<sup>18</sup> In 1723 John Macky described the gallery as 'the longest I ever saw, filled from one end to other with Family Pictures'.<sup>19</sup> The gallery was 157 feet long and 23 feet wide while the court



East Front of Leslie House

measured 70 feet by 63 feet;<sup>20</sup> the great picture gallery at Holyrood Palace measured 150 feet by 24 feet.<sup>21</sup> The house was a square courtyard structure, of which one side alone remains, greatly altered, and looked rather 'Scotch' on the front but very Palladian and formal on the court side.<sup>22</sup> The West Front, or Main Entrance, to Leslie House contained features common to many great houses built in Scotland during this transitional period; at Leslie the pediment above the East door bore the coat-of-arms of the family while a balustrade appeared above the windows of the third storey.<sup>23</sup> There is an odd story that Rothes Palace was made a large and magnificent structure not to please the Duke of Rothes but James, Duke of York, Charles II's brother, who, excluded from his position in England by the Test Act, intended to retire there when the King died. There is no proof of this and the same story has been applied to Kinross.<sup>24</sup> However, one of the rooms at Leslie House was designated the King's Room, no doubt kept for visiting royalty and furnished lavishly; a description of the furnishings of this room is given in the inventory.

It has been said that it was at Leslie that Bruce made his first recorded appearance as an adviser in matters relating to architecture and gardening. In the main contract for the building of the house, drawn up in June 1667, Bruce was nominated custodian of the 'draughts and mapes' (i.e. working drawings) of the buildings 'ffor regulating their of ffor the use of baith parties until the said work be finished', and he was likewise named as one of the two referees appointed to decide which trees were to be felled during site clearance and which were capable of being transplanted elsewhere

in the policies.<sup>25</sup> Although most of the supervision of the work carried out at Leslie was under the direction of Robert Mylne, Bruce also gave advice about the interior decoration of the house and the provision of suitable furniture and fittings. While in London during the autumn of 1670 he purchased furniture and hangings for Lady Rothes, who in one of her letters recommended him to seek out for this purpose 'Mr. Braimshie ane apolsterer that lives at litell santbartlamie (St. Bartholomew) who is accounted on of the honestest men of his imployment in London & hath as is said the penisworths of hangins & beds'.<sup>26</sup> An account of disbursements made by Andrew Forrester in London on behalf of the Earl of Rothes in May 1670 shows among the items purchased were 'two embossed looking glasses with hookes, box and cords', and 'ane olive tree, table & stands lay'd in with small ebony lines'.<sup>27</sup> Forrester was an agent of the Duke of Lauderdale and a close friend of Bruce, whom he frequently accommodated on the latter's visits to London. Other letters written by the Countess of Rothes to Sir William Bruce in London, dated 3 October 1670, concerning building operations at Leslie referred to work being done on the chimney piece and painting.<sup>28</sup>

The wainscot covering of the great staircase was installed under Bruce's supervision. Perhaps the Dutch woodcarvers employed at Balcaskie were engaged at Leslie as well where Baroque carvings were to be featured. In accounts of additional work executed by Robert Mylne in or about 1671 one item relates to the lining of the great staircase with wainscot under Bruce's supervision.<sup>29</sup> In a contract for the completion of a gardener's house and the erection of two pavilions by Robert Mylne, dated 16 August 1671, the signatures included those of the Earl of Rothes, Robert Mylne and Sir William

Bruce.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, Bruce was able at Leslie to continue the work he had started at Balcaskie, contributing to a Scottish renaissance in architecture and landscaping. He was to go on from Leslie to even more notable works, such as Holyrood and Hopetoun House. The opportunities presented to him by the Duke of Rothes allowed him to add to his experience and fame, so Rothes must be credited with bringing Bruce into the public eye one might say. It is said that Bruce firmly planted the Inigo Jones tradition in Scotland.<sup>31</sup> His contribution to landscaping was a worthy one and will be discussed more fully in the section on gardening.

The other prominent architect at Leslie was William Adam, Senior (1689-1748) of Kirkcaldy and Edinburgh. Adam's work for the Earl of Rothes was concerned primarily with the surveying of farm lands and the building of the coal-works although the maintenance of the great house was his responsibility as well. This illustrious father of a brilliant family of architects, notably Robert Adam, his most famous son, was to enhance his reputation while engaged at Hopetoun House. Tradition states that he served his apprenticeship under Sir William Bruce at Kinross House, but as this mansion was completed in about 1695 it would seem more likely that he worked under Bruce at Hopetoun House. He was to be closely connected with Hopetoun House for most of his life and the contract which he signed in 1721 to enlarge and modernise Bruce's house is the first record we have of his architectural activities. He engaged in many other building operations, such as country houses like Yester and Mellerstain and works of an industrial nature - barley mills, timber mills, coal-works, salt pans, marble works, highways, farms, etc. His

eldest son, John, carried on the family business after the death of the father in 1748. As no dated drawings by John Adam have survived after 1758 it would appear that he withdrew from the drawing office and concerned himself mainly with the management of the Adam firm, operating from Edinburgh.<sup>32</sup> John was to continue the relationship with the Earl of Rothes and like the Bruces at Kinross became a family friend as well. Reference will be made to some of the activities of both William and John Adam in later chapters, in particular to the work carried out by William Adam at the Rothes coal-works.

At Leslie House his work was confined mainly to the maintenance of the property. The repair of windows, lintels, painting and decorating of the house both exterior and interior were his concern. Some of the stone used in making repairs to the building came from a quarry at the Maidens Bore in the West Lomonds. Another quarry at Bankhead supplied material as well. The stone for the original building had been supplied by the quarry at Longannet which provided some of the stone used for the building of the great houses in the local area during the late seventeenth century.<sup>33</sup> For window repairs and others needing timber Adam obtained his material from the Leslie plantations which provided the bulk of the timber used at the coal-works. Local wrights as well supplied Adam with his material. An example of the kind of maintenance work carried out by William Adam at Leslie was that of replacing the broken lintels and sills of the windows. The Earl of Rothes was charged £22.11.5 Sterling in May 1732 for window repairs and two men were employed to complete the work.<sup>34</sup>

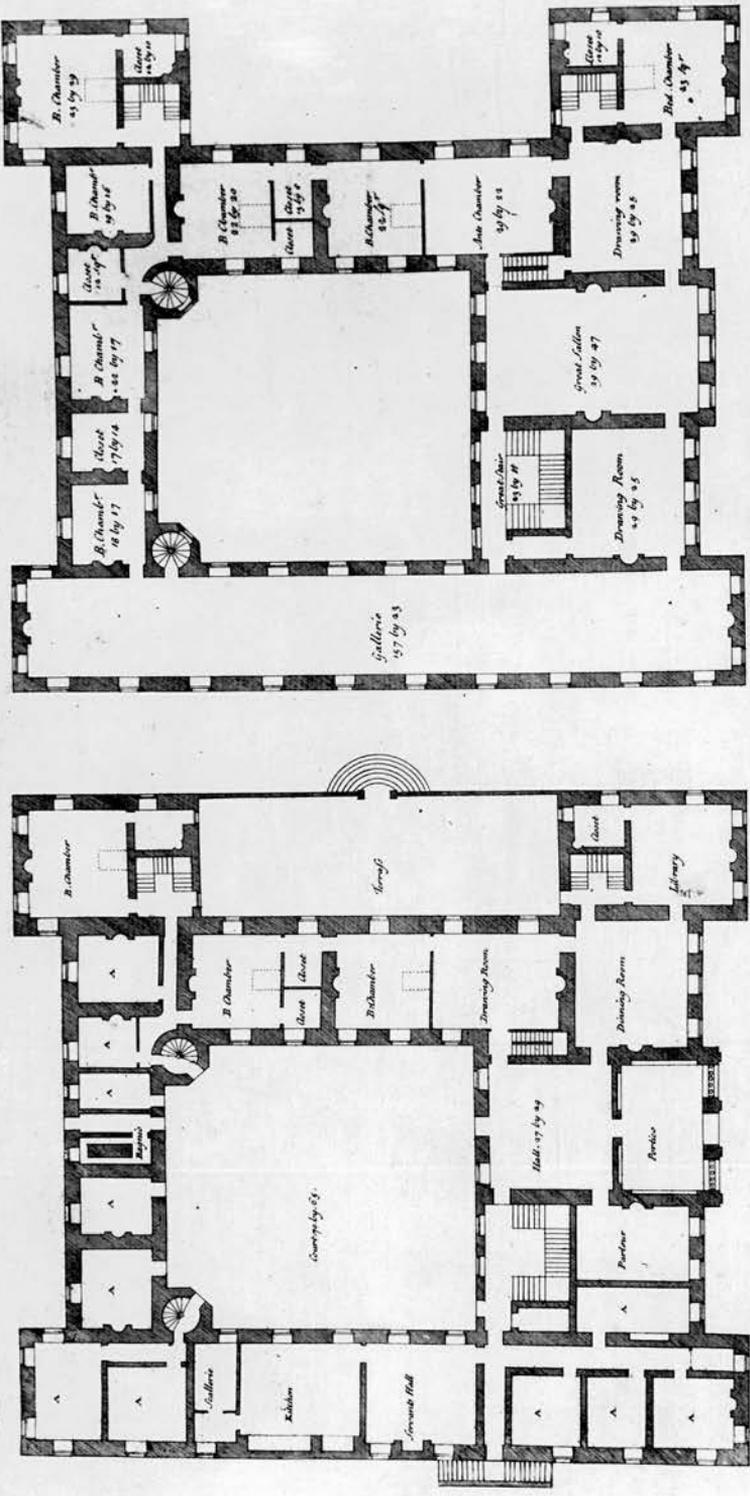
Another necessary maintenance cost was incurred in the paint

work carried out at Leslie. Here William Adam employed James Norrie, one of the most prominent interior decorators of the day. Norrie had worked for Adam at Hopetoun House, Mavisbank and later country houses. He was employed at a later date by Robert Adam to make a 'sketch' of a coat of arms which, 'if handsome', he proposed having cut as a seal for use on his letters when abroad.<sup>35</sup> At Leslie in June 1741 the tenth Earl of Rothes was charged £64.11.11½ Sterling for the painting and decorating of several of the rooms in the house.<sup>36</sup> A detailed account was given, showing the area of the walls and woodwork to be painted and the cost per foot. Here Norrie itemised the account room by room, stating the material to be used and the cost of same; the full account is given in the appendices.

The replacement of glass for the windows of the house and all outbuildings was another of the maintenance work carried out at Leslie. A Kirkcaldy glazier, James Boswall, supplied the Earl with his material, charging him £1960.18s. Scots (£163.8.2 Sterling) for repairs made during the period 1716-1757.<sup>37</sup> Boswall charged a fixed annual labour cost of £2 Sterling; the detailed account is given in the appendices.

The above accounts are some examples of the kinds of repairs and costs of same carried out at Leslie to maintain the property. As has been already stated, William Adam was entrusted by the Earl of Rothes to supervise this work and ensure that the house be kept in a good state of repair. During the eighteenth century when the fortunes of the family diminished, Leslie House became a financial burden on the tenth Earl of Rothes who was unable to amass the great wealth of the seventh Earl. The house had been built when family fortunes were at their height as was shown by the lavish spending of the old Duke.

Fig.



The Plan of the 1<sup>st</sup> Store or 1<sup>st</sup> Floor



The Plan of the first Floor of Lesley

The different Rooms marked with A are Servants rooms  
 Lavatory with House Party S; & the Cellars are on a Vaulted  
 Story on the North-side of the House.

Genl. Adam delin.

Plan of the Ground and First Floor of Leslie House

Leslie House, or Palace, looked westwards over a spacious forecourt along the West Avenue of beech trees towards the Leslie or Greenhead Park. Not far away stood the old Kirk on the Green and the market town of Leslie. The house, lying between the Water of Lothrie and the River Leven, was not considered by Defoe to be well situated. Remarking about it he said, "Though the House is magnificent I cannot say the Situation of it is so advantageous as that of some other Seats, for it has no extraordinary Prospect from the grand Tower, though it stands on the banks of the Leven, just where another small River joins it".<sup>38</sup> This is a worthy criticism for even today the house is not visible from the Leslie-Markinch road as it lies in a valley and is shrouded by the woods surrounding the house. Both Defoe and Macky were more praiseworthy of the gardens and plantations of the estate than the situation of the house, although both remarked most favourably on the splendour of the interior, especially of the Long Gallery and Bed-chambers.

We are indebted to William Adam and his Vitruvius Scoticus for the plan and elevation of this great mansion house and by consulting it a tour of the house as it was at this time is possible. Today only one quarter of the original building remains, most of it being destroyed by a disastrous fire in 1763. The House was entered by a Vestibule, balustraded with marble, into a large Hall paved with black and white marble. Leading off the Hall to the left were the Parlour and on the right, the Dining Room. The Earl's own apartment, lying on the south side, was considered by Macky to be very noble. Along the north and east sides of the house on the ground floor were the servants rooms, Servants Hall and Kitchen. The Kitchen Garden was situated north of the House and adjacent to the Kitchen. Other

prominent rooms on the ground floor were the Drawing Room and Library.

Most of the principal chambers were to be found on the floor above which was reached by the Great Stair leading off the Lower Hall. Upstairs, the Long Gallery ran the entire length of the north side. Along the east and south sides were the principal bed-chambers with the Anti-Chamber and two Drawing Rooms leading off the Great Salon. Macky called these second floor rooms the 'Apartments of State' when he visited the House in 1723, writing "This Apartment where King James lodged when he was Duke of York, consists of a spacious Dining Room, Anti-Chamber, Drawing Room, Bed-Chamber, Dressing Room and Closet, with the Longest Gallery I ever saw, fill'd from one end to the other with Family Pictures; the offices of this Noble Palace are also very well disposed, with noble Stables, and a Kitchen Garden on the North Side of the River". Defoe also remarked on the splendour of the House, saying "The magnificence of the Inside of this House is unusually great, but what is very particular, is the long Gallery, which is the full length of One Side of the Building, and is filled with Paintings, but especially (as there is at Drumlanrig) of the great Ancestors of the House of Rothes or Lesly, full lengths and in their Robes of Office".<sup>39</sup> Here he was comparing the Long Gallery at Leslie to the Great Gallery at Drumlanrig Castle, the family seat of the Duke of Buccleuch, built between 1679-90, and greatly influenced by Sir William Bruce's work at Holyrood House.

Fortunately an inventory of the furnishings of Leslie House was discovered with the manuscripts and a full description of this is given in the appendices. This was a most valuable find as the inventory contains as well as the room furnishings a description of

the silverware, library and gallery.

Throughout the building the walls of the principal chambers were concealed by hangings. However, by the middle of the eighteenth century the tenth Earl used yellow wallpaper in his sister's room and paper of a chintz pattern in the closet leading of the Countess' room. The use of wallpaper for interior decoration was coming into fashion early in the eighteenth century. There is no indication of whether the paper at Leslie House was English or Scottish made. From 1730 onwards printed wallpaper was made in Edinburgh and with the introduction of varied colours and patterns soon afterwards it could be said that these papers made in Edinburgh were as good as those sent from England,<sup>40</sup> so it is possible that the tenth Earl ordered Scottish-made paper. By this time William Adam was engaged in maintaining the house and since Adam was based in Edinburgh there is a possibility of his using wallpaper produced in that city.

The hangings at Leslie House were of three kinds: tapestry, 'stuff' and gilt leather. In accordance with the custom of the day, the tapestry wall-hangings in the larger houses were said "to keep out draughts and spiders".<sup>41</sup> Some of the tapestries listed in the inventory were probably the original ones put up by the seventh Earl and were probably the worse for wear and tear by the middle of the eighteenth century. The strain placed on the weft damaged the tapestry and its design and if not repaired would have to be replaced by some other type of wall-hanging. Tapestry was usually described as 'arras' hangings which were of two types, 'forest work' and 'imagery work'. A 'suite' of hangings consisted of five or six pieces of material hung separately; at Leslie House five pieces of forest work were hung in the North Drawing Room, and in all the principal rooms were hung tapestries ranging from two to six pieces, some the

same colour as the rooms, e.g. Green Room, Blue Room, etc. It would appear that the tenth Earl replaced some of the older tapestries used by the Duke. Margaret Matheson's inventory mentions two pieces of 'very old' tapestry hangings used in the room adjoining the Red Damask Room, six pieces of 'old' tapestry hangings in the Blue Room and seven pieces of 'old' tapestry hangings in the South Pavilion. There is evidence of imagery work tapestries at Leslie House in the report given by the minister of Leslie Parish for the New Statistical Account for Fifeshire. But by 1700 the popularity of depicting scenes from the Bible and from classical mythology was lessening, and the great proprietors now preferred to use forestry work tapestries as wall-hangings. It is known that the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, contemporaries and friends of the Leslies, possessed some fine imagery work tapestries which hung in Hamilton Palace around the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>42</sup> As there was a good deal of conformity amongst the aristocracy at this time, the wealthier members of that society adorned their walls with these splendid hangings, which, along with expensive furniture, were signs of the 'good life'. There is only the record of a few of these tapestries being still in use at Leslie House by the middle of the eighteenth century, but by then the deterioration of the material would have made them unfit for display. Again, tastes were changing by the mid-eighteenth century, a time when the great land-owners began to show much greater interest in the development of their mineral and agricultural resources than in lavishly furnishing their great houses. This was certainly true of the ninth and tenth Earls of Rothes, who, lacking the financial resources of the Duke, found the maintenance of their legacy burdensome. They were to invest heavily in developing their coal mines, hoping to

realise enough profit from this enterprise to meet their financial obligations; their activities in this field are described in a later chapter.

Not all the hangings were made of tapestry. The room off the Earl's Dressing Room was hung with two pieces of fustian sewn with green worsted while some of the rooms and closets were hung with blue, brown, green and red 'stuff'; in the bed-chambers it was customary to use the same colours for bed curtains, bolsters, covers, canopies, etc. as were used in the wall-hangings. Margaret Matheson's inventory included other materials as well. In a small room off the South Pavilion six pieces of mock arras hangings are mentioned, a 'Musselburgh' stuff for the Green and White Sewn Room, while striped Dornick hangings of gold and white were used in the Yellow Damask Room. In the White Room four pieces of quilted white hangings are listed and in the Great Dining Room the most expensive material of all was used. Here the wall-covering was gilt leather, twelve pieces in all being used, and, to complete the picture, the walnut chairs were covered in gilt leather as well. Gilt leather was very popular as a furnishing material by the late seventeenth century and was used extensively by the Duchess of Hamilton at Hamilton Palace.<sup>43</sup>

As for the rest of the rooms at Leslie the walls and ceilings were painted or whitewashed in rather plain colours as is shown in the account rendered by James Norrie in 1741. The colours most commonly used were olive, stone and white although the windows in the Drawing Room were finished in a marble effect. There is also mention of a green oil paint being used by Norrie for six timber chairs. Less is known about the floors of seventeenth century houses. It was customary to use flagstones on the ground floor and timber in the

main chambers above. There is evidence in the Rothes papers of carpets being used at Leslie House in at least three of the rooms. For instance, in the Small Sewn Room a carpet of a fine texture, measuring 4 ells by 2 ells (approximately 4 yards by 2 yards) is mentioned. As the same room contained 8 armchairs and a bed, it is doubtful that the above carpet covered much of the floor but as no table is listed in the contents, then it would appear that this carpet was for the floor and not to be used as a table covering. There is also mention of a fine old carpet, 3 yards long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards wide, in the contents of the Mohair Room and a fine carpet, 4 ells long and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  yards broad, for the Anti-Chamber. Carpeting material, however, is also listed for chair and stool coverings. Carpets for floors were still very much a novelty at this time with only the very rich being able to afford them; most likely a local-produced matting would be used until the time this was replaced by carpeting.

As the principal chambers of the great houses at this time were very elaborately furnished and well draped with tapestries and other hangings, it is probable that window curtains assumed a less important feature in the scheme of decoration than is true today. However, at Leslie curtains were hung in several of the main rooms and were made out of a variety of materials, namely - sewn with different coloured silk for the North Drawing Room, cotton cloth for the King's Room, a yellow 'stuff' for the closet off the Mohair Room, printed cloth lined with white linen in another closet of the Red Damask Room, red satin material similar to that used for the bed in the same room, a curtain of white fustian for another room, others of a yellow Turk, again similar to the material used for the bed in the Yellow Room, and the use of a white diaper material in the New Green Room. One must

bear in mind, however, that it was customary throughout the country to lavishly decorate the bed-chambers of the great houses with bright colourful curtains.

It is unnecessary to imagine how the rooms at Leslie were furnished for the inventory is most exact in describing the contents in full, even listing the hearth utensils, sanitary ware and the brass locks on the doors. The four poster beds, fully furnished with their curtains and coverings, dominated the bed-chambers. Very often the bed had its own accompanying furniture made at the same time. There were usually arm-chairs, ordinary chairs and foot-stools upholstered to match the bed-curtains. Sometimes there were the long resting chairs as well as occasional tables, dressing glasses, etc. and the oriental furniture (black ornamented with gilt) that was becoming more popular in Scotland during the early eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Most of these furnishings were imported from England and the Continent, especially from Holland were brought many of the more highly finished chairs.<sup>45</sup> It was the custom of the period to use the family bed-chamber for receiving friends and neighbours; the dining room was used mainly only for ceremonial occasions. For this reason the above inventory lists a large number of bedroom chairs. The value of the goods of Leslie House is given as £8,542.15.6,<sup>46</sup> which, when added to the loss of the building when most of it was destroyed by fire in 1763, forced the Earl of Rothes to sell his lands at Ballinbreich in order to meet the costs of rebuilding and refurnishing Leslie House. In 1817 the estimated value of the furnishings, bed and table linen, exclusive of the paintings is given as £1000 Sterling.<sup>47</sup>

There was seldom any shortage of linen in the stately homes of Scotland during the eighteenth century. The local weavers in Leslie, Newburgh and Kirkcaldy provided the Leslies with many of their basic

needs in table-cloths, napkins and other naperies used in the house. In fact, there is evidence in the manuscripts of Lady Jean, the tenth Earl's sister paying accounts to local people for supplying some of the family's needs. These are shown below:<sup>48</sup>

No. 1 Account: William Balsillie, tailor in Leslie, for mending servants' clothes, etc. from 23 Dec. 1739 to 4 Oct. 1741	£-.19. $\frac{1}{2}$
2 Account: David Lyall, weaver in Newburgh, for weaving table-cloths and napery for the use of the family at Leslie, 1741	3. 3. 6
3 Account: Lawrence Scott, founder in the Links of Kirkcaldy, for yettling boxes to the stove-holes at Leslie House, dated 22 Sept. 1741	3. - . -
4 Several accounts due to Thomas Jamieson, dyer in Kirkcaldy, for dyeing cloth, etc. for the family from 10 Nov. 1736 to 6 June 1741	5.12. 1

Lady Jean also bought some of the linen used at Leslie as is shown by these transactions:

Account of ticken due to Isobel Anderson bought by Lady Jean for the family use, 12 Nov. 1741	£1.18. -
Account: Alex. Greig, weaver in Leslie, for working linen, dornick, blankets, etc. for the family use from 22 March 1740 to 4 Nov. 1741	5. 1.10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Owing to Alex. Greig, weaver, as the remains of an old account for linen, etc. - attested by Isobel Anderson when wardrobe woman	4. 1.10

It is interesting to note that the blankets used at Leslie House were of great variety, ranging from plain white to the marled and striped ones of many colours. A considerable number were imported from England and there is evidence of some being imitations of English blankets; English blankets were considered to be superior to those made in Scotland at this time. Wherever the great proprietor had links with the South it was usually found that included in the furnishings of his house would be countless products made in England or on the Continent. However, the bedding was usually made from materials available locally. Pillows and bolsters were filled with feathers and where possible mattresses were filled with the same material as well. Those at Leslie House were feather-filled as would be the case in the wealthiest households throughout Scotland.

The question arises whether the furniture contained in Leslie House was locally made or imported. At one time it was believed that everything had to be imported from England, but it has since been shown that Scottish furniture makers did supply various kinds of goods themselves. This was certainly true in the case of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, who purchased footstools, tables and chairs for Hamilton Palace from wrights in Edinburgh.<sup>49</sup> The Countess of Rothes, who seems to have been given the task of attending to the furnishings of Leslie House by the seventh Earl, in 1677 bought eight chairs, a cabinet frame and a pair of hanging shelves from Quintin Adam, a wright in the Canongate, Edinburgh.<sup>50</sup> The more expensive furniture originated in London or was imported from the Continent, usually from Holland as there were strong personal and trading links between Scotland and Holland during the late seventeenth century. Sir William Bruce brought over Dutch woodcarvers to work at Balcaskie so

there is every possibility that Dutch craftsmen were employed at Leslie, perhaps in the making of some of the furniture, such as chests of drawers, tables and stools. It is known that another intimate family friend, the Duke of Lauderdale, employed Dutch joiners and painters at Lethington and that one of the joiners was given instructions by the Duchess to make some occasional furniture.<sup>51</sup> The fashionable long-backed Dutch chairs would be bought direct from Holland. The inventory lists the various Dutch-made and Dutch-styled furniture used at Leslie.

In the way of musical instruments, the Earl of Rothes, like his contemporaries, had his collection displayed throughout the house. Probably these instruments came from the South. At Leslie in the Second Table Room an organ and spinet were to be found and, no doubt, scores of music as well. It was customary for the children of the aristocracy to learn to play a musical instrument and every great house was endowed with instruments of one kind or another, usually virginals and harpsichords. Again, the need to conform forced many of the opulent to furnish their homes with the status symbols of the day.

In Leslie House, as in other great houses, anti-chambers and dressing rooms opened off the main bedrooms. These were furnished as sitting rooms with comfortable chairs, a few tables and chests of various descriptions which served as cupboards for storing clothing. All in all the layout and contents of the rooms at Leslie were in keeping with the grand design of the age. However, two rooms were outstanding, one for its size and the other for the great variety of books it contained. The first of these was the Gallery. This was, perhaps, the most famous of all the rooms in Leslie House, having

drawn the attention of two of the most experienced travellers throughout the Realm at this time, Daniel Defoe and John Macky. It was also greatly praised by the Reverend James Nicol, who wrote in the New Statistical Account: "In Leslie House there are also several valuable pictures - the fifth Earl and his Countess by Jamieson of Aberdeen, styled the Scottish Van Dyke; the Duke and Duchess of Rothes; the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale; Princess of Modena; General John, Earl of Rothes by Sir Joshua Reynolds; Archbishop Tillotson, said to be a original; a portrait of Rembrandt by himself. There is besides these, a large collection of family portraits. The tapestry in the house is very fine: 1. The Story of Leander; 2. The history of the Children of Israel's Journey through the wilderness; 3. The anointing of Saul, with several pieces".<sup>52</sup>

Margaret Matheson's signed inventory contained the following: Three resting chairs covered with red damask; a settee with a gilded frame and covered with a gilded stuff cushion of red damask; one carpet resting chair. The pictures in the South Side of the room beginning at the West end of the room - the Duke of Lennox; the Earl of Marr, both two full lengths; the Duke and Duchess of Rothes; their daughter, the Countess of Rothes; the late Earl of Rothes and two pictures of the late Countess (the Duke's father and mother), both two full lengths; Lord William Hay; the Marchioness of Montrose; the late Earl of Haddington and his Countess; Mr. Charles Hamilton, brother to the late Earl of Rothes; the Duke of Montrose; Captain Times; the Earl and Countess of Eglinton; the German Count Leslie; Earl David Wemyss and the Countess; the late Earl of Leven and the Countess; Lady Christian Balmerino. At the east end of the gallery - the Earl of Haddington and Countess of Rothes in one picture, above the

fireplace. On the north side of the room beginning at the east end - Thomas Sidsarfe; the lairds of Humble, Durie and Pitravie; President Gilmour; Sir William Bruce of Kinross; Registrar Primrose; Lord Gossford; General Dalziel; General Drummond; Lord Calendar; the Earl of Southesk; the Earl of Strathmore; the Earl of Linlithgow; the Earl of Marshall; the laird of Hopetoun and his Lady; Lady Margaret Hope; the old Lady Haddington, sister to the Duchess of Rothes, and her mother; the old Countess of Crawford; the Earl of Argyll; the Duke of Queensberry; the Duke of Lauderdale and his first Lady; Duke William Hamilton. Over the chimney breast - the late Marquis of Tweeddale and his brother, Lord John Hay when they were children; Mr. Charles and Mr. Thomas Leslie when they were children. Pictures not put up at present - one of the wise men making their offering to the Saviour; Margaret, Countess of Wemyss; the Countess of Rothes with her son when the Duke was a child; a picture of an old man and a young woman.

These were not the only pictures displayed throughout the house. In many of the principal rooms other portraits were hung, as is shown in the inventory. Unfortunately many of the paintings must have been lost in the great fire which destroyed the whole back of the house. In a visit made recently to Leslie House the following pictures were observed by the writer: Alexander, the Second Earl of Calendar; David, second Earl of Wemyss; Sir Peter Wedderburn, one of the Senators of the College of Justice; Lady Christian Lindsay (married to John, fourth Earl of Haddington); Queen Mary II; King William III; Lady Christian Leslie (second daughter of John, the sixth Earl); Lady Margaret Hamilton; Lt. General William Drummond; William, first Duke of Queensberry; Thomas and Charles Leslie, the sons of John, the

eighth Earl; Mr. Gibson of Durie; Margaret Leslie, daughter of John, the sixth Earl; Margaret, Countess of Wemyss; Patrick, first Lord Lindores; George, fourth Earl of Linlithgow; Lady Jean Hay, married to the eighth Earl; a painting of the house; a picture of the wise men making their offering to the Saviour.

The other outstanding room at Leslie was the Library, considered to be the most valuable one in Scotland at that time, according to an old friend of the family, Major General Dalrymple.<sup>53</sup> A very fine collection of books, built up and maintained by the Duke and his successors, was contained in the library. In keeping with the custom of the day the contents consisted in the main of theological and classical works with a few volumes on law. The Earl was very proud of his library and in his instructions to his factor insisted that the books be regularly cleaned and aired and that great care be taken when lending books to neighbours or to St. Andrews in getting receipts for same. The library along with the picture gallery was one of the show-pieces of Leslie House but the Earl would probably have had little time for reading. Works related to his own activities and interests - gardening and husbandry, military matters, the church, politics and local histories such as Sibbald's History of Fife were the ones of greatest interest and importance to him. One entered the library from the Laigh or Lower Hall. Pictures of King Charles I and Bishop Tillotson (unframed) adorned the walls; there were also prints of the Princess of Wales and the Prince of Orange, in front of which stood some glasses. An iron grate, tongs, shovel and poker completed the scene. The Catalogue of the New Books in the Right Honourable the Earl of Rothes' Library at Leslie, dated 18 January 1714 is given in the Appendices.

Like his contemporaries, in particular the Duke of Hamilton,

Roths collected not only histories of Scotland and treatises on Scots law, but there were universal histories and histories of England, Sweden, France, Wales, the Low Countries and a History of Europe for the years 1701-14. The Earl also bought for this library many of the latest parliamentary papers - collections of the acts of parliament, topical pamphlets and the like, and he seems to have had an interest in geographies. Then, too, there were the classics - the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and Behn, etc. It is interesting to note how many of these books were new publications or new editions of old classics. The eighteenth century was a time of development of the library both in its private and its public aspect. The library was considered as essential to any great house as the linen-room and wine-cellar.<sup>54</sup> Great proprietors, determined to match their neighbours in cultural pursuits, spent lavishly on their homes and furnishings. No doubt, many had a respect for learning, as is shown in the great variety of books and periodicals contained on the shelves or in the bookcases of their libraries. The above list of the books in the library would not be complete, as one would have to allow for those books which had been lent out to friends and neighbours. The library could very well have been another status symbol for some of the affluent members of society. Men were known throughout the land not only for their achievements but for the value and opulence of their material possessions.

Besides the principal chambers of Leslie House there were the so-called 'office houses' - the kitchen and scullery, the servants' hall and their quarters. These rooms were situated along the north and east sides on the ground floor and took up a considerable portion of the house. The larder and other food stores, along with the

wine-cellar, lay below the kitchen and servants hall and were reached by outside stairs leading off the kitchen. The living quarters of the servants would be very plainly furnished but comfortable. It would appear from the inventory that folding beds were more widely used in the rooms of the lesser servants whereas fir beds were a 'luxury' for those members of the household staff who were engaged in occupations requiring greater skill, the cooks for example. The rooms of servants having some authority were also more lavishly furnished with looking glasses, tables and chairs being included in the contents of their rooms. In the inventory, the rooms occupied by Mr. Harris and Mrs. Armstrong are worth noting.

In the larder and other stores would be stored the food used in the house and all the candles used in the house and stables. Local candlemakers supplied the Earl of Rothes with these essentials; it cost the Earl £25.5.2 Scots for candles supplied to the Stables for the period between Martinmas 1720 and Martinmas 1721 by George Greig of Leslie.<sup>55</sup> Another local man, David Bogie, was paid 5 bolls of meal valued at £2.4.8 and £3.10s. in cash for candles supplied in 1749 for Leslie House.<sup>56</sup> There were no heating problems at Leslie House as coal from the Earl's coal-works was delivered regularly to the house; reference to these coal deliveries is given in the chapter on coal-mining.

In the kitchen would be found the usual appliances - the pots and pans of copper and brass, the skillets and branders, the mortars and pestles, and the different kinds of knives and choppers used by the kitchen staff. The plan of Leslie House does not show a large open hearth of the type common throughout Scotland at that time.<sup>57</sup> Instead, it would appear that a kind of stove was used for cooking

purposes. In fact, Lady Jean Leslie paid a Kirkcaldy founder, Lawrence Scott of the Links, £3.3.6 Sterling for 'yettling boxes to the stove-holes at Leslie House' in 1741;<sup>58</sup> these boxes were boilers or small pots made of cast iron. Probably most of the pots and pans used at Leslie came from Edinburgh. City smiths had supplied many of the gentry with their cooking appliances and were also required to repair those kitchen-wares that could not be mended by local smiths.

Close by the kitchen would be the bakehouse with its brick ovens, tables and sacks of meal and flour. Here would be baked all the bread consumed in the house by the family and staff. Three kinds of loaves were baked at Leslie, - wheaten, oat and French. During the first week of November 1730 the Leslie bakehouse turned out 100 loaves from  $\frac{1}{2}$  boll of meal; from  $\frac{1}{2}$  boll of flour was baked 12 bricks and 40 French loaves.<sup>59</sup> Of course, the output would vary from week to week, depending on the number of guests and friends being entertained at Leslie and whether or not the family were at home. But, by examining the menus and supplies of foods and baked goods for November 1730, it would appear that the bakehouse produced about 1000 wheaten loaves and 6000 oat loaves annually. The consumption of ale, the daily beverage for all meals, was also high. Allowing for 120 gallons brewed and consumed per week (this was the average consumption per week in November 1730), then the annual consumption would be approximately 6000 gallons. One must bear in mind, however, that the Earl of Rothes not only had to provide for the needs of those in Leslie House but his colliers and farm servants as well. The ale would be brewed in large wooden vats and stored in the cellars under the house. Local coopers would provide the barrels used in the brew-house; there is record of the Earl of Rothes paying £1.17.1 Sterling to James Niven of Leslie for

cooper work from 10 November 1740 to 17 October 1741.<sup>60</sup> Then, in 1748 Niven was paid £5.16.3 Sterling for cooper work, the payments being made in cash and goods:<sup>61</sup>

To barley allowed him, 3 bolls from his farm	
at £4.18s. Scots per boll	£1. 4. 6
To meal allowed him, 4 bolls at 8s.4d.	
Sterling per boll	1.13. 4
To South Parks for willows sold to him	0.16. 8
To Cash paid to him	<u>2. 1. 9</u>
	£5.16. 3

As well as being comfortably accommodated at Leslie House members of the family were well provided for in food and drink. At Leslie two meals were served, dinner as the main one and in the evening, supper. Throughout the eighteenth century, even in great houses, two courses and a dessert were the rule,<sup>62</sup> and this was the practice at Leslie. The main meal of the day was dinner, probably served quite late. The first course consisted of soup or broth and varied from day to day. For the week, 1 - 7 November 1730, these soups were served at Leslie House - cabbage broth, green soup, beef shank soup, white broth (twice), shank broth and sheep's head broth. This was followed by a selection of meat dishes and, quite occasionally, fish. Being the proprietor of an estate near the sea, the Earl of Rothes was able to buy in fish for the table more often than would be possible on other estates; for instance, fish appeared only occasionally in the menus at Hamilton Palace during the first part of the eighteenth century.<sup>63</sup> However, meat remained the main part of the meal at Leslie throughout the year. Beef and mutton were prepared in various ways - roasted, boiled, stewed, in cutlets and

collops. The Home Farms provided these meats, the Leslie Parks supplying the House with the sheep, lambs, cows and stirks which were grazed in the enclosures and killed and salted when needed by the family. For instance, this extract has been taken from the November 1730 menus: 'an ox taken from the Park and slaughtered and cut into 30 pieces, of which 2 remained' and 'wethers taken from the Whinny Hill' (grazing land lying north of the Leslie - Markinch road). The meat dishes were supplemented with game and poultry - capercailzie, turkey, chicken, duck, pigeon and venison while the delicacies of lobsters and oysters were served occasionally. The dovecots provided all the pigeons while the rabbits, hares, pheasants and other game would be shot or trapped by the gamekeeper and dressed and cooked for the Earl's table. White fish for the table was bought in from the fishing ports, while trout could be taken from the Leven; it was possible to obtain eels from the nearby Loch Leven which supplied the neighbouring family of Strathendry with that popular variety.<sup>64</sup> There was always a plentiful supply of poultry at Leslie with hens and turkeys been sent to the kitchens from the estate, or occasionally bought, as is shown in the food accounts. Vegetables, mainly from the Kitchen Garden, usually were served along with the meat dishes, in particular turnips and parsnips in the 1730 menus.

Sweets were also mentioned in the menus, but it would appear that there was not a great variety in use. The November menus list the following dinner and supper sweets - sweet meat tarts, apple tart, pancakes, apple fritters and the savoury 'puddings' which were served along with the meat dishes. Although the heavy meal of the day was dinner, the family at Leslie enjoyed substantial evening meals with

supper menus containing fresh eggs, oysters, chicken, trout, eels and pigs feet as well as cuts of beef and mutton. On the menu for Sunday, 8 November 1730, one of the dinner courses included salad, with peaches being served for supper. Peaches and other fruits were being grown along the hot walls by this time.

Although the Estate provided most of the basic foods consumed by family and workers, some had to be bought in. Dairy foods were obtained locally, probably from the market town of Leslie. In 1730 the price quoted for eggs sold in Leslie was 2 shillings Scots per dozen;<sup>65</sup> this was the price paid by Leslie House for eggs obtained outwith the Estate. Butter was also bought for the House, the Earl paying 5d. Sterling per lb. for either salt or sweet butter. Trout and lobsters were bought at 5s.6d. Scots for a large trout and 4s.6d. Scots for a lobster.<sup>66</sup> Meat and poultry were bought from local fleshers and poulterers. In 1766 the Earl was paying 5s. for a quarter of lamb and 7s.4d. for 22 lbs. of mutton and beef to H. Wells.<sup>67</sup> During the same year James Dunton, a poulterer, charged the Earl of Rothes the following prices: chickens at 5d. a pair, pullets at 5½d. a pair, a duck at 2d. and eggs at 1d. per dozen.<sup>68</sup> Two years earlier, the same firm charged the following prices:- 3 pigeons at 1½d., rabbits at 1d. each, ducklings at 4½d. a pair.<sup>69</sup> These prices compare very favourably being lower than those charged in Edinburgh where in 1769 chickens were 8d. to 1s. a pair, a fowl was 1s.2d. and a goose was 2s.6d. or 3s.<sup>70</sup> Dunton's prices were about the same as those charged in Inverness where chickens were 3d. to 4d. a pair. One must wonder why the Earl of Rothes, the proprietor of a large agricultural estate in Fife, required to purchase these foods from outsiders. This was only a few years after the disastrous fire which destroyed most

of the House and severely disrupted estate life. After this catastrophe the Earl retired to a small flat in Edinburgh, where he lived in seclusion till he saved enough out of his income to make Leslie again a habitable residence. He occasionally resided in a farmhouse on his estate near the East Lomond as well. This dependence on outside suppliers for foods in which he had been self-sufficient would be a further drain on his income and aggravate what was now becoming a very serious situation. He was also charged for the dressing and cooking of meat and other foods; in April 1764 these charges were quoted:<sup>71</sup>

for roasting 2 chickens . . . . .	£ -- -- 4
making hash . . . . .	-- -- 3
mincing veal . . . . .	-- -- 2
making bread pudding . . . . .	-- -- 2
boiling fowl . . . . .	-- -- 3
boiling bacon . . . . .	-- -- 3
boiling greens . . . . .	-- -- 2
roasting loin mutton . . . . .	-- -- 4
boiling beef . . . . .	-- -- 6
boiling mackerel . . . . .	-- -- 3
boiling & frying fish . . . . .	-- -- 6
boiling cauliflowers . . . . .	-- -- 2
roasting 3 pigeons . . . . .	-- -- 3
roasting a quarter of lamb . . . . .	-- -- 6
preparing buttered crab . . . . .	-- -- 3
boiling spinach . . . . .	-- -- 2
cooking sweetbread . . . . .	-- -- 3
boiling ham . . . . .	-- 1. --

boiling lobster . . . . .	£ - . - . 1
cooking asparagus . . . . .	- . - . 2
mincing chicken . . . . .	- . - . 2
boiling salmon . . . . .	- . - . 4
roasting a shoulder of mutton . . . . .	- . - . 4

There would be other expenses as well. Being deprived of the normal functioning of the kitchen and bakehouse, the Earl had to go outside the Estate to get his bread; for the period 19 - 24 April 1764 the bill for baking white and wheaten bread came to 17 shillings and was paid to a baker, John Flinn.<sup>72</sup>

The more exotic foods were obtained from either Glasgow or Edinburgh merchants who dealt mainly in imported and foreign foods. From a provisioner, John Middleton, probably of Edinburgh, rice, barley, raisins, sugar, spice, ginger, almonds, nutmegs, mace and other seasoners were bought. Superfine green tea was quoted at 16s. Sterling per lb.; tea was still at this time very much a luxury beverage although tea-drinking had become an established habit amongst the aristocracy. No mention of tea is given in the 1730 menus, but, no doubt, it had become more popular by the 1760's. It was still very much a novelty with other beverages predominating, mainly ale for everyday use and taken in large quantities by the servants, and wine consumed in large quantities by their masters. Also included in Middleton's account for £4.16.4½ was a casket of salt for the town of Leslie, costing 1s.; the full account is given in the appendices.<sup>73</sup>

Wines were bought for the use of the family and friends and kept in the cellar of the great house. Like his contemporaries the Earl of Rothes had to feed and entertain friends and guests at Leslie House and the custom of providing them with a variety of alcoholic drinks demanded

that he keep up his stock of wines. The more commonly drunk wines at Leslie were Madeira, Port and Claret. When away from home on State business in London, the Earl had to obtain his food and drink from the city merchants. Living away from Leslie added to the expenditure incurred by the Earl who had to buy in meat, bread, poultry and sweetmeats at prices substantially higher than those paid at Leslie. Prices were extremely high in London, ranging from three to four times as much as those paid in Edinburgh.<sup>74</sup> While in the Capital the Earl would have a certain amount of entertaining to do. This would result in his having to pay costly food and drink bills for a more varied diet than he would be accustomed to eating if on his own. Conformity to the social habits of the day forced many Scots resident in London on government business to run up higher food and drink bills than would be necessary at home. For example, the Earl of Rothes spent £3.1.6 for two days food and drink in London while resident there in 1764. In 1730 his food bill at Leslie for one week came to £14 Scots (£1.3.4 Sterling) and even allowing for increases in costs by 1764, it was considerably less expensive for Scots to live at home. The bill for food and drink supplied to the Earl of Rothes in 1764 by W. Almack of London is given below:<sup>75</sup>

February 18	Bread and Beer	£ -. 2. 0
	1 bottle of Claret	-. 5. 0
	1 bottle of Madeira	-. 3. 6
	Soup	-. 3. 0
	Bouillon	-. 2. 0
	Roast Shoulder of Lamb	-. 3. 6
	Boiled fowl with lemon sauce	-. 4. 6
	Tarts	-. 2. 6

February 19	Claret	£ -. 5. 0
	Port	-. 2. 0
	Madeira	-. 3. 6
	Soup	-. 3. 0
	Roast Beef	-. 6. 6
	Salad	-. 1. 0
	Bread Pudding	-. 2. 6
	Roast chickens	-. 6. 0
	Asparagus	-. 3. 6
	Tart	<u>-. 2. 6</u>
		£ 3. 1. 6

Normally the family when resident at Leslie would dine on a table set with pewter dishes. For entertaining friends and relatives, as well as any royal visitors, the family plate would be brought out for these more formal occasions. In common with the silver of other Scottish peers of the period the family plate in Leslie House would be engraved with the Leslie coat of arms and be one of the most valuable possessions of the family. The inventory of the silver plate belonging to the Earl and Countess of Rothes in or about 1750 is given below:<sup>76</sup>

Three dozen trencher plates; one large mentith; one tanker, two large salvers, and four smaller ones; one ring for the table; a frame of silver with pepper, mustard and sugar boxes, and two little boxes; heads for the vinegar and oil cruets and a mustard spoon; four dozen knives, three dozen forks, four dozen spoons, two soup spoons, two fricassee spoons, two marrow spoons, eight salt spoons; two jugs; fourteen salts; two dozen dessert knives, two dozen forks and two dozen spoons - these were gilded with gold; one carving knife and fork;

one punch spoon; one silver handle to a bottle; eight candlesticks, three pair of snuffers with boxes; two hand candlesticks, two large candlesticks with branches; two flecketts; a large caddy pot with a head and a little one with a head and stroup; one sauce pan; a chamber pot; a warming pan; a cup with a handle; a brandy cup in the shape of a glass; one gilded brandy cup.

The silver plate for the tea consisted of: a little silver tea table; one silver tea kettle with a lamp; two tea pots, one with a lamp; two extinguishers belonging to the lamps; one large coffee pot and one milk stoup; one sugar box; seven spoons; a pair of tongs and a drainer, gilded with gold.

The inventory of the Countess of Rothes' Dressing Plate consisted of: one large glass with head; one case for a pin cushion; two large comb boxes; two powder boxes; two patch boxes; two bottles of sweet waters; two salvers; two caddy pots with lids.

The value of the silver is given as £3,612.7.7 $\frac{1}{2}$  Scots.

One is able to see from the description of the dining and wining habits at Leslie House just how well provided were the family in the good things of life. The servants at Leslie, as in other great houses, were served different foods than those provided for their masters. The Earl of Rothes fed his servants the monotonous diet of beef and fish along with large quantities of bread and ale;<sup>77</sup> this would be supplemented occasionally with eggs and oatmeal. They would take their meals in the Servants Hall adjoining the Kitchen on the ground floor. Although the diet was monotonous it was at least sustaining, affording the servants in Leslie House a standard of living somewhat higher than that enjoyed by many trying to scrape a living out of meagre plots and low wages.

One of the out-buildings not far from the Kitchen would be the wash-house, a place of much activity, for apart from the family's linen and nightclothes, the napery had to be kept clean as well. The cleaning of the house and the laundering of the household linen were duties carried out by the domestic servants, but occasionally some of the local people were employed by the Earl when major cleaning operations like washing blankets and cleaning tapestries required the employment of additional workers. The washing was done in the traditional way, using large wooden tubs, soap, starch and blue. However, at Leslie House an exciting innovation was in use. The Countess of Rothes possessed a mangle that was sent in 1696 to her cousin, the Duchess of Hamilton. There exists a letter written to the Duchess of Hamilton's secretary from one of the Countess of Rothes' servants. The letter explains that 'The Countess of Rothes has caused this bearer come to Edinburgh express with the Mangle which her Ladyship promised to send to her Grace when at Edinburgh. My Lady thought it best to send the wright with it because he would have the greatest care of it and he will teach the women how to make it go. If any thing be wrong that belongs to it when it shall come to your hands he will right it. The price which My Lady did agree with him for it was 53 pounds Scots'. The first English mention of a mangle in the Oxford English Dictionary is in 1774. According to the same source, the word 'mangle' first appeared in Dutch in the eighteenth century, so the mangle used at Leslie House antedates both of these instances.<sup>78</sup>

At Leslie House, Margaret Matheson, who signed the inventory book in 1751, acted as laundry woman, for a receipt signed by her on 10 January 1751 accounted for the payment of 20s. Sterling as part of

her wages as laundry woman.<sup>79</sup> A more detailed account of some laundry costs is given for the years 1762, 1764 and 1767. For instance, on 16 August 1762 the Earl of Rothes paid 8s. 11d. to Mary Timmins for washing the following items of household linen:<sup>80</sup>

10 sheets @ 1d. per sheet	£ --. --. 10
9 table cloths	--. --. 9
2½ dozen napkins	--. 2. 6
5 pillow cases	--. --. 5
15 towels	--. 1. 3
6 glass cloths	--. --. 6
28 scrubbing cloths	--. 2. 4
4 breakfast cloths	<u>--. --. 4</u>
	£ --. 8. 11

In 1764, 14s. 4½d. was paid to Thomas Oswald in Sparrowhill, Leslie for washing blankets, etc.:<sup>81</sup>

Cleaning 70 pair of blankets @ 1½d. per pair	£ --. 9. 4½
For 4 pieces of Arras @ 6d. each	--. 2. --
Cleaning room linings	<u>--. 3. --</u>
	£ --. 14. 4½

Added to the above account was a payment of 9s. made to Mrs. Smith for washing the window curtains, bringing the total cleaning bill to £1. 3. 4½.<sup>82</sup>

Three years later, in 1767, for washing clothes for the Earl of Rothes, Jean Muir was paid the following rates:<sup>83</sup>

To 7 shirts	£ --. 2. --
1 shaving cloth	--. --. 1
6 cravats	--. --. 3
2 pair of drawers	--. --. 2

6 small cloths	£ - . - . 3
5 towels	- . - . 2½
4 pair of stockings	- . - . 4
4 handkerchiefs	- . - . 2
6 shirts & 1 waistcoat	- . 1 . 6
1 nightcap	- . - . 0½

Regarding the washing and cleaning of the rooms of Leslie House the household servants were required to carry out these duties, but from an account of 20 May 1729 outside assistance was brought in to help in the washing and cleaning of the rooms. William Hay, factor to the Earl, paid a woman 5s. Scots per day for working in the house for 7 days, and another woman the same rate for 3 days work; the total outlay for this work was £2.10s. Scots (4s. 2d. Sterling).<sup>84</sup>

The office houses would be completed by the porter's lodge, stables and coachhouse. The porter's lodge was furnished with two canvas-bottomed beds, each with feather mattress, blankets, a fir press and a small square table. In the coachhouse were kept the coach and chaise belonging to the Earl; these were used regularly by the Earl and Countess when they made their numerous trips to London where the Earl sat in the House of Lords as one of the Representative Peers of Scotland. An interesting account of the work carried out by two coach-making firms, one the firm of John Horne, Coachmaker at Edinburgh and the other, the firm of Thomas Lessels (probably Edinburgh) shows the repairs and costs of same in keeping the Earl's coach on the road. Although some maintenance was done at Leslie, those jobs requiring the service of experts in the trade were carried out in Edinburgh, where it could be said that the coach and equipment were 'serviced'. In 1764 an account from John Horne for making coach repairs came to 9s.10d.

Sterling:<sup>85</sup>

Feb. 10-	2 new brass rings for the curpel (crupper)	
	wings and 2 old ones serwn on the berge	£ -. 1. -
12-	a new sway bar and plate	-. 4. 6
May 30-	Chaise brought in for cleaning and oiling	-. 3. 4
	Supplying 3 new washers for the wheels	<u>-. 1. -</u>
		£ -. 9.10

The greasing and oiling job took one day for the coach was delivered to the Earl on 1st June.

Not only were repairs carried out on the Earl's chaise but on the harness leather as well. Journey by coach over rough uneven roads during the eighteenth century was not only wearisome for the traveller but wearing on the coaches and equipment; this necessitated the need to continually overhaul and repair worn straps, bridles, lozenges and grooms, etc. In 1766 the tenth Earl of Rothes was charged 10s. 8d. Sterling by Thomas Lessels for 'Mending Coach and Stable furniture'.<sup>86</sup> This was the account for a year's maintenance of coach as the bill covered the period from 5th November 1765 to 22nd November 1766.

As well as keeping his coach and chaise in good repair the Earl of Rothes was required to maintain his trunks and packing sheets which became the worse for wear due to the long and tiring trips to London. He engaged a London trunk-maker, Thomas Griffiths, to carry out this necessary maintenance, paying him 15s. Sterling for the following repairs:<sup>87</sup>

for an elm bottom and top to a chaise trunk,	-. 6. -
newly lined and repaired	
for a new check packing sheet	-. 6. -
for 2 pair of tough hide straps	<u>-. 3. -</u>
	-.15. -

The Earls of Rothes, being military men with special interest in the mounted regiments, were very precise in the orders given by them to those responsible at Leslie for looking after their horses and stables. When the young tenth Earl succeeded his father in 1723 he issued new orders for the 'Regulations of the Stables', dated 18 December 1723. He dealt first with the wages to be paid to the groom and coachmen:- the groom, Charles Lyon, was to be paid 1s. Sterling per day; Thomas Greig, coachman, was to be paid 2s. per week, 2 pecks of meal, £5.10s. yearly and provided with boots; Thomas Ross was to be paid £3 yearly but he had to provide his own boots, 2 pecks of oats, and 14s. Scots weekly when the Earl was away from home; David Sydserff was to be paid the same as Thomas Ross, living weekly with James Ross.

If the Earl of Rothes took his horse to Leven, then hay, head, corn and straw should be sent there. All the horses should be grazed except the Earl's stallion, the horses belonging to Thomas Gibson, Charles Leslie and Kilraik (Kilravock) and the stallion belonging to Sir James Holborn; these would be the horses belonging to relatives and friends of the Earl. The grooms were required to inform the factor, William Hay, when they needed hay, corn, straw and oats. The work horses were to be used in labouring for the maintenance of the stables in corn, peas, etc. It was ordered that the grooms be paid once weekly and that the servants should obtain money from William Hay if they wanted to buy in Leslie; on no account were they to get into debt there.

As soon as there was some improvement in the condition of the grass all the horses were to be grazed, except the two stallions referred to above. The grooms were required to hand in their clothes

to William Reid at the House for storage in the wardrobe. Finally, three jars of oil were to be laid in for the coach and harness, etc.; the horses' feet were to be greased with hogs lard and a year's supply of oil dregs for the stable should be bought at Edinburgh.<sup>88</sup>

Probably, the groom, Charles Lyon, was English for there was a preference at this time for English trained grooms and footmen. The Earl of Rothes provided these servants with their liveries as well; more details of this is given in the section on the duties and payment of servants, while a further account of the Earl's dealings with horses is included in the chapters on the Home Farms and coal-mining.

Completing this complex of buildings were the Armour House in which were contained a number of seventeenth century muskets and old suits of armour. Then there were the numerous out-buildings in which would be stored the tools and equipment used by the gardening and forestry teams which were responsible for the care and maintenance of the grounds surrounding Leslie House.

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(b) The Gardens and Plantations

The buildings which comprised Leslie House stood in extensive grounds lying on both sides of the River Leven. The gardens and plantings at Leslie were renowned throughout the county and were even admired by outsiders as well. Both Defoe and Macky were full of praise of the grounds surrounding Leslie House. Defoe wrote: 'The Park on the South Side is very beautiful, six miles in Circumference, walled round and diversified with little woods of Fir-trees, which have vistas through them to the House. The Gardens at the East End of the House, well designed and planted, extending to the Angle where the two Rivers meet; so that they are watered on the North and East side, and in the South are parted with a wall from the Park, the West-end of them beginning from the House'.<sup>1</sup> Macky wrote a few years later: 'It is extremely well planted with full grown trees, that at a Distance seem to be a large Wood; there's a noble Parterre to the East, cut out in Green Slopes, adjorn'd with Evergreens, that reacheth to the Point where the Two Rivers meet; And from this Parterre on the South of the House, is a long Terras Walk, and under it fine several Terrasses to which you descend by stately Stairs to another Square Garden by the River-side, with a Water-work in the middle and round which the present Earl designs to carry the River'.<sup>2</sup>

When these two prominent English travellers visited Leslie House the gardens and plantations were already well established. The landscaping of the grounds was largely the work of Sir William Bruce, whose hand was seen quite clearly in the design and lay-out of the 'policies'. As has been already said, Bruce introduced many of these innovations during the time he worked at Balcaskie. Many of these new ideas originated on the Continent where the Dutch, Italian and French

styles were prominent. English and Scottish architects and landscape gardeners who visited these countries were greatly influenced by what their Continental contemporaries had to offer. The seventeenth century was the age of the Formal Garden but, despite the poverty of Scottish agriculture generally, after the Restoration broad plantations sprung up and we hear of gardens in the making, of Yester and Hatton, of Dalkeith and Leslie.<sup>3</sup> These developments took place on the estates of peers with broad acres and fat incomes, men with a common purpose to carry out the 'grand design' in home, gardens, woods and style of living. Men of a lower station were unable to introduce these revolutionary and costly changes, but their day was to come later during the age of industrialisation and self-made wealth.

The one great advance during the post-Restoration period was the more general use of trees. The life of the lowlands and the face of the countryside was greatly altered during the next two centuries by intensive planting carried out by Scots land-owners desiring to beautify their estates.<sup>4</sup> Fine trees have become an integral part of the policies or immediate surroundings of the great house, combining with it and the gardens to form such an harmonious unit that the absence of trees is to most of us quite inconceivable. The seventh Earl of Rothes and his successors placed great importance on their plantations which were, perhaps, the outstanding feature of the policies.

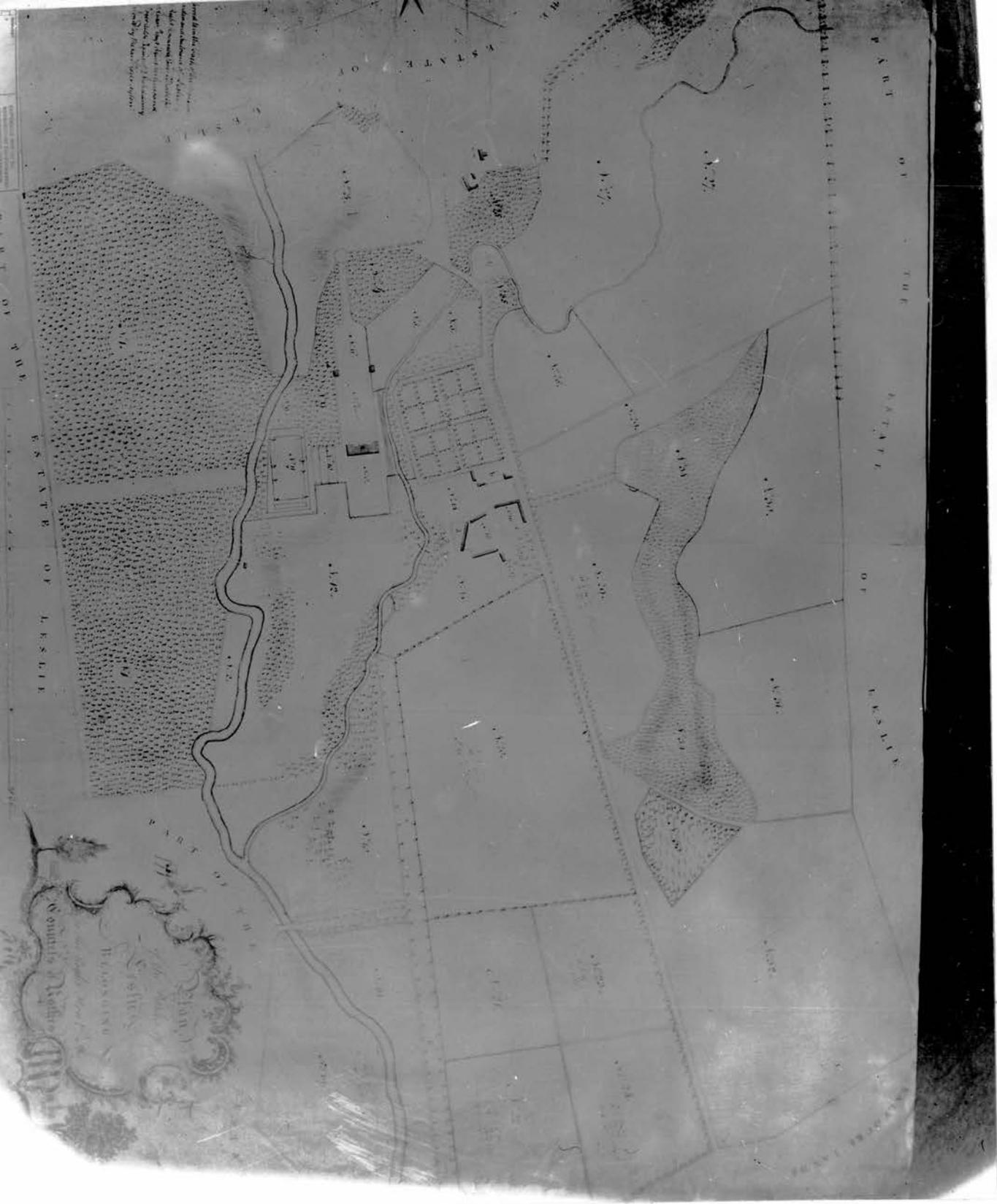
Mass planting in parks and estates, as opposed to shelter trees close to houses, did not start until after 1660. Then a few enthusiasts began at once on a large scale. Both Defoe and Macky expressed surprise and admiration at the number of trees to be seen growing on the large lowland estates.<sup>5</sup> Although both travellers made their tours about 1720, it is obvious that a great many of the hardwoods and conifers had been

planted shortly after the Restoration. They were full of praise of Yester in East Lothian, where the old Earl of Tweeddale, a favourite of Charles II, and his successors had planted 6000 acres from 1664 onwards. Macky was full of praise of this estate where large plantations had been made before those at Tynninghame, the Earl of Haddington's seat and considered to have been the first plantations in Scotland.<sup>6</sup> It was around about 1702 that mass planting commenced at Tynninghame where "millions" of trees were planted and avenues laid out through the park. Both Tweeddale and Haddington were contemporaries and family friends of Rothes, so there is every reason to believe that a good deal of information and advice changed hands between these families. There is evidence in the Rothes papers of one of the Earl's farm servants being sent to Tweeddale to purchase seedlings.<sup>7</sup> Avenues were also being made to the big houses, sometimes of trees planted as specimens, other times of rides being cut through the plantations. Defoe and Macky mention them frequently in their diaries. At Leslie House the beech avenue was a noteworthy feature of the policies, as was true of similar avenues on other estates, notably at Moncrieffe House where it ran for 600 yards and at Melville House in Fife. The influence of Sir William Bruce is seen at Melville House, for the celebrated Beech Avenue was planted by the first Earl of Melville about the year 1700 either at the instigation of Bruce or his assistant, James Smith, who is thought to have completed the house about 1701.<sup>8</sup> But as Bruce worked at Leslie thirty years earlier, then there is every possibility that the Earl of Rothes' Beech Avenue at Leslie was one of the earliest in Fife, as would also be true of the gardens and plantations. A later visitor to Leslie House was the Reverend James Nicol, minister of Leslie, who wrote in the New Statistical Account of Fifeshire: "The woods of Leslie House are remarkably fine, indeed, it may be said that no place in Scotland

surpasses them, consisting of oak, beech, and ash, some of a very large growth. The admirers of rural variety will be entertained here with every circumstance of beauty, which he can expect from diversified nature, hill and valley, wood and water". Continuing, he wrote, "the plantations of Leslie House are remarkably fine. The species that thrive best seem to be ash, elm, common beech, oak, and the silver fir. The larch does not thrive so well; it grows freely for a time, but soon rots at the heart. . . The ash, elm, and sycamore are the kinds that thrive best. The common beech also grows to a large size, and keeps free from heart rot. The beech avenue at Leslie House is well worthy of attention; the trees are about 200 years old, several of them measuring 16 feet 8 inches at 4 feet from the ground".<sup>9</sup>

The Duke of Rothes and his successors were very proud of the policies at Leslie and took great pains to maintain and improve them. Scottish pleasure gardens of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries differed little from those in England. This was an age of formality which was to reach its peak about the middle of the eighteenth century. Then the pendulum swung to the other extreme and the landscape gardener became more interested in improving on Nature.<sup>10</sup> However, as a rule, Scottish gardens were designed to imitate those in England, which were often modelled on French, Italian and Dutch styles. Two of the leading English garden designers, London & Wise and Switzer, drew up plans for, and supervised the making of some Scottish gardens, notably Hatton, the seat of the Earl of Lauderdale. As Scots gardeners were making a name for themselves in the South in supervising many of the greatest English gardens as well as designing and laying out gardens, it is likely that some of them were repatriated to design and take charge of some of our gardens.<sup>11</sup> According to Cox, none of our

own people stand out as great garden designers. Sir William Bruce, perhaps the greatest of the seventeenth century landscape designers, was able to ornament a garden, as is seen from the charming stone work in his own garden at Kinross House, but whether he went farther and designed parterres and the general lay-out of flower beds is not known. Recent studies, however, have shown that Bruce was responsible for the design and lay-out of the grounds surrounding his buildings. His pupil, William Adam, the father of the famous brothers, certainly designed some gardens in the formal shape of London and Wise, among them a proposed lay-out of Arniston in 1726. These designs, however, were only by-products of his architecture, and none were sufficiently striking to be labelled as Adam gardens by future generations. From the mid-eighteenth century drastic changes came about in garden design, especially in England where the swing was from the formal to the picturesque. Scots landowners were slow to introduce such sweeping changes in their gardens. This could have been a sign of Scots conservatism or, perhaps, as more of our people were remaining at home as times improved, it was more likely that fewer foreign contacts were made and thus fewer new ideas were being tried in Scotland. There were, however, individuals such as Henry Home, Lord Kames of Blair Drummond,<sup>12</sup> noted for the design of his landscaped gardens and the fourth Duke of Atholl, the "Planting Duke", who between 1774 and 1826 planted over 14 million larches and 13 million other trees on his estate.<sup>13</sup> Two other adventurous lairds who made noteworthy contributions to afforestation were the Earl of Kinnoull and Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk. After 1760 the day of the formal garden was over, and lairds everywhere, influenced by the new fashion of estate improvement, began to plant trees in their thousands. This is sometimes referred to as



Plan of the Parks of Leslie  
belonging to the Countess of  
Rothes, 1775

the 'returning to nature'.

Very few, if any, of these changes were to occur at Leslie House where family fortunes were waning and other interests, mainly coal-mining, were growing. Then, too, after the great fire of 1763 the commitments of the family were so great that little could be done to improve their estate, which was eventually to be whittled away as the properties came up for sale. But before its decline the Rothes Estate was indeed a place of beauty and grandeur, as was reflected by the great house and its immediate policies. The great terrace lay on the south side of the House with steps leading down to the parterres which in turn ended in the green lying next to the River Leven. Here would be the water works or fountain as mentioned in Macky's diary. This fountain contained a sculptured centrepiece of Apollo, and there is evidence of paintwork having been carried out by James Alexander,<sup>14</sup> a painter who worked for Sir William Bruce at Kinross House. The policies also contained several flower beds, the kitchen garden, a bowling green and the Lady's Pond, where the Countess kept her water fowls. Then adjoining the immediate policies would be the woods, with their walks and the parklands and enclosures, otherwise known as the Home Farms.

Although flowers and herbs were to feature in orders given by the Earl to his seed merchants, they were of secondary importance, for Rothes, like many of his contemporaries, was more concerned with the kitchen garden and the wide selection of vegetable seeds he could buy in Edinburgh or have sent from London. The 'kitchen garden', as its name suggests, was the garden, usually laid out near the kitchen, in which the vegetables and fruits consumed in the house were grown. These home-produced foods, although not always itemised in the dinner

and supper menus, would be used to supplement the diet of the family. If not served separately as vegetables, then they were often the ingredients of many of the dishes prepared, such as 'boiled Mutton' or 'collops'. Vegetables and fruit were grown in substantial quantities in the Leslie House gardens, which were typical of those in other Fife estates during this period. In these gardens, strawberries, gooseberries, currants, plums, and cherries of every species were grown in great profusion and were of excellent quality. Apple and pear trees were to be seen and there were also hot-walls, hot houses, and green houses in which pineapples, grapes, peaches, nectarines, apricots and many exotic plants were cultivated. In all these, as well as in other gardens of inferior style, every kind of kitchen vegetable was produced in great abundance.<sup>15</sup>

The Earl of Rothes, greatly interested in improving his estates, gave special attention to the gardens and plantations. One of the books in his library frequently consulted by himself and his gardener was the Compleat Gardener, a London publication of 1712.<sup>16</sup> It was the custom of the day to design the gardens in the English style and to employ, if possible, English gardeners, or Scots gardeners who were experienced in the management of gardens of a more formal nature.<sup>17</sup> It would appear that at Leslie a Scots gardener, Andrew Brown was employed. Little else is known of Brown's background except that he succeeded another Scot, James Beattie, as head gardener at Leslie House. Beattie had served the ninth Earl of Rothes and continued in the service of the family in 1723 when the tenth Earl inherited the estate following the death of his father in 1722. The gardener was expected to supervise a work force of three men who were to be paid £20 yearly and their keep.<sup>18</sup> This was an adequate wage for the times

and compares favourably with wages paid elsewhere. In fact, garden labourers were usually paid at the rate of 5d. Sterling per day during the first half of the eighteenth century, but were unpaid in bad weather or during off-seasons. The gardener at Gordonstoun in Moray, which was a much improved estate, received a free house but probably had to supply his own food out of his wages which came to £12.10s. Sterling a year.<sup>19</sup> In his instructions to his gardener the Earl of Rothes called on Beattie to attend to the pruning and watering of the fruit trees as well as keeping the gardens in as good condition as they had been kept for the ninth Earl. Rothes was also concerned about the feeding of his horses and dairy cows, for Beattie had to ensure that the grass cuttings from the gardens be supplied to the stables or fed to the cows, and that the spare cole from the orchards be used for fodder as well. Finally, he ordered his gardener not to dispose of the undergrowth until he had been informed of same.<sup>20</sup>

While in the service of the Earl of Rothes the gardener would have other duties as well. Occasionally he and his team would have to assist the foresters when they needed extra hands during a particular busy period. Then there would be the trips to Kinghorn to collect the seeds for the kitchen garden. In 1732 Beattie was sent there by the Earl to receive an order of garden seeds sent to Kinghorn from Edinburgh by the firm of M.M. Eagle which supplied the following:<sup>21</sup>

3 lbs. of Strasbourg onion	£ 0. 9. 0
1 lb. of London leeks	0. 4. 0
1 oz. of early white turnip	0. 0. 4
1 oz. of yellow turnip	0. 0. 4
1 oz. of cabbage lettuce	0. 0. 8
$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of black Spanish lettuce	0. 1. 0

1 lb. of marrowfat peas	£ 0. 0. 8
2 lbs. of Hastings peas	<u>0. 0. 8</u>
	£ 0.16. 6

The above order is typical of the seed orders of the day. Similar orders were being sent by the Edinburgh seed merchants to landowners throughout Scotland. The firm of M.M. Eagle may have been one of the smaller establishments; later the tenth Earl was to order his seeds from the well-established firm of Drummond & Company as well as from Eagle.<sup>22</sup> Orders for seeds and garden tools from these two firms appear in the appendices and contain a great variety of seeds. No doubt, in the larger orders the Earl would have to consider the requirements of his farms; this would be the reason for ordering such large quantities of turnips, peas and beans, crops which were used to feed the cattle and oxen grazing in the parklands. The seeds of some vegetables were regularly imported from abroad; for instance, early beans would be shipped every year from Lisbon. Very often vegetables were described by the name of a country or district in which they originated, such as Italian celery, Dutch cabbage, Silesian lettuce and Russian kail. There would also be seeds for the herb garden in which grew the plants used for both culinary and medicinal purposes - mustard, hyssop, thyme, garlic and fennel. There is no mention of flower seeds in the two orders. This could mean that the gardeners at Leslie were able to propagate enough of these seeds to make the Earl self-sufficient in these. It was his every intention to propagate enough seeds of all kinds so that he would not have to buy from seed merchants. This, of course, was not always possible as is seen in his need to send his servant on this mission. Beattie's expenses for collecting the seeds are itemised below:<sup>23</sup>

To freight charge and fare	£ 0. 1. 6
To pay for quartering the horse one night at Kinghorn	0. 0. 4
Hire of horse to Kinghorn	<u>0. 1. 2</u>
	0. 3. 0

The design of the kitchen garden is shown in the plan of the Rothes Estate c1775. Rectangular in shape and bordered by walks it would be typical of kitchen gardens of the day. John Reid in his well-known gardening manual, The Scots Gardener, stressed what he considered adequate for the kitchen garden. He laid down standards at which gardeners throughout the country were to strive in reaching. He mentioned the boxing of the vegetable plots with thyme, lavender, hyssop, etc., so perhaps this was the plan followed at Leslie. Reid also planted beds of flowers and dwarf shrubs in the borders.<sup>24</sup>

Another expert on gardening matters was Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston. Cockburn's Letters to his Gardener were well known throughout the world of gardening and set new standards for the budding gardeners of the country. He was especially concerned with the preparation and manuring of the soil of his gardens. He also valued the kitchen garden more than many of his contemporaries, hoping to profit from the sale of surplus crops in the neighbourhood. His instructions to his gardener are very precise, often critical of the short-sightedness of many Scots gardeners, but at all times constructive. The Earl of Rothes also issued his instructions to his gardener.<sup>25</sup> The Earl, however, was primarily concerned with the needs of the Estate and not so interested in expanding market gardening as was Cockburn. Nevertheless, from the letters sent by the tenth Earl of Rothes to Andrew Brown, the head gardener at Leslie in 1747, it is possible to get a better understanding

of the work entailed in looking after the gardens and courts of one of Fife's greatest mansion-houses. Brown supervised a team of four men and remained in the service of the Earl throughout the 1750's for he was issued with further instructions in 1761. When he succeeded James Beattie in 1747 a new set of instructions was made out by the tenth Earl and given to his new gardener, who probably had worked under Beattie during the time he managed the gardens at Leslie. Brown was required to finish work on the bowling green in the court and the gravel walks and borders where he should plant a lauristinus hedge. The kitchen garden should be well-stocked and a sufficient number of good quality fruit trees raised to replace the old and decaying ones. For the garden walls Brown had to propagate fig trees, apricots, peaches and nectarines and as well graft some of the best kinds from the old trees. Flowers of all kinds should be propagated and the Earl informed of any varieties becoming scarce. To replenish the borders in the gardens and woods, Brown was required to plant a nursery for flowering shrubs - evergreens, rose trees, honeysuckles and jessamines. In order to save the expense of having to order seeds for the garden, Rothes directed his gardener to save as many garden seeds 'as could be brought to perfection in this climate'.<sup>26</sup> Another prominent feature of large eighteenth century gardens were the hot-beds in which were planted vegetables and fruit being forced. Glass for hot-beds is a frequent item in account books, such as the Household Book of Lady Grizel Baillie and others of her station; among the accounts at Dalkeith is one dated 1702, "An Account for Glasswork to James Waugh, 3 windows in hotbeds 87 feet at 5 shillings a feet".<sup>27</sup> The Earl of Rothes ordered Brown to get glass frames for the hot-beds from the old glass of the house and stables; Rothes had a contract

with the Kirkcaldy glazier, James Boswall, who supplied the Earl with glass for both the main building and all out-buildings.<sup>28</sup> Other duties of the gardening team were the laying of gravel upon the parlour and long walk, and assisting Robert Greig, the forester, in pruning the barren planting. Once a month Brown was required to write to the Earl in London, informing him of the requirements of the garden and proposals for next month's work; a journal of Brown's proceedings for the past month was sent with the letter.<sup>29</sup> In comparing these letters with those sent by Sir John Cockburn to his gardener, Charles Bell, one could conclude that the Earl of Rothes, although concerned about the state of his grounds, was not as demanding on his gardener as was Cockburn. The successful Ormiston farmer, an expert on gardening matters, offered more information and advice to his gardener than did Rothes, who left Brown to follow his directions, it would seem, in his own way. On the other hand, Rothes was a military enthusiast and more knowledgeable about the care and welfare of horses than of plants. In ending his letter to Andrew Brown, the Earl orders him to guard the garden during the night. Two of Brown's men were to be given arms and required to lie every night in the house; the women were to lie in the stables. These precautions were taken by the Earl to protect his property from theft. The kitchen gardens were bounded on the north by the main road leading from Leslie to Markinch so it was possible for vagrants and others wandering in the vicinity of the House to steal crops and poultry during the night. For instance, on 1 March 1742 one of the Earl's servants, William Brown, petitioned the Justice of the Peace for the County of Fife to grant a warrant to John or William Brown, servants of the Earl of Rothes, to search all suspected houses for stolen fowls. According to

William Brown, on Saturday, 27th February, during the night, the Earl's poultry house had been broken open and five turkeys and two ducks stolen. Brown felt that they had been carried off by someone in the neighbourhood. This petition was granted by Robert Hay, J.P., who, as well as giving John and William Brown search warrants, ordered all the constables of the county to assist them in conducting the search.<sup>30</sup> Such events were quite common in the country districts where pilfering could be said to be the most serious crime. Thus it was necessary for the Earl of Rothes to take these precautions if his property were to be safeguarded.

The instructions sent to Andrew Brown in 1761 are far more precise than those sent earlier, but, like the earlier ones, the gardener is still expected to carry out Rothes' orders as he thinks best. This was very rarely the case with Cockburn, who was most profound in his instructions to Bell and advised him methodically in all matters pertaining to the maintenance of the gardens and plantations at Ormiston. By 1761 less work must have been necessary in the plantations at Leslie, for Robert Greig and one of his team were directed to work under Brown, who was now given charge of all the gardens. The Earl, like so many of his contemporaries, showed as much if not more interest in his fruit trees as in his vegetable plots. He directed Brown to prune one-third of all the fruit trees after Mr. Hitt's<sup>31</sup> manner and to replace the non-bearing apple trees in the terrace and long walk with good quality peaches, figs, pears, plums, apricots and nectarines. The kitchen garden had to be attended to as well, the lower part spaded over and sown with clover seed while the borders had to be properly weeded and maintained. Rothes also required Brown to repair the railing at the east side of the garden

and to paint it when the railings and gate under the pavilion were being painted. Brown was directed to transplant some strawberries and raspberries and plant some red and white currants between the fruit trees upon the east and west wall of the kitchen garden.<sup>32</sup> He was also ordered to renew and prune the gooseberry bushes. It was in soft fruits that Scots gardens excelled rather in orchard fruits. Attempts were made to raise apples, pears, plums and peaches but in most cases the quality of the product was inferior to the English and Continental varieties. Even Cockburn referred to the poor quality of the Nonpareil apples.<sup>33</sup> There were estates, though, which were successful in the development of fruit orchards. These were found in regions where climatic conditions were more favourable, such as the Clyde Valley where apples and plums flourished. One such estate was that belonging to the Duke of Hamilton whose Palace orchards high quality fruit even as early as 1668. This was the year when Lord Fountainhall, the famous Scottish judge, paid a visit to Hamilton, recording in his journal, "Went and saw the yards. . . Great abundance of as good vines, peaches, apricots, figs, walnuts, chestnuts, philberts (nuts), etc. in it as in any part of France; excellent Bon Crestian pears. . . The walls are built of brick, which conduces much to the ripening of the fruits. . ." <sup>34</sup> The fruit orchards at Hamilton were one of the outstanding features of that Estate, but over at Leslie, although the Earl gave much attention to his fruit trees, the plantations were to outshine the other agricultural undertakings. Nevertheless, the Earl continued to send his instructions to his gardener, calling on Brown to renew and manure the soil for asparagus and to prepare a bed for melons. The gardener was ordered to sell any surplus produce when the family was away from

home. More general duties consisted of laying gravel on the paths around the house, in particular the one leading from the house to the coach house, and replacing the dead trees in the grove near the avenue. He was also required to prepare some ground near the Whinny Hill plantation for a nursery of beech and to fence some of the trees.<sup>35</sup> So it would appear that by this time the duties of the gardener and forester at Leslie were at times complementary. Cockburn at Ormiston was a great believer in the importance of using a good manure to fertilise the soil and regularly ordered his gardener to use a mixture of pigeon dung and ashes. At Leslie, the Earl of Rothes used pigeon dung mainly in the gardens surrounding the house, but there is evidence of him directing his gardeners to use the midden from the bakehouse to fertilise those enclosures near the house in which some of the animals were grazed. There were times when the gardener was required to employ additional workers in order to prepare the ground for planting, when it was necessary to get the ground dug during the season; on these occasions Brown should employ day-labourers and was allowed £5 Sterling for that purpose.<sup>36</sup>

Mention has been made of the need to propagate seeds and plants on the estate. This would apply to the supply of fruit trees which as a rule were bought mainly from London merchants who obtained their trees from English and Continental nurseries. There were several prominent Scots nurseries by the middle of the eighteenth century, the most famous being that belonging to Robert Dickson at Hassendeanburn in Teviotdale. Dickson's son, Archibald, later supplied trees to many of the big estates as far afield as Haddington and Midlothian.<sup>37</sup> Most of his trade was in forest trees but he sold some varieties of fruit trees as well. Besides buying their trees from either Scots or

English firms, Scottish landowners often shared their resources with their friends and neighbours, especially with relatives of the family. The Earl of Rothes was on intimate terms with many of the most prominent proprietors of the day - Hamilton, Lauderdale, Haddington, Tweeddale, etc. and probably acquired some of his trees from them. He was also knowledgeable of London and its merchants, so it was most likely that many of the fruit trees planted along the wall adjoining the kitchen garden or scattered throughout the courts were of English origin. There is evidence of an order of trees been given to a London firm, Lewis Kennedy, in 1763. The detailed account is given below:<sup>38</sup>

12 filbert	0. 4. 0
7 peach & nectarine	0.10. 6
11 dwarf pears	0. 8. 3
2 hand pear	0. 2. 0
1 mulberry	0. 1. 6
6 dwarf cherry	0. 4. 6
5 hand cherry	0. 5. 0
24 English elm	0.18. 0
4 mats & packaging	0. 5. 0
Carriage to London	0. 2. 6
2 pkts. almond hands	0. 5. 0
1 dwarf almond	<u>0. 1. 6</u>
	£3. 7. 9

The London prices would be competitive if the trees being sold were of better quality than those raised in Scots nurseries. For orchard trees it was considered that not only could the English nurseries offer keen prices but fruit of greater variety than could be raised

in Scots nurseries which excelled in the supply of forest trees, in particular coniferous trees such as fir, pine and larch.

The gardener was one of the more highly paid employees at Leslie. Andrew Brown earned a wage of £20. 4. 2 Sterling per annum while the four men assisting him were paid £3 each and livery meal worth £20.16. 2; the estimate for gardening labour costs came to £52.16s. Sterling in 1750.<sup>39</sup>

From this examination of the documents relating to the gardens at Leslie House it would appear that the practices observed there were in keeping with those described by John Thomson and other writers knowledgeable of eighteenth century agriculture. The ninth and tenth Earls were merely continuing the work started by the Duke of Rothes who built the great mansion house and laid out the gardens and terracings as directed by those supervising the planning of the policies, in particular Sir William Bruce. Very few changes were made by the ninth and tenth Earls who engaged the local architect, William Adam, to carry out maintenance work at Leslie. Adam did some farm surveying for the tenth Earl and carried out repairs to the buildings on the estate; two of his plans are contained in the portfolio.

Defoe and Macky were both greatly impressed by the woods at Leslie as were others who were privileged to visit the estate; a description of Leslie woods has already been given by the Reverend James Nicol. John Thomson did not mention by name the woods at Leslie, but, no doubt, they would compare favourably with those of Rothes' neighbours, Ferguson of Raith and General Wemyss, whose plantations were considered by Thomson to be among the finest in Fife. The plantations at Leslie were in an advanced state by the end of the

eighteenth century as much planting had been carried out during the period and the avenue of beech trees by then having grown into maturity. Thomson in his report referred to the great variety of trees planted by the proprietors and how these would benefit them not only financially, but, if trees were planted in the grounds adjacent to the enclosures, would prove to be a boon to both pastoral and arable farming by sheltering the animals and crops in the enclosures.<sup>40</sup>

Like Sir John Cockburn the tenth Earl of Rothes was most concerned about the state of his plantations and in his letters to his head forester, Robert Greig, instructions were given with great care about the planting and pruning of trees. Again, as with gardening, Rothes was not so methodical as Cockburn, who directed his gardener in every detail how to care for the trees, especially when transplanting young trees. Robert Greig was assisted by his two sons and, when necessary, authorised to employ extra workers or draw on the services of the gardeners when their normal work became less demanding. Greig continued in the service of the Earl of Rothes as head forester from 1723 to 1761 when his son, John, succeeded him, probably following the death of his father. When Robert Greig took over the responsibility of managing the Earl's plantations in 1723 these were the instructions issued to him:<sup>41</sup> Trees should be transplanted from the nurseries to the Whinny hill and in the open spaces lying on the south side of the Water of Leven; where too thin the trees should be thickened up; planting should be carried out at the Double Dykes (adjacent to Balbirnie's land) in a manner similar to that at Whinny hill and sufficient fencing be provided to protect the young trees; all the taped trees lying on the west side of the

Berran gate should be cut down and all the young trees should be kept as free of whins and weeds as was possible; the trees should be pruned and cleaned up in the proper season (here Cockburn advised his workers to complete this job during the early part of the year, around about May) and the sheddings made into small faggots for use at the House or for sale by the wagon load to those willing to buy them; the hedge in the west part of the planting should be cleaned and replaced where necessary from old stocks.

To protect the young trees from damages caused by crows and hares, Robert Greig was directed by the Earl to obtain gunpowder for himself and James Beattie and to obtain help from Beattie and his men when planting. Greig was also required to assist the cattle grieve, Thomas Frost, when necessary, and along with Frost apprehend all persons guilty of destroying the park dikes and fences. These persons should be taken to the factor, William Hay, who would deal with them by putting the Acts of Court into execution against them.

The orders issued to Robert Greig in 1747 are most interesting in that the instructions for the planting of the walks are given. The walks were one of the most attractive features of the woods at Leslie and the responsibility of the foresters and gardeners. The full list of directions is given below:<sup>42</sup>

The wood lying on the south side of the Leven, called the Allar Wood, should be planted and thickened with oak, beech, ash and plane trees from the nursery; that in doing this regard be had to the marking of the walks, as they were already planted through the wood - 40 feet wide with proper terminations as directed by the gardener, Andrew Brown. There followed the instructions for the planting of the walks:

(1) They were to be formed of rows of oaks, elms, beech or plane trees

- and planted in a way as not to interfere with the walks which were to be planted in the middle and other parts of the wood.
- (2) The design of the rows and walks should be such that the outer rows forming the walk would be left when the rest of the wood was cut down.
  - (3) A row of oaks should be planted in the avenue leading to the Cow Bridge and be sufficiently fenced.
  - (4) Two rows of elms or oaks were to be planted from Caskieberran Gate the full breadth of the South Avenue to the House and carried forward to the top of the bank facing the South front of the House; well-grown trees should be used and these should be watered if necessary and staked to support them from the winds until they had taken sufficient root; they should also be protected from the damage caused by the cattle rubbing against them by surrounding them with thorns. Here, Rothes was following a practice common throughout the lowlands. Sir John Cockburn issued similar instructions to his gardener at Ormiston, directing him to use white and black thorn for the strengthening of the fences built to enclose the cattle and to protect his beech hedges.<sup>43</sup>
  - (5) The avenue from the gate of the park to the Cow Bridge on the south side should have some rows of oaks, elm, beech and plane trees planted where there were none of these trees growing, and the fir trees overtopping and hindering the growth of other trees should be cut and pruned; this should be practised in all the plantations.
  - (6) Some fir trees were to be planted round the Rolling hill (called Mount Andrew) to shelter and protect the plantation there, and a quickset hedge planted round the east face of the hill, forming

an amphitheatre; the top of the hill was to be thickened where the trees had failed.

- (7) The watling made from the prunings of the old trees should be sold.
- (8) The grove to the west of the Coach house should be thickened with fairly large trees where there was enough space; some of these should be drawn from the plane trees growing in John Low's yard, leaving no more in that nursery ground than sufficient to form a grove equal to the one on the north side of it.
- (9) The hedges on both sides of the Avenue should be watered, dug and newly planted where needed in quickset; the Earl of Rothes was insistent that this hedge be kept in good condition.
- (10) Several young trees growing in the nurseries were to be transplanted in the plantation above the bridge and in strips of planting round the North Park; seedlings should be taken from the ponds and other places where they were growing, but care should be taken to always leave a sufficient number of trees in the hill above the bridge and in the strips.
- (11) When necessary, the gardener and his workers and John Brown and his servants should assist in the planting, and day-wage men be hired if needed.
- (12) A record of the sale of timber and watling should be kept.
- (13) The tenants' yards round their houses should be planted as well as those at Ballinbreich, and James Greig should be responsible for this.
- (14) A Register of the trees planted in the tenants' yards should be kept by Robert and James Greig, and details of the kinds and numbers of trees planted should be given.

(15) A sufficient quantity of charcoal should be made as well as faggots and billets cut for the use of the House and bakehouse; these should be put under cover.

By carrying out these instructions<sup>44</sup> Robert Greig and his sons were able to complete work of considerable importance at Leslie, for in later years these woods were considered to be one of the finest in Fife, and the rows of trees bordering the avenue to the entrance a feature of great beauty. One of Robert Greig's sons, John, succeeded his father as head forester at Leslie in 1761 and was issued with new directions by the tenth Earl:<sup>45</sup>

- (1) He was responsible for the hedges, nurseries and the other plantations, and a workman, hired by the year, would assist him.
- (2) The fences were to be regularly repaired and the hedges watered.
- (3) The wood was to be properly thickened or thinned when necessary.
- (4) He was to inform the factor when the tenants or other persons required wood, which should be sold, but only if it was plentiful and had been first marked by the factor for cutting.
- (5) No new work should be started until the factor approved of it; at other times he was to be consulted before work commenced.
- (6) The East Myre should be drained and the outside fences repaired; a hedge of thorns should be planted on the top and the East Myre to be planted with willows, birch, beech, oak and firs; the myre on the north side of the Whinny hill should be drained and planted as above.
- (7) All the hedges at Balgeddie were to be cut and properly maintained, and strips of planting to be thinned or thickened as needed.
- (8) The strip of planting north of the Easter Enclosure should be thickened, and the poorest of the small trees cut.

- (9) Balgeddie Glen should be thickened with young trees of different kinds every season by degrees until it was sufficiently planted; a railing should be put up on the outside of the ditch in the Easter Enclosure as directed in order to preserve the hedge until it had become more established.
- (10) The wood everywhere when too thick should be thinned and sold to the best advantage; when there were too many stems off-shooting from the roots, then they should be thinned by degrees, as long as two or three of the best were left.
- (11) Care should be taken to do these things at the proper season.
- (12) A quantity of charcoal should be kept in store.

It would appear that by the time the Earl of Rothes issued the above set of directions to John Greig in 1761 that the plantations were in a fairly advanced state, since most of the planting had taken place when Robert Greig was in charge. No mention is made in the last order of the need to seek assistance from the gardener and his men, so it would seem that John Greig's main task was merely to maintain a wood that was now reaching maturity. In one of the Earl's letters to his factor reference was made to the employment of three soldiers and two other men, who, along with Robert Greig and his two sons, made up the labour force required for the planting of trees in the South Parks, and for pruning and planting in the miners' crofts and the Whinny hill.<sup>46</sup> In all, eight men were required at that time to carry out the work directed by the Earl of Rothes. The labour force employed in maintaining the plantations after 1761 was considerably smaller as most of the planting had taken place at an earlier date.

It is interesting to compare these instructions with those issued by Sir John Cockburn. Rothes made out separate orders for each of the

men employed at Leslie to carry out the special duties assigned to them in looking after the gardens, plantations, cattle and farms. Sometimes general instructions were sent to the factor who was responsible for the management of the whole estate. The letters sent by Cockburn to Charles Bell, his gardener at Ormiston, gave the gardener authority to direct the planting and other forestry operations; this was not so at Leslie where the foresters were given this specific duty, although, on occasions the work of gardeners and foresters overlapped. The Earl of Rothes is not considered to be one of Scotland's leading gardening experts, but, it would appear that much knowledge had been learned by the Earls from their experiences in maintaining the 'policies' left to them by the 'grand designer', the Duke of Rothes. Then, too, they were on intimate terms with families sharing the same interests and received and passed on valuable information concerning the running of their estates. Although the plantations at Leslie were established primarily to enhance the beauty of the House and to blend in with the gardens and courts in creating the policies, they were to serve the Earl in other ways, providing timber for his farm buildings and mining equipment; the rough timbers used in building the windmill and 'bob' engine for the Earl's coal-works were taken from Leslie wood. A detailed account of these operations is given in the chapter on coal-mining.

Plantations were also established at Ballinbreich. The oldest was the Flisk wood, lying between the River Tay and the Corbie burn, and extending to over 90 acres in the early part of the nineteenth century;<sup>47</sup> however, by this time the family had parted with their holdings at Ballinbreich. Another plantation around the summit of Glenduckie Hill covered another 113 acres. The plantations altogether

amounted to 264 acres, consisting chiefly of larch and Scots fir.<sup>48</sup> As at Leslie, a good deal of transplanting of young trees and shrubs occurred. Young trees raised in the nurseries were planted in Flisk wood or in the planting at Glenduckie Hill. An account is given of the planting of young trees in Flisk wood by the Earl's gardener at Ballinbreich, John Cuthbert, who in 1729 was paid £6 for transplanting some trees in the wood, £1. 4s. for two thrave of thatch for his house and £1.14s for nails for the garden walls; these amounts were in Scots money.<sup>49</sup>

Besides attending to the woods at Leslie, Robert Greig and the other foresters were required to direct operations at Ballinbreich on occasions. In a letter of 1750 written by George Brown, who may have been the grieve at Ballinbreich, reference is made to the buying of some woods at Parkhill and Ballinbreich. Robert Greig and his men had visited the wood at Parkhill and estimated its value, and then gone on to Ballinbreich where a further examination of the wood and an estimate were made. Two men had come from Strathearn to buy timber and bid for the woods, but they were outbid by James Greig by ten shillings. George Brown had desired that James Greig make this offer and appointed Thomas Jervie, one of the servants, to act as cautioner. Then Brown continued by reporting to William Hay, the Earl's factor, of the work which had been carried out on the ditches and of the threshing of wheat at one of the tenants' farms; the tenant, William Latto, was required to pay £8 Sterling for his lease.<sup>50</sup> An interesting document, an obligation from one of the Earl's tenants, Christian Low, dated 1751, contained the following terms: Christian Low, relict of George Brown, and tenant in the Mains of Ballinbreich, the property of the Earl of Rothes, was allowed to

continue possession of same in 1752, provided that she and her cautioner, Robert Walker, tenant in Higham, bound and obliged themselves and their heirs and executors to make payment to the Earl, his heirs or assignees, or to their factors or chamberlains, in their name, of the rent and duty underwritten, viz.

- (1) for the said Mains of Ballinbreich, 16 bolls of sufficient barley, 16 bolls of sufficient oats and £8:12:9½ Sterling, along with 12 hens or 5d. Sterling for each hen in the said Earl's option;
- (2) for the other acres possessed by Christian Low, 9 bolls of sufficient barley with 6 hens or 5d. Sterling for each hen in the said Earl's option.

The victuals were to be paid during the period between Yule, 1752 and Candlemas, 1753; the money to be paid in equal portions at Whitsunday and Lammas, 1753; the hens at the ordinary time.

Both Christian Low and Robert Walker bound and obliged themselves to 'perform the usual carriages according to the labouring.' They also promised that Christian Low would leave the said lands without any warning at Martinmas, 1752, and that the house would be left in a good and sufficient condition. The victuals would be transported the same distance as carried by the other tenants. If they failed to meet these conditions, Christian Low was obliged to pay the Earl and his forbears the penalty of £5 Sterling. Finally, Christian Low promised to free and release her cautioner of his engagements with her in the premises.<sup>51</sup>

This obligation was written out by Robert Moir, a writer in Edinburgh, and witnessed at Leslie on 18 December 1751 in the presence of James Leslie, the Earl's brother, who was one of the Commissioners

of Edinburgh.<sup>52</sup> The payment of £2. 7.11 Sterling was noted. According to Thomson the above practices were common throughout Fife during the eighteenth century. The terms, when the rent was payable for a grass farm, were Martinmas and Whitsunday, immediately after entry and in equal proportions; if an arable farm, Whitsunday and Martinmas, 18 and 21 months after entry. In some instances the first half year's rent was made payable at Candlemas, while some proprietors attempted to make it payable at Martinmas. In some of the clauses inserted into new leases it was necessary for the tenants to keep and leave the houses and fences in good condition as well as delivering to the proprietor a certain number of fowls such as hens, chickens, etc., and to perform certain services such as loading coals, etc., if required. If the proprietor planted trees on the tenant's ground, then the tenant was allowed a deduction out of his rent for the ground used;<sup>53</sup> this may have been the reason for the deduction of £2. 7.11 from Christian Low's rent.

As well as being interested in his plantations, the Earl of Rothes, following the practices of a country gentleman of the eighteenth century, was concerned as well with the state of the wild life on his estate, in particular game-birds, which would provide the family and friends with sport and food. In 1749 the following instructions for the 'managing of pheasants' were issued; the game-keeper would be responsible for seeing that these directions were followed.

'Towards the end of March half a dozen of hen pheasants were to be put to a cock, rather sooner if an early spring. About 16 eggs should be placed under a bantam or dunghill hen of a small size, and the hen made as tame as possible; the hen should be confined on her nest except during feeding time. The young pheasants should be fed with ants eggs

at least ten times a day and this should continue until they were about six weeks old. Then they should be given hard boiled hen eggs occasionally and then fed with the egg minced into small pieces. When of a 'tolerable size' they should have little balls made from a meal and water paste thrown to them; this food was also good for the brood pheasants while the hard boiled hen eggs made them lay early. The most common food for the pheasants was then to be wheat and barley, chiefly wheat. When the young birds were seized with a distemper called Rupe or Quack they should be fed with boiled hen eggs and bunches of rice should be put in their water; this should be done as well when the birds were moulting. The healthy brood should be kept at a distance from the sickly birds and care taken to keep the young birds dry. Nothing contributed more to the health of the young birds than the frequent changing of the places where they were confined during the day. The ground chosen should have shelter nearby in order that the birds be protected from birds of prey as well as extreme heat and dampness. Those suffering from Rupe or Quack should be given equal amounts of peas and beans occasionally as this was good feeding, but while the birds were small only ants eggs. It was not worthwhile to set the eggs in late summer as morning dews killed the chief part of the litter breed.

The best age for breeding pheasants was when they were two or three years old. The piebald type were the most difficult to raise, although even the common sort required almost constant attendance for a considerable time. If it is proposed to rear pheasants, then about two dozen hen and cock pheasants in proportion should be used. In good breeding years nearly 300 may be raised, in average years about 200, but if the birds were attacked by distemper, large numbers could

be destroyed. When the birds were kept at the House they should be fed lettuce leaves and turnip tops along with their usual food, but care should be taken to ensure that they did not eat any gravel as this would cause a violent purging which might kill the birds'.<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile, up at Ballinbreich the Earl and his factor were making contracts with some of the local salmon fishermen. An interesting account of such a contract was the one made between the Earl of Rothes and Norman Chalmers on 19 June 1749; it was signed at Leslie House and the conditions are given below:

'It was contracted and agreed between the Right Honourable John, Earl of Rothes, on the one part, and Norman Chalmers, William Rutherford, Andrew Rutherford, Peter Rutherford, John Chalmers and Malcolm Cowan, all salmon fishers from Newburgh on the other part, as follows: that the Earl of Rothes set to the above-mentioned persons the salmon fishing belonging to him on the south side of the Tay from the west side of Newmilns of Parkhill to the east end of Flisk wood from 19 June 1749 to 15 August 1749; the Earl warranted the above fishing to the said tacksmen against all encroachments from any other persons and they bound and obliged themselves to pay to the Earl or any person appointed by him in the name of tack duty 3d. Sterling for each salmon killed by them on the Tay during the period of contract, and 1s. more for every two tides they would fish; the payments should be made on Saturday. The salmon fishers were obliged to allow one of the Earl's servants to board one of their boats and to be present at the landings at Newburgh; if any fraud was detected by him, such as in numbering the fish caught by the tacksmen or if they landed their boats elsewhere, except with the Earl's consent or if forced by storm into another pier, then they were liable to a fine of £1 Sterling to be paid to

the Earl, who could then, if he wished, terminate the contract'.<sup>55</sup>

A year later an auction of the fishing rights to the waters on the south side of the Tay, extending from Parkhill to Flisk wood, was held and the terms of this roup of the salmon fishing are given below: The area to be auctioned extended from the west side of the New Mill of Parkhill to the east side of Flisk wood;

The period stated in the roup commenced on 25 April 1750 and terminated on 15 August 1750;

Every offer had to exceed the preceding one by 5s. Sterling;

The highest bidder would enter into possession of the above waters on the date of the roup, and continue in same until 15 August 1750;

The highest bidder would be bound and obliged to pay the same he had offered for the salmon fishing on 15 August, and therefore find a cautioner to the satisfaction of John Angus, the Earl of Rothes' factor; the Earl of Rothes should warrant to the tacksmen of the said fishing his peaceable possession and no encroachments should be made on these by any other heritor or proprietor;

In case a guarantor could not be found to the factor's satisfaction, then the next highest bidder would be preferred;

The above articles were to be binding on each party and signed by them until a tack of the said fishing was regularly extended;

The tacksman was required to forfeit a fifth part of the tack duty if he went into liquidation.

It was also noted that the above fishing extended in length as stated, but to no greater breadth than the middle of the Tay.

John Angus was appointed Judge of the Roup and Andrew Wilson acted as writer. Every bidder was required to consign 6d. to the Clerk until a higher offer was made, and the highest bidder had to

forfeit 6d. to the Clerk upon his being declared so by the Judge of the Roup. The bidding on 25 April 1750 went as follows:

George Nicol, brewer in Newburgh	£18. 0. 0 Scots
James Beal	29. 0. 0
Mr. Foster	30. 0. 0
George Brown	36. 0. 0
David Jack	40. 0. 0
James Beal	44. 0. 0
George Brown	50. 0. 0
David Jack	54. 0. 0
Mr. Foster	60. 0. 0
David Jack	62. 0. 0
George Brown	66. 0. 0

George Brown, one of the Earl's tenants at Ballinbreich, was the last and highest bidder and, according to the written articles of the roup, was preferred by John Angus and given the fishing rights to the above-mentioned waters.<sup>56</sup> As has been already mentioned, George Brown was probably the grieve at Ballinbreich, for he regularly corresponded with the Earl or his factor. The salmon taken from the Tay were usually sold in Edinburgh or Glasgow, being despatched by coaches to the two cities from Perth where the fish were taken after being caught; some were sold in Dundee. The price of salmon at the beginning of the nineteenth century was from 1s. to 2s.6 . per hundred.<sup>57</sup> No doubt, as George Brown was one of the Earl's employees, any fish that he caught would be supplied to Leslie House when needed.

As has been seen from the description of the work carried out by the Earl of Rothes' foresters, much thought was given to the planning of the wooded areas distributed throughout the Rothes Estate. The

residents of the New Town of Glenrothes, which now covers most of the former estate, live in an environment which is not entirely denuded of trees, as is the case in many new housing areas. Groves and rows of trees, some several hundred years old, are to be found in the town, adding to its sylvan beauty. The plantation at Leslie House, although badly damaged during the strong gales of several years ago, provides for the local people a wooded retreat as it lies within the boundaries of the town park at Glenrothes. Small plantations are still to be seen at Balgeddie and Whinnyhill, though new roads being constructed through the latter have been responsible for the removal of some trees. It is fitting, indeed, that the new town of Glenrothes be so named when one considers that, had it not been for the foresight of the Earl of Rothes in planning so many attractive plantations, people now residing in the area would be that much poorer in environmental amenities. Glenrothes Development Corporation are continuing the work started several centuries ago by maintaining the woods and planting young trees throughout the town. When these trees reach maturity, the New Town could rightly earn the title of the "Garden City" of Fife.

(b) Gardens and Plantations

1. Daniel Defoe: A Tour Through the Island of Great Britain, Vol. 4, p. 180.
2. John Macky: A Journey through Scotland, pp. 164-5.
3. E.H.M. Cox: A History of Gardening in Scotland, p. 43.
4. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 44.
5. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 47.
6. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 48.
7. Rothes Papers: Letter from factor to Earl of Rothes (16 Feb. 1750).
8. Hubert Fenwick: Architect Royal, pp. 22-3.
9. Second Statistical Account of Fifeshire: Leslie Parish, p.
10. E.H.M. Cox: A History of Gardening in Scotland, p. 50.
11. Ibid.: Ibid., pp. 50-1.
12. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 86.
13. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 169.
14. Rothes Papers: Account for paintwork by James Alexander.
15. John Thomson: General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife, Ch. IX: Gardens and Orchards, p. 227.
16. Rothes Papers: Catalogue of Books in the Library of Leslie House.
17. Marjory Plant: The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 61.
18. Rothes Papers: Orders for James Beattie, 1723.
19. E.H.M. Cox: A History of Gardening in Scotland, p. 72.
20. Rothes Papers: Orders for James Beattie, 1723.
21. Ibid.: Account of Garden Seeds to the Right Honble. The Earl of Rothes.
22. Ibid.: Seed List, Account with Mrs. Eagle, 1763  
Account with Drummond and Company, Seedsman, 1761.
23. Ibid.: Expenses of James Beattie, 1732  
Kinghorn: a town of horse-hirers which held the traveller longer than most places while he waited for fair weather to present a favourable crossing for the sailing boats, and was convenient for the passage to Leith. There were two harbours, the very old Kirk harbour and Petty-cur, a harbour built about 1753 and lying about a half mile south-west of the town. (see OSA, XII, p. 237)  
James Beattie used the old harbour.

24. E.H.M. Cox: A History of Gardening in Scotland, pp. 53-4.
25. Sir John Cockburn: Letters to his Gardener.
26. Rothes Papers: Instructions by the Earl of Rothes to Andrew Brown, Gardener (4 Nov. 1747).
27. E.H.M. Cox: A History of Gardening in Scotland, p. 71.
28. Rothes Papers: Glass Accounts from James Boswall to Earl of Rothes (1716-56).
29. Ibid.: Instructions by the Earl of Rothes to Andrew Brown, Gardener (4 Nov. 1747).
30. Ibid.: Warrant for Searching for Stolen Turkeys, 1742.
31. Mr. Hitt's manner: possibly an ancestor of a well-known Fife farming family.
32. Rothes Papers: Directions for Andrew Brown, Gardener (28 Feb. 1761).
33. Sir John Cockburn: Letters to his Gardener, p. 101.
34. Rosalind Marshall: The Days of Duchess Anne, pp. 53-4.
35. Rothes Papers: Directions for Andrew Brown, Gardener (28 Feb. 1761).
36. Ibid.: Ibid.
37. E.H.M. Cox: A History of Gardening in Scotland, p. 164.
38. Rothes Papers: Bill and Receipt of Trees sent to Leslie from Lewis Kennedy, London, 1763.
39. Ibid.: Estimate for Leslie House, 1750.
40. John Thomson: General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife, Ch. X: Woods and Plantations, pp. 229-30.
41. Rothes Papers: Orders to Robert Greig, 1723.
42. Ibid.: Instructions by the Earl of Rothes to Robert Greig, Forester (4 Nov. 1747).
43. Sir John Cockburn: Letters to his Gardener, pp. 2, 15.
44. Rothes Papers: Instructions by the Earl of Rothes to Robert Greig, Forester (4 Nov. 1747).
45. Ibid.: Directions to John Greig, Forester (28 Feb. 1761).
46. Ibid.: Letter from Factor to Earl of Rothes.
47. Second Statistical Account of Fifeshire: Flisk, p. 599.

48. Ibid.: Ibid.
49. Rothes Papers: Account of Earl of Rothes to John Cuthbert, Gardener in Bambrick.
50. Ibid.: Letter from George Brown about Bambrick Planting and Parkhill (8 May 1750).
51. Ibid.: Obligation of Christian Low and her cautioner to the Earl of Rothes, 1751.
52. Ibid.: Ibid.
53. John Thomson: General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife: New Leases, pp. 110-11.
54. Rothes Papers: Direction for the Management of Pheasants.
55. Ibid.: Contract Betwixt the Earl of Rothes and Norman Chalmers, etc. Bambreich Fishing (19 June 1749).
56. Ibid.: Articles of Roup of the Salmon Fishing on the South Side of the Water of Tay belonging to the Right Honble. John, Earl of Rothes (25 April 1750).
57. Second Statistical Account of Fifeshire: Flisk, p. 606.

(c) The Servants

The administration of the Estate was the responsibility of the factor who supervised the staff and paid their wages. Not only was he responsible for overseeing the work carried out at the House and policies, but he was also required to handle the Earl's industrial enterprises, especially that of coal-mining. The last factor to serve the tenth Earl of Rothes was John Berry, who was issued with these instructions for the 'Management of my affairs in my Absence' in February 1761, following the death of James Rolland, the previous factor. Because the duties are so varied and illustrate just how much work was involved in estate management during the eighteenth century, the Earl's directions to his factor are given below in full:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Mr. Berry was to have the sole direction of all the Earl's servants, men and women, both within and without doors, and required to see that they did their duties according to their different charges. From a list of wages paid to employees in the house and grounds it is possible to estimate the number of household servants at 24 or more; at least 5 foresters and 4 gardeners were employed; 4 men were employed regularly in the North Parks, 3 men in the South Parks and 3 men at Balgeddie. As well as these employees the factor was responsible for seeing that the wages of the Earl's colliers were paid.
- (2) He was directed to have the House properly aired periodically and to inspect the roof and windows, replacing the old windows with new sash.
- (3) He was responsible for the laying of marble stone to replace the broken marble in the entry to the front of the house.
- (4) The library books were to be properly aired and dusted and a fire

lighted in damp weather; no books were to be lent without receipts been given nor was the key to be given to anybody.

- (5) No new works were to be undertaken, except in laying down farms and fencing them. Another exception was the field next to the Green of Leslie where enclosing and planting the corner would be allowed. If the factor thought any new work to be necessary, or if it were to the Earl's advantage, then he should apply to the Earl for directions concerning it.
- (6) He was to have charge of the meal girdels and, if not able to attend himself, employ a proper person for whom he was responsible.
- (7) The road to the Kirk should be kept in repair and the stair to the loft should be plastered and whitened.
- (8) The syvers (drains) about the House were to be cleared, particularly those on the south side, and the old roots of trees in the vicinity of the House were to be removed and the ground levelled.
- (9) The colliers and coal-works were placed under Mr. Berry's direction; when in difficulty the factor should seek the advice of W. Wemyss of Cuthilhill or Mr. Robertson at Sawmilln, two of the overseers.
- (10) The sale of ale and spirits by the coal-grieve and colliers was to be suppressed by the factor who was also authorised to examine the grieve's account weekly or fortnightly and settle their poor box.
- (11) The coal roads from Cluny should be mended and kept in repair, the worst places repaired first and petitions given to the Commissioners of the County. If these measures proved to be ineffectual then Mr. Berry was allowed to spend £20 Sterling yearly on the roads. A full description of such road repairs is given in the chapter on coal-mining.

- (12) The Gentlemen of the County were to be petitioned in the Earl's name in order to repair the road running by Balbirnie's estate (at present closed); to drain this road ditches were to be laid on each side of the road.
- (13) The water engine at Cluny should be dismantled in the proper season, taking care of the barrels and any other parts of use.
- (14) The chain of wall between Mr. Balfour's coal and the Earl of Rothes' coal should be examined. (Rothes and Balfour in sharing the same seam of coal occasionally became involved in disputes over same).
- (15) The Earl's tenants were to be directed by Mr. Berry to make headrigs along the highway.
- (16) The Earl's brother, Mr. James Leslie, should be advised to finish the plans of Ballinbreich and Newton and such of the lands of the Barony of Leslie as are proposed to be sold. Before any new tacks for other farms were granted, the farms should first be measured and Mr. Leslie paid at the rate of £1 Sterling for each hundred acres upon delivery of the plans. When any farms were let, Mr. Berry was required to send a small plan of it to the Earl, mentioning the number of acres of each kind of soil, the tenant's proposals and the factor's information on the cost of enclosing it and the length of the tack required. At this time the Earl of Rothes, faced with heavy financial commitments, began to rid himself of some of his farmlands in order to meet his debts. In the plans of Ballinbreich and Newton<sup>2</sup> great emphasis was given to the division of the lands of the estate so that a pattern of farm lay-out could be followed.
- Both at Ballinbreich and Leslie great care seems to have been carried out in the allocation of the farms to the Earl's tenants.

Farms in the Ballinbreich area today show this pattern.

- (17) All accounts and servants wages were to be paid regularly but no payments should be made for any other purpose to anyone without the Earl's consent.
- (18) As long as the Earl's sisters remained at Leslie for their health they were to be provided with a chaise and two Bay Wheel horses; the man employed to drive them should be found other work as well by the factor. The Earl's sisters should have their coal, the use of the maid-servants and House, garden produce, some sheep grazed and the milk of two cows.
- (19) Another worker, John Kinnaird, should be employed in weeding the nurseries, spreading dung and levelling the molehills in the parks, and making faggots; he should be paid 3 bolls of meal and 25s. Sterling yearly (approximately £2.10s. if price of meal was 8s.4d. per boll).
- (20) The piers of the bridge at the wash house should be raised two feet and a bridge built; this should be locked to prevent people from making roads through the parks and plantings; the earth at the ends of the bridge should be raised.
- (21) An order of lime and sand for casting the walls of the gardens and parks should be made to the value of £10 Sterling, and work should be started on the garden walls.
- (22) James Bogie's feu in Rimpleton, if reasonable, should be purchased.
- (23) As many of the houses in the town of Leslie should be bought as possible, provided the price was reasonable.
- (24) Baillie Walker of Leslie should not be allowed to use the road through my enclosures to his tan pits until he provides in writing under his own hand that he has been allowed to use the road solely from my goodwill, and is to have it during my pleasure.

- (25) All poachers and others not duly qualified or authorised should be prevented from killing game in my grounds.
- (26) The calves of the cow brought from Ireland should be kept and reared. (The Earl of Rothes' military service was spent in Ireland).
- (27) The farm bear should be sold regularly between Yule and Candlemas at the market price.
- (28) A mole catcher should be employed to clear the parks for a yearly gratuity.
- (29) All new tacks were to be written out by Mr. Berry.
- (30) A copy of the factor's accounts should be sent every year to the Earl who would give directions for their being examined and cleared.
- (31) Mr. Berry should write to the Earl of Rothes at least once a month and more often, if necessary.

It is clearly seen from the above instructions to the factor just how much responsibility he was given in the management of the estate, especially since the Earl of Rothes was frequently absent from Leslie and unable himself to direct operations there. Although the Countess supervised much of the domestic work in the house, she, too, was often absent and dependent on the factor. The factor's load was a heavy one, but would be somewhat lightened if the under-managers serving under him were trustworthy and efficient. In the chapters on agriculture and coal-mining a description of the duties of the farm and coal grieves will be given with further illustrations of the factor's role in the supervision of the activities on the estate.

It has been estimated that at least 24 servants were employed in the house to carry out the normal household duties. Some were quartered in the servants' rooms on the ground floor or came from the

nearby town of Leslie; they ate their meals in the Servants Hall adjoining the kitchen. As a rule they were given their directions by the Countess or her sisters-in-law. As the Earl was often accompanied by his wife on his trips to London, the Countess did not play as prominent a role in the management of the household as did some of her contemporaries, such as Lady Grizel Baillie and the Duchess of Hamilton, both of whom were very active in the running of their homes. It would be the Countess' responsibility to direct the payment of staff wages when present at Leslie; there is evidence of her making wage payments to some of her servants during 1751-52 when she paid out £56.19s. Sterling,<sup>3</sup> which when added to the factor's payment of £119.2.8 for the same period, amounted to £176.1.8, the annual wages bill for that year.<sup>4</sup> The Earl's sisters were given some authority in household matters too, but it would appear that this was only in the buying of goods needed in the House, e.g. linen, blankets, etc.

The Earl of Rothes was more generous to his servants with regard to wages than were employers in the town of Leslie, where in 1759 men-servants were paid £2 to £3 per annum while maid-servants earned from £1.10s. to £2 yearly.<sup>5</sup> Wages paid to the servants at Leslie House were in the majority of cases considerably higher than those paid in the town. Many of the maid-servants earned a minimum of £2.10s. while some were paid as much as £3 per annum; men-servants earned around £5 per year while young boys could draw wages of £2 or more.<sup>6</sup> For this reason the Earl did not have any difficulty in acquiring suitable staff for work on the Estate; in fact, it would appear that the local people were only too ready to fill the vacancies at the House, and, like the mine-workers, found in the Earl of Rothes an employer who paid higher than average wages and provided his workers with a feeling

of security during an age when the exploitation of the working class was commonplace.

There were, of course, the professional servants and personal servants besides the rank and file. Every notable Scottish household had amongst its staff some employees who were socially superior to the other servants. There were the gentlemen and women, the valets and pages, many of whom had served their masters faithfully in war and peace. The actual running of the household was carried on by a number of servants with varying degrees of responsibility. The person authorised to supervise the domestic staff was the master household or steward and it was he who kept the records of provisions bought in or paid by the tenants as rent. The person holding this position at Leslie House in 1750 was John Adamson whose yearly wage is estimated at £40 Sterling. Under Adamson would be the cooks; Walker, the master cook earned £28 while the second cook was paid £7 per annum. The Earl's gentleman, Robert Grige, was paid £11 and his food and clothes; James Orrock, who may have been the head porter, earned £13.13s. while the footman and coachman were paid £6 and £9.15s. respectively. Then there were those ladies who were responsible for the supervision of the female staff in the House. Among this group were a Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Howden, whose yearly wages were £8 and £4 in 1750. The wages account for 1752 lists one, Margaret Drummond, being paid £10 yearly while Margaret Matheson, one of the more responsible of the domestic servants, was paid £22 in fees from Martinmas 1752 to Whitsunday 1758 plus board wages of £3.18s. from Martinmas 1757 to Martinmas 1758.<sup>7</sup>

These wages compare favourably with those paid in other noble households and are higher than the wages paid by some of the Earl's neighbours. For instance, in the Leven household in 1791-92, the

master cook was paid £20 per annum.<sup>8</sup> Wages had risen by the end of the eighteenth century, so, probably, the cook's wage would have been less than this in 1750, the year that Rothes' cook earned £28 per annum, which was £8 more than Leven's cook earned in 1791! On the whole the wages paid by the Earl of Rothes were fair for their day and one can conclude from these figures that the servants at Leslie House had little cause for complaint as far as wages were concerned. The full details of wages paid at Leslie are given in the appendices.

However, in the household accounts records found with the manuscripts there appeared what could be termed the 'budget' for Leslie House for 1750; in this estimate, stable and garden costs are itemised along with the wages paid to the staff employed within the House.<sup>9</sup> It should also be noted that as well as providing liveries for his outdoor servants, the Earl was responsible for clothing his household staff as well and to both outdoor and indoor workers the customary drink money was paid.

Estimate for Leslie House, 1750

Hay and oats for 10 horses for 1 year at 1s.8d. per night	£209.14. 0
8 horses at grass most of the year at £4 each	32. 0. 0
Shoeing 10 horses at 2s. per month	14. 0. 0
Shoeing the 8 horses at grass	2.10. 0
Medicine for the horses	<u>2.10. 0</u>
	£260.14. 0
2 horses bought yearly at £20 each	40. 0. 0
Repairs of saddles yearly, about	14. 0. 0
The Grooms wages and board wages yearly	33. 0. 0
2 helpers wages yearly	12. 0. 0
Board wages or maintenance of 2 helpers	27. 0. 0
Clothing for 3 stable servants	<u>20. 0. 0</u>
	£146. 0. 0
Total Stable yearly	<u>£406.14. 0</u>

Dogs meal yearly at 3 pecks per day	54. 0. 0
Fowls, 23 bolls of oats at 14s. per boll	17.10. 0
Fowls bought yearly	6. 0. 0
Feeding swine yearly	4. 0. 0
Feeding pigeons yearly	<u>2. 0. 0</u>
	83.10. 0
	<u>£490. 4. 0</u>
Gardeners, Andrew Brown, yearly	20. 0. 0
4 men at £3 each	12. 0. 0
Livery meal for 4 men yearly at 2 pecks per week	<u>20.16. 0</u>
	<u>52.16. 0</u>
	£543. 0. 0
John Adamson's yearly wage	£40. 0. 0
Walker the Cook	28. 0. 0
Second Cook	7. 0. 0
James Orrock	13.13. 0
David Melville, footman	6. 0. 0
Coachman	9.15. 0
Alex. Galloway, this last year	7. 7. 0
Robert Grige, Lord Leslie's man	11. 0. 0
Clothes for the livery, hats	28. 0. 0
2 boys wages yearly	4. 0. 0
Clothes for 2 boys, yearly	8. 0. 0
Mrs. Smith, wages yearly	8. 0. 0
Mrs. Howden, wages yearly	4. 0. 0
2 house maids	<u>6. 0. 0</u>
	180.15. 0
Maintenance of 15 servants yearly at 4s.6d. per week	<u>174. 4. 0</u>
	£354.19. 0
	<u>£897.19. 0</u>

By a further examination of the wages accounts in the appendices it can be seen that the staffing structure at Leslie House was a family one with parents and children working in the House and on the Estate. In many cases sons served their apprenticeship under their fathers and usually succeeded them in supervisory positions on the death or retirement of the older member of the family. The majority of the household staff came from local families living in or near the burgh of Leslie and one might expect that some of the servants would have the same surname as their lord. This was not the case, no servants named Leslie appear on the list of servants for 1750. It would appear that the Earl of Rothes, John Leslie, like so many of his fellow nobles at this time, preferred not to employ servants bearing the same surname.<sup>10</sup> Incoming servants from other districts, if not accommodated at the House, would be able to occupy the houses in Leslie which the Earl had bought. The Earl was concerned about the welfare of his workers and directed his factor to acquire property which would be to his advantage.<sup>11</sup> Not only would the Earl be able to house his workers not resident on the Estate, but these properties outwith the Estate would bring him an annual rent as well. He was also concerned about the welfare of old and infirm servants who had given him years of faithful service. These retired workers were provided with accommodation in the town or in some of the properties within the Estate; this was particularly true in his relations with his colliers, but household and farm servants of long standing received the same benefits. At Leslie House the Earl provided a 'Woman House' for elderly female servants such as the old family nurse and others on more intimate terms with the family. This accommodation although simply furnished was at least comfortable. It contained three folding canvas-bottomed beds and

bedding, two timber chairs and a fire grate and tongs. So, for those servants who had given their master long and faithful service, old age was not to be the spectre it might have been. The Earl, generous to them during their productive years, allowed his elderly and infirm servants to retire gracefully and spend their remaining years with those they knew and with whom they had worked in better times.

The Earl of Rothes was also responsible for meeting part of the stipends and salaries of the ministers and schoolmasters who lived and worked in the parishes in which he held land. During the early part of the eighteenth century the stipends paid to the ministers of country parishes were not so insufficient as they were in later years when there was a marked rise in the cost of living. With regard to income it could be said that the clergyman ranked next to the laird and was in some cases richer than many of them. Incomes averaged around £40 Sterling per annum, but were sometimes as low as £20 or £25.<sup>12</sup> As was the custom of the day payments were made in both money and kind, of so many bolls of oats, peas, barley and wheat. The grain was usually stored in the gernel or granary attached to the manse and was sent by the heritor on horseback, each horse conveying on its back the load of one boll, so that to transmit on the ill-made roads eight bolls of meal required a line of eight horses and four men to lead them. It is interesting to compare some of the payments to the clergy made by the Earl of Rothes; some examples are shown below:<sup>13</sup>

To the Minister of Kinghorn his stipend

Cropts 1755, 1756 & 1757	£3.18. 4
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To the Minister of Auchterderran his stipend Cropt 1756 viz.

2 Bolls 2 firlots 2 pecks 2 Lip $\frac{1}{2}$ Lip Barley @ 13s.10d.	1.16.10 $\frac{1}{2}$
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To do. the above quantity of barley of stipend Cropt

1757 @ 13s.4d.	<u>1.15. 6<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u>
	£3.12. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

To the Minister of Dunbog his stipend Cropt 1757 viz.

Money	£8.17. 9½
9 Bolls 1 firlot oats @ 12s.1d.	5.11. 9½
6 Bolls 3 firlots barley @ 13s.9d.	<u>4.12. 9½</u>
	£19. 2. 4½

To the Minister of Flisk his stipend Cropt 1757 viz.

Money	£25. 0. 0
12 Bolls oats @ 12s.1d.	7. 5. 0
7 Bolls 3 firlots barley @ 13s.9d.	5. 6. 6
1 Boll 1 firlot wheat @ 15s.1d.	<u>0.18. 9</u>
	£38.10. 3

The ministers of Dunbog and Flisk were paid more than those of Kinghorn and Auchterderran; this was so because the Earl owned more land in their parishes. In fact, as Flisk Parish lay almost entirely in his Ballinbreich estate, he was responsible for most of the minister's stipend.

The payment of the schoolmaster's salary was another responsibility of the heritor and, like the minister, payment was made in money and kind. However, the poor schoolmaster, often neglected by the laird, was compelled to live and work in appalling conditions, and was definitely the poor relation when his lot was compared with that of the local clergyman. Schoolmasters were in deep poverty during this period of educational starvation, earning a minimum of 100 merks (£5) and a maximum of 200 (£10).<sup>14</sup> In country parishes the schoolmaster was usually paid the minimum rate, despite his being responsible for the teaching of Latin, mathematics, grammar, arithmetic, writing and singing. At the beginning of the century when prices were relatively low he could manage to eke out a living but by the end of it his situation had deteriorated so much that abject poverty was to be his

lot. Then, too, there was the difficulty in extracting his salary, often in petty sums, from the tenants and heritors of the parish; during bad harvests the schoolmaster often received less than the minimum salary as the State was slow to act on his behalf. Kirk-Sessions intervened, it is true, but threats were not enough to keep the bailies and heritors to their bargain.<sup>15</sup> Some of the payments made by the Earl of Rothes to schoolmasters living and working in the parishes in which he held land are shown below:<sup>16</sup>

To the schoolmaster of Leslie, one year to Martinmas 1758	£2.17.10
To the schoolmaster of Kinglassie, his salary, viz.	
For Caskieberran and Lugton 1 year to Martinmas 1757	£1. 2. 9½
For Overstenton 1 year to Martinmas 1757	0. 7. 9½
For Milndeans 1 year to Martinmas 1757	0. 2. 9½
For Caskieberran, Cropt 1757,	
6 Bolls oats to Martinmas 1757 @ 11s. per boll	<u>3. 6. 0</u>
	£4.19. 4½
To the schoolmaster of Markinch, his salary, Cropt 1757	0.11.10
To the schoolmaster of Dunbog his salary to Michaelmas 1757	1. 2. 2½
To the schoolmaster of Auchterderran, his salary, Cropt 1757	0.10. 0
To the schoolmaster of Flisk, his salary to Martinmas 1757	4. 8.10
To the schoolmaster of Ballingry, his salary to Candlemas 1758	0.12. 9½
To the schoolmaster of Abdie, 2 years salary to Whitsunday 1758	1.13. 4

As was the case in the payment of ministers' stipends, the proportion of the salaries paid by the heritors to schoolmasters was determined by the amount of land they owned in the parishes in which the teachers were employed. For example, the schoolmaster of Flisk depended almost entirely on the Earl of Rothes for the payment of his salary, the parish of Flisk being part of the Ballinbreich estate. The schoolmaster of Leslie in 1785 was paid an annual salary of £5.11. 7 and provided with a house; therefore, it would appear that the Earl of Rothes was the main subscriber to the schoolmaster's salary in 1758 when it amounted to £2.17.10.

Besides contributing to the salaries of the ministers and schoolmasters, the Earl of Rothes was responsible for certain property taxes and subscriptions and feus to the Church and State. These are shown in the following payments:<sup>17</sup>

To the Marquis of Tweeddale's factor for Milndeans Cropt	
1757, 34 Bolls meal @ 10/6	£17.17. 0
For Caskieberran, 6 Bolls 3 firlots 2 pecks of meal	
Cropt 1757 at the regality fairs being £8 Scots per	
1 Boll	4.11. 8
To the Chamberlain of the Abbacy of Lindores <sup>18</sup> office	
duty for Parkhill and fishings, Cropts 1755 & 1756	2.17. 9
To the Crown for feu duty for Parkhill, Cropt 1757	<u>0.17. 3</u>
	£26. 3. 8
To 2 years feu duty to the Prime Gilt Box of Kirkcaldy <sup>19</sup>	
for Holms for Cropts 1756 & 1757 @ £2. 2. 6 per year	£ 4. 5. 0

The feu duty for the property at Overstenton should have been paid into the Prime Gilt Box of Kirkcaldy. The tenant at Overstenton had paid in meal, but no credit was given as he was required to pay in cash.<sup>20</sup>

In most cases the tenant was bound to pay all public burdens that were payable by the proprietor himself in grain or meal; he was allowed a deduction in his rent according to the value of the victuals.<sup>21</sup>

Cess and window light taxes paid by the Earl of Rothes for the period 1757-1758 amounted to £116.17.2 and were distributed thus:<sup>22</sup>

To the collector of the land tax for the following terms

For December 1757 to Martinmas 1758	£48.17. 0½
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For June and September 1758	<u>53. 4. 7½</u>
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	£102. 1. 8
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To the collector for window lights payable March and

September 1757	£ 9.17. 0
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To the above for window lights payable March 1758	<u>4.18. 6</u>
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	£14.15. 6
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It was noted that in the case of the properties at Lumphinnans the cess had been paid by the tenants.<sup>23</sup>

Leslie House, until the fire which destroyed most of the building on 28 December 1763, was one of the great mansion houses, not only of Fife but of Scotland. A fourth of the square forming the present house was repaired by the tenth Earl in 1767. He was able to preserve the main outlines of John Mylne's elevation as well as the 'comlie and pilaster' work of the entrance-porch that was specified in the contract of 1667.<sup>24</sup> To raise money for the rebuilding of Leslie House the tenth Earl sold the barony of Ballinbreich, in the parish of Flisk, to Sir Lawrence Dundas of Kersch, an ancestor of the Earls of Zetland, for £20,000 Sterling.<sup>25</sup> Sir Lawrence had made a large fortune as a commissary in the Continental wars. He cut down and sold wood to the value of £20,000 growing in the barony of Ballinbreich when he bought it, and thus paid off the estate, which was being let for more than £4,000 a year in 1869. The barony of Ballinbreich had been in the

possession of the Leslies for more than 400 years. Sir Andrew de Leslie, VI Dominus Ejusdem, got it with his wife, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Alexander Abernethy in 1312. The sale of Ballinbreich was a severe blow to the Rothes family.<sup>26</sup>

In the New Statistical Account for Fifeshire the following reference is made to Ballinbreich Castle:

'The Castle of Ballinbreich lies in ruins near the western extremity of the parish, overlooking the river, and embosomed in a small plantation of trees. It is built of red sandstone, 150 feet long and 70 feet broad, and without date, arms or inscription. Formerly a garden lay to the south of the castle; an orchard to the east of the fish ponds, and a swan pond in the plantations to the west of it. It was long the residence of the Earls of Rothes. But, first deserted, then sold to another Lord, it has been suffered to go into decay. Nothing remains but bare or fallen walls, the ponds have been dried up, the garden destroyed, and many of the trees cut down. The plough has converted the dulce into the utile. Besides the few acres of trees surrounding the ruins, two chestnuts which formed part of the straight avenue leading to the castle are still allowed to keep their station near the farmhouse of Ballinbreich. A house, now the farmhouse of Fliskmill, was formerly the giral for the Ballinbreich estate'.<sup>27</sup>

Leslie House remained in the possession of the family until 13 November 1919 when the policies, gardens, woodlands and parklands of the House, along with the fields and enclosures lying north of the High Road from Markinch to Leslie, were disposed by the Trustees of the late Henrietta Anderson Morshead Waldegrave Leslie, Countess of Rothes, wife of the Honourable George Waldegrave Leslie, residing at Leslie House, with the consent of and by Captain Alexander Crundall of

Annesley, Cookham, Berkshire to Major Robert Spencer Nairn of Rankeilor.<sup>28</sup> Included in the fields and enclosures lying north of the Leslie - Markinch road would be the Balgeddie and Whinny hill plantations, while at Leslie Mains would be the North and South Parks. Earlier, in 1907, the Trustees had disposed to the Provost, Magistrates and Councillors of the Burgh of Leslie the land on which stood the old Green Inn and stables, on condition that the plot of ground in front of the Green Inn and opposite to the Duchess Lodge be kept as an open space.<sup>29</sup> The inn and stables were to be demolished and a solum laid out as part of the Green. This was done and today, perhaps, the best known landmark of Leslie is the green with its 'Kirk on the Green'.

Major Robert Spencer Nairn did much to enhance the gardens and plantations during his stay at Leslie House, but, with the encroachment of the New Town of Glenrothes on his domain, eventually sold the policies to Glenrothes Development Corporation. He offered the House to the Church of Scotland Committee on Social Service. Leslie House was converted from a mansion house into an Eventide Home at a cost of £40,000 and opened on 8 June 1956.<sup>30</sup> With regard to the policies they now lie within the boundaries of Glenrothes and are being developed according to the plans of the Development Corporation. The old place names still exist as many of the precincts of the town bear these names. The great house, once the centre of a proud estate and home to one of Scotland's most noble families, although no longer as majestic as in former years, has at least been saved from decay and ruin. It is fitting, too, that it now provides for elderly folk a home where they can live out their last remaining years in an environment of peace and security. Did not the Earl make such arrangements for his people when their working days were over?

(c) The Servants

1. Rothes Papers: Instructions for the 'Management of my Affairs in my Absence' (Feb. 1761).
2. The plan of Ballinbreich & Newton is contained in Chapter III on pages 155-156.
3. Rothes Papers: Wages, 1751-53.
4. Ibid.: Ibid.
5. OSA, Vol. VI: Leslie Parish, p. 42.
6. Rothes Papers: Wages, 1751-53 (see Appendices).
7. Ibid.: Estimate of Expenses of running the House at Leslie, 1750.
8. Marion Lockhead: The Scots Household in the Eighteenth Century, p. 184.
9. Rothes Papers: Estimate of expenses of running the House at Leslie, 1750.
10. Rosalind Marshall: The Days of Duchess Anne, p. 81.
11. Rothes Papers: Instructions for the 'Management of my Affairs in my Absence' (Feb. 1761).
12. Henry Grey Graham: The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 282.
13. Rothes Papers: List of Servants wages/public burdens, etc. (1757/58).
14. Henry Grey Graham: The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 427.
15. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 428.
16. Rothes Papers: List of servants wages/public burdens, etc. (1757/58).
17. Ibid.: Ibid.
18. Lindores Abbey: annexed to the Crown in 1587. There followed the gradual disposal by the Crown of what remained - once the convents had ceased to exist - through the erection of abbeys into temporal lordships. Lindores was erected into a temporal lordship for Patrick Leslie, created Lord Lindores, by charter in 1600 and in parliament in 1606 (see D.E. Easson: Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, pp. 35, 60). This payment made by the Earl of Rothes would enable him to use the lands in Parkhill adjoining his own estate.

19. Prime Gilt Box of Kirkcaldy: the origin of this box for the granting of charities to Kirkcaldy seamen and their dependants was, in all probability, the year 1583 (Kirkcaldy Museum).
20. Rothes Papers: List of servants wages/public burdens, etc. (1757/58).
21. John Thomson: General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife: Leases, p. 105.
22. Rothes Papers: List of servants wages/public burdens, etc. (1757/58).
23. Ibid.: Ibid.
24. Ibid.: Contract of 1667 with John Mylne.
25. Col. K.H. Leslie: From Historical Records of the Family of Leslie, Vol. II, p. 135.
26. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 136.
27. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 136.
28. Scottish Record Office: Disposition dated 13th Nov. 1919.
29. Ibid.: Disposition dated 25th May 1907.
30. Fife Free Press: 27th August 1971.

CHAPTER III.The Home Farms

The Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions, which spread through England during the eighteenth century, transforming her economy, also affected Scotland, but at a somewhat slower pace, at least until the second half of the century. In Scotland during the early part of the century, agriculture in one form or another was the backbone of the nation's economy.<sup>1</sup> Many of the proprietors continued the farming practices common in the preceding period, one of little real progress in agricultural matters. However, the more enlightened landowners introduced reforms which transformed the country's agriculture from a state of near poverty to one of growing prosperity and affluence, if not for the tenants, at least for many of the heritors. The contributions of Cockburn and Grant to agricultural reform are well-known, but men of lesser fame in agrarian matters also carried out the improvements which were to eventually place Scotland among the leaders of the agricultural world. By the end of the century conditions were to change more quickly as rising prices and a growing demand for more food spurred on the landed proprietors to increase their productivity to feed a nation engaged in a major war against the French. Fortunes were to be won by the more progressive of Britain's farmers, and this is reflected in the major improvements carried out in the farms of East Anglia, a region which became the 'bread basket' of England. A great stir was to occur in Scottish farming as well, now that substantial profits could be gained from the products of the land.

This was a century of transformation for the northern kingdom.

The Act of Union of 1707 presented immense possibilities of expansion to the commerce and industry of Scotland, at a time when her economy was in a rather precarious state, having suffered a disastrous blow with the failure of the Darien Scheme.<sup>2</sup> Entering into the expanding trade of a growing British Empire, Scottish industrialists and merchants were to become more greatly involved in these newly acquired markets. This was an age of growing industrialisation with new developments taking place in the manufacturing of textiles, especially of cotton and linen. Imports of cotton, sugar and tobacco from the American and Caribbean colonies gave much impetus to the development of Glasgow and its environs as the heartland of Scottish commerce, although industries in eastern Scotland were to expand as well.

Perhaps the most important break-through for Scottish industry was the founding of the iron industry at the Carron Iron Works near Falkirk in 1759. This was an event of major importance in the economic history of Scotland for the works were the first in the country to use ironstone from the carboniferous formation in central Scotland and to employ coal in its furnaces.<sup>3</sup> As in England, the coal and iron industries were to expand together and lead the country away from its dependence on agriculture to that of heavy industry, in particular the heavy metallurgical industries of Central Scotland on which the economy of the country has so long depended. By 1828, a year of technological advancement with the introduction of James Neilson's 'hot blast' method in iron smelting, Central Scotland had become a base for the iron, later steel-orientated, industries which were to transform the economy of the country.

Farming developed throughout this period, if at a slower pace, at least steadily, and the great proprietors remained the men of power

and influence, especially in political matters. They were to invest in developing their holdings, taking the initiative in establishing precedents and traditions which were to prevail throughout the next century and increase the productivity of Scottish farming. The Rothes Estate in Fife was one of the many Scottish estates to experience change and the Rothes Papers contain a considerable number of documents relating to the practices common to Scottish agriculture during the first half of the eighteenth century. Despite the variety of soil and physical features, the broad pattern of farming practice at this time was the same, arable land everywhere being cultivated on the infield and outfield system.<sup>4</sup>

As the name suggests, the infield was the land nearest the farm-houses, and usually represented about one-fifth of the total acreage of arable land. This land consisted mainly of irregular patches of land which could be readily cultivated. Here the principal crops of oats and barley were grown in soil fertilised by the farm-yard manure. In some of the more progressive counties, East Lothian for instance, the practice was to divide the land into four brakes or shotts, dunging one each year and growing crops of peas, wheat, barley, or oats. In others, such as Aberdeenshire, the infield was divided into three parts, the first being sown with barley and the other two with oats. Each year one part was manured, so that in the course of three years the whole infield received some nourishment. On the whole, though, there were but slight variations in the method of farming which was surprisingly uniform throughout the length and breadth of the land.<sup>5</sup>

The outfield consisted of poorer and usually more distant land. It was of much greater extent and probably contained four-fifths of the arable land. Here the method of cultivation was expensive. After

fertilising the soil by taithing the cattle within sod walls, part of the land was ploughed up and made ready for cultivation. Year after year the fields were sown with oats or barley without any further nourishment. This was continued until the last crop was so poor that it was not worth cutting. Then the soil was 'rested', usually for a period of seven or eight years, when the same treatment was meted out - taithing, ploughing and sowing as before. This practice was common throughout the land, the only variations being the number of divisions made in the outfield and the length of time the fields lay fallow.<sup>6</sup>

Whether infield or outfield, the arable land was cultivated in rigs or ridges and run-rigging was observed everywhere. This method of drainage, however, was practised in other European countries as well and persisted into the nineteenth century in Britain when new methods of drainage were introduced. The ridges were of various sizes and shapes and often disposed in the most irregular fashion. They tended to be curved at both ends, this being caused by the 'gadman' being unable to keep his ungainly team of eight or ten oxen in a straight course. As with the number of divisions made in the infields and outfields, the width and height of the rigs varied from place to place, but similar practices were observed throughout the land.<sup>7</sup>

Not only was the land cultivated in ridges, but in most cases a tenant's holding consisted of scattered strips intermixed with the ridges, producing the 'run-rig', or mixed property, which prevailed in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century, dying out on the estates of the more enlightened heritors by the end of the eighteenth century, especially as they began to enclose their fields in order to introduce the reforms of the agrarian revolution. However, before the enclosure movement became firmly established, their fields were left open, and

in summer while crops were growing, the cattle had to be tethered or herded.<sup>8</sup>

Winter feeding was a problem for many of the farm tenants, especially those in the Highlands, and many of their cattle perished during these months. Even outside the Highlands the problem of winter feed for cattle was almost as pressing. Fortunately, the grave deficiency of winter feeding was compensated for by abundant permanent pasture. The more progressive landowners were very concerned about the state of their cattle and ensured that the grass lands be kept in as good a condition as was possible.<sup>9</sup>

The Earl of Rothes, like the other great landowners in the Lowlands, possessor of a fine mansion house set in beautiful policies of gardens and woods, was one who conformed to the standard practices of the day. His estate at Leslie, stretching from the Lomond Hills in the north to the Water of Ore in the south, and from the Balbirnie and Leven estates in the east to Kinglassie in the west, was one in which a great deal of agricultural activity took place. Although the ninth and tenth Earls were to devote much of their time and money to their coal-mining enterprises, they were still concerned with improving their estates; this was reflected in the great care given to the policies. They sold very little of their agricultural produce, mainly a little barley and a few head of cattle, and seemed more content to carry out what improvements they could from diminishing financial resources. For this reason it was their intention to make their Home Farms as self-sufficient as was possible, so that the produce from these farms could be distributed throughout the Estate to feed servants, miners and all others who laboured to keep the Rothes Estate solvent.

The Earls were chiefly concerned with the enclosures immediately surrounding the policies. These were the major parklands of the North

and South Parks, Balgeddie and Coaltown of Beg, which were used for grazing the cattle and horses as well as for the cultivation of peas, beans, barley and wheat. The allocation of the lands to be used is given in 'Instructions by the Earl of Rothes for the Management of his Farms'. The whole of the policies were to be divided into three parks, namely the Parks to the Southward of the Water of Leven, those on the North side of the Leven called the North Enclosures and the Farm of Balgeddie;<sup>10</sup> these three farms were to comprise the 'Home Farms' of the Rothes Estate.

The person responsible for the oversight of the Home Farms was John Brown, one of the Earl's servants, who was appointed 'Baron Officer' on 4 November 1747. Brown was issued with the following orders:

He was to be assisted by two men-servants in taking care of the parks and grounds, along with the cattle, sheep and other stock upon these parks;

He was required to inspect and manage the girmels, lofts, cowyard, and in general everything relating to the farms;

His men were to be employed in repairing the fences, and, when necessary, to call for the assistance of Robert Greig, the forester, and his sons for that purpose;

The horses and cattle appointed for working in the necessary carriages about the house were to be employed by Brown;

He was required to drain the marshy land in the enclosures and clean up the ditches as time and convenience would allow;

The field called the Croft should be sown with corn and grass seed in order to prepare it for being laid up in grass the next year - and a note of the grass seed needed for the field should be given in good time;

A dunghill should be prepared from a mixture of dung and lime;

The roads within the enclosures and about the house should be mended and kept tidy;

Brown should take care that the gates were not broken or spoiled by the carelessness of people driving carriages;

The Great Gate at the Mains should be shut and locked every night;

He was required to prepare a hand pump for the south side of the wash-house and see that a cart be made for carrying the linen between the House and wash-house;

The Green should be smoothed by cutting away the ant hills and enclosed by a paling in order to keep out the cattle;

The marshiest part of the green should be drained by digging it and sowing potatoes in it;

Brown's wife, Janet Inglis, was required to take care of the poultry, of which only the breeding fowls should be kept for the next season;

In the spring limestone of good quality should be burned in a lime kiln which should be placed in the cow yard to the eastward of the barns;

He should endeavour to destroy whins, brooms, ferns and all nauseous weeds in the enclosures;

The coping of the park walls should project a little in order to prevent the rain from entering the wall;

If in the spring of the year he did not have enough men to assist him with his work, then a few day-labourers should be hired for that purpose;

A paling with stakes and trees should be put upon the head of the ditches round the new plantations in the South Parks;

A fence should be erected in the Easter Enclosures to protect the young trees newly planted in the place of the old ones;

A sufficient fence should be made on the south side of the Avenue to the House in order to keep out the cattle and sheep;

Another fence from the fir gate to the corner of the hedge should be made;

A drain should be made to prevent water from coming into the stable and another one to be carried from the dunghill eastward to carry off the water from the bank of planting;

The Avenue to the House should be laid down smooth and sown with grass seed;

The holes in the path should be filled where the sand and the gravel were dug;

An Inventory of all the work tools that were not in use should be kept, and William Muir to be employed as an additional labourer;

In order to get around the farms Brown should acquire the horse called Donald and the two-year old colt;

He should buy some beans for mixing among the corn, and drain, fence and plant the enclosure lying to east of the Whinny hill;

The gaps in the dike lying west of the golf leas should be filled;

In the Earl's absence, Brown was required to take his directions from Mr. James Leslie, the Earl's brother and from the factor, John Angus;

Finally, Brown was required to oversee the brewing of five or six hogsheads of strong beer and as many small for which new malt should be made.<sup>11</sup>

One can see from the above list of instructions just how much work was involved in looking after the grounds surrounding the great house at Leslie. Here Brown was made responsible for supervising the work carried out by the gardener and his team, and given as much authority in some instances as the factor, although he had to take his directions from the factor when the Earl of Rothes was away from Leslie. The Earl

was greatly concerned with fencing his enclosures and took great pains to see that they were protected for the young plantations and grazings. This was common practice among the more enlightened of Scotland's landowners during the eighteenth century; in fact, a series of Acts were passed by the Scots Parliament before 1707 to promote the planting of trees and the expansion of the cattle trade.<sup>12</sup> Further improvements were carried on throughout the eighteenth century when the more enterprising of the Scots landowners, such as Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk and Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, introduced new ideas in farming, revolutionising it and providing for their contemporaries models to emulate. As has been already said in connection with the gardens and plantations, the Earl of Rothes followed the practices being accepted by the more progressive heritors and these were applied to the management of his Home Farms.

John Brown, of course, only supervised the work directed to him by the Earl. The gardeners, foresters and labourers carried out the orders passed on by Brown. The farm-grievies, or the persons appointed to inspect the farms, were required to report to him every material transaction that took place on the farm, namely - the casting of stacks, their proof, the order in which they were threshed and the quantity of grain produced from the proof; the quantity of seed sown in each enclosure, whether of corn, flax or grass; seeds bought and sold and to whom, with the prices paid or got for them; the produce of the fields by loads; the number of stacks of corn built in the yard; the number of cows, horses, oxen, sheep and the quantity of corn and fodder, hay and straw bought and sold for the use of each farm; the number of servants, cattle and horses employed on each farm; the number of day-labourers, stating the day they commenced working, whether they were employed by the piece or by day wages, what work

they were employed in and when they were discharged from their work; a list of utensils of each farm, the expense of repairs and keeping up these utensils; a particular note to be taken of any continuous work and of bargains made by the piece; the quantity and price of lime used on the farms should be mentioned; mention should be made of the quantity of the loads of dung used; the factor should be informed in the first instance of the employment of day-labourers, smiths, wrights, masons or any other trades people, and should be given the Day Book every Saturday night in order to settle the accounts with them and to plan the work to be carried out during the following week. The same method should be kept with respect to the parks at Ballinbreich and the grazing and foraging of the Dragoons. The gardener there, Andrew Brown, should assist in the keeping of the diary. He should keep two books, one of which was to be used for the recording of all the estimates of wood sold or cut for the tenants' houses and the coal-works.<sup>13</sup>

As well as attending to the general duties mentioned in the above instructions, Brown was given more specific directions relating to the management of the farms on 26 August 1752. It was proposed by the Earl that a Journal for each farm be kept by the Overseer of that farm and he should enter daily all the transactions relating to the product of the farm and the disposal thereof, particularly -

With reference to the corn fields,

the time of reaping each field of corn, mentioning the number of threaves and number of shearers employed every day; the loading of each field and in what stacks it is put; the casting of the stacks into the barn with the proof; the dighting of the corn and how it is disposed of, whether it is put into the ginnel or applied to any other use.

With respect to the hay fields,

he is to mark down the cutting of the hay, mentioning the number of mowers and acres in the field; the number of people employed each day in winning the hay; the number of rucks in each field; the number of loads when carried to the stack yard and how many loads are put into each stack; the disposal of each stack by stones; whether delivered to the Dragoons or put into the stables, or if the hay delivered to the stables is not weighed that particular mention be made of the stack put into the stable and of what loads it consisted.

With respect to the grass fields,

he is to mark down the number of animals put into each field and note when they are removed to another; and when any of the animals are taken out or put in for particular purposes that it be distinctly marked, particularly when any are bought or sold - the price of each should be marked; if provided for the use of the family, this should be noted and the value marked in the book.

It should also be noted what day-labourers are employed in the farms, particularly in digging ditches and in general every other activity related to the life of the farm. The overseer was also required to keep an exact inventory of all the horses, cattle and sheep on each farm with the price given for them, and once a year to compile new inventories which should be compared with those in the Day Book. Other inventories should be kept of the amount of hay stored in the barn yards and of the carts, ploughs and other utensils of husbandry, the latter to be reviewed every year. Finally, it was necessary to note whether or not new tools made for the farms were made by the Earl's own employees and how long it took to make them, placing a value on them, or the price of each if bought outwith the

estate.<sup>14</sup>

It will be seen in comparing the duties of the farm-grieve with those of the coal-grieve how many similarities there were; in fact, the directions given to coal-grievs and oversmen were based on those in operation in the management of agriculture. Reference is made to the making of drains in the fields and at the stables; these were the open type and had to be continually cleared, especially those around the House. It was the custom to use the stones taken from the fields to line the bottom of the drainage ditches where provided. The stones were also used in the building the dikes which enclosed many of the fields. Occasionally day-labourers were hired to dig the ditches and paid 8d. per day with victuals. The work carried out in ditching and hedging was the same as that described by Thomson.<sup>15</sup>

Getting rid of surface water in cases where the soil was uniformly retentive was difficult and a major problem for those proprietors whose lands were composed mainly of non-porous soils. In the eighteenth century changes were to be introduced in the method of drainage and these were practised throughout the land. For the most part, however, stone drainage was used but this method proved to be rather expensive, particularly in places where stone was scarce. The Earls of Rothes had no problem in obtaining stone as there were numerous quarries in the vicinity of the estate as well as sufficient quantities collected on their own farms. So during this period they continued to use the stone drains common to agricultural practice throughout the land although there were to be some variations as to how they were laid. A solution to the drainage problem was reached by stages and the 'rumbling drains' of stone and rubble were eventually replaced by field tiles, leading to a great spurt in land drainage in the early years of the nineteenth century. The first reforms were

carried out in England where in Staffordshire horseshoe tile or "mugs" were being used. The knowledge of these tiles spread to Scotland from Netherby, Cumberland where around about 1819 Sir James Graham began to manufacture horseshoe tiles of various diameters — 3,4,6 and 8 inches — according to the size of the drain. These were used so successfully on his home farm that, on the renewal of leases, he bound his tenants to drain their land to his satisfaction, the tiles being supplied by Graham. His example was followed by one of the Dukes of Portland who set up a tile works and commenced extensive drainage on his Cessnock estate in Ayrshire in 1826.<sup>16</sup>

It was at Deanston in Perthshire, however, that the real breakthrough in perfecting field drainage took place. Taking over his uncle's farm in 1826, James Smith, a cotton manufacturer by trade, tackled the problem of drainage. After experimenting with several systems, including one used by farmers in Essex, he finally adopted the principle of the common plough and, converting it for subsoil ploughing, invented an implement designed to follow in the furrow made by an ordinary plough.<sup>17</sup> Smith and his drainage system became so famous that landlords and farmers came from afar to see it and were given both hospitality and expert advice by this true benefactor. In 1831 he published a pamphlet called Remarks on Thorough Drainage and Deep Ploughing, his system giving a great impetus to land drainage. Further improvements were to follow as the invention of the cylindrical tile about this time by Reade, a Kentish farm worker, did much to stimulate land drainage.<sup>18</sup> So, one of the chief obstacles to efficient farming was now being successfully overcome as drainage methods continued to improve throughout the nineteenth century. For the Earls of Rothes during the eighteenth century the methods followed were in

common with those used by the other 'improvers', but those employed at Leslie were by no means inferior to the ones in use on the other great estates.

The factor was directly responsible to the Earl of Rothes for the management of his estate, but, as has been shown in the farm documents, other employees of the Earl, such as the Baron Officer and the farm-grieve, were given special instructions pertaining to the running of the farms. Another employee given special responsibilities, was the cattle grieve, Thomas Frost, who received these directions from the young tenth Earl in 1724:

The three enclosures, the two lying to the north and the one to the south of Frost's house were to be used for grazing the cows; last year's calves were to be kept with the newly bought cattle grazing in the fields east of the Cow Bridge and moved later to the other enclosures, the one lying above Robert Greig's house and the other situated above the well enclosure and that of William Deas' house; the coach mares were to be grazed in the enclosure west of the Cow Bridge and in the one called Reimillon (Rimbleton) with Frost in charge of them; when the sowing of the new seed was completed, the work horses were to be fattened and sold, the same applying to the plough oxen; corn should be fed to both the horses and oxen.<sup>19</sup>

Then Rothes continued by giving instructions about the setting of a lime kiln which would be used for the other enclosures. These were to be left as fallow land, or, if the weather was favourable, burnt. The following summer the fields were to be limed. The use of lime as a manure was becoming very general during the eighteenth century. One tenant in the neighbouring Balbirnie Estate had laid upon his farm upwards of 1500 bolls of shells, or unpacked lime, in one season.<sup>20</sup>

A dramatic expansion of the lime industry occurred around 1750 in the Lothians. The sixth Earl of Haddington, the second Earl of Hopetoun and the Earl of Stair held extensive estates within the area of lime. Information on the developments of the Lothians lime industry would probably be passed on to the Earl of Rothes who had strong family ties with the Earl of Haddington. By the middle of the eighteenth century a growing number of landowners and speculative tenants found it advantageous to put money into the establishment of lime-works and quarries on their land for the production of burnt lime and natural stone.<sup>21</sup> The most popular type of kiln built was the draw type, the kind built at Pitkevy by the Earl of Rothes for the production of lime for his gardens and farms. The ruins of such a kiln lies in the East Lomonds and is probably the one used by the Earl of Rothes.

More detailed instructions about the burning of lime are given in an 'Agreement with James Clow for Burning Lime', dated 1 October 1753. The contract was made between James Rolland, factor to the Earl of Rothes, and James Clow, an inhabitant of Leslie, and stated that Clow undertook to manage the draw kiln lately built at Pitkive (Pitkevy) for burning limestone. He agreed to quarry, break and burn the stone into lime; to draw the burnt stones from the kiln and wheel them to a convenient place from which they could be carried away in wagons. For carrying out the above, Clow was to be paid 4d. Sterling for each boll of burnt limestone. Mr. Rolland agreed to strip the quarry and provide Clow with his tools. On the other hand, as there was already a considerable quantity of limestone quarried, Clow agreed to break and burn these stones at the rate of 2d. Sterling per boll, and, furthermore, he acknowledged that he had received the above kiln full of stones and as many broken stones 'that would take a man nine days to break'. Therefore he promised Mr. Rolland that he would leave the

same quantity of broken and unbroken stones at the kiln when his contract expired, which would be after one year, or on 1 October 1754.<sup>22</sup> It would appear that the Earl of Rothes, from this account, was keeping abreast of the new developments in lime fertilisation taking place in Scotland; in his instructions to his factor in 1723 mention is made of building a lime kiln to be used for some of the enclosures. Rothes was fortunate in having adequate resources of limestone on his estate, in particular in the area adjacent to his coal-works at Cadham running into the foothills of the East Lothian. However, he only produced enough lime for his own needs and did not, like the fifth Earl of Elgin, participate in the trade in lime. Charles, the fifth Earl of Elgin, built the village and lime kilns at Charleston, not far from Dunfermline, and an extensive trade in coal and lime was carried on from the 1760s. To transport these valuable minerals Charles constructed wagon-ways, adding to the importance of his lime industry.<sup>23</sup> At the same time Elgin's contemporaries in the Lothians were investing in the development of their limestone quarries and expanding their lime industry, establishing along the shores of the Forth the trade which was to play so important a part in Scotland's industrial revolution. For the Earl of Rothes self-sufficiency was the principal objective; from a study of the manuscripts it is evident that he reached this goal.

Continuing with the Earl's directions concerning the enclosures, the one lying above Frost's house was to be kept for hay, and the clover field used for hay as well. Two other enclosures, the Easter and Wester Enclosures, were to be kept for hay, but, if Lady Jean wanted any of them, then she should be given her choice.<sup>24</sup> The dikes all round the enclosure were to be faced and planted with willows,

beginning at the west side, and a quickset hedge planted in the inside; the Easter Enclosure should be divided and diked on the south side and planted with willows. The young asses were to be sold, and some of the fields were to be sown in barley, the rest in peas and beans.<sup>25</sup> The directions given by the Earl of Rothes concerning the planting of willows and quickset hedges along the dikes were similar to those of Sir John Cockburn who in great detail instructed his gardener at Ormiston to take special care in the planting of willows and quickset hedges. With Cockburn the hedges should be made to combine the useful and ornamental, for he set them thick with white and black thorn, brambles, roses and honeysuckles, elder and privet, producing a most pleasing effect.<sup>26</sup>

In the Earl of Rothes' instructions to his factor orders were given to the farm-grieve that he should not only keep a Day Book but inventories of cattle, horses, sheep and farm utensils as well. Reference has been made to the duties expected of the cattle grieve in the tenth Earl's directions to his factor in 1723. A year earlier, Thomas Frost, the cattle grieve, had been given special instructions relating to the care of the horses, sheep and oxen. From the Inventory of Cattle in the Parks at Leslie in 1722 there were 34 oxen, 9 bullocks and 5 heifers being kept in the parks and 9 mares and 9 horses at the House. Over at Stenton there were 23 hogs, 57 ewes, 40 lambs and 28 widders, while at Whinny hill there were 52 widders, 26 ewes, 9 lambs and 3 rams. In the corn enclosures were 14 cows belonging to Lady Jean and 13 Highland cows. The oversight of these animals was Frost's responsibility.<sup>27</sup> He was required to finish the ditch in the enclosure where the lime kiln was situated and another in the enclosure lying eastwards of the Cow Bridge. This

enclosure had to be fenced before the foals were brought into it. Another one, lying to the north of Robert Greig's house, had to be divided and taited, sheep folds being built. To fence the foal enclosure, Frost was ordered to move the stone from the middle dike in the planting, using as many of his old work horses as could be spared. The stone would be carried in tumbler carts. Frost's own fee and that paid to his assistants would be paid in corn after the first harvest had been gathered. Robert and James Greig, two of the foresters, were also to be paid at the same time. The grassland should be ploughed and sown with peas and oats. To fertilise the grazing land the midden from the bake-house was to be spread on the grass as soon as possible; the other midden should be carried to the other ground that required it. If Frost found that he was unable to complete the work in time, he should contact the factor and get his permission to hire more workmen who should be paid weekly. The draught oxen not working at the time should be put to grass early in the spring in order to be fit for sale, or slaughtered for the Earl's kitchen. The bull with the cows should be castrated and used for labouring.

Finally, Frost was instructed to erect a gate in the east dike of the Whinny hill park which should be divided by building a dry-stone dike. When this was completed, the foals were to be moved into the new enclosure after grazing in the enclosure on the east side of the Cow Bridge.<sup>28</sup> Being a cavalry man, the Earl of Rothes took great pride in the quality of his horses and livestock, paying particular attention to their grazing. This was becoming common practice throughout the Lowlands at this time as many of Rothes' contemporaries were beginning to show a much greater interest in the

improving of their estates. Even Sir John Cockburn, noted more for the high quality of his garden produce, paid particular attention to the enclosures in which his horses and cattle grazed. It is interesting to note that in his letters of May 1740 he directed his gardener to advertise in the neighbourhood that grazing could be provided for their horses on his Ormiston estate.<sup>29</sup> A reference was made in this letter to horses not being corn-fed till long after this date. Yet in the orders given by the tenth Earl of Rothes to his cattle grieve in 1723 both the work horses and draught oxen were to be fed corn and fattened and sold; it would appear from this that Rothes was well-advanced in grazing matters, feeding his stock corn long before this became common practice throughout the country.

The cattle grieve, Thomas Frost, remained in the Earl's service for a considerable length of time for he was mentioned in the factor's letter to the Earl, who was in London, on 16 February 1750. Frost had communicated with a young man, George Christie, whose father worked at Balgeddie. The grieve thought that Christie would be a fit person to work in the South Parks and was prepared to pay him £5 Sterling per year and his keep, which was the wage demanded by Christie. The factor, however, did not accept this as he felt that young Christie would need to be advised and assisted by the grieve and, therefore, should be paid a lower wage. The letter continued by referring to the fir seed promised to the Earl of Rothes by the Marquis of Tweeddale's gardener. The Earl of Rothes' factor had written to the gardener about the seed, but the seed had not been won and could not be ready that season. One of the Earl's servants had been sent to Belford<sup>30</sup> in Northumberland to buy a score of ewes and rams. The servant, Thomas Service, did not buy the score as he thought the price

being asked was too high - the ewes costing 18s. each and the rams £2.10s. Service bought ten ewes and a ram; he could have bought cheaper ones but decided to buy the best as they would be used for breeding. The sheep had reached Leslie and were doing well despite having made the long journey. Then the factor referred to the selling of barley to some of the local brewers. James Leslie, the Earl's brother, had spoken to them, but the highest offer made at the time was £4.12s. per boll, which was the highest price at Cupar, Perth and Dundee. The factor was concerned that the Earl should send his directions regarding the sale of barley as soon as possible as he was afraid that the market price would fall.<sup>31</sup>

The main crops produced at Leslie were barley, peas and oats, and these were grown in the North and South Parks. From crop accounts for 1762 it is possible to show the production and distribution of these three crops in detail. In both parks oats were the principal crop, followed by barley and peas. Production and distribution figures for each farm are given below:<sup>32</sup>

North Parks Farm

(1) Oats

	<u>Dr. for Crop 1762</u>	<u>Bolls</u>	<u>Firlots</u>
Amount on hand from Crop 1761		7	-
January 5 - May 30, 1762		<u>162</u>	<u>1</u>
		169	1
Oats brought from the South Parks		<u>49</u>	<u>3</u>
		219	-

	<u>Bolls</u>	<u>Firlots</u>
<u>Cr. for Crop 1762</u>		
<u>March 15</u>		
Oats sold at different times	26	1
Oats sown in the big enclosure	7	-
Given to Gabriel Campbell for the horses	105	2
For feeding the oxen and ewes for the House	5	-
For strangers' horses	16	3
For the hens, swine and sheep	16	1
For the work horses	24	2
For the 2 chaise horses, Mr. Leslie's horse and the old horse belonging to John Brown	16	3
	218	-

(2) Barley

<u>Dr. for Crop 1762</u>		
Stored in the barns of Crop 1761	46	1
<u>May 20</u>		
Brought from South Parks for seed	8	-
	54	1

<u>Cr. for Crop 1762</u>		
Sold at different times	45	-
For feeding the pigeons <sup>33</sup>	1	1
<u>May 20</u>		
Sown in Trail's field	7	-
Sown in the big enclosure	8	-
	54	1

(3) Peas

	<u>Bolls</u>	<u>Firlots</u>	<u>Pecks</u>
<u>Dr. for Crop 1762</u>			
<u>April 8</u>			
Brought from the barns of Crop 1762	12	-	-
From the South Parks	7	-	-
Bought from Mr. Berry for seed	3	-	-
<u>May 12</u>			
From the South Parks	2	-	-
	24	-	-
<u>Cr. for Crop 1762</u>			
<u>May 4</u>			
Sold of Crop 1762	10	-	-
For the work horses	2	-	-
	12	-	-
From the South Parks for the pigeons	1	2	2
For the swine at different times	4	2	2
For the work horses	-	3	-
	7	-	-
For sowing in the big enclosure	3	-	-
	22	-	-
<u>May 12</u>			
Fed to the pigeons	1	-	-
<u>June 29</u>			
Fed to the pigeons	1	-	-
	24	-	-

South Parks Farm(1) Oats

	<u>Dr. for Crop 1762</u>	<u>Bolls</u>	<u>Firlots</u>	<u>Pecks</u>
Dec. 3 Oats from the barns		16	-	-
<u>1763</u>				
Jan. 19 Oats from the barns		13	3	-
Feb. 5 " " " "		13	-	-
Mar. 10 " " " "		25	1	-
Mar. 27 " " " "		16	-	2
Apr. 12 " " " "		14	3	-
Mar. 10 Oats bought from Mr. Berry for seed		<u>8</u>	-	-
		105	3	2

Cr. for Crop 1762

Oats to the Mains carried over for the horses from the South Parks		49	3	-
Sown in the South Parks		37	-	-
For the work horses		3	3	2
To Andrew Allan, smith, for his bounty		<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>
		97	3	2
Sown in the South Parks		<u>8</u>	-	-
		105	3	2

(2) Barley

	<u>Dr. for Crop 1762</u>			
Jan. 17 From the barns		4	-	-
May 20 " " "		<u>23</u>	-	-
		27	-	-

	<u>Cr. for Crop 1762</u>	<u>Bolls</u>	<u>Pirlots</u>	<u>Pecks</u>
Jan. 17 Sold from the barns		6	2	-
From South Parks to North Parks for seed		8	-	-
Sown in South Parks		<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>
		27	-	-

(3) Peas

	<u>Dr. for Crop 1762</u>			
Jan. 24 Peas from the barns		9	2	-
Apr. 10 " " " "		10	2	-
May 10 " " " "		<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>
		30	3	-

	<u>Cr. for Crop 1762</u>			
Peas sold		11	-	-
From the South Parks to the North Parks		7	-	-
Peas sown		6	3	-
For the work horses		4	-	-
<u>May 12</u>				
For the pigeons		<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
		30	3	-

It is interesting to note from these accounts how the above crops were used at Leslie. The feeding of his horses was, no doubt, a priority with the Earl of Rothes, who showed great concern for their well-being. The transition from oxen to horses as draught animals was definitely taking place on the Rothes Estate at this time. Oxen still predominated in the fields, drawing the heavy Scots plough until its replacement towards the end of the century by lighter implements. With the improvement in tools accompanied by the new methods in

cultivation it became possible to replace the clumsier, slower oxen with work-horses. Used first in cart work and other transport services, horses were soon to take over the heavy duties of field work. There is evidence of this happening at Leslie as early as 1751, for a farm account refers to 56 bolls of oats being needed to feed the field horses. Then there were the colliery horses employed at the Earl's coal-works; to feed them in 1751 an allocation of 93 bolls was made.<sup>34</sup> As well as being used as fodder, the oats and barley formed the bread corn of the people, but barley was also used for making ale and beer, as is shown by the quantities used by the bake and brew houses.<sup>35</sup> It would appear that very little of the Earl's grain was marketed, being consumed instead by family and servants in his holdings.

The Earl of Rothes' cattle were reared mainly at the North and South Parks farms and also at Balgeddie and Beg. He bought his cattle from the markets at Cupar, Auchtermuchty and Kinross as well as from some of the local farmers, often his own tenants. Accounts for the years 1758 and 1763 clearly illustrate the transactions that took place between the Earl, through his factor, and the cattle sellers. The purchase and sale of cattle during the summer months in 1758 indicate that 36 animals were bought for North Parks at the cost of £123.16.10 Sterling, and of these, 30 were sold for £130.19.2, realising a profit of £7.2.4; the remaining 6 animals were kept for grazing.<sup>36</sup> The cattle were sold mainly to the Earl's tenants, but there is evidence of some reaching Dysart and the Lothians. As well as the above transaction, 15 bullocks were brought in to graze in the South Parks during the winter of 1757-58; these were bought for £27.2.5 and transferred to the North Parks for grazing during the

summer of 1758. They were sold for £46.15.6, or a profit of £19.13.1.<sup>37</sup> During the same summer, cattle were bought for the farms of South Parks, Balgeddie and Beg; a detailed account of the transactions that took place is given below:<sup>38</sup>

(1) Cattle bought for South Parks, Summer 1758

	<u>Purchases</u>	<u>No. of Cattle</u>	<u>Price</u>
From Thomas Millar		5	£13. 2. 6
Arch. Kidd		2	6.13. 8
David Christie		1	2.16. 0
David Wallace		2	5. 2. 0
Robert Todd		2	8. 6. 8
Thomas Pitcairn		7	18.18. 4
David Christie to labour on farm		1	4. 4. 0
		20	£59. 3. 8
	<u>Sales</u>		
To William Robertson		3	11. 3. 8
David Gilmour		2	7. 0. 0
William Gray		2	8.15. 0
Thomas Michie		1	3.17. 6
David Gilmour		2	7.10. 0
Andrew Dewar		2	9. 0. 0
Andrew Clunie		1	3. 8. 4
Thomas Michie		6	18. 0. 0
Robert Nicolson of the farm		1	6.10. 0
		20	£75. 4. 6
	Profit arising		£16. 0.10

(2) Cattle bought for Balgeddie, Summer 1758

	<u>Purchases</u>	<u>No. of Cattle</u>	<u>Price</u>
From Andrew Duncan		1	£ 2. 0. 6
James Russell		3	5.15. 0
David Edmonston		2	4.16. 0
Henry Buist		3	6. 3. 0
James Robertson		1	3. 2. 6
		<hr/> 10	<hr/> £22. 7. 8
	<u>Sales</u>		
To Arch. Kidd		9	£29. 5. 0
David Gilmour		1	4. 5. 0
		<hr/> 10	<hr/> £33.10. 0
			Profit arising            £11. 2. 4

(3) Cattle bought for labouring on farm of Balgeddie, Summer 1758

	<u>Purchases</u>		
From Thomas Ness		1	£ 4. 0. 0
John Robertson		1	4.10. 0
		<hr/> 2	<hr/> £ 8.10. 0

(4) Cattle bought and sold off the Beg farm, Summer 1758

	<u>Purchases</u>		
From John Marshall		2	6. 0. 0
David Millar		2	4.16. 0
		<hr/> 4	<hr/> £10.16. 0
			£19. 6. 0

	<u>Sales</u>		
To Robert Nicolson		1	£ 6.10. 0
Thomas Christie		2	11.18. 0

Note: a young ox brought up on the farm  
supplies the place of one of the three  
sold to Arch. Kidd; two heifers that  
were grassed in Balgeddie but brought  
up in North Park

2	<hr/> 6.15.10
	£25. 3.10

	<u>No. of Cattle</u>	<u>Price</u>
To David Gilmour	4	<u>£16. 0. 0</u>
		£41. 3.10
	Profit arising	£21.17. 2

From the above accounts it is possible to show the profit made by the Earl of Rothes from cattle transactions with tenants and neighbours during the summer of 1758. The gains made by the Earl were by no means adequate if he were going to use this money in meeting his other expenses and paying off accumulating estate debts. In fact, the Earl of Rothes was only eking out enough from cattle profits to keep the farms solvent; the profits for the above transactions are given below:

North Parks	£19.13. 1
South Parks	16. 0.10
Balgeddie	11. 2. 4
Beg & miscellaneous	<u>21.17. 2</u>
Total Profit	£68.13. 5

More cattle were bought in October 1758 for grazing in the parks during the winter. In all, 27 animals were bought for £51. 6. 8.<sup>39</sup> The factor, James Rolland, was responsible for accounting for the transactions that took place; his accounts for 1758 are given below:<sup>40</sup>

James Rolland Dr.

To the price of cattle sold from the farms, viz.

From North Parks	£130.19. 2
North Parks for bullocks for winter grazing	36.15. 6
South Parks	75. 4. 6
Balgeddie (parklands)	33.10. 0
Farm of Balgeddie	25. 3.10
Coaltown of Beg	<u>16. 0. 0</u>
	£327.13. 0

James Rolland Cr.

By the Price of cattle bought, viz.

To	North Parks	£123.16.10
	South Parks	59. 3. 8
	Balgeddie	22. 7. 8
	the labouring of Balgeddie	8.10. 0
	Coaltown of Beg	10.16. 8
	the price of 27 winterings	<u>51. 6. 8</u>
		<u>£276. 1. 6</u>
	Balance brought over	£ 51.11. 6
	Charges of buying and selling	<u>1. 5. 3½</u>
	Net Balance due by James Rolland	£ 50. 6. 2½

In his statement Mr. Rolland mentioned that Lady Jean Leslie had not paid for an ox which had been bought for her; this had been charged against him in a preceding account for £3.13. 4.<sup>41</sup>

Although the main cattle market by now was at Falkirk, it would appear from the cattle transactions engaged in by the Earl of Rothes that most of his requirements were met by the local markets at Auchtermuchty, Cupar and Kinross, or from his own farms. He also bought in cattle to feed on turnips; in October 1762 he bought 18 oxen and 2 bullocks, valued at £68.17. 0 and £3.14.0 respectively, from his tenants.<sup>42</sup> Another 12 bullocks were bought at the Kinross market for £20.10.0. Several of the extracts from the Cattle Book for 1763 are worth noting. For instance, in the sale of 11 oxen for £48. 8. 6 is recorded the '6 to the Family's account', valued at £45. 0. 0, as well as the 7 bullocks killed for the family and worth £25. 2. 0 and the 5 bullocks at £4.15. 0 each kept for the family.<sup>43</sup> As the value of the animals kept for family use was greater than that of the cattle

sold, it would appear that beasts of highest quality were reserved for family needs.

The purchase of cattle at the local markets were made by John Fleming, the Earl's grieve, whose responsibility it was to attend the cattle markets and buy cattle for the Earl's tenants as well as stocking his own farms at the North and South Parks, Balgeddie and Beg. Cattle reared on the tenants' farms were later sold or kept for the use of the family. One of the conditions of leasing land from a landowner in the eighteenth century was that the tenants were bound to reside and keep a sufficient stock upon their farms in order to secure the landlord's hypothec.<sup>44</sup> As with the purchases and sales made within the estate little profit was realised from the sale of cattle bought at the Auchtermuchty and Cupar markets. For instance, John Fleming's visits to these two markets in the summer of 1763 is noted below:<sup>45</sup>

Cattle bought at Auchtermuchty

July 13	3 oxen for Thomas Wallace	£14.10. 0
	Charges & custom	<u>1. 6</u>
		£14.11. 6

Cattle bought at Cupar

Aug. 5	2 oxen from David Cowan, Crail	£ 8.10. 0
	2 oxen from David Latto, Denhead	11. 5. 0
	2 oxen from William Melville, Ceres	<u>9. 0. 0</u>
	6 tolls and charges	<u>2. 0</u>
		£28.17. 0

The sale of the above cattle is also given:

July 13	2 oxen to Robert Nicolson	£12. 8. 0
	1 oxen to Robert Nicolson	<u>5. 2. 0</u>
		£17.10. 0

140.

Aug. 5	2 oxen to James Todd	£10. 2. 0
	2 oxen for the Family	13.10. 0
	2 oxen for Alex. Gibb	<u>9.12. 0</u>
		£33. 4. 0

The profits made from the above transactions amounted to £2.18. 6 from the Auchtermuchty sales and £4. 7. 0 from Cupar, or a total of £7. 5. 6.

Cattle bought at Auchtermuchty

Aug. 18	9 cattle for George Skinner, Strathore	£31.10. 0
	6 oxen for Thomas Wallace in Flisk	18.18. 0
	2 oxen for David Crawford in Balli	<u>8.10. 0</u>
		58.18. 0
	Toll and Charges	<u>3. 0</u>
		£59. 1. 0

Sales of above:

Oct. 11	3 of George Skinner's sold to Robert Reekie of Lothians	£13. 0. 0
	2 of Thomas Wallace's sold to Robert Reekie	8. 6. 0
	4 of George Skinner's sold to William Robson of Dysart	18. 0. 0
	2 of Wallace's sold to William Robson	8.10. 0
	1 of Wallace's sold to Pat Jollie for the Family	4. 6. 0
	5 kept for the use of the Family	<u>26.10. 0</u>
		£78.12. 0

The profits arising from the above transactions amounted to £19.11. 0; the total profit realised from the sale of market cattle for the summer of 1763 was £26.16. 6. From the above transactions it is evident that the Earl of Rothes seemed mainly concerned with keeping up his stock on the estate rather than expanding cattle sales as a major agricultural enterprise. The profits he made from these transactions were the bare minimum and would not go far if he wished to expand his agricultural

activities on a bigger scale. As with the other aspects of farming he depended on the efforts of his subordinates. In this case the grieve was not only responsible for the actual buying of the cattle at the markets, but for the handling of the sales of animals from the tenants' farms. These as well as the general duties of managing the Earl's farms were the responsibilities of the farm-grieve who took his orders from the Earl or his factor. When the factor, John Berry, was issued with his instructions in 1761, the Earl of Rothes also gave the following directions to his grieve, John Fleming:<sup>46</sup>

Fleming was made responsible for overseeing the Earl's Home Farms; the North and South Parks and Balgeddie. For this he was paid £20 Sterling per annum, provided with lodgings in Leslie House, and given all the milk he needed. He was expected to keep an exact account of the financial transactions of the farms and send the Earl a copy of these once a year. It was Fleming's responsibility to see that the allocation of tools for the servants was sufficient, as well as attending to stocking the farms with the horses and cattle necessary for carrying on the work properly. The Earl also required him to prepare a statement describing the condition of his farms, listing the contents of the fields and the quantity of seed needed for those to be planted in grass. The remainder of the grieve's instructions were concerned with the daily running of the farms - the stoning and draining of the fields before sowing them with hay and clover, the removal of the broom and whin before planting, the care of the horses and their harness, and the repair of the fences. He was also ordered to carry out the divisions of the Balgeddie farm according to the plan made in 1760, planting the strips with trees in the same manner as the others were planted. Finally, the grieve was required to visit the markets and buy the cattle for feeding, and to sell them when fattened

as advantageously as possible.

It would appear from the above orders that the farm grieve would not only have to be a literate person but one thoroughly acquainted with the agricultural practices of the day. He would have to be a good judge of cattle as it was his responsibility to visit the cattle markets and buy cattle for the farms; the documents relating to the cattle sales are ample evidence of his involvement in this transaction. The Earl was also greatly interested in agricultural matters and took as active a part as was possible in directing the affairs of his farms. Both the Earl and his grieve would be looked upon by the local people as the experts in agricultural matters and would probably be consulted by them for advice in the buying and selling of cattle. Most likely the grieve would be on intimate terms with the local people and, being in charge of the Parks of Leslie, would be involved in business transactions with them.

The local minister of Leslie, the Reverend George Willis, in the Old Statistical Account referred to the improvements which had taken place in farming practice in his parish. By the end of the century almost all the lands were under cultivation in grain, potatoes, turnips and flax. The local farmers, according to Willis, were now becoming more concerned with the rearing of cattle, mainly dairy cattle of the Fife breed which sold at £7 to £10 Sterling per head. Horses were now replacing the oxen used earlier in ploughing and most of the land was enclosed.<sup>47</sup> He also wrote of the Parks of Leslie being auctioned annually and generally taken by the townspeople at £1.15s. to £2 per acre, with cows grass at £2 per acre.<sup>48</sup> These rents are higher than those of the earlier part of the century when an acre of land rented at £1.2.6 in Leslie. From this account it would appear that the Earl of Rothes, although concerned mainly with his own

improvements, was of an enlightened mind with regard to his neighbours. Perhaps the Home Farms of Leslie were the model farms of the parish and the source of much valuable information during a time of great agricultural development.

Thomson in his General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife was of the opinion that as much of the land, principally designed for pasture, as possible, should be enclosed. The same quantity under shelter would feed a greater number of cattle, and to better purpose, than when left in an open and exposed state.<sup>49</sup> I have already referred to the plantings that were made in some of the enclosures belonging to the Earl of Rothes, especially the planting of willows or quickset hedges around the fields. Thomson also felt that the pasture ought never to be overstocked as this would lead to the cattle being starved, the quantity of herbage diminished, and an impoverishment of the soil. To avoid this happening, when the pasture ground was enclosed and subdivided, the cattle should be shifted from one enclosure to another at proper intervals as this practice tended to increase the quantity of grass as well as cleaning the ground.<sup>50</sup> These practices were followed by the Earl of Rothes who instructed his grieve to direct the moving of the cattle from enclosure to enclosure when necessary. However, as the 'dung dropped by the cattle raised a luxuriant crop of grass which the cattle would not eat', horses should be grazed in these enclosures.<sup>51</sup> This was done by the Earl, who, as well as owning a considerable number of work horses and stallions, through his military connections, was able to bring in the Dragoons' horses to graze at South Parks and Ballinbreich. In 1752, when his estate at Ballinbreich was still solvent, the Dragoons' horses were grazed there as well as at Leslie; a record of this is shown:<sup>52</sup>

Note of Grass to the Dragoons, Summer 1752 at 2d. per week

	<u>South Parks</u>	<u>Ballinbreich</u>
1 horse from 3rd to 18th May, 2 weeks 1 day	£ 2. 2.10	
9 horses from 18 May to 3 June, 2 weeks and 2 days	20.11. 4	
43 horses from 3rd to 12th June, 1 week and 2 days		£ 55. 5. 8
42 horses from 12 June to 23 July, 5 weeks and 6 days		246. 0. 0
43 horses from 23 July to 29 Aug., 5 weeks and 2 days	227. 5. 8	
17 horses continued at Leslie from 29 Aug. to 21 Sept., at which time they were taken from grass, 3 weeks and 2 days	45.17. 0	
26 horses at Ballinbreich from 29 Aug. to 21 Sept., 3 weeks and 2 days		85. 8. 6
43 horses at Leslie from 21 Sept. to 26 Sept.	<u>30.14. 6</u>	
	£326.11. 4	£386.14. 2
Value of grass at Ballinbreich	£386.14. 2	
Value of grass at South Parks	<u>326.11. 4</u>	
	£713. 5. 6	
Deduct grass for the Quarter- master's horse, 16 weeks	<u>16. 0. 0</u>	
	£697. 5. 6	
In Sterling money	£ 58. 2. 1½	

The hay, straw and oats provided for the horses is shown in the accounts from the Crop 1751/2:<sup>53</sup>

Crop 1751Nov. 21 to Dec. 18

To 1172 stoneweight of hay at 4d. per stone	£19.10. 8
164 stoneweight of straw at 2d. per stone	<u>1. 7. 4</u>
	£20.18. 0

Jan. 24 to Feb. 10

To 538 stoneweight of hay	£ 8.19. 4
54 stoneweight of straw	<u>9. 0</u>
	£ 9. 8. 4

Feb. 24 to March 31

To 702 stone of hay	£11.14. 0
80 stone of straw	13. 4

Nov. 25 (Crop 1751)

To 3 bolls of oats at 10s. per boll	<u>1.10. 0</u>
	£13.17. 4

April 25 to May 21

To 486 stone of hay	£ 8. 2. 0
78 stone of straw	<u>13. 0</u>
	£ 8.15. 0

Crop 1752Sept. 17 to Oct. 13

To 470 stone of hay	£ 7.16. 8
6 stone of straw	<u>1. 0</u>
	£ 7.17. 8

The supplying of the above quantities of hay, straw and oats was attested by the Quartermaster, Roger Dalling, in Major General Sir John Mordaunt's Regiment of Dragoons, at Leslie on 25th October 1752.<sup>54</sup>

In a letter to the Earl of Rothes from his factor, the latter referred to a complaint that had arisen between himself and Colonel

Honeyman of the Dragoons. The Colonel complained of the failure of the factor to provide enough straw for litter. In reply to these accusations the factor stated that he had supplied a considerable quantity of straw, but, as it had been given to the horses as fodder, the supply soon ran out, and when there was not enough for the Colonel's and Lieutenant's horses the complaint was raised. He continued by informing the Earl that within the next few days enough straw was brought in to provide litter for the officers' horses. The fodder in Fife at the time had turned out to be very scarce, so the tenants were reluctant to sell, and, when they did, it was so expensive that it did not realise the profit made from the sale of dung. According to his factor, the Earl of Rothes had agreed to provide the Dragoons with straw in the contract, but, as they neither gave their horses the full allowance of hay and oats and fed them straw instead of using it as litter, the Dragoons were to blame for the situation that had arisen. The contract did not restrict them to a specific quantity of either and a copy of the contract was enclosed in the letter to the Earl. By a verbal agreement made prior to the signing of the contract, it was stated that each horse was to have a stone of hay, half a peck of oats and sixpence worth of straw every day. In closing, the factor promised to keep a close watch on how the litter was being used and to report to the Earl if the Dragoons misused it.<sup>55</sup>

Besides grazing the Dragoons' horses at Leslie and Ballinbreich, the Earl of Rothes used the facilities provided by the Edinburgh architect, John Adam,<sup>56</sup> for quartering the troops at Blair in the counties of Fife and Kinross. Mr. Adam submitted the following proposals to the Earl in 1750:<sup>57</sup>

"I am willing to enter into contract for a term of one year to forage two troops of Dragoons, at the following prices, upon an average, viz.

For a stone of sown grass or upland hay consisting of twenty pounds weight to the stone	0. 0. 3½
For a stone of meadow hay of the same weight	0. 0. 2½
For each stone of hay the troops get, to take along with it six pounds of straw	0. 0. 0½
For a boll of oats, being six Winchester bushels	0. 9. 0

I have already stables and barracks fitted up for one troop, in which a troop of General Bland's quartered last winter, and were very much pleased both with the accommodation and provisions, and I have as many houses already built as will contain another troop.

The dung that the horses make, to belong to me.

The bedding and utensils in the barracks to be delivered over by inventory, clean and entire to the Commanding Officer on the spot whose receipt therefore shall oblige him to redeliver the same, new washed and in good condition, or to pay the values thereof according to the prices to be insert in said inventory, which prices shall be no more than the prime cost.

The bedding for each two men to consist of a canvas filled with straw, two pair of sheets, two blankets and a rug or palliasse.

And the utensils for each mess of eight men, to be a grate, tongs and fire shovel, a pot and pan, a table and two forms, & a candlestick, also a lantern to the stables.

I shall also furnish fire and candles for each mess according to the custom of the barracks.

And as the benefit of grazing the horses through the summer, is the great inducement to foraging them thro' the winter (the profits on the

last being extremely small) I am at the same time willing to enter into contract for the like number of years, to graze three troops at one shilling and eight pence per week for each horse, if they shall continue upon the grass four months or more, but if they shall be taken up from it in less than four months, then to pay at the rate of two shillings per week during the first eight weeks and fourteen pence per week for each horse, during the time they shall continue at grass afterwards, and so in proportion for more or ----- time."

In this way landowners could make full use of their grassland, earning a little income and collecting manure which could be used for fertilising the fields. Mr. Adam, through his family's connections with the Leslies, certainly would profit from contracts such as the one proposed in 1750.

Before concluding this chapter on the farms maintained by the Earl of Rothes, I should like to present a rather interesting account of a cattle roup which took place at Fliskmiln on 17 October 1743; this was a sale of cattle, farming and household equipment belonging to Mungo Bell, one of the Earl's tenants, and the details are given in full:<sup>58</sup>

The ox called Taylor sold to William Pirrie in Streetford	£26. 0. 0
" ox called Yellowman sold to David Allan	35. 0. 0
" ox called Barron sold to David Allan	45. 6. 8
" horse called Bassie sold to William Latto	50.10. 0
" horse called Gray Stag sold to George Nicoll	5. 0. 0
" Bay mare sold to Andrew Haxton in Woodmill	21. 6. 8
" stote sold to Thomas Gibson	18. 6. 8
" corn wind sold to John Pirrie	19. 6. 8
" plough sold to Pittaip (Pittachope)	5. 0. 0
" harrows sold to John Pirrie	2.14. 0

The muck cup and drawers sold to John Pirrie	£ 1.14. 0
" sheep sold to George Nicol and John Urquhart in Newburgh	37.13. 0
" new close bed sold to John Gibson	13.10. 0
Another bed sold to John Pirrie	2.10. 0
An old girmel sold to Mr. Halkerstone	2.18. 0
A chest sold to John Johnston	0.14. 0
The rest of the household plenishings comes to	65. 7. 4
The yellow ox to George Nicol	35.13. 4
An ox to George Melville	<u>35.10. 0</u>
	£424.10. 4

An Account of the Corn Roup

To William Latto, 2 stacks of oats 82 thrave proof, 3 fir. 1 peck 3 lippe Stack, 2 bolls, 2 firlots 2 pecks at £5 per boll	£103. 2. 6
To John Pirrie, 12 bolls 2 firlots, 1 peck of oats (41 thrave) at £5.1.0 per boll	63. 8. 9
John Pirrie, 15 bolls of oats (65 thrave proof) at £4.16.8 per boll	72.10. 0
John Pirrie, 8 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks of peas (25 thrave proof) at £5 per boll	43. 2. 6
John Pirrie, 9 bolls, 3 firlots of barley (67 thrave) at £5 per boll	48.15. 0
To David Allan, 7 bolls, 2 firlots of oats (32 thrave) at £4.16.8 per boll	36. 5. 0
David Allan, 8 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks of barley (53 thrave proof) at £5 per boll	43. 2. 6
David Allan, 6 bolls, 2 firlots, 3 pecks of peas at £5 per boll	34. 7. 6

To George Brown, 12 bolls of oats at £4.16.8 per boll	£ 58. 0. 0
George Brown, 7 bolls, 2 firlots of barley at £5 per boll	37.10. 0
George Brown, 4 bolls, 3 firlots, 2 pecks of peas at £5 per boll	24. 7. 6
George Brown, 3 bolls, 5 pecks of wheat at £5 per boll	<u>16.11. 3</u>
	£581.12. 6
Total value of goods sold at roup	<u>£1006. 2.10</u>

The above values are expressed in Scots currency, thus the total value of the goods sold at the roup would be £83.17.8<sup>10</sup>/12 Sterling. The buyers of the above goods were tenants of the Earl's Ballinbreich farms, a plan for which is shown in the appendices (see portfolio).

It is evident from the transactions that took place at the 'Home Farms' of Leslie that the Earl of Rothes was concerned mainly in becoming more self-sufficient in food for the House. For that reason he carried out what improvements he thought necessary and fields were enclosed, cattle bought and grazed, and great care given to the kitchen garden. It would appear that he was not backward in agricultural matters, but, instead of extending these improvements, he confined his attentions to the House and its policies. This is also reflected in the time given by the Earl to the planting of Leslie Woods and other plantations which enhanced the estate.

With regard to the other farms of the estate, under lease to his tenants, the Earl of Rothes seemed more concerned about the growing of food to supplement that being produced at the Home Farms. When not producing food for the House, the farmers were expected to provide the Earl's colliers with their provisions. This was particularly true of the farmers on his lands at Strathore and Cluny. Two tenants of

farms at Fostertown, near Cluny, were obliged to pay £45.9.10 $\frac{1}{2}$  Sterling and provide carriages for the Earl's coal.<sup>59</sup> The rents paid by tenants to the Earl of Rothes varied, according to the size of the farms and the value of the land. Some examples are given below;

Those tenants of the Earl's lands in Leslie paid £1.2.6 Sterling per acre;<sup>60</sup>

James Greig, the forester at Ballinbreich, paid £52.18.6 Sterling for his tack, this being the value of the wood cut in 1758;<sup>61</sup>

John Pirrie, minister at Fliskwood, paid for his tack: 24 bolls of barley, 36 bolls of oats, 4 bolls of wheat, 54 hens, 18 capons, £1.14.6 (price of the kain),<sup>62</sup> £15.5.6 $\frac{8}{12}$  Sterling in Money Rent, and was required to provide carriage of 10 wagons for the distance of 6 miles;<sup>63</sup>

Robert Walker, tenant on the Ballinbreich estate, paid for half of Higham: 4 bolls of wheat, 2 chalders of barley, 2 chalders of oats and £173.6.8 Scots (£14.8.10 $\frac{8}{12}$  Sterling) with 5 sheep, 18 capons, 74 hens or £30.14 Scots (£2.11.2 Sterling).<sup>64</sup>

One of the conditions of tack between the Earl and his tenants was that the Earl was responsible for carrying out repairs to the tenant's house and toft. An interesting 'Article of Agreement' between the Earl of Rothes and one of his tenants at South Parks, dated 8 September 1737, refers to these conditions.<sup>65</sup> This was the tack of land previously belonging to his cattle grieve, Thomas Frost, and now to be rented to Frost's successor, David Deas. The conditions are given below:

The Earl of Rothes agreed to set the said South Parks of Leslie presently possessed by Thomas Frost's heirs to the said David Deas for nineteen years with entry to take place at Martinmas. Deas

obtained possession of a  $6\frac{1}{2}$  acres enclosure on the west side of the Cow bridge and another 7 acre enclosure lying east of the bridge. The annual rent for the two enclosures would be £1000 Scots (£83.6.8 Sterling) to be paid at Martinmas and Whitsunday. Deas agreed not to keep sheep in the enclosures unless they were close herded summer and winter, and would keep them from destroying the ditches, pulling barking or ripping the young trees and hedges; if Deas failed to uphold these conditions, then, he would be liable under the penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament. The Earl would have the liberty of enclosing round the inside of the outer dike 60 feet within the same for planting and hedging and these were to be kept by Deas under the same penalties. The Earl was obliged to make all the ditches within the stone dike sufficient to Deas and to note this down in a paper, as well as all other ditches made by the Earl; Deas was obliged to keep them in a good condition during the period of tack and to leave them so at the expiration of the tack. He was also required to remove the stones from the ground of the enclosures and lay them at the foot of the ditches that ran round the enclosures. He then had to face the ditches with the stones and was required to keep them so. Robert Greig, the forester, was to be given an acre or two of land and 'cows grass', the value to be determined by 'two honest men', to be chosen by both parties; the value of the above would be deducted from David Deas' annual rent. Deas was also responsible for the gates of the enclosures, but the Earl of Rothes was obliged to erect them, after which Deas would uphold them and leave them in a satisfactory condition at the end of the tack. Rothes was responsible for the satisfactory condition of the tofts before handing them over to Deas, who was required to leave them so on the expiration of tack; here

again, 'two honest men', to be chosen by both parties, would inspect the property. The Earl was also obliged to furnish timber and lime for the toft when necessary. At the expiry of the tack Deas was obliged to leave the parks in the breaks or divisions in which he received them. During the tack he was not to allow hunting by gun or dog within the enclosures without special permission from the Earl and his heirs.

At the start of the tack Deas was given by the Earl enough rye grass and clover seed to sow one enclosure in the parks and was required to lay out the first, but afterwards had to bear the expenses of buying seed and sowing the enclosures; these should be left in this condition to the Earl and his heirs at the end of the tack. To enable Deas to bring his cattle down to the river in order to water them during both summer and winter droughts, Rothes agreed to make a road on both sides of the Cow bridge down the Avenue and to fence the river on the north side and on both sides of the bridge.

If David Deas and his heirs laid lime upon the ground of any of the enclosures then they were restricted to take only 6 crops of corn from the enclosures, after which the fields should be laid out in grass. On returning to corn and liming the enclosures a second time, Deas was required to mix the same with earth and not to exceed three crops of corn on any of the enclosures so limed. Lastly, the Earl of Rothes and David Deas bound and obliged themselves and their heirs to extend their present articles into an ample tack with all the necessary clauses; this should be completed by Michaelmas next under the penalty of £100 Scots (£8.6.8 Sterling).

With regard to the carrying out of repairs to his tenants' farms the Earl was responsible for providing both labour and materials towards

same; an interesting document, 'Comprisement of Strathore Toft when Thomas Service went out of it', dated November 3, 1743, refers to the maintenance costs incurred by the Earl in preparing this farm for the incoming tenant, James Reikie.<sup>66</sup>

The day for inspecting the toft<sup>67</sup> and office houses on the room of Strathore belonging to the Earl was fixed by William Hay, his factor, and the 'two honest men' to assist him, on the Earl's behalf, were also appointed - these being Robert Russell, tenant of Stentown and George Kilgour, the factor's servant. Acting on behalf of James Reikie were James Wilson, the tenant of Skedoway and James Swan, tenant in the Spittal. This party met on 3 November 1743, inspected the premises and made the following recommendations:

Having viewed the Sitt<sup>68</sup> house we Declare the Same wind & water tight and Sufficient in Great Timber and thatching,

That the Sitt house wants a new Door on the Mid-Gable and a small window board and case in the west room of the said house,

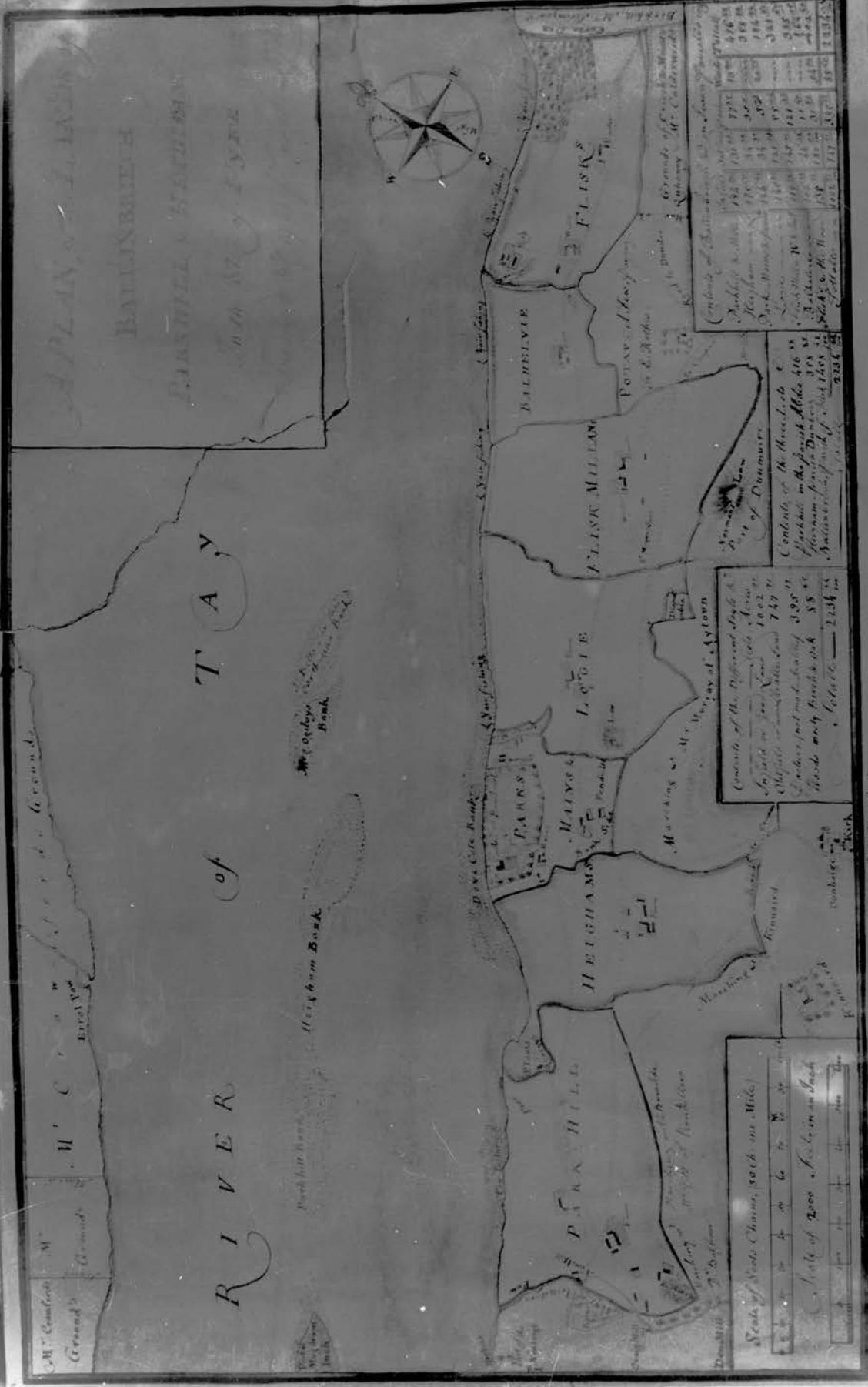
The North Corn barn wants two new Doors and two Dozen of Cabers @ 1s.8d. Sterling per Dozen, the Cabers amount to £ . 3. 4

The South Corn barn wants two new Doors and two Dozen of Cabers @ Ditto per Dozen, the Cabers amount to . 3. 4

The Pease barn wants a new Door and one Dozen of Cabers @ Ditto per Dozen, the Cabers amount to . 1. 8

The Second byre on the North Side of the Close wind & water tight, and that the North barn Door be made up in a Door for it, the first byre being wind & water tight.

The Third byre wants one Dozen and a half of Cabers @ 1s.8d. Sterling per Dozen 2. 6



Plan of the Lands of Ballinbreich, Parkhill and Heigham & Contents of Same

The Fourth byre wants half a Dozen Cabers @ Do.	£ . . 10
The Fifth byre is Sufficient wind & water tight, That the roof of the Cow byre on the South side of the Close be taken off, and the South wall taken Down and built anew, and that it will take Eight Dozen of Cabers and three thousand Divots for the roof of the Same, the Divots for casting, cawing, and laying on 2s. each thousand, and 8d. for pricks, which with the Cabers amounts in all to £1, and for a pantree one Shilling, in all	1. 1. 0
That the Dwelling house on the South Side of the close wants Eight Cabers, which amount to	1. 1½
That the Gable between the Stables presently built partly of Stone & Tile and partly of Timber be taken Down and a Gable of Stone & Lime built in its place	
That the Foals house have a new Door made for it	
That the East Side of the South Corn barn from the North Cheek of the Door Southward be taken Down & built anew	
That it will take Twenty twelve-foot Deals <sup>69</sup> at One Shilling per Deal with three hundred flooring nails @ Seven pence per hundred, and Seven Days work of a wright at a Merk per Day to make the above mentioned Doors, etc.: all amounting to	1. 9. 6½
That it will take Twenty-six bolls Lime @ 9d. per boll including the Carriage, and Twenty Days of a Mason @ a Merk per Day, with Twenty Days of a Barrowman to repair the above mentioned houses, in all amounting to, the Barrowman's wage being 5d. per day	<u>2.10. 0½</u>
Total Sum	£5.13. 4½

Contents of the Barony of Ballinbreich, Newtown, & Lumphinnans, in  
 The Shire of Tyne, Belonging to the Rt. Honble. The Earl of Rothes 1761  
 Surveyed for John Leslie

Parishes of Farms	Names of the Possessors	Plough Acres	Outfield Acres	Pasture Acres	Wooded Acres	Total Scots Acres	English Acres
Addie	Parishkilly George Jarvie & Son.	4	131 <sup>52</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	75 <sup>75</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	13 <sup>00</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	416 <sup>38</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	529 <sup>49</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
	Milk Lanes Thomas Gibson Miller	---	---	1 <sup>62</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	---
Dunboig	Heigham Robert Walker	4	88 <sup>67</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	95 <sup>00</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	308 <sup>67</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	455 <sup>67</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Flish	Park	Arable part, John Brown	47 <sup>00</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	---	---
	Mains	John Miller (from Camacawich)	33 <sup>00</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	27 <sup>25</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	20 <sup>25</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	36 <sup>04</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
	Pendicles	John Hewit Mason	9 <sup>53</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	1 <sup>52</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	76 <sup>51</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
	Do	Robert Downie South	7 <sup>22</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	---	---
	Do	William Cooper Laburn	4 <sup>87</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	3 <sup>03</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---
	Do	James Scott Weaver	10 <sup>32</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	---	72 <sup>12</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
	Do	John Miller (Camacawich)	8 <sup>82</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	5 <sup>60</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	---
Do	John Brown Officer	6 <sup>00</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	---	---	
Logie	John Brown	4	121 <sup>02</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	55 <sup>54</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	321 <sup>60</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	408 <sup>43</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Flish Millan	West Side, James Carmichael	2	83 <sup>24</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	64 <sup>26</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	---
	East Side, John Fennie	2	61 <sup>32</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	56 <sup>32</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	489 <sup>30</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Balhelvie	Henry Thomas	2	48 <sup>35</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	11 <sup>40</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	164 <sup>05</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	208 <sup>38</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Flish	West Side, George Thomas	2	98 <sup>68</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	---	---
	East Side, Peter Walker	2	81 <sup>52</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	31 <sup>32</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	---	440 <sup>04</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Wood of Flish	James Gray (not ranked)	---	---	---	54 <sup>72</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	---	71 <sup>00</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Total of Ballinbreich		24	747 <sup>27</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	395 <sup>12</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	88 <sup>65</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	2234 <sup>32</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	2837 <sup>45</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Forgan	Newtown	---	202 <sup>32</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	157 <sup>76</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	7 <sup>00</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	603 <sup>23</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	766 <sup>23</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Ballinry, Lumphinnans		---	---	---	---	---	---

Contents of the Barony of Ballinbreich, Newtown, etc.

After giving their estimate of the reparations necessary to make the toft and office houses sufficient, the parties continued by stating that they were of the opinion that the said houses might remain in their present condition for several years, with the exception of the Cow byre and the doors, which they judged necessary to be repaired immediately. They then signed the comprisement, which was witnessed by John Angus and John Brown, both servants of the Earl of Rothes. Also adding their names to the document were David Jackson and James Bogie, the mason and wright who would carry out the work.

The plans of the Rothes Estate are very descriptive in detail and relate to the documents examined by me. In particular, the estate plan prepared for the Countess of Rothes in 1775 very clearly shows the divisions made by gardens, enclosures, woods, etc. The plan of the estate at Ballinbreich, prepared for James Leslie in 1761, as already stated, is a fine example of a survey carried out in order to determine the allocation of farms there and laid down a pattern to be followed in later years. Perhaps, in this form of farm allocation the Earl of Rothes made a real contribution to agriculture and simplified estate management by this method of organisation.

The plan of the Rothes Estate at Ballinbreich by the land surveyor, John Leslie, is similar in some aspects to John Home's survey of the estate formerly belonging to Mackenzie of Assynt which was purchased by the Duke of Sutherland in 1771.<sup>70</sup> In his survey Home very clearly shows the land divisions of each farm and makes his observations on each. By the mid-eighteenth century systematic surveying was being extended beyond the Lowlands to the more difficult country of the Highlands; the Sutherland Papers at Dunrobin contain

several maps and surveys which show the trend moving very far north. Of these John Home's Survey of Assynt is the last, the finest and the most expensive. In the survey of Ballinbreich carried out in 1761 it can be seen from the map of same how the farms were allocated in size of infields, outfields, woods, etc., and the names of the tenants of each farm. This was the same method used by Home for each of the farms surveyed at Assynt. Home succeeded another Edinburgh surveyor, John Kirk, who had started the survey in 1771 but died in 1773.

The similarities between the two estates of Assynt and Ballinbreich do not end with the actual method of surveying carried out at both places. Both proprietors, Mackenzie of Assynt and the tenth Earl of Rothes, were faced with serious financial problems and forced to dissolve their estates. The Earl of Rothes' situation became increasingly serious after the great fire which destroyed most of his family seat at Leslie. It would appear that the new proprietor of Ballinbreich was satisfied with the ways the farms had been laid out during the period of Rothes' ownership for the population of the parish of Flisk remained virtually the same after the sale as before, being 318 people in 1755 and 330 in 1790-91.<sup>71</sup> This would indicate that there was little or no social upheaval in the parish.

In concluding, the Earls of Rothes followed the trends being adopted in Fife during the eighteenth century, paying particular attention to all the different aspects of farming and estate management. They did not realise great profit from their agricultural activities, aiming mainly at self-sufficiency and improvement on their estates. This they achieved and so there were established at Leslie farms which for eighteenth century Fife were progressive and in some aspects revolutionary in the practices carried out there. This would be

particularly true of the use of lime as a fertiliser, especially since this was a 'home-produced' material, the ninth Earl building his own lime-kiln and achieving self-sufficiency in the use of lime early in the century before this practice became common in other parts of the country. Then in the rearing of work horses for use on the farms another advancement was made at Leslie where horses were being used in place of oxen as draught animals by the middle of the century. The manuscripts illustrate just how much interest was shown by the Earls in the care of their horses and cattle. In matters relating to the rearing and grazing of livestock the Earls kept pace with many of the most progressive proprietors in the land. With regard to land drainage Rothes followed the standard practices of the day and regularly in the directions to grieve and factor included instructions on draining. However, as has been already mentioned, little improvement occurred in this farming activity until the introduction of field tiles and subsoil drainage in the early nineteenth century. The Earls were also concerned about how their estates should be broken up into farms and enclosures and employed two of the most experienced men in surveying matters, William Adam and John Leslie, to survey their lands.

The ninth Earl was much indebted to the local architect, William Adam, for surveying several of his farms around about 1730. This gifted architect was one of that body of men whose professional status was gained from years of experience in that engaging activity rather than from academic qualifications alone, having entered architecture through the proper channels for the eighteenth century - from apprenticeship to master-mason to architect.<sup>72</sup> His apprenticeship to Sir William Bruce at Hopetoun House was undoubtedly of great value, for Adam was responsible for making the major improvement to Hopetoun House

later. He also prepared a General Plan of Hopetoun Parks and Gardens around about 1730, ten years after Archibald Shaw had produced a plan of the farm of Humble in Kirkliston parish, the earliest plan of the Hopetoun estates.<sup>73</sup> As has been mentioned in an earlier chapter, William Adam was greatly experienced in all aspects of architecture and engaged in work of varying nature, ranging from the building of stately homes to contracts for less congenial projects, though not less important to the country's economy. These were the industrial works - the coal-works, mills, kilns, farm buildings, etc. which were being developed by the more enterprising proprietors. At Leslie Adam's main responsibility was in seeing that the maintenance of the estate properties was carried out, especially the policies, but he played a more prominent role in the building of the Earl's coal-works; a description of these is given in the next two chapters. In agricultural matters he was called upon to survey some of the farms at Leslie. Like many of his contemporaries Adam was experienced in mapping estates and was often required by the proprietors for whom he worked to survey their farms and policies.

During the early part of the eighteenth century Scotland was not too well endowed in land surveyors. The ability to measure land, to use instruments, to present results accurately, to draw maps and often to evaluate land for its worth required skills of the highest order. This meant that for many years land surveyors were drawn from a variety of professions - architect, schoolmaster, farmer, gardener and nurseryman.<sup>74</sup> The contribution of this group was an important one, especially since the improvements carried out by the more enlightened proprietors often depended on estate plans drawn up with accuracy and clarity. The uses of plans were made quite clear: they were an

essential tool in the implementation of the new agricultural techniques of the late eighteenth century. By the end of the century it has been estimated that more than 30,000 plans were produced in Scotland. They were of excellent cartographic quality and reflected what the land surveyor saw - the open fragmented scene of half moorland which could be transformed into an ordered geometrical landscape.<sup>75</sup> These changes were to occur on estates throughout the country as men of skill and expertise produced the estate plans on which the great landowners were to base their improvements. William Adam was one of these surveyors, but, in his case, fame was gained from architecture and building rather than land surveying. But for John Laurie, John Lauder, John Leslie, Joseph Udney and other surveyors, their main contribution to Scotland during this century of transition was in the form of excellent estate plans from which a more efficient use of the land could be made.

Whereas the ninth Earl of Rothes engaged William Adam to prepare plans at Leslie, the tenth Earl employed one of most experienced of the Hopetoun estate surveyors, John Leslie (or Lesslie), to draw up plans of the Ballinbreich estate in 1761. Leslie, formerly an assistant to William Cockburn, one of the first land surveyors employed by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, first appeared as a land surveyor in June 1749 when he produced a plan of the churchyard at Newton parish church, Midlothian.<sup>76</sup> He was employed by the Midlothian Turnpike Trustees in the early 1750s before being engaged by Cockburn. He was just the man the Commissioners were looking for and was engaged by them to map the estate at Struan which included the barren moor of Rannoch. Despite having to spend a year in this exacting task, Leslie was still able to make a plan of the Earl of Hopetoun's land of Philipstoun in 1756. Two years later Leslie returned to the Hopetoun estates to make

plans of the barony of Kirkliston. For the next twenty years he made a considerable number of surveys both for the Forfeited Estates Commissioners and the Earl of Hopetoun. Being one of the most experienced land surveyors in Scotland, John Leslie was engaged by the tenth Earl of Rothes to survey his lands at Ballinbreich in 1761. From the plans of John Leslie the pattern of land allocation on this north Fife estate was established and retained by the next owner.

The estate plans made by William Adam are contained in the appendices.

The Home Farms

1. Henry Hamilton: Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 37.
2. Ibid.: Ibid., p. xiv.
3. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 193.
4. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 37.
5. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 37.
6. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 38.
7. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 39.
8. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 41.
9. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 41.
10. Rothes Papers: Instructions by the Earl of Rothes for the Management of his Farms.
11. Ibid.: Instructions given to John Brown as 'Baron Officer' (4 Nov. 1747).
12. Henry Hamilton: An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 56.
13. Rothes Papers: Instructions by the Earl of Rothes for the Management of his Farms.
14. Ibid.: Directions for Management of Farms (26 Aug. 1752).
15. OSA. Vol. VI: Leslie Parish: wages paid to day-labourers, p. 42; J. Thomson: General View of the Agriculture in the County of Fife, pp. 137-141.
16. J.A. Symon: Scottish Farming, p. 403.
17. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 404.
18. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 405.
19. Rothes Papers: Orders about the Parks, 1724.
20. OSA. Vol. VII, p. 531.
21. Basil Skinner: The Lime Industry in the Lothians, Edinburgh, 1969, pp. 9, 11-12, 21-27.
22. Rothes Papers: Agreement with James Clow for Burning Lime (1 Oct. 1753).
23. John Butt: The Industrial Architecture of Scotland, p. 256.

24. Ibid.: Orders about the Parks, 1724.
25. Ibid.: Ibid.
26. Sir John Cockburn: Letters to his Gardener, p. xxv.
27. Rothes Papers: Inventory of Cattle in the Parks at Leslie (25 May 1722).
28. Ibid.: Directions for Thomas Frost.
29. Sir John Cockburn: Letters to his Gardener, pp. 62-64.
30. Belford: a coaching station on the main route from Edinburgh to London, lying about 14 miles south of Berwick. The ninth and tenth Earls of Rothes and their Countesses made frequent journeys between Edinburgh and London and there is evidence of the ninth Earl breaking his journey at Belford where he dined in the village inn. Being interested in stocking their farms with good breeding animals, the Earls, no doubt, became familiar with the Northumberland breeds and later purchased some (Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum - accounts and food bills incurred while travelling to London).  
 During the last quarter of the eighteenth century at the farm of Belford at the top of Bowmont Water in Roxburghshire significant improvements were being made in the breeding of Cheviot sheep. A young Northumbrian, Robson by name, had taken over this farm and by a skilful use of rams succeeded in improving the confirmation of his flock, increasing its clip without impairing the ability of the animals to graze and live on high land with a stormy climate. (see J.A. Symon: Scottish Farming, pp. 148, 331).
31. Rothes Papers: Letter from factor to Earl of Rothes (16 Feb. 1750).
32. Ibid.: Crop Accounts, North and South Parks, 1762.
33. pigeons: common landmarks on Fife estates in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the dovecots usually built at some distance from the mansion houses of the proprietors. Pigeons were housed and bred in the dovecots, thus enabling the lairds to keep the immediate policies free of pigeon manure and to provide for their tables roasted pigeons, a popular dish at the time. The most famous dovecot on the Rothes Estate was the one built at Auchmuty; today the Dovecot Park district of Auchmuty precinct, Glenrothes is named after same. (see J. Thomson: General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife, pp. 270-1).
34. Rothes Papers: Oats for Colliery and Field Horses, 1751.
35. Ibid.: Menus (1st Nov. to 9th Nov. 1730).
36. Ibid.: Cattle Account, North Parks, 1758.
37. Ibid.: Ibid.
38. Ibid.: Cattle bought for South Parks, etc., Summer 1758.

39. Ibid.: Cattle bought in October 1758.
40. Ibid.: Cattle bought, James Rolland's Account, 1758.
41. Ibid.: Ibid.
42. Ibid.: Cattle Book, 1763.
43. Ibid.: Ibid.
44. hypothec: in Scots law a lien or security over goods in respect of debt due by their owner (see J. Thomson: General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife, New Leases, p. 102).
45. Rothes Papers: Cattle Book, 1763.
46. Ibid.: Instructions to the grieve, 1761.
47. OSA. Vol. VI: Leslie Parish, p. 41.
48. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 42.
49. John Thomson: General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife: Feeding, p. 225.
50. Ibid.: Ibid.
51. Ibid.: Ibid.
52. Rothes Papers: Note of Grass to the Dragoons, Summer 1752.
53. Ibid.: Ibid., Crop Accounts.
54. Ibid.: Letter from factor to the Earl of Rothes.
55. Ibid.: Ibid.
56. John Adam: see reference to William Adam in chapter on Leslie House, p. 19
57. Rothes Papers: Proposals made by Mr. Adams at Blair for quartering troops.
58. Ibid.: Roup of Cattle, etc. at Mungo Bell's, Fliskmiln (17 Oct. 1743).
59. Ibid.: Rental and List of Arrears of the Earl of Rothes' Estate by Commission (22 March 1760).
60. Ibid.: Ibid.
61. Ibid.: Ibid.
62. kain: payment of rent in kind.

63. Rothes Papers: Rental and List of Arrears of the Earl of Rothes' Estate by Commission (22 March 1760).
64. Ibid.: Ibid.
65. Ibid.: Article of Agreement between the Earl of Rothes and David Deas (8 Sept. 1737).
66. Ibid.: Comprisement of Strathore Toft (3 Nov. 1743).
67. Toft: a bed for plants and cabbages; toft-house: the house attached to a toft.
68. Sitt: to continue in a house or farm during a lease.
69. Deal: a slice sawn from a log of timber, generally about nine inches wide.
70. John Home: Survey of Assynt, Vol. 52, Series 3 (edited by R.J. Adam, published by Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1960), pp. xvii, xix, xx Introduction; pp. 3-88.
71. James Gray Kyd: Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755.
72. Barrington Kaye: The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain, p. 51 (see pp. 47-53).
73. I.H. Adams: The Mapping of a Scottish Estate, p. 5.
74. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 2.
75. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 3.
76. Ibid.: Ibid., p. 9 (see references to plans of Hopetoun estate - pp. 32-60).

Chapter IVCoal-mining (1) the New Works at Strathore

The economic development of Scotland, in particular the central belt from north Ayrshire in the west to Fife and the Lothians in the east, is inextricably bound up with the exploitation of the region's coal and iron resources. Their value was early appreciated for in 1710 John Chamberlayne wrote, 'Scotland is said to be richer underground than above'.<sup>1</sup>

From the end of the sixteenth century down to 1700 some expansion of coal-mining had taken place, as can be seen from the annual production figures, which rose from 40,000 tons in 1551-60 to 475,000 tons in 1681-90. The rise of the mining industry during the period 1550-1700 to a place of great importance in the economic life of the country was, according to Nef, 'scarcely less impressive for Scotland than for the north of England'.<sup>2</sup> The main centres of mining were East Lothian, Fife, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire. Most pits were quite small, but important exceptions were Sir George Bruce's colliery at Culross in Fife, where the workings extended below the sea-bed and the neighbouring Tulliallan and Torry collieries, the latter two producing approximately 15,000 and 10,000 tons respectively in 1679. In the coastal regions the industry was closely associated with the production of salt from sea-water, by distillation -- a process requiring an expenditure of 6 tons of coal to make 1 ton of salt. There were scores of salt-pans along the shores of the Forth, and by the end of the seventeenth century they were consuming as much as 150,000 tons annually.<sup>3</sup>

The salt industry did not provide the only market for coal. In places such as Edinburgh, which had the largest concentration of people

in Scotland, there was a growing domestic market. There was also a thriving export trade from the Forth to Amsterdam and Hamburg carried by Dutch shippers, who were encouraged by the low duties on the export of Scottish coal, especially of good quality great Scots coal which had a good market in Flanders.<sup>4</sup> During the second half of the eighteenth century due to the improvements made in the manufacture of iron, new demands were to be made by this expanding industry on coal, now to experience further investment as proprietors throughout central Scotland began to show much greater interest in the mineral resources of their estates. Another important market for Scottish coal was the lime industry, also growing in size and value in order to meet the demands from agriculture and industry.

In the development of coal-mining, landlords and merchants played a notable part. The former were naturally interested in the exploitation of the valuable resources of their land and usually furnished the bulk of fixed capital. Motivation behind opening a colliery was various. Agricultural improvements, especially after 1750, increasingly required lime burning, while even the requirements of heating a country house, grand or small, formed a considerable proportion of domestic expenditure in a land where summers were wet and winters cold. Besides the satisfaction of estate needs there was the possibility of sale for a 'neate profite'.<sup>5</sup> Scottish landowners had reason enough to seek to maximise incomes which were often much lower than those enjoyed by their English counterparts. Few lairds were wealthy enough to ignore the possibility of exploiting the mineral resources of their estates. In fact there were some who speculated in mineral working in an effort to save otherwise uneconomic estates. These landed coal-masters ranged from dukes to untitled gentlemen and

the scale of their operations stretched from mines intended to satisfy local wants to integrated coal and salt concerns with a wide sales potential.<sup>6</sup> Some worked mines directly, but a common practice was to lease, or tack, them to individuals or partnerships, to whom they made over their legal rights over the colliers, while retaining a financial stake in the enterprise. When the Earl of Leven leased his Balgonie mine to two men for a period of twenty years in 1732 he assigned the machinery and 'all rights he has or can claim to his coaliers personally belonging to him during the space of the tack'. He also undertook to provide transport for stones, timber and other materials to the coal-works. The lessees, for their part, agreed to pay a rent of £100 Sterling in addition to every sixth load of coal 'free of all charges except stacking'.<sup>7</sup>

Coal mining in the region shared by the Earl of Rothes and his neighbours, Leven, St. Clair, Balgonie and Balbirnie assumed an extensive rather than an intensive character. In the region as a whole, coal mining was well established by the fifteenth century since disputes over "teinds of coal and salt" between the Wemyss family and their Vicar are recorded in the year 1475.<sup>8</sup> Writers of the Old Statistical Accounts of Dysart (1791) and Markinch (1792) suggest that mining had been in progress for at least three centuries previously; and it is further recorded that a mining settlement - the "Coaltown of Balgonie" - was mentioned as "one of the appurtenances" of the Balgonie Estate in a County Valuation of 1517.

Having worked down the dip of the seam to the maximum depth permitted by the level of the water-table, the miner by the early Eighteenth Century was then forced to extend his operation laterally i.e. along the crop of the seam. Fresh areas of gravel or till over-burden were stripped off, in a sort of primitive opencast fashion,

to disclose the continuation of the seam along the surface. Then, once again, 'stoop-and-room' methods were advanced down the dip of the coal to the limits of the 'level-free' region working which, according to the old writers was in the region of eighty feet below the surface.<sup>9</sup>

In this way the pattern of certain main outcrops was early revealed. The Dysart Main Coal had been disclosed in its entire length between Dysart and Markinch by the seventeenth century. The area of coal that could be removed in the absence of any artificial drainage aids obviously depended on the angle of the dip. The smaller the angle, the greater the area above the water-table that could be worked, but in addition, the further would the working faces be removed from the adit entrances, and the longer would the underground haul become. To obviate this, stone-lined pits were sunk some distance from the outcrop, and the coals wound-up by manually operated windlass, or carried up on the backs of the colliers' women-folk, using a series of ladders. This led to the building of the notorious 'stair-pits' described by Hugh Miller in his History of Tranent and which frequently occurred in this area. Thus, in this earliest phase, the main surface features of the mining landscape were a sprinkling of windlass-pits and stair-pits, subsidence hollows marking the excavated 'rooms' in the seams below, and lines of coal-waste along known outcrops, the fore-runners of the huge bings that typify the modern mining scene. At one time the writer of the Dysart Account informs us, one such "continuous line of waste was visible for three miles along the crop."<sup>10</sup>

The era of 'sinkings' proper, as distinct from adits, seems to have been ushered in along with earliest attempts at a measure of artificial drainage. This was the method of the 'day-level' which was simply a tunnel driven at a gently rising gradient from the edge of

some convenient water area such as sea or river, up into the underside of the coals, thus draining all the strata that lay above. The topography of the region was ideally suited to such a technique since, the greater the degree of post-glacial uplift and of valley-incision, the greater was the amount of land and included coal-seams above local base level, and thus the greater volume of coal that could be drained by this simple device. One such level was driven in 1730 by Balfour of Balbirnie, from the north bank of the Leven, and it continued to drain his seams for the next forty years, which suggests that the range of mining operations was considerably extended.

The whole coalfield was divided into separate mineral estates worked either by the lairds or by 'tacksmen'. Each was restricted to the seams within his area, and there is no doubt that the intense rivalry between the different lairds led to their conducting their separate mining operations in an atmosphere of downright secrecy. It has been suggested that this attitude helped to perpetuate the system of colliery serfdom and the isolation of miners in separate colliery villages, of which, five already existed in this area by the end of eighteenth century:- the 'Coaltowns' of Balgonie, Wemyss and Methil and the villages of Cadham and Boreland.<sup>11</sup>

Because of the intense rivalry between the lairds in their mining activities there was no possibility at this early stage of attempting a planned exploitation of the field as a whole as individuals were frequently ignorant of the continuation of their own seams into a neighbouring area. This is reflected in the practice, current even today, of referring to a given seam by several different names.

Given this social context then, if the individual mining enterprises were to break new ground, they had eventually to probe deeper, and in

so doing, to overcome the main obstacle to deep mining - the problem of underground water.

Various methods were used in dealing with pit drainage. Among the earliest was the 'water-engine', which utilised the flow of a stream to turn a huge wheel whose axle, fixed across the mouth of an adjacent shaft, gathered an endless chain of buckets that raised the water from its gathering place in the pit-bottom sump. Balbirnie erected one on the south bank of the Leven in the seventeen seventies, on a spot now occupied by the Rothes Paper Mill; it boasted a wheel of twenty-six feet in diameter. Further down the Leven, Balgonie had used a similar 'engine' since 1731, and replaced it with a larger model in 1785, which drained his seams to depth of 180 feet, or some eighty feet below sea-level - a significant advance on the range of the old day-level.

More widely used, however, because it was not restricted to riverbank location, was the Horse-Gin, in which the flow of a stream was replaced by horses, and was therefore similar in principle to the oxen-operated 'sakhai' of Egypt. Such Gin Pits were fairly widely scattered over the region in the late eighteenth century, and seem to have been employed for the raising of men and coals, as well as water. There were also attempts to harness the power of the wind, since a 'Windmill Pit' is shown on an eighteenth century Wemyss Plan, and the Statistical Accounts refer to the erection of windmill "along the crop" in the Balgonie field sometime in the seventeen thirties. This particular one was short-lived, since the accumulation of water from faults forced a temporary cessation of mining in that area around 1743. It seems likely that the wind force proved too inconstant a medium for dealing with the problem of constant and continuous accumulation of ground water.<sup>12</sup>

With the discovery recently of the Rothes Papers which were being stored in the factor's cottage near Leslie House it is now possible to learn more of the activities of that family in the eighteenth century, and particularly of their mining enterprises. The mines maintained by the tenth Earl of Rothes, his son the eleventh Earl and the latter's elder sister, the Countess of Rothes were located at Cadham, Cluny and Strathore. It would seem that the tenth Earl was not so deeply involved in the mining industry as his neighbours for accounts, dated 1720 and 1721, show that he purchased coal from the Earl of Wemyss in 1721 and was therefore dependent on his neighbours for his own coal requirements. He paid £238.9.4 Scots to the Earl of Wemyss for 42 dozen, 7 loads of "Weems great Coal" costing £5.12 per dozen.<sup>13</sup> Another account with James Thomson, a Leslie coal carrier, is for 15 loads of coal from the Dysart Coal-hill to Leslie House, and for 43 loads of coal from Lochgelly. The cost of carrying the above coal amounted to £36.12 Scots (£3.1s. Sterling).

The tenth Earl of Rothes kept a small mine in the vicinity of Lumphinnans but had to borrow colliers from the Burgh of Dunfermline, for in 1714 the Magistrates and Town Council of Dunfermline lent two colliers with their wives and bearers to the Earl of Rothes who was 'to imploy them at his Lordship's Coall works till demanded by us'.<sup>14</sup> In order to drain his coal work at Lumphinnans Rothes was required to take out a tack on lands in the vicinity of Lochgelly from a Mr. Henry Scrimmour in 1713. The tack would expire after 4 years and the Earl of Rothes promised to pay Mr. Scrimmour £60 Scots 'in full of all that he can ask or crave for the use of the said Levell During the four years above specified, And that so soon as the Levell shall be wrought forward to the land of Laffines'.<sup>15</sup> If the level failed or was stopped

during the four-year period then both parties promised to bear half the expense of reparations. If the Earl of Rothes brought up a new level upon his own ground for working the coal then Mr. Scrimmour agreed to pay him £60 Scots (£5 Sterling) for use of same over a four year period. If either party failed to honour the contract then a fine of £30 Scots (£2.10s. Sterling) should be imposed on the defaulter.<sup>16</sup>

The three main centres of coal production in the Rothes Estate were, as already mentioned, at Cadham, Cluny and Strathore. It is possible from the documents discovered to get a very broad picture of the mining activities at these pits, and to present, in the case of Strathore, all the stages in the development of a coal mine in Fife in the first half of the eighteenth century.

#### STRATHORE

In 1727 Archibald Hasty, the Earl of Rothes' oversman at Cluny, set down two trial sinks a little north from a dry stone dike enclosure belonging to the Earl of Rothes lying on the north side of the Water of Ore and a little to the west of Ore Bridge. In one of these sinks he found the coal head about two fathoms below the surface; this coal seemed to be similar in thickness to the Dysart coal which ran through St. Clair's land.

Hasty set down another sink 49 fathoms wide and dipping off the original sink. After sinking 3 fathoms in earth he ran into a sand bed and then coal lying above a whitish coarse-grained greystone. He made several other sinks and uncovered coal drifting North by West and dipping about 1 fathom in 6; however a 'great growth of water' hindered him in getting down to the pavement of the uppermost of the three seams of coal.

Other trials were made north of the earlier ones by crop holes and finally he marked on another sink near the top of the ridge of Easter Strathore ground. This sink was 205 fathoms right driftways from his previous sink and after sumping 7 fathoms in earth and sand he met with 7 inch coal lying above grey stone (as in his first sink) and, as the sand bed threw out so great a 'growth of water', he was obliged to build a scaffold and continue boring. After boring through 6 fathoms to the coal head he discontinued boring and making other trials.<sup>17</sup>

On the 14th November 1727 Will Wemyss and Robert Ainslie visited Strathore and reviewed the coal sink set down by Hasty. They were of the opinion that the coal in the area would yield 80 fathoms and should be worked in 16 rooms. They stated that the Earl of Rothes, without the expense of salt pans, could fill the 12 foot coal at the price of £222 Sterling. If worked in 16 rooms at 2 colliers to a room and one collier to the throughers then 48 colliers should be employed.

The North and South drift should be worked by 96 colliers in all, and if each of these put out 10 Great loads daily this would amount to 960 loads per day. For 5 days work 4800 loads could be produced at 5 shillings free to the master, or £1200 Scots (£100 Sterling) weekly. In 48 weeks or one year the Earl of Rothes could gain

£4800 Sterling or	.. .. .	£57,600 Scots
The 10 foot coal would yield yearly	.. .. .	57,600 "
The 6 foot coal would yield yearly	.. .. .	<u>57,600</u> "
		£172,800 "

Ainslie and Wemyss then predicted that the coal would yield £172,800 Scots (£14,400 Sterling) yearly for the next hundred years, and, providing sale and colliers could be got, this would make the Earl of Rothes the "richest subject in Brittain".

They were also of the opinion that a "machine" must be erected upon the mill sink on the march in order to drain the coal water, and proposed that this be done on the Water of Ore near Cluny. The water should be carried in a lead to the new mill sink; this would be about 400 falls in length (8 ells to 1 fall) or equivalent to 4000 yards. The dam dike should be started 'with all possible diligence that my Lord Rothes might have the first start of the water lest his neighbours should prevent him'.

However, they were not too certain of the drift of the coal near Coaltown of Balgonie. If the coal continued to drift north by northwest and south by southwest and proved to be the Dysart main coal then there would be an extraordinary large drift which would continue for many years, and, provided the seams were workable, would prove of greater value than all the Estate. But before the Earl of Rothes should be put to the expense of bringing in the long lead and setting down the mill sink they designed to sink down three or four little trial sinks. In order to speed up the work the sinkmen were required to work night and day till this sink was completed; it was expected that this would take eight days to complete that work.<sup>18</sup>

No further work took place at Strathore until 1736 when the Earl of Rothes sought the advice of Mr. William Adam and several other men experienced in mining, David and Archibald Robertson and George Dundas, on the prospect of mining for coal at Easter Strathore. He hoped that it might be possible to erect an engine for drawing the water from the coal found there, and if a water lead could be carried off the Water of Ore for serving the engine.

Here again William Adam shows his versatility as an architect. Not only was he prominent in designing and building great houses for many

of the country's leading citizens, but in the field of industrial architecture his skill and expertise were much in demand. Whether called upon to survey farm lands, plan and build grain and timber mills, lime-kilns or coal-works, Mr. Adam tackled the problem with great enthusiasm. He was undoubtedly a great asset to the Earl of Rothes during these critical early stages of mine development at Strathore. Being a near neighbour and friend of the Leslies, William Adam and his eldest son, John, from their residence at Blairadam were to be frequently involved in the affairs of the Rothes Estate. The visits of Will Wemyss and Robert Ainslie to Easter Strathore are worth noting. The Earl of Rothes, inexperienced in mining matters and often absent from Leslie, regularly had to seek advice from representatives of the top scale of mine management. Two other viewers who also gave consultations to outsiders were Charles Dundas and the tenth Lord Elphinstone, whose visits to Easter Strathore were to prove valuable as well. Later, during the building of the windmill at Strathore, the Earl of Rothes employed the 'engineer', Stephen Rowe, to direct the operations at all his coal-works -- Strathore, Cluny and Cadham. Rowe may have been one of the small but steady band of English viewers and mining engineers who ventured north looking for profitable employment or who were invited to Scotland as overseers and instructors.<sup>19</sup> He was definitely associated with Elphinstone and was probably one of a family of mining engineers employed to assist Lord Elphinstone in the direction of his coal-works and make some of the equipment needed in this enterprise. This is evident in the manuscripts relating to the Earl of Rothes' windmill at Strathore; several of the parts had to be made at Rowes at Elphinstone. Then there is a reference to Mr. Rowe in one of Sir John Cockburn's letters to his

gardener at Ormiston. In this letter (XXXIV - undated) the oversman was instructed to seek the advice of Mr. Rowe about working the coal.

Throughout the eighteenth century many English engineers were engaged by Scottish colliery proprietors to aid them in the development of their mines. George Sorcorold, William Brown and John Smeaton were to pay short visits as consultants and design and build colliery engines for their employers.<sup>20</sup> Others were to stay longer or even permanently. This was true of Stephen Rowe for there is evidence of his marriage to one of the Earl of Rothes' employees.

The emergence of native viewers and overseers was first apparent on the great landed estates during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Probably the first Scottish coal viewer was John Burrel, an employee of the Dukes of Hamilton, but as he was called upon to ensure the smooth and productive administration of both agricultural and mineral-bearing lands and to carry out other estate business, he must properly be regarded as an estate steward.<sup>21</sup> It is true that from his experience of mine management in the employment of the seventh and eighth Dukes of Hamilton his advice on mining matters was much sought after and he was in demand to express opinions on the mining enterprises of other landowners and tacksmen. However, it was not until the end of the century that Scottish coal viewing came of age with the work of the Bald family at Alloa, in particular of Alexander's son, Robert, who called himself a civil as well as a mining engineer. Robert visited Sweden with Thomas Telford in connection with the Gotha Canal in 1808, but it was in mining that he won his reputation. Bald's greatest contribution to mining was to place it on a surer practical and theoretical basis. The first comprehensive account of Scottish coal mining was his General View of the Coal Trade of Scotland,

published in 1808, but his long and detailed articles in mining methods in the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia are a masterly account of the most advanced practices in England as well as Scotland.<sup>22</sup>

In April 1736 Easter Strathore was visited by Mr. Adam and party, and, after levelling the ground, they found that it would be possible to use the water from the Ore to work the engine, but by a long cast. The place proposed for the engine sink was to be near the highway between the bridges of Ore and Lochty (see Sketch). They felt that the cost of making the cast, tail lead, and erecting the engine would be considerable, and also found several obstacles lying in the way of working the coal. These were as follows:

- (1) Would the Earl of Rothes have undisputed right to the water, seeing Lord St. Clair had ground all along the south side of the Water of Ore, beginning a little below the place where the water was proposed to be taken off, or a dam to be made?
- (2) The Earl of Leven had ground upon the dip of the coal near to the Water of Ore on both sides of the highway.
- (3) Where would the salt pans be erected, Dysart being the nearest place, and the difficulty of procuring right to a place there, considering Lord St. Clair's interest in that burgh?
- (4) The length of the carriage of small and great coal to that place; the further the coal was wrought northwards, the longer the carriage.
- (5) The uncertainty of the coal continuing to run through the Earl of Rothes' grounds in Easter Strathore, especially since it was observed that the metals there would appear to take a different streak towards the northeast or Balgonie House, from the top of the ridge of high ground there according to the course of some

old coal sinks running by the Coaltown of Balgonie towards Balgonie coal (which coal was thought to be the same as Dysart, or Lord St. Clair's coal).

This last difficulty was thought to be a major one and, in order to make certain, they ordered two or three little crop holes or sinks to be set down along the drift of the coal northwards in Strathore to the side of the Water of Lochty from the last mentioned sink (1727). They also desired that the dam might be made in the Water of Ore at a place fixed on. This was decided by throwing in large stones across the whole course of the river.

Archibald Hasty attempted another trial sink,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms deep, in June 1736 on the north side of Easter Strathore, but ran into so great a quantity of water that it was impossible to sink down through it, or even bore through as the sand 'burst out and fixed fast the rods'. This trial was given up and other trial holes were proposed to be made in the ground lying to the east of Upper Stenton. If coal was found, there could be no question that the Earl of Rothes had a very large field of coal from the Water of Ore northwards to Stenton. A small sink 4 feet by 5 feet in width was therefore marked on by Hasty a little to the northeast of Upper Stenton in a sort of heatherish moor. After sinking 3 fathoms he encountered the whitish coarse grey stone as at Easter Strathore. Several other trials were made in the vicinity of Upper Stenton and Hasty experienced several difficulties, such as losing a pritchel in the coarse grey stone, the bore turning firm and hard when the cut grey stone settled in around it, and the bore filling up with dirt. He was advised to beat close the side of the wimble and fix a clack to the mouth of it in order to empty the bore and keep it clean.

Another proposal was made that a full trial of Upper Stenton grounds be made. It should start at the east end or dip a little north from Pitteuchar Park Dike and trials made through all the metals lying acropping thereof, by little sink holes 3 or 4 fathoms deep; and boring in them 6 or 7 fathoms, until they reached the said whitish coarse grey-stone with the blackish veins. Then more trials should be made still on the east side of the Dike which run through Upper Stenton towards the side of the Water of Lochty. In October 1736 Archibald Hasty set down a little crop hole 4 feet by 5 feet wide and 8 fathoms deep but only found the said grey stone, some doggar bands, a little freestone and blae.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile the Earl of Rothes wrote to the Earl of Leven and in a letter dated May 29th, 1736 referred to the visit to Easter Strathore made by William Adam and party. Rothes requested permission from Leven to erect the proposed mill in Leven's ground since it was considered by Mr. Adam that Lord Leven could not work the coal in this area. James Leslie, brother of the Earl of Rothes, was to act on behalf of Rothes and reach an agreement with Leven.<sup>24</sup>

The Earl of Leven replied to Rothes in a letter dated June 21st, 1736 in favourable terms, but referred to his tack with the Landales. It was found that when the tack was signed by the Landales and Leven the conditions were:

'Lord Levens coal in the Parish of Markinch was let to John and Alexander Landells for 20 years and as long as the present lord lives. The first break was at Whitsunday or Martinmas 1742 or Seven Years, thereafter paying 200 pounds Sterling. If this was not offered to them it remains another Seven Years.

Leven had the privilege of inspecting the working when it pleased him. The Landells had the first 3 years free of tack duty,

& pay 100 lib. Sterling afterwards yearly, their first break at Martinmas 1736, or any term thereafter taking an Instrument 40 days before; they are to have 12 coalliers & if they work with more they pay 100 merk for the Pick, the Machine to be left in as good condition as at Greeting it, they may work in any place except the Gardens & as much bounds around the house. They have sinking & roads free of Expencc.

I believe my Lord a payment of 200 lib. Sterling can claim the coal any time after year 1742.

This occurs from an overly Glance of the Tack'.

Leven stated in his letter that all his coal in the Parish of Markinch was set to the Landales, and not just the Main Coal of Balgonie, which was quite distinct from Spittle coal. Therefore Leven felt that it would first be necessary to have the consent of the Landales, whom he thought to be 'those low fellows jealous in their natures'. And before speaking to the Landales, Lord Leven expected Rothes' brother, James to approach them first.<sup>25</sup>

Three proposals were made by the Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Leven. These were:

- (1) That the Earl of Rothes should purchase from the Earl of Leven the property of that part of the coal to be worked within the Earl of Leven's ground or all the coal in the lands of Spittle; the damages done to the tenants always to be paid by the Earl of Rothes.
- (2) That the Earl of Rothes should purchase from the Earl of Leven so much of the land of Spittle with the property of the coal in that part of the land as thought convenient for 'answering the end of working the Earl of Rothes coal in a regular manner as

expressed'. The quantity of the ground to be condescended on and marched in order to know the quality and value.

- (3) Because the Second proposal was thought 'a breaking of the farm by which the tenant may seek a greater discount of the rent than is equal' the Earl of Rothes proposed to purchase the whole farm of Spittle or exchange land of equal rent for it.<sup>26</sup>

Prior to the above letter, George Dundas, the father of Henry Dundas (1st Viscount Melville), wrote to the Earl of Rothes in May, referring to the work carried out by Mr. Adam and party when they visited Easter Strathore (Dundas was one of the members of the group). He made several proposals to Lord Rothes:

- (1) That Archibald Robinson, son of Gladney, who oversees at present the Coal and Salt Works at Wintoun, be made a partner of William Adam.
- (2) It was necessary to have a place for building the salt pans. Dundas inquired about the possibilities of finding a site at Dysart (nearest of coastal areas to Strathore) and learned that the property belonged to the town, and the road leading to it was consequently the King's Highway. Again, there was the question of purchasing a 'peice of the shoar' as Sinclair would oppose it to the utmost ('he has they Say the Town Council at present at his Beck').
- (3) That the Water Engine be placed in such a position that it draw the greatest volume of water at the sink; therefore it should be positioned on the east side of the Highway between the two bridges on the Ore and Lochty (upon the Earl of Leven's ground).

In concluding, Dundas proposed that a small cropping sink should be set down 'upon the height of the Strath in a place which is easy to be fixed on, where you would only have two or three foot of stone to

go through lying above the coal'. It seems that Dundas estimated the quantity of coal in this area would last for several generations ('Which Streek of Coal betwixt the two Waters Your Lordship's Son nay Grandson could not see exhausted, and if Leven allows the Engine to be erected further a dipping, it would last Several Generations').<sup>27</sup>

However, Lord Leven must have refused to have granted this concession to the Earl of Rothes, for in a 'Memorial Concerning the Raising of the Earl of Rothes' Coal in Easter Strathore' Lord Elphinstone and Dundas were of the opinion that there was a valuable field of coal to be raised at no extraordinary expense either by a Bob Gin or a Windmill. They preferred the latter as more suitable for the following reasons:

- (1) The length of the aqueduct would be approximately two miles and would require a great charge of water to bring it from the Dam head to the water pit; they were apprehensive about the difficulties in obtaining water both during summer and winter. Also, they felt that the Earl of Rothes might become involved in a law suit with a neighbour if he had to build a sufficient dam head.
- (2) The cost of erecting the tail lead and arc for the wheel, and the maintenance required at the dam head and aqueduct.<sup>28</sup>

In concluding, both Elphinstone and Dundas produced an estimate which showed a savings of £820 Scots (£68.6.8 Sterling) per year if a Windmill was used instead of a Bob Gin. In fact, they estimated that it would cost the Earl of Rothes £1300 Scots (£108.6.8 Sterling) per year just to maintain 6 horses and pay wages to 3 gin men; the cost per week amounted to £25 Scots (£2.1.8 Sterling).<sup>29</sup>

So for the above reasons it was decided to proceed with the building of a windmill. The windmill seemed to be the preferable

engine, 'Seeing it is believed it can be erected at a much less Expence than the Bob Gin, and the Annual Expence of the Windmill when erected will be less than that of ye other Machine, and will preserve his Lordship from all Broils with his Neighbours'. Thus the following proposals were made for the Earl of Rothes' consideration:

- (1) A slight change in position of the water pit as proposed in the early visitation.
- (2) The windmill to be set in Lord Leven's ground - this would be advantageous to the Earl of Rothes without depriving the Earl of Leven of coal which could not be adequately worked by Leven; about 9 acres of the Earl of Leven's ground was needed.
- (3) If Rothes was unable to reach a bargain with Leven, then the windmill should be sited within the march in a position favourable to Rothes; to be erected near Mr. Hay's Sink.<sup>30</sup>

For raising the coal the following rules were to be observed:

- (1) The engine pit to be circular of 8 ft. diameter and cradled with hewn stone from the grass to the rock head.
- (2) The bearing pit to be cradled with sandstone of the same dimension.
- (3) The windmill to be built of freestone, being an arch from top to bottom, the height of which would depend on the bore of the pumps (this to be determined by the workmen).
- (4) All necessary timber for the pumps, windmill, etc. to be found at Leslie (elm, ash, plane and fir) - the proportions of which determined by the strength required to withstand the force sustained against them.<sup>31</sup>

Lord Elphinstone and Dundas then referred to a conversation held with Archibald Hasty who had informed them of his encounter with

flooding during the trial sinks set by him in earlier investigations of the ground. They were of the opinion that the engine pit should be cradled with timber and not with stone, 10 feet square within the timber or cradling till they came to the rock head. Branders, 9 inches square, should be laid 'skin to skin', with deals laid edgeways across and along the sides of the pit behind the branders. Then at the rock head the sink should be made circular 10 feet in diameter. To prevent water from reaching the bottom of the pit kerbing and tubing should be laid ('which tubing when completed will bring the Sink to be only 8 feet Diameter, in which Shape the Sink is to be carried down to the Coal head and pavement').<sup>32</sup>

The other pits or bearing sinks were to be tubed in the same manner, but the cradling did not have to be so strong, and the sink 7 feet in diameter instead of 8 feet. All materials needed for the job should be ready before commencing with work. These consisted of two windlasses, stools, buckets, tubes and windlass ropes. The roller of the windlass was to be a maximum of 9 inches in diameter while the square of the windlass arms were to be 2 ft. 2 inches. The windlass rope was to be 2½ inches thick, shroud laid, and there should be 100 fathoms of this rope. The two windlasses, arms, tubes and choices were to be made at Elphinstone while David Gray in the Iron Mill at Dalkeith was to provide a dozen quarry picks.<sup>33</sup>

A 'Memorandum in Relation to Strathore Coal', 1736-38 refers to the above. The two windlasses and arms, along with the friction wheels, tubs and choices were to be made at Elphinstone with Rows. Mr. Stephen Rowe, an engineer, had to direct the mason on the dimensions of the windmill. The mason employed on the job was to be the person who had built the stone work of Lord St. Clair's windmill,

and Mr. Adam had to be consulted for that purpose. The two cranks for the mill were to be got from Newcastle and the barrels for the pumps from London.

A map of the ground and boundaries of the Strathore coal had to be drawn on large paper or parchment with all the sinks marked and annually coal waste, dikes or ditches were to be shown on this map. This map was to be referred to in the Coal Journal to be kept, 'in which every thing done in the Coaling is to be Carefully Inserted at least every half year'.

Mr. Stephen Rowe was to supervise the building of the windmill and all the timber work involved in same. A bargain had to be made with Mr. Rowe when he came over during the making of the sinks, and at the same time a bargain with the smith had to be made. In order to come to terms with Lord Leven over the marches it was necessary to examine the Charters, old leases of Strathore, etc. as to the boundaries.<sup>34</sup>

Before proceeding with the building of his own windmill at Strathore the Earl of Rothes was given a copy of an account between the Earl of Stair and Andrew Landale for the materials used for his Lordship's Machine at Drougan. This was dated 19th October 1737 and signed by Andrew Landale at Newliston. The total cost for the materials, wright work, supervision, freight, etc. was for £152.0.5. An additional statement showed that the mason, David Anderson, had been paid £12.18.8 for building the windmill house 42 feet high, and £6.1.3 had been paid for quarrying the stone. The above amounts are given in Sterling.<sup>35</sup>

Another account provided the Earl of Rothes with information as to the tunning costs of the windmill at Drougan. This is shown below:

Estimate of the Yearly Expence of Keeping Going a Wind-Mill

To two men to Attend the one in the day and the other in the Night at 1s.½d. & 6½d.	£26. - . -
To leather the pitt being kept Clear of Coal	1.10. -
To 72 Yrds Sail-cloth at 1s.4d. pr Yrd.	4.16. -
To Ropes	- .15. -
To a Smith for making hoops & forelock for the boxes and other Incidentts	1. - . -
To Grease	<u>1.10. -</u>
	£35.11. -
Taking of the Man in the Night is	<u>8.13. 4</u>
The Expence will be	£26.17. 8 <sup>36</sup>

The building of the windmill at Strathore was now started with Mr. Stephen Rowe acting as supervisor of all the work involved in the construction of the mill. The estimate of the charge of the erecting of the wind mill and sinking the engine pit is given below. A more detailed account of this is given in the appendices.<sup>37</sup>

Material	£282.10. -
Labour	
Masons, barrowmens wages	20. - . -
Sinking engine pit at £2 per fathom	50. - . -
Windlasses, frames & friction wheels	<u>50. 5. -</u>
	£402.15. -
Deduction for home grown timber	<u>111.10. -</u>
	£291. 5. -
Additional charges	
Quarriers wages	10. - . -
Lime	<u>7. - . -</u>
Total	£308. 5. -

Carriages were not included

Mr. Rowe also submitted an estimate of 'the Whole Wright Work in erecting a Windmill Engine for drawing of water 30 fathoms'. Material and labour costs amounted to £115. 4. - (see Appendices).<sup>38</sup>

On 27th June 1737 certain trees lying to the east of the garden at Leslie House were marked for cutting. In all, 41 trees were selected - 11 plane, 13 elm, 2 ash and 15 firs. The quantity of timber required for the windmill at Strathore amounted to 50 fathoms (300 feet). The elms were to be used for the trindles, the firs for the beams, frames, shears and pump spears, and the ash for the treadles, posts and braces of the wind mill.<sup>39</sup>

For cutting the firs and the ash for Strathore James Livingston, working with Robert Greig, the Earl's forester at Leslie House, from 15th May to 1st July, 1738 was paid 17s.6d. The rate was 5d. per day or 2s.6d. per week.<sup>40</sup> For sawing the wood James Crawford and David Pearson were each paid £1.10s.5½d. for the period 3rd July to 5th August inclusive. After sawing the timber, the wright, Benjamin Brown, was employed in squaring the trees for the machine at Strathore. He was paid 3s. for three days work (3rd - 5th August) or 1s. per day, more than twice the rate per day paid to the foresters and sawyers. This must have been work requiring greater skill for Brown was paid as much as the sinkers and wrights employed at Strathore.

The stone used for building the windmill at Strathore came from Bankhead quarry, and the quarriers were paid 6d. per day. Some accounts of wages paid are given below:

To James Kilgour from 3rd July to 5th August	14s.6d.
To Henry Donaldson	14s.6d.
To William Rae	<u>14s.6d.</u>
	£2. 2s.6d.

Prior to this four quarriers were employed to set down the quarry at Bankhead from 13th June to 1st July and were paid 5d. per day, the total cost of this operation being £1.1.3. Archibald Hastie, the coal grieve, was paid 11½d. per day for overseeing the work being done at the sink at Strathore. His wages from 3rd July to 5th August came to £1.9.2.

The wages paid to the sinkers employed at Strathore are given below. They were paid 10d. per day and worked a 6 day week.

To Walter Hastie from 3rd July to 5th August	£1. 5. -
To George Scott " " "	1. 5. -
To James Cairns " 25th July to 1st August	5.10
To Alexander Burrell (helper) from 3rd July to 5th Aug.	0.15. -
To Alexander McEwen (helper) " " "	0.15. -
To George McEwen (helper) " " "	<u>0.15. -</u>
(Helpers were paid 6d. per day)	£5. 0.10

The wrights employed at Strathore were engaged in timbering and cradling the sink and were paid at the rates of 1s., 6d., or 5d. per day. The following accounts were paid during the period 3rd July to 5th August, 1738:

To John Reid 1s. per day	£1.10. 0
To James Hodge 1s. per day	1.10. 0
To James Goodal 6d. per day (from 3rd to 5th July)	1. 6
To Patrick Jollie 5d. per day	<u>14. 6</u>
	£3.16. 0

Other wages paid to workers engaged at Strathore during the same period are given as follows:

To Lawrence Piggells (oncost-man) 28th July to 5th Aug.	0. 4. 0
To William Law (for casting & redding sink) at 6d. a day from 10th July to 5th August	0.12. 0
To William Jamison (for casting & redding) same	0.12. 0
To Walter Miller (for building house at Strathore Sink) at 5d. per day from 10th July to 5th August	<u>0.11. 6</u>
	£1.19. 6

The above wages are taken from a Wages Journal for 1738 and are given in Sterling.<sup>41</sup>

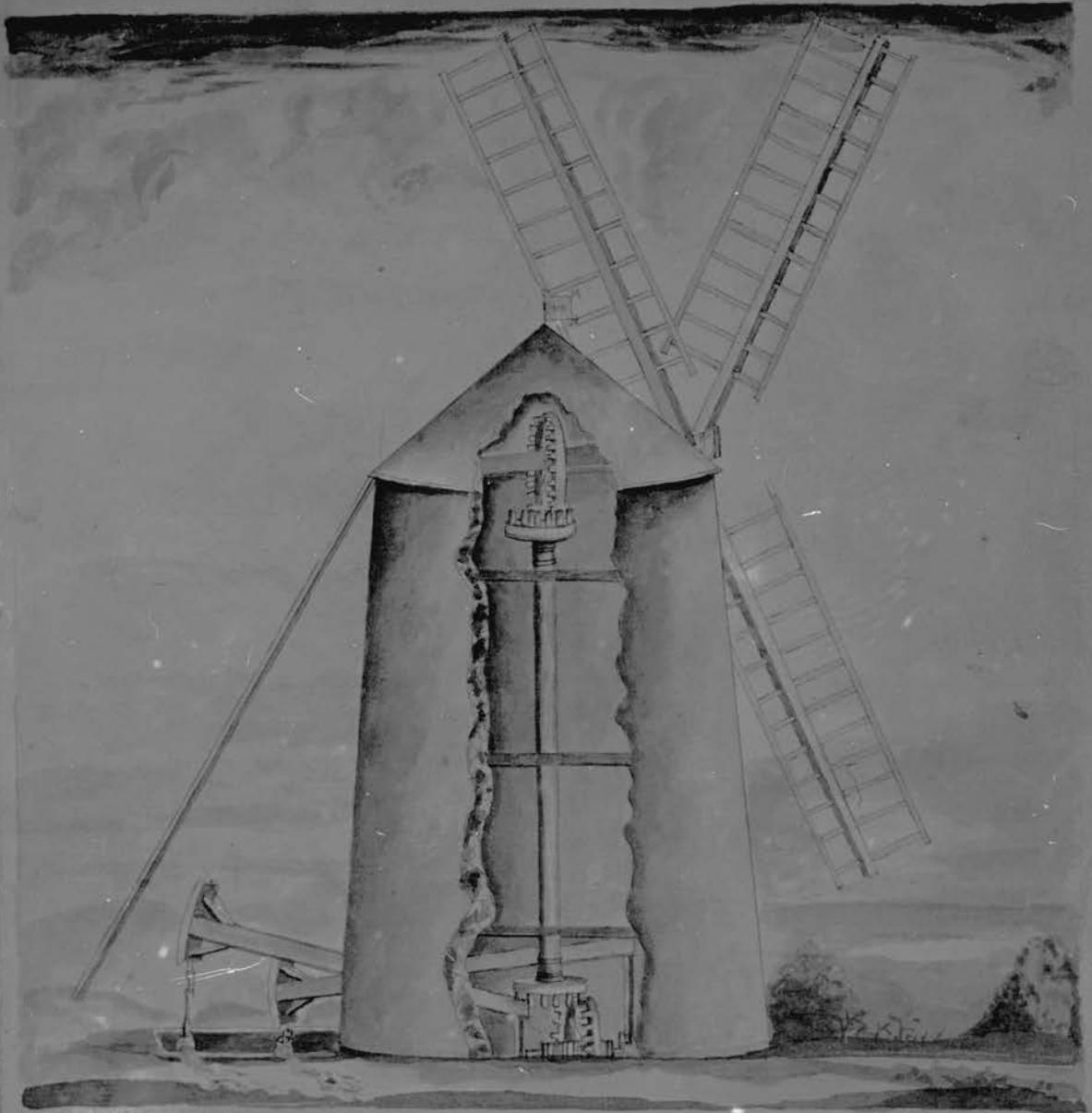
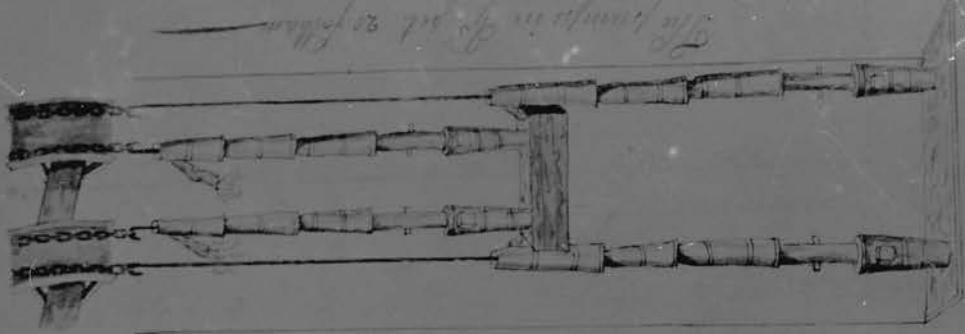
It has been already mentioned that the two windlasses, arms, tubs, etc. had to be made at Elphinstone with Rowes. An account sent by John Richie, Manager of the Earl of Elphinstone's Coal and Salt Works refers to the work carried out there for the Earl of Rothes' Strathore Works. The total cost of the material and labour and freight charges to Leith came to £66.3.0 Scots (£5.10.3 Sterling).<sup>42</sup> A detailed bill is given in the Appendices. The materials were shipped aboard the John Crawford and directed to the care of John Campbell, a merchant in Leith. Another account from David Deas & Company for ropes, tar and windlass ropes came to £16.17.1 and for blocks and straps £2.14.0½, or a total of £19.11.1½ Scots (£1.12.7 Sterling).<sup>43</sup>

Robert Ainslie, who had been involved in the building of the Earl of Stair's Wind Machine at Drougan as an overseer of the works there, wrote to the Earl of Rothes on 20th May 1738, referring to the dimensions of the windmill and other particulars relating to same.

The depth of the pit had to be 20 fathoms or 120 feet.

The diameter within the building .. .. . 9 "

The height of the windmill house .. .. . 36 "



*By R. Scale of 8 feet an Inch*

Drawing of Windmill at  
Strathore, 1738

The outside diameter at the bottom .. ..	18 feet
The outside diameter at the top .. .. .	14 " 6 in.
Length of the blade .. .. .	34 "
Breadth of the blade .. .. .	8 " 3 in.
Diameter of the barrels .. .. .	7 in.
Only one set of pumps with two lifts	

Ainslie went on to say 'With a Moderate Galle off Wind the Mill will Draw 24 hours off our water in ffour hours time And So in proportion when She Stands longer or Shorter time but that Depends much on the Constancy off the Wind and Care off the keeper'. He said that the mill performed very well but thought that it would have been an improvement had the blades been two or three feet longer and a little broader, but it seemed that the builder was afraid of the storms from the west and therefore built to the above specifications.<sup>44</sup>

The use of windmills to pump water, whether in draining low-lying farm lands or drawing off water from pit sumps, was never ideal. Even Sir John Clerk, after a lifetime in a land of gales and strong winds, felt he could not recommend investment in them for draining mines because of the 'Want of Wind, which one wou'd not readily suspect in a Country like Scotland'. However, despite the limitations of the windmill, several colliery proprietors were willing to take a risk, no doubt attracted by the very modest capital outlay required to build windmills. The Newcomen engine was still a luxury for mines of a limited production geared to the local market.<sup>45</sup>

In the draining of Scottish coal-mines the use of windmills probably dates from 1708 when the burgh of Montrose financed the visit to Holland of John Young, a local millwright, so that he might study

the superior technology of Dutch mill construction.<sup>46</sup> Although windmills had made their appearance in the low-lying areas of Eastern England where they were used for fen draining, support for them in Scotland was slight. However, recent research has proved that they were much more common in Scotland than was first supposed. The windmill was first seen in Scotland at the end of the fifteenth century, while Charters and Acts of Parliament throughout the sixteenth century exhorted lairds and burghs 'to erect more mylns as well as water mylns for the common and public utility'. But the greatest period of building was the eighteenth century, when many large tower mills were erected.<sup>47</sup>

Scottish windmills were of several types, ranging from the primitive post mill to the complex tower mill. With time they became more sophisticated, being built from local materials such as stone rubble and now having cast-iron parts for the wooden mechanisms of the earlier models. Most were found on the east coast or in other exposed, low-lying districts. Windmills served a variety of purposes. The most obvious use was the grinding of grain of various kinds. Like the watermill, windmills were simply meal-mills, producing wheaten and oaten meal as well as ground barley and bruised corn. Many of the larger windmills were built in the grain-growing countryside of the east coast. It is estimated that about 80% of all Scottish windmills were involved in grain-milling of some kind.<sup>48</sup>

However, there are records of windmills being used for other purposes as well. They were employed to grind materials other than grain, including indigo, whin and lead-ore. Then there were the threshing mills, often powered by the windmill lying adjacent to the farm. Another important use to which windmills were put was the

pumping of water, either in the process of drainage or for some other specific purpose, such as the pumping of water from the sea into salt-pans. Mills were erected for draining coal-mines and quarries, and were used to pump water from lochs and marshes in the course of land reclamation projects.<sup>49</sup>

Disused windmills were often converted to other uses -- dovecotes, ice-houses, look-out towers, barns and stores. Some of the old tower mills survive, notably that at St. Monance which was used to pump sea-water into salt-pans. An 'Inventory of Windmill Remains' is given in Ian Donnachie's excellent paper on 'Scottish Windmills'.<sup>50</sup>

With regard to coal mining, the nearness of most workings to the breezy Firth of Forth persuaded coal masters of the value of such an investment. Reference has been made to the windmill used by the Landale brothers at Balgonie and a full description of the Earl of Rothes' mill at Strathore has been given. Yet another one was built by the two lessees of the Earl of Kellie and his fellow coal-owner, Dr. Hugh Arnot at Balcormo shortly after 1746.<sup>51</sup> In the west of Scotland the Westmuir Colliery, near Glasgow, was drained by a windmill set up in 1737, but this mill was severely damaged by a gale on 13th January 1740 and never again refitted.<sup>52</sup> The risk of severe damage caused by excessively strong winds was high as was the fire risk caused by extreme friction. Then there were the losses suffered by the proprietors when a prolonged period of calm could easily flood a whole colliery within a fortnight. With the failure of windmills to satisfactorily drain the coal mines alternative methods were used, such as water wheels or 'bob engines' and eventually Newcomen steam-engines until their replacement by the more efficient engines perfected by James Watt after 1769. Again,

the cost of building a watermill was approximately about half that of the windmill, so with the failure of windmills to solve their drainage problems, many proprietors turned to water power as an alternative; a description of such a mill built by Stephen Rowe for the Earl of Rothes at Cluny is given in the next chapter.

During the spring of 1738 the Earl of Rothes made enquiries concerning the fixing of wages, prices and markets for the coal to be mined at Strathore. On 21st April 1738 he wrote to George Dundas, stating that the following questions had to be resolved before commencing work at the colliery:

- (1) Did Lord St. Clair work all his three seams of coal together; or was there a good roof between them?
- (2) What was the nature of the roof or metals and thickness of each roof between each seam of coal?
- (3) Was his coal of the same nature and goodness as Lord St. Clair's? What kinds of coal were the different seams and how could they be used?
- (4) What was the weight of a load of coals?
- (5) What was the charge of working a load of coals and laying same on the coal-hill; charge of carrying the coal to Dysart; the shore dues, etc. for each load when put on board ship at Dysart?
- (6) What did Lord St. Clair get for a load of coals when delivered on board ship?
- (7) How many colliers were employed by St. Clair?
- (8) What was the market for St. Clair's coal?

Also queries in relation to his salt pans.<sup>53</sup>

George Dundas inspected St. Clair's coal and sent answers to the above queries as well as an account of the coals lying in Lord

St. Clair's sinks near Strathore. In a letter to the Earl of Rothes, dated 8th September 1738, the answers to the above questions are given below:

- (1) Lord St. Clair worked all his three seams of coal together.
- (2) As to the roof and nature thereof between each seam of coal, the roof of the upper coal was a strong hard stone about ten inches thick, commonly called dogger stone. Next to the dogger was a thill of six inches above the coal and two foot of coal was left for a roof.

The second seam of coal had a strong brown freestone roof 30 inches thick and was sloped so that the bearers could come up between the second and third seam where there was a hard freestone 9 inches thick; this was removed in the working of the coal.

The colliers were paid three pound Sterling for taking up each fathom thereof as well as the hacking money.

The coal in the third seam was 6 foot thick.

- (3) Lord Rothes' coal in Strathore was of the 'same nature and goodness with Lord St. Clair's'. The upper seam was a hard run coal called the hard Cluny coal; the middle seam, except for 2 feet which was wasted in winning the coal, was a Splint coal; the lower seam was a very strong coal harder than the upper seam.

All the Great coal ran to the sea while the three 'goe out of one Sink'.

The Great coal was suitable for export, the Chew for country use, and the Small for the salt pans.

- (4) The weight of a load of coals was 18 stone 12 pound Amsterdam weight.

- (5) The charge of a load of Great coal, working and laying of the hill, was 1s.10d. Scots ( $1\frac{5}{6}$ d. Sterling). The charge of a load of Chew, working and laying on the hill, was 1s.4d. Scots ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. Sterling). The charge of a load of Small, working and laying on the hill, was 7d. Scots ( $\frac{7}{12}$ d. Sterling).

The charge of carrying a load of coal to Dysart shore was 1s.6d. Sterling; the charge of putting a load of coals aboard ship, including shore dues, lifters and stowers wages, and allowance in bread and ale, was 1s. Scots (1d. Sterling), which is always paid by the merchant buyer.

- (6) Lord St. Clair got 7s.1d. Scots ( $7\frac{1}{12}$ d. Sterling) for each load delivered on ship; out of which he paid the collier 1s. for hewing and 18d. to the carrier for carrying.

Note: Lord St. Clair's coal was in use to give 8d. Sterling per load, out of which he paid the hewing and carrying.

- (7) Lord St. Clair employed 17 colliers.
- (8) The chief market for St. Clair's coal was Holland, the north of Scotland, London, and Leith, but seldom to France.

The price of a whole load in the country was 6d. Sterling; the price for a half-load sold off the hill was 3d. Sterling.

As to the salt pans, St. Clair had 8 salt pans. For every 12 loads of small coal delivered to the salter he was obliged to deliver to the proprietor 23 bolls of salt, which would deliver out of the girnels, when signed, 69 bushels,<sup>54</sup> which at the time were sold at 8s. per bushel. The sacks used for carrying the small coal for the pans were made of cloth 39 quarters broad and 7 quarters long.<sup>55</sup>

Being almost surrounded by the sea and well endowed in harbours of some depth, Fife was well situated for foreign trade. The records

of the two custom houses at Kirkcaldy and Anstruther give some indication of the importance of coal to the county's economy, especially during the second half of the eighteenth century. During the earlier part of the century trade in agricultural products was substantially greater than that of coal, but this was to change during the last quarter when the custom houses recorded that only 13% of export trade was in agricultural products while coal accounted for 82% of all exports. Holland was a principal market for Scottish coal, for the fine splint coals of the river Forth commanded a decided preference as the Dutch split them into pieces like slates, swept them clean and laid them up ready for the fire. These were some of the observations made by Robert Bald about the value of the Dutch market.<sup>56</sup>

Substantial quantities of Scots coal were also exported to the Northern European ports, in particular Hamburg, which ranked second to Middelburg in Holland. However, towards the end of the century the Northern European share for Anstruther area coal fell from 34.5% to 0.7%, while for the Kirkcaldy area its share was as high as 48% with the Dutch share down from 75% to 9%. It would appear that during the period of war against the Dutch, which began in 1780, alternative outlets were sought, and when peace was restored in 1783, the Kirkcaldy area had reduced its dependence on the Dutch market, while the Anstruther area renewed its links with Holland.<sup>57</sup> The European market was undoubtedly an important one for the Scottish coal owners and one as well which supplied Scotland with commodities in great demand at home: specialised timber for ship-building, bark for tanning, ashes for bleaching, unwrought iron and naval stores. These were the trading attractions and expenses were defrayed, in part, by exporting a commodity that could command a market in these

foreign ports - coal. Coal was also an excellent ballast and of value when discharged.<sup>58</sup>

With regard to the domestic market other than the Edinburgh area, by the end of the century, with the abolition of the duty on Forth coal through an act passed in 1793, more Scottish coal began to find its way into the English ports despite stiff competition from Northern England.<sup>59</sup> There was need to find alternative markets now that normal trade with Northern Europe had been dis-located by the war with Revolutionary France. Losses suffered by Scottish coal exporters in war-disrupted Europe were somewhat offset by the growing demands being made on the coal industry by an expanding iron industry consuming all the coal that could be mined and providing the coal owners with their most lucrative market. However, for the Earl of Rothes the market was primarily a local one, although some of his coal shipped to Kirkcaldy may have reached some of the more distant buyers; an account of the sale of his Cluny coal to Kirkcaldy is given in the next chapter.

Dundas in another letter (8 Sept. 1738) to the Earl of Rothes gave a more detailed account of the coals lying in Lord St. Clair's sinks near Strathore. This was accompanied by a Journal of the sinking and boring in the bottom of the sink in Easter Strathore belonging to the Earl of Rothes. The work at this sink had started on 9th June; the Journal was dated 7th September 1738. So it would appear that it took three months to complete the bores at Easter Strathore. First, Dundas gave an account of St. Clair's coals:

The first workable coal was called the Craw coal, about 7 or 8 feet thick, having a bad roof. For this reason the rooms were for the most part wrought by cooming or arching them in the roof. About

6 or 7 fathoms below the Craw coal lay the Main coal, consisting of three seams: the uppermost was 14 feet thick, of which the workmen used generally 2 feet in the roof. In this seam there was 2 feet of Splint coal next to the roof or head (the only splint coal in all the three seams of the main coal).

Below the first seam of the main coal was a lost rib of stone about 4 inches thick, and below it the second seam of coal which was 8 feet thick, the greatest part of which was all clear good run coal. Below the second seam was a stone varying from 9 inches to a foot in thickness, and under it lay the third seam of Main coal, 4 feet thick: a firm black hard run coal, the best for sea sales. The thickness of coal in the three seams was 26 feet. About 12 fathoms below the pavement of the third seam of the main coal lay a parrot coal 3 feet thick. These were all the seams of the coal which could be wrought, drained by St. Clair's level, and carried to the harbour at Dysart.

The colliers were paid 22 pence hacking money for a dozen loads of sea coal; 16 pence for a dozen loads of coal for land sale; 7 pence for a dozen loads of panwood. The colliers bore the panwood only to the bottom of the pit. St. Clair paid 18 pence for transporting a dozen loads of coals to the shore at Dysart; the cost of carrying the panwood to the pans was the same as for the coal. It did not matter whether the mode of transport was by cart or by horseback.<sup>60</sup>

In another document 'Queries, etc. Anent Strathore Coall as wt. in 6th December 1738' ten questions concerning payment of wages to the colliers at Strathore were answered:

- (1) In what manner were the colliers paid for great coal, small coal and chew?

The colliers were paid on the 1st July and 28th October at 2s. Scots per load.

- (2) What was the measure and weight of the sea coal?

The weight of the sea coal was 18 stone 12 lbs.

- (3) What was the measure of the chew coal?

A load of chew coal was 4 feet square and 20 inches deep, or 16 stone.

- (4) What was the measure of the panwood or small coal?

The weight of the panwood<sup>61</sup> was 16 stone.

- (5) In what manner was Lord Rothes to pay the colliers' bounties?

The bounties were some ale given at Martinmas and £20 Scots for an ox at Christmas, but no iron.

- (6) What were the wages of the coal-grieve and oversman?

The coal-grieve received £3 Scots (5s. Sterling) per week; the oversman £2 Scots (3s.4d. Sterling); the night griever got £2 Scots per week.

- (7) In what manner were the colliers paid for sinking and mining in coal and other metals?

They were paid by fathoms according to the hardness of the metals.

- (8) How were the colliers paid for panwood and chew coal?

The panwood was brought by the colliers to the sink bottom where it was raised by a horse gin; each measure weighed 16 stone; they were paid 8d. Scots per load, and times of payment were 1st July and 28th October.

- (9) Was the collier to get a free house?

The Earl of Rothes provided a free house and was responsible for its maintenance.

(10) Did the Earl of Rothes get any coal put out for his own use?

As his Lordship was obliged to pay hacking money he was not restricted to any quantity for his own use.<sup>62</sup>

David Arnit, one of the Earl's own hewers, was employed as the Oversman at Strathore, and in a document (December 22, 1738) his directions and instructions were given. Stephen Rowe was responsible for these and some of the basic points are given below:

First, he had to be extremely careful in working out the rooms as marked off by Mr. Rowe. Care had to be taken in not drying any of the rooms on the east drift within one fathom of the boundary between the Earl of Leven's ground and that belonging to Rothes. Then he had to exercise great care in laying out the width of the rooms in order to avoid a roof collapse. This was to be done by leaving the pillars 12 feet square ('the sides of the Pillars & of all the other Pillars in the Heugh are to be left Perpendicular or of the Same Breadth upon all the Sides from Roof to Pavement').

The rooms were to be carried only 6 feet wide; this would leave 34 inch coal and 2 inches of stone below it as a 'security of the wholl work'. The thirlings<sup>63</sup> were to be made wider than the rooms and the pillars were to be always left opposite the thirlings. To prevent rain from entering the sink drains had to be provided; these drains or 'trains' were to be made over the doors in the sink as directed by Mr. Rowe. When this was done, Arnit had to begin the winning of the coal, carrying on the mine in a direct line with the west side of the ditch upon the march. After advancing 22 feet from the sink he had to widen the mine from 4 feet at the sink to 6 feet, and set off rooms upon the west side; if possible, these rooms were to be widened to 7 feet or more, depending on how the roof would stand up to this. The pillars were to be left 12 ft. square, which was the

same dimension as those upon the crop land.

In winning the coal in the second room of the mine he was required to try removing the 34 inch coal left in the roof, and to report to Mr. Rowe as to how this affected the roof. Then when 22 feet away from the pit the oversman was directed to remove the 20 inches of stone and the 2 feet of coal above it, leaving the 34 inches of coal and 2 inches of stone below it in the roof. Work had to be carried on in this manner as long as the roof remained strong and flooding did not occur. The rooms were to be set off 'driftways' from both sides of the mine and the dimensions of each was to be 6 feet wide with 12 foot square pillars, with the throughers or thirlings the same width as the rooms.

The massive square pillars or stoops survived in Scotland to the end of the eighteenth century, by which time modifications were gradually being introduced from Tyneside. Great care had to be taken by the colliery oversman or manager in calculating the dimensions of the pillar in order to extract as much coal from the mine as was possible without impairing the pillar and courting disaster.<sup>64</sup> This method, producing stoops from 6 to 10 ft. square though they might be more massive (12 ft. square at Strathore) caused considerable waste. In fact in 1808, despite some improvements being introduced into the better managed collieries, Robert Bald, a prominent observer of the Scottish coal industry, estimated that on average in Scotland about one-third of a field was left in pillars.<sup>65</sup> More massive pillars had to be left as depths increased, for a much greater weight of strata above had to be supported. Room and stoop working was eventually replaced by the long wall or 'Shropshire' method which spread during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from Shropshire and

Staffordshire to other fields, reaching Scotland in 1759-60, when Shropshire miners employed by the Carron Ironworks brought this new technology to the northern kingdom. Now the roof was to be supported by two or three rows of wooden pillars (pit props) brought forward as the colliers advanced, the roof behind subsiding gradually upon the rubbish and becoming sufficiently solid to resist the incumbent pressure.<sup>66</sup> This was the forerunner of the system used today throughout the mining industry.

Mr. Arnit was expected to be very careful in keeping an account of the oncost incurred daily in the heugh by the colliers and to provide the grieve with this account either daily or weekly as demanded by him. Anything extraordinary happening in the mine was to be reported to Mr. Rowe and any alterations proposed by Mr. Arnit would have to be approved by Mr. Rowe.

As regards to the disciplining of the miners employed in the working of the coal, the oversman had to inform the grieve of those refusing to follow his instructions. The coal-hewers were required to send up to the hill only coal free of stone; the ribs of the stone were to be stowed along the sides of the rooms and in the throughers or thirlings. Mr. Arnit was also instructed to leave 6 inches of coal on the pavement of all the throughers or thirlings on the dip-side of the room which ran immediately off the sink in a westerly direction; this was to be done to prevent water from the crop land running down the dip into the stoop pumps. In order that the water flowed into the sump at the bottom of the sink, when the coal was too porous to carry water, a grating 6 inches deep and 8 inches wide had to be made along the dip side. Finally, Mr. Arnit was not to allow persons other than those employed in the work to 'go below ground'.<sup>67</sup>

The Grieve's duties were given in a memorandum relating to the management of Strathore coal, along with directions relating to the grieve and oversman with some rules for the carrying on the work.

#### Coal-Grieve

The grieve was responsible for supervising work on the coal hill and was paid 3s.4d. Sterling a week, a free house and yard, and a load of coals per week. He was required to deliver tickets to the colliers for the coal sold on the hill and to check the measure of each load. The tickets were of varying shapes and metals: brass for great coal, square load for chew, and round lead for panwood. A record of the coal sold by each collier from his own bing was kept in the grieve's book which contained the names of every collier employed at the hill and the quantity of coals sold daily out of each collier's bing. On Saturday the grieve paid the colliers for the coal sold and paid the balance to the master.

It was also the grieve's business to account for the oncost workers, paying them weekly. A daily account of the work done by each was kept in his book. For a record of the work done by each he was expected to consult the oversman who would provide him with all the particulars of the work in which they were employed.

He was responsible for looking after all the materials and tools belonging to the work which were the property of the master. These included shovels, picks, mattocks, mells and wedges, ropes, buckets, spare windlasses, etc. He was to allow the coal-hewers and frame bearers one horse load or three burdens of coal weekly for domestic needs. If taken away in loads they were to do it every Saturday; if in burdens on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday.

He was also responsible for the prevention of coal being stolen

from the hill and had to go down the mine 'frequently in order to be a check upon coaliers, oversmen and on-coast'. If he observed any bad practices he had to inform the master immediately. On Saturdays and any other days when the colliers did not work the stairs had to be locked.<sup>68</sup>

#### Oversman

As to the oversman, he was paid 20 pence per week and provided with a coal room like the other colliers, a free house and yard, and a load of coals each week for domestic use. His duties underground were to supervise the laying out of the rooms and throughers in a regular manner to 'prevent the Coalliers making the room too wide & the pillars too little or caved near the pavement, but the sides all perpendicular'. He had to order the redding of the heugh and prepare a weekly bill of oncost work for the hill grieve.<sup>69</sup>

#### Colliers

The colliers had to bind themselves to the master by signing a contract which stated the length of service expected from them. They were also required 'to specify a proper term of warning they are to give the Master before the Expiration of their contract'. If they left his work without giving the necessary warning they were required to remain in bondage for another year. It was proposed that the contract should last for five years; this was in order to encourage the colliers to bring their bearers with them, for the master paid a gratuity of one guinea to every collier who brought two able bearers to the mine. On the other hand, if the collier signed only a yearly contract, the premium paid was only four pounds Scots (6s.8d. Sterling).

The colliers were each to have their own bings and were to be paid for the great, chew and panwood sold by them at Lord St. Clair's prices. The coal was to be measured the same as St. Clair's and 'the sea coal or the great coal by the dozen of back loads, each of these back loads the same weight with Lord St. Clair's'. The colliers were also expected to perform any oncost work like the piercing of dikes, running of coal or stone mines at the same prices paid for similar works in the neighbouring collieries.<sup>70</sup>

A Bargain was made in 1738 between the Earl and the colliers to be employed at Strathore. This was a short-term agreement for it stated that it was to continue for six weeks. They were to be paid two pence for each four penny load of great coal and one penny for each load of small coal. They were required to put down a new level room on the west side of the sink and 5 fathoms from it. For setting down 3 fathoms they were to be paid £6 Scots (10s. Sterling) and later one merk (13½d.) for each fathom worked in the level room. The rooms were to be kept clean and stagnant water removed. The men employed in this kind of work were oncost workers whose job it was to prepare the rooms for working. The new level room to be prepared by the colliers was to be 8 ft. square with the througher and pillars of the same dimension.

The East level room was also to be worked in a similar manner; the rate paid for oncost work to be one merk per fathom, besides the hacking money for the coals won. If the coal was found to be firm on that side then they were expected to work one or more rooms cropping off that level, always taking care to prevent sets of falls. The grievie had to take care that the colliers did not use any of the coal from these rooms for their own purposes, 'that no Coals be filled but

at the Sale bing'.

Each collier was to be given a load of coal each week for his bearers. They were also expected to return the picks and other tools furnished by the master at the same weight as when they received them. In order to check the weight of the tools they were weighed before being given to the colliers. In order to maintain these tools the collier had to buy iron which cost 38 pence per stone. If bounty iron was demanded, they were allowed one stone per year.

Wages paid to the colliers were to be the same as those paid by Lord St. Clair. It was thought reasonable that the colliers should pay for drawing the coals to the hill till such time as a bearing sink was provided. When this was done the colliers drawing the coal to the hill and those employing bearers were to be paid the same price for coal from the hill. It was also proposed that the colliers be given a load of coal each week for 'their firing', and that each collier every week supply a free load for the use of the master. They were also required to buy all their oatmeal from the master at 20s. Scots per boll above the common market price if the meal was local, and a merk Scots if North Country meal.<sup>71</sup>

Further directions for the coal work at Strathore were issued in May 1739:

The oversman was required to carry the water level from the bottom of the sump hole until the 20 inch stone became the pavement. The north and south level rooms were to be 6 feet wide and no level should be lost in carrying forward the said level rooms. Those under the 20 inch stone were to be 12 feet wide on the pavement and 11 feet at the 20 inch stone. The coal head had to be coomed, or taken in, or as wide as the oversman thought necessary without

weakening the roof; the pillars under the 20 inch stone were to be 10 feet wide while those above the said stone were to be 8 feet wide.

In order to increase the output of Great coal the collier had to begin his work at 2 o'clock in the morning which would give him time to work the coal by 'pulling and shearing the rooms in both hands'. This was to be done before the bearers arrived, thus preventing any delay in carrying the coal to the surface, 'so that the Coalliers be no Oblidged to break out his Coall for the bearers before it be rightly pulled and Shorn on both hands'.

The colliers were expected to work a ten hour shift, otherwise there would be no regularity in the work, and the oversman had to note 'these times of comeing and working So that on Saturday, for his Neglect there may be keep't off him a Certain Sume as his Lordship Shall Determine'.

The colliers were not allowed to entice another man's bearers, nor were they allowed to be abusive to one another. If they failed to meet these conditions then they were to be penalised in the same manner as colliers not fulfilling their 10 hour shift. The grieve and oversman were responsible for the regulation of such matters.

The master delivered to the coal-grieve as many tickets for both great and small coal as the colliers would need for the following week. For each load of great coal sold the collier was given a ticket by the grieve. The colliers were required to hand these over every night to the check who accounted with the grieve on Saturday for the number of tickets collected. The master kept the stamp for the tickets; the grieve was not allowed to make any tickets. In this way the master was in full control of the distribution of tickets for the coal produced by his colliers.<sup>72</sup>

It seems that the Earl of Rothes, before deciding on wages, coal, allowances, etc. paid to his colliers, compared accounts of contracts made by other coal-masters with their colliers. There follows a rather interesting document, 'Account of Bogie Coalliers and Bearers, their wages, coals and other allowances, of the Wages also of the Grieve and Oversman':

#### Colliers' Wages

A collier was paid 20 pence Scots for hewing a load of great coal which he had to deliver the coal hill; for smiddy coal he was paid 18 pence; for lime coal 14 pence; and for panwood he received 12 pence Scots.

Besides the above hacking money, the collier received two loads of coal for domestic use, provided he worked a full week, and in proportion if he did not work the full week. This seems to have been a custom which started in 1721 in order 'to prevent the Stealling of coals occasioned by their being pay'd in Packs, but these two loads are designed not for the Coallier alone, but for him and his two Bearers'.

When a collier was employed at oncost work, such as mining or sinking, he got 8d. for working 10 hours and 10d. for a 12 hour shift, being allowed in each shift 2 hours to himself, so he was paid at the rate of 1d. per hour. He was also provided with candles, unless when employed as an oncost worker in coal, and except in that case also, had picks and wedges and all other materials provided by the master. When working in coal, his picks were sharpened for him, but in stone mines or sinking, as the tools belonged to the master, all steel and iron furnished by the master were charged to the collier.

When sinks were set down in fathoms it was thought best to have

it mentioned in the bargain, as it is always done now, that the workmen provide their own candles. A collier at oncost work received only one free load of coal per week. It was common at Whitsunday and Martinmas to give the colliers 2s. Sterling to be divided amongst themselves for drink. No house rent was allowed if the colliers lived in the town.

### Bearers Wages

When the collier was paid by day, his bearers were also paid by day, each receiving 3d., whether they worked 8 or 10 hours; besides this they received free coal, the amount depending on whether they were Hamelt or Frame bearers. A Hamelt bearer lived in the house of the collier for whom she worked and was paid by him between 30 - 40 pence a year; she also received every 20 days a load of coals, commonly called a grass load, from the master, provided she paid for the hewing of it. A Frame bearer lived in her own house and received a load of coals (fire coals) weekly; besides that she received every 20 days a grass load from the master, again provided she paid for the hewing of it.

When the collier worked at the coal face and was paid hacking money he paid his own bearers as follows:

To the frame bearer he gave  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Scots for every load of great and smiddy coal brought to the hill; a plack (4p Scots or  $\frac{1}{3}$ d. Sterling) for every boll of panwood and lime coal, and two bannocks of bread and their candle.

The hamelt bearer lived in the house with the collier and worked for her fee and victuals, being furnished with all necessaries, such as packs, creels, candles, etc. Both the hamelt and the frame bearers had their grass and fire loads hewed by the collier at no cost, or in

lieu of their carrying his fireloads to the hill for him. There was no house rent paid for any of the bearers except in cases of clemency by the Curator's orders.

#### Coal-grieve's Wages

The coal-grieve received £3 Scots and a load of coals free of hacking money per week as well as a free house. He also was paid 6d. for every ferry that came into the harbour for coal; for smaller coal deliveries from the harbour he was paid proportionally. Besides these payments there were 'Some perquisites given to bearers at delivery of their Grass loads'.

#### Oversman's Wages

The oversman (who was also a collier) got 20 pence per week for his office, and half of his house rent paid yearly.<sup>73</sup>

Compared to wages in other occupations, in particular farming, the earnings of miners were relatively high, although they varied throughout the different regions. Virtually everywhere colliers' wages were paid according to the quantity and quality of coal individually produced. During the early part of the eighteenth century fewers could earn more than 1s. per day, in fact in 1715, the average wage was as high as 1s.2d. a day, with colliers at Saltcoats earning as much as 1s.8d. daily. Wages paid to male employees, especially those working underground, were more than double those paid to day-labourers who earned only 6d. a day in 1715. Colliers working in areas near large towns, where the demand for coal was greater, were in receipt of higher earnings, as were the workers who were employed in pits in which there was a shortage of labour. This was true of many of the Ayrshire mines where new sinkings began to

strain labour availability, thus resulting in higher than average earnings for the hewers employed in the area.<sup>74</sup>

However, there were other regions where the earnings of the colliers fell well below the 1s.2d. a day, but even here the miner enjoyed a higher remuneration for his labour than did the common labourer working on the land. Wages paid to Fife colliers were on the low side with the day-rate for hewers on Lord Leven's Balgonie estate only 8d.; on the same estate, wrights were paid 10d., smiths 10½d. and masons as much as 1s.1½d. a day.<sup>75</sup> The Earl of Rothes paid similar rates to his employees, observing closely what his neighbours were doing, and conforming to their standards. This was also the case in the fixing of the cutting rates which varied according to the size and quality of the coal being hewed. But there were incentive schemes as well and colliers putting out larger quantities of coal were paid bonuses. This was a productivity bonus introduced by the Earl of Rothes and applied throughout his collieries; an account of this form of payment is given in the next chapter. In common with proprietors engaged in the coal trade, Rothes provided his colliers with a house, garden and coal, and, as well, rewarded those who remained in long service by caring for them and their dependants in retirement and illness.

The Earl of Rothes borrowed colliers from other coal works for his mine at Strathore, for in February 1738 he wrote to Colonel Erskine at Culross concerning five coal-hewers and their bearers who were employed at Strathore. These workers, employees of Colonel Erskine, were engaged by the Earl on trial at 10d. per day, 'till such time as a settled price Contr be made for So much upon every Load of Coalls put to the hill'.

Roths found them, as well as all the other coal-hewers, desirous to continue on the above terms and unwilling to make any other bargain. They were difficult to deal with because they were free to leave the work whenever they so desired. He thought it wrong to force workers into bargains to their disadvantage, but, in order to protect himself if conditions worsened, requested permission from Colonel Erskine 'to treat them as if they were my property' during the time they were allowed to stay at Strathore.<sup>76</sup>

In a letter sent by Alexander Cameron, factor to Colonel Erskine, regarding this situation, the request of three of the colliers to remain with Roths was granted. Roths could keep them until the Colonel required them 'and their plenishings, etc. may be sent for'. However, Cameron could not spare any more of the Culross colliers at that time, but he did say that it might be possible to release some at a later time.<sup>77</sup>

In a Memorandum, dated 7th February 1738/9, the conditions of employment for the above colliers was given:

The Earl of Roths' factor was required to negotiate with the coal-hewers individually in order to 'finishing a Bargain upon haucking money'. The workers were obliged to contract with the Earl to work at his colliery 'with the Consent of their proprietor'.

The colliers were not allowed to sell ale; they were to go down the pit at a certain time, as were their bearers; the wright had to report to the coal grieve on the hill on the work completed during the day 'in order that my Lord may See & know the Same'; the coal-hewers were to get what meal they required on a certain day of the week, and not to go up to the girdels for it as the tenants would carry it down to them after receiving a signed order from the grieve.

An inventory of all the ropes, picks, shovels and other tools belonging to the coal work should be made and given to the coal grieve who would be responsible for their care. Mr. Alex Innes would call for all the unpaid accounts and deliver them to the Earl of Rothes in order 'that My Lord may See the amount thereof And all this in order to gett Mr. Innes's accots cleared which must be don without loss of time'.<sup>78</sup>

As to the colliers and bearers employed at Strathore, a 'list of Coal hewers & Bearers at Strathore Work', dated May 10th, 1739 provides some interesting information about the work people employed by the Earl of Rothes. This is given below:

William Allan: Hill grieve at £3 Scots '5s. Sterling) per week.

David Arnit: Oversman at £3 Scots per week - one of the Earl's own coal-hewers; no bearers.

John Ewen: formerly an oversman from Mr. Christy's work.

Alexander Ewen & James Ewen: his sons, from Mr. Christy's work and 2 bearers: John Ewen & Christian Christy.

Peter Napier, Elder & Peter Napier, Younger: coal-hewers from Mr. Bruce of Kinaird's Work with 2 bearers: the wife of Napier was a bearer formerly with Margaret Morrice & William Napier.

John Patterson, William Patterson & Alexander MacConachie: coal-hewers from Col. Erskine's work with 4 bearers.

John Laird: from Mr. Bruce of Kinaird's work with 2 bearers: his wife from Kinaird & Elizabeth Fisher from Duke of Hamilton's work at Bor-ness. (Boness)

John Bullock: from the Duke of Hamilton's work at Bor-ness, no bearer, his wife having left him; another bearer from Bor-ness - a Helen Mitchell.

Alexander Grant: last from the Grange work but at the moment nobody's property with 2 bearers: his wife & a bearer from Bor-ness.

James Fortune: one of the Earl of Rothes' own coal-hewers and a bearer from the Links work: his wife did bear formerly, his present bearer was called Macgregor.

Then there followed a list of the Earl's own coal hewers and where they were employed:

Archibald Hasty: formerly oversman

William Hasty	}	all employed with the Laird of Dunnikier.
Thomas Keith		
Murdoch Anderson		
John White	}	employed with the Laird of Blair
George White		

Thomas Thomson, Elder & Thomas Thomas Thomson, Younger: from Col.

Erskine's work with 2 bearers: Jennet Spourt & Helen Thomson.

John Isack: from Col. Erskine's work with 2 bearers: Nanny Allan and James Isack.

The above list of colliers and bearers shows very clearly how deeply involved whole families were in the mining industry in eighteenth century Scotland.<sup>79</sup>

Finally, it is possible to make an examination of the finances at Strathore during the early stage of development. There follows a Computation of the Coal-work at Strathore for 18 weeks, dated 11th June 1739:

Strathore Coal-work      To Sundry Persons      11 June 1739

Dr.Scots

To the maintenance of 6 horses drawing water at 8d. for 24 hours each, from 22nd Jan. 1739 to 19th May 1739, being 119 days	£245.12. -
To 3 mens wages for driving the gin horses for the above time at £1:16 each per week, being 17 weeks	90: 2: -
To working and bearing 1209 loads of coals at 1s.6d. per load	90:13: 6
To working and bearing 1341 loads of coal at 2d. Ster. per load	134: 2: -
To oncost in the Engine Pit in the above 17 weeks per Scrolls (Wright, Oversman and Hill Grieve wages included)	322:12: 6
To 1 weeks maintenance of 6 horses and 3 drivers - omitted Scroll No. 15	25. --. -
To working and bearing 46 loads of coal at 3d. and 47 loads at 2d. per load	16. 6. -
To oncost said week	33.19. 6
To working 4297 $\frac{1}{2}$ bolls of coal for pan or lime burning at 12d. per boll	<u>214.17. 6</u> £1235. 5. -

Cr.

By the sale of 1209 loads of coal sold at 1s.6d. to the proprietor	90.13. 6
By the sale of 1341 loads of coal at 2s. to the proprietor	134. 2. -
By sale of 4297 $\frac{1}{2}$ bolls of pan or lime coal at 12d. per boll to the proprietor	214.17. -

By the sale of 4 Great loads of coal at 1s.6d. and	
47 loads at 12d. per load	<u>£ 16.16. -</u>
	£456. 8. 6
To Balance of Loss on the working	<u>778.16. 6</u>
	£1235. 5. 0

The Earl of Rothes then, over a period of four months, lost £778.16.6 Scots or £65.16.4½ Sterling.<sup>80</sup>

The operating costs during the early stages of industrial development are usually quite heavy as much capital has to be expended on new plant and equipment. For this reason losses can be expected during this period of settling-in. In coal mining the capital investment required was great as much of it was in sinking costs, building internal stairways, shoring up workings and the like, and therefore not resaleable other than part of a going concern. So there was an incentive to continue working coal mines, even in the face of losses, in the hope that better times lay ahead. For this reason many of the proprietors were the victims of a vicious circle from which they could see no means of escape. Some indication of the extent of the outlay on capital equipment can be seen by examining the expenditure of the Kirkland Colliery at Methil. In 1738 a machine costing £17,413.16s. Scots, or £1,450 Sterling, was erected there. Five years later, in 1743, the recording of a loss of £180.2.11 Sterling is grim evidence of the financial uncertainty of coal owning.<sup>81</sup> The loss of £65.16.4½ Sterling at Strathore over a four month period could amount to about £200 per year, which would have to be recovered from the Earl's other pits. Unlike many of his neighbours whose pits lay near the sea, Rothes did not have any profit from salt to offset his coal-mining losses. There was a well-established domestic market for salt at this time, and for those proprietors who

looked on salt-making as a natural ancillary industry, where supplies of small coal and salt water could be brought together with low transport costs, profits could be well worth the investment. An example of the value of the salt industry is given by the accounts for the coal and salt works at Methil and Wemyss in 1771-72. At Wemyss coal losses of £214 were lightened somewhat by a profit from salt of £82, while at nearby Methil coal and salt profits of £249 and £643 respectively illustrates the value of the coal and salt combination for those proprietors who engaged in both enterprises. The owners' financial dependence upon the salt receipts is seen to be even more impressive when one considers that at Wemyss £286, and at Methil £646, of the coal sale amounts were book entries only, being transfers of small coal to the salt pans.<sup>82</sup> A similar enterprise would be worked by St. Clair at Dysart and the other owners having ready access to both coal and salt. The Earl of Rothes, a supplier of small coal for the salt industry and not a producer of salt, would also have higher transport costs as his pits were at a greater distance from the salt-pans.

Like any proprietor embarking on a new business venture, the Earl of Rothes had to spend more heavily during the early stages of operations, hoping eventually to see the fruits of his enterprise not only cover the earlier deficits but return the substantial financial rewards predicted by the overseers. This never materialised and an industry that might have become a valuable asset to his estate at a time when debts were increasing, although remaining in operation until the end of the century, contributed very little in monetary value. The profit gained from the Earl's coal-mining activities at all his collieries was only about £200 Sterling per annum when the estate was

being sold to pay off the huge debts that had accumulated during the century. A detailed account of the financial problems of the ninth and tenth Earls is given in the last chapter.

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Chapter V : The Coal Works at Cluny and Cadham(1) CLUNY

Work had been going on at Cluny before sinks were set down at Strathore, for in a document, dated 20th March 1724, reference is made to a visit to the coalworks at Cluny by the oversmen at the Pitferrane and Bogie coalworks. They suggested that a bearers gate be made and that a gatesman be employed in cutting the pavement and trapping the sink. They also felt that 20 pence Scots was sufficient payment for working and setting up each load of great coal to the hill; the payment for a load of small coal was 16 pence.

If the coal was taken off the colliers' hands by the master, then two loads were to make up a score. However, if the colliers laid their coal separately in bings on the hill, then they were to be paid for them when the coal was sold. If unable to sell their coal in sufficient quantities, then a 'suitable advance of money and meal' had to be given to them for subsistence.

The two oversmen also thought that 6d. a week should be allowed for working the level room, and that each collier take it week about and change rooms about every week. In closing their report they were also of the opinion that the first sink be set down in a southwesterly direction from the present-going pit, and that a trial be made near the Cluny Mill.<sup>1</sup>

The above report is evidence of the importance of many oversmen; though subordinate to the grieve at the pit, the oversman, experienced in the supervision of operations below the surface, was often the more knowledgeable in the technical side of mining. In this case, it seems that the Earl of Rothes was prepared to hear the advice of two miners from neighbouring collieries as to how the work at Cluny



Drawing of Water Engine,  
1738-39

should be run. Later, as has already been stated in the development of the mine at Strathore, Rothes sought the advice of men from the upper management level, like the architect, William Adam, the viewers, Lord Elphinstone and George Dundas, and the mining engineer who had been responsible for the building of the windmill at Strathore, Stephen Rowe.

The Earl of Rothes was very fortunate in being able to engage Mr. Rowe in the direction of his Cluny coal work, for this experienced engineer was conversant with windmill and water wheel drainage and proved to be a most efficient overseer. Not only did Rowe supervise the work at Strathore but he was called on by the Earl to direct the building of the water engine at Cluny. The use of the water wheel to drain coal mines was an alternative to the windmill and coal owners throughout the region began to experiment with this method.

This water machine, or 'bob engine', was built during 1738-39. It drew its water from the Ore and could raise 3 hogsheads of water per minute or over 185 hogsheads per hour. The wheel was 21 ft. in diameter and operated twin beams, and according to the estimates the machine performed 9 strokes a minute. (A diagram and explanation of the machine is given in the Appendices).

An estimate of the cost of building the water machine for the Cluny coal works is given below:<sup>2</sup>

Wheel, levers, pumps, cistern, troughs, etc. (Wrights work in the Whole Machine)	£53.05.00
Sinking the engine sink 18 fathoms (8ft. by 9ft.) at £3 Sterling per fathom	54.00.00
Material for cranks, buckets, rods, hoops, chains, screw bolts, etc.	<u>122.14.04</u>
	£229.19.04

A 'Memorial of the New Coal work at Cluny', dated 25th June 1739 refers to a water wheel being erected near the bore. The difference of level between the first and second bore holes was 6 fathoms 2 feet 6 inches and the distance between the bores was 460 fathoms. Allowing 6 feet to the fathom, the difference in level from the old machine dam-head to the tail-dam was 14 feet 3 inches; from the bottom of the dam at the smith's house to the ford was 11 feet 5 inches.

This was the lay-out made in order that the water wheel erected near the bore receive an adequate fall of water ('allowing one foot of fall in ye troughs for the velocity of the water to the machine'.)<sup>3</sup>

In a journal of the bore at Cluny Ford of June 19th 1739 no coal was found after boring almost  $7\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms. A Journal of the first bore at Coalden of June 1st showed that a depth of 16 fathoms had been reached but only 3 feet of splint coal and 3 feet of better quality coal had been found.<sup>4</sup>

Once again the Earl of Rothes sought the advice of Will Wemyss and George Dundas, who visited the Coalden ground at Cluny and prepared a report of their findings on 26th October 1739. They were of the opinion that the coal-hewers should be paid 4d. per load of great coal,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for chew, and 1d. for small, and should draw the coal to the bottom of the sink and fill the hutches. The four pence load was the present measure on the hill which was four firlots, all to one tenth of a firlot of barley measure.

Oncost work had to be paid at the rate of half a merk for each fathom worked in the two level rooms, and at 5d. per fathom on work going towards the crop sink being set down. The coal rooms were to be 10-12 feet wide with the throughers of the same dimension. Provided the roof was found to be strong enough then the pillars

were to be 8 feet wide streakways and 9 feet from crop to depth. The workers were expected to 'carrie Dead water in the levell rooms without flagging'. All the waste in the level rooms had to be laid in the throughers above them.

Light was provided in the form of candles and one pound was allowed per week 'to let them see to fill the coals at the bottom of the sink'. The workers cleaning the sump hole in the water sink during the time when coals were being drawn out of it should be paid one groat (4d.) each week.

The windlass men, during the winter months, were expected to begin drawing water from the sink at about 3 o'clock in the morning in order to allow work to be started by the colliers at 4 o'clock.

One of the miners, George Scott, was paid £5 Scots (8s. 4d. Sterling) a fathom, and a Crown (5s. Sterling), for setting down a bearing sink 24 fathoms cropping off the present water sink; the bearing sink had to be 6 feet by 7 feet and work had to begin as soon as possible. This was a job which Wemyss and Dundas considered to be most important, for in order that the work be carried on 'with all expedition' only the best workmen were to be employed.

The coal-hewers were required to keep the great coal free of ribs of stone and to send up the small coal free of both stone and slate. They were to be paid 20d. Scots for each load as hacking money. Those wanting great coal could buy it at 5d. a load, a measure being equivalent to 5 barley firlots.

Work should be carried on in the mine until it ran 'near out of mettals, or till there is a danger of Raiseing water by it, or till it comes to the March'.

Each collier was to have a load of coal weekly for domestic use.

In order to save time and trouble in measuring the coal on the hill two or three corfs<sup>5</sup> were to be made, each to contain half a load of coal, either great or chew.

Each collier was expected to maintain his own bing of great, chew and small coal, and was paid his hacking money according to the number of loads sold and not to the number put out of the heugh. Rothes agreed to these proposals and on 29th October ordered the coal-grieve and oversman to work the coal at Coalden according to the above directions.<sup>6</sup>

The coal-grieve at Cluny was expected to attend at the coal hill from the time the colliers began putting out their coals in the morning until the end of the sale of the coal. He had to inspect the baskets of coal to ensure that they were free of stones and of full weight. The penalty for not sending up a fair weight was the forfeiture of the baskets to the master.

The colliers were given tickets for the coal delivered to the hill and the baskets had to weigh 9 stone 6 lbs. Two baskets made a load of coal which sold at  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. being paid to the collier as hacking money.

Brass tickets, round in shape, were made with the letter R stamped on them. These were given to the coal bearers who handed them over to the grieve as they delivered coal to the hill. Square brass tickets with the letter D stamped on them were given to the yard grieve at Kirkcaldy who in turn delivered one to the carriers for each load of coal brought to the yard or delivered to any private family in the district. At the end of each week the coal carriers had to return all the tickets given to them by the coal grieve for the preceding week in return for a declaration stating the quantity of coals delivered by each man that week; this declaration was then

taken by the carriers to the coal grieve at Cluny who returned the tickets he received from the yard grieve at Kirkcaldy the preceding week. A declaration stating the quantity of coals carried by each coal carrier the preceding week was also given.

In this way the declaration of the grieve at Kirkcaldy acted as a voucher to the grieve at Cluny whose declaration to the carriers acted as a voucher for the payment of rent. A quantity of half tickets of each kind were also provided.<sup>7</sup>

The coal-grieve at Cluny, John Anderson, made this bargain with William Hay, the Earl of Rothes' factor:

Anderson had to be paid 4s. Sterling weekly, receive a load of coals each week, and be provided with a house and yard. But as well as receiving this basic rate for overseeing the Earl's coal work, these incentives were added:

For 6 baskets (or 3 loads) of coal sold off the hill he received 10½d., from which he accounted to Rothes for 10d., or the price of 2 full loads (3 baskets making a full load at 5d. per load). So, for every 2 full loads he was paid ½d. more than he accounted for. Reckoning that the colliers would put out 200 loads each week and that the grieve would sell the lot, this would increase his wages by 4s.2d. a week, or by £10.16.8 Sterling each year. For five years, or the period Anderson was under contract to the Earl of Rothes, his extra earnings could amount to £54.3.4 Sterling.<sup>8</sup>

As well as an incentive scheme for the grieve at Cluny there was a similar one for the colliers. This was given in a 'Scheme for the Coalwork of Clunie' and the main proposals are shown below:

If a collier put out 6 loads of coal in a day at 1½d. he earned 9d.; the proprietor had 1s.3d. profit.

18 colliers at the above rate earned in a week	£4. 1. 0
The proprietor had a clear profit at 4d. per load	6.15. 0
18 colliers putting out 9 loads would earn an extra 2d. Scots added to every load in excess of 6 loads. Earnings in a week	6.10. 0
The proprietor's clear profit now would be	9.14. 0
Each collier would earn for 7 loads	10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
" " " " " 8 "	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " " " " 9 "	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
" " " " " 10 "	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The collier putting out the greatest quantity of coal in a year earned a premium of .. .. .	£3. 0. 0
Second greatest quantity .. .. .	2.10. 0
Third " " .. .. .	2. 0. 0
Fourth " " .. .. .	1.10. 0
Fifth " " .. .. .	1. 0. 0
Sixth " " .. .. .	0.10. 0

However, in order to qualify for a premium, the colliers were required to put out a minimum of 6 loads every day of the year.<sup>9</sup>

There is a record of a premium of £10 Sterling having been paid to 5 coal-hewers at Cluny in 1753. The 5 men promised to repay the premium to the Earl of Rothes or his factor, James Rolland 'in case his Lordship or any person having power from him to determine in such matters shall afterwards find that any other persons has a Claim to any part of the forsaied sum of Ten pounds'.<sup>10</sup>

One of the colliers employed at Cluny was William Hastie, whose conditions of service are given in a letter sent to him by the Earl of Rothes. This letter clearly defines the position of the bound

collier in eighteenth century Scotland:

Hastie was required to sign on stamped paper that he was satisfied to serve the Earl of Rothes and his family as their bound collier, and not only Hastie but his family as well were bound to the Earl of Rothes. Hastie had to agree to work the Earl's crop coal in Coalden at the rate of 1s.6d. Scots (1½d. Sterling) for each load of great coal and 1s. (1d. Sterling) for small coal.

He was also expected to work in the other seams at Strathore and Cadham at the same rate of pay, or as decided by Rothes, and 'to do every other thing with respect to the working of the coal, & of setting down sinks, or to do every other thing in his Coall work that is in use for sink as you are to doe in concerning such Coalworks in all cases'.

He was also expected to buy his meal for family use from the Earl of Rothes and to pay him 20 shillings Scots (1s.8d. Sterling) above the current price for each boll of his own meal, or local meal. However, Hastie would have to pay an extra merk for each boll of North Country meal, provided the Earl had to buy this meal for his colliers.

Finally, Hastie had to agree to provide a load of coals each week free to the Earl of Rothes, who was obliged to furnish him with a free house and yard, and maintain same.<sup>11</sup>

This form of bondage, akin to serfdom, was very general in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Acts passed by the Scottish Parliament during the seventeenth century, in particular the Act of 1672, prohibited colliers and salt-workers from changing employment without a certificate of permission from their employer, and those workers not in possession of such a certificate could be reclaimed by

their former master and punished as thieves. This state of servitude extended as well to the miner's wife and children, who, listed in the colliery inventory like machinery, stocks or gin horses, were employed as bearers and required to carry the coal in baskets from the coal face to the surface up the stairs and ladders provided for this purpose.<sup>12</sup>

The actual mode of binding remained imprecise until emancipation ended the system altogether. A number of rules or customs were used by the owners to bind their employees. In some cases the colliers were bound merely by their entering upon work in a colliery and receiving 'arles' (recruitment bounty), thus having their names enrolled in the coal book.<sup>13</sup> In the absence of such a pact it was assumed, as on the Rothes estate in 1752, that work at a particular colliery for a year and a day constituted a life-long bond, provided no part of this initial period was spent in the service of another man's colliery. Once bound a collier was liable to be moved to the other pits owned by the proprietor. This practice was carried on at the Rothes coal works for there is evidence of many of his colliers being transferred to pits other than the one in which they entered the Earl's service.

The status of the miner in relation to other workers varied greatly from estate to estate. Everything depended on the attitude of the master and on the economic context of operations. Although conditions tended to be better near the large centres of consumption and shipment, such as Glasgow and Edinburgh, much still depended on the benevolence of the master rather than on living in any given area. Colliers were not underpaid in comparison to other workers, but, nevertheless, still had to accept a rather inferior position socially, ostracised by many of the same working class and compelled to withdraw

into their insular communities. The miner could very well be classified as a 'race apart'.

After completing the building of the water engine at Cluny, Stephen Rowe continued in the employment of the Earl of Rothes and was engaged by Rothes to inspect the work being done at his coal works, especially that connected with running the mine and setting down sinks.

In a 'Memorial of the Clunie & Cadham Coals', dated July 13 1741, Rowe refers to difficulties encountered by the workers at Cluny during boring operations. Here the problem was not water but a scarcity of air. When the workers had come within 13 fathoms of the crop sink they found the air so scarce that the candles would not burn. It was still possible to continue work as 'we found the Air Not Hurtfull to Life'. Then Rowe described in his report of the use of fish to illuminate the mine. He referred to this as a 'Verry Strange Method' so it would seem that this was his first experience of this practice ('after we found the Air Not Hurtfull to Life took Some fish and hung them Near the Wall face in ye Mine Which Glanceing in the Dark Gave a tolerable light which We Must Continue till its thro Which we Expect to be this Week').<sup>14</sup> In an account, dated July 9th, reference is made to a payment made to two oncost workers, Cairns and Fortune for running the mine and for fish. The same account shows payments being made to the same two men on August 10th, and a visit made to the mine by Mr. Wemyss on the 15th of August, so it would appear that the workers got through to the crop sink by that date. When Mr. Rowe estimated that it would require about a week's work to break through to the sink he based his judgment 'by hearing the Stroke of the Rods in the Bore'.<sup>15</sup>

Later in the year Stephen Rowe signed a contract with the Earl of Rothes for a period of six months. The contract was dated Nov. 19th 1741 and the conditions of service are given below:

Mr. Rowe had to undertake faithfully and honestly to oversee the coal works at Cadham and Cluny belonging to the Earl of Rothes. He was also required to maintain the water machine at Cluny Bridge; all material to be provided by the Earl, wright work excepted, for a period of six months.

Furthermore, Mr. Rowe was obliged during the above period to 'Look after and Oversee' the workmen at Cadham and Cluny 'above and below Ground'. When it was necessary to make bargains with the colliers, he was required to intimate the bargains to the Earl of Rothes or in his absence to Mr. Hay, his factor; before the bargains were concluded either the Earl of Rothes or Mr. Hay had to give their approval of same.

Mr. Rowe was also expected to approach Mr. William Wemyss of Cuthilhill for advice when in difficulty, and to record the decisions reached by Mr. Wemyss and himself in a pocket journal.

In conclusion, he was required to follow and observe all the directions he would receive relating to the above coal works, either from the Earl or from such persons appointed by him to direct the said works.

Mr. Rowe's remuneration would be 10s. Sterling per week for the period of contract; this would not appear to be a wage worthy of one who called himself an engineer, but it is highly probable that Rowe earned additional sums for other engineering tasks in the vicinity, and as well there would be the perquisites.<sup>16</sup>

On the same day as Stephen Rowe signed the contract with the Earl of Rothes new directions for the management of the Cadham and

Cluny Coal Works were issued. In this document concern for the quality of management at the works and the need to be exact in accounting for the delivery and sale of the coal was shown. The basic points were as follows:

A proper hill grieve should be employed as soon as the colliers began putting out coal to the hill; this person should be 'of a Great Character, be able to write a tolerable hand, and understand something of figures'. He would be required to keep a weekly scroll in the method in which he would be instructed at the time of taking up his position.

All accounts of both great and small coal put out by the colliers should be cleared weekly with Lord Rothes' servant and with his factor every month.

The colliers were required to give in their daily tickets of great and small coal which they received from the coal grieve to the person appointed to collect these tickets as the coal reached the hill; these tickets were only for loads and not for baskets as previously. After the tickets had been collected, the grieve was responsible for recording in his book the amounts of coal put out by the colliers daily, totalling their output each week, and stating the quantity of coal sold off the hill; on the page opposite he entered the amounts paid to the colliers weekly as hacking money.

After recording the coal output, sales and wages paid to the colliers, the grieve was required to enter his own and the oversman's wages and other incidental charges for the week. After totalling these, the sum of all costs incurred in mining each week was to be deducted from the amount gained from sales during the same week (or lost) and the profit and loss account to be carried weekly; a proper

account of profit and loss should be kept at the back of the coal book, making it possible for Lord Rothes' son and the Commissioners to know the state of the work at any time.

It was further ordered that a girmel be made which would hold 50 bolls of oatmeal for the use of the colliers, and that proper weights be used for weighing out the meal from time to time as needed by the colliers. The girmel was to be placed in the grieve's house and he was required to give receipts for the meal he received and to account for the distribution of the meal. The meal should be distributed to the colliers on Saturdays and the grieve would debit the colliers for their meal while crediting them for the sale of small coal; a quarterly check was to be made of the above.

The hill grieve was directed to ensure that all the baskets of great and small coal brought to the hill were a full measure and free of stones, thill and dirt. If the collier failed to put out a full weight of coal, then he forfeited such basket or baskets which did not meet the standards laid down; the forfeited baskets were laid aside in a place reserved for them.

The coal grieve was expected to be obliging to the people and to give good measure and ready service. He was responsible for seeing that some wheel trams be made for the drawing of the coals from the coal face to the pit bottom, as directed by Mr. Rowe.

A sufficient piece of ground at the coal hill should be staked out and stakes driven in at different places in order that the carriers would be able to fasten the halters of their horses.

The oversman should receive a reasonable wage and be given written directions as to how the coal should be worked. No alterations in the method of working should be made unless they were given by

directions in writing, 'Signed by the persons that Gives them'. If any alterations in working the coal were to be carried out, the oversman must immediately report same. He was also required to give his weekly oncost bill to the hill grieve and to sign the bill in the grieve's book. A separate book containing a journal of all the transactions relating to the working or sale of the coal should be kept.

Finally, reference was made to the prices and weights at which coals from neighbouring estates were sold. Proper enquiry should be made of the prices and weights at which the neighbouring coals were sold, the cost of carriage to the sea, the ports to which the coals were carried and the price of each ton transported to Leith, London or anywhere else, allowing for duties to be paid. It would seem that these directions were given by the Earl of Rothes rather than Mr. Rowe as the latter was primarily engaged to oversee the Earl's coal-works and not the distribution of the coal.

These then were the directions for the management of the Earl of Rothes' coal works at Cadham and Cluny; however, those relating to Cluny were more specialised in that instructions had to be given concerning the water machine at that mine. The water lead should be covered with flagstones where required; the trows at the bridge were to be covered and heightened during the tides; the wheels and levers should be tarred during the proper season. A reservoir or two of water should be made in the glen and an estimate of the expense prepared and sent to Lord Rothes.

As soon as the crop sink was put down a double mine should be set in, the dimensions to depend on the strength of the roof. If it was found that this was cheaper than sinking a single mine and boring

for air for that mine, then work on the double mine should proceed by night and day. In the meantime the colliers should be at work in a dip of the crop sink, making a ledging for the water; this should prevent the water rising to the crop sink in case of an accident to the machine; this was a temporary measure only. The road between the coal hill and Kirkcaldy Harbour had to be mended during the proper season. The smiddy coal from Cadham and Cluny should be sent to sea if possible, or made into cinders, provided that this could be done to advantage.

An interesting description of the method of burning small coal into cinders for use in drying malt is given in one of the Rothes manuscripts. The first stage was to dig about eight holes in a place convenient to the coal pit or coal hill. If these holes were circular in shape their diameter should not be greater than 5 ft.; if rectangular, then the dimensions of each should be 8 ft. by 5 ft. The depth of the holes should range from 18 inches to 2 ft., whether circular or rectangular. Next a six-inch layer of whins or any other dry brushwood was laid in the bottom of the hole. The small coal was then placed on top of the brush, filling the hole and extending to a height of 2 ft. above ground level.

When the heaps had been prepared in the above manner the brush was then lighted and the coals fired until they burned as a perfect clear fire. It was the responsibility of the worker in charge of the fires to dampen them down by throwing sand or any inflammable rubbish onto the heaps. This produced a brighter fire at the top, turning the burning coal into a clear red flame. The worker now was required to completely cover the heaps with sand until the fires died out. The covered heaps were left for several days so that the cinders could

cool. The last stage in the process of converting coal to cinders now followed - removing the cinders from the pits and breaking them into smaller pieces which should be stacked and made ready for sale.

It was important to compare the measurements of the pieces of coal being used in order to determine what wastage occurred and how to reduce this by selecting the right-sized coal. Two men were employed to tend the fires, one working during the day until replaced by the worker on night duty. In all, they should be able to attend to eight or ten heaps. To lighten their work it was important to prepare the pits so that the fires were sheltered from excessive winds. This was done by ploughing up the earth round the pits and heaping the loose earth around them as wind-breaks. Besides experimenting with the different sizes of small coal to be used, it was also important to arrange the whins and coal in such a way that the small coal could be easily kindled. This often meant having to rearrange the different layers, placing larger pieces of round coal on top of the brush and then laying the smaller coal on top of the larger pieces. Then there were ways of improving the quality of the cinders. One common practice was to dampen the coals first before laying them in the pits, but it was not necessary to water the coal if the winder produced from dry coal was satisfactory.<sup>17</sup>

There was only a limited sales for cinders. One important market would be the local maltsters where the malt was dried out before being used by the brewers. As beer and ale were consumed in large quantities by the local people this market would remain steady.

In concluding these directions, as soon as the weather was favourable work should start on the colliers' houses to be built at Cadham. These were to be built upon the rising ground adjacent to the march, and ground was to be marked off for the colliers' gardens. The above

directions relating to Cadham and Cluny coal was signed by the Earl of Rothes, William Hay and Stephen Rowe.<sup>18</sup>

Rowe had to spend most of his time at Cluny, for the supervision and maintenance of the engine demanded a good deal of his attention. In January 1743 he reported back to the Earl of Rothes of his opinion about running the mine and setting down another sink. He felt that a new sink should be marked 40-45 fathoms due crop from the present one; it would be possible for the miners to transfer their work to this new sink, even if they had the mine on tack, in case of an accident occurring in the old one. Here Rowe was, no doubt, thinking about flooding for he said 'So there is in ye Case No Loss to the taxman of the mine by the Water getting up in ye Mine'. He also felt that the mine should be tacked at 40 pence per fathom. The cost inclusive of candles and making the new sink should be £4 Scots (6s.8d. Sterling) per fathom until reaching rock; then £5 Scots (8s.4d. Sterling) for the first three fathoms of boring. For boring through 13 fathoms of hard stone the workers should be paid £1 Sterling per fathom, then 10 to 12 shillings per fathom when sinking through the metal, provided there were no accidents to the coal.<sup>19</sup>

Due to the highly specialised nature of the work connected with the maintenance of the water engine at Cluny it was decided to employ a wright, and the person chosen for the job was a wright from Duddingston, James Beveridge, who bargained with Mr. Hay, finally signing a contract on 29th January 1743. Beveridge agreed to enter into the Earl of Rothes' service as wright and take care of the machine at Cluny. He promised to attend to the machine night and day 'as she shall stand in need'. Rothes provided the leather for the pumps, all necessary timber, and other materials needed for the machine.

Beveridge also agreed to serve as griever for he promised to keep an account of the coals wrought weekly. These coals were to be taken off his hands by Mr. Hay every eight days. Hay, as factor, was obliged to pay Beveridge 'for his trouble and pains in this Affair' the sum of 6s. Sterling and to provide him with a house and yard at no cost and free coals for his family.

As well as the above payment, William Hay was engaged 'upon the Said James's good Behaviour to use his utmost Interest to procure for him an Acre of Land and Cows Grass'. In order to clear any debts owed by Beveridge to his master at Duddingston, Hay advanced him enough money to cover them. The sum of 50s. Sterling plus another 10 shillings, if necessary, was also advanced to clear off other debts outstanding at Duddingston. However, Beveridge was required to accept weekly deductions from his wages to pay back the loan.

Two weeks after signing the agreement with the Earl of Rothes' factor James Beveridge was 'to enter to the Said Work at Clunie against the 14th of February next'. The above agreement was witnessed by Stephen Rowe, Engineer and Thomas Blyth, Servant to William Hay.<sup>20</sup>

Shortly after reaching the agreement with Beveridge, William Hay and Will Wemyss of Cuthill met to consider the state of the Earl's coal works and on 31st March came to an agreement as to how the work should proceed. They found it necessary to run the mine from the air sink as far as it could be carried, and made an agreement with George White, one of the colliers at Cadham, to run 30 fathoms of the mine at 40 pence per fathom, White having all the coal. The mine should be 4 feet wide at the bottom and coomed at the roof to make it 'Stand the better'. In case White lost money in carrying out this work, Mr. Hay promised to give him half a stone of candles, this being all he

would get from the Earl of Rothes except picks and windlass equipment. White was required to always have 3 men employed, working the full 24 hours, at the mine face, and to provide his own drawers.

Mr. Wemyss was also of the opinion that, if the above mine were run 10 or 12 fathoms in, another coal room should be set up, cropping off the said mine. Narrow throughers, when necessary, should be struck through between the coal room and the said mine in order to provide air for the coal room. David Arnit, the oversman, was required to make the most prudent bargain with the man who would work the coal room.

Then Mr. Wemyss expressed his views on the mine at Cadham. To avoid difficulties with the men over hacking money, as they were expected to complete their work by summer, he suggested that the grieve and oversman pay an extra half merk per fathom.<sup>21</sup>

In order to carry on the work at the new sink at Cluny John Anderson, the grieve at Cadham, delivered 12 coal picks, 2 sink picks, 2 sinking mells, a bore hammer, coal mell, wedges, etc. on 4th April to James Beveridge, the wright and grieve at Cluny.<sup>22</sup>

Mr. Wemyss furthermore made a bargain with George Scott to run 2 fathoms of the mine at Cluny at £1 Sterling per fathom. Wemyss and Mr. Hay had visited the mine on 7th June and seemed dissatisfied with the progress being made there. It seems that the miners had only been able to advance the run by 3 fathoms in 5 weeks. For this reason Mr. Wemyss thought that it would be advantageous for the Earl of Rothes to set (tack) the mine to George Scott, who agreed to run 2 fathoms of the mine at 20 shillings per fathom. Rothes had only to provide work rooms and Scott could work as many more fathoms as judged suitable by the oversman. A provision was made that Scott would be free of this bargain if the stone between the top of the water and the coal head

exceeded 2 feet. He was to be paid 10 pence for the coal being sumped at present, and the mine was to be 6 feet wide and 4 feet high above the water.<sup>23</sup>

Just a little more than a month later, on 25th July 1743, Mr. Hay wrote to Mr. Wemyss about the progress being made at Cluny and reported to him as well about a bore being made on Auchmuty Ground.

The work at Cluny was being held up by a water shortage, and it was not possible to make full use of the water engine, for Hay wrote 'We have been very unlucky Since you were here in that affairs of Clunie the water went off about 6 weeks ago, and we have never Since had any work to purpose, So that they are still in the hitch, and we are in the Same uncertainty as ever'.

The rest of Mr. Hay's letter referred to the accident he received while travelling to Edinburgh with his wife in Brand's Chaise. The chaise overturned and Hay was bruised from his shoulder to his wrist and confined at Kirkcaldy for five weeks. He was carried home in a chair and confined there for another eight days. Mr. Hay felt that his absence was a serious loss in that he was unable to attend to the work at Cluny during the time of the water shortage. However he was able to send one of the servants to Loch Ore to arrange with the waterman for the opening of the sluices there so that water might be supplied to the machine at Cluny.

During the time that the men were idle at Cluny Mr. Hay bargained with George Scott to bore for a trial of the coal at Auchmuty, as this had been directed previously by Mr. Wemyss. The bore was successful, the coal proving to be of the same thickness as that at Cadham. The journal of the bore was sent along with the letter to Mr. Wemyss, whose advice was now sought by the factor.

Then Mr. Hay continued with a report on the proceedings at Cadham. He referred to a bargain made with some Wemyss men for setting down a sink which had been marked by the oversman. The colliers were putting out more great coal than formerly and sales of small coal in the country seemed to have been beyond expectation. However, he referred to the action taken by Lord Balbirnie in trying to hinder the sale of Rothes' small coal by cutting the price of his own. Rothes' small coal was being sold to smiths at 5d. per full load; lime coal was being sold at 4d. Meanwhile Balbirnie was selling both small and lime coal at 3d. and under for a full load. He also planned to break down his whole coal wall and serve Watson at the Forthar lime hills with small coal at £15 per hundred. Watson, a good customer of the Earl of Rothes, was paying £20 per hundred for Rothes' small coal.<sup>24</sup>

Will Wemyss and George Dundas visited the Cadham and Cluny Coal Works and reported to the Earl of Rothes on 20th October 1743. In a further opinion on the management of Cluny coal they felt that the mine should be carried on with all diligence through the dike until coal was found as this was the time when there would be an adequate supply of water to keep the machine working. They referred to another bargain made with George Scott who was to be paid £10.5s. Scots (17s.1d. Sterling) per fathom for 3 fathoms and enough to pay the wages of 2 men for 2 days work in drawing the waste to the grass, provided Scott lost money in this contract.

They also suggested that the wages paid to the colliers at Cadham should be reduced from 2½d. to 2d. for a load of great coal and from 1½d. to 1<sup>2</sup>/12d. for small coal. Their reason for suggesting this was that the original rate for hacking money had been high

because of the thickness of stone in the coal and the wetness of the roof, making working conditions more difficult. But they found the stone to be thinner and the coal in the crompt considerably drier at the time of their last visit. The miners were called together and the new proposals made to them. The new rates were the same as those paid by Balbirnie for great coal and  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. more than that paid for small coal. At first the colliers refused to accept these conditions but 'after a long Communing with them, It was agreed that a tryal should be taken for a Considerable time by them at these prices with this view that it may be a Stated price for working Said Coall wall time coming unless the Stone go quite off'. The workmen were to be paid the new rates from the 24th October.

It would appear that the local proprietors closely observed each other's practices and jealously retained not only their lands but any advantages they had gained over their rivals in the development of their coal resources. None appeared to be ready to concede to a neighbour even the smallest portion of his land to help solve some drainage problem or share with him coal seams common to both. As the market for coal was very limited for both Balbirnie and Rothes the competition for it resulted in keen rivalry between them, as is illustrated by their efforts to gain the upper hand in the sale of small coal to the Kirkforthar lime works. Although the Earl of Rothes had to cope with obstructionist tactics of other neighbours such as Leven and St. Clair, probably his chief rival was Balfour of Balbirnie, who, like Rothes, found the market for his coal more limited than did Leven and St. Clair. Rothes was greatly handicapped in the exploitation of his Cadham coal as it lay adjacent to the Balbirnie estate and ran in considerable depth into Balfour's lands. For this reason Rothes and Balfour appeared to be continually at

loggerheads over the development of their coal mines - in particular in the recruitment of colliers and the sale of coal.

Wemyss and Dundas were also of the opinion that more men should be employed at Cadham and that the trial hole at Auchmuty be prevented from falling in by cradling it with spare timber. Boring should be delayed there until spring of next year when men could be better spared from the Cluny work.<sup>25</sup>

Two years later, 1745, a new factor, John Angus, was appointed by the Honourable Mr. James Leslie and the other Commissioners, who were authorised to manage the Earl of Rothes' affairs in his absence. New directions concerning the mine at Cluny were proposed with no mention made of Stephen Rowe as overseer of the work there.

Mr. William Robertson was authorised to supervise the colliery and to have the direction of the mill wright, hill grieve and oversman, and every other matter relating to the coal work at Cluny.

John Angus was required to account with the grieve every week, receive the money arising from the sale of coal, pay for all oncost work, and keep the Coal Book.

Mr. Robertson was advised to keep a plan of the coal being worked as well as any trials made, and keep records in a journal of metals, mines, etc. at every sink and bargains made with the colliers for putting down these sinks. A new bargain with the colliers should be made when coal was discovered in the next sink. This bargain over hacking money should be decided either by lowering the prices of the loads as they were put out or by reaching an agreement on the rates for great and chew coal. It was proposed that the coal-hewers either lower the hacking money on the load of 19 stone 4 lbs. to 20d. Scots (1½d. Sterling) per load or keep the price of the load at 2d. Sterling as at present but increase the load to 24 stone in place of 19 stone

4 lbs. This was the present weight of 2 baskets or one load.

Agreements had to be made with the inhabitants of Kirkcaldy and Kinghorn for the price of each load of coal delivered to their houses, and a book was to be kept by the grieve in order that these customers be 'regularly furnished at the time agreed upon'.

It was also proposed that carriages be provided by the spring of 1746 for transporting the coal to Kirkcaldy and other places where there was a demand for it. These carriages were to be drawn by two oxen or two horses or one horse and two oxen in order to find the best method.

The use of horses instead of oxen would depend largely on the condition of the roads over which the coal carts were to travel. Rothes was not able to lay the wagon-ways which would have greatly improved communications between his collieries and the ports of Kirkcaldy and Dysart. Instead coal supplied to Kirkcaldy was carted from Cluny over roads which were continually in need of maintenance. This experiment in the mode of transport between Cluny and Kirkcaldy carried out by the Earl of Rothes is an example of the transition taking place in the use of draught animals during the eighteenth century. Light coal carts were a common feature of mining areas from the late eighteenth century. However, as is shown here, by the middle of the century the Earl was already planning to replace his oxen with horses for the run from Cluny to Kirkcaldy. As this had become a very important route for coal deliveries to the coast considerable care had to be given to its maintenance. A description of reparations made to this road is given later in the chapter.

The tenants of Forestertown (Fosterton near Cluny) agreed to allow the Earl of Rothes to quarter his servants and their cattle at their toft, and some land should be reserved by them for grazing their

cattle. The price of the acres to be reserved should be decided through bargaining between a representative of the tenants and Mr. Angus. A carriage of each of the three kinds mentioned above was to be prepared for these trials.

It was also recommended to Mr. Robertson that he make payments for any material pieces of work, such as running, boring, or sinking completed, in order that the factor be not imposed upon in having to make the said payments. Mr. Robertson was expected to visit the colliers' houses and report back to Mr. Angus of the maintenance required on them. Spare materials of all kinds for the engine had to be provided, and, in case of accidents, work was to be continued.<sup>26</sup>

Mention has been made of the difficulties at Cluny which were caused by faulty ventilation. In January 1745, George Scott, one of the most experienced of the colliers in boring and sinking, was engaged to attend to the air sink. He and three other miners worked 8 days at this job and were paid 6d. Sterling per day, or 13s.6d. in correcting this fault.<sup>27</sup>

A few days later Scott made another bargain with Mr. Angus for setting down a bore from the grass to the pavement of the coal in the Croft Mine at Cluny at 3s.2d. per fathom. Scott agreed to carry on with the work in this mine 'whenever there is air in the mine' so it would appear that ventilation had become a rather serious problem at Cluny at that particular time.<sup>28</sup>

A further bargain, dated 13th April 1745, was made between the factor and George White and other colliers to work 6 fathoms of this mine at £7 Scots, with provision for increasing or decreasing the rate per fathom if there was a marked change in the hardness of the metals.<sup>29</sup>

This contract was fulfilled for on 25th April John Angus paid White £1.15s. Sterling for working the 3 fathoms.<sup>30</sup>

For attending to the machine at Cluny from 15th to 29th April the mill wright was paid 12s. Sterling, which would be his wages for 2 weeks work.<sup>31</sup>

Workers were being continually transferred from pit to pit, for in a 'Memorandum of Directions about Coalworks', dated 4th April 1747, it was suggested by Wemyss and Dundas to transfer David Arnit from Cadham to Cluny once the coal was reached there. Arnit was to act as oversman and 'to look after that work underground with as many other workmen as can be got or the Sale will allow of'.

To deal with the scarcity of air Arnit was directed to pierce the wall with a pick point. The hole made by piercing had to be kept open until the air became scarce again when the wall was again pierced and the old hole closed.<sup>32</sup>

Not only was there a ventilation problem at Cluny for in the same year the factor's report referred to difficulties encountered by the miners in dealing with water. In his report he wrote of being unable to keep down the water level until there was enough water to assist the engine ('till we have a Good deal of rain'). A horse gin was proposed but Dundas and Wemyss did not wish to use this system until they heard from the Earl of Rothes, who was away from home. They also felt that this would be an additional expense to the Earl, who was already spending heavily on this mine.<sup>33</sup>

John Angus, acting on behalf of the Earl of Rothes, was eventually able to make a bargain with a tenant in Inchgall miln, who at that time had full control of the water of Loch Ore. The tenant, George Greig, had tacked this land from the Laird of Balbedie,

the proprietor of the mill. Angus proposed to put a sluice on the mouth of Loch Ore above Lochend Bridge, the cost to be borne by the Earl of Rothes. The sluice would be secured by lock and key, one key to be kept by the Earl and the other by George Greig. The sluice would not raise the water higher than when the loch was full without overflowing the adjacent meadows. On the other hand Greig promised to stop or free the water at the sluice when informed of the need for water at Cluny. He also agreed to open the sluice only for as much water as needed for his own mill at Inchgall, or when he heard from Cluny. The Earl of Rothes agreed to paying George Greig yearly and to continue these payments until there was no further need of the water from Loch Ore. The amount of payment had to be determined by both parties.<sup>34</sup> As well as negotiating with George Greig, John Angus gave orders that the persons belonging to the mills and lochs in the vicinity should be approached and asked to save as much water as possible.

On the Earl of Rothes' return to Leslie he was given this report and he now prepared his instructions on the running of the Cadham and Cluny Coalworks. These were given on 7th November 1747:

First, he referred to the transfer of Cadham workers to Cluny. The work at Cadham would stop and the vacated houses there would be given to others who would take care of them. The windlass and other equipment should be stored in a house and 'Care taken that No Encroachments be made on My march Either above or below'. Therefore colliers were put to work on lime coal for the kiln or for the house.

Next he gave his instructions as to the mine at Cluny. As soon as the mine was up to the bottom of the new sink colliers were to be put into the rooms set off at the old sink. The new sink was to be

set down and a stair put in when the coal was reached. As soon as this was done the mine was to be carried on in the same direction as formerly.

When the coal had risen to a sufficient height the pumps were to be raised in order to take some of the strain off the machine.

An examination of the mine should take place as soon as possible in order to have it timbered, thus preventing accidents from roof falls.

New levers were to be prepared for the engine and new trows made for the lead in the spring; to do this a sufficient quantity of timber had to be sawn.

To prevent any stoppage in the work for lack of water and waste caused by the neglect of the millers the loch and dams were to be visited regularly; for caring for the loch and dam the millers were to be paid an annual bounty.

The hill grieve at Cluny, John Anderson, should be paid 5s. a week and provided with a house and yard and his fire coals. The hacking money had to be settled with the colliers in the most frugal manner. The weight of a horse load would be 18 stone and baskets should be made accordingly.

The price of the coal should be settled in the most reasonable way.

Care should be taken to work the rooms in widths appropriate to the strength of the roof.

Coal books at Clunie were to be kept in the same manner as at Cadham, and David Arnit should be given the office of oversman on trial.

Reference was also made to a collier, James Cairns, who should be informed that Lord Wemyss demanded his return as his collier at

Martinmas; Lord Rothes was prepared to release him.

John Angus should visit the works and, when in difficulty, seek advice from Mr. Wemyss and Dundas.

The colliers' houses already built at Cluny were to be kept in repair and more built when convenient.

The bank in the Water of Ore should be cut away to prevent back water affecting the machine; a shade should be erected to shelter the windlass men. Leather for the machine should be ordered from Newcastle.

A book should be kept in which everything relating to the coal work - trials either by boring or sinking, bargains, journals of metals, etc. and everything that would fully show what happened in working the coals, and particularly with relation to what happened in the trials at Strathore - should be inserted. A part of the Coal Book should be kept for recording the colliers' debts; the debts already owed should be inserted and the coal grieve ordered to make proper deductions for payment of same.

A premium should be given to the colliers when they married, (the premium given in 1752 was £12.12s. Scots or £1.1s. Sterling).

The above instructions about the Cadham and Cluny Coalworks were probably prepared by Rothes after having consulted Will Wemyss and George Dundas, the two most active 'viewers' engaged by the Earl of Rothes.<sup>35</sup>

I have already referred to the difficulties which had to be overcome by the colliers at Cluny. On 26th August 1748 Mr. Robertson and Mr. Wemyss came to a decision on how to deal with the water problem there.

Firstly, as soon as the water level dropped, the principal mine

at the bottom of the cropt sink should be closed in order to prevent the water in that sink from flooding the engine.

Secondly, the four uppermost branders in the third sink should be mended so as to prevent rubbish from falling into the mine below and blocking the passage of water.

Thirdly, the bend head at the machine should be raised another 8 inches in order to gain a greater height of fall upon the wheel.

Fourthly, in order to reduce the weight of the upper lift of pumps upon the machine holes should be bored in the pumps as close to the surface of the water at the tail of the wheel as possible. The water would be conveyed away from these by a horizontal pump; during frosts it would be necessary to close these holes and bring the water round upon the wheel to prevent freezing.

John Anderson would be responsible to the Earl of Rothes for measuring the machine sink and reporting on the rise or fall of the water.<sup>36</sup>

During the period 6th February to 12th November 1748 the profit at Cluny came to only £37.6.4, a very low amount; the difficulties experienced were many and would account for this small profit.<sup>37</sup>

There were 11 colliers employed at Cluny; a record of their employment is given in a 'List of Coalhewers presently working at Clunie', dated 25th August 1748:<sup>38</sup>

The Arnit family was well represented for there were David Arnit, oversman, and his son, James at the coal wall, as well as James' two sons, David and Archibald who acted as bearers. The elder David had worked at Cluny and the other Rothes pits for 20 years without ever being required by any other coal master. He had come from Sir Thomas Bruce's works at Craighall in 1728. All his children were bred at Rothes' works.

Then there were John and George White, father and son, both at the coal wall. John had come from Colonel Dalrymple's work at Clackmannan about 24 years ago and had never been called back by Dalrymple. George had always worked under Rothes.

There was James Fortune, also at the coal wall. His father had been employed as a drawer at Cluny but when the work stopped he and his son went to Kynimond under Westfield, then to Easter Kirkmere, but, when work started at Strathore, James offered his services to the Earl of Rothes and was accepted.

The Ewen family was also well represented: John Ewen and his sons, Alexander, James, John and William. The father had originally worked at Wemyss, from whence he went to Westfield and from there to Lochgelly by virtue of an order from the Earl of Wemyss. He was again claimed by Westfield and determined by the Lords of Session to be his collier. The sons, Alexander and James, worked with Westfield and came to the Earl of Rothes when Strathore opened in 1738. However, when Strathore gave up, they worked for a short time at Methil, returning to the Earl of Rothes' service in 1739 at Coalden. The other sons, John and William, had only worked at Cluny and Cadham.

Andrew Morrice had been a servant of James Kilgour, a tenant at Balbirnie, and began work as a drawer at Cadham on 22 November 1743. He progressed from there to the coal wall and then worked the windlass. He was one of the sinkers at Cluny; in June 1748 he went to work at Cardenden at the coal wall until required by Rothes which was 16th August.

George Blair, the son of Robert Blair who was originally one of Lord Leven's colliers worked in the local area. When work stopped at Balgonie Robert worked for a year at Balbirnie where his son acted as a drawer. Then Robert entered into the Earl of Rothes' service as a

collier at Cadham in 1745, with George drawing for him. George started work at the coal wall and continued there until July 1747.

As to Archibald Hastie and the brothers William and Thomas Keith, who had worked formerly at Cluny, it was said that they had come from Burnturk, Ayton's work and had worked for a while at Dunnikier. They were claimed by the Earl of Rothes but they applied to Ayton as their master who was able to get them determined as his colliers and they returned to Dunnikier. Hastie had gone to the Blair work.

The above manuscript is another illustration of the close-knit structure of the Earl's work force employed at his coal works. Whole families were engaged under the terms of bondage to labour in the Rothes pits. Many had spent most of their working lives in his employment while others had, as was the custom during the eighteenth century, worked for other employers under similar terms of contract, transferring to the Rothes collieries when legally permitted to do so. There is evidence of many of the colliers having spent most of their time with Rothes, commencing their service as children as drawers and bearers to their fathers until they finally emerged as the Earl's hewers and sinkers.

An interesting description is given of a reported theft of coal from the coal hill at Cluny in January 1749, and of the different ways the grieve earned extra income by cheating on his employer and fellow workers.

George Blair, who was later to become involved in a prison case, declared that he had observed the windlass man on several occasions remove great coal after dark from the hill and carry it into the house of one of the colliers. On another night Blair, while visiting the home of James Dunn, saw Dunn's daughter carrying great coal into

her house, but when she saw Blair she turned back and entered the house through another door. According to George Blair, the grieve, John Anderson, had never done him any injury, but did little or nothing in dealing with the stolen coal when informed of it. Also, Blair could only get his wages on Saturday night by going to the grieve's house and drinking with him.

James Arnit declared that on the morning of the last Friday of the old year, when he was going to his work, he saw James Dunn's son lift coal from a load and carry it toward his father's house. When approached by Arnit, the son returned to the coal hill and placed the coal back on the hill. Like George Blair Arnit also complained of having to wait an hour at the grieve's house on Saturday before being paid his wages.

Another observation of stolen coal was made by Archibald Arnit who between 8 and 9 o'clock at night saw James Dunn's daughter, Janet, carry a pack of coals into her father's house. James Paton had seen James Dunn and family remove pieces of coal from whole loads that lay near them when they were gathering coal from the bottom of the loads. They had kept two fires burning since harvest and Paton was of the opinion that they had never bought coal during that time. He also stated that when the tenants were carrying carriage coals last summer John Anderson sold 28d. worth of coal from the bottom of the loads left at Cadham, but Paton did not know if they had been accounted for by the grieve.

Finally, Alexander Ewen declared that when he worked at Cadham, if any of the colliers lost a ticket (which was the loss of a basket to them) John Anderson gave a half penny to any of the drawers who found the ticket and gave it to him. Anderson could now claim the ticket as his and gain from the sale of the coal.<sup>39</sup>

It would appear from the above evidence that the grieve was not the person of 'a Great Character' as desired by the Earl of Rothes when he issued his directions for the management of the Cadham and Cluny Coal Works in 1741.

The failure of the grieve to deal with the theft of coal may have led to his dismissal for shortly afterwards the Earl of Rothes drew up a contract with Henry Hog, a mill wright from Clackmannan; the contract contained these conditions of service:

The said Henry Hog obliged himself and undertook to serve the Earl of Rothes at Cluny as his mill wright. He would take care of the coal machine and maintain it, the parts being supplied by Rothes. Work would start on 2nd May 1749 (date of signing contract) and Hog would fulfil his obligations until Lammas next.

On the other hand, the Earl of Rothes agreed to pay Henry Hog 6s. Sterling per week, provide one load of coal, and furnish a sufficient dwelling house and kailyard.

If a new contract was made after Lammas then the Earl would, in addition to meeting the above obligations, allow Hog yearly thereafter an acre of land and cows grass. A receipt dated 1752 showed Henry Hog as being in possession of an acre of land which he got from Elizabeth Tod in Muirton, valued at £1 Sterling; this was his bounty.<sup>40</sup>

Shortly after signing the above contract Hog extended the period of service to Martinmas next and agreed on 29th June to act as coal grieve upon the coal hill at Cluny as well, for which duty he was to be paid an additional 2s. Sterling per week.<sup>41</sup>

Thus Hog acting as mill wright and coal grieve could earn 8s. per week; however, the Earl of Rothes had up to this time paid his wright 6s. and his grieve 4s. per week, or in all 10s., so this new contract saved him 2s. per week in wages. As regarding the former

grieve, John Anderson, in a memorandum relating to Cluny Work, dated 19th October 1749, instructions were given to convert his house into two collier houses.<sup>42</sup>

Henry Hog continued in this combined post for several years, at least to 1752 when David Scott was appointed coal grieve at Cluny. Hog remained in service to the Earl of Rothes as mill wright.

An interesting situation developed at Cluny in January 1752 involving Hog, the colliers, and the Earl of Rothes:

On 15th January Henry Hog sent a missive to the Earl of Rothes informing him of conditions in the mine there. According to Hog, after sinking more than 6 fathoms no water had been encountered. A description of the earth and stone was given and of the coal found. The coal was not very good, in fact more like lime coal, being very soft. Hog agreed with Rothes that the splint coal should be priced differently from the other coal, for he considered the quality of it and thought that the price of 2 stone more of it than an ordinary load of great coal should be 6d.; also, he felt that it would be more profitable to the brewers on the coast than an ordinary great load.

Then Hog continued by disagreeing with the decision of Wemyss and Dundas to close the level room off the dip head, for he felt that this mine was the 'best prospect of coal that ever I saw' on the Earl's grounds. He also differed with them over the positioning of further sinks as he thought that this would hinder the working of the machine. He thought that the method proposed by Wemyss and Dundas would lead to the ruination of the coal work as it would cause roof falls which would bring in all the winter rain and drown the dip wall (which according to Hog should have been worked first). Furthermore, if the level were to be carried on in an easterly direction this would run into some ground belonging to Mr. Ferguson

of Raith. Hog complained to Mr. Robertson who spoke of mounting a new machine to deal with the crop water.<sup>43</sup>

Henry Hog wished to be removed of any blame for failure at Cluny, for on 16th January he met with the coal-hewers employed there and discussed the situation with them. The miners agreed with Hog that the siting of the machine as proposed by Wemyss and Dundas would deprive the Earl of Rothes of some of the best coal in the mine and result in the closing of the mine through flooding. These views were expressed in a letter sent by Henry Hog to the Earl of Rothes.<sup>44</sup> It would appear from this letter that Mr. Wemyss and Mr. Dundas had not visited the mine ('and we all think if the Gentlemen had come to Clunie they had been of another mind if they had seen the thing') and this was the main reason for the colliers and Mr. Hog taking this action ('This is the mind of every workman about your Lordship's work which have a Concern for your Lordships Interest which we leave to your Lordships consideration').

It is interesting to note the similarities between the situation at Cluny in 1752 and that which occurred at the Rothes Colliery in Thornton in the early 1960s. In both cases the men who were employed in the winning of the coal, whether by methods common to the eighteenth century or by the more advanced technology of the present day, were faced with the same problem - flooding! The miners, long experienced in working in such difficult conditions, voiced their opinions about the situation and offered suggestions which they thought would overcome their difficulties. In both cases the overseers, whether employed by the Earl of Rothes or the National Coal Board, had to act to solve the problem and save their employer from heavy losses. The life expectancy of the Rothes Colliery was a short-lived one as the National Coal Board was compelled to

terminate operations to cut the heavy losses sustained by the Board at Thornton before any profit could be made. Although activity at the Earl's collieries continued throughout the eighteenth century, the profits realised from his coal enterprises were insufficient to meet the accumulating debts on the estate, thus forcing the family to part with their coal possessions before they could reap the huge profits predicted by the early viewers.

The factor's report on the state of the colliers' houses at Cluny was presented on 10th August 1752 and is given below:

The houses near the old machine belonging to John Ewen Sr. and Andrew Morrice were in need of repair; in fact, two houses belonging to John Ewen should be made into one.

In the square of old houses: 6 houses had to be thatched and one house required a door.

There were 3 houses adjoining the cottars' houses on the coal hill.

The new row of houses inhabited by 4 colliers required chimney heads, door locks, windows and thatch of straw and divots.

Then at the pendule in Muirton 2 houses were in need of thatch. Besides these individual houses there was the Hall House of Muirton in which 3 colliers lodged. This building required 3 door locks, window bands and partitions above and below; about 60 ten-foot deals would be needed to lay the floor. Two other colliers, one with his family, lodged with other colliers and were in need of houses.

All the above houses needing reparations were to be put in repair at the Earl of Rothes' expense, after which each collier would maintain his own house.

Other tenants at Muirton should be approached and asked if any of their properties could be spared for housing colliers and bearers.

Two colliers' houses should be built at the east end of the new row.

As well as the above, several colliers should be moved to other houses while two ought to be transferred to Cadham.

This report was submitted by James Rolland, who had succeeded John Angus as factor to the Earl of Rothes and was responsible for the general management of the affairs of his estate.<sup>45</sup>

An account of the mason work at Cluny for the building of the colliers' houses is given:

		<u>Scots</u>
'To David Jackson	7 Days at 12 pence per day	4. 4. 0
To Andrew Harris	6 Days at Ditto	3.12. 0
To Thomas Kilgour	7 Days at Ditto	4. 4. 0
To Andrew Crow	7 Days at Ditto	4. 4. 0
To James Brown	7 Days at Ditto	4. 4. 0
To	8 Days at 6 pence per Day	<u>2. 8. 0</u>
		22.16. 0

(£1.18s. Sterling)

Attested by me Henry Hog

Leslie 16 Decr. 1752.

Received from James Rolland factor to the Earl of Rothes the above Sum of twenty two pounds and Sixteen Shillings Scots in full of the above Accot. And the Same is Discharged by David Jackson'.

Another bill submitted for 7th December amounted to £29.8.0 Scots (£2.9s. Sterling).

In the bills submitted to the Earl of Rothes the rate per day paid to the masons and barrowman is given in Sterling while the total cost is shown in Scots. This rate of payment would place the masons (1s. per day) on the same level as the wrights employed at Rothes'

coal works and on a higher level than the colliers, including both the grievance and oversman.<sup>46</sup>

In his 'Directions for the Management of Clunie and Cadham Coal Works', dated 19th November 1741, Lord Rothes referred to the maintenance of the road between the coal hill at Clunie and Kirkcaldy Harbour, stating that it had 'to be mended in the proper season'. It was the responsibility of the Justices of the Peace and the Commissioners of Supply to see that the bridges and roads were in a good state of repair; it was the responsibility of the Earl of Rothes to maintain the roads that ran through his estate and this would mean that he was involved in the repairs which had to be made to the highway from Clunie Bridge to Kirkcaldy, this being the road along which coal from his Clunie work was carried to Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn and Dysart. In an 'Extract Petition for repairing the highway to Kirkcaldie, 1740' reference is made to the bad condition of the road from Clunie Bridge to Kirkcaldy. The Justices of Peace and the Commissioners of Supply met in Cupar on 20th May 1740 to decide on the necessary repairs to be made to that road. Mr. James Leslie 'for himself and in Name of the Neighbouring Heritors Presented a Petition representing the Bad Condition of the Road leading from Clunie Bridge by Lodge my Loun to Kirkcaldie being a King's highway'. Part of the road had been damaged by a Dr. Hay and Sir James Wemyss who made use of the road as well as the Earl of Rothes. Therefore it was decided that a quorum of three be appointed from the following: Sir James Wemyss, Dunnikier, Powrin, Kinglassie, Balbirnie, Mr. James Leslie, Dr. Hay, and William Hay, factor to the Earl of Rothes. The three appointed would visit the road and report back on the condition of same and prepare an estimate of charges for the repair of said road.<sup>47</sup>

Prior to the meeting of the Commissioners of Supply in Cupar, Mr.

James Leslie, William Hay and Stephen Rowe, the engineer, along with David Jackson, the mason, had visited the King's highway from Cluny Bridge to Kirkcaldy to examine the road to be repaired.

The reparations to be carried out were standard practice for road maintenance in the eighteenth century. Causeways had to be provided where needed and drainage ditches laid on both sides of the road. Damages caused by carriages and animals churning up the surface had to be repaired as had those stretches of the road washed away by the heavy rains. This was the condition of the road near Dr. Hay's Park where flooding had caused considerable damage. The viewers proposed that causeways be laid at this point. Then there was the need to widen the road to allow for the passage of the coal carts travelling from Cluny to Kirkcaldy. The Earl of Rothes was responsible for making repairs to about 99 roads in all.

After viewing the Cluny road the overseers submitted their report to the Commissioners of Supply in Cupar who approved of the proposals and agreed to work commencing on the road whenever the heritors were ready.<sup>48</sup> This was started on 5th October and completed by 20th October 1741. The barrows belonging to the county were brought up from Kirkcaldy for use by the labourers, called barrowmen, who were employed for the job. When the local tenants were free of their planting and harvesting duties they were required to provide the casual labour force and often grudgingly gave their services as statute labourers. This was according to the 1719 Act which demanded not more than six days per year for a man and horse; however, the tenants were exempted from statute labour if engaged either in planting or harvesting. This must have been the case during the maintenance of the Cluny road, for the workmen were employed by the Earl and paid £2.15.1 Sterling for their labours. The Earl's mason,

David Jackson, was employed to lay the stones and was paid at the rate of 1s.1½d. Sterling per day for 20 days, or £1.2.2½d. Sterling. John Brown, one of the servants, acted as overseer and was paid the same rate as Jackson, earning for 23 days the sum of £1.5.6d. Sterling. In all, the Earl of Rothes paid £5.2.10 Sterling to repair those sections of the road passing through his lands.<sup>49</sup>

Another account of repairs made to the Cluny to Kirkcaldy road, dated 4th August 1752, amounted to £23.10s. Scots (1.192 Sterling) and included in this account are outlays of £2.11s. Scots to a lady in Chapel for bread and ale and 19s. Scots to a smith for repairs made to work tools. The person in charge of the work gang was paid 8d. Sterling per day while the workers earned 6d. per day; 8 workers, including the overseer, were employed for 8 days in carrying out these road repairs.<sup>50</sup> An account of 20th October amounted to £15.2s. Scots (£1.5.2 Sterling) with similar wage rates.

The Earl of Rothes was also responsible for repairing any damages caused by the coal carriers who occasionally had to run their wagons through the fields of neighbouring tenants in order to reach the highway. For example, in May 1752 he paid £3 Scots 'for damages don to John Brown tenant in Coalden by a rod mead through his Cornfields for wains with Cairig of Stons when the Seventh Sink was built in the year 1751 Julie 8th'. As well as paying Brown for the above damages Rothes paid Andrew Skirlin, one of the tenants at Muirton, 2s.6d. Sterling for measuring the ground that sustained the damages.<sup>51</sup>

Reference has already been made to the proposal to provide carriages for transporting the coal to Kirkcaldy and other places when there was a demand for the product. When the Earl of Rothes made out his directions he was uncertain whether the mode of transport

would be by ox-drawn carts or by horse-drawn ones. Trials had to be made of each and the best method used. In a 'Scheme of the Expencc in driving Coals from Clunie to Kirkcaldie', dated 10th August 1750, no mention is made of oxen; however, costs are given of livery meal, corn, forage, shoeing, etc. - the total cost of this scheme amounted to £84.16.10. The horses were to be grazed at Forresterton (Fosterton) and 3 or 4 carts were to be fitted out for driving coals to Kirkcaldy.<sup>52</sup>

A 'Note of the Expencc of three carts to Drive Coal from Clunie to Kirkcaldie' is given below:<sup>53</sup>

To 3 men to Drive at per year .. .. .	£3. 6. 8
(this is probably the wage of one man)	
To 6 horses at £6 each .. .. .	36. -. -
To 3 carts at £4 each .. .. .	12. -. -
To Livery meal to the Servants .. .. .	2.14. 2
To a Load Coals weekly .. .. .	-.17. 4
To 69 bolls corn for the horses .. .. .	28.11. 2
To forage to Said horses .. .. .	26. 4. 2
To Shoeing the horses .. .. .	2. 2. 0
To Grease and Tarr for Each Cart 5 Sh. yearly ..	-.15. -
To Tare and ware for Harnish .. .. .	-.15. -
To Do. for the Carts .. .. .	4.10. -

Another plan or 'Calculation for driving Coals to Kinghorn' is shown:

Price of 6 Horses at an Average of £5 each .. ..	£30. -. -
Wages of 2 Servants to Drive the Carts .. ..	10. -. -
Maintenance of Six Horses for the Grazing Season	6. -. -
Maintenance of Do. during winter as they are to be fed with Hay and Oats .. .. .	6. -. -
Chance of Losing Horses, & maintaining of Furniture	3. -. -

Furniture itself, new Made, for Six carriages ..	£ 2. 8. -
Six Carts and 6 pair Wheels at £1.13.4 each ..	<u>10. -. -</u>
First Outlay for a Year .. ..	£67. 8. -
Int. of Do. for a Year .. ..	<u>£ 3. 7. 4</u>
Total	£70.15. 4

If the carts travelled to Kinghorn once a day and carried 2 loads each throughout the year they would carry a total of 4380 loads per year. The difference between 1s. a load which was paid at Kinghorn and 4d. a load which was the price at the coal hill came to 8d., or the profit on one load; this amounted to £145.16.8 per year.<sup>54</sup>

Profit from sale of coal at Kinghorn	£145.16. 8
Expense of the project at first	<u>70.15. 4</u>
Profit arising	£ 75. 1. 4

Running costs of this scheme would decrease after the initial outlay which accounted for the provision of the horses and carts. One would have to add the costs of maintaining the road and repairing damages to neighbouring farms to the above outlay to get a more accurate assessment of the profit made by the Earl of Rothes from this scheme. Then there would have to be an assurance that the demand for coal at Kinghorn would continue.

Although the Earl of Rothes first proposed to deliver his Cluny coal to Kirkcaldy and Kinghorn in carts in 1745, it would appear that he was only beginning to make some progress on this scheme by 1750, for in 1749, from accounts of coal being carried from the Cluny coal pits to the coalyard at Kirkcaldy, 25 men were engaged in carrying the coal. The majority were nominated tenants of the Earl of Rothes living in the vicinity of Cluny but several were residents of Kirkcaldy. Some returns are given below:

For week 26 June - 1st July	.. .. .	291 loads
" " 3 July - 8th July	.. .. .	66 "
" " 10 July - 15th July	.. .. .	218 "
" " 17 July - 22nd July	.. .. .	234 "
For 24 - 25 July	.. .. .	9 "
From 5 July - 10th July	.. .. .	<u>184 "</u>
		1002

The tickets numbered 818

The carriages " 184

The whole sum 1002 (55)

After delivering the coal to the yard at Kirkcaldy the coal carriers would be given tickets by the yard grieve; these would be exchanged for declarations stating the quantity of coal carried by each carrier that week. As has already been stated, these declarations acted as vouchers for the payment of rent.

Kirkcaldy, one of the chief centres of population, lay on the East Fife coal belt and therefore could be supplied from pits within a mile or so of its dwelling houses and workshops. It was also an important port for the export trade. In a minor way Kinghorn, 3 miles to the south, received some coal for shipment to Leith for the Edinburgh market.

As well as carrying coal to the yard at Kirkcaldy, carriers were engaged to deliver coal to the house at Leslie. These were usually tenants of farms situated near the pits; all were tenants of properties lying within the Rothes Estate. The carriers were paid either by the factor or by the servant at the house authorised to conduct this business. After receiving payment for the coal delivered to Leslie House, the carriers were required to give the money to the coal grieve. Some examples of the sale of Cluny coal

to the house are given below:

Henry Hog, coal grieve, received £1.16s. Scots from Alex. Baxter, tenant at Rimeltown (Rimbleton) for 9 loads of carriage coals for the house at Leslie (May 8th 1750).

Henry Hog received £9.12s. Scots from Robert Russell, tenant in Nether Stentoun, for 48 loads of carriage coal for Leslie House (June 21st 1750).

Henry Hog received £14.0.8 Scots from William Dewar, tenant in Clunie Miln for 72 loads of carriage coal for Leslie House for the year 1749 - 50 (July 7th 1750).<sup>56</sup>

William Dewar also carried coal to the Earl of Rothes' magazine at Kirkcaldy. On 21st February 1750 he completed the delivery of 84 loads of coal from the mine at Cluny to the yard at Kirkcaldy; he had started driving the coal on 24th June 1749. Probably William Dewar was related to Alex. Dewar, the smith at Cluny Mill.

On concluding this report on the development of the Earl of Rothes' coal work at Cluny it is possible to extract from the grieve's Coal Book the outlay from 7th October 1752 to 7th Feb. 1754; all amounts are given in Scots:<sup>57</sup>

October 7 - December 30, 1752

Bearers' entry money (6 at £3 each)	£18. -. -
To James Hay, for entry and obligation to pay	12. -. -
Iron and Steel	39. 8. 6
Colliers' houses (divots)	3. -. -
Grieve's house (£10.4.0 for glass)	11.17. 4
Transporting the grieve's furniture from	
Newburgh to Kirkcaldy	27. -. -
Wright work (stairing a sink)	13.16. -
Redding the dip sink	14. -. 6

Work at the new sink	£ 5.18. -
Leather	3. 2. -
Miscellaneous labour costs	19. 8. -

One of the colliers receiving payment for entry of his bearers to the Cluny work was John Miller. He was paid £6 Scots for the entry of 2 bearers. Prior to this, Miller had received £1.10s. Sterling from the Earl of Rothes' mill wright as payment for his own entry as a collier at Cluny on 28th September 1752 ('the which Day John Miller Compted and Clired with the Right Honourabal The Earel of Rothes for One Pound ten Shillins Sterling Payed to Him by the Said Earels Millenwright at Clunie for his Entrie to Clunie Coal work or at Cadham or anie other Coal works belongin to the Said Earel of Rothes or his Heairs or Executers as Long as he is abel to make Servis to the Said Earel or his Hears to be an obedient Servant to Him and the Seam is witnessed by David Scott Coal Grive at Clunie and Henry Hog millenwright at Clunie Coalwork').<sup>58</sup>

Although most of the bearers were members of the collier's family, usually his wife and daughters, there were others, like Janet Gray, who entered into contracts with the Earl of Rothes on a yearly basis. She, for example, on 19th October 1752, bound and obliged herself to serve as a coal bearer from Martinmas 1752 to Martinmas 1753; she received 5s. Sterling as entry money.<sup>59</sup>

Then there is the case of James Ray who was paid £12 Scots by the grieve. Ray must have been an apprentice miner for he promised to repay the amount given to him:

'I James Reay Present Coal Hewer to the Right Honourable the Earle of Rothes to Learn as a Coal hewer as until Such time as the Soume of one Pound Sterling Presently Payed by David Scott Shall be repayed or allowed by me in Pairt of my wadge Each week'.<sup>60</sup>

Reference is made to the payment of £27 Scots for transporting the griever's furniture from Newburgh to Kirkcaldy; probably the goods were shipped although no mention is made of the mode of transport.

January 1st - December 5th 1753

Bearers' entry money (3 at £3 each)		£9. - . -
Colliers' entry money (£1 for bringing a collier and payment of £3.18.0 to him as entry money)		4.18. -
Colliers' marriage premiums (2 at £12.12.0 each)		25. 4. -
Iron		45. - . -
Colliers' houses:		
Maintenance	£27. 4. -	
Locks	2. 5. -	
Building of chimney	1. 4. -	
Lime	<u>32. 8. -</u>	
		63. 1. -
Griever's house		32. 5. 8
Cluny Coal roads		53. 4. 6
Work on the Water Engine, etc.:		
Raising the pumps, etc.	£38.10. -	
For coal during frosts	5. 8. -	
Work on the machine and helping the mill wright	<u>24.10. -</u>	
		68. 8. -
Work at the New Sink:		
Cradling	£ 8. - . -	
Gunpowder	10. 4. -	
Roads in sinks	9. 3. -	
Mending breaks	4. - . -	

For 13 fathoms	£123. 8. 6
In full of account	<u>22. 8. -</u>

177. 3. 6

## Miscellaneous:

Boring at Ducksward	£31. -. -
To colliers	7. 4. -
Bread & drink	14. 10. -
Digging & driving sand	4. 2. -
Sawing wood for baskets	1. 16. -
Going message to Leith	1. 10. 6

## Tools:

1 axe	0. 16. 0
9 pick shafts	0. 18. 0
6 shovels &	
4 riddles	<u>2. 6. 0</u>
	4. -. -
Oil	-. 18. -
Adjusting coal weights	6. -. -
Sentry box for grieve	1. 10. -
Bringing tools from	
Sauchie to Cluny	1. 12. -
Searching for & bringing	
Jas. Ray back to his work	11. 9. -
2 loads of coal to	
Leslie House	<u>-. 9. -</u>

76. -. 6

Reference has already been made to the difficulty of setting down sinks at Cluny. It would appear from this account of the discharge of money at Cluny in 1753 that the miners were using gunpowder to aid them in their sinking operations. This was not the first time that it had been used at Cluny, for on 22nd July 1752 Henry Hog, the mill wright paid £61.13.0 Scots (£5.2.9 Sterling) to Robert Ninian of Kirkcaldy for oil and gunpowder for the Cluny Coal Works.<sup>61</sup>

It would appear that James Ray, the collier apprenticed to the Cluny work, absconded shortly afterwards, and the cost of searching for him and restoring him at his work amounted to £11.9.0 Scots. This was not the first time that this had occurred at Cluny, for in 1752 a mutiny of colliers broke out. In his 'Directions as to Coal', June 1752, Mr. Robertson called for the inquiry after the apprehension of the Hasties, two of the ring-leaders involved in the mutiny. He also warned any other colliers or their wives of the consequences of mutinous action on their part ('That the Coalliers or their Wives who shall be Mutinous or Abusive to their Neighbours shall be imprisoned until they acknowledge their fault').

To check on whether or not the colliers were obeying his orders, a worker was sent down to the coal face twice or thrice a week 'to Enquire if Everybody be at work and behaving well'.<sup>62</sup>

To quell the mutiny soldiers were brought in and six colliers were arrested and imprisoned, three at Cupar and three at Kirkcaldy. An 'Account of Expences Imprisoning Clunie Coaliers', 16th June 1752 is given below:<sup>63</sup>

Drink money to a party of soldiers who apprehended them	£-. 1. -
To the officer's servant	-. 1. -
Stabling Mr. Rolland's horse	-. -. 3
To each of the three soldiers that carried the colliers to Cupar prison, 2s.	-. 6. -
To a Corporal	-. 3. -
To each of the 5 soldiers that carried 3 colliers to Kirkcaldy, 1s. 6d.	-. 7. 6
To a Corporal	-. 2. -
To each of 2 sheriffs as fees, 2s. 6d.	-. 5. -
Paid to the gaoler at Cupar for maintenance of prisoners	-.11. 1
Consigned at Kirkcaldy for maintenance of prisoners	<u>-.10. 6</u>
	£2. 7. 4

The prisoners were released when they signed a document binding themselves to abide by the terms dictated by the Earl of Rothes.

Perhaps one of the causes of this unrest amongst the miners was what John Anderson called in his memorandum to the Earl of Rothes 'there bad manadgement in ye mine & boar'; Anderson blamed this on the smith and mill wright and also attacked them for fraudulent behaviour, stating that there was a great deficiency in the inventory of picks and boring rods and that 'your Lordships iron got not fair play'. In concluding his memorandum, Anderson stated that he hoped the Earl would not think of his action as being revengeful (as he had been dismissed as grieve several years earlier) and was prepared to provide proof of his accusations if desired by the Earl of Rothes.<sup>64</sup>

The coal grieve at Cluny, David Scott, was responsible for accounting for the delivery and sale of the coal from the colliery to Kirkcaldy and elsewhere. He was credited for any losses sustained if the selling price of the coal was lower than the price at which he had

been charged. He was also credited for any losses made in selling meal to the colliers. From the accounts of Cluny coal it is possible to analyse the proceedings in which Scott was involved. From September 1752 to January 1754 there were 2751 loads of coal delivered to the Earl's magazine at Kirkcaldy, and this was charged to Scott's account at the value of £618.19.7 Scots (£51.7s. Sterling). As well as supplying Kirkcaldy, the coal work at Cluny provided 100 loads of small and 10 loads of great coal for use at Leslie House at £24.15s. Scots (£2.1.5. Sterling). Then there were the coal stocks held at Cluny prior to the time when the miners began to uphold their own bings. Coal was sold from the old bings at 3d. per load, but as this was 1½d. less than the price charged the grieve, Scott was credited with the difference of £17.11 Scots (£1.8.5 Sterling); on another occasion his losses amounted to £31.11.3 Scots (£2.12.7 Sterling). There were further losses incurred by the grieve in the sale of meal to the colliers; these amounted to £93.4.7 Scots (£7.15.4 Sterling). In all, the amount owed by Scott to the Earl of Rothes came to £1199.1.7 Scots (£99.18.5 Sterling) and he was also accountable to the Earl for 817 loads of coal remaining in the bings.<sup>65</sup>

From the documents with which I have dealt one can readily see that the Earl of Rothes was faced with many problems at Cluny, and, therefore, did not benefit to any great extent financially. It would be wrong, however, to leave the reader with the impression that the Earl was a hard task-master; he was no more severe in his dealings with his workers than were his neighbours, in fact it is probably true to say that he was more benevolent in his concern for them.

In providing them with a house and yard he was only conforming to a practice quite common in other parts of the country. However, Rothes did not discard the miners unable to work at the face due to infirmities or age; he felt obliged to find other work at the colliery for them. He also allowed the widows and children of the deceased miners to remain in their houses and work was found for them either in drawing or bearing coal. In other words, Rothes protected them from the cradle to the grave. In an agreement made with the colliers in 1740 he said, 'And if any of the said Coal hewers shall through Age be unfitt for working at the saide Coale wall, the said Earle oblidges him and his foresaids to imploy them on such other work about the said Coall as they shall be found able to work at, they haveing served faithfully & honestly. And in case they or any of them die & leave Wedows & Children the said Earle & his foresaids are to continue them in the house & yeard, They working at his Coall in bearing, Drawing or otherways'.<sup>66</sup>

He was also responsible for attending to their medical needs; an account with a Dr. Henry Miller in 1764 for the Cluny colliers amounted to £43.5s. The medicines supplied by Dr. Miller were ipecacoan vomit (ipecacuanha), spirit of hartshorn, spirit of roses, rhubarb, purging powder, worm powder, basilicon, eye ointment, mercurial ointment, saffron, tartar vomit, oil of turpentine, pectoral electuary (mixed with honey) and strangthening & healing plasters. This was a detailed account as the names of the colliers and medicine prescribed for each was given.<sup>67</sup>

Probably the Earl of Rothes' greatest shortcoming in his relationship with his colliers was his failure to regularly visit the pits and learn first hand of the problems facing the workers there. On too many occasions he had to rely on others to inspect the works;

Roths was not really conversant with the various aspects of the mining industry and, therefore, his frequent absences from Leslie only aggravated a deteriorating situation.

(2) CADHAM

The coal being mined at the Cadham pit was the same as that denominated as 'Balbirnie Coal', which lay on both banks of the Leven, principally on the estate of Balbirnie, but partly in the lands of Roths and Coull, in one continuous seam. A portion of the field belonging to the Earl of Roths had at different times been leased to the proprietor of Balbirnie, who possessed peculiar advantages for working it, as the greater portion of the coal that was level free, and also more than half the under level, were in the Balbirnie estate.

This coal was wrought at a very remote period, but not extensively, previously to the year 1730 - when the nature of the field was more accurately ascertained by means of bores - proceeding from the old wastes in the direction of the river.<sup>68</sup>

From this account it is evident that the Earl of Roths had only a limited field at Cadham and any possibility of extending his mining enterprises could involve him in difficulties with his neighbours, in particular, Balbirnie, who shared the coal with him, and whose grounds lay to the east of Cadham.

In an exchange of communications between Stephen Rowe and the Earl of Roths reference was made to the Cadham mine. According to Rowe it started as a close mine on 10th April 1739; 18 months later, 6th October 1741, the cost of mens' wages had reached £65 Sterling. Only 4 miners and a drawer were employed, but, according to Mr. Rowe, they worked night and day.

The miners had contracted to work 52 fathoms at 10s.6d. Sterling per fathom. However, after further enquiry it was found that they had only worked 39 fathoms.

A trial sink was made during the above period with the miners being paid by the day; they sunk to a depth of 12 fathoms and were paid £20.13.6 $\frac{1}{2}$  Sterling. Then on 20th December 1739 a bore for air was made at a distance of 25 fathoms from the mouth of the mine; this was done at the cost of £6.10.9 Sterling. Later in the year, on 30th August, two more bores were made at a cost of £4.14.1 Sterling. The total cost of boring operations was £11.4.10 Sterling.<sup>69</sup>

Directions relating to the management of the Cadham Coal Works were similar to those for Strathore and Cluny. The grieve at Cadham, however, was required to ensure that the prices and sizes of the loads of coal 'conform to the Rules as near as possible observed at Balbirnies Coal Hill'.<sup>70</sup>

For this reason it was necessary to find out what Balbirnie paid his colliers and the prices at which he sold his coal. This was given in 'Queries and Answers with respect to the Manner of Mr. Balfour of Balbirnies Bargaining with his Colliers and Working his Coal', dated 22nd April 1742.

1st What is the price of each basket of small and great coal?

What is the price of 2 baskets, which is the common load, and what is the price of 3, which are the full load?

The price of 2 baskets is 3s.6d. and the price of 3 baskets, or a full load, is 5s.3d.

2nd What is it you pay each collier for working the 2-basket load, or do you pay him only for the 3-basket load of hacking money?

The collier is paid by the full load which consists of 3 baskets, 1s.8d.

Note: Each collier has a load a week allowed him by Balbirmie and each collier allows him a load each week for himself. It is left optional to the collier to take the load or money for it weekly at clearing as the grieve gives in his accounts.

3rd What do you pay the man for carrying on the level room?

The man that carries on the level room gets 12s. Scots (1s. Sterling) for each fathom of wall he cuts over and above the hacking money, for which he is paid as the other colliers; he is also paid for his drawers wages which is 15s. Scots (1s.3d. Sterling), the other collier whom he serves pays the other 15s. Scots (1s.3d. Sterling) which makes up the Half Crown (2s.6d. Sterling) weekly to the drawer.

4th What bargain do you make with your colliers about their Smiddie or Lime coal?

The bargain for the Smiddie coal is that each collier is paid at the end of the week for 8 loads at the rate of 10d. for each load; if they put out more they are not paid for it until it is sold off. Note:- it is to be minded that the stock in hand of the 8 load paid by Balbirmie must be first sold off before the colliers have payment on output in excess of the 8 loads.

As for lime coal, when there is a demand for it, he gives them 8d. Scots per load.

5th Who is it that pays the drawer, and how are the windlass men bargained with? Do they have any coal allowed them weekly besides their wages? To enquire at Balbirmie if he allows any more coal to be given than the due loads to any that comes to his hill.

The collier pays the drawer at the rate of £1.10s. Scots (2s.6d.

Sterling) per week and the master gives 2 baskets of coal weekly to each drawer; each windlass man gets £1.10s. Scots (2s.6d. Sterling) per week and 2 baskets of coal. Note:- Balbirnie gives nothing to the loads but out of the condemned loads that come up not full they have some given to make up the load in case they are not satisfied.

6th What is Balbirnie's bargain with his grieve and oversman?

The grieve gets £2 Scots (3s.4d. Sterling) per week and 2 cruize<sup>71</sup> of coals.

7th What does Balbirnie pay for carrying his small coal to Leven and what does he get from the merchant?

Balbirnie paid for the carriage of 2 baskets to Leven 3s.4d. and received from the merchant 6s.8d. for each load; it was customary for the merchant to pay the shore dues.

Note:- if there is a hitch or any trouble in the coal so that it is not in the power of the collier to work it, so as to have bread he gets 10s. Scots (10d. Sterling) per day for that work at the discretion of the oversman.

These above articles were attested by Robert Balfour, Balbirnie, April 28th 1742.<sup>72</sup>

The Earl of Rothes was now able to fix his own wages and prices so that he could compete on fair grounds with his neighbour.

There was not as much activity at Cadham as at Strathore and Cluny during this time. Bores were continued in and around Cadham, in particular in Auchmuty Ground. The miner engaged to make most of the bores and sinkings was George Scott who made two interesting bores in 1744. Journals were kept of the bores made at Auchmuty and opposite Balbirnie's dovecot. Very little coal was found, a seam 4 feet thick after sinking 13 fathoms and only a little over a foot in

a bore of 15 fathoms. A note in the journal referred to the difficulties Scott experienced in setting down 2 bore sinks at the foot of Cadham brae. He was stopped in both of them by sand beds. In another sink 8 fathoms west of Auchmuty miln he encountered clay and no metals; he also set down 2 fathoms opposite the Balbirnie Mill Dam and wrought 6 days in a sand bed but was eventually forced to stop boring because of flooding.<sup>73</sup>

Scott was engaged in 1746 as well in making trial bores near Auchmuty Mill; he was paid £2 Scots per fathom and after boring through 9 fathoms he encountered 5 feet of stone, being paid for this work the sum of £19.13.4 Scots (£1.12.9 Sterling).<sup>74</sup>

During the period 25th January to 14th June 1746, 10 colliers were employed at Cadham; their output of coal ranged from a low of 153 loads of great and 6 loads of small for the week ending 10th May to 358 loads of great and 29 loads of small for the week ending 14th June; the profits ranged from £12.1.4 to £48.11.8 Scots.<sup>75</sup> Total profits for the 5 month period were £540.13.0 Scots (actually 21 weeks or approximately £25.15s. per week). Provided the colliers could maintain this output for the remainder of the year, it might lead to an annual profit of around £1300 Scots (£108.6.8 Sterling). An account of charge and discharge between the Earl of Rothes and his factor with regard to Cadham coal (Nov. 1755 - Nov. 1756) showed a year's profit of £1115.16.1 Scots (£92.19.8 Sterling) from which Mr. Rolland, the factor, received £61.1.11 (£5.1.10 Sterling).<sup>76</sup> It would seem, then, that little or no expansion took place at Cadham during this period.

Two of the colliers employed at Cadham at this time were James Cairns and James Fortune, both of whom had been involved in disturbances at Cadham in 1742. They, according to the Petition and

Warrant from the Sheriff of Fife, were to be committed as prisoners within the Tolbooth of Cupar 'therein to remain till they find sufficient caution to perform and abide at their work as formerly and as the other neighbouring Coallyers are made to do according to justice'. According to William Hay, the Earl of Rothes' factor, James Cairns and James Fortune had turned 'so obstreperous that they refused to work at the said Coall at the ordinary rate the rest of the Coallyers at said work got and even tho' their wages have been considerably advanced. They threaten to leave the work which will not only be a great loss to the proprietor of the Coall but of verry bad example to the rest of his Coallyers and even to others in the neighbourhood'.<sup>77</sup>

These two men must have conducted themselves well after being released from the Tolbooth, since they were employees of the Earl of Rothes at Cadham in 1746 and a year later were appointed as tacksmen at Cluny, being paid 3s.3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. a fathom with the coals to themselves; they had to pay all the expenses of windlass men, drawers, etc.<sup>78</sup> Another of the Cadham colliers, David Arnit, was appointed as oversman at Cluny.

The collier with the record of greatest output at Cadham was Robert Blair, who had come to Cadham from Balbirnie's works. His son, George, would receive his full freedom from the Earl of Rothes in 1752. The terms of the agreement between the Earl of Rothes and George Blair called for a contract between the two for a three year period from Martinmas 1752 to Martinmas 1754. If George Blair worked in the Earl's coal works for one whole year without interruption at any one time preceding the latter date, then he would at the expiration of the said three years be at full freedom to leave the Earl of Rothes' coal works or to remain there at his pleasure without

'the hazard of incurring any new bondage by such Service'.<sup>79</sup> So, twenty years before the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1775, the Earl of Rothes had made it possible for one of his colliers to gain his full freedom.

With the 1775 Act went the last vestiges of legal slavery which bound Scotland's colliers and salters. This phasing out of servitude was finalised in 1799, but, despite being no longer bound, the vast majority of coal and salt workers stayed on in these occupations. The monetary advantages and the security of belonging to a close-knit social group may well have made the men and women of the colliery communities hesitant to try a new occupation and hostile to any incoming recruits with dissimilar backgrounds. It is worth noting the remarks on servitude of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, one of the leading eighteenth century experts on coal-mining. In 1772 Clerk considered that the laws regarding Scottish collieries had been highly subversive of the general interests of the coal trade and particularly to the interest of the coal masters. He felt that servitude had been the real cause of the present shortage of labour in the pits, for this state of employment had prejudiced the nation against the miners at a time when it was necessary to recruit more workers to satisfy the demands of an expanding industry. Therefore, Clerk warned his fellow proprietors that they must devise and promote such schemes that would gradually advance the liberty of the collier and free the public of the prejudices it held concerning this very valuable group of workers.<sup>80</sup> These schemes were produced and the collier gained his freedom, but the insularity of the colliery community was to remain throughout the next century, eventually to disappear when the contraction of the industry resulted in economic and social changes

which were to transform many old mining villages.

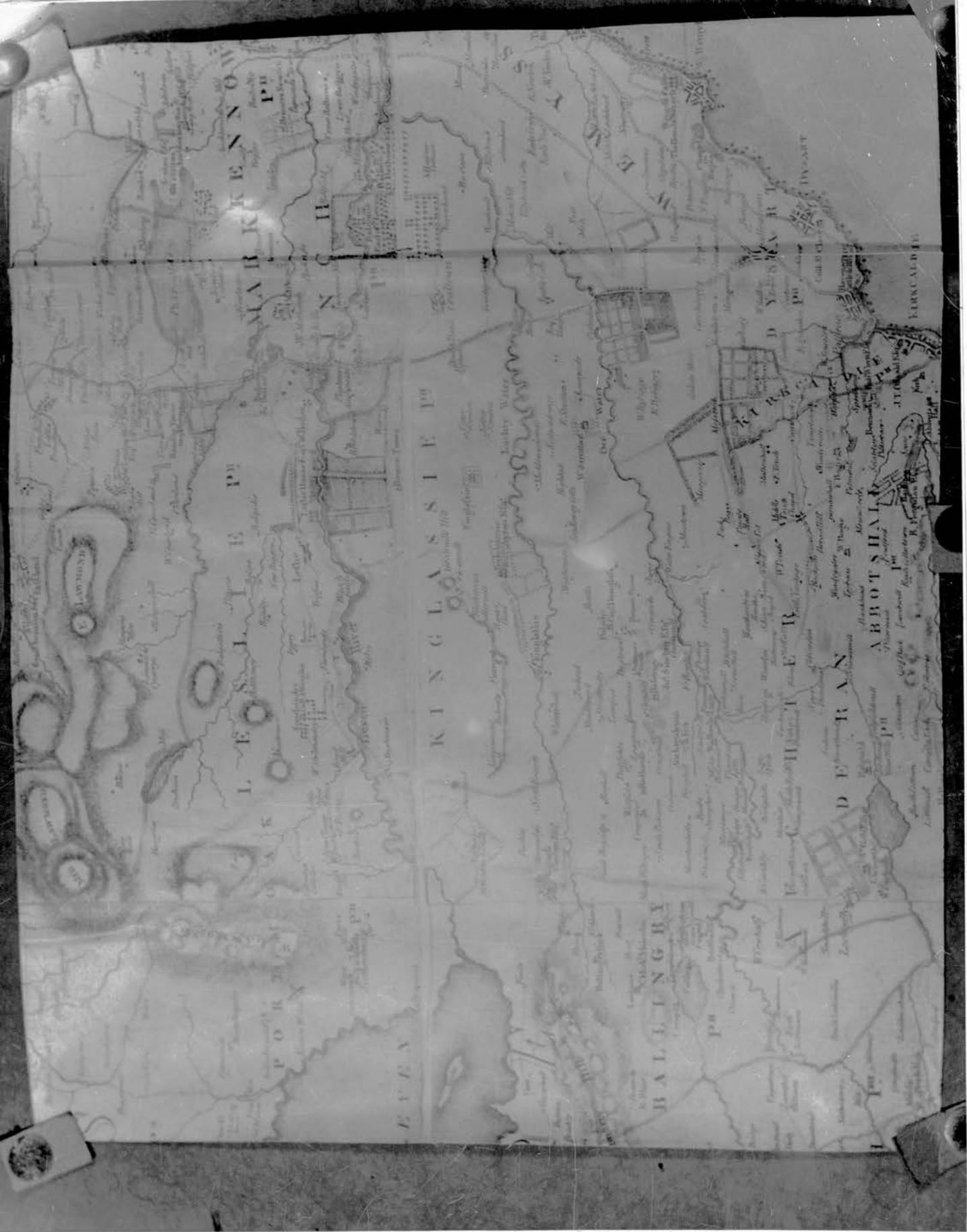
The Earl of Rothes will certainly not be accredited as being one of the most successful coal-owners of eighteenth century Scotland, and particularly of eastern Fife. Yet, despite the many set-backs he experienced at his collieries, his contribution to the mining industry was noteworthy. He tried to improve on the methods of mining by the introduction of machinery, by employing men experienced in the maintenance of such machinery, and by being always prepared to accept the advice offered by the various overseers and viewers whom he engaged to promote his enterprises.

As has been mentioned earlier, his greatest drawback was in being unable to be present when new trials were being made and new machines were being installed. Had he been able to visit his collieries more frequently, then, perhaps, he would have been in a much stronger position to deal with the problems; perhaps, too, by earning greater annual profits, it would have been possible to have spent more in overcoming the problems which were all too frequent - faulting, flooding and ventilation. In many ways one could compare the attempts of the Earl of Rothes to develop his mines at Strathore and Cluny with the efforts made by the National Coal Board to succeed at the Rothes Colliery (sited on ground previously belonging to the Earl of Rothes in immediate vicinity of his Strathore pit). There, too, similar problems were encountered and running costs were uneconomic, eventually forcing the closure of that works.

But, if the Earl of Rothes failed in making a real success of mining in regards to profits, it can be said that he was always concerned for his work people, taking a paternal interest in them by providing them with 'cradle to the grave' security. Eventually the Earl's mining enterprises were sold in order to meet the rising costs

and debts of estate life. Coal-mining had become the main industrial activity of the family, but, unfortunately for the Leslies, the returns were extremely low and so they were unable to continue living in the grand manner of many of their associates in the coal-mining industry. Their near neighbours, Balfour of Balbirnie, Balgonie, Wemyss and St. Clair were to reap far greater rewards from coal. For the ninth and tenth Earls of Rothes finding a solution to the acute problems of flooding and faulting proved to be too much and the family was forced to part with their mineral possessions by the end of the eighteenth century. Yet, as is shown by a study of the documents, the Earls made their contribution to the development of coal-mining in the eighteenth century. As well as having to cope with the technical problems of mining, the tenth Earl was struck a cruel blow in the loss of most of his mansion house in 1763, an event which greatly undermined his financial resources and forced him to change his plans.

A section of John Ainslie's map of Fife in 1775 is shown overleaf; many of the place names mentioned in this and preceding chapters are shown, in particular the location of the water engine near Cluny.



Section of Map of Fife,  
1775 by John Ainslie

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27. Ibid.: Selection from Discharged Accounts, etc. for year 1745.
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29. Ibid.: Minute of Agreement between John Angus & George White Colliers for 6 Fathoms of the Mine @ £7 p. fathom (13th April 1745).
30. Ibid.: Discharge George White of 3 fathoms of the Cropt mine in full of his bargain for 6 fathoms (25th April 1745).
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36. Ibid.: Memorandum with regard to Clunie Coal works & Trials to be made on Auchmuty Ground (26th August 1748).
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67. Ibid.: Account of medicine supplied by Dr. Miller for Cluny colliers (1764).
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69. Rothes Papers: Papers Between the Earl of Rothes & Mr. Row on the Coal Affairs at Clunie & Cadham (1739).
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Chapter VI.Conclusion

The Earls of Rothes, although not so well known as some of the other great proprietors for their contribution to the development of agriculture and industry in Scotland during the eighteenth century, nevertheless showed great concern in these activities and followed the practices to which so many were conforming. Thus they made their contribution, as is evident throughout the main themes of this thesis.

This noble family, which played such a prominent part in Scotland during the seventeenth century, directed most of its attention to the political and military affairs of the realm, and, because of this, the Earls of Rothes were required to spend considerable time in England and Ireland during the eighteenth century. By absenting themselves from their estates at Leslie and Ballinbreich, the work they should have been carrying out in personal supervision was often entrusted to their subordinates who were frequently left entirely free to conduct the business of estate management. It would seem that the Earls of Rothes ran their estates in the same manner as they commanded regiments in the army, issuing orders and directions to factors and grieves whenever they thought it necessary. But as history has proved so frequently, proficiency in military administration is not always transferable to other activities. The Earls, perhaps, through their absenteeism, were unable to establish close personal contacts between themselves and their employees, relying continually on others to direct their economic activities at a time when their presence on their estates during this transitional period might have been worth much more than all the orders issued from the remoteness of London.

They were not too successful in reaping enough profit from their

enterprises, in particular coal mining. Perhaps they were not aggressive enough in their dealings with their employees and failed to cope with the situations that arose during the period. Their workers on the whole appeared to be content to remain in their employment, for many who served the ninth Earl stayed on to work for the tenth, as did their families. Whether at the coal face or in the fields or at the House, the workers as a rule were loyal to their masters who were well known to workers from neighbouring estates. In fact, in one particular case, miners who had previously worked for the Earl of Leven, withdrew their services to him in order to work for the Earl of Rothes who offered them better conditions. And then there were the families of miners who remained in the employment of the Earls of Rothes for long periods, thus showing that they must have found their masters to be fair-minded men. One is left to wonder how the Earls might have reacted to their workers if they had been able to have spent more of their time at home. On the whole human relations in industry were good, as there is very little evidence of conflicts between the Earls and their employees. As well as providing good conditions of service the Earls of Rothes looked after those of their employees who found themselves in dire straits through illness or misfortune, providing them with roof and food, thus establishing a form of social security for those in need. These, perhaps, were some of the fringe benefits that were partly responsible for the workers remaining in long service to their employers, the Earls of Rothes consequently being rather fortunate in not continually having to seek out employees for the estate.

The recruiting of workers, either for the House and farms or for the mines, was the responsibility of the factors, but as there was a very strong family structure in the work force, there was no need to

build up the labour force outwith the estate except on rare occasions. Sons and daughters followed their parents into service on the Rothes Estate, either in the House and farms or in the newly-developed coal-mines at Strathore, Cluny and Cadham. Those employed at the House, as has already been illustrated in the chapter on Leslie House, were paid higher wages than house-servants in the town of Leslie and for this reason the Earls had no staffing problems at the House. Throughout the documents relating to wages there is ample evidence to support the conclusion that work conditions on the whole were favourable on the estate, the Earls, particularly the tenth Earl, taking the view that in their business transactions fair play and justice were essential.

If, then, the conditions of service under the Earls of Rothes were equal and often superior to these under other proprietors and labour relations were good, what were the reasons for the eventual financial collapse of the Rothes Estate, culminating in the sale of farms and coal-mines in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the final sale of the House and policies in 1919? It is evident from the chapters on agriculture and coal-mining that very little profit was made in both enterprises, and, this being a time of revolution in both fields, the capital outlay was heavy, especially in coal-mining. This is borne out by the transactions that took place in the setting up of the mining machinery, the costs of boring and probing for coal, and the need to employ men with technical expertise - all at heavy cost to the tenth Earl, who was also engaged in carrying out improvements in agriculture, sitting in London as one of the Scottish Representative Peers and responsible for the forces in Ireland - heavy financial commitments by one who was not always able to be on the spot when problems arose and thus had to deal with second-hand information

quite frequently. Therefore, the tenth Earl had to place much trust in those who served him, relying on them for advice and guidance; this is especially true of those who supervised the building of his coal-works. Through family connections he was able to draw on the services of men who had become quite successful in coal-mining, thus having the benefit of their over-sight of his works. Yet despite this, no great profits were made from mining; this is evident in the mining documents which clearly illustrate the many engineering difficulties faced by managers and workers in extracting the coal, problems that reappeared recently at the Rothes Colliery and which eventually forced the National Coal Board to discontinue all mining operations there. Perhaps, if these documents had been known at the time of the commencement of drilling by the N.C.B. less money might have been expended on what appeared to be a fruitless enterprise.

I do not think that the overseers and managers failed the Earl in directing operations at his coal-works. They appeared to be conscientious men, very enthusiastic about what they were doing, and just as much concerned about making the mines viable as their employers, but geographical factors, especially faulting and flooding, were the main problems to be resolved. In not having control of exporting facilities the tenth Earl was dependent on the good-will of others, notably Lord St. Clair who controlled Dysart Harbour. Thus, many problems beset the Earls of Rothes in the pursuance of their coal-mining enterprises, but it is evident from the documents that they faced up to them as best they could and were prepared to experiment with the new engineering technology of the century. They were not merely onlookers, hoping to benefit from their mineral resources with little effort on their part, but men who invested in this industry, thus making their contribution to the scientific and

technological advancements of the day. Like their neighbours, Balfour and St. Clair, they relied on profits from mining in the running of their estates. When one considers how attractive the first estimates of the financial gains to be realised from coal were, then it is no wonder that so much was invested by the Earls in this industry. They were unable to invest in other industries as their financial resources by the middle of the eighteenth century were in a very serious state. The heavy drain on their financial reserves in the maintenance of estate life at Leslie made it virtually impossible for them to seek profits from other sources. There is no mention of their being involved in the manufacture of linen and other textiles which were bought from local weavers in Leslie and Kirkcaldy.

It would appear that they did not invest as heavily in agricultural improvements, but as a rule agriculture in the county was not in such an advanced state as it was in other parts of the country, e.g. the Lothians and Aberdeenshire. The Earls' neighbours are not noted for their agricultural achievements and seemed more content to concentrate on the development of their mineral resources which provided them with the income required in running their estates. The Earls of Rothes, as in the case of coal-mining, left the management of their farms to the factors and grieves. There is no evidence of their employing specialists to direct their agricultural operations, which were managed by local people and which were mainly subsistence-level activities. Although loyal to their masters these local overseers had to be continually informed of their duties by the Earls and seemed to have little control of the situation. Nor were they very knowledgeable of the new agricultural techniques, relying on past methods, only introducing changes when directed to do so by their employers. The Earls, however, well aware of the new

improvements, tried earnestly to introduce these reforms on their farms, but were greatly hampered by their frequent absences from Leslie. Not only were the factors responsible for managing their employers' farms, but involvement in the mining enterprises was very demanding, compelling them to spend considerable time in these affairs. For this reason it would seem that they were unable to acquire the specialisms needed to direct the agricultural activities more efficiently and on a grander scale.

The Earls did not realise great profits from farming but were able to become self-sufficient in most of the foods needed to feed the family and servants. In farming, practices already in vogue were followed by them, their most characteristic contribution to agriculture, as already stated, being the establishment of the plantations at Leslie, thus enhancing the natural beauty of the area. As far as the other practices - the enclosing of fields, the rearing of beef cattle and draught oxen - these were common throughout the country during this period. The arrangement of the farming units at Ballinbreich has already been mentioned and in this form of land allocation the tenth Earl may have made a rather important contribution to agricultural reform in Fife. Perhaps, in the rearing of work horses to be used on the estate, the tenth Earl was introducing some changes in the use of horses as draught animals; he made use of them later in drawing his coal carts from Cluny to Kirkcaldy. Being a military man, he was more interested, it would seem, in the care of the army horses which were frequently grazed at Leslie and Ballinbreich. So in agricultural matters very little in new methods or ideas was introduced by the ninth and tenth Earls, who, conforming to the customs of the day, employed their workers in maintaining high standards in the policies in order to improve the

quality of life on the estate. On the whole it would seem that their farming operations were overshadowed by coal-mining with its innovations.

It was on the estate, especially in the House, that life was lived in a manner befitting a country gentleman in eighteenth century Scotland. The House of Leslie was one of the great architectural show-pieces of the country and a reflection of life during a time when great changes were occurring throughout the country. The House, built at the time when family fortunes were at their height, was to become a tremendous drain on the finances of the ninth and tenth Earls, who were required to bear maintenance costs out of very limited profits made from farming and coal-mining. It would appear that any financial reserves would soon run out if income from their economic interests fell off. The ninth and tenth Earls were left with a legacy which demanded much from them in time and money.

They were faced with unsurmountable difficulties in trying to maintain the style of life which they inherited from the seventh Earl, the Duke of Rothes. He was one of the most influential men in Scotland during the seventeenth century and, like so many of his contemporaries of that period, had created at Leslie House the style of life derived from the Renaissance concept that a great noble should live in a splendid manner. Being the holder of several Scottish offices, the most important being that of Chancellor from 1664 to 1681, he acquired great wealth which was expended on the building of one of Scotland's great mansion houses. As long as these offices were retained by his successors the estate could be maintained in a fitting manner and improvements carried out. But when the seventh Earl died in 1681 leaving no male heir, the estate now became the responsibility of the eighth Countess of Rothes, who from 1681 to 1700 had to support this

grandiose style of living from the profits derived from the estate's resources, farming and mining, both in a state of flux at the time. When she inherited the estate, she became one of the largest property holders in Fife, her lands being valued at the following rents:

Flisk	£2266. 6. 8
Cupar	189. 0. 0
Dunbog	608. 0. 0
Falkland	26. 0. 0 (feu)
Dysart	509.11. 0
Leslie	2248.13. 4
Kennoway	42. 0. 0
Ballingry	400. 0. 0
Kinglassie (Lugtoun & Caskieberran)	2134. 0. 0
Auchterderran	470. 0. 0

By the end of the eighteenth century most of these lands had been sold in order to pay off the soaring debts accumulated by the ninth and tenth Earls and to help defray the costs of rebuilding the fire-damaged Leslie House after 1763. The eighth Countess could concentrate on the affairs of the estate, but, not being eligible to draw income from the State, had to depend on the financial reserves left by her father. Thus when the title and estate passed to her son, the ninth Earl, the financial situation was becoming more serious. He was able to regain some of the positions held previously by the Duke of Rothes but the financial return from them was not sufficient to maintain the affluency of estate life without further drains on the financial reserves. Desperate to continue this gracious style of living the ninth and tenth Earls had to borrow great sums of money, mainly in the form of heritable bonds, and ran up heavy arrears in fees due to their

servants and small debts. In 1720 the ninth Earl owed £15,239.18.10 in small debts and servants fees,<sup>2</sup> while the tenth Earl was faced with debts of £22,279.18.5 around about 1750;<sup>3</sup> this is shown below:

	<u>Sterling</u>
To Robert Ferguson of Raith (heritable bond)	£2500. 0. 0
Lady Jean Leslie, sister (security)	£400. 0. 0
Lady Margaret Leslie, sister (security)	<u>500. 0. 0</u>
	£900. 0. 0
Paid	<u>539. 8. 2</u>
Balance	360.11.10
Lady Jean Evelyn, daughter (heritable bond)	5000. 0. 0
Lady Mary Leslie, daughter (heritable bond)	4000. 0. 0
Heirs of Mr. John Philp (personal bond)	300. 0. 0
Heirs of Thomas Henderson (personal bond)	40. 0. 0
Kirk Session of Leslie	300. 0. 0
Andrew Drummond, assignee of Alex. Ross (balance)	19.13. 3
Patrick Yeaman	807. 0. 0
Patrick Craufurd	366.13. 0
Major John Melville (personal bond)	1200. 0. 0
"   "   "   (bill)	120. 0. 0
Bank of Scotland (bond)	2000. 0. 0
Royal Bank of Scotland (bond)	1000. 0. 0
George Reid of London	766. 0. 0
Captain Montgomery (personal bond)	500. 0. 0
George Ross, trustee for the Earl's fund in England	2000. 0. 0
His Majesty (bail-bond for collecting Crown Rents)	<u>1000. 0. 0</u>
	£22,279.18. 5
Annuity to Mary, Countess of Rothes during her lifetime if she survives the said Earl	£333. 6. 8

By 1758 the debts owed by the tenth Earl amounted to more than £50,000, and as the yearly rent of the estate was only about £2000, the creditors insisted on immediate payment or they would bring the estate to sale.<sup>4</sup> In these circumstances the Earl applied to Patrick Craufurd of Auchinames (near Errol) to manage the estate as Trustee for the purpose of paying the debt and saving to the family a Reversion which it was hoped would be considerable as his Lordship enjoyed considerable offices under the Government. Any savings would be applied to the payment of the debts. Mr. Craufurd, a friend of the family, agreed to act as Trustee and six deeds were executed by the Earl in prosecution of this plan:<sup>5</sup>

- I. A Disposition of the lands of the Barony of Rothes and certain other lands lying in the counties of Fife, Perth, Elgin, Forres and Aberdeen, which belonged to his Lordship in superiority only. (1 April 1761).
- II. A Disposition of the lands of the Barony of Ballinbreich, the lands of Strathore and others lying in the county of Fife, which belonged to his Lordship in property and on which last mentioned Disposition Mr. Craufurd was infeft; along with the Infefment was recorded a list of debts subscribed by the Earl as relative to those two Dispositions. (26 April 1761).
- III. A Disposition and Assignation of the Rents, Mails and Duties of the lands and Barony of Leslie during the Earl's lifetime, and of the Earl's stocking of corn and cattle and instruments of husbandry. (9 April 1761).
- IV. An Assignation of his Lordship's salary as Chamberlain of Fife and Strathearn so long as His Majesty should continue him in that office. (9 April 1761).

- V. An obligation to convey £1700 yearly of the Profits arising from his Lordship's commission as Colonel of the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, so long as he should continue to command that Regiment. (19 June 1761).
- VI. A Disposition of the lands and Barony of Leslie in security of such debts as Mr. Craufurd should pay and for relief of such obligations as he should come under in the execution of the said Trust, over and above the value and produce of the Subjects conveyed to him by the five Deeds beforementioned. (9 April 1761).

The first five deeds were ex facie, absolute conveyances but Mr. Craufurd granted two Obligations or Back Bonds, declaring them to be in Trust. He agreed to apply the prices and produce of the subjects conveyed to him in payment of the Earl's debts and children's provisions. The sixth deed, in gremio, was in security only, and the lands disposed were redeemable by the Earl upon payment of such sums as Mr. Craufurd should advance or become liable for in the execution of the Trust.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Craufurd proceeded to the execution of the Trust, selling most of the superiorities contained in the first Disposition and the property lands of Ballinbreich contained in the second, but not the lands of Strathore. He levied the rents of the lands and other subjects which had been conveyed to him, applying the prices and produce thereof for the purposes of the Trust, except £1935, the amount paid for the lands of Pitcairn. These lands came up for sale during the subsistence of the Trust and Mr. Craufurd, acting on the wishes of the Earl, purchased them for the family. Mr. Craufurd also borrowed from time to time several sums of money to be used to pay the most pressing debts until the subjects of the Trust could be sold

for profit. In the execution of the Trust he did not uplift any money for himself and paid all the money collected to the Earl's receiver.<sup>7</sup>

As the family debts were very considerable the purchasers of the lands that were sold insisted that Mr. Craufurd be obliged to relieve these lands of all debts and incumbrances; such obligations of warrandice were granted by Mr. Craufurd in each Disposition that was granted during his administration of the Trust.

Before the debts of the family were fully paid the tenth Earl died and was succeeded by his son, John, the eleventh Earl, who was unable to manage his own affairs, having suffered from epilepsy from his youth. His father desired to place the handling of the Estate in Trustee, but was unable to complete this undertaking as his own health was in a very serious state. In a letter to his son he mentioned a group of friends who would assist the young Earl, these being the Duke of Montrose, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Elgin, Lord George Hay, Major John Melville of Murdo Cairney and Mr. Patrick Craufurd of Auchinames. The tenth Earl died in 1767 and his wish to have his son's estate administered by his friends was approved by the eleventh Earl who allowed the friends of the family to act as Interdictors in the handling of the affairs of the Estate.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Craufurd did not agree with the plan of management submitted by these friends and decided to withdraw from the Trust. It was now necessary to clear up the several accounts for which he was liable and to be released from his obligation of warrandice. Meanwhile the young eleventh Earl had written to the Earl of Lauderdale requesting him to manage the Estate and to conduct any business through the Earl's advocate, Mr. David Rae. The remaining interdictors now decided to withdraw from helping the young Earl, who, until the time of his death,

appeared to act without trustees, interdictors and Commissioners. However, the affairs of the Estate were carried on under the direction of the Earl of Lauderdale assisted by Mr. David Rae, Advocate. In these circumstances Mr. Craufurd was advised to have his account settled and himself exonerated of the Trust by the authority of the Court of Session. This action was immediately brought by Mr. Craufurd before Lord Kennet Ordinary on 11 March 1769. Lord Kennet remitted to Alexander Farquharson, Accountant, an Interloqr. to examine the accounts and report their state; this was completed by 6 August 1772 and a report was submitted to the Court. During the period of the Trusteeship Mr. Craufurd collected £91064.11.11<sup>8</sup>/12 Sterling and paid out £90898.8.9<sup>8</sup>/12, leaving a balance of £166.3.2, which was placed in the hands of the Earl's receiver and credited to another account. No objections were raised by the Earl's prosecutors and approval was given by the Lord Ordinary on 5 March 1773. To protect Mr. Craufurd from any claims that might be brought against him, the Earl was ordained to lodge in process a draught of an Heritable Bond of relief on his Estate. Mr. Craufurd at the same time was ordained to lodge in process a draught of a Disposition to be granted by him reconveying to the Earl such of the lands disposed by the tenth Earl that were not sold and also the lands of Pitcairn bought by Mr. Craufurd during the Trusteeship.<sup>9</sup>

The eleventh Earl died in July before the draughts of the above deeds could be completed and was succeeded on the Estate by his eldest sister, the Lady Jane Elizabeth, the twelfth Countess of Rothes. She examined the financial report and approved it in general, granting an Heritable Bond of relief in which she gave a personal obligation. Mr. Craufurd agreed to accept this personal obligation so new deeds were made out restoring the lands and properties entrusted to Mr.

Craufurd to the Countess.

By March 1775 the Estate had diminished to less than half of what it had formerly been. When the twelfth Countess succeeded to the title and properties she was dissatisfied with its financial condition which she considered was being further weakened by the payment of two Jointures and the interest on the debts contracted by her predecessors. Under these circumstances she considered herself bound, as Guardian of the Family, to do everything in her power to reduce the burdens affecting the Estate in order, if possible, to transmit what remained of it to the future representatives of the family. Acting on this motive she challenged the marriage contract of her brother so far as to reduce the provision granted by him to his wife. At this time the debts were about £6000 Sterling, a considerable amount having been paid off by Mr. Craufurd.<sup>10</sup>

The eleventh Earl had married Miss Jane Maitland, daughter of Captain Thomas Maitland of Soutra in April 1768 but did not enter into a contract of marriage at the time. A post-nuptial contract of marriage was completed on 28 May 1769 and a covenant signed promising his wife a life annuity of 6000 merks, £600 Sterling as aliment and mourning, and all goods and services including jewellery worth £700 Sterling. When the young Earl succeeded his father he possessed an estate which, including £200 arising from the profit of coal deducting the cost of the Jointure paid to his mother, and the public burdens yielded a net rent of £1360. The debts then owed by the family amounted to £24,000, the interest on which was £1200. This left a balance of £160 which was subject to factor fee, repairs and expence of management, so that in effect the eleventh Earl earned nothing from the estate. To pay off these heavy debts, in February

1769 he sold the Barony of Cluny with the coal-works, the lands of Beg and Coalden and the lands of Drummain, Hole and Balgethrie for £19,300 which was applied towards payment of the debts. After the sale he retained the Estate as shown in the plan made for the twelfth Countess in 1775 (see p. 61). This was the Estate inherited by the Countess in 1775, the time when she decided to challenge her brother's marriage contract.<sup>11</sup>

The Estate in 1769 after the payment of cess, ministers' stipends and other public burdens yielded an annual rent of £1050. After deducting the Countess Dowager's Jointure of £333.6.8 and the interest of £250 on the £5000 debt still outstanding the eleventh Earl was left with a balance of £466.13.4, out of which he paid the factor fee, repairs and general costs of estate management costing £66.13.4, leaving a balance of £400. From this £30 was deducted as the interest on the £600 aliment money and £333.6.8 as Jointure money; this left a balance of £36.13.4. At the same time the Estate was under a strict Entail and burdened with debts of approximately £6000, for payment of which there was no fund but by further sales of lands.<sup>12</sup>

The twelfth Countess, faced with this burden, was able to retain most of the Estate, but, despite all her efforts to pay off the outstanding debts, by 1817 the Estate was still burdened with £596.10.1. When the fourteenth Earl died on 11 February 1817 a statement of the funds of the Estate was compiled; this is given below:<sup>13</sup>

Rent Arrears	£2376. 2.10	
Less: Bankruptcies	<u>400. 0. 0</u>	£1976. 2.10
Rent of Whole Estate	£4555. 3.10	

Less: Rent of own farm	£512. 5.10	
Produce of Balgeddie	216. 5. 9	
Rent & feu duties payable at Mart. 1816	<u>1997.19. 0</u>	
		<u>2726. 9. 9</u>
Balance	£1828.14. 1	1828.14. 1
Price of coal, limestone and lime unpaid on 11 Feb. 1817		185.14. 0
Estimated value of horses, black cattle, sheep, corn, etc.		1287.14. 6
Value of Countess' farms		400. 0. 0
Three-fourths of £2031.14.9 expended by the late Earl on improvements on the Entailed Estate in terms of the Act 10 George 3 Cap, 51		1523.16. 0
Estimated value of furniture, bed & table linen, etc. at Leslie House		<u>1000. 0. 0</u>
Amount of Funds		£8252. 1. 5

The financial state of the family was still serious and further sales were contracted during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, culminating with the sale of the House and Policies to Major Spencer-Nairn in 1919. Included in the eighteenth century sales was the land of Strathore around about 1800, thus further depleting the resources of coal before any really profitable returns could be made from this enterprise.

The eleventh Earl, unable to handle his own affairs, made no impact on the political life of Scotland. Nor did his sister, Jane Elizabeth, who inherited the lands and title as the twelfth Countess of Rothes. She was not eligible for a seat in Parliament, so for 37

years, the length of her inheritance, there was no representative of this old Scottish family actively engaged in political affairs. The Countess did make an effort to restore some of the family's economic fortunes at Leslie, but her marriage into an English family meant having to spend time away from her Scottish estates. There are a considerable number of manuscripts relating to her experiences at Leslie, and these could provide a research student with a valuable source of information on estate management during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. When the Countess' son, George William, thirteenth Earl of Rothes, succeeded to the title, the political fortunes of many landowning families were receding. He was elected as one of the Scottish Representative Peers, but two long breaks in the family's political commitments, the times of the eighth and twelfth Countesses, were too much so the influence of this noble family now began to wane. The family, not as prosperous and influential as in earlier years, was never again to ascend to the heights attained by the seventh Earl, the Duke of Rothes.

A very serious misfortune occurred in 1763 when three-quarters of Leslie House was destroyed by fire. The splendid library and picture gallery, two of the outstanding features of this magnificent building, along with most of the well-furnished rooms, were destroyed. This was a terrible blow to the tenth Earl, and although some valuable paintings were salvaged, he was never able to fully recover from the catastrophe. This, no doubt, was to have a serious effect on his position at a time when great men were known not only for what they had achieved but in how they lived and the status they had acquired through the possession of goods and properties. The reconstructed Leslie House, which rose above the ashes of the original one was only a shadow of the former and no longer one of the great seats of a Scottish noble family. The

Leslies were, perhaps, still noble in heart and action, but they fell in rank after this and the urgency of resolving ever-present problems at Leslie forced the tenth Earl and his heirs to fix their attention on these, thus leading to a withdrawal from an active political life. Yet by the early nineteenth century great political reforms were in the making and power was passing from the landed gentry to the men of industry and commerce, so this might quite possibly have happened anyhow. Had it been possible for them to have transferred their interests from politics to economics, perhaps they might have played a more active role in the affairs of Scotland at some later date. This was not to be, for industry was not kind to the family and eventually many of the properties had to be sold, including the family's major industrial enterprise, their coal-works. Therefore, one of the outstanding Scottish families of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was by the middle of the nineteenth century to become just one of the growing number of less affluent and less influential land-owners, many by now more attuned to life in England than in their native Scotland.

From this study of the Rothes' manuscripts it has been possible to gain a deeper understanding of the character of the people, regardless of rank, who were to play such an active part during this period of transition in the economic life of Scotland. Despite the social stratification of the day, all classes and manner of people were involved in striving to create a better social and economic environment. This is illustrated time and time again in the documents, with the esprit de corps of those who served the Earls appearing to be high. The Earls of Rothes, if not successful business men, were at least fair and decent employers - industrial relations were good on the Rothes Estate, probably better than in many other places. In

several instances the men employed by them were ready to protect their interests with no financial reward in sight. There is little evidence of the workers taking advantage of the Earls when their employers were away from home by profiting from their misfortunes. No hard bargains were struck by the Earls with their workers; in fact, it would appear that they were only too ready to give their employees the benefit of the doubt by not being prepared to take an unfair advantage of them. The Leslie's acted according to the law of the land which they upheld at all times. The Earls of Rothes were men of high moral qualities, honest and just in their dealings with others and benevolent to those with whom they associated, whether fellow-officers in the army or employees on the estate. Frequently they took responsibility for the payment of officers' bills, adding to the already heavy debts incurred by them. For example, around about 1750 the tenth Earl accepted a Captain Wilson's bills amounting to £1627.11.10½ at a time when his own debts were heavy.<sup>14</sup>

In concluding this thesis it can be said that the Earls of Rothes helped to create a much healthier social and economic environment in which men lived and worked. They were not afraid to invest in improving agriculture and coal-mining on their estates and, as a result, progress was made in these ventures without the need to subject their workers to unbearable conditions. The estate at Leslie was a place where men and women lived and worked in close harmony, where the 'good life' was enjoyed by all despite differences in class structure, and a model for estates of the period. The 'good life' experienced at Leslie House was to be extended to the town of Leslie as well. In the Old Statistical Account the Reverend George Willis referred to the alteration in the manner of living of the townspeople of Leslie during his ministry there during the second half of the

eighteenth century. In his report Willis wrote "There is not in Britain, a parish of the same extent, in which the people are more sober, honest and industrious, nor among whom there have been fewer gross crimes committed, than at Leslie . . . . In the church of Leslie no person is seen in rags. The young men wear coats of English cloth, fancy vests, etc. and the young women printed and white cotton silk cloaks and bonnets. The dress of the maid-servant makes no inconsiderable addition to the expence of the family in the article of washing. Their furniture is also much better . . ." <sup>15</sup>

So despite serious financial problems, which eventually forced the family to sell their lands, it would appear that the neighbouring people were enlightened by the quality of life on the Rothes Estate and the ninth and tenth Earls struggled desperately to maintain that quality against all odds. It would be a sad experience for the family in having to part with lands which long had been entrusted to them, but economic necessity forced them to break up the estate. However, it is fitting today that a thriving community of people of all walks of life live and work in harmony in the new 'Rothes Estate' of the twentieth century - the New Town of Glenrothes. The new proprietors, Glenrothes Development Corporation, like the Earls of Rothes of the eighteenth century, bear the responsibility of developing the 'policies' in such a way that future generations will consider themselves fortunate in having inherited such a legacy.

References: Conclusion

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The plans and maps used in this thesis were obtained from the Scottish Record Office, Register House, Edinburgh and the National Monuments Record of Scotland, Melville Street, Edinburgh. The Register House Plan numbers (RHP) are given for these, and should any student wish to carry out further research in the early nineteenth century, two estate plans for 1810 and 1811 are available at Register House (RHP 3595 and 3640).

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Appendix 1

Account with James Norrie for paintwork June 1741

	<u>yds.</u>	<u>ft.</u>
Vestibule: stone colouring measuring	194	2
Parlour: olive	124	3
Green closet: stone	18	8
Drawing Room windows: marble	23	-
Bed-chamber: white	76	6
Dressing Room & Passage: stone	63	1
The Lord's Dressing Room & Passage: olive	98	8
Red Damask Room: white	101	5
Closet of Said Room: white	47	4
Lady Jean's Room: stone	33	7
Lady Margaret's Room: white	50	-
The Closet: olive	45	6
The Old Hall & Closet: white	62	8
Mohair Room: white	86	7
The Passage & Closet: stone	126	5
Second Table Room: stone	69	1
Servants' Room: stone	96	1
The Stairs & Passages, rail high: wainscot coloured	212	3
The Room above Lady Jean's	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
In All	1569 yds.	
At 8d. per yard, all primed and finished in oil	£52. 6. -	
To painting the fine closet once over in white oil, measuring 58 yds. @ 4d.	-.19. 4	
To painting 130 ft. of mouldings in the top rail of one of the stairs @ 1d. per ft.	-.10.10	

To gilding the mouldings of the Mohair Room, measuring 354 ft. @ 3d. per ft.		£ 4. 8. 6
To gilding about the windows of the Low Drawing Room, 249 ft. of moulding at 3d. per ft.		3. 2. 3
To enriching the architraves round the doors, measuring 149 ft. @ 4d. per ft.		<u>-.16. 4</u>
		£62. 3. 3
To varnishing & renewing several parts of the painting in the Lower Dining Room		-. 8. -
To colouring the outside of 4 sash windows in white oil		-. 4. -
To colouring 6 timber chairs in green oil		-. 6. -
To whitening the ceilings of 8 rooms and the roofs and walls of the laigh passage, pantry and stairs		1. -. -
Nov. 5th		
1 stone of ground white lead	-. 6. 8	
3 cho. of boiled & clean oil	-. 3. 3	
1 small brush	-. -. 6	
1 pig & a bottle	<u>-. -. 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></u>	<u>-.10. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></u>
		£64.11.11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

Appendix 2

Account with James Boswall for Glass-work (1716-57)

	<u>Scots</u>
No. 1 Given to Mr. Hay, 1716 to 1723	£250.13. -
2 18/4/23 to 22/7/23	13.10. -
3 1/9/23 to 27/7/31	£146. -. -
4 5/10/31 to 21/12/37	<u>99.18. -</u>
	245.18. -
5 Outwork, 4/12/23 to 8/3/39	145. -. -
6 New windows, 12/7/38 to 24/4/45	276. 4. -
Salary from Martinmas 1716 to Martinmas 1747 at £24 Scots yearly, being 31 years	<u>744. -. -</u>
	£1675. 5. -
7 Acct. for the House from 8/7/48 to 16/9/50	62.13. -
8 Outwork for House, 17/9/48 to 5/12/51	127. -. -
Salary, Martinmas 1747 to Martinmas 1757	<u>96. -. -</u>
	<u>285.13. -</u>
	£1960.18. -

The above cost of glazing in Sterling amounted to £163. 8. 2.

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

Appendix 3

Inventory, Leslie House circa 1750

The Dressing Room

One chest of drawers lined with quilted red silk; five pieces of script worsted hangings, red and white and green and white; a picture above the chimney piece; an old iron grate, tongs, rake and fender.

Earl of Rothes' Dressing Room

One dozen new Dutch chairs; one oak dressing table with drawer; one folding square table; a black-framed looking glass; an iron grate, shovel, poker and tongs, hearth broom; a brass latch on the inside door and a brass lock on the outside door.

Room off the Lord's Dressing Room

Two pieces of fustian hangings sewn with green worsted; one beech bedstead with four curtains of fustian similar in design to the hangings, the curtains lined with white linen and roof, bolster piece and pounds; one feather mattress of blue and white tick, two and a half breadths; \* a bolster and pillow; one large under-blanket, two pair of new blankets made in imitation of English blankets; two old stands; two new Dutch chairs; one footstool covered with white sewn cloth; an old black-framed dressing glass; a fixed iron grate, tongs shovel and poker; a white basin; a chamber box and iron pan.

In Mrs. Armstrong's Room

Three large fir presses; one wainscot chest of drawers; an old fir table with two drawers; a little folding table; a small looking glass; a fixed grate, shovel tongs and poker; a Delft chamber pot.

\* breadths - width of loom, usually an ell or 37 inches

#### In the Woman House

Three folding canvas-bottomed beds: the one next to the door - one feather mattress of blue and white tick of two breadths; a bolster; an old under-blanket, two pair of blue striped and one pair of green and red striped blankets; the middle bed - a feather mattress of blue and white tick of two breadths; a bolster; an old under-blanket, two pair of red and green listed and one pair of red and green marled blankets; a green and red bed cover; the inner bed - one feather mattress of blue and white tick of two breadths; a bolster; an old under-blanket, one pair of green and yellow listed and one pair of yellow listed blankets; a green and yellow cover. A fixed grate and tongs; two timber chairs.

#### In the Porter's Lodge

Two canvas-bottomed folding beds, each with feather mattress of blue and white tick, one two and a half breadths, the other two breadths; five pair of black listed blankets; one pair of white blankets; one fir press; one small square table.

#### In the Cooks' Room

Two looking glasses; two fir beds, each with a blue and white tick feather mattress of two breadths; two bolsters; one pillow; two pair of black listed blankets; one pair marled with green; one pair marled with red; one pair listed with red and green; two pair of white and two under-blankets.

#### In the Second Table Room

One large oval table; one smaller table of wainscot; a corner cupboard; four pictures; a fixed grate, tongs, shovel and pair of bellows; one arm chair and five other cane chairs; one organ; a fine large glass on the chimney piece; the picture of Peter Birnie; a spinet.

#### In the Great Stair

One pendulum clock with a walnut-tree case.

#### In the Gallery

(See pp. 32-33).

#### In the North Drawing Room

Five pieces of forest work; tapestry hangings; two dozen walnut-tree chairs with black leather seats; an old ebony cabinet; two sconces with carved and gilded frames; three window curtains of double breadth, sewn with different coloured silk; an iron grate, shovel, tongs, poker, hearth broom and bellows.

#### In the Great Dining Room

Twelve pieces of gilt leather hangings; three dozen walnut-tree chairs covered with gilt leather; above the door leading from the great staircase a picture of the tenth Earl of Rothes; above the door leading from the North Drawing Room a picture of the Marquis of Tweedale; above the door leading to the Anti-Chamber a picture of the ninth Earl of Rothes; an iron grate, shovel and tongs with brass knobs.

#### In the Anti-Chamber

Five pieces of tapestry hangings; twelve chairs covered with carpet with old green slips; two glass sconces with black frames inlaid with gilded brass; a large old cabinet with gilding and carving containing glasses; a gilded framed picture of the Duke of Rothes; a large carpet 4 ells long and 2 yards 3 quarters broad; an iron grate, shovel and tongs.

#### In the King's Room

Five pieces of tapestry hangings; one wainscot bedstead with a canvas bottom; a script Holland hair quilt; one single large blanket of two and a half breadths; three pair of English blankets; four velvet

curtains of ten breadths; upper and under pounds. The carved cornice was covered with velvet and the bed was lined with a white silk damask; the roof, bolster piece and coverlet were embroidered with silk fringes round the bed. The room contained eight armchairs which were covered in blue velvet with very old slips of blue stamped material. There were also two footstools covered in blue velvet. The carpet measured 4 ells by 2 ells and was of a fine texture. A table, two stands and a large glass with a carved gilded frame completed the main furnishings of this room. The window curtains were of cotton cloth and measured three breadths in width. Other incidentals in the room were a new grate, shovel, tongs, poker and fender, as well as a pair of japanned bellows, hearth broom and two blue and white Delft chamber pots.

#### In the Closet

Twelve and a half breadths of blue stuff hangings; a small canvas-bottomed bedstead with blue stuff curtains of six breadths; a bolster piece, roof and pounds of the same stuff, mounted with yellow fringes; one feather mattress covered with blue and white tick, two breadths in width; a bolster and pillow of a different stripe; one white blanket three breadths wide marked A.L.; one pair of blankets of two breadths; an under-blanket of two and a half breadths; two chairs and a stool covered with blue stuff; a table and a blue and white framed dressing glass; an iron grate, tongs and shovel; a small picture above the fireplace; one large white Delft basin; a mahogany chamber box with Delft pan and one pewter chamber pot.

#### In the Drawing Room off the Mohair Room

Two pieces of green mohair hangings twelve breadths wide, in silver and gold stripes; twelve very old carved wainscot armchairs and twelve green mohair cushions, the same number of calico slips; an old couch with a black frame and canvas bottom; a feather mattress, bolster and

pillow, all covered in a tick of silver material; an iron grate, shovel and tongs.

#### In the Mohair Room

Five pieces of tapestry hangings; one elm bedstead with a lath bottom; one large blanket of three breadths; four pair of English blankets; four green mohair curtains of seventeen breadths with slips sewn on them; upper and under pounds of the same with a carved cornice; the curtains were lined with green satin; roof, bolster piece and coverlet of the same, all mounted with a green lace; two green mohair-covered easy chairs with sewn slips; eight varnished walnut armchairs with green mohair cushions - all these chairs had large green slips; one walnut table and two walnut stands; a glass with a walnut frame. Above the chimney was hung the picture of Queen Mary, King James VII's queen - this was mounted in a gilded frame. To complete the furnishings there were one chimney glass and two small glass sconces; a new iron grate mounted with brass tongs, shovel, poker, brass fender, hearth broom, one pair of japanned bellows; a fine old carpet 3 yards long by 2½ yards wide; two blue and white china chamber pots; one large Delft basin; a white quilt for laying below the bed; a brass lock.

#### In the Closet of the Mohair Room

One plane-tree bedstead with a pack sail bottom; one feather mattress, bolster and pillow; four pair of red and green striped blankets; four curtains of a yellow stuff, nine breadths; roof, bolster piece, upper and lower pounds of the same; an old table; a mahogany chamber box with a Delft pan; a pewter chamber pot; a picture of Lord Lovat; a brass latch.

#### In the Flowered Room

Four pieces of tapestry hangings; one plane-tree bedstead with a canvas bottom; one feather mattress covered in blue and white tick; a bolster

and two pillows; one white quilt with yellow tufts; one single blanket of three breadths; four pair of English blankets; four rich silk curtains of twelve breadths, lined with yellow persian; roof, bolster piece, upper cornice and under pounds of the same silk with yellow lace; a quilted coverlet of the same material; six new Dutch chairs; one easy chair covered with the same material as the bed, this chair had a blue and white checked slip; one dressing glass with a walnut frame; one dressing table with a drawer; General Leslie's picture on the chimney breast; a map of Europe above the door; a new iron grate, shovel, poker, tongs, fender and hearth broom; one white Delft basin; two Delft chamber pots; a brass lock.

In the Closet of the Flowered Room

One white window curtain; a chamber box containing a pewter pan; a pewter chamber pot; two footstools covered in green material.

In the Countess of Rothes' Bed Chamber (Red Damask Room)

Five pieces of tapestry hangings; one canvas-bottomed beech bedstead; one single blanket of three breadths; two pair of English blankets; four crimson damask curtains of fifteen breadths; roof, bolster piece, cornice and upper and lower pounds of the same material; fringed with crimson, black and white silk; a Four De Lit (kind of heating appliance) of crimson material; one easy chair covered in crimson damask; eight chairs covered with the same material; two footstools covered as the chairs, which had white checked slips; a black-japan framed glass; a new iron grate, shovel, poker, tongs, fender and hearth broom; a Delft basin; two Delft chamber pots; a wainscot chamber box containing a Delft pan; a new brass lock.

#### In the Closet of the Red Damask Room

The walls were covered all round with a new paper of a chintz pattern; new printed cloth window curtains lined with white linen; five old chairs covered with carpetry; a dressing glass; a dressing table and chest of drawers; an iron grate, shovel and tongs; a new brass lock.

#### In the Room adjoining the Red Damask Room

Two pieces of very old tapestry hangings; one beech bedstead with a canvas bottom; one feather mattress covered with a new blue and white striped tick of two breadths; bolster and pillows of the same; one pair of marled blankets; three pair of English blankets; four curtains of stamped threaded satin of twelve breadths; lined with a yellow and white stamped cloth; upper and under pounds of the same fringed with a white lace; roof, bolster piece and inner pounds of quilted linen; a coverlet of quilted drape material; one window curtain the same as the bed; one easy chair and six chairs covered in the same material, all having blue and white checked slips; a dressing glass; a black folding table; a writing desk; a corner cupboard; an old screen; a new iron grate, shovel, tongs, poker, fender and hearth broom; a Delft basin; a Delft chamber pot; a chamber box and pewter pan; a new brass lock.

#### In the Yellow Damask Room (Lady Jean's Room)

The walls were covered with four pieces of yellow paper; one fir bedstead with a canvas bottom; a double feather mattress covered in a new blue and white tick; bolster and two pillows; one single large blanket; three English blankets; four yellow damask curtains lined with a yellow persian; roof, bolster piece, cornice, upper and under pounds of the same; an old yellow silk quilt; a large sconce in a walnut frame; a dressing table with drawer; two easy chairs covered with yellow damask and having slips of yellow stuff; six new Dutch chairs; a new iron grate, shovel, tongs, poker, fender and hearth broom; two Delft chamber pots.

#### In the Closet of the Yellow Damask Room

Three pieces of striped Dornick hangings of gold and white; one canvas-bottomed beech bedstead; a double feather mattress; bolster and pillow; four curtains of a striped and woven drugget of ten breadths; roof, bolster piece, upper and under pounds of the same; two stools covered in the same material; an old table; an iron grate, tongs and poker; a pewter chamber pot; a dressing glass.

#### In the Library

Four chairs covered with Russian leather; the pictures of King Charles I and Bishop Tillotson (unframed); prints of the Princess of Wales and Prince of Orange, in front of which were some glasses; an iron grate, tongs, shovel and poker.

#### In the South Pavilion

Seven pieces of old tapestry hangings; a beech bedstead with a canvas bottom; a feather mattress covered with a narrow-striped tick; bolster and two pillows of another stripe; a white quilt with yellow tufts; one large single blanket of two and a half breadths; three pair of imitation English blankets; four sea-green camlet curtains of eleven breadths, lined with a green and white cotton satin; cornice, upper and lower pounds of the same material; roof, bolster piece and coverlet the same and lined like the curtains; an easy chair, six other chairs and two stools all covered with green camlet; three window curtains of two and a half breadths of white cotton cloth; an old walnut couch covered with an old silk and calico cover; a large gilt leather screen; a table of dark wood; a looking glass framed in varnished walnut; an old iron grate, shovel, poker and tongs; a large Delft basin; two pewter chamber pots; a chamber box and a pewter pan; a hearth broom; a brass lock.

#### In the little Room off the South Pavilion

Six pieces of mock Arras hangings; one fir bedstead with a corded bottom; one feather mattress of two breadths; a bolster and pillow; four pair of blankets listed with green and red; one under-blanket; four curtains of dark cloth embroidered with gilt leather of nine breadths; roof, bolster piece and upper and lower pounds of the same material; three walnut chairs covered with the same material; a small glass in a new walnut frame; an old table with a drawer; an old iron grate, shovel and tongs; a pewter chamber pot; a chamber box and pewter pan.

#### In the Small Sewn Room

The walls in this room were covered with a new paper of a sewn pattern. The furnishings were: a wainscot bedstead with a striped tick bottom; a feather mattress of two and a half breadths covered with a blue and white Tartan tick; a bolster and two pillows of the same material; one large single blanket of two and a half breadths; three pair of imitation English blankets; four curtains of white fustian sewn with green and red worsted and lined with white linen; upper and lower pounds of the same; roof, bolster piece and inner pounds of quilted linen; a coverlet of quilted white diaper; a glass in a new walnut frame; two armchairs and four other chairs with cane backs and bottoms; an old iron grate, tongs, poker, shovel, fender and hearth broom; a new brass lock; a wainscot chest of drawers.

#### In the Green and White Sewn Room

The walls in this room were hung round with a Musselburgh stuff. The furnishings were: a fir bedstead with a corded bottom; a feather mattress of two breadths covered with a different striped tick; a bolster and pillow of the same material; a single blanket; three pair of blankets listed with green and red; four white fustian curtains sewn

with green and lined with white linen; the cornice and upper pound of green and white fustian; the roof and bolster piece lined with white linen; an old fir table with drawer; a large old glass in a black frame; an old silk coverlet; a window curtain of white fustian; two cane chairs; an old grate, tongs, shovel and poker; a Delft basin; a pewter chamber pot; a chamber box and pewter pan; an old press for holding books.

#### In the Yellow Room

Six pieces of tapestry hangings; one beech bedstead with a corded bottom; one feather mattress of two and a half breadths; covered with a gold and white striped tick; bolster and two pillows of the same; one large under-blanket; one white quilt with yellow tufts; three pair of English blankets; four curtains of a yellow 'Turk upon Turk' (thick piled yellow material) eleven breadths wide; roof, bolster piece, coverlet, upper and lower pounds of the same, all bound with a little yellow binding; two window curtains, two and a half breadths each, of the same material as the bed; six walnut chairs covered with the same material and having blue and white checked covers; one varnished walnut folding table; a picture of Lord Lindores above the fireplace; two prints above the doors; a large old leather screen; an old iron grate, shovel, tongs and poker, a Delft basin and chamber pot; a chamber box and pewter pan; a pair of bellows; a dressing glass; a small old carpet.

#### In the Closet of the Yellow Room

Four pieces of brown stuff hangings; one canvas-bottomed fir bedstead; a bolster and pillow; an under-blanket marked with blue; two pair of blankets bordered in blue; a blue and white calico quilt; four curtains of dark stuff and yellow lace eight breadths wide; roof, bolster piece and inner pounds of the same material; a chair; three stools; a small

table; a chamber box and pewter pan; a pewter chamber pot; grate, tongs and shovel.

#### In the Old Red Room

An oak bed with a corded bottom; an old green silk quilt; a feather mattress; bolster and pillow; three pair of blankets marked with red; an old thick blanket bordered in blue; one pair of blankets marked green and red; four old red cloth curtains with old sewing on them; upper and under pounds of the same, lined with white linen; a collection of old chairs; an old fir table; an iron grate, shovel and tongs; two pewter chamber pots; a chamber box and pan.

#### In Mr. Harris' Room off the Laundry

One fir bedstead with a canvas bottom; a feather mattress of two breadths; bolster and pillow; four pair of red and green striped blankets; four green cloth curtains with green fringes; roof and bolster piece of white linen; one fir bedstead with a canvas bottom; a feather mattress of two breadths; bolster and pillow; an under-blanket and three pair of white blankets; four curtains of brown cloth with old fashioned sewing; roof, bolster piece and lining of the curtains of white linen; one fir bedstead with a canvas bottom; a feather mattress of two breadths; bolster and pillow; one pair of white blankets; two pair of purple and yellow striped blankets; one pair of green marled blankets; another pair of white blankets; four curtains of blue stuff; roof, bolster piece and pounds of the same; an old grate, shovel and tongs; an old table; three pewter chamber pots.

#### In the Green Room

One suite of green hangings; one fir bedstead with a canvas bottom; one three breadth feather mattress; bolster and two pillows; one thick under-blanket; four pair of red and green marled blankets; four green

marled blankets; four green worsted curtains embroidered with gilt leather and lined with linen; roof, bolster piece, upper and inner pounds and coverlet in green; one armchair, two small chairs and two stools covered in the green worsted material; one glass in a walnut frame; an iron grate, shovel, tongs and hearth broom; a lady's picture above the fireplace; a Delft basin; two pewter chamber pots; three window curtains of striped holland.

#### In the Closet of the Green Room

Two footstools with green covers; a chamber box and pan.

#### In the Lumber Room in the Trance (Passageway)

A picture of King William; one of Queen Mary, both in gilt frames (picture of Queen Mary lent to Sir John Bruce); three small pictures in black frames; an unframed picture of a lady; twenty-one prints that hung in the Great Dining Room.

#### In the Purple Room

Four pieces of purple hangings; one fir bedstead with a timber bottom; one feather mattress; bolster and two pillows; one under-blanket; four pair of white blankets; four purple curtains lined with white cloth sewn with a purple worsted; an upper pound with silk fringes; roof, bolster piece and coverlet in purple; three chairs and two stools covered with purple stuff; a window curtain of striped holland; a picture of an old gentleman above the fireplace; an iron grate, tongs and hearth broom; two pewter chamber pots; an old table; a chamber box and Delft pan.

#### In the Beugle Room

Six pieces of tapestry hangings; one canvas-bottomed fir bedstead; a feather mattress of three breadths; bolster and two pillows; one large under-blanket; two pair of silk blankets; three pair of blankets marled

with yellow, purple and blue; four curtains of yellow taffeta; roof, bolster piece and coverlet; upper and lower pounds of the same material embroidered with black beugle and mounted with black lace; a Four de Lit of yellow stuff of ten breadths; an armchair and two footstools covered with the same material as the bed; six new Dutch chairs; an old black table with drawer; two black stands; a black-framed glass; two white diaper window curtains; a picture of the Regent Marr over the fireplace; an old grate, shovel, tongs and hearth broom; two pewter chamber pots; a chamber box and pewter pan.

#### In the Red Satin Room

Five pieces of tapestry hangings; one fir bedstead with a canvas bottom; one three breadth feather mattress and two pillows covered with a broad striped tick; a bolster of a small striped tick; an old white quilt; a pair of red marled blankets; four pair of English blankets; four red satin curtains lined with white holland; the cornice and upper and lower pounds of red-fringed red satin; roof and bolster piece of white holland ruffled with red satin; one red satin coverlet for the bed; an old couch, chair and two footstools covered with red satin; a table with drawer; two stands; a small glass framed in walnut; two window curtains of white diaper; a picture of the Marquis of Hamilton above the fireplace; an iron grate, tongs, shovel, poker and rake, all mounted in brass; a brass fender; a hearth broom; a Delft Basin and two Delft chamber pots.

#### In the Closet of the Room

One pallet bed with a corded bottom; a feather mattress; bolster and pillow; three pair of white blankets; one yellow silk quilt; three fir chairs; a pewter chamber pot; a chamber box and pewter pan.

#### In the Printed Room

Three pieces of red stuff hangings; a canvas-bottomed bedstead; a feather mattress of two and a half breadths; a bolster and two pillows; a large blanket of two and a half breadths; three pair of imitation English blankets; four curtains of red stuff lined with white holland, eight breadths wide; upper and under pounds of the same material, all bound with a narrow red and white binding; roof, bolster piece of white holland; six walnut chairs having blue and white check covers; an old table with drawer; a black-framed glass; an iron grate, shovel, tongs and poker mounted with brass; an iron fender; hearth broom; a Delft basin and two chamber pots; a new brass lock.

#### In the Closet of the Printed Room

One pallet bed with a corded bottom; one feather mattress; bolster and pillow; one blue and white striped under-blanket; four pair of white blankets; an old red cover on the bed; an armchair, two smaller chairs and two footstools covered with red; two red wooden chairs; an old table; a grate, tongs and shovel; a pewter chamber pot; a chamber box and pewter pan.

#### In the White Room

Four pieces of quilted white hangings; one fir bedstead with a canvas bottom; one three breadth feather mattress; a bolster and two pillows; one large under-blanket; three pair of English blankets; seven pieces of quilted white holland curtains; roof, bolster piece and coverlet of the same material; three window curtains of cotton cloth of three breadths; eight new Dutch chairs with white quilted cushions; a dressing table with drawer; a glass in a tortoise shell frame; a new iron grate, shovel, tongs, poker, fender, hearth broom and pair of bellows; a Delft basin and two Delft chamber pots; a brass lock and latch.

#### In the Closet of the White Room

Six pieces of green stuff hangings; a fir bedstead with a canvas bottom; a feather mattress; bolster and two pillows; one large blanket; two pair of blue and red marled blankets; one pair of purple marled blankets; one pair of white blankets; four curtains of green stuff; upper and under pounds, roof and bolster piece of the same; two chairs and two footstools covered with the same material, all mounted with a small green and yellow lace; an old table; an iron grate, shovel and tongs; a wainscot chamber box and pewter pan; a pewter chamber pot.

#### In the Footman's Room

Three fir bedsteads with corded bottoms; three feather mattresses; bolster and pillows; one single blanket; four pair of blue and yellow striped blankets; one pair of blue striped blankets; one pair of blue marled; one pair of green checked blankets; one pair marled with red; one pair of green and red striped blankets; three dark covers for these beds; one press bed; a press for holding clothes; four timber chairs, three pewter chamber pots. All the beds had curtains of brown stuff.

#### In the Blue Room

Six pieces of old tapestry hangings; flat caps; one beech bedstead with a corded bottom; a feather mattress of three breadths; a bolster and two pillows; one thick green and red striped blanket; four other pair of blankets of the same design; four curtains of brown stuff with petty point sewing on them; a gilded cornice; upper and under pounds of the same material as the bed; one red painted table with drawer; two red painted stands; six chairs of the same wood; two footstools covered with blue; a small glass in a black frame; a small writing table; an old iron grate, tongs, shovel and hearth broom; a pewter

chamber pot; a chamber box and pewter pan.

In the Passage Closet

One timber chair

In the New Green Room

Six pieces of tapestry hangings; one fir bedstead with a corded bottom; a feather mattress of two and a half breadths; an old white quilt below the mattress; a bolster and two pillows of a different stripe; one large single blanket of three breadths; one pair of English blankets; three pair of red marled blankets; four curtains of green stuff of ten breadths; cornice, upper and under pounds covered in the same material, which was laced with narrow silk and worsted lace; four chairs and two footstools covered with the same stuff as the bed; two window curtains of white diaper; one fir table with a drawer; a glass in a walnut frame; an old spinnet with a frame; an old iron grate, shovel, tongs and hearth broom; two pewter chamber pots; a Delft basin. A picture of Sir John Leslie above the fireplace.

In the Closet of the New Green Room

One pallet bed with a corded bottom; one feather mattress and bolster; two pair of white blankets; two pair of blue marled blankets; a timber chair; a chamber box and pewter pan.

## Appendix 4

January 18, 1714.

A Catalogue of the New Books in the Right Honourable  
the Earl of Rothes' Library at Leslie.

Books in Folio

	<u>Date</u>
Field's, English Bible	Cambridge: 1600.
Nicolson's English Atlas	Oxford: 1681.
Harvel's Institution of General History	London: 1680.
Collier's Historical Dictionary	London: 1702.
Echard's Ecclesiastical History	London: 1702.
Rushworth's Historical Collections	London: 1701.
Voyages and Travels	London: 1704.
Bryden's Plays	London: 1701.
Boccatius' Novels	London: 1684.
Nouveau Dictionair Translator p.m. Doret	Paris: 1685.
His Dictionair of the Greek and Roman Antiquities	London: 1700.
Littleton's Latin Dictionary	London: 1703.
Craig on the Succession	London: 1703.
Edmond's Julius Caesar	London: 1695.
Dryden's Virgil	- -
A Book of Geography	London: 1695.
Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers	London: 1687.
Aesop's Fables Moralised by Sir Roger Lestrang	London: 1704.
Clarendon's History	Oxford: 1702.
Buchanan's History	- -
Book of Common Prayer	Oxford: 1703.
Book of Common Prayer	London: 1669.
Locke upon Human Understanding	London: 1706.
Cowley's Works	London: 1682.

A Collection of State Tracts during Reign of King William	London: 1707.
Murray's Acts of Parliament from King James 1st to Charles 2nd.	London: 1666.
Sydney on Government	London: 1698.
Senecas Whole Works	- -
Xerephon's Cyclopedia	London: 1632.
Sibbald's History of Fife (Five Books)	Edinburgh: 1710.
Charnock's Works	London: 1699.
Doctor Sacheverell's Trial	London: 1710.
Boyer's Royal Dictionary	London: 1699.
Echard's History of England	London: 1702.
Pharamond and Romance	London: 1677.
Cassandra and Romance	- -
Paulanos History of the County of Trent, England by Brent	London: 1620.
Acts of Parliament of the Six King James'	London: 1666.
Hereditary Right of the Church of England	London: 1713.
Works of King James Sixth	- -
Boyer's Royal French Dictionary	A.La Hage: 1702.
Sprat's History of the Royal Society	London: 1703.
The Historical Mercury of January '42	Edinburgh: 1691.
Samuel Colville's Mock Poem Manuscripts	- -
Loyalty of the Presbyterians	- : 1713.
Fables with Political Reflections	- : 1704.
Ludlow's Memoirs	Switz: 1698.
Milton's Paradise Regained	London: 1705.
Echard's Roman History	London: 1697.
Discourses of Government	Edinburgh: 1698.

Kennet's Lives of the Grecian Poets	London: 1697.
The Crafty Courtier	London: 1706.
David Crawford's Memoirs	London: 1706.
An Account of the Rights expressed of the Parliament of Scotland	1703.
Behn's Plays	London: 1702.
Ralphson's Mathematical Dictionary	London: 1702.
Alrood's Superiority of England	London: 1704.
Lucas' Enquiry after Happiness	London: 1704.
The History of Man	London: 1704.
D. Ablancourt's Memoirs	London: 1703.
Stephen's History of Charles the Fifth	- : 1703.
Plato's Works abridged by Mr. Dacien	London: 1702.
Dampier's Non Voyage	London: 1698.
Affairs of Scotland	London: 1705.
Butler's Hudibras	London: 1704.
Plutarch's Lives	London: 1699.
Edward's Survey	London: 1699.
Edward's upon the Authority of the Scriptures	London: 1695.
Edward's Socinian Creed	London: 1697.
Plutarch's Morale	London: 1694.
Potter's Antiquities of Greece	Oxford: 1699.
Richlieu's Letters	London: 1697.
Richlieu's Life	London: 1695.
Lord Holle's Memoirs	London: 1699.
Secret History of Europe	London: 1712.
History of Europe	London: 1698.
History of Europe annually continued for the years 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1708, 1709, 1712, 1714	London: 1720.

Memoirs of the Court of France and City of Paris	London: 1702.
A Voyage to Constantinople	London: 1683.
Gage's Survey of the West Indies	London: 1699.
Sereca's Morals	London: 1693.
Cheyne's Philosophical Principles	London: 1705.
Temple's Letters	London: 1701.
Temple's Introduction to the History of England	London: 1699.
Temple's Memoirs	London: 1702.
History of France	London: 1702.
Lister's Journey to Paris	London: 1699.
Collier's View of the Stage	London: 1698.
History of the Earls of Flanders	London: 1702.
Tillotson's Sermons	London: 1702.
Woolridge's Art of Gardening	London: 1700.
Tully's Offices	London: 1699.
History of the Turks	London: 1701.
Demosthene's Orations	London: 1702.
Description of Formosa	London: 1704.
Case of Ireland Stated	- : 1706.
Aleander and Philocrates	London: 1696.
Edward's on Truth and Error	London: 1702.
Edward's on difficult texts	Cambridge: 1692.
Richlieu's Testament	London: 1695.
History of Holland by Connor	London: 1698.
Division of Holland	London: 1700.
Polish Manuscripts	London: 1700.
The Post boy Robbed of his Mail	London: 1706.
The Devil on Two Sticks	London: 1708.
Collection of Discourses of the Church of England	Edinburgh: 1687.

Collier's Antonimus	London: 1702.
Manners of the Age	London: 1706.
Shakespeare's Works	London: 1709.
Brown's Second Volume of Letters from the Dead to the Living	London: 1707.
The Whole Art of Husbandry	London: 1712.
Quebedo's Works	London: 1709.
The Third Volume of Clarendon's History	Oxford: 1706.
Treaties of Peace and War	London: 1710.
Spanish Rogue, Vol. II	London: 1707.
History of Sweden	London: 1702.
Gowrie's Plot	Edinburgh: 1713.
Rights of the Christian Church Asserted	London: 1706.
Poems on Several Occupations	London: 1707.
Spanish Libertines	London: 1707.
Comber's Occupational Offices	London: 1679.
Miscellanea Scotica on the life of King James the Fifth	London: 1710.
Introduction to the Skill of Musick	London: 1672.
Headley's Measures of Submission to the Civil Magistrates	London: 1710.
Chamberlain's Present State of Great Britain	London: 1703.
Dryden's Fables	London: 1713.
Cave's Primitive Christianity	London: 1714.
Memoirs of Dr. Utrecht	Utrecht: 1713.
Southern's Works	London: 1713.
Horace par Monsieur Dacier	Paris: 1709.
Homer by Madam Dacier in English	London: 1712.
Voyage to Suisse, D'Italie: by M. Burnet	Amstr.: 1688.

Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland	London: 1714.
Maynwaring's Posthumous Works	London: 1715.
Description of London	London: 1708.
Lives and Characters British and Foreign for year 1711	London: 1713.
Secret History of France	London: 1714.
Steven's History of Persia	London: 1715.
Lives of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene	London: 1713.
Pitcairn's Works	London: 1715.
View of the two late Parliaments	London: 1714.
Court of Atalantus	London: 1714.
Laws of Honour	London: 1714.
Buckingham's Dramatic Works	London: 1715.
Buckingham's Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II	London: 1705.
History of Wales	London: 1714.
Treason Unmasked	London: 1713.
Scott's Sermons	London: 1701.
Steel's Romish Ecclesiastical History	London: 1714.
Rochester's Letters	London: 1705.
The Guardian	London: 1713.
A Second Tale of a Tub	London: 1713.
Ozanam's Zogarithmique Tables	Paris: 1697.
Keil's Introducti ad veram physician	Oxford: 1705.
Dorrington's Present State of the Romish Church	London: 1699,
Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, part 2.	London: 1714.
Homer's	London: 1706.
Constitution of the Primitive Church	- : 1712.
Treatise of Policy and Religion by Fitzherbert	London: 1697.
Park against Patronages	Edin.: 1687.

Le Nouveau Rudiments de la Zanque Latine	Amstr.: 1699.
Life of Queen Ann	London: 1714.
Ladies Library	London: 1714.
Mauger's French Grammar	London: 1702.
Lettres Du C. Mazarine	Amstr.: 1693.
Smiths History of Highwaymen	London: 1714.
Burnet's Sermons	London: 1713.
Don Quixote in French	Amstr.: 1696.
Mollier's Plays	Amstr.: 1695.
Titus Libius	Amstr.: 1678.
Scarron's Nouvelles	Amstr.: 1675.
Quintus Curtius	Amstr.: 1677.
Virgilius in Notes	Rotterdam: 1697.
Buchanan's Poems	Edin.: 1677.
Les Quebro De Moliers, Vol. V.	Paris: 1680.
Blackmore's Prince Arthur	London: 1714.
Butler's Posthumous Works	London: 1715.
Seventy Comedies	Rotterdam: 1702.
Tatlers	London: 1711.
Virgil's Opera	Amstr.: 1642.
Josephus Epitomised	London: 1699.
Compleat Gardener	London: 1702.

Added to Library (2nd April 1715)

Plays and Pamphlets
The Ancient and Modern Library
Mr. Steel's Apology
The Original Record of Scots Corporations at London
The History of the Sessions of Parliament, 1712 and 1713.

Reasons for War with France

Electra, a Tragedy

Armenius, an Italian opera in English

A Letter from a Gentleman at St. Germain

no place or date given in original document.

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

Appendix 5

Account with John Middleton for Provisions 1762

	<u>Sterling</u>
14 lbs. of rice .. .. .	£ -. 3. 6
7 lbs. of French barley .. .. .	-. 1. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
7 lbs. of pearl barley .. .. .	-. 2. 6
7 lbs. of raisins .. .. .	-. 2. 9
14 lbs. of powdered sugar .. .. .	-. 9. 9
2 lbs. of Jordan almonds .. .. .	-. 3. 8
2 lbs. of superfine green tea .. .. .	1.12. 0
1 lb. of macaroni .. .. .	-. 2. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 lb. of pepper .. .. .	-. 1. 6
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of allspice .. .. .	-. -. 8
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of white ginger .. .. .	-. -. 6
2 lbs. of English starch .. .. .	-. -. 8
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Dutch stone blue & $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of powder blue	-. 1. 1
1 lb. of fine flax twine .. .. .	-. 1. 8
$\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of nutmegs .. .. .	-. 2. 6
2 oz. of mace .. .. .	-. 2. 6
1 oz. of cloves .. .. .	-. 1. 1
2 oz. of bitter almonds .. .. .	-. -. 2
1 oz. of cinnamon .. .. .	-. 1. 3
6 quire of kitchen paper .. .. .	-. 2. 0
2 gallons & 1 pint of best vinegar .. .. .	-. 3. 6
5 flasks of finest new dye @ 5 shillings .. .. .	-.10. 0
2 large bottles of Durham mustard .. .. .	-. 3. 0
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of anchovies .. .. .	-. 1. 1
1 lb. of caper .. .. .	-. 1. 8

2 caskets of salt .. .. .	£ - . 2 . 0
	<u>          </u>
	£ 4 . 15 . 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
A casket of salt for the town	<u>      1 . 0</u>
	£ 4 . 16 . 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

## Appendix 6

## Account with M.M. Eagle for Seed and Tools 1763

February 11	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Strasbourg onion	£0. 4. 3
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. London leek	0. 1. 6
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. orange carrot	0. 1. 3
	4 ozs. early carrot	0. 1. 0
	1 oz. parsnip	0. 0. 2
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. early turnip	0. 1. 3
	1 oz. yellow turnip	0. 0. 3
	2 ozs. scorzonera	0. 2. 0
	1 oz. skirret	0. 1. 0
	4 ozs. red reed beet	0. 1. 4
	4 ozs. green beet	0. 0. 8
	1 lb. shallot	0. 1. 6
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. garlic	0. 0. 7
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. early Richmond radish	0. 1. 6
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. London radish	0. 1. 0
	1 oz. black radish	0. 0. 4
	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. cabbage lettuce	0. 0. 5
	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Silesian lettuce	0. 0. 9
	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. white cos lettuce	0. 0. 9
	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Indian cress	0. 0. 5
	2 ozs. parsley with edible roots	0. 0. 8
	1 oz. candy sorrel	0. 1. 6
	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. curled endive	0. 0. 5
	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Italian solid stalk celery	0. 0. 9
	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. English celery	0. 0. 6
	4 drs.* early cucumbers	0. 0. 4

\* drachm = 1/16 of an ounce

4 drs. white Turkey cucumber	0. 0. 8
2 drs. cantaloup melons	0. 0. 8
2 lbs. round spinach	0. 2. 4
$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. early cauliflower	0. 1. 6
1 oz. purple broccoli	0. 0.10
1 oz. cauliflower broccoli	0. 1. 6
2 ozs. yellow savoys	0. 0. 8
2 ozs. green savoys	0. 0. 6
2 ozs. curled colewort	0. 0. 6
1 oz. Russian kail	0. 0. 3
1 oz. fenochia & sweet fennel	0. 0. 6
$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Carduus Benedictus (artichoke)	0. 0. 3
2 drs. summer savoy	0. 0. 4
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck Nicols earliest peas	0. 3. 0
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck early Charleton peas	0. 2. 3
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck large marrowfat peas	0. 2. 3
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck Master Hotspur peas	0. 1. 6
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck Seedmans dwarf peas	0. 2. 3
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck dwarf marrowfat peas	0. 2. 3
1 peck early Lisbon beans	0. 3. 0
1 lb. early yellow kidney beans	0. 0.10
1 lb. white kidney beans	0. 0. 8
50 red cabbage plants	0. 0. 5
1 peck Turkey beans @ 2/6 bag & 1/2	0. 3. 8
2 medium size & 2 garden scythes	0. 8. 6
2 pecks white potatoes @ 2/4 a bag	0. 3. 2
6 ozs. asparagus	0. 1. 6
1 oz. hyssop	0. 1. 6
2 drs. thyme	0. 0. 4

April 5

July 14	3 garden scythes @ 6/- & 3 pruning scythes @ 3/-	0. 9. 0
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. garden cress @ 1/- & 1 lb. mustard seed @ 4d.	0. 1. 4
	4 drs. green cos lettuce @ 8d. & 2 lbs. of field turnip @ 1/8	0. 2. 4
	1 bushel rye grass @ 3/- & 8 lbs. white clover @ 4/-	0. 7. 0
	1 lb. spinach @ 1/4 & 1 oz. English cabbage @ 3d.	0. 1. 7
	1 oz. Scots cabbage @ 3d. & 1 oz. sugar loaf cabbage @ 8d.	0. 0. 11
	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. early Dutch cabbage @ 3d. & $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. red Dutch @ 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	0. 0. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
September 8	2 ozs. cole @ 6d. & 1 oz. green savoy @ 3d.	0. 0. 9
	4 ozs. early turnip @ 9d. & $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. cauliflower @ 1/6	0. 2. 3
October 6	4 short garden scythes @ 8/- & 4 scythe stones @ 1/4	0. 9. 4
	3 pr. garden shears @ 6/- & 2 hammers @ 2/-	0. 8. 0
	100 yds. of garden line	0. 2. 6
November 2	300 yds. of rounds	<u>0. 10. 5</u>
		£6. 6. 8

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

## Appendix 7

## Account with Drummond &amp; Company for Seeds and Tools (1761-63)

1761

December 30	15 doz. 10 yds of rounds	£0. 6. 7
	1 strong pruning knife	0. 1. 0
	2 lbs. Nicols earliest peas	0. 1. 6
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. early London radish	0. 1. 0
	2 drops cabbage lettuce @ 2d. &	
	2 drops of green lettuce @ 4d.	0. 0. 6

1762

February 23	4 lbs. Charleton peas	0. 1. 6
	4 lbs. white split peas	0. 0. 8
	1 lb. small whole peas	0. 0. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. finest mustard	0. 1. 0
December 9	10 doz. rounds	0. 5. 0
	2 sheathed pruning knives	0. 2. 6
	2 large folding knives	0. 2. 0
	2 ozs. early Richmond radish	0. 0. 6
	2 ozs. early London radish	0. 0. 4
December 23	2 double finished spades	0. 8. 0
	2 strongest common spades	0. 7. 0
	2 lbs. Charleton peas	0. 0. 9
	2 lbs. Nicols earliest peas	0. 1. 6
December 31	3 hedge bills	0. 7. 6
	1 pr. hedging scissors	0. 4. 6
	1 lb. Charleton peas	0. 0. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

1763

January 27	3 hedge bills	0. 7. 6
	10 doz. rounds *	0. 5. 0

3 lbs. field turnip

0. 3. 0

£3. 9. 7

\* rounds - strips of cloth used for bordering the gardens.

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

## Appendix 8

## Wages, 1751-52

		Sterling	
December 3rd, 1751	to Andrew Brown	£5. --	(part of wages)
	William Brown	2. --	(part of wages)
	William Doby	9. --	(whole year)
5th	Ann Brown	3. --	(whole year)
14th	Helen Beattie	2. --	(on account)
23rd	Ann Henderson	2.10.	(whole year)
	Jean Beattie	2.15.	(whole year)
28th	Alexander Hutton	2. --	(part)
January 25th, 1752	Margaret Matheson	8.14.	(preceding Mart. last)
	Helen Beattie	-- 2.	(also paid by John Angus)
February 6th	Robert Greig	5. --	(2 years wages)
March 21st	Christopher Lindsay	1.10.	(6 months)
April 2nd	Jean Beattie	1. 5.	(from Mart. last to Whit. next)
23rd	Helen Beattie	1. 5.	(as above)
May 18th	John Robertson	4. --	(in full - 1 year)
19th	Alexander Walker	2. 5.	(in full - 1 year)
	Margaret Beattie	--.12. 6	(6 months)
20th	Alexander Hutton	4. 1. 4	(in full)

James Rolland, factor to the Earl of Rothes, made these payments:

June 9th, 1752	to William Park	£ 11. --	(1 year)
	John Baillie	5. --	(1 year)
10th	William Muir	7.10.	(1 year)
16th	Ann Hall	2.10.	(1 year)
18th	John Greig	5. --	(part)
	Margaret Drummond	2. 2.	(part of £10/yr.)

19th	James Brown	£ 5. -- -	(part)
	Andrew Greig	2. -- -	(to account)
20th	Alexander Blyth	2. -- -	(full year)
24th	William Brown	5. -- -	(to account)
25th	William Ross	5.10. -	(in full)
July 14th	David Drummond	20. -- -	(to account)
23rd	Ann Henderson	1.10. -	(6 months)
August 6th	Margaret Drummond	9. 5. -	(in full)
24th	Ann Brown	1.10. -	(6 months)
October 10th	Christopher Lindsay	1.10. -	(6 months)
31st	William Doby	9. -- -	(1 year)
November 3rd	Jean Beattie	1. 5. -	(in full)
	Helen Beattie	1. 5. -	(6 months)
	Ann Henderson	1.10. -	(6 months)
	John Baillie	2.10. -	(6 months)
4th	William Riddell	1. 5. -	(in full)
6th	David Black	1.15. -	(in full)
23rd	Alexander Inglis	1.10. -	(in full)
		--.10. 8	
24th	Alexander Blyth	2.10. -	(in full)
25th	Ann Hall	1. 5. -	(6 months)
		--. 3. -	(3 weeks board)
		--. 4. -	(paid by Countess for going to Edinburgh)
		-----	
		1.12. -	
	Agnes Swine	--.10. -	(in full)
		--. 3. -	(board money)

28th	John Greig	£ 2. -. -	(part wages)
29th	Andrew Greig	3. -. -	(part wages)
December 23rd	Robert Greig	<u>2.10. -</u>	(1 year)
		£119. 2. 8	
	Paid by Countess	<u>56.19. -</u>	
	Wages paid (1751-52)	£176. 1. 8	

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

## Appendix 9

Wages, 1757-58Servants Wages

The Compter takes credit for the following payments made by him of servants' wages, viz.

House Servants

To Margaret Matheson, her fees from Martinmas, 1752 to Whitsunday, 1758 at £4 yearly	£22. - . -
To do. her board wages from Martinmas 1757 to Whitsunday 1758	1.19. -
To do. her board wages from Whitsunday to Martinmas 1758	1.19. -
To Ann Brown her board wages from Martinmas 1757 to Whitsunday 1758	1. 6. -
To do. her board wages from Whitsunday to Martinmas 1758	<u>1. 6. -</u>
	£28.10. -

Note: Ann Brown's wages paid up to Martinmas 1756  
@ £3 yearly as stated in account 1756.

Foresters

To John Greig his fees from Whitsunday 1755 to Martinmas 1757	6. 5. -
To James Greig to account of fees	2.10. -
Note: remains due to him at Martinmas 1753 one shilling	
To John Greig his son 2 years fees to Martinmas 1757	3.13. 4
To James Greig his son 14 Bolls livery oats one year to Martinmas 1758	<u>8. 9. 2</u>
	£20.17. 6

Gardeners

To Andrew Brown one years wages to Martinmas 1758	20. 4. 2
---	----------

To Andrew Greig one years wages to Martinmas 1757	<u>£ 2.10. -</u>
	£22.14. 2

North Parks

To William Brown 2 years fees to Whitsunday 1756	6. -- -
To William Bogie one years fees to Martinmas 1757	2. -- -
To James Kilgour one years fees to Martinmas 1757	2. -- -
To David Thomson one years fees to Martinmas 1757	<u>2. 4. 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></u>
	£12. 4. 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

Note: John Brown's wages at £9 yearly paid up to  
Martinmas 1756 for account 1756.

South Parks

To Thomas Daes one years fees to Martinmas 1757	2. 3. 4
To John Mitchell his fees from Martinmas 1757 to Whitsunday 1758	1. 1. 8
To George Mitchelson his fees from Whitsunday to 15th November 1758	<u>--.15. -</u>
	£4. -- -

Balgeddie

To David Keddie one years wages to Martinmas 1757	2. 4. 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
To John Killoch his wages said time	2. 4. 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
To Robert Bogie, herd from 17th March to Martinmas 1757	<u>1. 3. -</u>
	£5.11.10 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>

Coaltown of Beg

To Andrew Wilson his wages from Whitsunday 1757 to do. 1758	3. -- -
To James Wilson his wages said time	2.11. 8
To do. Servants an allowance for coals, washing and milk	<u>1. 7. -</u>
	£6.18. 8

Bambreich

To Christian Low her fees from Martinmas 1755 to

Martinmas 1757

£ 5. - . -

To Arch. Brown for upholding the roof of the house

3. 6. 8

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

## Appendix 10

Estimate of the Charge of Erecting a Windmill and Sinking the  
Engine Pit at Strathore.

	£	S.	D.
<hr/>			
Mill Shelter			
To oak for strengthening the blades	4.	0.	0
Wright work for mill and pit	70.	0.	0
Boring, jointing and hooping the pump	24.	0.	0
4 Pit Barrels	32.	0.	0
Buckets, clacks and cods	12.	0.	0
Iron and Workmanship	31.	0.	0
Blocks and ropes	10.	0.	0
Tray and deals for the sinks	60.	0.	0
3 cranks	21.	0.	0
50 fathoms of timber for pumps	25.	0.	0
3 elm trees for trindles	6.	0.	0
8 firs for beams, etc.	7.	0.	0
7 firs for frames, shears and pump shear	7.	0.	0
2 ash trees for treadles and rudder	1.	10.	0
1 fir tree for the rudder	2.	0.	0
4 fir trees for mill arms	2.	0.	0
A suit of sails	8.	0.	0
Building the mill house, masons and barrowmens wages	20.	0.	0
Sinking the engine pit from the grass to the pavement)			
of the coal at £2 per fathom computed at 24d. a			
fathom			
	50.	0.	0
2 windlass with tuby frames and friction wheels on			
water	<u>50.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>0</u>
	£402.	15.	0

	£	s.	d.
Deduct for timber of the above not to be paid for, being home growth		<u>111.</u>	10. 0
To be paid			291. 5. 0
To Quarriers wage for mining 10 roods of stone for the Mill House			10. 0. 0
20 chalder lime		<u>7.</u>	0. 0
	£	308.	5. 0

N.B. Carriages are not included.

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

Appendix 11

Estimate of the Whole Wright Work in erecting a Windmill Engine  
for drawing of water 30 fathoms.

By Stephen Row

1738.

Estimation of a Wind Engine for drawing water 30 fathoms	£ s. d.
To an Axletree 7 foot long 2 foot square with 2 blades each 54 foot long with sailments to the blades	12. 0. 0
To putting on the roof of the mill where the Axletree is to be placed on the top of the wall, wheel rollers, etc.	11. 4. 0
To making, placing and putting arches on the Regulator with Bob trees	10. 5. 0
To 60 fathoms of pump rods	6.15. 0
To boring, jointing and hooping 60 fathoms of pump of 8 inch diameter at £12.12s. Scots per fathom	63. 0. 0
To setting the pumps regularly in the Engine Pit	12. 0. 0
Wrights Workmanship	£115. 4. 0

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Rothes

To John Richie, Manager of My Lord Elphinstone's Coal and Salt Works.

		<u>Scots</u>
		£ s. d.
1738		
May 22.	To 20 stone of square and flat iron at 26s.	
	per stone	26. 0. 0
	To James Conachie and George Love, Smiths, )	
	7 days each at 12s. each making 2 pair )	
	of windlass arms, rings, hoops for tubs, )	8. 8. 0
	bends and cleavages )	
	To John Bachop, 6 days at same.	
	at 12s. per day	3.12. 0
	To James Mill, 7 days at same at 8s. per day	2.16. 0
	To John Muirhead and John Band, wrights )	
	1½ days each making and fitting windlasses )	
	at 12s. each per day )	1.16. 0
	To Alex. Mackie, cooper, for making, hooping	
	and bending 4 sinking tubs	1.16. 0
	To 17 cwt. of deals for same at 3s. per piece	2.11. 0
	To John Mitchell, founder, to making 4 iron )	
	frames, founding and turning 8 brass )	
	friction wheels )	18. 0. 0
	To freight to Leith	<u>1. 4. 0</u>
	Summa	£66. 3. 0
		(£5.10. 3 Sterling)

The Above Materials shipped aboard the John Crawford for the Earl of Rothes directed to the care of John Campbell, merchant in Leith, who has his orders to deliver them to the Earl of Rothes or his order by me.

June 5th 1738.

John Richie.

Explanation of the Water Machine

- A: the water-wheel,  $21\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in diameter and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. sole.  
 B: the crank, radius of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft.  
 CC: the levers, 26 ft. long and 45 ft. square.  
 D: the stone pillar for the levers, height of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  ft., breadth of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ft.  
 EE: the pumps in the pit,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

Calculation of the Machine

This engine will go 9 strokes per minute with two  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inch pumps, making a 5 foot stroke.

	<u>Hogsheads</u>	<u>Gal.</u>	<u>Qt.</u>	<u>Pt.</u>
It draws in one revolution of the wheel		24	1	1
It draws in one minute	3	5	-	-
It draws in one hour	185	9	1	3

The radius of the water wheel is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ft. and the radius of the crank is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft., so as the radius of the wheel is to the radius of the crank so is the weight of water in 24 fathoms of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inch pump to the power applied on the wheel so that 620 lbs. weight on the water wheel will make an equilibrium with 24 lbs., the weight of water in the pumps.

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If 1 hogshead equals 52 gallons, then in one hour the water-machine would pump 9629 gallons 1 qt. 3 pts.

If 1 hogshead equals 62 gallons, then in one hour the water-machine would pump 11,479 gallons 1 qt. 3 pts.

---

Lands Belonging to the Earl of RothesParishes in which the lands lieVassalls

Flisk - Glenduckie	in the Parish of Abdie	Patrick Murray of Ayton
Falkland - Easter Conland	in the Parish presently possessed by Falkland	David Kinloch
" - Wester Conland	" "	David Skene of Pitlour
" - Drums	in the Parish of Falkland	Mr. Michael Lundin of Drums
" - Powrins Over and Nether		Henry Millar of Powrins
Abernethy - Drumbarrow		And. Watson's heirs in Glentarkie, viz. Jas. Watson, Jr. of Aitherney in Scoonie Parish
Kennoway - Drumeird and Blackhall and Torrieburn		Alex. Seaton of Black at Craigeflour, factor to Mr. Colville of Craigefflour. John and James Archibald, Robert Blyth.
Leslie - Strathendry and Meikle Balquharnie		Robert Douglas of Strathendry
" - Balsily		Alex. Lindsay
" - Pitcairn		The Lady Pitcairn
Kennoway - Auchtermernie Lalethem and Aldie		David Lunden of Auchtermernie
" - Kenochie or Kennoway		Mr. David Bethune of Balfour
Creich - Balmedieside		Andrew Baillie of Parbroth
Flisk - Pittachope		Andrew Barclay of Pittachope
Newburgh - Easter Lumbernie and Colzie		James Taylor of Pitcairlie

Abdie - Wester Lumbennie belongs to

Sir Michael Balfour

Abernethy -  $\frac{2}{3}$  Colzie Easter Colzie belonging to James Taylor, Pitcairly,

Cupar - House in Cupar called the Barony presently possessed by Mrs. Hay,  
late in Edinburgh; Interdictors Mr. Bethune of Kilconquhar and  
Baillie Thomson in Burntisland

Wm. Thomson of Pryier-Ietham,  
living in Burntisland. Interdictor.

Kettle - Holkettle

Mr. Henry Bethune of Clatto

Ryne - Kilmouth belongs to and the other  $\frac{1}{2}$  to Sir Thomas Moncrieff

Mr. William Kerr,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Kilmonth.

Kettle - Lathrisk called Riggs

George Swan of Riggs

Kinglassie - Easter Pitteuchar and Bankhead

James Meldrum, writer in Kirkcaldy  
and his wife

Markinch - Alburns Know

Andrew Alburn of Alburns Know

Kinglassie - Backfield of Berran

George Tans

House in Muirtown

David Briggs' heirs

Leslie - Douglas Croft

Thomas Ireland, his proportion and  
Thomas Russell

" - Wackmilln on Water of Leven

John Tyrie

" - Barony of Rothes

Mr. Pat Grant, advocate

Kinglassie - for a cottrie in Rimbleton

Wm. Bogie in Auchmuty

Kennoway -  $\frac{1}{4}$  part of Drumaird

John Archibald

Abernethy - Pitblere and Mountquharry

Andrew Buist

Ferryfield and Ferryboat

John Aitken, tenant paying the  
Earl of Rothes £20 yearly

N.B. Two-thirds Colzie, is Wester Colzie and one half belongs to the Kirk Session of Portmoak and the other half belongs to James Aitken, son to George Aitken, late tenant in Leslie who is out of the Kingdom and William Aitken, his brother, manager for his mother who liferents the same and lives in Falkland.

Source: Rothes Papers, Kirkcaldy Museum.

Contents of Parks of Leslie belonging to the Countess of Rothes (1775)

No.

- 1 The Wood
- 2 The Holm on the South Side of the Water of Leven
- 3 Leslie or Greenhead Park
- 4 The Grove
- 5 The Pastures on the West Side of the Garden
- 6 Part of the West Avenue
- 7 Fore Court
- 8 The Back Court
- 9 Planting south of Fore Court and West Avenue
- 10 The Terrace Walks
- 11 Hollow Green
- 12 Part of Muckersey, pasture, arable & planting
- 13 The Garden
- 14 Pasture and planting about the Stables
- 15 Stack yard and pasture about the Stables
- 16 Shed yard for cattle and homesteads there
- 17 The Grieve's house and yard  
(b) log yard (c) hog yard (d) dung yard
- 18 Park east of Water of Lothrie
- 19 Water park on both sides of Leven including b Avenue
- 20 The Stables or Mains Park including planted strips
- 21 The South Wester cornpark
- 22 The South Easter cornpark
- 23 The North Wester cornpark including planted strips
- 24 The North Easter cornpark including planted strips

- 25 The Wood east of the Church
- 26 Sir Andrews Mount Wood (Mount Andrew)
- 27 Briery Haugh Park
- 28 Shilling Hill Park
- 29 Golf leas including planted strips
- 30 Back Hill or Sheep Park
- 31 Trail's Field
- 32 Pitcairn or Pitcondie Park
- 33 Boguey Wood
- 34 Whinny Hill Park
- 35 Shilling Hill Planting

Total Acreage	1284 acres:	
	Arable	1209 acres
	Planting	<u>75</u> "
		1284 "

Surveyed April 1775 by William Bell

Glossary

- Acre:** the Scots acre, larger than the English, equalled 6014 sq. yds. (for comparison, see Contents of Ballinbreich estate,
- Bear:** a kind of barley hardier than the ordinary kind, but of inferior quality; ordinary barley has two rows of grain on the head, bear four.
- Barrowman:** the mason's labourer who carries stone, mortar, etc. on a hand-barrow.
- Bilget:** bulging or jutting out; a projection on the harness of a horse.
- Blae:** a hard blue clay.
- Boll:** a dry measure varying in extent according to locality. A boll of oats, barley or potatoes (Linlithgow or standard measure) contains 6 imperial bushels; a boll of meal, 140 lbs. avoirdupois. As a coal measure its regional variations were probably wide, 16 bolls were said to make a chalder of 206,739.46 cu. in.
- Branders:** a gridiron; a trestle, the support of a scaffold; a grating for the mouth of a drain.
- Brick:** an oblong loaf of bread of various sizes.
- Causeway:** a street or pavement laid with cobble-stones, as distinguished from flagstone.
- Cess:** an assessment tax or levy; originally a land tax.
- Chalder:** a measure which varies with different commodities and in different districts, e.g. the Perthshire chalder of coal or lime was 5 tons, the River Forth chalder, 30 cwt.

Checks: linen and worsted or cotton and worsted material for upholstery.

Chew: very small pieces of coal, often called 'chow' coal.

Clack: a hinged flap or clapper of a mill that falls back with a clacking noise.

Commissioner of Supply: a member of a body in each county which exercised various functions of the County Council before the establishment of the latter in 1889.

Deal: a slice sawn from a log of timber, generally about 9 inches wide.

Dighting: the winnowing of corn.

Dogger: a coarse iron-stone.

Ell: a linear measure containing slightly more than 37 inches.

Fathom: used for measuring depth or extent of workings. Eventually equivalent to 6 ft., but early in the eighteenth century it was sometimes equated with  $1\frac{3}{4}$  ells, i.e. 5 ft.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.

Firlot: a measure of capacity for grain, the fourth part of a boll and equal to 4 pecks, the amount varying in different districts and for different commodities. The standard was the Linlithgow for wheat, 0.998 imperial bushels; for barley and oats 1.456 imperial bushels, and for meals, 2 stone 7 lb. imperial weight.

Fenochie (fennel): a genus of fragrant umbelliferous plants with yellow flowers.

Fleckett (fleckit): a spirit flask.

Fustian: a kind of coarse cloth made of cotton weft and linen warp; later all cotton.

Hogshead: a liquid measure used extensively for estimating pumping requirements, performances of water-gins and Newcomen engines, etc. Measure varied from 52 to 62 gallons.

Holland: a coarse linen fabric, unbleached or dyed brown: (orig) a fine kind of linen first made in Holland.

Lippe: the fourth part of a peck.

Mentith: a dish.

Merk: a silver coin, worth 13 1/3d. Sterling.

Peck: a measure of capacity for dry goods; the fourth part of a bushel. The Scottish peck (Linlithgow measure) was the fourth part of a firloft and contained four lippies, and equalled one imperial peck.

Pritchel: a kind of boring tool used for winning the coal.

Quarter: divided into four equal parts. The coal sacks would measure 39 quarters by 7 quarters and be made of pieces of material 39 inches square joined by sections of 7 inch.

Salver: a tray.

Sasine: an ancient mode of investiture of lands.

Skirret: a water-parsnip with edible roots.

Stone: sometimes contained 14 lbs., but in eastern Scotland the 'Dutch' or 'Amsterdam' stone of 16 lbs. was quite commonly used.

Stoup: a deep, narrow vessel for holding liquids, a jug with a handle.

Stroup: the spout of a pump, kettle, teapot.

Stuff: textile fabrics, cloth, esp. when woollen.

Tanker: a tankard.

Thill: coarse subsoil of gravel and clay.

Thrave: twenty-four sheaves of grain.

Wains: wagons.

Wedder (wether): a castrated ram.

Wimble: a twist used for boring through the strata of rock and coal.

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Pound Scots: equivalent to 20 pence Sterling.

Shilling Scots: equivalent to 1d. Sterling.

max was 66 feet  
 11 fathoms long: The  
 may be seen only by  
 compass.

field 1200 R taken the 13 July 1730.  
 Left hand.  
 Off sets.  
 at my fairs sink.

towards Bridge of Ore  
 to High Way - 20

to High Way 50

To High way 6

To High way - 20  
 To High Way - 6

On top of  
 Bearing up the  
 Bearing down

Towards Lockty Bridge

On Top of  
 Bearing up the  
 Bearing down the

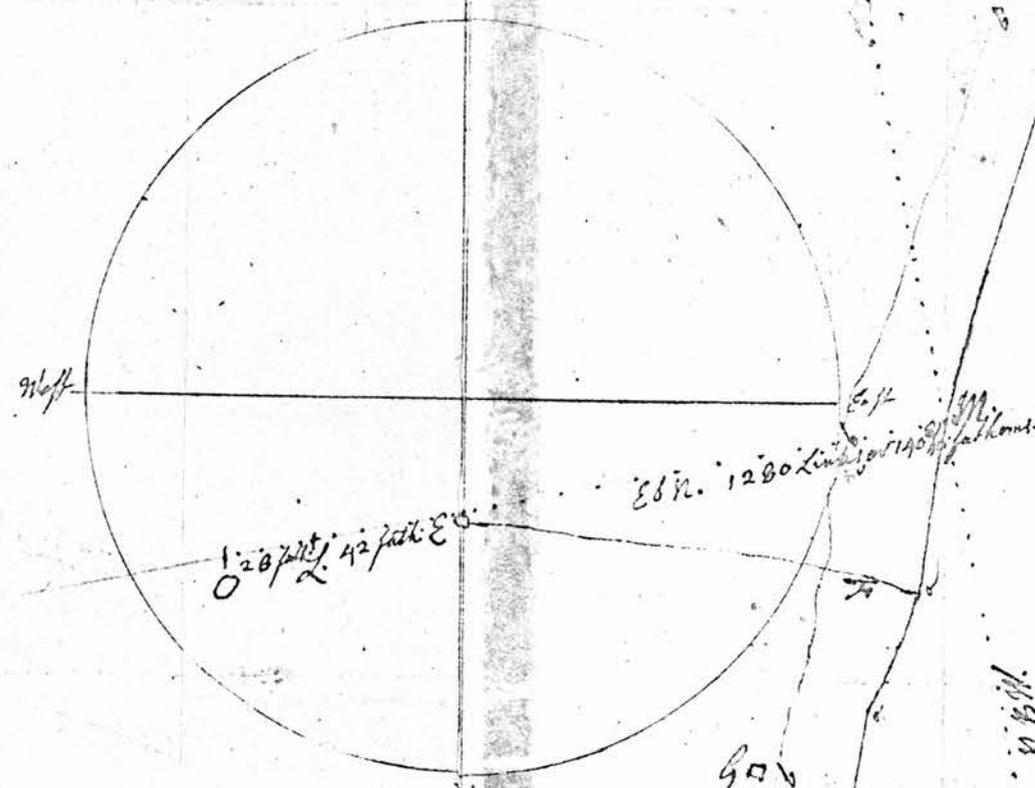
Bearing	Lengths	Right hand Off Sets.
78:45 or E 1/2 S	1000 1280	to the March. to the High Way.
191:15	450 600	Ridge of the Ground. Crossed High Way.
258:45		236 to March.
191:15	200 400 1300	40 to High Way. 290 to proposed Machine. touches High Way.
177:30	300 600 1095 1300	Go Coaled sink. 343 to Corner of park bike. the park bike being para: to the following bearing.
173:30	400 735	
140:00	325	Top of Ore Bridge.
265:00		Ore Bridge.
67:30		The Trough of Ore Water.
14:00	200 400 950 1640 2145	Leaves the High way. 5 to High Way. 40 to High Way. touches the west side of the High Way. Top of Lockty Bridge.
292:00		Lockty Bridge.
79:45		Trough of the Water of Lockty.

N.B: The uppermost seam of Lord St clairs - feet. inches  
 Coal is of thicknes - - - - 9:00  
 The Roof of Middle Coal is of thicknes - - 2:06  
 The middle seam of coal is of thicknes - - 6:00  
 The Roof of Lowest coal is of thicknes - - 0:09  
 The lowest seam of coal is of thicknes - - 6:00  
 In all - 24:03 - which is 21 feet of Coal.

N.B: 2<sup>do</sup> The parrot coal lies 10 fathoms ~~above~~  
 the ~~uppermost~~ <sup>undermost</sup> of the said 3 seams of coal,  
 and is 3 feet thick.

Plan of the Dike Land  
between Ore and Locality  
Bridges, taken only by whom.  
- pas, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1736.

40 fathoms  
38  
36  
34  
32  
30  
28  
26  
24  
22  
20  
18  
16  
14  
12  
10  
8  
6  
4  
2  
0



References to the Letters.

- A. Bridge on the Water of Ore.
- A.B. Trough of the Water of Ore down the...
- A.C. Trough of the Water of Ore up the River...
- aaa. High Way between the Bridges of Ore and Locality.
- D. Bridge on the water of Locality.
- bbb. March between the Earl of Ruthven and the Earl of Levens Grounds in Strathore.
- E. Mr Jays Sink which was sunk 7 fathoms of Earth and bored 6 fathoms in breadth to the Coal head, the Coal dipping a fathom in Seven E.N.E. or E.N.E.
- E.F. Edge of the Ground in Strathore.
- G. place proposed by Mr Adam where the water engine is to be erected.
- D.H. Trough of the water of Locality down the...
- D.J. Trough of the water of Locality up the River...
- H. Sink Coaled by Archie Haffey the year 1727, 9 fathoms deep to the Coal head; the three seams of coal put together the in length 24 feet 3 inches in Lord Levens Ground.
- I. The uppermost of the three Coals crops on the ground...
- M. The side of the High Way 146 fathoms and dipping of Mr Jays Sink where a fire would be 37 fathoms deep to the pavement of the lowest seam of coal, which dips 32 fathoms west.
- N.B. See the field Book on the other side.
- N. Cross sink set down by Archie Haffey in the year 1727, 2 fathoms deep to the Coal head, 50 fathoms cropping of...
- W. Sink L. Water engine sink, if ground is 40 fathoms...
- O.M. Breast wall of Coal 210 fathoms long, to the High Way, where of about 32 fathoms are on the Earl of Levens Ground.
- P.Q. Water Room of the Coal...
- N.B. I reckon there are about 10 Acres of the Earl of Levens Ground on the west side of the High Way between the Bridge of Ore and Bridge of Locality; and 26 Acres of the Earl of Levens Ground called Strathore on the East side of the said High Way from M to the water of Ore, in all 26 Acres; which would make the Water Sink about 33 fathoms deep, if the Coal dips a fathom in seven.

part of a Dry Stone Dike Inclosure on the first the water of Ore, belonging to the Earl of Ruthven.

Earl of Levens Ground.

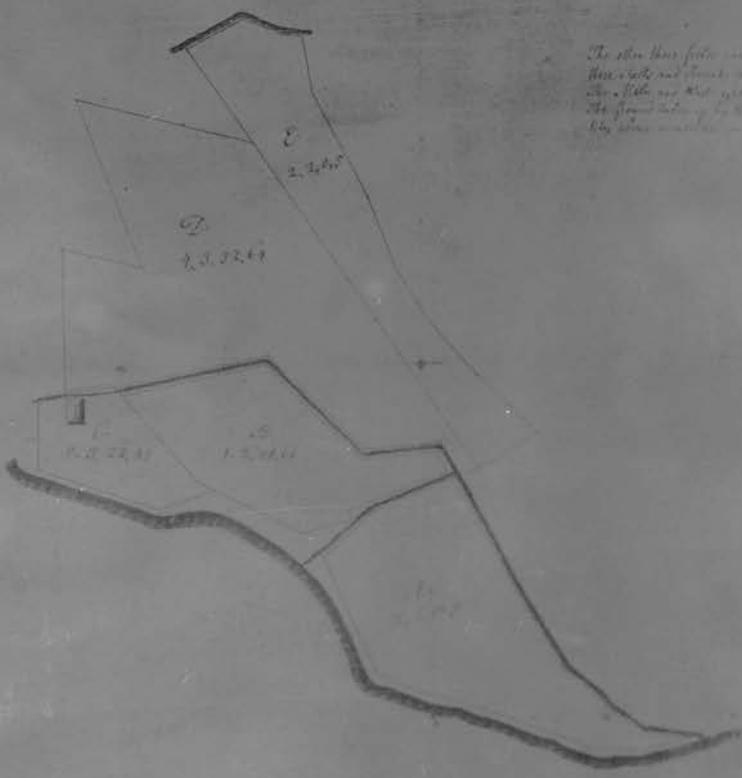


A plan of the town of ...  
 ...  
 ...

The ...  
 ...  
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...  
 ...  
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The ...  
 ...  
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...