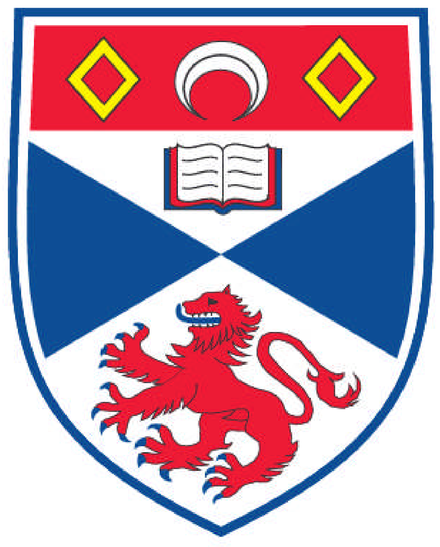
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIFE ROAD SYSTEM, 1700 TO 1850

Owen B. Silver

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews



1985

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIFE ROAD SYSTEM

1700 TO 1850

OWEN B. SILVER

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography
University of St Andrews

September 1984

ABSTRACT

During the first half of the eighteenth century the political and social climate of Scotland was becoming increasingly favourable for the expansion of agricultural output and mineral exploitation. These activities generated extra traffic and the growing number of wheeled vehicles created a demand for soundly constructed roads.

In contrast with the English parish system, responsibility for road management in Scotland lay with landowners, accountable to their county meetings. A tax on rent financed a selective programme of improvement, and when parish labour was converted to a monetary payment a considerable increase in road works became possible.

In Fife, the influence of farmers and coal owners is seen in the planning of roads to distribute lime and coal, while leading landowners were concerned with the national highways which crossed the peninsula. Although one of these became a toll road in 1753, the turnpike system was adopted for the county only at the end of the century. It is the hitherto underestimated activity among road authorities before the imposition of tolls which forms the main theme of this study.

The basic pattern of overland connections existing around 1700 is derived from the evidence of settlement distribution and known physiographic constraints. This pattern is checked against the earliest available maps and road records to deduce a putative network. A sequence of maps illustrates the subsequent changes, including the extent of postal and coach services and control of roads by the turnpike trusts.

The abandonment of hillside routes, the dominance of the link between the Forth and Tay ferries, and the influence of individual landowners on schemes of improvement are illustrated by more localised studies which emphasise the multiplicity of factors operating during a crucial phase in the development of the modern road network.

I, Owen Bayliss Silver, hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately 90,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date 21.8.84 signature of candidate [redacted]

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 on 31st May, 1979 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on 24th April, 1980; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1979 and 1984.

date 21.8.84 signature of candidate [redacted]

I hereby certify that this candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of St Andrews and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

date 21.8.84 signature of supervisor [redacted]

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for public use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.

Signature [redacted] Date 21.8.84

To the Memory of

Herbert Bayliss Silver

civil engineer

and

agricultural improver

1893 - 1984

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PLATES

A Note on References and Abbreviations

In general, the Harvard convention has been adopted, e.g. (Pagan 1845.123) the latter figure being the page number. Where supplementary notes and detailed references become too numerous and/or unduly interrupt the flow of the text they are to be found as footnotes.

A key to the standard abbreviations is given in the Bibliography, but those referring to the principal road authority minutes are listed below :

C of S	Minutes	of	the	Commissioners of Supply for Fife
Cu S	"	"	"	Cupar Statute Labour Trustees
C S	"	"	"	County Meetings of Fife Statute Labour Trustees
C T	"	"	"	County Meetings of Fife Turnpike Trustees
D S	"	"	"	Dunfermline Statute Labour Trustees
D T	"	"	"	Dunfermline Turnpike Trustees
K.S	"	"	"	Kirkcaldy Statute Labour Trustees
K T	"	"	"	Kirkcaldy Turnpike Trustees
S S	"	"	"	St Andrews Statute Labour Trustees
S T	"	"	"	St Andrews Turnpike Trustees

The Statistical Accounts :

Details of these publications are given in the Bibliography, but are referred to as (OSA/NSA/TSA ...) - with page number, the Old Statistical Account being the 1978 edition for Fife, unless otherwise stated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to thank the many individuals without whose help this work would not have been possible. Staff in charge of public records and reference collections have not only patiently met his requests but suggested new material which a lifetime of searching might not have revealed. Dr. Berry of Tayfield has kindly provided comfortable conditions in which to browse through his family papers and members of the staff of Fife House, Glenrothes have cheerfully shared scarce working space. Regional officers in charge of bridges and highways have also given generously of their expertise and access to their records.

At St Andrews, the Cartography Department in revealing some of the mysteries of their art did much to improve the maps, while Mrs Helen Smith wrought wonders in typing from much corrected drafts with their often archaic phrases and obscure place names. Finally, the author's wife has striven valiantly through mud and briar in pursuit of notional tracks, approaching both these and the text with becoming scepticism.

INTRODUCTION

The task of tracing the evolution of a local road network from the earliest verifiable evidence up to the present day is not one which has been attempted by many writers.

In an exercise limited to a single Ordnance Survey sheet, Hoskins (1955) attributed the elements of the modern road system round Banbury to several successive users, including travellers on prehistoric trackways. His work is referred to by Appleton (1962.137), who links such investigations with the work of the archaeologist when he cites the apparent abundance of neolithic artefacts associated with certain ridgeway trades of the southern English cuestas.

An even earlier connection is made by Taylor (1979.9) between the stone artefacts found at a mesolithic site at Morton in Fife[1] and the locations of the rock outcrops from which they are likely to have been brought, the Ochil and Sidlaw Hills, each over twenty miles away.

On the basis of this and other manifestations of early transport, particularly the cherts or flints used for making tools in southern England, Taylor suggests that even by 4,000 BC there must have been complex track systems from some of which modern roads are derived.

A lesser leap of the imagination was required on the part of Burghardt (1969) when he examined the plausibility of a traditional association between certain modern roads and the tracks of migratory caribou in Ontario. Burghardt had the benefit of a late 18th century cartographic record of the trails followed by the Iroquois hunters and upheld the popular tradition in at least one instance. In effect, the superposition of the roads required by the first European settlers on a pattern of hunting trails took place within a time span of twenty years or so, as against some 6,000 years in the case of Taylor's example from Fife.

---

1. Described by Coles (1971)

Although Fife is not without field evidence of Roman marching stations and documentary evidence of mediaeval routes, few roads can be confidently identified before the 17th century, when Scottish cartography was yet in its infancy.

The present study aims to trace back the history of the road system in one county of Scotland as far as is practicable, given the documentary evidence available. In so doing it is apparent that evidence on the precise location of routes is so fragmentary before about 1700 that this admittedly somewhat arbitrary date has been chosen as one by which a pattern of connections may have been established.

The first three quarters of the 18th century, though unevenly documented, is considered by the writer to have been so formative a period in the development of Scottish road management that it occupies a relatively more prominent position in this thesis than in comparable works on the subject. In particular, evidence will be examined which indicates the way in which local labour and tax revenue were used, for it is in the deployment of resources that the main contrasts may be seen between the organisation of road work in England, which remained at parish level, and that in Scotland where leading members of the community were made responsible. It is perhaps because of the repeated emphasis placed by writers on the poor performance of the statute labour system in England that those writing about Scottish roads have tended to disregard developments in road improvement that took place before the latter half of the 18th century - the time when the major lowland roads began to be managed by the turnpike trustees. A closer examination of the pre-turnpike organisation of Scottish roads is therefore required.

The period of adoption of the turnpike system corresponded closely to important technological changes in industry and, as a

means of transport of raw materials and products, roads and their improvement, again with the aid of technological advances, have naturally attracted the attention of the exponents of industrial archaeology.

This is a subject variously defined, but claimed by Minchinton (1970.99) to embrace the study of 'physical survivals of industrial processes'. Raistrick (1972.10) argues that such processes extend to the making and use of the means of transport and it is clear that he intends to include among industrial processes the needs of agriculture.[1]

Buchanan (1972.283) again lays claim to the study of roads as a proper concern of industrial archaeologists, and it is therefore not surprising that the first description of road development in Fife was contained in a work within that area of study.[2]

The present thesis is written with due regard to the technological changes in road construction and transport, especially those occurring between 1750 and 1850, but, when considering the spatial development of the Fife road system, seeks to follow the more geographical approach of Appleton (1962) in relating the growth of the network to the physiographic constraints of relief and drainage.

In addition, it hopes to identify some of the human motivations prompting movement between centres of population, the improvement of access to economic resources and/to the outlets through which they were marketed, as well as the development of links of political benefit.

Although, as will be seen, the building of the first railway in Fife in 1847 effectually halted further development of the road system, the study is continued to the end of the half century.

---

1. The organisation of that transport he considers, however, to be the province of the economic historian.
2. Stephen, W.M. 'The Industrial Archaeology of Fife'. Unpublished Thesis (1975) - reviewed in Chapter 1, below.

This gives an opportunity of observing the effects of railway competition on coaching and the development of road services complementary to the railway, a transition described elsewhere.[1]

Thus, after a consideration of the physical nature of the study area and what is known of its population distribution and economic geography at the beginning of the 18th century, there follows an outline of the relevant legislation and the progress of road improvement in Scotland as a whole.

Events in Fife are covered in the three subsequent chapters and the study concludes with a series of localised case studies, each illustrating phenomena of wider relevance. It is hoped that these will form a basis for comparison with parallel developments in other regions of Scotland, so that a more general view of road improvement during this period may emerge.

---

1. Pagan 1845, 1857

CHAPTER ONE

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The written record of Scottish road development up to the coming of the railways has, until recently, tended to be qualitative rather than quantitative, in that much has been written descriptively about the condition of the roads and how they were managed but few studies have been made of their spatial development over time. There is no single work that portrays the growth of the Scottish road network as a whole.

One region has attracted particular interest, that of the Highlands, where pioneering work of road planning and construction in the interest of better military communications was followed by further government assisted improvements for civil purposes. Both these schemes can be seen to have influenced progress in lowland road development, both in terms of the extension of the main route network[1] and of technological expertise.[2]

In general, it can be said that, when compared with the literature on roads during the 18th century in England, what has been written on Scottish roads is patchy and incomplete. For this an explanation may be found in the earlier development and more abundant documentation associated with the corresponding phases of administrative change in England.

THE MEDIAEVAL LEGACY:

Jackman. Thus Jackman in 'The development of transportation in Modern England' (1916) is able to quote from numerous sources from the 14th and 15th centuries, when few sources are available for Scotland,

---

1. As with the Great North Road beyond Dunkeld.
2. For example, Wade's excessive gradients or Telford's costly foundations.

to support his account of the role of the monarch and the church in protecting highways and building bridges.

He examines for even earlier dates the origin of feudal services as the basis of road maintenance and follows these through to the English Reformation and its affects on manorial organisation, with the consequent formulation of a statutory code of labour provision.

STATUTE LABOUR:

The first English statute labour act was passed in 1555 but there was to be a delay of over a century before a corresponding statute was introduced north of the Border, in 1669. With a smaller population and only limited requirements for overland transport, measures in Scotland to improve the condition of the roads were few and half hearted.

In studying the period leading up to the Scottish act, reference to Jackman's observations on the performance of the statute labour system in England provides a background against which the relatively few Scottish documents of church and state can be assessed. Between the dates of the two acts there were opportunities for Scottish legislators to learn from some of the weaknesses of the system in England, described by Jackman; the adoption of the county rather than the parish as the unit of road administration, a distinction which was to become crucial in determining the potential effectiveness of the system in Scotland, could well have come about as the result of a deliberate decision.

Brief accounts of the operation of statute labour on roads in Scotland are found in several works of economic history such as those by Hamilton (1932), Campbell (1965), Slaven (1975) and Lythe (1975) who are concerned to portray the deficiencies of the system at a time of commercial growth and early industrialisation.

Moir. The most vivid introduction to the system in Scotland is

contained in two articles by Moir in the Scottish Geographical Magazine (1957). Quoting liberally from 16th and 17th century Scottish sources, Moir makes clear the hazardous nature of travel on the roads of the time and the ineffectiveness of the directions given by parliament. In his second article he examines the period between the passing of the 1669 Act and the establishment of the first turnpike roads in Scotland.[1]

Whetstone. The enlargement of the authority responsible for roads from the privy council to the justices and then to include the commissioners of supply, outlined by Moir, is elaborated by Whetstone in her 'Scottish County Government in the 18th and 19th centuries' (1981). This provides the administrative background to Moir's quotations and also a unique guide to sources at county level. Whetstone describes the superposition of turnpike road trusts upon the existing management structure but, as with the statute labour system, the existence of a time lag, in this case of about fifty years, before its implementation in Scotland means that the turnpike system cannot be understood by reference to literature on Scotland alone.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURNPIKE SYSTEM IN ENGLAND:

The Webbs. The introduction of turnpikes in England is included in Jackman's comprehensive work, but for a detailed consideration of the legislation and detailed operation of the system the basic work has until recently been that of the Webbs in 'The Story of the Kings Highway' (1920), supplemented by their 'Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes' (1922), which, with copious notes and detailed references to selected acts of parliament, identify many of the shortcomings and abuses experienced in England.

---

1. Unfortunately, his account of events in the 18th century is very brief and a proposed article on turnpike roads has not been written.

Albert: A revised view is contained in Albert's 'The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663-1840' (1972), where he perceives a more rational pattern of turnpike development than do the Webbs who criticised its apparent haphazard growth and lack of co-ordination. The Webbs' slim volume contains no maps but Albert is able to illustrate the spatial development of the English system by means of several maps which record the extensions authorised by successive acts of parliament. He finds the Webbs' assessment of the extent of parliamentary opposition to the introduction of tolls to have been exaggerated and examines the beneficial economic effects, such as the lowering of unit costs of land transport. The role of roads in the economic growth of the 17th and subsequent centuries is studied, particularly in relation to the attraction of capital in an economy where the government assumed only a minimal regulatory function.

Pawson. The extension of not only the English but also the Welsh turnpike road system is examined in Pawson's 'Transport and Economy: The Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth Century Britain' (1977), and is considered as an example of a process of diffusion in space and time of an administrative and economic innovation. Brief reference is made to the Scottish turnpike roads up to 1800 but this gives the impression of an afterthought.[1]

Pawson traces the growth of trade and traffic in England up to the early 18th century, including the extension of the network of carrier services, and after identifying the origins of the late 17th century experiments in the operation of toll roads, proceeds to record the spread of their adoption, noting the factors which seem to have been encouraging or inhibiting their development. In an

---

1. It is notable that the name 'Britain' did not appear in the title of the thesis on which the book is based (Pawson 1975).

appendix he provides a valuable list of turnpike acts, including those for Scottish roads up to 1800 and there are sequential maps, the latest of which is for 1770 and which curiously stops short at Berwick, thereby omitting the several Scottish turnpike roads established by that date.

THE IRISH EXPERIENCE:

As has been indicated above, there is as yet no equivalent work to that of Albert or of Pawson to cover the roads of Scotland in the 18th century, but in any case it may be inadvisable to look entirely towards England for precedents in this field. A system of county road management using statute labour existed in Ireland which was more akin to that in Scotland than in England,in that decisions were made on road repairs and taxation assessed by a more experienced and influential body. The Webbs (1920) show that English local independence successfully frustrated attempts to centralise road management up to the 1830 s.

Andrews. In his article 'Road planning in Ireland before the railway age' (Irish Geography 1964), Andrews describes how Ireland and Scotland had developed a pattern of road administration, based on the county, at the beginning of the 18th century and how in both countries there was an early commutation of statute labour services, a development that hardly occurred in England before 1835. The county unit of administration permitted a degree of co-ordination in the use of resources that led to improvements in the roads of Ireland and Scotland for the equivalent of which England had to wait until the turnpike system was well established. In both Ireland and Scotland there were large areas limited in their development by poor means of access, the improvement of which had necessarily to be assisted by central government funds. As an illustration, in Scotland the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges were appointed in 1803,

while in Ireland loans in aid of public works were made to county authorities in 1817 and outright grants in 1822.

The greater centralisation of road organisation in the two countries meant that, using the resources of statute labour, schemes of road improvement could be deliberately planned. With similar problems of terrain to be considered, the experience in Ireland with regard to the realignment of old routes and the planning of new lines may be compared with similar developments in Scotland in the 18th century.

Andrews recognises a series of stages by which the Irish road system evolved from a random network of pragmatic routes governed by topography, through crudely surveyed straight alignments, to curving lines with gentler gradients. He relates these changes to the increasing sizes of vehicles coming into use at the end of the 18th century. All these changes have their counterparts in Scotland during the same period and are further discussed below.[1]

Andrews provides a series of maps illustrating both the types of road alignment described and the growth of the overall network including that in the northern part of the island.

Fulton. At a county level, Fulton (1972) describes the roads of County Down and their evolution. He sets out in greater detail than Andrews the organisation of the road authorities, the development of the road pattern and the changing nature of traffic. Referring to a statute passed in 1615 which he finds to be modelled on earlier English acts, he considers the Irish system to have been independent and ahead of English practice. In his maps he observes a distinction, based on the views of Andrews, between evolved, direct alignment and contoured roads.

---

1. Chapters 5, 9 and 10.

What can be said of both Ireland and Scotland is that the greater capacity of the authorities to use statute labour effectively had the effect that turnpike roads could be introduced by the two countries in a logical sequence as part of a long term scheme of improvement. This is well illustrated in Fife where the first turnpike roads for the county[1] were not authorised until 1790.

SCOTLAND: SPECIALISED ROAD RELATED STUDIES

However, before considering the literature on regional and county development of roads in Scotland it should be mentioned that, while no work of reference is available for the spatial development of Scottish roads as such, there have been written accounts that relate to the whole country from certain specialised viewpoints.

Butt, Millman. Thus, milestones, tollhouses and other relict features associated with turnpike roads have been recorded in the context of industrial archaeology by Butt (1967). The place of roads in the evolution of the Scottish cultural landscape is examined by Millman (1975), who emphasises the thoroughness with which the open fields were obliterated in many areas of Scotland in the 18th century, and the regularity of the geometrical patterns imposed by the new enclosures with the consequent diversion of certain roads.[2]

Haldane (1971). In an account of the spread of postal services over Scotland, Haldane (1971) gives an early example of the use of government funds to establish a road from Carlisle to Portpatrick in south west Scotland, primarily for the shipment of troops to Ireland but also providing a valuable route for mail. In general,

---

1. The 1753 Act was for a national strategic route passing through only a part of the county.
2. A map of part of Ayrshire, based on the work of Lebon (1946), is used to illustrate these changes (p. 115).

the post office assessed the utility of existing roads for its purposes, but the planning of a network of services on a national scale involved choices which can be seen to influence the policy of road improvement in Fife.[1] The removal of the exemption of mail coaches from tolls was a contentious issue up to 1813 and the postal services became an important source of revenue, as well as of wear and tear, on the roads they patronised thereafter. Haldane appends two maps showing the extent of the postal network in Scotland and the frequency of deliveries.

COUNTY ROAD STUDIES: The English Precedents

As with the literature on the statute labour and turnpike systems, the study of roads at regional and county level has first generated a body of writing on areas in England, and thereby established a tradition which cannot be ignored in examining the progress of road improvement north of the border.

Cossons on Nottinghamshire. It is now fifty years since Cossons (1934) produced his analysis of the turnpike network of Nottinghamshire. He broke fresh ground by providing a sequence of maps showing the stages in its development and he greatly extended the range of documentary sources beyond those consulted by Jackman or the Webbs.

Cosson's work was followed by a succession of county studies of which those by Williams on Cumbria (1975) and Freeman (1977) on South Hampshire are among the most comprehensive.

Williams on Cumbria. Williams places his work against the background of what Jackman, the Webbs and Albert had to say about the evolution of road legislation in England but, concerned as he is primarily with main routes of the 19th century, Williams makes only a brief reference to the functioning of the English statute labour system.

---

1. Chapter 8, below.

The work recounts the history of the various turnpike trusts in Cumbria and in so doing it accords with the pattern described by Albert and Pawson. However, the competition Williams notes between the road trusts and coastal shipping for freight and the growth of tourism in the late 18th century represent local circumstances of particular interest.[1] The main surge of road building activity in Cumbria appears to have taken place between 1813 and 1835 and Williams finds a corresponding increase in toll receipts and the provision of coach services during that period. He notes the apparent stimulus of better roads to inland mining activity and to the growth of towns, while indications of economic benefits, such as improved access to markets and lower commodity prices, are seen to be linked to road development. Much detailed information concerning the progress of work on individual roads is presented but only one small scale map is supplied.

Freeman on Hampshire. Freeman (1977), introducing his study of roads in South Hampshire, agrees with Albert's view of the English turnpike roads as representing a logical, step by step, development and he extends Albert's account of the organisation of the road trusts and their administration of road repairs.

Commenting on Pawson's work on the national turnpike network (1975), Freeman sees this as the application of diffusion theory to the findings of Albert. He commends Pawson's series of maps, a feature which he finds deficient in Albert's account, but asks why they could not have been extended beyond that for 1770.

Freeman's own account, in which he uses maps freely, follows the development of South Hampshire roads from the late 17th century. He finds a crisis occurring around 1750 in the provision of

---

1. Similar influences are seen at work in Fife (Chapter 8, below).

adequate roads for expanding traffic, which the newly created turnpike trusts make a concerted attempt to resolve. Freeman considers they succeeded in doing this effectively between 1750 and 1840 and he points to the associated benefits which resulted in terms of benefits to trade and the growth of towns.

Referring to agricultural improvements,he claims that both the increased application of lime and the marketing of larger volumes of agricultural products were responsible for some of the growth of traffic after the efforts of the road trusts began to take effect. However, nothing is said in his five pages on agricultural improvement to indicate how the pattern of parliamentary enclosure was influenced by or affected the course of contemporary roads.

An enlightened response to the problem of toll evasion is evident when the Hampshire road trustees saw the creation of through roads as a disincentive. The reasoning was that by providing much more convenient routes than those by which tolls might be evaded, the new roads, with the help of continuous banks between authorised junctions, were of a quality that removed the temptation.

SCOTTISH REGIONAL AND LOCAL STUDIES

The Highlands: Salmond et al.

In Scottish road studies the prominence of the highland region was briefly referred to above. Salmond in his 'Wade in Scotland' (1938) explains the strategic importance of highland routes for military communications in the early 18th century and the work of Wade as a young lieutenant between 1724 and 1733. More detailed information as to the techniques he employed is given by Taylor (1976), who continues the account to include the work of Wade's successors which involved liaison with the civil authorities.

These general accounts are supplemented by closer studies of

individual sections of road by Graham (1963) and Curtis (1980). These throw light on the state of engineering practice at the time.[1]

Many of the estates forfeited to the Crown after the 1745 rebellion were in the highland region and the work of the commissioners responsible for their management included the building and improving of roads and bridges. The importance of their contribution to the Scottish road system is recorded by Smith (1975). Deficiencies in the construction of the military roads of Wade and his successors, combined with their unsuitable location for civil purposes resulted in many of them falling into disuse. However, some were taken over as part of a scheme for the development of a more comprehensive system of highland roads. Haldane (1962) describes the work of the Parliamentary Commissioners appointed to carry out this work in 1803, and the role of Telford as their principal engineer. As with the military roads the relevance of these developments to the present study lies in the level of contemporary road technology which they reveal and the way in which central government funds were used.

Easter Ross (Mowat)

In 'Easter Ross 1750-1850: The Double Frontier', Mowat (1981) examines a Scottish county which comprises, as the title implies, both highland and lowland coastal areas. He finds that much of the initiative for road improvement came from one landowner who was also Sheriff of the county.

In the 1770 s, using statute labour, the major through routes were made fit for wheeled traffic and the methods used were commended by Sir John Sinclair as a pattern to be followed by people in the south. Mowat notes changes in the nature of farm vehicles in the late 18th century but suggests that, although the introduction of

---

1. As will be examined in Chapter 5.

large farm carts at this time may have been due to the improvement of the roads they could simply indicate an advance in agricultural practice. Easter Ross contained only part of one military road but came within an area benefitting from the activities of the Highlands Commissioners, their most important work being on bridges and roads between 1809 and 1819. Mowat describes how, with fresh legislation in 1810 and 1813 the original statute labour conversion rates were increased so that district road authorities were enabled to provide the principal roads with deeper metalling.

Kirkcudbrightshire (Anderson)

In south west Scotland the post road to Portpatrick mentioned by Haldane (1971. 13) crossed the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. The road system in this area is examined by Anderson (1967) from the supposed time of Pont's survey in 1590. With his main source, the minutes of the commissioners of supply for the Stewartry which survive from 1728 onwards, Anderson is able to account for the origins and improvement of a large number of bridges and roads. From this information he constructs a sequence of maps showing networks in the 17th century, 1759 and 1864. While much of the detail is primarily of local interest, the study contains several observations of general application. Thus, Anderson notes a reduction in the number of quasi-parallel routes as some came to be selected for improvement, using bridges rather than fords. He points to a decision on which of two roads was to be considered 'the only high road' as an indication that they crossed unenclosed land. He also associates some of the straight line routes laid out in the 18th century with new enclosures.

After discerning a wave of bridge building up to 1750 and a period of road construction after 1763 using statute labour,

he identifies a single prominent landowner as a pioneer in improvement.[1] This man's chief innovative contribution was the laying out of new roads to gently curving easier gradients.[2] His new principles were observed when new turnpike roads began to be planned after 1797 and in their construction Anderson, who writes as a civil engineer, suggests that the specifications anticipated the teachings of McAdam, who might have taken up the famous 'hen's egg' standard of stone size after observing local practice.

The second part of Anderson's study catalogues the stages in the development of four major routes in considerable detail, giving dates of erection of toll bars, rebuilding of bridges, widening of roads and numerous minor road diversions. Evidently addressed to the local reader, the study is replete with place names and at least some Ordnance Survey grid references would have been welcomed by the outside inquirer.

Galloway (Donnachie)

Some of the road and bridge building recorded by Anderson in the Stewartry is also referred to by Donnachie (1969) as part of an account of the industrial archaeology of Galloway. He relates the late 18th century road improvements to the growth of agricultural processing, textile manufacturing and mining in that area.

A map shows the course of the Carlisle to Portpatrick road around 1765 and a map is also given of turnpike roads which include some but not all of those in Anderson's larger scale map of the Stewartry There is also an inventory of bridges, tollhouses, milestones, inns and smithies as surviving road artefacts.

---

1. in a similar role to Mowat's Sheriff of Ross, above, p.16
2. thus accomplishing the third stage of Andrews' Irish study of road evolution, above, p.10.

Although Donnachie notes the vigorous programme of road construction and bridge building carried out by the commissioners of supply in the Stewartry he evidently regards their achievements as impermanent, for he also writes of the modern road system as being 'virtually that created in the turnpike era'.

A comparison of Anderson's 1759 map with that of today shows that many of the 'Great County Roads' reconstructed by the commissioners with statute labour are still in use as main roads, such as those radiating from the town of Kirkcudbright.

Ayrshire (Goodwin)

A second Scottish county study devoted to road history is that by Goodwin (1970). His 'Road Development in Ayrshire 1750-1835', like many English county studies, is largely an account of the activities of the turnpike trusts and the actual development of the road system is only followed from the date of the first Ayrshire turnpike act in 1766. His choice of a starting date for the study is 1750 and this excludes what ought to be an interesting phase of road development during which, to judge by events in Kirkcudbrightshire (Anderson, 1967) and Fife (Chapter 6, below), a number of bridges were being built and atleast some road improvements undertaken with local labour and the produce of a small land tax.[1] In other words, the differentiation of a main route network from multiple unimproved routes would already be well advanced by 1750.

In support of his statement that 'the desire and need to improve Scottish roads had to wait'[2] until after 1745, Goodwin is able to refer to the disapproving comments of ministers in the 1790 s about the roads of the previous generation but, as Whyte (1979.3) points out, there is a likelihood of retrospective bias in such comments.

---

1. 'one of the first recorded improved bridges' was built by Ayrshire trustees in 1769 (p.84)
2. p.20

On the positive side he does mention the work of Lord Loudoun who, as early as 1733, 'prudently began with making roads through the parish', and built 'the first made road in the parish of Ayr, which was done by the statute work',[1] at the same time referring to Lebon (1959.155), who says, 'This appears to have ante-dated the main period of road improvements by nearly thirty years.'[2]

The bulk of Goodwin's study is concerned with events after the passing of the first Ayrshire turnpike act in 1766. He describes the background to the early deliberations of the trustees with details of their qualifications and the way in which officers of the trustees were selected, from which it seems that the Ayrshire trustees were little different from those of other counties at the time. Some biographical details are given for certain prominent trustees but there is remarkably little about the contributions of their most famous member, John Loudon McAdam. Also, on the personality, social background and ability of the surveyors employed, whose competence was questioned by McAdam, there appears to be little information.[3]

Goodwin's description of the extension of the road network can be said to fall between 1766 and 1830 when 'there were indications that the Road Trusts had passed their peak'.[4] To illustrate this extension he provides two maps. The first shows those roads proposed for improvement in the 1766 Act and identified on Armstrong's map of nine years later.[5] In view of the failure in Fife of a proportion of such roads to become toll roads[6] this may not accord

---

1. OSA Loudoun parish III 108,109.
2. Goodwin's paraphrase is misleading and the page reference incorrect.
3. p.38.
4. p.110 Goodwin notes the first mention of a proposed railway from Troon to Kilmarnock, in 1829.
5. Lebon (1959.154) makes use of an earlier map from the Military Survey 1755-67 to illustrate communications in the mid 18th century.
6. Chapter 7, below.

with what actually happened. The second map, for 1835, is possibly more reliable since the roads were classed as turnpiked at the time of a government report in 1833.[1]

It is not clear why the author has not made use of, or referred to, the roads separately distinguished by Lebon (1959.156) which are shown by the latter as turnpiked under an act of 1774.

In the selection of lines for new roads, Goodwin supplies evidence of the avoidance of particular properties with unsympathetic owners in a proposed line in 1767 and of reluctance to disrupt an existing pattern of enclosures in 1770. Sources of funds for road improvement are considered, from the individual contributions of landowners to the rates set for the payment of conversion money by householders. In an appendix the personal circumstances and backgrounds of a number of more active road trustees are noted, particularly with regard to their prominence as agricultural improvers, coal owners and merchants. Information of this nature is useful in that it can be correlated with the chairmanship of road committees, records of subscriptions towards new roads and road making solely with private funds. The experience of individuals in matters of management and finance, when considered in conjunction with their desire to benefit their estates, coal mines or manufacturing enterprises, goes far to explain their relative activity in bringing about road improvements.[2]

Fife: Local Studies

Literature directly relating to roads in Fife includes certain historical accounts addressed to local readers. Thus Davidson (1942) traces the history of a cadger's road between Leslie and Falkland from the 16th century, using as his sources the burgh records of Kirkcaldy.

---

1. Goodwin 1970.198
2. An example of such motivation in Fife is given in Chapter 13, below.

Dunn (1980) provides a miscellany of information for teaching purposes about what he calls the 'Queen's Road' from Wemyss to Falkland.[1]

A series of articles by Bennett (1982) on transport across Fife displays a wealth of material much of it derived from the minutes of the road trustees. Many of the extracts have been selected for their dramatic or anecdotal interest, but there is much common ground with the present study. Another shared source has been Pagan (1845) whose wry observations on the operation of the Fife turnpike trusts just before the coming of the railways provide a vivid introduction to the more striking anomalies of the system.[2]

Other collections of data, organised primarily for entertainment rather than for reference but revealing valuable aspects of Fife road history, are those by the late W.G.R. Bodie (1960, 1968, 1980). Ostensibly centred on Glenrothes, there are references to a much larger part of Fife, many of them of 18th century origin and some owing their preservation to his timely intervention (1980.404). The 1968 book is mostly devoted to roads and contains reproductions of early documents,[3] large scale maps showing local road diversions, photographs[4] and drawings of the high standard of an architect and town planning officer.

A work with which this study can be said to be closely integrated is that on the 'industrial archaeology' of Fife by Stephen (1975).

With chapters on agriculture, quarrying, coal mining and textiles, there are no industries he mentions whose success has not involved or been affected by the provision of land transport facilities. The role played by the road network in their development is examined below,

---

1. The southern part of which was later used as a coal road from Balgonie (Chapter 12).
2. A fuller assessment of this source appears in Chapter 2.
3. including a missing minute of a meeting in 1740 (1968.19).
4. e.g. the New Inn before its demolition.

particularly in respect of the movement of farm produce and the distribution of coal and lime.

While the interdependence of roads and industrial development is clearly recognised by Stephen, his principal justification for the forty pages he devotes to roads - over one seventh of his thesis - is their intrinsic interest in 'a county where roads were turnpiked late and where there was a conflict of interest between local and national networks'.

As part of a general review of industrial change between 1790 and 1845, Stephen draws on the parish accounts of the 1790·s and 1830·s to illustrate the early inadequacy of roads in Fife, the workings of the statute labour system[1], the introduction of turnpike roads, the nature of road improvements and the provision of services such as ferries and public coaches.[2]

In his chapter 'Overland Transport', which includes waggonways and railways, Stephen links together a sequence of source extracts, with brief comments, in a somewhat unstructured manner and with few sub-headings to guide the reader.

However, chronological development of the subject is observed, starting with travellers' views on road conditions and a consideration of the evidence for a few early road connections - between an abbey and its quarry, between a parish and its kirk, between towns and a bridging point.

The ways in which statute labour conversion money was collected and how it was spent on road repairs are illustrated from private papers and from Pagan (1845). The latter's 'Road Reform' is the source of most of Stephens' observations on the functioning of the turnpike trusts in Fife up to the coming of the railways and beyond.

---

1. two errors here: the four districts were adopted in 1774 and full conversion of services in 1797 (p.216).
2. He takes in the curtilage of modern Fife and therefore includes Culross, whereas the present study refers to Fife before 1850.

Certain road improvements are considered in greater detail, notably the Great North Road up to 1832 and the connection to it from Burntisland in 1817. In the latter case Stephen is able to illustrate the pre-turnpike history of part of this road by digging inspection ditches across it and his findings are detailed under 'Archaeology'. Under this heading he also refers to his earlier work on milestones and tollhouses.

There is therefore much common ground between the present study and that by Stephen, but there are differences in emphasis which are mostly reflected in the earlier starting date, 1700, as opposed to Stephen's 1790.

By taking in the whole of the 18th century an attempt has been made to trace the development of the network as far back as appears to be practicable from the available evidence. It has thus been possible to observe the part played by the county road authorities in selectively upgrading the then existing roads, particularly after 1745. The extent of their achievements in the pre-turnpike period is hardly considered by Stephen.

Finally, a need is acknowledged by Stephen which applies both to the earlier period and to the turnpike era. He says, at the end of his chapter on overland transport, 'since the time of William Pagan ..... there has been no attempt to look at the evolution of the road system of the area'.

This is something which the present writer intends to remedy.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOURCES

Introduction

The period of this study is limited to that in which the principal changes leading to the establishment of the modern road system occurred, that is between 1700 and 1850. However, it has been necessary to place this period in a wider historical context by considering the evidence of travel in previous centuries and also by taking account of certain documents after 1850 which refer to developments within the study period.

In the period before 1700, the most useful documentary evidence is to be found among official records and the journals or accounts of individual travellers. However, the limited extent of such sources makes those artefacts observable on the ground or identifiable from aerial photographs particularly valuable, especially where they can be related to features depicted on maps of the 18th century.

Such observations include shelter belts and stony tracts forming alignments, particularly along proprietorial and parish boundaries, disused fording places or bridges, abandoned settlements, early enclosure walls and even second generation lines of tree growth.[1] In places it may be considered that the excavation of wheel tracks in bed rock indicates traffic levels greater than could be expected to arise from purely agricultural vehicles,[2] and terrace ways on hillsides may be similarly prominent. Evidence of former drainage patterns and the extent of water bodies or marsh may help to define some limits to the available choice of routes before works of improvement were carried out.

There is little benefit to be derived from listing all such earlier features; many examples will however be referred to in the relevant chapters. The recording of artefacts specific to the more recent turnpike trusts is the subject of separate studies (Stephen 1967a, 1967b, 1975) as noted in Chapter 8. Such features will be referred to only

1. See Plate 2.1
2. See Plate 2.2

Plate 2.1 Beeches along the former ridge road to Kingsbarns
The southern margin of the road continues to be prominently marked many years after its abandonment. GR 513093 bearing 080

Plate 2.2 Wheel tracks in bed rock near Lindores
There is no apparent agricultural reason for heavy traffic along this line, but the slope offers a means of descent for travellers over Lindores Hill between Dunbog and Newburgh. Nearby there is a convenient watering place for animals. GR 264177 bearing 200

where they provide positive support for the detailed development of the road network, as in Chapters 7 and 11.

One of the problems in the interpretation of documentary sources, particularly those occurring before 1700, derives from the general lack of definition of what constituted a 'road' or even 'the King's Highway.' In fact it may be said that, with the exception of town streets, causeways, fords and bridges, roads in the 17th century or earlier were literally indescribable.

It is little wonder, therefore, if so much of the road network during that period remains a matter for speculation.

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the approximate routes taken by prominent persons may be deduced from official sources. In 1645 Gordon's map supplies a picture of the distribution of bridges and Sibbald's description (1710), from material collected since 1684, gives details of several of these, but any direct reference to a road is hard to find.

Records of the Commissioners of Supply, 1709 to 1736

Fife is fortunate in possessing records of bridge and road maintenance under the Commissioners of Supply, beginning in 1709.[1]

Much that is revealed of their active support of the existing road system is incorporated in Chapter 6. Separate books of account are not found among the records, but we know that the amounts to be disbursed were small and predominantly allocated to bridge repairs. Four meetings are recorded in 1709 and at the first of these the sheriff clerk was sworn in as clerk to the commissioners and instructed 'to give up the books and papers containing the acts and minutes of any former meetings ... which he had in his custody as Clerk'. This does not of course prove that such documents existed but the fact that the meeting

---

1. The earliest of such county minutes recorded by Whetstone (1981.153) are those for Haddingtonshire (1705).

reappointed two officers at their former salaries suggests that earlier records would have been kept. While the bulk of their business was concerned with bridges, and to a lesser extent with roads, some meetings, as in July 1709 and in May 1710, were solely concerned with the collection of land tax, while others (seven meetings between May 1719 and May 1720) dealt with the apportionment of land assessments following sales. Other meetings concerned appointments of schoolmasters (3.10.1710), quarantine against the plague (8.11.1720), the suppression of mobs (7.6.1720), the control of vagrants (9.12.1723), building of a correction house (7.6.1726) and a resolution to abstain from brandy (27.10.1730).

The Years 1737 to 1771

Although the volume which should have recorded business between 1737 and 1771 is missing,[1] there are fortunately other sources which can be called upon within that period. Thus, the state of road technology in Scotland is apparent in Burt's letters from the Highlands, commencing in 1737. The road building methods he describes may be compared with those used by Lord Rothes as a road overseer in the 1740s, as revealed in the Rothes Papers. From the Minto Papers in 1749 comes a letter showing that Lord Rothes had a high regard for the expertise of military personnel in road making.

Ostensibly valuable, but, alas, flawed as sources by uncertainty as to their authorship, are two further documents, from the 1760s. The first, here referred to as the Glasgow Pamphlet, gives a vivid account of the factors to be considered in planning new lines of road with particular reference to the Glasgow district and mentions in passing the favourable circumstances enjoyed by road makers in Fife. It is printed on 39 pages and dated 1766. The attribution of authorship to Sir James Steuart of

---

1. The survival of a short extract from a minute of 1740, found among the Rothes Papers, is noted in Chapter 6.

Coltness on the last page is in an early 19th century hand.

The other document, referred to below as the Loudoun Manuscript, consists of two whole sheets and a further seven lines in holograph. It is reproduced below in Appendix A. The archivist to the Marquess of Bute states, 'The description makes no address to anyone, is not signed, and indeed I am not sure it was ever completed, but it is obviously of circumstances in the recent past and still continuing.' The Marquess had bought a large proportion of the archive of the Countess of Loudoun in the early 1930s. His archivist tied up the papers in bundles in 1956, and she recently confirms that the Fife document was contained in the correspondence which was dated 1767.[1]

The Loudoun Manuscript, tantalisingly relevant to the first concerted efforts to improve roads in Fife, is examined in Chapters 5 and 6.

The early 1770s find lowland Scotland well involved in schemes of road improvement and the minutes of the commissioners of supply again become available in 1772, on the eve of a major step forward in road administration, the Act of 1774,[2] providing for a general conversion of statute labour service to money.

In 1772 the commissioners are found to be directing most of their attentions to the pending bill to be presented to parliament, which could account for the fact that many meetings are unminuted, simply recording attendance.

Records of the Statute Labour Road Trusts

The 1774 Act enabled the commissioners' functions in respect of roads and bridges to be delegated to the trustees of the four districts now created, but up to 1797 the commissioners of supply were to continue to make the more important decisions on roads and bridges. It is only

---

1. Letter from Miss C. Armet to Dr. P. Andersen, National Register of Archives (Scotland) 2.7.1981.
2. 14 G 111 31. See p.72.

after the Act of 1797 (37 G III 52) that these powers are relinquished and decisions such as the apportionment of the cost of shared or expensive bridges are made by the assembled district representatives at their general meeting in Cupar.

The minutes of the road trusts provide a key source in this study and much is said in subsequent chapters about the inferences to be drawn from the way they were kept, as a guide to the effectiveness and achievements of the trusts during the course of the development of the road system. It may be noted here, however, that between 1774 and 1797 the only statute labour trustees minutes to survive were those from Cupar district and it is suggested that the district containing the county town might have been alone in feeling obliged to keep such records.

In 1797, under section 39 of the Act of that year (39 G III 52), the keeping of minutes of the county meetings became obligatory. Districts, it is true, were required by section 37 to report their proceedings to the county meetings but much that they conveyed could have been transmitted verbally and it is clear from the county minutes that they often did little more than submit the list of ploughgate assessments required under section 7.

The 1807 Act (47 G III 12) required that districts should not only report their proceedings to the county meeting (section 41) but 'all heritors of the said county of Fife shall ... be at liberty to inspect' both the records of those proceedings and their accounts (section 43).

However, only in 1810 do minutes for Kirkcaldy district appear and an even longer delay seems to occur in the cases of Dunfermline and St Andrews where minutes date from 1814 and 1822 respectively. Again, it is quite possible that those were, in fact, the first properly kept minutes in those districts, and it seems that they had managed to avoid complying with the Act.

It is perhaps significant that in the case of St Andrews, the volume of ploughgate schedules (2/18/1) covers the period immediately before the first full record of their proceedings, and this implies that sums of ploughgate money were placed in the hands of trustees in charge of the various roads, who then dispensed the money as they thought best, no official record being kept.[1] If this were so, then earlier minutes than those for 1822 are unlikely to be found.

Records of the Turnpike Road Trusts

The principal sources in connection with turnpike roads are the acts of parliament themselves, and Pagan (1845.200,297) concludes from his compilation of the Scottish acts up to 1844 that there were 'at least ten English road bills for every Scottish one.'[2] Those that relate to Fife, either wholly or in part, are described in Chapters 4 and 7, below.

When compared with the 36 trusts examined by Freeman (1977.24) in South Hampshire, the position in Fife was much simpler, most of the 88 roads designated in the relevant acts being managed by the four district trusts. The independent trusts were those for the Leven Road and Bridge, for the Outh and Nivingston road and for the Carnock and Comrie road, all the trustees for which were from Fife. Jointly managed with the trustees of adjacent counties were the trusts for the Pitcairlie road, the Cupar to Kinross road and the Great North Road.

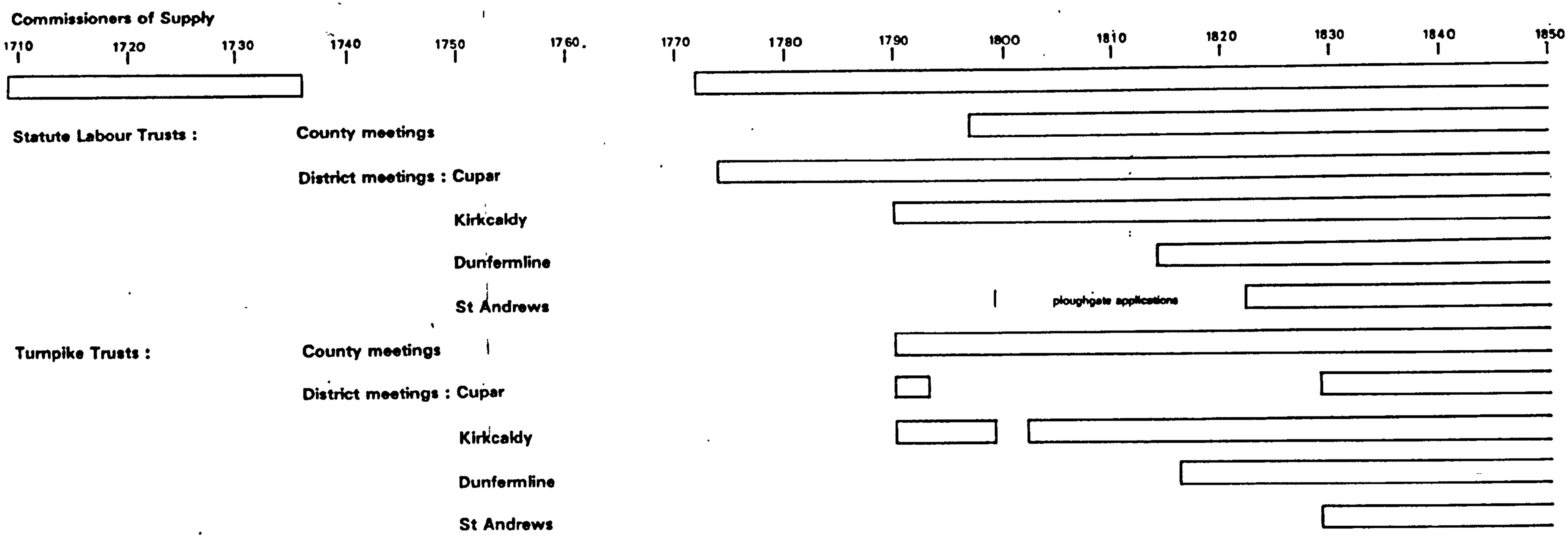
Of the records kept, those for the combined district or county meetings at Cupar are the most complete and those from the independent trusts the least, as will be seen from Table 2.1[3]

For data concerning the first turnpike road in Fife, the Great North Road, it is necessary to refer to the minutes of the burgh councils of

---

1. Even after 1822, it was noted that many of the Trustees still fail to render their accounts (SS 11.5.1824)
2. Ferguson (1904) covers the legislation in the remainder of the 19th century.
3. Freeman (1977.24) states merely whether the minutes of the 11 of his 36 trusts are 'complete' or 'partially complete'.

Figure 2.1 MINUTES OF FIFE ROAD AUTHORITY MEETINGS UP TO 1850



Records of committees appointed by district trusts to individual roads , finance committees,etc. will be found in the bibliography

Dunfermline and Inverkeithing for the period between 1753, the date of the Act, and 1823. Some documents are/in Dunfermline Public Library, and the minutes of the trustees at the north end of the road may be consulted at Perth. The proceedings of the Fife committee to the joint trust administering the Great North Road are available from 1823 onwards and to these may be added references in the county minutes and other data such as the report of Drysdale, the road's surveyor in 1832, provide details of contemporary road construction techniques (Chapter 5).

Although Fife turnpike trust minutes for the county meetings are complete, those for the districts themselves are less so. A minute book for Cupar appears to have been abandoned after a chaotic attempt to keep parallel minutes for the separate road committess in one volume, between 1790 and 1793. More conventional minutes appear in 1829.

Kirkcaldy minutes want those for 1799 to 1801 but are otherwise complete. Dunfermline minutes start in 1806 but those for St Andrews are, like Cupar's, available only from 1829 onwards.

The legislative pressures on districts to keep proper records are discussed in Chapters 4 and 12, below, including a note of the remarks by the chairman of Cupar district in 1829 as to the need for intelligible and accurate procedures in the future.

Unlike the road trusts of Hampshire studied by Freeman (1977.31) which were 'legally obliged to keep records of their various activities', trustees in Scotland, or at least in Fife, seemed to be able to manage their affairs with less circumspection than that required by the separate road trusts of Hampshire with their respective acts of parliament.

The relative absence of minutes for the Fife districts may be ascribed in part to the practice of referring district concerns to the county meetings over a number of years, and this particularly applied to the rouping of tolls.

Up to 1809 Dunfermline district rouped[1] its own tolls, but thereafter, with the exception of St. Andrews from 1818, this act took place in Cupar.

1. let by auction

This went on until 1829 when it appears all districts were sufficiently well organised to carry out their own roups.

Sources Supplementary to the Fife Road Trust Records

Where the district minutes are not available or where the county meeting minutes are uninformative, much background material is to be gathered from the parish ministers' contributions to the Old and New Statistical Accounts. The variations in the extent and reliability of these reports in general have been considered elsewhere,[1] but the validity of the observations of individual ministers will be assessed in subsequent chapters.

Among the collections of private papers, two are outstanding in their contribution to this study. Those of William Berry at Tayfield have been relied upon in Chapter 10 for much of the history of roads approaching the Dundee ferries, while the difficulties encountered in developing the central route across Fife in Chapter 13 would be hard to deduce without the help of the Minto Papers at the National Library, which reveal much about the way in which prominent trustees interacted, relationships which can only be guessed at from the official records.

For outside assessments of the performance of Fife in relation to other Scottish counties, reference is made to the report in 1836 of a Select Committee charged with examining the manner in which conversion money was levied and applied. The witnesses before the committee included the Member of Parliament for Kirkcaldy who presented a plan of the roads in that district; This /provided a valuable check on the implementation of the turnpike acts in the preparation of Chapter 7, below (1836 Report 51 and 61). Of particular interest is the timing of the introduction of statute labour conversion in other counties as set out in an appendix to the report and which is noted in Chapter 4.

---

1. Whittington (1966.184), Stephen (1975.30-33), Whyte (1979.3)

Another report, that of a Royal Commission on Public Roads in Scotland, although compiled in 1859, refers back to legislation since 1617 and surveys the development of the systems of statute labour and turnpike roads in each county. It includes evidence from representatives of all four Fife districts and some of the independent turnpike trusts. William Pagan of Cupar, who described himself at that time as a banker, provided evidence much of which concurs with his writings of 1845 and 1857 and extends to over five pages of the report.

The above compilation selects only the principal sources from which the general outline of road development in Fife has been traced. This study does not presume to analyse the economic history of the turnpike system in Fife which necessarily extends beyond the study period and this brief survey of source materials omits mention of the numerous minor sources which will become evident in the text and the Bibliography.

A brief reference should be made to the sources of maps and aerial photographs. The merits and weaknesses of the former are commented upon in the relevant chapters, particularly in respect of the roads they show, and full details as to their origins are given in the Bibliography.

The writer makes no claim to having consulted the full range of aerial photographs available, but the coverage by the Royal Air Force of Fife between 1946 and 1965 is sufficient to be able to assess the utility of this medium for the purposes of this study. Little of the detail examined has been obscured by cloud, but times of day and, more importantly, the season of the year have sometimes been unfortunate. A large proportion of the photographs of northern Fife were taken in late summer or autumn when corn stubble obscured detail, which, on freshly tilled ground might have revealed useful evidence. The search continues.

Lastly, the less conventional forms of evidence should not be forgotten. The presence of vegetation assemblages revealing linear features does not require aerial photography to spot, and is often useful in revealing the presence of buried stones, while the abandonment of

some roads is sufficiently recent for the persistence of lines of trees to be still significant.

In terms of the continuity of sources of evidence into the present century, the part played by oral evidence is far from irrelevant, whether it be an elderly resident who can recall the location of a demolished toll house, or whose parents were told as children of the use of a now grass covered track as a coach road.

Like documentary sources, some forms of field evidence are subject to degradation and loss with the passage of time.

It is submitted that, while artefacts such as toll houses[1] or even roads are being relocated and reconstructed elsewhere, the same cannot be said of certain historically significant lengths of road in Fife, which are being destroyed by quarrying.[2] These merit protection, or at least recording,[3] if destruction is unavoidable.

The principle of preservation is already established in respect of certain Roman roads in England[4] and it should be noted that within the present Fife Region some streets of Culross retain their mediaeval calsay.

---

1. As at Singleton in West Sussex, or at Ironbridge in Shropshire. A toll schedule is preserved in Ceres Folk Museum, Fife.
2. At Ferry Hills (130815) or at Pilkham Hills (190897).
3. The work of Stephen (1975.244) at Drumpuddock (195844) is referred to in Chapter 5, below.
4. Outside the toll house at Ironbridge (Shropshire) is a reconstruction of a road to a specification of Thomas Telford as a reminder of the nature of the Shrewsbury to Holyhead road where the toll house once stood.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FIFE LANDSCAPE AND THE USE OF ROUTEWAYS

The interplay between physical configuration and human movement which finds its expression in route development has, in the peninsula of Fife, a setting of considerable variety. The nodal elements of water crossing points are strongly developed where there are rivers, ferry ports and ports with a history of vigorous overseas trade. The constraints of physiography do not too harshly limit the choice of available routeways and room is left for the more subtle influences of gradient and drainage to operate.

Less tangible, but well exhibited, are the changing social and economic structures, in the service of which the network of communications has developed. With a range of agricultural and mineral resources representative of many parts of lowland Scotland, Fife offers a rewarding area for study of the development of overland transport, particularly by road.

The penetration by the firths of Forth and Tay of the belt of human settlement extending down the eastern seaboard of Scotland has dominated the pattern of communications of the county, and subjected movement along that belt to the choice between inland diversions to bridging points and a commitment to passages by boat. Certain categories of travel have historically been deterred from taking to the water, of which armies with heavy equipment and the majority of cattle drovers are examples. Such traffic has sought routes west of Fife and neither military roads nor drove ways of importance have been identified within the county.

There were, however, many who chose to take the shortest way between the Lothians and the north east, as is witnessed by the inauguration of the Queens Ferry by Queen Margaret in the 11th century (Webster 1975.40, Dean 1981.3). In fact, the peninsula has been far from becoming a backwater, and in the mediaeval period the distal position of the

religious foundation at St Andrews did not prevent its becoming an ecclesiastical capital after Dunkeld was eclipsed in the 15th century.[1]

Before the 16th century the journeys of notable people and their retainers may be deduced from the locations of historic events and implied from the distribution of lands to be administered, as in the case of the rent rolls of the Archbishopric of St Andrews (Hannay 1913, Webster 1975.215). The movements of the monarch are recorded in greater detail by the Register of the Privy Council from 1545 (Webster 1975.210) and the events of the Reformation chronicled by Knox (Dickinson, ed.1949) who describes the troop movements in Fife in the 1560s.

In all these accounts evidence of the actual routes used is limited to occasional intermediate place names with the implied use of bridges and ferry stations. The combination of documentary references with field observations has led more recent writers (Smith, 1949, Snoddy 1950) to suggest more precise lines for such routes, but much inevitably remains speculative. Further suggestions are made below regarding the supply of peat to Lindores Abbey, in Chapter 9, and the location of a route used by pilgrims in Chapter 12.

However, to place such local findings in the general context of the Fife road network before about 1700 it is necessary to survey the probable nature of the landscape and work out what overland connections were most likely to have existed, given the natural obstacles, indications of contemporary population distribution and the movements of goods. It is from the interaction of these factors that decisions on the planning of alignments were made and the motivation for road construction derived.

THE PROBABLE ROUTES

The need for communication by water between Fife and her neighbours, including those across the North Sea, has made access to suitable harbours a dominant and continuing factor in the choice of overland routes, both

---

1. Mackie (1978.100) gives the date of foundation of St Andrews as an archbishopric as 1472.

along the coast and across the interior. Figure 3.1 shows the distribution of privileged trading centres, the burghs, in the 17th century, and the difference in the number of burghs on the shores of the Firth of Forth and those on the Tay estuary will be apparent. Trade across the Forth and across the North Sea developed well before the 17th century and the waters of the Forth did not suffer the disadvantages of the shallower Tay with its sandy shoals and treacherous currents. While there were over thirteen burghs along the Forth shore in 1700, their only counterparts on the north coast were Newburgh in the extreme north-west, with its connections by shallow draught vessels to Perth, and Ferryport, one of the crossing places to Angus to the north east. Both these acted as route foci but, with the minor exception of Balmerino, there was little in between to attract traffic.

Inland, the water barriers were few. Loch Leven in neighbouring Kinross had a strong influence on route alignment in central and western Fife. Rivers were small and of little use for navigation, although the head of the Eden estuary at Guardbridge was later to become the site of a port. Only the lower reaches of the two main rivers, the Eden and the Leven, presented sufficient difficulty in crossing to require the diversion of coastwise land routes to fords and the early construction of bridges.

Elsewhere, the choice of crossing place was made within a narrower compass as dictated by the required line of each route, a consideration in which the relief and drainage pattern of the landscape as a whole was the dominant factor.

Relief Features and Landward Movement

From Figures 3.2 and 3.3 the influence of relief on route availability in Fife may be seen to be derived from the configuration of the underlying geological structure. In the north is found the southern limb of an unroofed anticline composed mainly of andesites and tuffs of Lower Old Red Sandstone age.[1] The strata dip south eastwards

1. A Silurian dating is recently suggested (Thirlwall M.F. 1981.123)

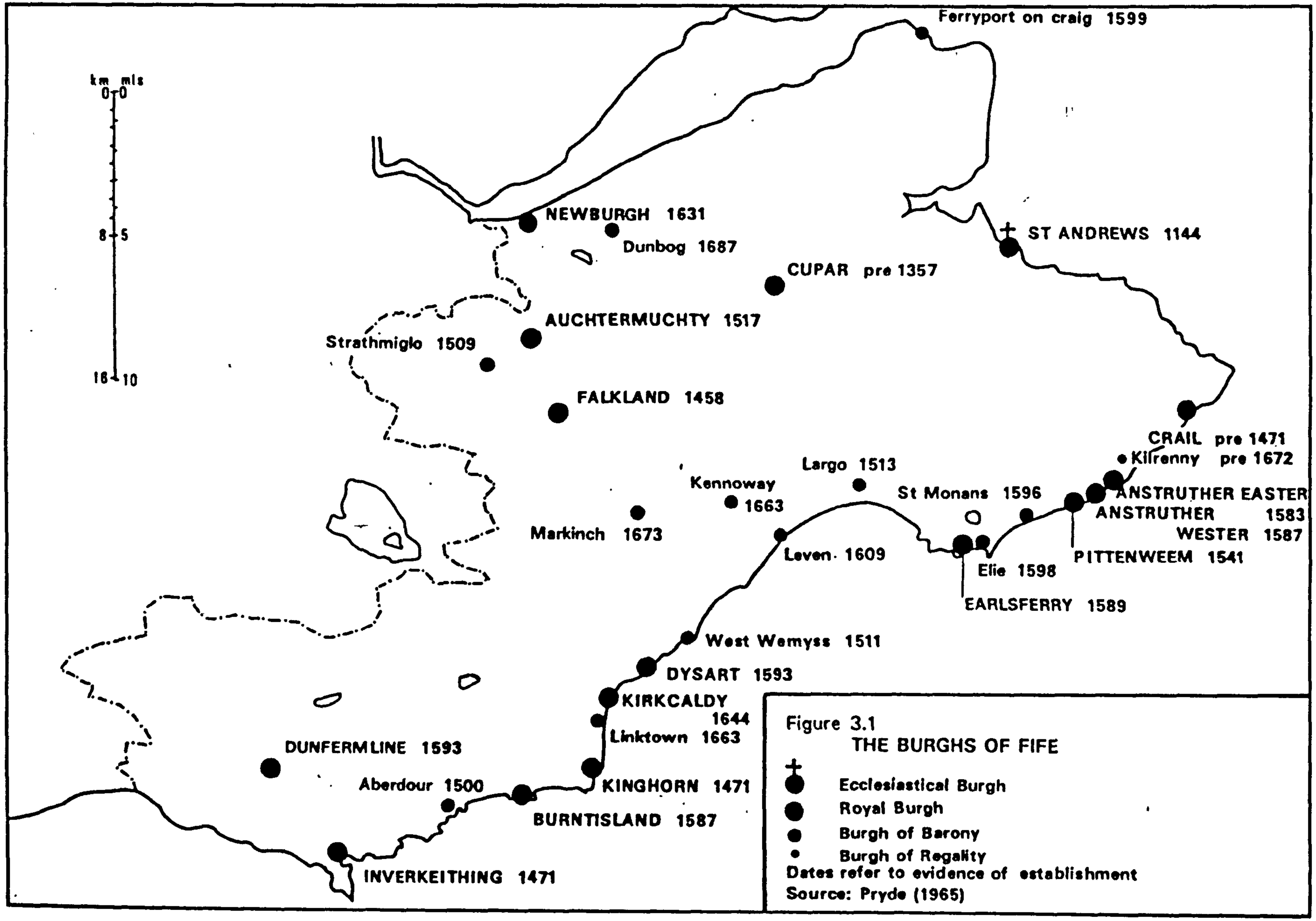


Figure 3.1
THE BURGHS OF FIFE

- Ecclesiastical Burgh
- Royal Burgh
- Burgh of Barony
- Burgh of Regality

Dates refer to evidence of establishment
Source: Pryde (1965)

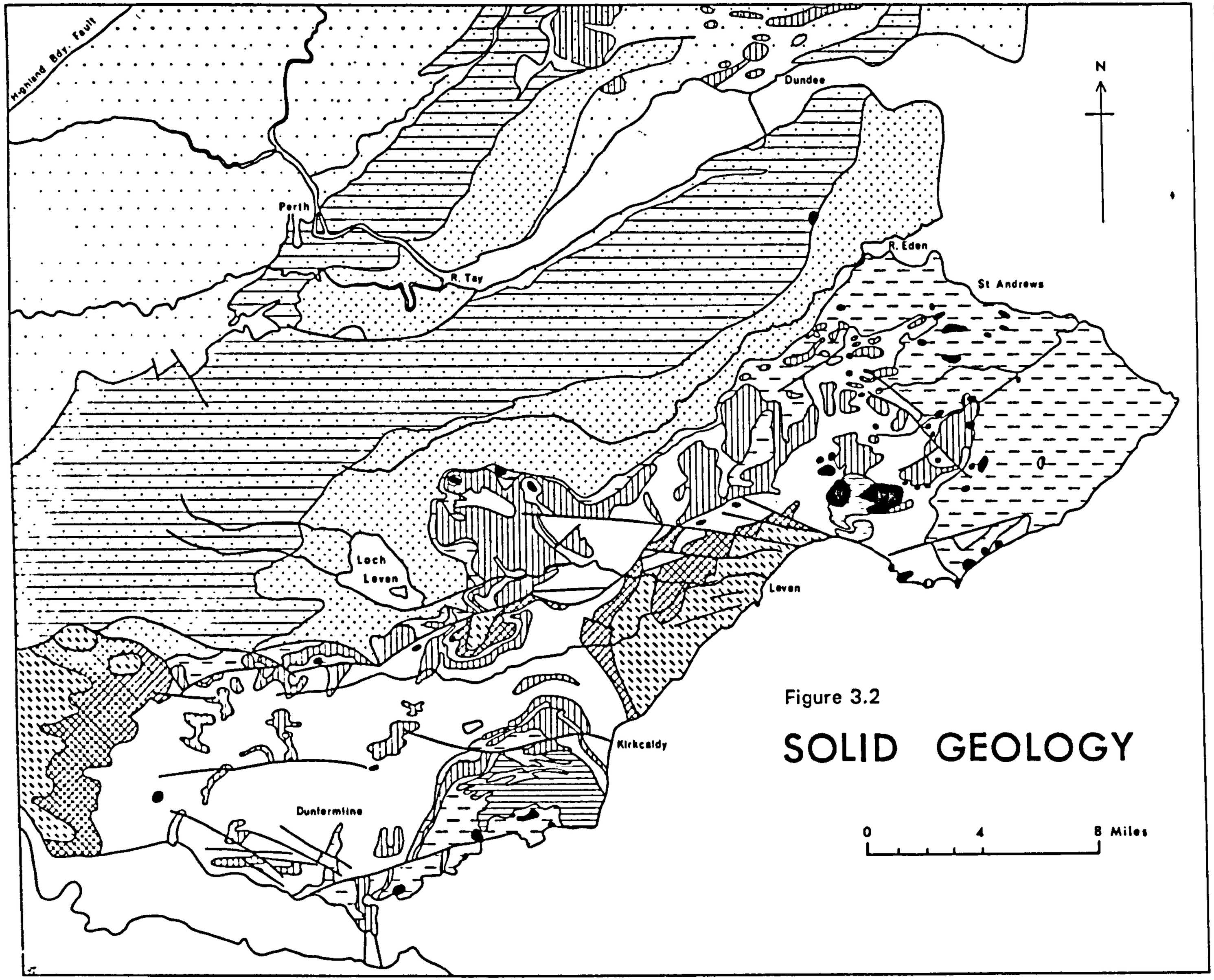


Figure 3.2

SOLID GEOLOGY

EXPLANATION

CARBONIFEROUS

- Coal Measures
- Millstone Grit
- Carboniferous Limestone
- Calciferous Sandstone

DEVONIAN

- Upper Old Red Sandstone
- Lower

- Carboniferous Basalts & Tuffs
- Lower O.R.S. Basalts, Andesites & Tuffs
- Agglomerate etc. in Vents
- Carboniferous Dolerite Sills
- Lower O.R.S. Dolerite Sills

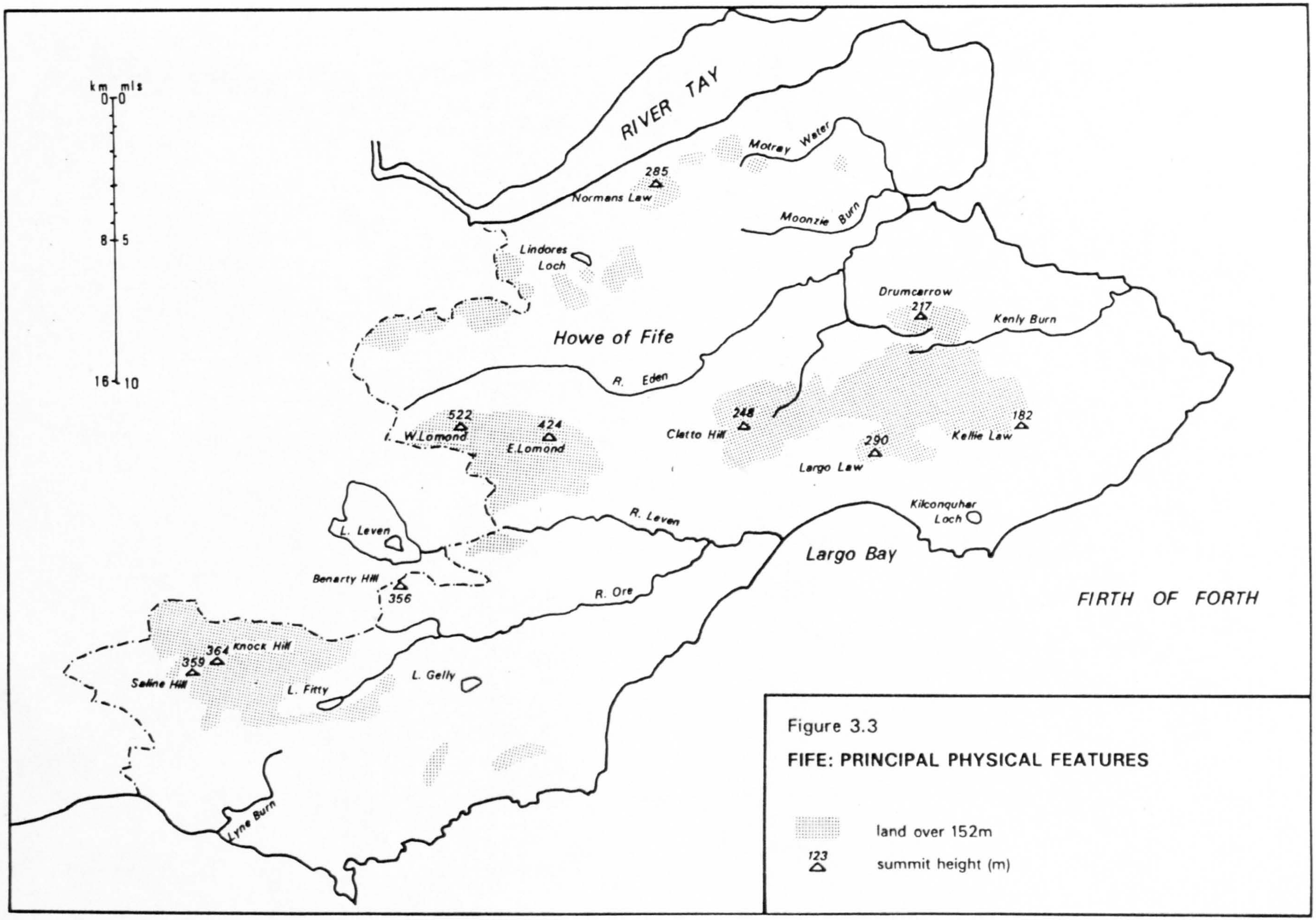


Figure 3.3

FIFE: PRINCIPAL PHYSICAL FEATURES

land over 152m

123 summit height (m)

and present steep escarpments towards the River Tay. A series of parallel ridges has thus been formed through which movement would seem to be easiest along the valleys, and through gaps associated with the action of ice. However, as will be seen in Chapter 9, there were areas in the north west, where relief was most pronounced, that show the selection by former travellers of upland routes and their avoidance of valley bottoms.

Along the northern fringe occur bands of sedimentary material, mainly sandstones and conglomerates, which form a narrow strip of lower ground, overlain with till (Geikie 1900.8), immediately along the shore of the Tay, affording an easy line of movement to the west.

To the south of the broken andesite ridges of northern Fife is the valley of the River Eden, excavated in sediments of Upper Old Red Sandstone age, which has its widest extent in the Howe of Fife. Here, early travel was locally impeded by hummocky outwash deposits with confused drainage resulting in expanses of open water and marsh. At the mouth of the Eden an area of outwash material, raised beach deposits and blown sand stretches from the river estuary to the eastern spurs of the north Fife hills.[1] The area presents few problems of route formation and the routes developed will be examined in Chapter 10.

The most extensive single area of upland in Fife runs from the Lomond Hills to the East Neuk and is formed by Lower Carboniferous sedimentary rocks capped by doleritic sills intruded within the Carboniferous period. In the Lomond Hills both sediments and sills are pierced by two volcanic necks.which, with the sills between them, form the highest ground in Fife and have steep escarpments facing west and north.

From the Lomonds, a ridge extends eastwards and fans out in the East Neuk to form gentle slopes towards the two coasts with little hindrance to overland movement.

---

1. Rice (1960), Chisholm (1971).

A col occurs in the higher part of the ridge, between East Lomond Hill and Clatto Hill, which provides an important means of access between the Howe of Fife and the valley of the River Leven.

The latter, with its tributaries, occupies a basin of roughly triangular shape with its narrowest apex towards Loch Leven. Within the basin the underlying rocks, which range from Lower Carboniferous sandstones to the Coal Measures, are heavily masked by glacial drift, and this merges laterally into raised beach deposits. A sequence of raised beaches can be traced, if incompletely, from the flanks of the Leven valley along the south eastern coastline, continuing beyond Fife Ness to link up with corresponding features in the lower Eden valley.[1] It was the combination of gentle slopes, sandy till and raised beach material which led to the early settlement of the coastal fringe and the development of routeways round the periphery of the East Neuk.

West of the Leven basin a series of west to east ridges and troughs characterise much of the landscape, which takes the form of an undulating plateau covered with till. The minor relief features are related more to the former movement of ice sheets than to the underlying rock structure, although in the area of the Orrock Hills the strike of the intercalated calciferous sandstones and tuffs follows a similar trend. Two dolerite-capped ridges lie across the west-east grain, the Ferry and Cullaloe Hills, but neither poses a serious barrier to coastwise movement between Largo Bay and the western boundary of the county.

In the northern half of the western district the plateau rises gently towards the Cleish and Benarty Hills which are composed of the same Lower Carboniferous rocks that underlie the Lomond Hills and their neighbour the Bishop Hill of Kinrossshire. Both these upland features again owe much of their elevation to a capping of dolerite. Gaps between these hills give access to the low land encircling Loch Leven, and beyond to the middle Tay valley.

Routeways in these directions would lie partly over the less

---

1. Sissons (1976: 120)

hospitable landscape to the west of the Leven basin, whereas to the southwest a band of lowland stretched along the coast and beyond into the carse lands of the lower Forth valley. Early movement in this direction would have been without difficulty, apart from the crossing of a few inconsiderable south flowing streams.

The problem of defining roads

Evidence for the use of specific roads is scarce and fragmentary until well into the 18th century and the term 'routeway' has been used above to indicate merely the opportunity for easy overland movement, within a landscape imposing recognisable constraints, in terms of water barriers and relief obstacles.

In ascertaining which of the many potential routeways were actually being used at the beginning of the 18th century, some conclusions may be drawn from the maps produced between the publication in 1645 of Gordon's map, which shows some bridges but no roads, and the map based on Roy's military survey (1755) which includes routes corresponding to most of the major roads in use today.

There are also written descriptions, notably that by Sibbald who started his investigations in 1682 and published his 'History of Fife and Kinross' in 1710.

From these sources (maps and descriptions) may be discerned those settlements contemporarily regarded as of greater economic or administrative importance. In areas where no prominent settlements are identified, the concentration of population in certain parishes rather than others may be derived from the earliest available demographic survey compiled in 1755 (Kyd 1952).

Although Gordon's map shows no roads, settlements perceived as important are illustrated by clusters of the symbols used to denote buildings. These clusters include most of the burghs existing in 1645 and having trading privileges as markets. They are represented below, along with other burghs established up to 1707, in Figure 3.1

Later maps than Gordon's mark a limited number of routes and do not necessarily agree as to which routes are the most worthy to be shown. In view of their somewhat small scales and the sundry indications of inaccuracy, the lines are best regarded as connections between places rather than the courses of actual roads. Figure 3.4 is a composite map incorporating the maps by Greene (1679), Moll (1718 and 1725) and Dorret (1750). A map by Nicholls (1710), which differs from the others in that there is no pretence as to accuracy, and connections are simply drawn as straight lines, is reproduced as Figure 3.5.

Apart from the general account of Fife by Sibbald, who describes a number of well established bridges shown by Gordon or Moll, documentary sources include descriptions of individual parishes and the itineraries of travellers. Their mention of specific places as served by public highways at least strengthens suppositions that the relevant routes were in use. In order to avoid the error of placing a road along a line which may not be correct for the early 18th century an attempt is made in Figure 3.6 to refine the method used by Nicholls, by applying data from maps and documents up to the date of Dorret's map, 1750.

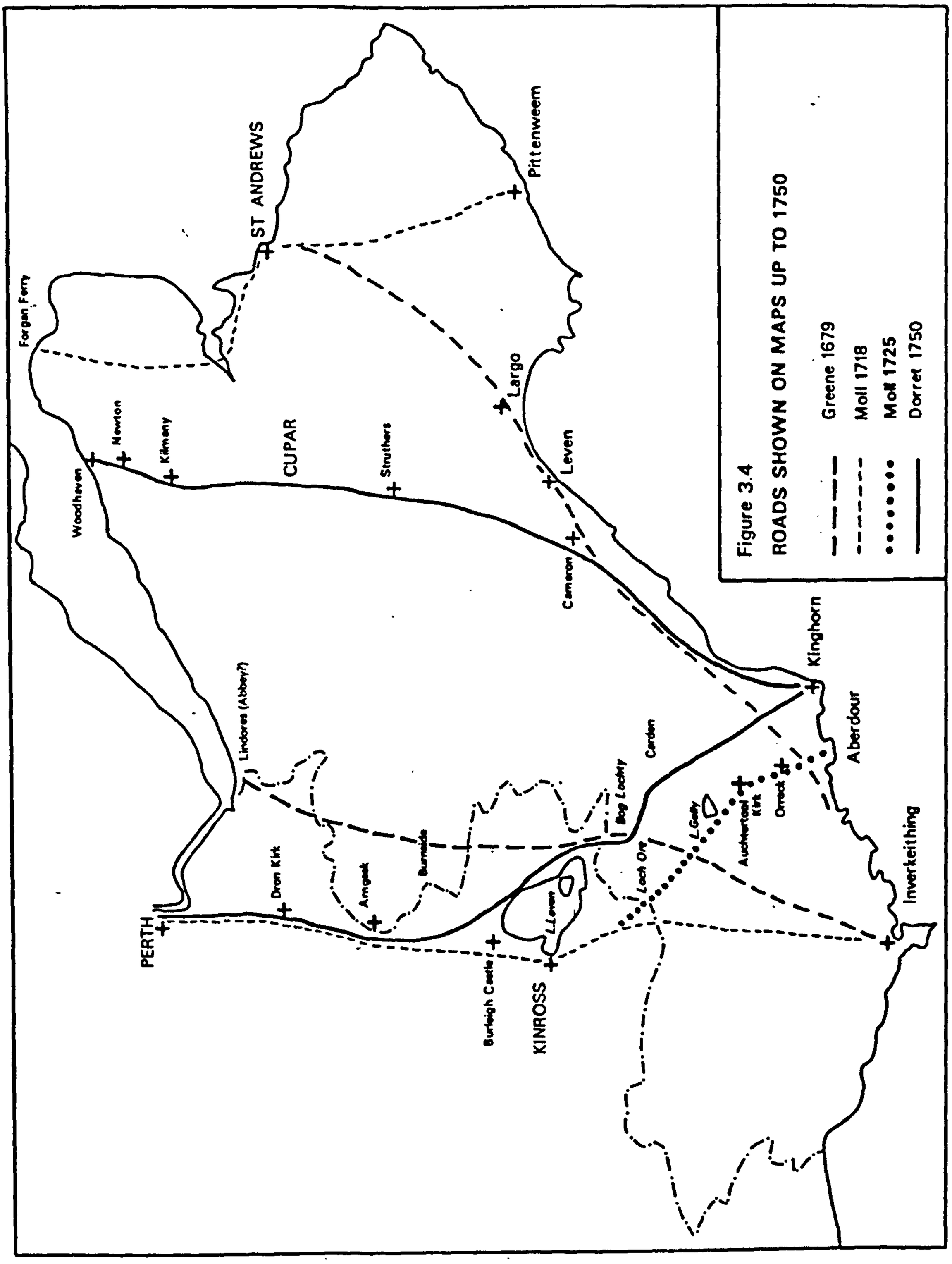
However, before discussing further what connections might reasonably be deduced from these data, it is appropriate that some consideration should be given to the economic and geographical circumstances that prevailed in the first half of the 18th century in Fife.[1]

Agricultural production and the need for transport

A recurring observation arising from the study of road development in the 18th century is the contrast between the flexibility in the choice of routes enjoyed by the traveller on foot or on horseback, and the difficulties encountered where the same routes came to be used for the carriage of heavy or bulky goods. Whyte (1979.179) suggests that,

---

1. A broader view of the background to improvement of roads in Scotland as a whole is given in Chapter 5.


ST ANDREWS
Pittenweem
Forgan Ferry
Newton
Kilmany
CUPAR
Struthers
Largo
Leven
Woodhaven
Cameron
Lindores (Abbey?)
Dron Kirk
Arngask
Burnside
Bog Lochry
Carden
L Gelly
Auchtermuchty
Kirk
Orrock
Kinghorn
Aberdour
Inverkeithing
PERTH
Burleigh Castle
L Leven
Loch Ore
KINROSS
Figure 3.4
ROADS SHOWN ON MAPS UP TO 1750
Greene 1679
Moll 1718
Moll 1725
Dorret 1750

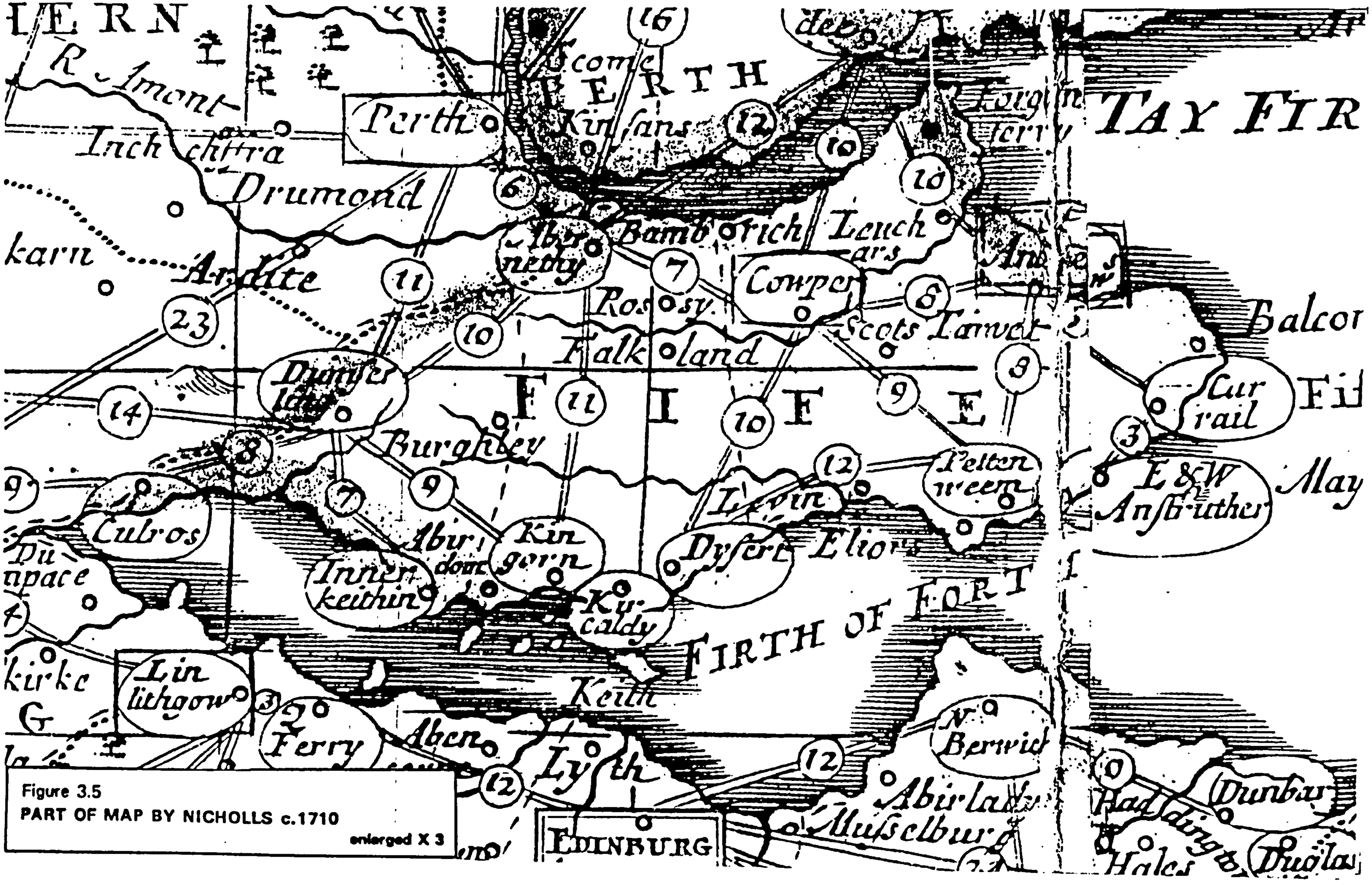


Figure 3.5
PART OF MAP BY NICHOLLS c.1710
enlarged X 3

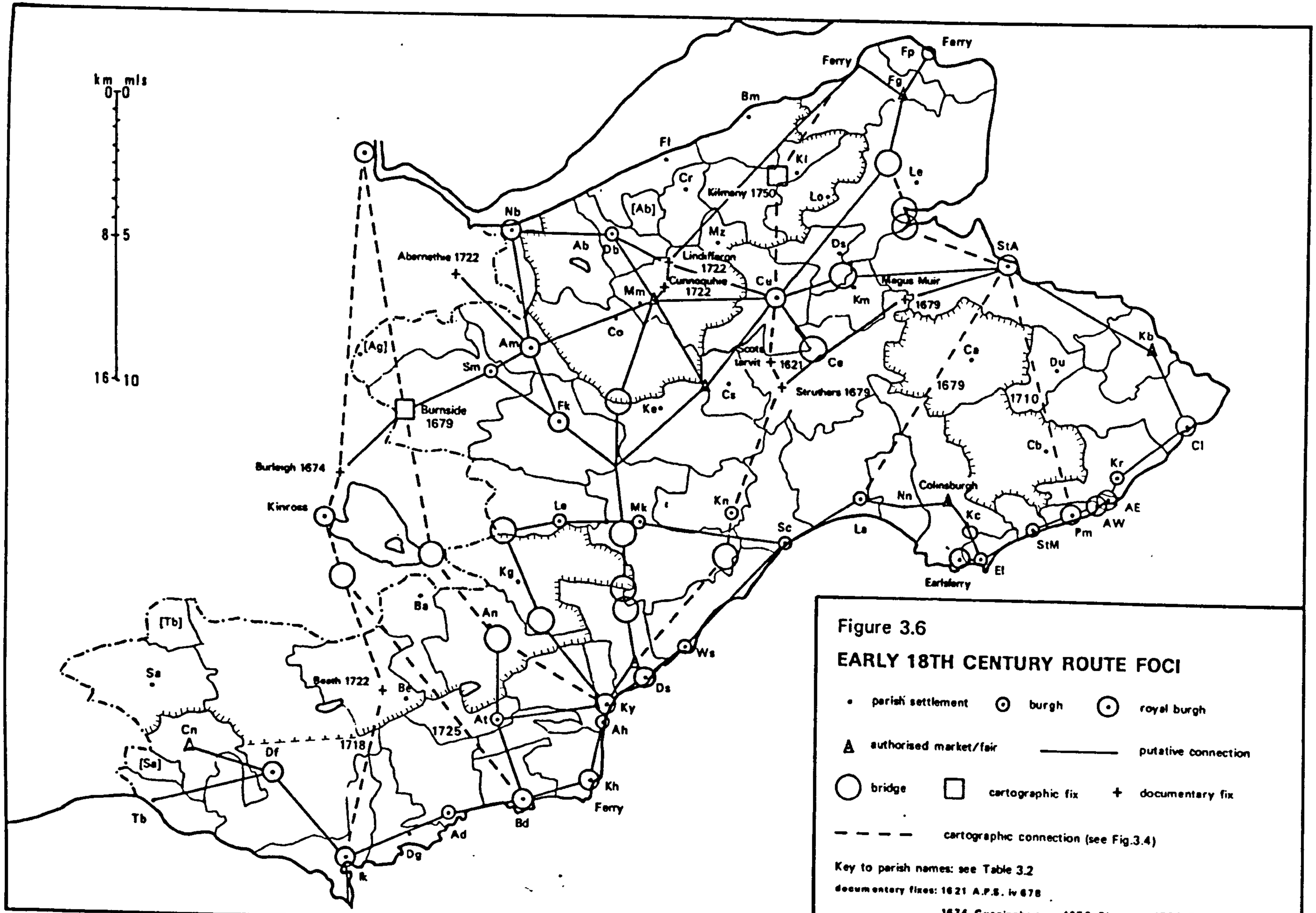


Figure 3.6

EARLY 18TH CENTURY ROUTE FOCI

- parish settlement
- burgh
- royal burgh
- authorised market/fair
- putative connection
- bridge
- cartographic fix
- documentary fix
- cartographic connection (see Fig.3.4)

Key to parish names: see Table 3.2

documentary fixes: 1621 A.P.S. iv 678
1674 Cunningham 1679 Sharp 1722 Taylour, Stevensons

towards the end of the 17th century, there was an increase in the marketing of agricultural produce and that wheeled transport was becoming increasingly common, a development which will be examined more fully in Chapter 8.

In a predominantly rural economy, the siting of markets is often closely related to the distribution of the most productive areas of farmland. A study made by Whittington (1966) of land use in Fife at the end of the 18th century, compares the areas regarded at that time as cultivable to those areas where negative factors, such as the presence of peat moss, waterlogging and the existence of woodland, made farming activities unlikely. The largest cultivable areas occurred in a band extending from the valley of the River Leven and the adjoining coastlands across the south eastern fringe of the county and continuing up the east coast to merge with the lower Eden valley. Less productive land was not confined to upland areas and a large part of the Howe of Fife is shown by Whittington on an accompanying land utilisation map as unimproved as well as waterlogged. Areas of blown sand east of Largo Bay and at Tentsmuir are also classed as unimproved. Among the characteristics shared by many of the more productive areas are gentle slopes, free drainage and soils derived from sandy till, often intermixed with raised beach deposits having a high lime content. In addition the coastlands of eastern Fife benefit from having a lower rainfull. In the western district the till has a higher proportion of clay and this, together with the higher rainfall to the west and inland is largely responsible for the more impeded drainage and soils which are found to be more difficult to work (O'Dell 1946).

Traffic and the Road Network

In recording the growth in the number of market centres in the period up to 1707, Whyte (1979.183) refers to the many applications made to parliament for authority to open new markets, and notes the competition which these offered to the existing burghs.

Applications were usually accompanied by a justification for a market in general terms, but in the case of Kennoway in 1681 it was submitted that the market would be 'on the King's highway' and six miles from both Kirkcaldy and Cupar (APS viii.439b), a clear indication of the siting of a market in relation to a busy route.

Traffic associated with such market centres could be moving along a multitude of radial routes from the surrounding countryside, but some of these routes would serve as links with adjacent centres. Other routes might bypass the nearest settlements and be directed to more distant destinations, including places beyond Fife - across its land boundaries and through ferry ports. A further source of more localised traffic was also that associated with the carriage of lime to agricultural land and coal to the limekilns, the practice of liming having been established well before 1700 (Whyte 1979.199).

Of more restricted extent was the supply of flax and yarn to hand-loom weavers in certain villages (Chapter 8) and the carriage of coal to ports for export (Chapter 11) neither of which, however, would have accounted for more than a very small volume of traffic in 1700.

The Distribution of Market Centres

Figure 3.6 is a suggested skeletal network of connections likely to have existed before 1750 and based on links between centres of population of economic or administrative importance. A distinction between the remaining smaller centres of population is difficult in the absence of figures for settlement sizes, but population densities for parishes can be calculated for 1755 using Webster's estimates (Kyd 1952) and the 1861 Census. If the parishes are arranged in rank order of population size and of density (Tables 3.1, 3.2), certain groupings and relationships become apparent.

The first eighteen parishes in order of density contain the pre-1707 burghs noted above and illustrated in Figure 3.2. Most of these were

Table 3.1 Parishes of Fife in order of population size

	Main Settlement Status -1707	Parish	(1755) Pop. size	(acres) Area
1	RB[1]2	Dunfermline	8552	21,264
2	EB[2]3	St Andrews/St Leonards	4913	14,320
3	BB[3]	Wemyss	3041	4,892
4		Ceres	2540	10,076
5	RB	Kinghorn	2389	5,596
6	RB	Dysart	2367	4,317
7	RB	Kirkcaldy	2296	1,249
8	RB	Cupar	2192	5,737
9	BB	Markinch	2188	9,877
10	RB	Crail	2173	6,783
11	RB	Kilconquhar	2131	7,272
12	RB	Falkland	1795	8,265
13	RB	Inverkeithing	1694	5,020
14		Leuchars	1691	15,132
15		Torryburn	1635	4,995
16		Kettle	1621	7,612
17	BB	Scoonie	1528	4,286
18	BB	Largo	1396	7,586
19	RB[4]	Burntisland	1390	2,951
20	BR[4]	Kilrenny	1348	3,931
21	BB	Abbotshall	1348	4,220
22	RB	Newburgh	1347	1,399
23	RB	Auchtermuchty	1308	3,533
24		Cameron	1295	9,324
25		Carnbee	1293	8,396
26		Saline	1285	8,189
27	BB	Kennoway	1240	3,964
28	BB	Aberdour	1198	6,059
29		Auchterderran	1143	7,969
30		Leslie	1130	5,028
31	RB	Anstruther East	1100	57
32		Beath	1099	6,401
33	BB	Strathmiglo	1095	9,026
34		Kinglassie	990	7,717
35		Collessie	989	8,703
36	RB	Pittenweem	939	772
37		Monimail	884	6,555
38		Kingsbarns	871	4,370
39		Abdie	822	6,538
40		Kilmany	781	5,343
41	BB	St Monance	780	1,282
42		Dalgety	761	3,711
43		Forgan	751	5,083
44	BB	Elie	642	2,241
45	BB	Ferryport on craig	621	4,952
46		Denino	598	2,737
47		Carnock	583	3,502
48		Balmerino	565	4,132
49		Dairsie	469	2,560
50		Ballingry	464	4,621
51		Cults	449	2,925
52		Newburn	438	3,223
53		Kemback	420	2,602
54		Logie	413	3,599
55		Auchtertool	389	2,756
56		Anstruther Wester	385	978
57		Creich	375	2,341
58		Flisk	318	2,855
59	BB	Dunbog	255	2,397
60		Moonzie	249	1,258

1 Royal Burgh 2 Ecclesiastical Burgh 3 Burgh of Barony
4 Burgh of Regality

Table 3.2 Parishes of Fife in order of population density

	Fig. 3.6	Parish	Pop. per 100a Density	
1	AE	Anstruther Easter	1,929	RB
2	Ky	Kirkcaldy	183	RB
3	Pm	Pittenweem	121	RB
4	Nb	Newburgh	96	RB
5	Ws	Wemyss	62	BB
6	StM	St Monance	60	BB
7	Ds	Dysart	54	RB
8	Bd	Burntisland	47	RB
9	Kh	Kinghorn	42	RB
10	Df	Dunfermline	40	RB
11	AW	Anstruther Wester	39	RB
12	Cu	Cupar	38	RB
13	Am	Auchtermuchty	37	RB
14	Sc	Scoonie	35	BB
15	Kr	Kilrenny	34	BR
16	StA	St Andrews/St Leonards	34	EB
17	IK	Inverkeithing	33	RB
18	Cl	Crail	32	RB
19	Tb	Torryburn	32	
20	Ah	Abbotshall	31	BB
21	Kn	Kennoway	31	BB
22	Kc	Kilconquhar	29	RB
23	El	Elie	28	BB
24	Ce	Ceres	25	
25	Le	Leslie	22	
26	Mk	Markinch	22	BB
27	De	Denino	21	
28	Fk	Falkland	21	RB
29	Ke	Kettle	21	
30	Dg	Dalgety	20	
31	Kb	Kingsbarns	19	
32	Mz	Moonzie	19	
33	Ad	Aberdour	19	BB
34	La	Largo	18	BB
35	Ds	Dairsie	18	
36	Be	Beath	17	
37	Cn	Carnock	16	
38	Cr	Creich	16	
39	Km	Kemback	16	
40	Sa	Saline	15	
41	Cb	Carnbee	15	
42	Cs	Cults	15	
43	Fg	Forgan	14	
44	Kl	Kilmany	14	
45	An	Auchterderran	14	
46	At	Auchtertool	14	
47	Nn	Newburn	13	
48	Ca	Cameron	13	
49	Mm	Monimail	13	
50	Bm	Balmerino	13	
51	Kg	Kinglassie	12	
52	FP	Ferryport on craig	12	BB
53	Sm	Strathmiglo	12	BB
54	Ab	Abdie (centre: Lindores)	12	
55	Lo	Logie	11	
56	Le	Leuchars	11	
57	Fl	Flisk	11	
58	Co	Collessie	11	
59	Db	Dunbog	10	BB
60	Ba	Ballingry	10	

ports and although their populations were small, their seafaring activities explain the even smaller areas of land.[1] Of these eighteen burghs only the ~~three~~ four royal burghs of Dunfermline, Cupar, Falkland and Auchtermuchty were inland. Falkland, with its former royal palace is a case of a burgh with a historical administrative status, independent of its economic contribution, and the low population density may be attributed to the large areas of hill land and areas liable to flooding contained within the parish (Whittington 1966.189).

The importance of Dunfermline and Cupar in the economy of 17th century Fife hardly requires confirmation here, but that of Auchtermuchty is less obvious. One explanation lies in its nodal location in respect of routes to Cupar and Perth in 1722 (Taylour).

When some of the other burghs are considered in conjunction with the populations of their respective parishes, their importance as market centres in 1700 is open to doubt. Thus, the market of Dunbog, the centre of a parish with 255 people in 1755 was not considered worthy of mention by the Minister forty years later (OSA 266), although his successor, in 1836, writes 'There was a considerable village here, in which a weekly market was held within the memory of man. But it has totally vanished before the rapid extension of the farming system' (NSA 210).[2]

Those parishes situated in what appear to have been the less productive areas of northern Fife, such as Monimail, together with those in the interior of the East Neuk, e.g. Cameron, and those parishes along the northern border of the western district, e.g. Kinglassie, have a lower ranking in terms of population density than of population size in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. These three groups of parishes are outlined in Figure 3.6.

While a decline in populations since the boundaries of these parishes were determined offers itself as an explanation, these low

---

1. Anstruther Easter is an extreme example and was disjoined from Kilrenny in 1641 (Carstairs 1951.200)
2. Pryde (1963 1xxi) refers to the burgh of Dunbog as 'primarily concerned with land use' and as having, 'a superstructure ... of petty trading and the needful crafts.'

densities, combined with locations less attractive to settlement may be seen to be related to a relative absence of market facilities (Carstairs 1951, Pryde 1965). The more sparsely populated parishes of northern Fife contain one market at Letham in Monimail parish and one at Forgan.

In 1722 the main trade at Letham was in sheep (Taylour). This hardly called for access by vehicles but the location of Letham near a public highway between Cupar and Newburgh made it an easy gathering centre.

Along the northern coast, the market of Forgan was near the through routes to the 'Forgan ferry' marked on Nicholl's map (1710) and to Ferryport, the latter being a burgh. It is unlikely, therefore, that a market at Forgan influenced greatly the course of the route to the ferry and the reverse was more probably true, that the road to the ferry, a well established highway, stimulated the inauguration of a market.

In the East Neuk, evidence is not available for the existence of any marketing centre in either Carnbee or Cameron parishes nor in the landward portions of the adjoining parishes, two of which owe their higher population totals to settlements in the coastal fringe.

The band of parishes between Kinglassie and Saline in western Fife also appear to have been deficient in markets, only one, for Lochgelly, being recorded. At the end of the century Lochgelly was described as mainly a cattle market and the support of the six alehouses or inns was attributed to the five cattle trysts each year (OSA 52), but these would not have generated regular road traffic.

Certain other parishes with low population densities comparable with those in the three disadvantaged areas, northern Fife, the East Neuk and the inland parishes of western Fife, discussed above, cannot be said to be remote from markets.

Thus, Carnock parish had held a fair in its principal village since the 16th century (Carstairs 1951.126) and the southern parts, although said to have been 'less populous formerly' at the end of the 18th century (OSA 121), were within easy reach of Dunfermline; Kemback was a small

parish hardly able to maintain its own market when Cupar was so near; Cults was not so near to Cupar and indeed had its own market at Pitlessie[1]; the parish of Newburn lay between the markets of Largo and Colinsburgh; Strathmiglo, in the narrowing upper part of the Eden valley, was handicapped agriculturally by rocky slopes to north and south, but it was a burgh of barony of some size - 'a very large village', according to Sibbald (1710.389). Even if Strathmiglo may not have had its own market, Auchtermuchty was easy to get to and it would be strange if there were no route from Auchtermuchty through Strathmiglo to Kinross over the col at the head of the valley.

Two further anomalies need to be noted. One is the parish of Leuchars which ranks fourteenth in population size and fifty-sixth in density, the latter figure being greatly depressed by the extensive area of blown sand in its eastern half. Its western half however provides a corridor of communication and on that ground alone it, together with Forgan and Ferryport parishes, has been excluded from the outlined area in Figure 3. 6.

The other anomaly is the oversize parish of Dunfermline, whose low population density contrasts with its exceptionally large population size. In the latter case an arbitrary line has been drawn in Figure 3.6 separating off the less hospitable uplands in the northern half.

Of the connections shown in northern Fife, several pass through two or more parishes without visiting an intermediate population centre. Thus Dorret's route from Cupar to Woodhaven appears to pass the village of Kilmany on its west side (C.F.1750).

In the direction of Newburgh there were equally convenient ways of getting from Cupar without passing through the 'burgh' of Dunbog. From the cross roads at Cunnoquhie (D.F.1722) the 18th century traveller would be inclined to take a more southerly route (Chapter 9).

---

1. A painting by Wilkie, a century later, is reproduced on the cover of Smout (1969).

In the East Neuk, the villages of Cameron and Carnbee may or may not have been situated on the roads from St. Andrews to Largo and to Pittenweem respectively, but there is no reason to suppose that the line taken by either route was influenced by the presence of the community concerned. Between Kirkcaldy and Cupar, settlements along Dorret's line were few, in what must always have been an exposed and inhospitable part of the Lomonds-East Neuk ridge.

Across the western band of parishes, south to north routes are well authenticated, both by the early maps and by documentary records, but east-west communications between settlements in adjoining parishes pass unmentioned. The account of Beath parish in 1722 (Stevensone 1724.302) describes the Edinburgh-Perth road as passing 'hard by the church to Kelty bridge' but earlier remarks that 'There is no remarkable village nearer the church than Kelty'.

The paucity of connections in the three less favoured areas may be contrasted with the more numerous local links that are found in the coastal zone stretching from Burntisland to Crail and expanding into the Leven basin west of Largo Bay.

In his description of the parish of Markinch in 1725, Balfour lists the bridges over the River Leven and claims that there were no less than fourteen mills 'upon the water of Leven', all within the parish. From this it follows that a much larger number of farms were carrying corn to be ground or, in the case of waulk[1] mills, flax fibres to be processed. A corresponding density of farm road connections may therefore be assumed.

Standing apart to the north in relative isolation are the towns of Strathmiglo, Auchtermuchty and Newburgh, cut off to the south by the Lomonds and having their main links with Abernethy and with Perth, by way of roads over the hills (Taylour 1722). To the south, these north western settlements depended for easy access to the Leven basin upon

---

1. Gribbon (1969.57) regards waulk mills in Ulster in the early 18th century as 'more an adjunct of agriculture than an indication of industrial development.'

routes passing over the col in the Lomonds-East Neuk ridge and this they shared with the string of settlements leading to Cupar, of which Kingskettle and Pitlessie were large enough to be shown by Gordon (1645).

The use of the col, now known as the Markinch Gap, is confirmed by Balfour in 1725, although this route appears on none of the maps earlier than Roy's (1755).[1] Sibbald (1710.377) mentions a bridge over the Ore 'in the way from Kirkcaldy to Falkland,' which suggests he does not necessarily regard this route as a way from Kirkcaldy to Cupar. Balfour is more explicit and describes a three-way division of a road north of the col: to Falkland, to Newburgh and to Cupar.

A description of St Andrews in 1710 (Sibbald 350) as 'now in great decay' is a reminder of the former dominance of the city (Chapter 12), and that its comparative remoteness from the other towns of Fife was compensated for by the presence of well used routes, such as that across Magus Muir (D.F.1679).

Links with the East Neuk ports of Crail and Pittenweem obviated the need to rely on St Andrews shallow harbour, and were used by travellers crossing the Forth drawn to the city in connection with its ecclesiastical function in earlier centuries.

At the western end of the coastal zone, between Burntisland and Torryburn, the use of a coastal route excites little comment from early 18th century writers. Dunfermline is located by Barclay in 1723 in relation to Lymekilns, which is noted only as an exporting point for coal from the south of the parish. Connections between Inverkeithing or North Queensferry and Dunfermline are well confirmed, also between Dunfermline and its other ferry at Torryburn, but east-west connections along the coast were not considered worthy of mention and Nicholls (1710) shows no line here.

---

1. that is unless Nicholls'(1710) equivocal line refers to this route (Figure 3.5).

CONCLUSION

From a knowledge of the main relief features, agricultural regions and urban settlement at the beginning of the 18th century it is possible to identify the connections made by the principal routeways in existence at that time.

By setting out a hypothetical network of land communications before 1750, as in Figure 3.6 , a locational framework is provided to which may be referred the scattered details of road and bridge works mentioned in the main source up to that date, the records of the county road authority after 1709. This is done by selecting those later roads seen to correspond most closely to the pre-1750 linkages, as will be explained in Chapter 6.

The impression that emerges from constructing this putative pattern of early connections is of a set of strong peripheral routes along the south coast and round to St Andrews, with three northerly directed trans-peninsular routeways to Perth, to Newburgh and to the ferries of north east Fife.

Internally, east-west connections are less well developed and certain areas in the inland ports of western Fife, the East Neuk and a belt of parishes in northern Fife are conspicuously poorly served by recognisable links in the early 18th century. These are areas where altitude, higher rainfall and less productive soils are evident, and where, as will be seen below, road improvement was delayed.

The main period of development of roads in Fife appears to have started in the late 1740s, and it is necessary first to consider the legislative means by which a coordinated plan could be put into effect (Chapter 4) and the social and economic circumstances which gave the impetus to road improvement (Chapter 5).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND TO ROAD DEVELOPMENT

THE NEED FOR CENTRALISED CONTROL

In Chapter 3 the probable pattern of overland movement in Fife before 1700 was examined in terms of the links likely to have been established between places of importance. These links were then checked against any surviving contemporary data.

To understand the origins and development of this pattern it is necessary to study the process of transition from a pattern which is simply a synthesis of spontaneous choices by innumerable individuals to what became a communally managed system. This has inevitably involved a degree of communal agreement, backed by authority and expressed in laws.

At the simplest level the incursion of vegetation needed to be checked and water crossings made safe. Persons in authority who were interested in unimpeded travel would give appropriate instructions. Man-made obstructions would be discouraged and some provision made for impeded sections of road, which could not be conveniently circumvented, to be repaired.

To leave these matters to the spontaneous action of local communities might, in theory, be sufficient, but the evidence of successive directives from rulers and others in executive positions, shows that firm measures had to be taken.

The King's Highway

One of the earliest of such directives in this connection was an English statute of 1285, quoted by the Webbs (1913.7) requiring the clearing of a belt two hundred feet wide on either side of a highway, intended to deprive robbers of cover. The King's Highway was at that time treated as a strip of land over which the right of

unobstructed passage was reserved for the King and his subjects. It was rarely defined, and then only when this right came to be disputed. If these ways could not be kept passable and free from obstructions, rulers 'would have been unable to exercise any authority throughout their dominions' (Cunningham 1910.79). The amount of travelling required of a king was increased by the practice of deliberately scattering the royal lands, and Jusserand (1889.82) notes that 'the English kings had had the prudence not to form great compact fiefs[1] like those which they themselves possessed in France, and which caused them to be such dangerous vassals'. He quotes Froissart's 14th century account of a landowner with scattered estates who pointed out how essential it was to make frequent visits to them and to have passable roads to make such visits practicable. This need is confirmed by Jackman (1916.7), who writes, 'The lands given by the King to the nobles were scattered about the kingdom . . . . the proprietors of these lands then had to go from one estate to another. It was to their advantage, as well as that of the King, who had royal domains throughout the kingdom, to have roads that would satisfy the demands of the time'.

While Froissart, Jusserand and Jackman were referring principally to the English king and his roads, the need for the monarch in Scotland to make frequent visits to the more powerful magnates was no less great. Foster. (1980.20) refers to Scotland in the 15th and 16th centuries as 'a backward country, with less than half a million people, politically . . . . highly unstable, (in which) the Stuart kings faced massive baronial insubordination'. In the more stable latter half of the 17th century Whyte (1979.37) looks at the fragmentation of Scottish estates that resulted from marriage, inheritance and exchange, all creating problems of inter-communication, and cites the example of the lands of the Earls of Panmure which extended across Angus to an outlier north of Aberdeen.

---

1. sic.

Not all estate proprietors, however, were anxious to improve their communication with the rest of the world and the views of Robertson of Struan, who held that lack of roads had never prevented his friends from visiting him, and saw no point in encouraging his enemies, could well have been shared by many at an earlier date (Forfeited Estates E783/84/1.10).

Feudal Obligations

Under English Common Law it was the inhabitants of the parishes through which a road passed who were held responsible for keeping it open for the King and his subjects. Exactly on whom this liability fell and how the work was performed or enforced remained '. . . provokingly obscure'. (Webbs 1913.7)

The fact that there was no such obligation under Common Law in Scotland may not have been a handicap in practice, for in both countries services were due as one of the conditions of tenure of land and were the most reliable sources of labour on private estates. Vinogradoff (1905.328) notes that in England services to the lord of the manor included '. . . . works of common utility . . . (such as) . . . the keeping in repair of roads and bridges'. This is echoed by Jackman (1916.4): 'The lord of the manor imposed upon his tenants (the) necessity for repairing roads, and the Court Leet settled all such obligations between lord and tenant'. He adds that even the religious houses had to satisfy, among other duties, the obligation of repairing roads and bridges.

In Scotland, as Grant points out (1930.65), service dues, almost invariably including road labour, were part of a lord's rights under a grant of free barony, and were enforceable through the baron court (Whyte 1979.46). Barrow (1973.41) compares the obligation of Scottish tenants to give services to that of a sokeman in northern England. These services included carting, and he notes that in the 16th century

shire of Culross 'arriage and carriage' were due. 'Arriage', also known as 'average' is defined by Skene (1597) as service ' . . . quhilk the tennent aucht to his maister be horse or carriage of horse'.

Whyte (1979.35) treats carriage as a separate service from arriage and although he does not include carriage for road repairs as one of the principal tasks he later notes the keeping, in 1637, of heavy carts for transporting stone, one likely purpose for which would be the repair of estate roads.

Bridges and the role of the Church

Where bridges were needed within an estate road system, the necessary skills required for their construction might be found without engaging outside labour.

Rogers (1879.173) notes that certain tenants were required to build a bridge on the estate of Coupar Abbey in 1473. The upkeep of more public bridges was, in the middle ages, regarded as a suitable object for acts of piety by way of monetary contributions. Jackman (1916.16) quotes a release from penance granted in 1394 in return for assistance in building a bridge over the River Tyne.

Once provided, the upkeep of a bridge was often made the responsibility of a religious body as in the case of a chantry near Birmingham in the 15th century which 'mainteigned . . . and kept in good reparaciouns two greate stone bridges, and divers foule and daungerous high wayes, the charge whereof the towne of hitselffe ys not hable to mainteign. So that the lacke thereof wilbe a greate noysaunce to the kinges majesties subiects passing to and from the marches of Wales and an utter ruyne to the same towne' (Jusserand 1889.44).

The part played by the Church in the building of bridges in Scotland is described by Inglis (1913.305), who notes that the Exchequer Rolls show a number of bridges as existing before 1400, but generally not built of stone until after 1424. From these Rolls he

finds that by 1550 practically all the chief bridges in Scotland were in existence.

Jusserand's 15th century quotation (above) is a reminder of the considerable part played by the Church not only in undertaking responsibility for certain bridges but also the repair of extensive sections of the road system used by the public which crossed or connected its various estates.

As a result, the dissolution of the monasteries in the 16th century had grave effects on road maintenance in different parts of England and Scotland,and Rogers (1866.217) notes that 'the cost of carriage decreased during the time which immediately preceded the Reformation and is disproportionately increased after that event'.

Difficulty in securing sufficient labour for road repairs through feudal services after the Reformation is suggested by Cunningham's description (1910.450) of the break-up of the manorial system in England,in which he refers to 'a decline of tillage and a paucity of agricultural labour'.

Early statutes

Great as the contribution of the mediaeval church may have been in maintaining roads and bridges, a greater involvement of central government was becoming evident before the Reformation. In 1531 the English Statute of Bridges required Justices of Quarter Sessions to deal with complaints about bridges. The Webbs (1913.89) suggest this was 'perhaps the earliest branch of municipal enterprise entrusted to their care'. They also note the power of the Justices 'to levy their own rate directly upon all the inhabitants of the County' for the upkeep of bridges.

Legislation with regard to road repairs was also enacted both in England and in Scotland by their respective parliaments in 1555. Whether the two statutes were connected is uncertain, for the wording of each

reflected the very different circumstances on either side of the border.

The English Act of 1555 (2 and 3 P and M 8) sets out a standardised system of parish work on roads. A specified input of labour for parishioners in each year was required and farmers were required to provide horses and carts. The purpose of this work was stated to be 'for amendment of the high waies in their parish, leading to any market towne'.

The Scottish Act of 1555 (APS ii.498), while also providing principally for highways connecting market towns, required them merely to be 'observit and keepit'. No instructions were given as to how this was to be achieved.

TRANSPORT AND LEGISLATION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The vagueness and lack of urgency of the Scottish act when compared with that of England accords with the several indications of lower levels of commercial activity involving wheeled transport on Scottish roads. Estimates of population in the 16th and 17th centuries are notoriously unreliable (Flinn 1977.4), but the consensus of the statements by Grant (1930.351), Bindoff (1950.40), Lythe (1977.66), Brown P.H. (1893.xv), Trevelyan (1942.142) and O'Dell (1962.87) indicates that the population of England in 1550 exceeded that of Scotland by a factor of eight and that London was at that time at least ten times bigger than Edinburgh and growing fast.

Martin (1977.162) finds that wheeled vehicles were used in southern England as freely and widely in the 15th century as in the early 18th century and he cites evidence from brokage books of Southampton to account for 1,600 carts in that area alone. By contrast, contemporary or retrospective reports on Scotland in the 18th century stressed the rarity of carts on the road, public carriers more frequently using pack horses (Ure 1793.187, Robertson 1829.38). An absence of carriers from occupations listed for Aberdeen in 1696 is noted by Whyte (1979.173)

and may be compared with the large number of persons of that profession in Taylor's Cosmographie of 1637 listing carrier services for most large towns in England (Pawson 1977.31, Turnbull 1979.4).

Grant (1930.307 and 1934.71) claims that in Scotland commercial development was almost static between the 14th and 16th centuries and that even by 1614 figures for exports reveal predominantly rural products in small quantities, representing a surplus over bare subsistence.

It was to be another 114 years after the English act of 1555 before there was a Scottish act for regulating the use of parish labour for work on roads, and an even greater time before agrarian changes and the greater volume of goods using the roads forced the country's leaders to consider the need for improvement rather than piecemeal repairs (Chapter 5). In the meantime a series of legislative measures was introduced which involved the authorities more directly in road administration.

Scottish Legislation in 1610

The office of Justice of the Peace was introduced into Scotland in 1610. As noted above, Justices were made responsible for bridges in England in 1531. Now, in Scotland their newly appointed counterparts were given the duty of being 'cairfull concerning the upholding and repairing of the briggis that ar not utterly ruined, that some course may be taikin by the countrey next adjacent to give some supplie for that matter'. The instructions (APC viii.303) make no mention of a local rate assessment as applied in England and are noticeably lacking in either precision or authority. The responsibilities of the Scottish justices also extended to highways and they were instructed by the Privy Council 'to provide for helping of the King's heich wayes . . . . and speciallie to be careful that no privat person encroache on the same way'.

That the highways should be 'helped' would appear little more forceful a policy than 'keipit' in the Scottish 1555 Act and the

emphasis again is on prohibiting obstruction. As noted above, the monarch in England looked to manorial obligations under the common law to keep the highway free from obstructions. The statute of 1285 specifically mentioned bushes, woods and dykes (Webbs 1913.7). Evidence for concern in Scotland at an early date about the nuisance of obstructions or encroachment (purpresture) occurs in a decree (APS i.258), considered by Chalmers (1807.ii.733) as being pre 15th century.

The decree prohibits purpresture which is defined by Bell (1890.876) as a 'feudal delinquency . . . . incurred by a vassal encroaching on the streets, highways or commonties belonging to the superior'. The term is used by Skene in 1609 who describes this offence as including the stopping of the highway.

The King's Progress in 1617

If the terms of the Privy Council's instructions to the Justices in 1610 were mild, a more confident tone may be noted in a letter from the royal Signet addressed to the Sheriff of Linlithgow in 1616 (RPC xi.131). This required workmen from named parishes to repair particular sections of the road to be used for the royal progress in the following year and to work for 'so many days a week' . . . 'as they shall be ordered'. Penalties for non-attendance were severe. The roads were to be 'enlargit', where necessary, to a width of twenty one feet, thus dealing with the old problem of obstruction and encroachment. The roads were also to be 'mendit' and a list of tools, 'spaidis, shoiles, pickes, mattokis, gavellokis, quarrell mellis, irne wadgeis, hand burrowis, quheill burrowis, cairtis, sleddis, horsis, and otheris workeloomes', implies that more than the hacking down of vegetation and removal of boulders was contemplated.

Similar directions were issued to the Justices responsible for roads between Falkland and Perth and between Perth and Dundee (R.P.C.xi.529),

but the tools were restricted to picks, mattocks, crowbars, sledge-hammers and wedges and the minimum road width was set at only sixteen feet, which suggests less ambitious standards in more difficult country.

Nearer to the time of the King's journey, in 1617, there are signs of impatience from the Privy Council with regard to the road between Berwick and Dunglass (RPC xi.93) and they pointed out that 'althocht the parrochynnaris . . . and the personis . . . (charged with carrying out certain works including the removal of 'eardfast stones and mony louse stanes lyand in the way') . . . aucht and sould haif repairit and mendit the saidis wayes and maid the (same) passible for coitcheis and cairtis, nevertheles nothing as yet is done thairintill'.

Some of the requirements in 1617 have become quite specific. For instance, on the same road in Berwickshire, admittedly a vital link between England and Scotland, were listed these defects, 'the straitnes and impedimentis in the way betvix Blakhill and Wester Quhitfeild, quhilk is maid strait on the ane syde by the tennent of Quhitfeild, quho has revin oute the same, and to the other syde be the tennent of Blakhall, who hes biggit housis and yairdis foiranent the same, and at the three burne-granes benethe the West Presse the eister burne requiris ane cast, and the wester burne requiris ane double way and passage, and that pairt of the commoun mure callit the Rashe Bus quhilk is difficle by haggis in the way, ar appointit to be helpit . . .' (RPC xi.92).

Following the despatch of these detailed local directions, an act of parliament in the same year, 1617 (APS iv.536) confirmed the general guide lines to be followed throughout Scotland, independent of the King's visit, through the agency of the Justices of the Peace. These Justices were 'to gif ordour (as they sall think most convenient and with least greif to the subiectis) for mending of all hie wayis and passages to or frome any mercate toun or sey poirt within that schyir:

And sall call before thame all suche persones as sall straite these passages or uther wayes by Casting of ditches and fusies throche the same sall mak thai hie wayis noyesum and trublesum unto passangeris. And sall punische and fyne thame according to the qualitye of thair offence'. Roads were to be not less than twenty one feet wide. The sanctions for non-compliance laid down by the Act were left to the Justices' discretion, 'With provisioun alwayis that giff in thair procedingis thairin they use suche severitie or rigoure as may move Just complaintis aganis thame They salbe censured thairfore by his maiesties secreit Counsell as apperteneth'.

The arrangements for the King's baggage in 1617 presented a field day for the bureaucratic mind (RPC xi.127-132). The officials were clearly confident that the baggage could be taken either from Burntisland or Kinghorn or Kirkcaldy (depending on the conjunction of the winds and the tide) on Monday 19th May to Falkland and then uplifted on Wednesday 21st May for carriage to 'the Ferrie of Dundee'.

STATUTE LABOUR IN SCOTLAND

These manifestations of determination in central government to carry out detailed repairs to highways and to order the movement of baggage are, at least in print, impressive as early as 1617. Why then, it may be asked, was it so long before the use of parish labour came to be regulated by a similar act to that operating in England since 1555? Several possible explanations present themselves. The slow pace of development for much of the 17th century in what was a mainly rural economy has been noted. Hopes may have persisted that the Justices, with the powers already granted to them, would have been able to achieve with the necessary vigour the repairs needed to maintain roads to the standards accepted as adequate for the limited traffic of the time. Further Acts in 1641 (APS v.702a) and 1655

(APS vi.833b) strengthened the regulations and increased the penalties for obstructing highways, particularly those to harbours, which . . . 'Sall be maid patent to all his ma (jesties) leiges for carrieing and transporting of the (saidis) victuall, fewalles . . .' (etc.). However, these were but minor modifications to the previous acts.

One reason for the timid advances in road legislation may be found in the unpropitious political climate that prevailed in the middle years of the 17th century. Whyte (1979.99) notes a general expansion of cultivation in parts of Scotland, particularly in the 1620s and 1630s but 'this was abruptly checked by the Civil Wars, and progress did not resume until after the Restoration in 1660'.

The situation in Scotland in 1650 is described by Mitchison (1977.233): 'Her economy was desperate. Trade had stopped, shipping had been wiped out, the towns were starving and many country areas had been devastated'. In such circumstances a concern for the unimpeded carriage of victual from harbours in the 1641 and 1655 Acts is understandable.

After the Restoration in 1660 an act was passed, in 1661 (APS vii.263), relating to enclosures in which were included provisions for the alteration of boundaries affecting the course of roads. A landowner was permitted to divert a road round the boundary of an enclosure up to a distance of two hundred ells[1] from its original line. Before this act evidence of restrictions on changing the line of a road is rare. One example occurs in 1621 when Scotstarvit secured a licence by Act of Parliament (APS iv.678) to change the line of the main road from the south coast to Cupar from one side of his residence to the other.

The effect of the 1661 Act on the diversion of roads has been studied by Whyte (1979.102-3). A series of instances between 1661 and 1706 are noted from the Records of Parliament and the Privy Council, one in Fife being noted in Chapter 6 below.

---

1. just over 200 yards (182 m)

The Scottish 1669 Act

In 1669 the Act regulating the use of parish labour on roads was passed. Its preamble indicates that vague exhortations to Justices were now considered insufficient to ensure the repair of roads. It begins, ' ... considering ... that the care (of highways) which hath been laid upon the Justices of the Peace hath yet for the most part proven ineffectual, in regard the saids Justices have not had special Orders and Warrands for that effect . . .' This Act (APS vii.575) embodied many of the provisions of the English statute labour Act of 1555 and a summary of each is set out for comparison in Table 4.1

The essential distinction between the two acts is the establishment of the county as the unit of road administration in Scotland. This was recognised by Parnell (1833.316), who pressed for its adoption in England. Under the Scottish Act the sheriff and the justices of the peace were made directly responsible for the roads and accountable to the Lords of the Privy Council. Responsibility in England had been placed a rank lower in the hierarchy of authority.

The Scottish 1669 Act was modified the next year by an act of 1670 (APS viii.18) under which surveyors who neglected their duties could be fined, labourers residing too far from the roads on which they were required to work could make a monetary payment and roadwork could not be enforced during the periods of seed time and harvest.

ROAD MANAGEMENT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The burden of implementing the 1669 Act, as amended, was too great for the sheriffs and justices alone and by an act in 1686 (APS viii.590) they were to be joined in their duties by all of the landowners of substance in each shire who were eligible to serve as Commissioners of Supply. They brought to the task of the management of roads and bridges their experience of roads on their estates. Their prosperity was also much dependent on the maintenance of good communications.

Table 4.1

The Main Provisions of the English and Scottish Acts compared

		English Act of 1555	Scottish Act of 1669
The unit of road administration		The Parish	The County
The Officers :	Executive	Constable, Church wardens (elected)	Sheriff, his Deputy, Justices of the Peace (appointed)
	To whom accountable	Justices of the Peace	
	Rewards for services	8d in the £ for collection of fines	Nil
	Direction of road work	Surveyor or Overseer	Surveyor or Overseer
	Rewards for services	Unpaid. Elected for 1 year term	May pay wages to foremen
			Term of appointment indefinite
Labour service to be given		4 days	6 days
Persons liable for labour service		Householders, Cottagers, Labourers	Tenants, Cottars and their Servants
Persons Exempt from service		Yearly hired labourers	No exemptions
Provision of carriage, etc.		1 Ploughland to provide 1 cart, 2 men	Persons liable to have horses, carts, sleds, spades, shovels, picks, mattocks
Rate on land		Nil	Rate not more than 10s. in £100 Valued Rent. To be decided by County heretors at yearly meeting

Initially, however, it appears that they were but half hearted in pursuing their public duties and Whetstone (1981.67) reports poorly attended meetings, those in Ayrshire from 1728 to 1737 including only half the number of commissioners of supply who should have been present. Whetstone suggests that there was a confusion of roles between the commissioners and the justices they were meant to be assisting. Joint meetings became rare in the early 18th century and in many Scottish counties it became the practice for justices to administer roads and for the commissioners of supply to look after bridges (Whetstone 1981.81). At the commencement of the earliest surviving minutes for the commissioners in Fife most of the business is concerned with bridges, but such few road repairs as are mentioned are clearly subject to their sanction (C of S 11.5.1709 et seq.). Anderson (1967.208) whose minutes for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright do not start until 1728, ventures the opinion that between 1686 and that date 'little but essential maintenance work would be carried out . . .' There is nothing in the corresponding records from Fife to suggest that more was being achieved in that county.

Such were the conditions in which use of statute labour and the building of bridges were organised following the 1669 Act. Two further minor amending acts followed the Act of Union in 1707. The first, in 1718 (5 GI.30) imposed a fine on anyone who refused to accept the office of surveyor or, after having accepted, failed to render an account of roads in his care every six months. The times of year when labour service should be given were revised, with fines for non-attendance. The Justices in their turn had to report to circuit judges each year, as from 1720.

The second act, in 1770 (11.GIII.53) is concerned principally with road widening and procedures leading to compulsory purchase. The act is addressed not only to the Justices and the Commissioners of the

Shires but also to the 'trustees of the turnpike roads.' The gentlemen of Fife were by this time represented on a three county joint trust managing the Great North Road between Queensferry and Perth, part of which ran through western Fife.[1]

The Conversion of Statute Labour into Money

In the latter part of the 18th century several counties secured local acts of parliament enabling them to commute the statute labour service to monetary payments. There was also usually an increase in the maximum permitted levy on valued rent introduced by the 1669 Act. The flexibility given to the trustees by these funds, although meagre by comparison with the revenue of the turnpike roads, proved to be a spur to road improvement. A precedent for the conversion of statute labour existed in Haddingtonshire in 1750 when a list of ploughgates was compiled under a system of self-assessment and an Act in 1769 widened the power of the county to enforce conversion (1836 Report.154).

The 1774 Statute Labour Act (Fife)

The Act for repairing the Highways and Bridges in the County of Fife (14 GIII.31) referred to later as the 1774 Fife Statute Labour Act, introduced 'trustees or commissioners for making, repairing, upholding, and keeping in repair, the highways, roads and bridges.' These 'trustees' were simply those persons qualified to be commissioners of supply under the act of 1667 (APS vii.547).

After instructing the trustees to make up a list of ploughgates, the Act required 'all lessees, tenants and occupiers of lands' each to furnish for six days a cart with two horses and a man for each ploughgate of arable land held, or for every sixty acres of pasture. Alternatively, they could pay an assessed sum of money per ploughgate.

---

1. the legislation relating to turnpike roads will be examined separately, below.

Householders, cottagers and labourers were to give six days labour per year, as under the 1669 Act, but with this important proviso, that the trustees could, 'if they shall find it necessary' . . . 'order and appoint a Conversion, in Money, to be paid by all Persons liable in Statute Services, as aforesaid, for all or any of the Six Days Service or Statute-work above mentioned: Provided always, that the aforesaid Conversion shall not exceed the ordinary Price or Rate of Labour in that part of the Country where the Services are to be performed.' The conversion money could not be applied to roads more than three miles from the residence of the person concerned.

A series of regulations followed, the first of which required a minimum width for a road of twenty five feet, with references to new enclosure boundaries. Other clauses dealt with lateral ditches, prohibition of obstructions and the dragging of timber.

The maximum levy under the 1669 Act was doubled to the equivalent of one per cent of the valued rent. This, in practice, was to be expended mostly 'on bridges whose building and repair called for hired craftsmen. Bridges costing over £50 Sterling were to be paid for, half by the district[1] and one sixth by each of the three remaining districts.

The 1797 Statute Labour Act (Fife)

A further Fife statute labour act in 1797 (37 GIII.52) made the conversion of services to money mandatory. It required lists of roads to be made, with restrictions on subsequent changes. The holder of a ploughgate no longer had the option of providing a cart, the payment for ploughgate being limited to £1 Stg. Similarly non-occupiers of land were finally released (s.12) from labour duty

1. Four districts were listed in the Act: Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Cupar and St Andrews.

but had to pay 'a conversion of such a Number of Days Labour, not exceeding Six, as they shall consider proportioned to the Circumstances of each Individual'. All conversion money was to be applied in the parishes from which it was raised (s.27), and the trustees were 'empowered' to appoint surveyors who had to provide yearly a list of assessed persons and ploughgates.

The 'daily Increase of Carriages within the said County of Fife' (s.22) made it necessary to double once again the maximum levy on valued rent which was now made equivalent to two per cent. In addition a trust could borrow on the security of its funds.

The Act was plainly intended (s.40) to provide the means of launching a programme of new road building and includes a provision for redundant roads to be sold (s.44).

Regulations on minimum road widths, obstruction and dragging of timber, corresponding with those in the 1774 Act, follow, but are much more detailed.

The 1807 Statute Labour Act (Fife)

The management of those roads which had not been placed under turnpike trusts (see below) continued to be the subject of revising legislation. An act in 1807 (47 GIII.12) repeated much of what was in the 1797 Act, but there was an increase in the maximum expenditure (£80 Stg.) on a bridge which had to be borne by a district unaided (s.23). Where the cost of a bridge exceeded £300 Stg. such sum was authorised to be set aside out of the statute labour conversion money, thus implying that such money was raised as a substitute for service on roads rather than bridges. Otherwise, bridges were expected to be paid for out of the levy on valued rent, often referred to as 'Bridge Money'.

The 1807 Act set the maximum width of roads, unspecified in the earlier act (1797.s.40), at forty feet (1807.s.53) and another clause

included regulations on wheel widths, representing the current views on road technology (Chapter 5).

The General Act for Scotland

In 1845 roads in Scotland were regulated by a general act (8 and 9 V.41). Its provisions are summarised by Ferguson (1904.111) and include the replacement of payments in lieu of individual statute labour service by an increased assessment on property, the additional amount being recoverable from the occupier but half being paid by the owner. Road management was to be regulated by provisions analagous to or identical with those in a turnpike act of 1831 (1 and 2 WIV.43).

THE TURNPIKE ACTS AFFECTING FIFE ROADS

Historical Background

The practice of charging tolls on traffic has many centuries old precedents both in England and in Scotland. The most common mediaeval examples were the tolls payable at entrances to towns. Jackman (1916.11) notes a case of traverse tolls on two through roads in Northampton in 1274. Collecting points would originally have been some distance away from the town and only later transferred to the town entrances. The revenue was used to repair roads up to the limits of the borough and those roads lying within the walls would be paved.

In Scotland several acts of parliament permitted tolls to be levied in or near towns. One, in 1593 (APS iv.21), was intended 'to repair, beit and mend the Calsey betvix his maiesties palice yett of haliruidhous and the nether bow of Edinburgh'.

A less specific purpose was assigned to a toll on roads to the south and southeast of Edinburgh at Liberton in 1661 (APS vii.330), the money being applied to both bridges and highways within the parish.

Pawson (1977.76) traces the use of tolls for repairing stretches of road between towns in England back to an unsuccessful bill in 1621-2 for

a road in Hertfordshire and notes an earlier bill for the same road in 1609 which also failed to pass into law. Only in the 1621 bill, however, is he confident that there was a provision for tolls to be levied. The first English act to be passed establishing a toll road, again in Hertfordshire, was that of 1663 (15 CII.1), after which it was thirty one years before there was another act, in 1696. From that year a succession of acts was passed and by 1714, under a British parliament, there was the first act for roads in Scotland, that for the County of Edinburgh (12 A.30).

As with the preceding Scottish acts, the statute labour acts, the preamble referred to earlier laws and statutes as 'being not sufficient for the effectual repairing and mending of the said Bridges and Highways'. The Act refers to a duty imposed on traffic by the Privy Council 'from time to time' before the Union (1707) and records that the last of such arrangements was due to expire in 1714.

The first trustees of these roads were to be the justices of the peace from that county. They were authorised to erect an unspecified number of gates or turnpikes, but only goods traffic was to be charged. Riders and passenger vehicles were exempted from tolls and this accords with the opening words of the Act, 'Whereas the Supreme Courts of Judicature, and the chief officers for collecting and managing Her Majesty's Revenues . . . do sit and meet at the city of Edinburgh . . .' Robertson (1829.34) comments, 'Perhaps there never was a more unblushing assumption of privilege', and later, 'we may conclude that not a single thing could be done, beyond filling up the larger holes, from time to time, with unbroken stones'.

The Queensferry to Perth Road Act (1753)

In Scotland, as in England, there was a gap between the first turnpike act and its successors. The next authorised a toll road to South Queensferry in 1750 (24 GII) and this was extended westwards to

Linlithgow in 1752 (25 GII.28) and to Glasgow in 1753 (26 GII.81). The first road north of the Forth to be 'turnpiked' by an Act in 1753 (26 GII) was on a route shown by Moll's map in 1718 (Figure 3.4) and was part of a through route by Perth to Inverness. General Wade saw no reason to extend his military road further south than Dunkeld in 1727 (Taylor 1976.49), which may be taken as an indication of the adequacy of the section south to Perth for the traffic of that date. Cartographic confirmation of Moll's line to North Queensferry awaited the post 1755 map based on Roy's survey. Meanwhile the 1753 Act refers to it as 'the Post Road from Edinburgh'.[1]

The 1753 Act 'for repairing the Road from the North Queen's Ferry, through the Towns of Inverkeithing and Kinross, to the Town of Perth', and for two connecting roads in Fife, opens with the names and residences of all the trustees for the three counties jointly administering the act, Perthshire, Fife and Kinross-shire, followed by the justices of the peace and the commissioners of supply for those counties.[2] The number of toll points was not specified but a schedule of tolls followed which, unlike the 1714 Act, included all horses and passenger vehicles. No discriminatory rates for narrow wheels were included.

The drafters of the parliamentary bill had, by now, had sufficient experience[3] to be able to anticipate some of the opposition to and abuses of the turnpike system. Misapplication of revenue, physical destruction of turnpikes, bypassing of tolls through private land and unhitching a horse from a vehicle on approaching a toll were all given appropriate punishments or fines. Provisions also

---

1. Haldane (1971.40-1) finds evidence of a foot post on this route in 1689 and the requisition of boats for a temporary military post in 1716.
2. The trustees named would have held the latter office, but provision for their replacement had to be made.
3. Pawson (1977.341-2) lists 213 acts, including the four Scottish acts noted above, between 1663 and this act in 1753.

made for the management of roads included the taking of gravel, making of causeways, cutting drains, erecting bridges, realigning and widening roads, clearing obstructions (including buildings), the sale of old roads and the erection of milestones.

The holder of a ticket issued at one toll gate was allowed to pass all other tolls within six miles of the first without further payment, and there was a long list of exemptions, such as local farm goods other than those for sale, the movement of soldiers and others on government business, and the transport of textile materials.

Payments were to be made to the trustees by anyone who had previously been held to be chargeable for repairs. In their turn the trustees were to compensate anyone previously in receipt of private tolls which would be extinguished. By these provisions the trustees were protected from the criticism that they might have disregarded any undisclosed former obligations.

There had been no reference to statute labour in the Edinburgh Act of 1714, but by the 1750s the problem of what to do with the services to which the roads were entitled before turnpiking was exercising the minds of those who drafted the new bills. Under the North Queensferry to Perth Act of 1753 these services were retained. Holders of land had to provide a cart for each ploughgate and the use of further carts was required from carters and brewers. Persons liable for manual labour could agree to pay the trustees 'composition money' instead of this service.

Travellers could apply to the trustees to have their tolls compounded into a lump sum for a year, to be paid by instalments. Trustees were allowed to lease the tolls and to borrow on the security of the anticipated revenue up to limits which differed between the three roads in the act.

The Fife Turnpike Acts

Following 1753, a series of acts were passed for roads in Scotland, which are listed by Pagan (1845. Appendix A). The first act devoted solely to roads in Fife, that of 1790 (30 GIII), coming, as it did, after the statute labour act of 1774, had merely to provide for the transfer of the monetary equivalent of statute labour service that should be applied to the turnpike roads (s.58). Trustees were not named but equated with those who were qualified to be commissioners of supply. The Act noted that only one toll bar had been erected within Fife on the roads authorised by the 1753 Act and some of its revenue was allocated to the two connecting roads which were now placed solely under Fife trustees.[1]

Exemptions followed those in the 1753 Act except that farm materials now had to pay half tolls (s.15). The current preoccupation with protecting the road surface from wear was expressed by limitations on the number of horses drawing vehicles, and the encouragement of wide wheels (ss. 16 and 17). Heavy vehicles were penalised by discriminatory tolls and weighing machines could be provided under the Act (ss. 37 and 38).

Until they were considered to be 'in a sufficient state of repair', tolls were to be applied only to those roads on which they were exacted (s.30). Clauses prohibiting various obstructions echoed similar passages in the Statute Labour Act of 1774, but adding restrictions on new buildings (s.55) which had to be set more than six feet from a road, thus implying a requirement of a defined margin on either side of the metalled road.

There were several further acts authorising turnpike roads in Fife but several were not confined to that county. For instance, the

---

1. Roads 2 and 3 of Chapter 7.

Act of 1802 (42 GIII.97) was principally for roads in Clackmannanshire and only part of one road entered Fife.

The roads designated in all these acts are noted and discussed in relation to the growth of the turnpike system in Fife, which is the subject of Chapter 7.

By the 1790s the clauses in turnpike acts were becoming standardised and many local acts simply cited the earlier acts. There were, however, some distinctive features of several acts which are of relevance to developments in road management.

The Fife Turnpike Act of 1797 asked (s.13) that the designation of a new road by a listing of places along its proposed route should not be taken literally, which had a bearing on changing attitudes towards steep gradients.[1]

The introduction to the 1807 Act (47 GIII.11) referred to a need to alter 'the mode of levying tolls'. Among the distinctive clauses in this respect is one (s.6) detailing the construction of a wheel to qualify for a one-third reduction of toll. This came at a time when there was a lively debate as to the best means of reducing wear on roads, and wheels which would roll roads level instead of creating ruts received favoured treatment in the toll regulations.

The exemption from tolls of soldiers is more detailed than similar clauses of previous acts (s.8), a reminder of their greater numbers at this time. Stone quarry owners were enabled to compound for tolls (s.10) and there were regulations requiring carts to bear their owners' names (ss.13,14).

Though not a 'turnpike act', one which should be mentioned here is that of 1813 (53 GIII.68) which removed the exemption from tolls previously given to mail coaches and was of considerable economic importance to certain road trusts[2] and came after many years of lobbying in parliament.

---

1. Discussed in Chapter 5.
2. See Chapter 8.

A general act for the whole of Scotland in 1823 (4 GIV.49), comprising 116 clauses, cited seven previous acts including that of 1807 for Fife. This act regulated in some detail the keeping of accounts, the licensing of toll houses for the sale of alcohol, and the borrowing of money, including the circumvention of entail restrictions. All the accumulated regulations regarding the unhitching of horses (s.27), the use of weighing machines (ss.28-33), exemption categories (ss.35-42), alterations to roads, toll bar locations, and the old prohibitions on obstruction were considerably amplified (ss.25-42). The roads under the Highland Commissioners were exempted from this act (s.114).

An act for Fife in 1829 (10 GIV.84) was the last major act affecting turnpike roads in Fife during the period of this study, i.e. up to 1850, by which time the 19th century road network had been virtually completed. The act repealed the local acts of 1790, 1979 and 1807 but the provisions of the general act of 1823 were not affected. As discussed below in connection with St. Andrews District,[1] administrative procedures were tightened up and records were more carefully kept. The same person could not be both clerk and treasurer (s.7), more regulations on wheel dimensions were introduced (ss.25-26) and a number of clauses covered the siting of toll bars and the application of their revenues.

One variation between successive acts has not been noted above, that of toll schedules. A selection of the more significant changes in rates of toll is included below in relation to traffic in Chapter 7.

The Performance of the Scottish Road Acts up to 1850

An attempt has been made above to extract from a copious body of material those elements which influenced the management and spatial development of the mid 19th century Fife road system. Retrospective surveys of the legislation and its operation are contained, first,

1. Chapter 12.

in a report to a select committee on the statute labour acts of Scotland in 1836. Evidence regarding their application in Fife was submitted by the M.P. for the Kirkcaldy division (1836 Report 51-56). An evaluation of the turnpike system, with special reference to its reform, is provided by Pagan (1845 and 1857), who draws most of his illustrations from his native Fife. A report of the commissioners for public roads in Scotland in 1859, containing 736 pages and including 18 appendices, had the wide remit of examining both statute labour and turnpike roads. It took account of both the statute labour legislation up to the 1845 Act and of the various other road and bridge acts, together over 350 in number. William Pagan of Cupar was a key witness among the ten representatives from Fife. In spite of his well researched advocacy of measures of reform, including a proposed rate on horses or on property, he remained a sceptic, and said in his evidence, 'I consider that ingenuity can never arrive at any system of tolls which would make parties pay for the roads according to the use they make of them.' (1859 Report)

An interim review of how the achievements in road development were related to the legislation, outlined above, is contained in the observations of two writers on the rural economy, Thomson and Robertson.

The Rev. John Thomson contributed both the parish report for Markinch to Sinclair's Statistical Account (1792) and the first general report on the agriculture of Fife (1800). He purports to write from personal experience, at least of the late 18th century, and dismisses the effect of the 1753 joint turnpike act as 'very limited.' He focusses attention on the 1790 turnpike act with its extensive list of designated roads, and on the borrowing powers given by the 1797 turnpike act (Thomson 1800.284). He considers the benefit of parish labour to have been, 'in a great measure, lost, through the want of judgement and economy in the application of it' -- which differs from

the assessments of the Loudounpapers and the Glasgow pamphlet, both complimentary towards the'gentlemen of Fife'.

However, he recognises the potential usefulness of the 1797 statute labour act, the operation of which he describes in some detail. The discretionary powers given to the trustees had (by 1800), he believes, 'been exercised with . . . tenderness and wisdom, in the moderate rate at which they have fixed the conversion'. His main concern was with the continuing neglect of the by-roads which he contrasted with the toll roads, remarking that, 'no good of equal magnitude (was) purchased at so easy a rate', and that 'For every shilling laid out by the community as toll-duty, ten shillings, at a moderate computation, may be allowed to be saved'.

George Robertson expressed a more personal view in his Rural Recollections (1829) when he gave his experience of the changes he had noticed in the nature of Scottish roads since his childhood on a farm near Edinburgh. With references to the year 1763, his life spanned what was probably the period of most rapid change in the nature of traffic and standards of road surfacing. He points to reductions in journey times on these roads as an indication of what could be achieved with the aid of turnpike revenue and he describes one road as 'kept almost through-out as smooth as a gravel walk in a garden'. He has firm views on the efficiency of the new systems of roadmaking and the need for sensible gradients. These matters, together with the economic changes which made them necessary, and on which Robertson was well qualified to comment, will be discussed in the next chapter.

SUMMARY

The forms of road administration and the technical advances, to which Robertson referred, marked the end phase of a progression from the selective intervention of a ruling power interested in mobility, through measures repairing road damage only, to the construction of all-weather surfaces. These activities, calling for the deployment first of communal labour, then of contractors, would not have been possible without a coordinated body of legislation.

As work on roads came, more and more, to be carried out by paid labour there ensued a search for equitable means of enabling the road user to contribute towards the cost, firstly through a levy on valued rent and fines, secondly through the conversion of labour service to money payments and finally through a system of toll roads.

The factors motivating those who brought about these changes, and the technical problems which they had to overcome, are considered more particularly below.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SPIRIT OF ROAD IMPROVEMENT IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SCOTLAND

The Need for Action

The concept of a road as a built structure in Scotland was familiar in an urban setting in mediaeval times and the use of tolls to pay for paving roads in Edinburgh is implied in an Act of 1593 (APS iv.21). Many people of influence in England and in Scotland would have observed, or have been aware of, the remains of Roman roads and appreciated the labour and skill that had made them.

Yet, roads of such a substantial nature could not have been viewed as relevant to the circumstances of 18th century Scotland. For centuries the natural ground surface had met the needs of traffic well enough and the building of a prepared track was considered appropriate only in exceptional circumstances.

A revised view of what might be regarded as an acceptable standard of road surface waited on the advent of unfamiliarly heavy traffic and the intolerable road conditions it was to create.

There is no lack of information as to the deficiencies in the road surfaces that travellers encountered. Numerous and often quoted accounts survive of the difficulties and the hardships endured (RPC 1680, Morer 1689). Complaints so frequently expressed were seldom accompanied by calls for any specific action. It was as if the road conditions were regarded with the same fatalistic resignation as the rainfall which made so many roads impassable.

Sensible people simply avoided travelling in winter if at all possible and if goods had to be moved, a pack horse often stood a better chance of reaching its destination than a cart.

When the effects on the roads of the increasing traffic load began to cross the threshold of public tolerance, the need for action was slowly accepted, as has been seen in the growth of legislation (Chapter 4). Central government was prepared to support

certain lines of communication for strategic purposes, up to a point, but until the building of military roads by soldiers in the 1720s government action depended on some degree of coercion of the local population.

As was seen in Chapter 4, legislative measures in the seventeenth century were vague and largely ineffective. An impressive effort by the government to remove some of the worst obstacles along the route to be taken by the king in 1617 reveals some of the human and equine resources that could be called upon, but activity on this scale was not to be repeated until after an act in 1669, regularising a system of statute parish labour similar to that used in England.

Meanwhile, both the use of wheeled vehicles and the volume of road traffic were increasing. More agricultural produce, such as grain, started to be marketed by farmers rather than carried to their landlords' barns, and consumption of coal and lime also increased, the quantities and distances hauled varying with the local geology. The growth in traffic was at first slow, especially in the early seventeenth century, when effective road management was hampered by the almost endemic feuding between rival clans. The laird tended to live in a fortified tower house and his first concern was to house and feed a substantial body of retainers for his defence and to enhance his status. Rents were payable largely in produce and in services (Smout 1969.130) so that the opportunity for accumulating money for investment was slight.

As the century advanced there was a slow shift of emphasis from self-sufficiency, with only occasional marketable surpluses under the traditional infield-outfield system, to a reorganisation of holdings for commercial profit. However, these changes, described more fully below, did not become evident until after the Scottish involvement with the English civil war which in the middle of the seventeenth century made great demands on the resources of the countryside,

including the victualling of occupying forces (Lamont 1653.68).

After 1660 a period of relative political stability was accompanied by a growth in the number of marketing centres serving urban populations and in good harvest years grain was being exported overseas. By the end of the century landowners had become less preoccupied with personal defence and were transferring their attentions to the raising of rents through agricultural improvement. This included the provision of adequate roads between farm and market.

The more widely read and travelled landowners became enthusiasts for reform, passing on to their friends details of farming practices found to be successful elsewhere and circulating pamphlets such as those by Skene (1666) and Belhaven (1699). In his study of seventeenth century agrarian change in Scotland, Whyte (1979) notes the introduction of legislation to ease the process of reform for the benefit of those few landowners who were in a position to carry out such schemes as the division of commonties (APS 1647 and 1695) and making enclosures (APS 1661 and 1685).

The progress of enclosure was initially slow and confined to the creation of plantations and grounds near the residence of the owner, but such measures led to the closer definition of field and estate boundaries and the lateral delimitation of roads, even if only by the digging of ditches to protect crops from wandering animals and deviations of traffic round potholes. The writer of the Glasgow Pamphlet (c.1766) criticises enclosure boundaries which, he says, confined roads 'to a very narrow compass, which very soon rendered those roads unpassable' and recalls that twenty feet was formerly wide enough for a highway, for, 'as the whole country was open, after the crop was separated from the ground, they (the farmer and carrier) could leave the high road at pleasure and follow any direction that was more commodious' (ibid. pp.9-10).

As the writer points out, the effect of this restriction of traffic to a narrow strip led to the deterioration of a road that was likely to be unmetalled. This deterioration was related to three main factors: the establishment of enclosure boundaries, the amount of bulk haulage and the means of transport used.

Agricultural Improvement and the Carriage of Goods

From a study of estate accounts and records of road diversions under the 1661 Act regarding enclosures (APS VII.263) Whyte (1979.~~201~~ 126) recognises an increase in the rate of enclosing after 1660 and an increase in grain sales outwith the estate. The latter was also encouraged by an act of 1663 (APS VII.467b) which permitted for an indefinite period the export of grain by sea, unless curtailed by the Privy Council in times of dearth.

Whyte also confirms the findings of Fenton (1963.75) regarding the extensive use of lime from the early seventeenth century. It is clear that haulage of coal to lime kilns in the Forth-Tay area and the distribution of lime to farms made heavy demands on the transport resources of tenant farmers, both in carrying out their service obligations to their landlords and in fulfilling the requirements of their leases which often obliged them to make periodical applications of lime.

The means of such transport is less easy to assess. Many writers have hitherto assumed that carts were not available to more than a small minority of landowners and tenants in seventeenth century lowland Scotland, but Whyte (1979.174) quotes evidence from a number of estate accounts to the contrary.[1] He considers, however, that carts were used mainly for short hauls within the estate and that grain was normally carried during the winter months by packhorse, since a time that was

---

1. Listed among the 'plennishings' of a Melville Estate tenant in 1698 were, 'Two Waynes with Shodd wheills' and pertinents thereto SRO GD 26.5.668.

convenient for threshing and putting into store was a bad time for taking wheeled vehicles over unmade roads.

Although the earlier enclosures were normally restricted to parks round the main residence, the mains farm was also sometimes enclosed where it was in the hands of the owner, as is evident in the case of the Leven estate in 1674 and Balcaskie in 1684 (Whyte 1979.127). The extension of the practice to tenanted lands was closely related to the more widespread granting of long leases. Thus on the estate of Lord Cockburn, a notable 'improver', at Ormiston an eleven year lease had been granted to a tenant who was said to have been the first in Scotland to enclose with a ditch and a hedge (Handley 1963.37).

Although the advantages of longer leases had been stressed by Fletcher and by Belhaven (Whyte 1979.252), there were few landowners who could raise the necessary money to carry out the improvements which would justify higher rents. Even the prudent Lord Cockburn became too ambitious and was led by his enthusiasm into bankruptcy (Smout 1969.274).

A moderating influence on the would-be improver which, however, could operate as a severe handicap, was the law of entail which had been introduced in 1685 (APS VIII.477) to protect estates against rash adventures or unwise disposal. Even the granting of tenancies and the creation of enclosures were circumscribed. Reorganisation of many estates was virtually paralysed by this law which was not relieved until 1770 (Saunders 1950.28). In the Lothians, a region regarded as a nucleus of innovation in the early 1700s, enclosed fields were becoming commonplace (Lythe and Butt 1975.115) and by 1723 support for the agricultural improvement movement was sufficient to launch 'the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland'. This was judged by Handley (1963.74) to have been the earliest agricultural society in Europe. Lord Cockburn was one of the principal promoters and Thomas Hope of Rankeillour in Fife its

first president. Of its three hundred members forty were peers and although it came to an end with the deaths of many of the founders after 1745, it was succeeded by a large number of other societies.

Up to the 1740 s the pace of agricultural improvement remained slow; long term projects such as subdivision of open fields and levelling of ridges being postponed 'as much from economic and social considerations as because of the conservatism of the lairds' (Smout and Fenton 1965.89). Describing what he calls 'The Prelude to the Take-off', Smout (1969.226) considers the decade before the middle of the century as marking a new beginning in Scottish economic history, when 'the ice began to break'.

The success of the improvers in increasing productivity meant that heavier loads of lime and grain needed to be carried along roads which in their turn were being laterally restricted by more and more enclosure boundaries (Smout 1964.223). The increased flow of goods accelerated the change from the pack horse which, although it had a high tolerance of poor surfaces, could carry little more than two hundredweight (102 Kg.) to wheeled vehicles needing a firm level surface and able to carry a ton or more.

As Whyte points out (1979.174), the availability of carts, at least for use within the estate, has been greatly under-estimated and he notes the tendency of parish contributors to Sinclair's Statistical Account and of the county reports to the Board of Agriculture to exaggerate the deficiencies of earlier periods. The number of horses and ponies known to be available in the seventeenth century was quite adequate for the cultivation and carriage requirements of the time (Whyte 1979.174). For most long hauls the packhorse was used, especially for goods which were of high value for weight, wool being some eight times as valuable per unit weight as grain. Over shorter distances Whyte suggests that the packhorse could have been used for cheaper, heavier items such as grain, coal, peat, lime or even stone and

slate (also Ramsay 1888.ii.200). Describing arrangements in 1741 for selling Lord Rothes' coal, Thomson (1982.51) refers to 'stakes driven in at different places for fastening the halters of the horses that are for coals' (Rothes Papers 19.11.1741) and takes this to indicate the use of packhorses rather than carts. Smith (1962.118) writes of the high cost of transporting lime on the backs of horses and oxen near Aberdeen in the 1760 s and considers that 'the conditions of roads prohibited the use of wheeled vehicles'. Headrick (1813.511), referring to changes in Angus over the previous fifty years, claims that farm implement traction was by oxen but that loads were carried on horseback. He considers that the packhorse was not suitable for 'fossil and other extraneous manures' and also notes that the outsides of buildings were pointed with lime mortar only after the time when the roads were improved, which can perhaps be taken to imply the use of carts for lime haulage in that county.[1] To save weight the Angus farmers were carting lime unslaked, and this was also reported from Dumfriesshire (Singer 1812.328). If quicklime had been loaded onto pack-animals it would have been singularly unpleasant if it got wet.[2]

The use of sleds or 'cars' (a container supported on a pair of shafts dragging on the ground) for moving loads over steep, rough slopes is also noted by writers such as Fenton (1973) and Whyte (1979.174). Mathieson (1910.284) describes how Lord Kames at Blair Drummond in 1766 built a bridge over the Forth in order to give his tenants easier access to lime, so improving the roads that sledges were superseded by carts (also Ramsay 1888.ii.199).

The Pioneers of Road Improvement and their aims

It was noted above that the economic expansion of the eighteenth century did not really begin until after 1740. Before that date,

---

1. Whyte (1979.165) refers to the carriage of building lime to Angus in small quantities in the late 17th century but does not discuss how it was carried overland.
2. Burt (1737.186) quotes a story of highlanders fetching quicklime from the borders with horses and their surprise at the effect of dropping it in a burn.

however, there were signs of fresh interest among landowners in bringing about road improvements. John, Earl of Loudoun, who succeeded to his father's Ayrshire estate in 1731 and who was regarded as 'the father of agriculture in this part of the shire' (OSA Loudoun Parish iii.108) was credited with 'the first made road in the shire'. In 1735 Lord Cockburn of Ormiston was expressing concern that his estate workers were not giving enough time to making roads, which work was to include excavating cuttings and building a new bridge (Colville ed.1904.35). In 1744 Lord Rothes in Fife was looking for an alternative method of construction for a section of road which might avoid the expense of causewaying, the only reliable method used at that time and normally confined to town streets and approaches to bridges (Rothes Papers 40/37/4). His experiments were a prelude to a general move, both in Fife at a meeting in 1748 (Loudoun Papers 1767) and in Perthshire in 1747 (Ramsay 1888. ii.217) to make better use of the statute labour made available by the 1669 Act. A similar meeting in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in 1749 marked the first step in a programme of road improvement in Galloway (Anderson 1967.209).

By this time the benefits to agriculture did not necessarily provide the principal motive for road improvement. Lord Rothes, for example, had the problem of moving coal cheaply, not only to supply the lime kilns at Chapel and Forthar, but also to the port of Kirkcaldy for export. Certainly, the need in the second half of the eighteenth century for easy carriage of coal as well as of lime became the most frequently cited reason for requests for road repairs and improvements.

The Means of Improvement:

a) Making an all-weather surface.

In Scotland before the mid-eighteenth century the selection by

innumerable travellers of routes which passed over well drained slopes and along ridges avoided many of the hazards of waterlogged ground to be found in the valley bottoms. The steep slopes these routes inevitably included were generally acceptable to foot traffic, pack-animals and to the smaller and more sturdy of the contemporary vehicles (Robertson 1829.37).

Where deterioration or damage by over use caused obstruction, the labour of tenants and those obliged to give six days statute labour could be used to fill in depressions with the most durable materials to be found near the road, usually stones gathered from adjoining fields, as at Ormiston (Colville ed.1904.35). Anything more ambitious was considered to require skilled labour. The method of causewaying was rejected by Lord Rothes in 1744 on the grounds of expense. Specialist 'calsay' layers had to be engaged, often coming from some distance. Thus in Dunfermline in 1609 the baillies and council 'agreed with ane calsey bigger to com shortlie fra (Edinburgh) to this toun for repairing of ye calsayis . . .' Certain baillies were elected over-seers 'to command all ye nytbors to discharge yare nytbourlie help thereto'. In 1621, again in Dunfermline, it was found that the Common Good fund was short of money and so each person had to bring stones and sand 'and ye nytbours failzear herein sall pay the craftsmanis waidges' (Shearer 1951.130).

Lord Rothes, perhaps over-justifying his eye to economy in 1744, added that causewaying 'when it is done makes but a bad road, (and) we judged we could make a much better road by casting a ditch on each side, laying of rough stones and rubbish of quarry upon the top of them' (Rothes Papers 24.5.1744). This sounds an undemanding and not very promising specification but, even so, such was the evident lack of road building skills at that time that Rothes regretfully comments that 'the same could not be done by the country people'.

Contemporary standards of road construction were probably no better than were shown by the best of General Wade's military roads in the Highlands, the last under his direct supervision being completed in 1733. Wade, who had made 'a good road for cannon' during a campaign in Minorca (Burt 1737.307, Salmond 1938.31), began building his first military road in 1725, with 'no blue print to which he could refer' (Taylor 1976.21). He is described by O'Dell (1962.128) as having built 'the only properly made roads' since the Romans.

The best examples of his roads do show the Roman sequence of large fitted stones, followed by smaller broken stones and finished with a gravel surface. Wade's methods are described by Burt (1737.280) who says that the gravel layer was often two or three feet thick.[1] Taylor (1976.38) gives an idealised drawing with a cross section of what he considers a typical military road, showing banks thrown up by excavation for a sound bottom, ditches outside these and a paved cross drain. Curtis (1978.479) is more cautious and describes a similar method of construction as reflecting the 'generally accepted view', adding that 'this procedure may well have been specified, and was possibly adopted on some occasions, but there is doubt about the width of the road . .' (normally sixteen feet) '. . and about the use of heavy stone'. Where a hard bottom could not be found by excavation, Burt describes the use of timber and fascines crowned with gravel, which he refers to as a 'causeway'.

Whatever may have been the instructions issued to officers in charge of working parties, evidence from recent exposure of sections reveals that lower standards of construction were permitted in practice. Curtis finds in two sections he has examined that the basal layer of stones has been omitted, little or no surfacing material

---

1. McAdam (1822.49) notes a Scottish addiction to unnecessary excavation and excessive application of stone.

was laid and there appear to have been no lateral drainage ditches. More generally, Taylor (1979.171) considers that the eighteenth century military roads of Scotland compare badly with those built by the Romans in the same area.

It is uncertain whether Wade looked to Roman methods as a possible guide. That an interest in structures of Roman origin was not unusual in a military man is evident from the later writings of General Roy who was an antiquarian. His military survey did not commence until 1747, by which time Wade had returned to other duties than road building. A description by Roy of Roman road construction is quoted by Singer (1812.640), and a slight indication of Wade's wish to emulate his ancient predecessors might be given by his approval of the twin Latin and English inscriptions placed on Aberfeldy Bridge, a structure which he regarded as marking the summit of his road and bridge making career (Salmond 1938.236).

The consideration given by Lord Rothes to a Fife road in 1744 came at a time when, after a hiatus between 1733 and 1740, road building was resumed in the Highlands under General Clayton, Wade's successor, with Major Caulfeild as Inspector of Roads. Curtis (1978.483) finds an improved standard of construction under Caulfeild with more embankments, retaining walls and culverts, but the roads leave much to be desired, for Graham (1963.235) refers to poorly surveyed alignments, unnecessarily steep gradients and badly levelled drainage ditches. After the interruption to road building during the rising of 1745 and its suppression the following year, work continued and at this time it is evident that in a number of shires the commissioners of supply were organising their road making resources with more determination. Thus, in Perthshire, Ramsay later refers to 'the excellent laws of Charles the Second relative to the statute work . .' (which) '. . had produced nothing but a few feeble attempts', and adds

that 'about 1747, the gentlemen of Perthshire, encouraged by various motives and incidents, set themselves in good earnest to execute those obsolete laws' (Ramsay 1888.217).

In Fife a meeting of 'the gentlemen' in 1748 appointed a committee, 'of which the Lords Rothes and St. Clair were the spirit', for the same purpose (Loudoun Papers 1767). In his role as a road overseer, Lord Rothes was still troubled by the 'unskilfulness of the country people' and asked the general in charge of military road-making personnel for a sergeant and twelve men 'to work along with the country people, which will set them an example and teach them the properest way to use their tools' (NLS 307.197). He was unsuccessful (Taylor 1976.14).

How useful these soldiers would have been is debatable for Graham (1963.235) refers to 'the British soldier's antipathy to pick and shovel', while C. Taylor (1979.170) compares the rapid construction of roads in Northern England by the Romans in two years with the seventy years taken by the British army in Scotland.

It seems that Lord Rothes and his fellow landowners persevered in training their workforce for, according to a report in 1766, 'the statute work in our champaign counties, by the attention of the gentlemen, as in Fifeshire, has answered every purpose of its intention' (Glasgow Pamphlet). The following year a document found in the family papers of Lord Loudoun, who, as was noted above, was credited with the distinction of having built 'the first made road' in Ayrshire, stated that, 'in five years . .' (from 1748) '. . the two great roads (through Fife) were finished and the people of the country made so perfectly acquainted with that sort of work' that hired supervision was sufficient (Loudoun Papers 1767).

There is no evidence at this time to suggest that there was any accepted code of practice in the building and repair of roads and it is significant that when that eloquent exponent of the art, J. Loudon McAdam, remarked that, 'unfortunately every country gentleman in Scotland fancies

that he is a skilful roadmaker', he was drawing on his experience as an Ayrshire road trustee in the 1780s; and subsequently. (CT 4.5.1819, Strawhorn 1959.250).

The range of expertise and efficiency between the best and the worst of the district road trusts was probably considerable, but when surveyors began to be regularly employed in the 1790s and funds were available for the payment of contractors, formal specifications begin to appear in the road trustees' records. One for a road in Fife in 1792 reads, 'Dimensions of the road forty feet wide in the forming, fourteen feet wide of Metal and one foot deep in the middle and ten inches on the sides, all made of whin or other hard stone' (CT 2.10.1792). It will be noted that no size limits or requirements as to angularity of the stone are mentioned. Mindful of their lack of experience, the Fife turnpike trustees before inviting tenders, made trial stretches of road which were carefully costed, so as 'to be able to make an equal bargain with the contractors' (CT 1.6.1790).

Some indication of the work done on a road and its performance under traffic at this time is given by the examination by Stephen (1975.245) of a road abandoned in 1817. Two trenches were dug across the old Burntisland to Beath road at N.G.R. 199892 and N.G.R. 195894. A mixture of sandstone and whinstone material was found, with an average dimension of six inches, resting on clayey till. No selection appears to have been made as to the size of stone, hardness or angularity and many stones had sunk into the clay, which was displaced upwards. Stephen estimated that the wheels of coaches could have been churning into eight inches of clay or more. Robertson (1829.45) refers to the mistaken practice of selecting large stones in the belief that they would last longer and remarks on the annoyance to passengers of the 'perpetual state of jolting'.

Procedures used by an important and experienced road authority in 1809, that is, before the adoption of the McAdam system described below,

are recalled by the surveyor in charge of the construction of the road from North Queensferry to Kinross, the Great North Road, who says, 'where the soil was of wet clay and the bottom of the road was laid in the manner of a causeway; the crevices (were) filled up with small stones and beaten hard together. The upper stratum was six inches in depth, and the stones broken to one and a half inches square' (GNR/DPL 1832).

This work was carried out at a time when Thomas Telford had been building a system of civil roads in the Highlands to supplement or replace those of Wade and Caulfeild (Haldane 1962.118) and his methods of construction would have been familiar to leading road trustees in Scotland. Smiles (1904.308) describes a typical Telford road as being based on a pavement of large fitted stones trimmed level, with broken stones rammed into the interstices and blinded in with gravel. For heavier traffic, as on the road between Carlisle and Glasgow, there was an additional layer of two and a half inch stones before the gravel. This latter road was constructed after 1816 and would therefore be too late to have served as a model for the works on the Great North Road described above, but it is relevant to note that Smiles regards it as 'probably the finest piece of road which up to that time had been made', and that it is in many respects similar to the mode of construction recalled by Drysdale (GNR/DPL).

The displacement of large stones noted by Stephen in his sections of a pre-1817 road was a phenomenon described in the southern part of the Great North Road in Fife. Asked in 1832 to recommend a suitable method for repairing this road, Telford, who by this time was 75, sent a former pupil, Pollock, to investigate the problem. Pollock's advice was to take up these larger stones which were within four inches of the surface and break them down into smaller pieces. His report was compared with that of the road management partnership McAdam and McConnell whose 'new system of road making' did not include any large

stones. The partnership was engaged to superintend the repair of the road and progressively to remove the offending large stones, rebuilding the whole road bed with the uniform broken stone of the McAdam specification.[1]

This specification had been worked out over a period of years since the time when McAdam became a road trustee in Ayrshire in 1787 (Reader 1980.27).[2] His Ayrshire experience led to an absorbing interest in road building and repair methods and he claimed to have travelled 30,000 miles, much of them in Scotland, between 1798 and 1814, examining different roads and comparing the trustees' methods (Reader 1980.29). During this period Parliament, sought to remedy the state of the roads in Britain by measures to limit the damage from traffic, regulating wheel widths and loads rather than making the roads fit to carry that traffic, which was the aim of McAdam.

His guiding principle was based on the area of contact between the wheel and the road surface. Too small a stone would crush, while a stone which was too large he termed 'mischievous', because it would either roll rather than be pressed in or, if it resisted the wheel, would cause the wheel to drop hard after passing over it and make a depression. McAdam favoured a standard six ounce stone, 'the size of a hen's egg', of tough rock, broken with a hammer of specified weight and placed in rolled layers to a depth of ten inches, any consolidation being levelled up as it occurred. The capacity of angular stones to bind into a more rigid structure than round stones was well known to the trustees he began to advise in 1811,and he acknowledged that there were already certain earlier roads in Somerset which came close to his requirements (Reader 1980.33).

---

1. McAdam had suggested in the case of Blackfriars Bridge in London that the paved slopes on which many horses slipped and were injured, should be lifted 'and converted into a good road . . . with the same stone', presumably smashed into six ounce pieces (1822.56).
2. Strawhorn 1959.311 gives 1783.

Anderson (1967.213) notes the practice of selecting stones of hen's egg size from an excavation of a road dating from 1779 in Kirkcudbrightshire and refers to such a requirement in a specification of 1806. Smith (1810.321) also wrote some time before McAdam ~~and~~ had begun to circulate his views, 'Road-makers are often careless in separating the large stones from the gravel.[1] When these cannot easily be broken, they ought always to be placed in the bottom of the road, and small ones, not exceeding the size of a common hen egg, carefully packed above them, and strongly compressed'.[2]

In crossing boggy ground McAdam's roads compared well with those built under more complicated forms of construction. Wade's method, where the ground could not be dug out and filled with stones, is recorded by Burt (1737.281) who says, 'the Road has been made solid by Timber and Fascines, crowned with gravel, dug out of the Side of some hill', and adds, 'This Causeway has . .' (like the roads on firmer ground) '. . a Bank and a Ditch'. Burt had faith in the resistance to decay of wood under boggy conditions -- a faith warranted by the survival of neolithic corduroy roads in the Somerset Levels and the Moss of Flanders (Whittington 1965.191), but where the soil was intermittently aerated, the structure was less durable and Salmond (1938.161) comments wryly, 'This explains why today so many of the Wade roads have a sunken appearance'.

A famous user of mattresses of brushwood to cross bogs was the road building contractor John Metcalfe. The use of this technique in Yorkshire in 1765 is described by Smiles (1904.116). It was viewed by the trustees and surveyor of the road concerned with some suspicion. Small bundles of heather were laid in two directions and stone and gravel placed on top, with impressive success. In 1745

---

1. The use of a blinding (surface) layer was mentioned by Drysdale (G.N.R. 1832) when describing the construction of the road at Cowdenbeath in 1809. This would be seen by McAdam as unnecessary, if not injurious. The less fine or friable material on the surface, the more easily water would run off and the less the surface would be displaced by wheels.
2. A similar dimension was recommended by Scott of Midlothian before 1790 (St Andrews Ms. 1788).

Metcalfe had joined the army of General Wade, who by that date had become a field marshal, and had subsequently been transferred to a company which marched north with the intention of suppressing the rebels (Smiles 1904.105). In spite of his blindness Metcalfe had had the opportunity to discuss the passage of military roads over bogs on his way to Culloden and this may not be unconnected with his confidence in brushwood mattresses.

The crossing of a bog at some time after 1809 is recounted in a report on the building of a branch of the Great North Road near Cowdenbeath in Fife across Mossmorran. It was 'Laid with brushwood; the understratum with broad flagstones above the brushwood; the crevices filled up with small stones and covered six inches deep with stones broken to six ounces and blinded' (GNR/DPL 1832.10). McAdam would have approved of the covering but not the rest of the construction, for in evidence to a select committee in 1819 he stated that he would never put an intermediate material between a bog and the standard ten inches of selected broken stone which he considered adequate for all purposes. Such a road, he considered, 'unites itself in a body like a piece of timber'. On another occasion he compared his road formation to the stones in the arch of a bridge which, once settled against one another, would support their own weight and that of any traffic (McAdam 1822.112,172). The angles of his surface stones, moreover, united to form an impervious roof.

McAdam described a widespread Scottish practice of digging out 'with some pains and cost' for a road without raising the formation above the surrounding ground, a situation which could hardly be remedied by extra drainage, for water would inevitably accumulate in what he called the 'box' or 'ditch' represented by the road and carriage wheels would 'travel amongst rather than over' the easily displaced materials.

On roads he supervised he provided for a fall of three inches from the centre line of an eighteen foot road. This was the lowest camber to ensure water run off without encouraging traffic to move along the crown of the road, which it tended to do on extremely convex roads, 'by which means three furrows are made by the horses and the wheels, and the water continually stands there' (McAdam 1822.108).

While it was the proven effectiveness of McAdam's method for which he was best known it was his system of management rather than his constructional technique that attracted those trusts which engaged his services. The stockpiling, in specially built roadside depots, of selected stone, broken to a uniform size by teams of the cheapest labour available -- old men, women and children -- and the prompt attention to road damage, provided a reliable running surface at less cost than the road trusts seemed to be able to do themselves.

b) <u>The selection of alignments to give easier gradients</u>

If there was a desire to emulate Roman practices among road makers in Scotland it might be shown by the tendency in the earlier years to lay out more direct routes than were suited to the topography. Although some of the military roads of Wade and Caulfeild lying on the more frequently used routes were taken over by the civil authorities by the end of the eighteenth century, they were not designed for civil traffic and the majority fell into disuse. Not only were they inconveniently located, connecting military forts rather than centres of population, but their alignments included excessive gradients. Graham (1963.235) notes on the Glenshee road how working parties clung to the lower levels as far as possible and then were forced to make a steep climb. Curtis (1980.478) found gradients of up to 1 in 6 (17%) on other roads, which were not only excessive for civil traffic but also led to rapid erosion by rain wash of the gravel surfaces.

From different regions of lowland Scotland and also from Ireland there is evidence to support the view that road planners up to the end of the eighteenth century favoured straight routes and were seemingly indifferent to the wastage of horse effort and the limitation of loads caused by the failure to avoid steep slopes.

Among the phases of road planning policy in Ireland recognised by Andrews (1964) and outlined in Chapter 1, above, were those in which he identifies 'evolved' roads, stated to be mostly in existence before 1700 and which took the lines of least difficulty for foot traffic. In a later phase he finds a change to 'direct alignment' roads which he identifies with a period from 1695 to 1780. These were mainly straight routes between market towns with minimal concessions to relief. They were followed by a phase of 'contoured' roads up to about 1845, following extended courses and using cut and fill methods to limit gradients to less than 1 in 35.

After the late 1830s activity in Ireland was restricted to shorter lengths of road for reasons of economy, and work was mainly confined to improvements on existing roads, involving the local easing of bends and gradients.

Andrews finds the direct or 'geometrical' style of road alignment was still being followed in the 1760s and points to a turnpike act providing for a road near Dublin in 1763 which appears to be striving for irreconcilable objectives in recommending 'a much straighter and more level course'. However, another road authorised in the same year was given the option of being carried 'straight' or 'in a more convenient line to avoid steep hills'. From 1774 onwards, successive Irish turnpike acts contained a clause relating to improvements in gradients.

In Galloway, Smith (1810.313) identifies Lord Daer, a local landowner, as a leader in the adoption of easier alignments. Lord Daer, he suggests, was inspired by the advice of Sir George Clerk of Penycuick,

whom he describes as, 'The first man in Scotland who appears to have conceived the idea of conducting roads through hilly and mountainous districts, with a systematic attention to the most level direction'. Having 'met with much obstruction from the prejudices and contracted views of many of the country gentlemen whose concurrence was necessary for effecting his plans', Lord Daer laid out roads with easier gradients within his father's estate, 'without interfering with the lands of other proprietors who might not be disposed to promote them'. These roads proved not only more convenient but diminished the expense of repair by being shorter.

Anderson (1967.212) possibly referring to Sir George Clerk who died in 1784, notes that 'the idea of making a road wind in order to ease the gradient was not new'. Anderson points out that the first of Lord Daer's roads was, according to Smith (1810.53), not built until after 1786, by which time his father, the Earl of Selkirk, had handed over the management of the estates to him. The initial 'obstruction' to Lord Daer's plans is later referred to by Smith as 'the most trifling objects of individual interest', a discreet phrase which may perhaps be identified with another reference to 'the incidental inconvenience of occupying good land and deranging enclosures, by which new fences become requisite'.

Although Lord Daer seems to have proved his point on his father's estate, it was not until about 1792, a short time before his own death, that he could obtain the concurrence of the gentlemen of Kirkcudbrightshire, 'to execute a few miles of a public road in a distant part of the country' . . . . 'nor was this obtained without a pecuniary sacrifice on his part' (Smith 1810.316).

In 1796 a turnpike road from Dumfries to Castle Douglas was built, to replace an earlier road with the now rejected straight alignments with steep slopes. The new road was laid out in accordance

whom he describes as, 'The first man in Scotland who appears to have conceived the idea of conducting roads through hilly and mountainous districts, with a systematic attention to the most level direction'. Having 'met with much obstruction from the prejudices and contracted views of many of the country gentlemen whose concurrence was necessary for effecting his plans', Lord Daer laid out roads with easier gradients within his father's estate, 'without interfering with the lands of other proprietors who might not be disposed to promote them'. These roads proved not only more convenient but diminished the expense of repair by being shorter.

Anderson (1967.212) possibly referring to Sir George Clerk who died in 1784, notes that 'the idea of making a road wind in order to ease the gradient was not new'. Anderson points out that the first of Lord Daer's roads was, according to Smith (1810.53), not built until after 1786, by which time his father, the Earl of Selkirk, had handed over the management of the estates to him. The initial 'obstruction' to Lord Daer's plans is later referred to by Smith as 'the most trifling objects of individual interest', a discreet phrase which may perhaps be identified with another reference to 'the incidental inconvenience of occupying good land and deranging enclosures, by which new fences become requisite'.

Although Lord Daer seems to have proved his point on his father's estate, it was not until about 1792, a short time before his own death, that he could obtain the concurrence of the gentlemen of Kirkcudbrightshire, 'to execute a few miles of a public road in a distant part of the country' . . . . 'nor was this obtained without a pecuniary sacrifice on his part' (Smith 1810.316).

In 1796 a turnpike road from Dumfries to Castle Douglas was built, to replace an earlier road with the now rejected straight alignments with steep slopes. The new road was laid out in accordance

with the new principle of easier gradients and the required parliamentary bill had encountered little opposition from the owners of land along its route, for they had 'the prospect of so great an increase in the value of their property that few of them were disposed to give much obstruction to the making of the road in any line most advantageous to the public' (Smith 1810.317).

Near Glasgow, Steuart of Coltness (Glasgow Pamphlet c.1766), besides deploring the effect of confining roads between enclosure walls, criticised the short-sightedness of heritors who diverted roads -- as they were entitled to do under an act of 1661[1] -- to follow their straightened field boundaries with right angle bends which, he pointed out, often introduced steep gradients where there were none before. He adds, 'In this situation were many parts of the principal roads in Scotland when the gentlemen applied to Parliament for turnpikes', and goes on to blame the planners of turnpike roads for missing the opportunity to adopt more sensible lines. This he attributes to a misunderstanding of the spirit of the turnpike acts and to the assumption by turnpike trustees that they were 'obliged to keep strictly to the old line of road mentioned in the Bill, at least as near it as possible. The effect of this rigid adherence to existing lines had the effect, he says, of doubling the price of carriage.

Steuart cites the example of the Cumbernauld road which, 'so late as 1762', was obliged to be carried 'in the old direction' up a gradient of one in three in one section. Of another road he notes that even if its gradients are not capable of being improved then it 'may remain in its present direction as a small improvement of the old natural road, for the farmers to transport their produce . . . . supportable by the statute work'. This may be seen as illustrating the difference in the perceived standards of the time with regard to

---

1. APS vii.263.

acceptable degrees of steepness. The increasing sensitivity to the demands of gradients on horse traction is shown by the calculations made by Parnell (1833.76 and 434-8).

Robertson cautions turnpike road planners against making roads uniformly level and notes that a horse will travel farther in a day along a variety of gradients. He claims this to be the experience of common carriers and stage-coachmen (1829.51).

The successful adoption of gradients acceptable to the users of turnpike roads was therefore partly a matter of persuading road trustees of the necessity of selecting lines with easier gradients and partly the correction of mistakes made in the recent past where enclosures had been allowed to deflect existing routes from their original courses. In general it may be said that the very success of the agricultural improvements under way in the latter half of the eighteenth century, of which enclosures were an important feature, and which thereby increased the amount of agricultural road traffic, did in fact tend to hamper the development of the roads required. Enclosure boundaries themselves often interfered with and restricted the existing highways. They also created difficulties in negotiating new lines where several owners were affected. It might have been better if these difficulties could have been foreseen and the roads realigned before any new enclosures were built.

CHAPTER SIX

ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN FIFE UP TO 1790

At the beginning of the 18th century the economic changes referred to in previous chapters, such as the new agricultural techniques introduced from the Low Countries and from England, were beginning to modify the farming landscape, first in the Lothians and then spreading to other parts of the Scottish lowlands. A slow expansion in agricultural output yielding marketable surpluses was bringing more traffic on to the roads. Enclosure activity was still mainly confined to the segregation of park land pleasure grounds from open fields, which meant that a cross country route could enjoy considerable latitude in terms of temporary diversions where a section of the normal road became too cut up by traffic in wet weather.

Fife was among those counties to be affected by these changes at an early stage as the new agricultural practices were taken up by certain of the more progressive landowners.

An example of a deliberate diversion of a road occasioned by enclosure is recorded in 1703[1] when Lord Melville, who had 'diked, ditched, hedged and planted a considerable piece of ground about the house of Melville', wished to protect a new plantation of trees. It was therefore necessary, he submitted, that the roads to the west of the house should be turned about to a line which, for the purpose of travellers, he claims, would be 'almost as near'.[2]

Work on roads under the Commissioners of Supply up to 1774

As was noted earlier, in Chapter 2, precise information about road repairs and alterations in Fife is unusual in the early 18th century.

---

1. APS xi.61b
2. these roads would be near the line of a route from the Markinch Gap to Woodhaven through Lindifferon referred to by Taylor in 1723 (Chapter 9.213). One such road, from Melville Gates (304127) is visible on aerial photograph (F21: 58/RAF/1263: 8 SEP 53.0118)

From the records of the Commissioners of Supply in 1709 we find the Earl of Balcarres requesting funds for the building of two bridges and for repairing highways 'about Balcarres'.

It should be remembered that such entries as this represent only a fraction of the day to day work carried out under the direction of the commissioners and only those roads requiring special assistance beyond what could be carried out by the statute labour of the local people would merit mention in these records. Balcarres was granted 900 merks, but the location of the bridges and highways is not disclosed. At another meeting the same month, the Path of Kirkcaldy, which can be located with some confidence, is given 200 merks. It is considered necessary for the committee concerned with that road to be reminded 'to see that the inhabitants of Kirkcaldy and Pathhead goe out and assist'.[1] The latter entry confirms that one of the functions of the county meetings was to encourage local committees to carry out their duties fully. Likewise, in 1710 a committee was instructed to see that three sections of road were repaired in the Kellie-Pittenweem area, and in 1732 the committee on the Double Dykes road from Cupar to Ceres was told that unless it completed the work in hand by the next meeting, money due to be allocated to it would be spent elsewhere (C of S 6.6.). Specific references are also made to bridges and roads where there had been difficulty in getting local people to attend, as in the case of the rebuilding of Auchmuir Bridge in 1711 where their assistance was needed for the carriage of materials. It was reported that the country people 'most contemptuously refused and will not concure in carrying stones and lime to the said work as the Laws and Acts of Parliament doth ordaine'.

The part played by the commissioners of supply in the 18th century development of the Fife road system can be followed through what is known of their activities between 1709 when their records first become

---

1. C of S 30.6.1709

available and 1774 when their responsibility for roads was devolved to district trusts.

Figures 6.1 to 6.4 represent the occurrence of initial entries in the minutes of the commissioners relating to particular roads or bridges. Such an entry was likely to have been the result of a representation by a more active or vocal landowner, anxious to apply public resources to improve communications in his neighbourhood, and it should be stressed that much of the work carried out with unpaid local labour would have gone unrecorded. Nevertheless, the repeated expression in successive minutes of concern about the condition of a road or bridge, sometimes backed by statements as to their manifest importance to the public, at least suggested that they might be perceived as of greater value than those left unmentioned. A predominance of bridge entries is inevitable in view of the unavoidability in most cases of hiring skilled labour to be paid out of public funds. Although it is possible sometimes to distinguish major bridges, such as are shown on Figure 6.1, from lesser bridges, some were named which may have been little more than culverts.

There is little difficulty in establishing the present day location of most of the major bridges or even their replacements. Many still bear heraldic devices indicating their builders or they may be inscribed with their last date of rebuilding. The roads mentioned are, however, so vaguely referred to that their exact lines today cannot be certain. For the purposes of Figures 6.2 to 6.4 roads are shown as following the earliest known modern counterparts, including those routes which have been abandoned but are still visible on the ground.

The time intervals chosen are somewhat arbitrary but there is a hiatus in 1717 when few repairs were carried out, and again at the end of 1729. In comparing the distribution of named roads or bridges in the three periods a shift of emphasis may be noted.

Thus, between 1709 and 1717 (Figure 6.2) entries include those for intensively used sections of road between Dunfermline and its

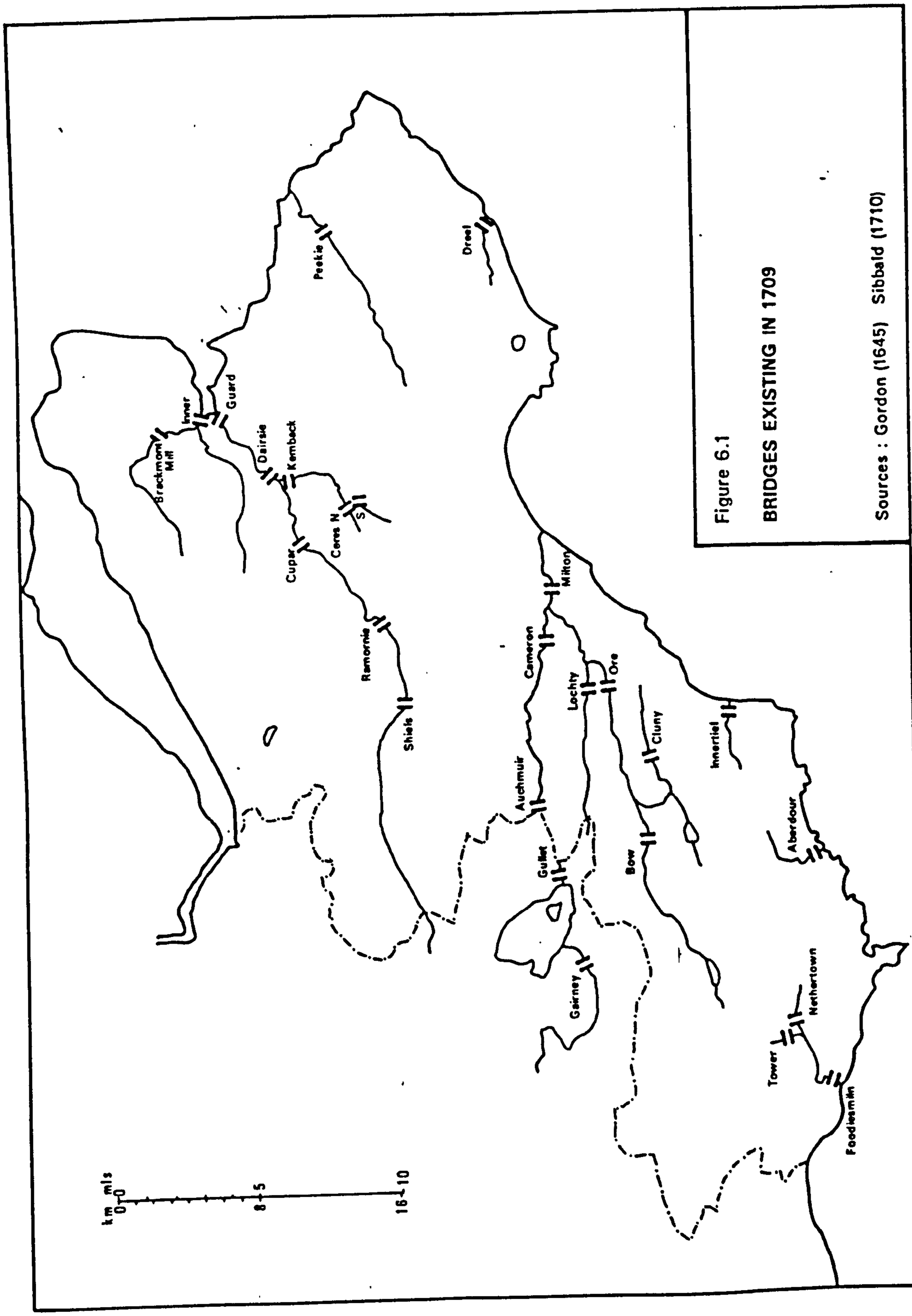


Figure 6.1

BRIDGES EXISTING IN 1709

Sources : Gordon (1645) Sibbald (1710)

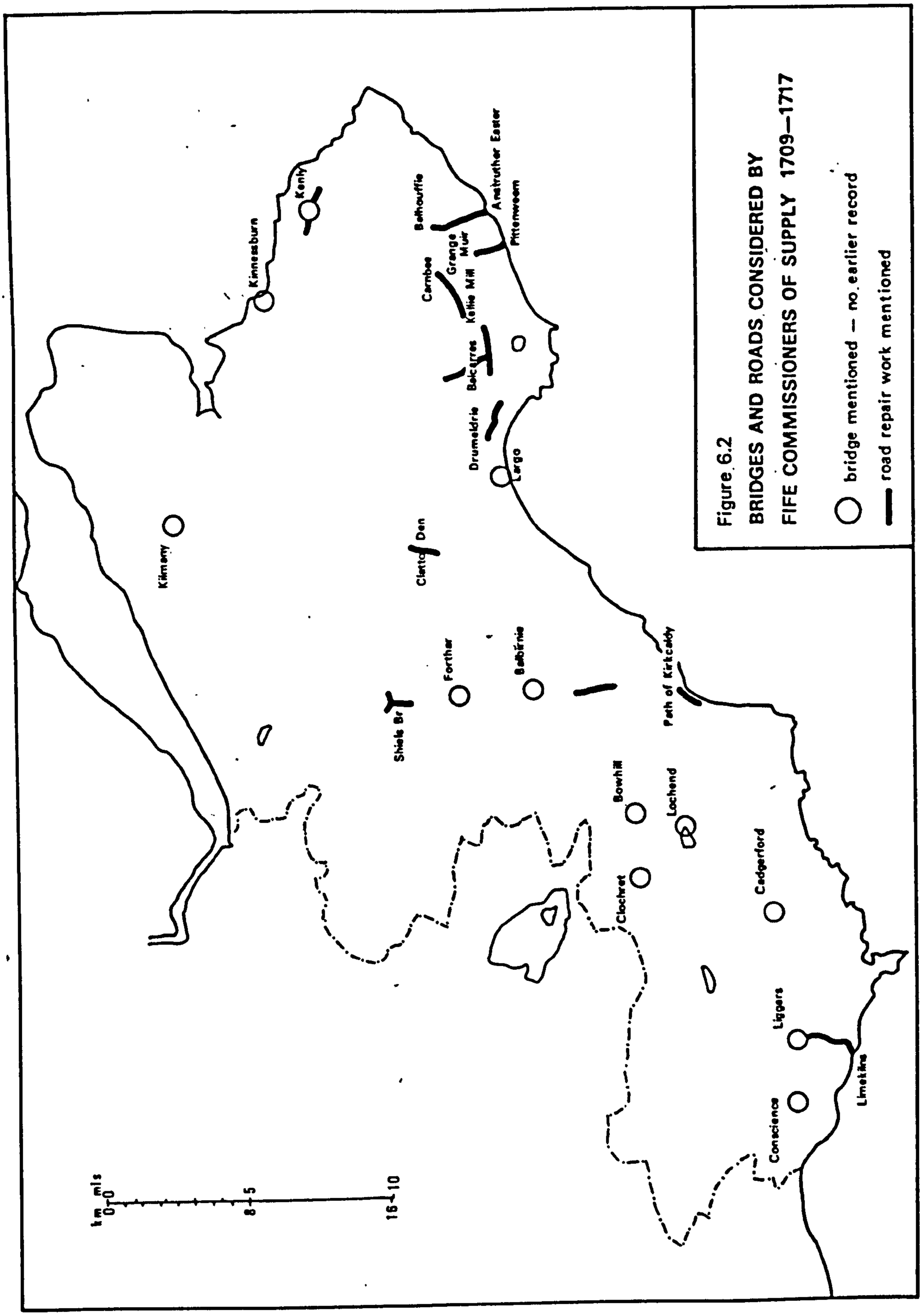
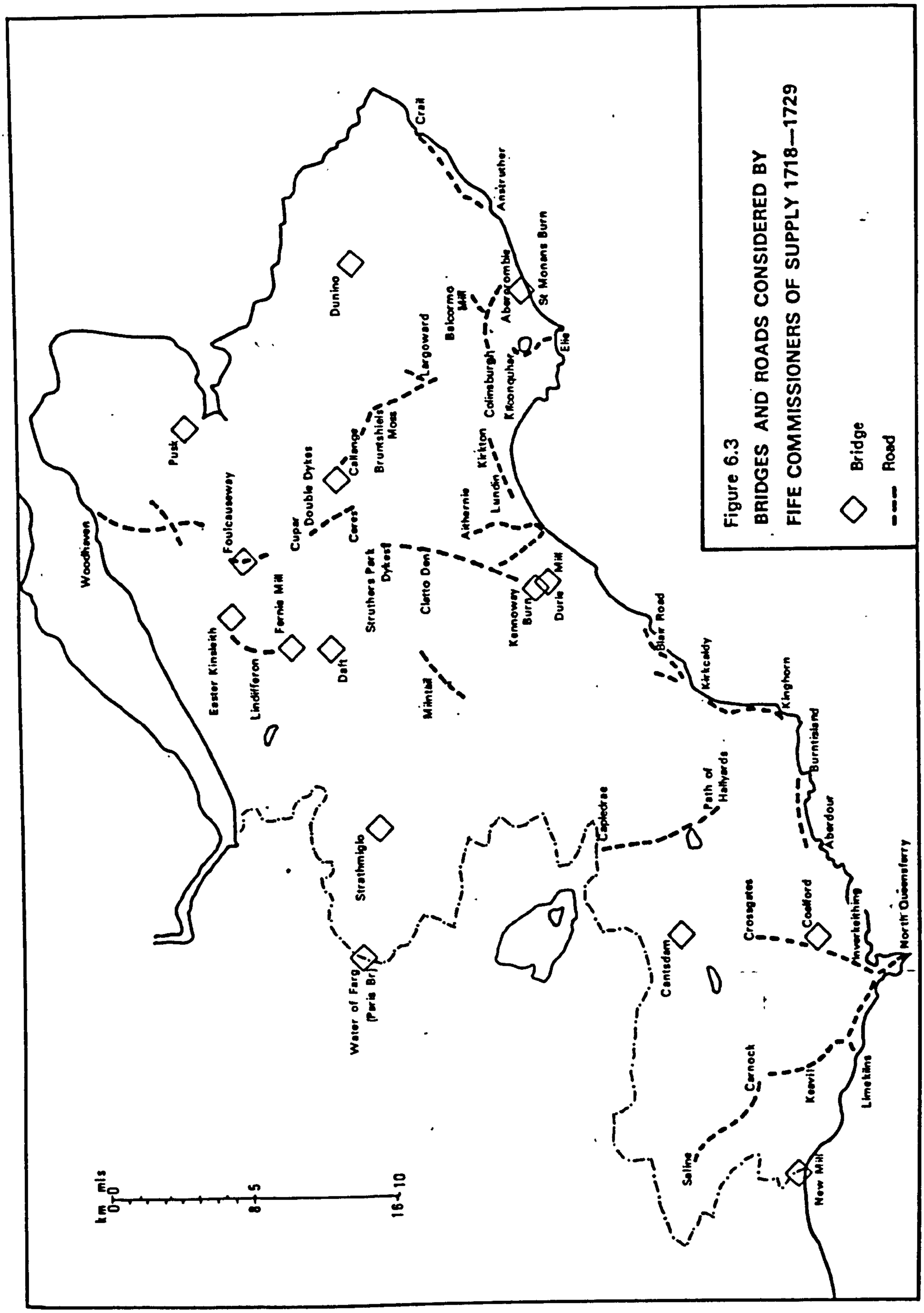


Figure 6.2

BRIDGES AND ROADS CONSIDERED BY FIFE COMMISSIONERS OF SUPPLY 1709—1717

○ bridge mentioned — no earlier record

▬ road repair work mentioned


Crail
Anstruther
St Monans Burn
Dunino
Balcormo Mill
Abercrombie
St Monans
Elie
Largoward
Colinsburgh
Kilconquhar
Kirkton
Lundin
Aithernie
Struthers Park
Dytes
Cupar
Double Dykes
Callange
Brumtshiels Moss
Pusk
Foulcausewey
Woodhaven
Easter Kinaldie
Lindifferon
Fernie Mill
Daft
Mihtill
Clatto Den
Kennoway Burn
Durie Mill
Blair Road
Kirkcaldy
Kinghorn
Burntisland
Strathmiglo
Water of Farg (Paris Br.)
Capledrae
Path of Hallyards
Canisdam
Crossgates
Cowdenbeath
Aberdour
Burntisland
North Queensferry
Carnock
Kelty
Limekilns
Saline
New Mill
Figure 6.3
BRIDGES AND ROADS CONSIDERED BY
FIFE COMMISSIONERS OF SUPPLY 1718—1729
Bridge
Road
km
0
5
10
mls
0
5
10

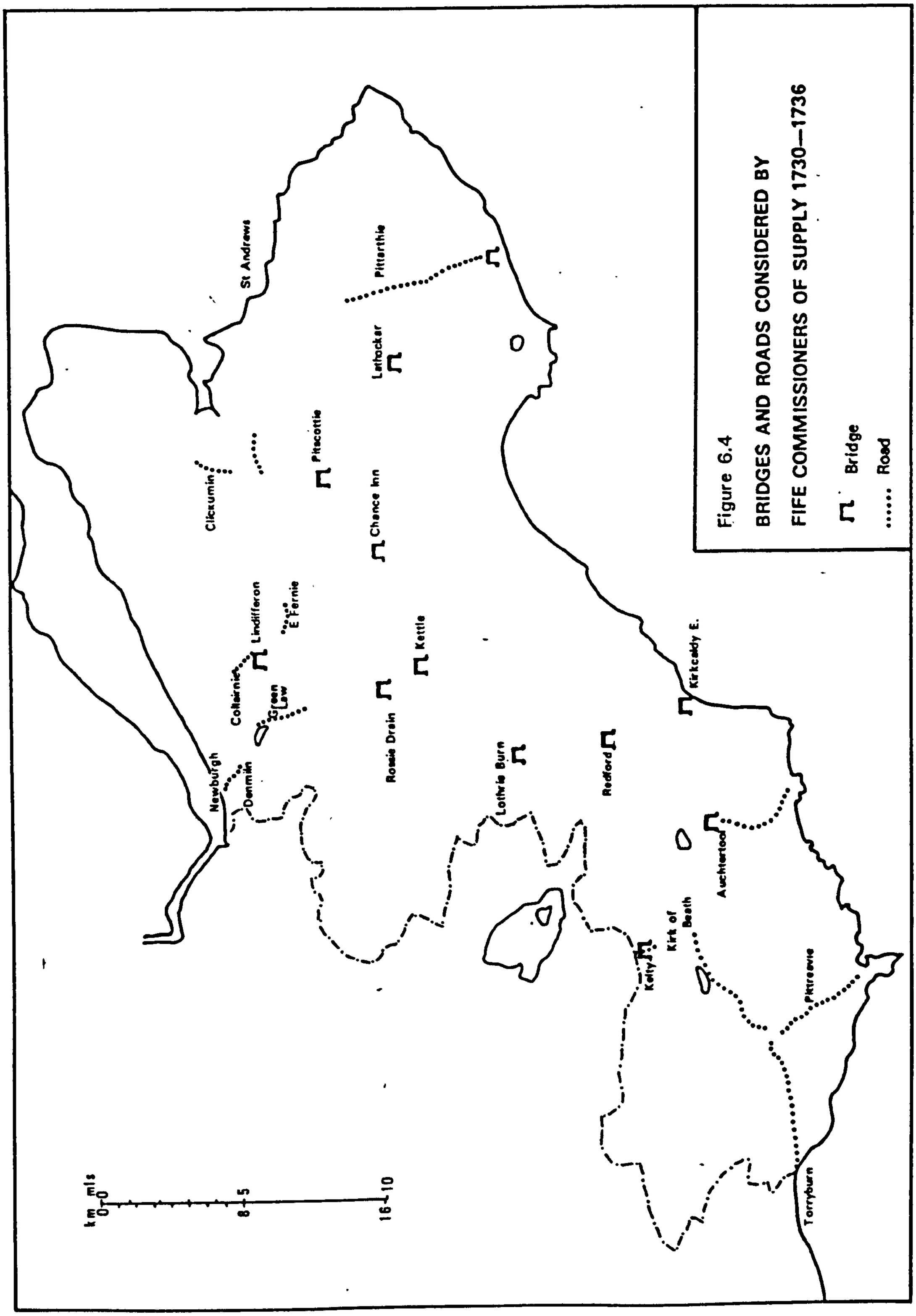


Figure 6.4

BRIDGES AND ROADS CONSIDERED BY FIFE COMMISSIONERS OF SUPPLY 1730—1736

Bridge

Road

main port, Limekilns, the Path of Kirkcaldy, and the short connection between the long established bridges on the Ore and the Lochty. The approaches to Clatto Den were steep and dangerous, calling for regular maintenance; the Shiels Bridge approaches were less hazardous and these works may well have been confined to a paved apron immediately adjoining the bridge. The same might apply to the approaches to the water crossings at Drumeldrie and Kenly.

The remaining roads, all on the south side of the East Neuk, are more extensive. The roads 'about Balcarres', mentioned above, are impossible to define but there are three roads running between named termini. At least it can be said that the lairds of the East Neuk were bringing to the notice of the commissioners discrete lengths of road rather than individual trouble spots.

Of the bridges, one is of particular significance in relation to the nature of traffic and the needs of agriculture in 1712. The bridge at Forthar was described as giving access to 'Lymestone from Forthar Lyme Hills'. It was necessary for 'a high coachway' to be built and heritors were to be compensated for loss of land (C of S 3.6.1712).

In the period from 1718 to 1729 (Figure 6.3) substantial sections of through routes are referred to, suggesting a more coordinated effort to maintain the routes as a whole. Such sections are those from North Queensferry to Saline, Kennoway to Struthers, Kilmany to Woodhaven and Inverkeithing to Crossgates.

The work on the latter road was authorised in 1724, following the repair of Cantsdam Bridge in 1721 and the attention given at this time to what was known as the Great North Road may be related to the commencement of the work directed by the future General Wade on the military roads north of Perth in 1725. Expenditure on the Fife section of the Great North Road could therefore have been an indication that the military importance of the road from Queensferry to Perth was being recognised.

For the road from Path of Hallyards to Capledrae the prospects were more limited. As part of a route from Burntisland to Perth it did not survive to the end of the century.[1] The reference to double dykes leading out of Cupar is a reminder of the lateral constraints to which the public highway was becoming increasingly subject as the process of enclosure advanced. Such roads demanded regular maintenance.

Between 1730 and 1736 (Figure 6.4) the only roads considered in their entirety were the three connections radiating from Dunfermline and the Auchtertool-Burntisland portion of the Capledrae route to Perth. The road past Pittarthie in the East Neuk should not be regarded as a positive development since it only appears in the minutes as a petition for repair which it appears was not granted.[2]

The other roads mentioned during this period comprise short lengths of road in rural situations which may be related to routes more actively developed at the end of the century. The length past Collairney connected Lindifferon to what was to become an alternative lowland route from Cupar to Newburgh, and the road at Clickumin[3] similarly lay on a less demanding route from Cupar to Woodhaven, avoiding the hill north of Kilmany.

Thus, by referring to the roads and bridges mentioned during the period 1709 to 1736 it is possible to see a link up between components of major routes across the peninsula of Fife, punctuated by bridges built or rebuilt. One such route is soon to be confirmed by Dorret in 1750 (Figure 3.4) when he shows a line from Kinghorn through Cameron and Cupar bridges and on past Kilmany to Woodhaven. A similar sequence of connections can also be seen developing the links between Cupar and the ports of Elie and Pittenweem.

---

1. The road appears on Dorret's map of 1750 (see Figure 3.4), but not on that of Ainslie (1775) and it can now be traced on the ground only with difficulty north of Bow Bridge.
2. This road is discussed in Chapter 12.
3. opposite Muirhead of Pitcullo (420190)

Events relating to Fife Roads 1737 to 1774

It has been noted above (Chapter 2) that the volume of minutes is missing that should cover 1737 to 1771. Although a subsequent volume includes the three years 1772 to 1774,during which road management passed from the county commissioners to the district trusts, much has to be pieced together from other sources. There is one exception, however, in the case of a meeting in 1740 from minutes of which an extract was taken which survives (Rothes 40/37/4).

The extract records a petition from three heritors on the condition of Auchmuir Bridge and of the western end of the Pittillockford[1]-Cupar road. The management of this road and the one south of Pittillockford throughout the 1740s by Lord Rothes has been referred to in Chapter 5. The 1740 extract notes the inclusion of Rothes' factor on the committee appointed to report on the cost of the necessary work.

Lord Rothes continued to play a leading role in the road duties of the Commissioners as was retrospectively recorded by the Loudoun Manuscript.

---

1. The earlier name for the New Inn junction.

Certain aspects of this interesting, but anonymous, undated and less than lucid document (Appendix A) have been noted in Chapters 4 and 5.

The light it throws on the Fife road network at this time comes from the designation in 1748 of two roads as subjects for a concentration of county funds and of the labour of parishioners living within four miles of them. One road was that between the ferry over the Forth at Kinghorn and the Tay ferry for Dundee, passing through Cupar. The other was a branch from this first road at Pittillockford through Falkland towards Perth.

By the time of this meeting in 1748 the 1745 rebellion had been put down, other county authorities were planning programmes of road improvement, Roy's surveyors were busy in the Highlands,and Caulfeild was building the second generation of military roads. The Loudoun Manuscript records that 'In five years the two great Roads were finished', which would be in the year 1753. The writer goes on to describe how 'the Roads of the County which are Six' were 'carried on'. The use of the present tense may be significant inasmuch as the date assigned to this document, 1767, implies the writer's belief that resources were being concentrated on six roads up to that date.

At this point it is possible to refer to cartographic evidence for changes since 1755, because it so happens that a year after the new statute labour trustees had taken over their districts, in 1774, John Ainslie published his map of Fife. This may be compared with a rough indication of where the principal roads ran on the map constructed from Roy's survey which was completed in 1755.

Roy's map (Figure 6.5) shows the two roads named at the 1748 meeting at Cupar, the first of which is that from Kirkcaldy to Pittillockford and Cupar, with its branch to Falkland. Also shown is the Queensferry to Perth road which is labelled 'The Coach Road to Kinross'.

As to the other three roads in the Loudoun Manuscript, said to be

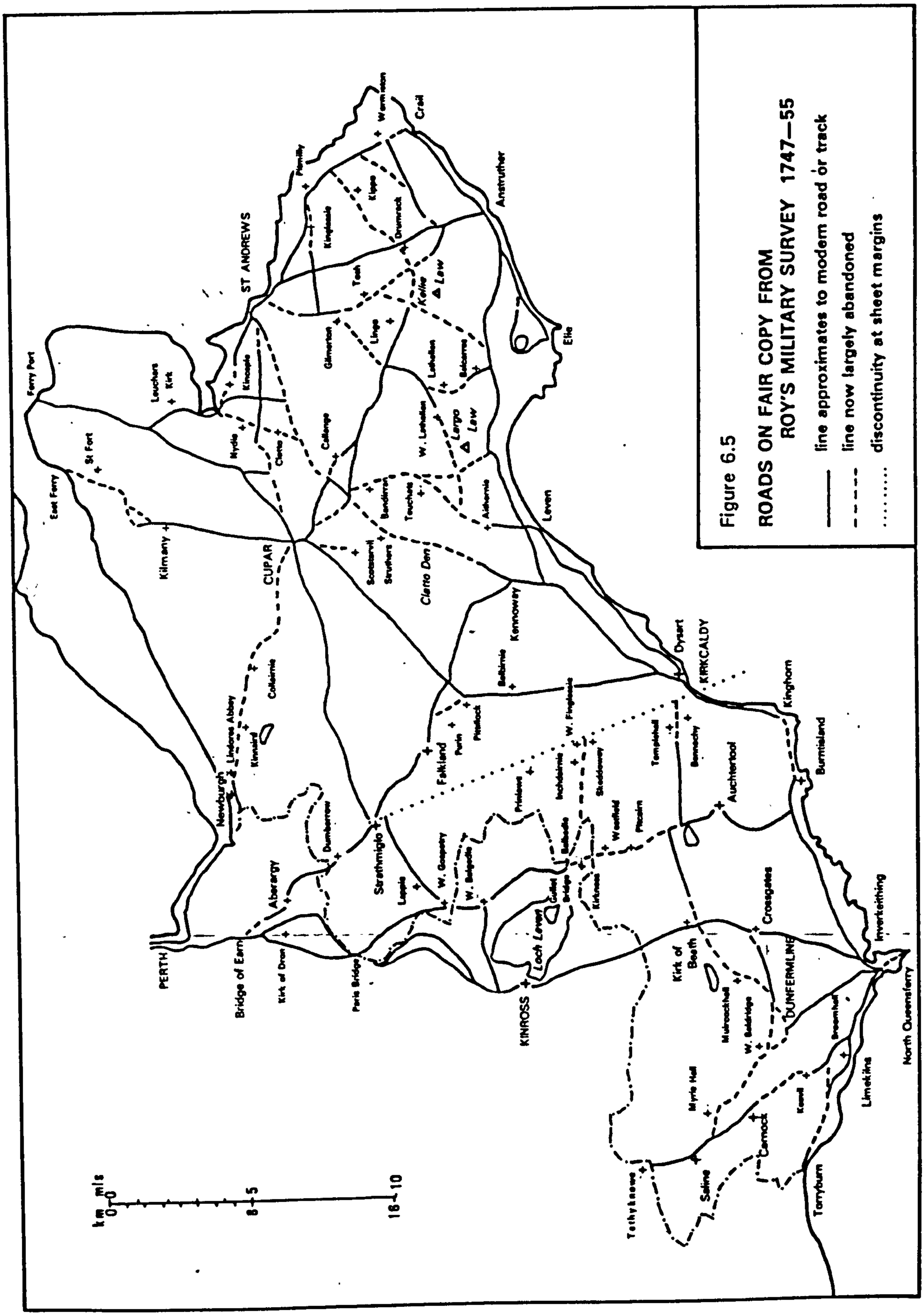


Figure 6.5
ROADS ON FAIR COPY FROM
ROY'S MILITARY SURVEY 1747—55
line approximates to modern road or track
line now largely abandoned
discontinuity at sheet margins
km m/s
0 0
8 5
16 10
PERTH
Bridge of Earn
Kirk of Dron
Perth Bridge
Aberargy
Dunbarrow
Strathmiglo
Lapsie
W. Gasperty
W. Balgedie
KINROSS
Loch Leven
Cadet Bridge
Kirkness
Westfield
Pitcairn
Auchtertool
Crossgates
Kirk of Beath
DUNFERMLINE
Inverkeithing
North Queensferry
Brucehall
Limekilns
Torryburn
Carnock
Kaval
Saline
Tethyhaven
Myre Hall
W. Baldridge
Muircockhall
Newburgh
Lindores Abbey
Kinaird
Collairnie
Falkland
Perin
Pitlodart
Priniven
Inchdairnie
W. Fingalstone
Stobsdowry
Templehall
Benarty
Burntisland
Kinghorn
KIRKCALDY
Dysart
Balbirnie
Kennoway
Leven
Elie
Largo Law
W. Lethieten
Lethieten
Balcarres
Largo
Aithernie
Scotscraig
Sauchars
Tarvithes
Clatto Den
Cellardo
Nydie
Clova
Kilmany
CUPAR
East Ferry
St Fort
Ferry Port
Leuchars
Kirk
Kingsmuir
Gilmerton
Tarh
Lingo
Kellie Law
Drumrack
ST ANDREWS
Pitmilly
Warmiston
Crail
Anstruther

given preferential treatment after 1753, their identity is a matter for conjecture.

It seems highly probable, however, that the coast roads to the east and west of Queensferry would be regarded as of sufficient importance to be included, as would also the road through Cameron Bridge to St Andrews.

The placing of the roads on Roy's map is generally consistent with the positions of those bridges and points along routes identified from documentary sources in Chapter 3 up to 1750.

Ainslie would probably not have consulted Roy's map, whose value as a work of reference for civil purposes was in any case limited. The main instrument used by Roy's surveyors was the compass and 'distances were estimated rather than accurately measured'. (Miller 1956.97). Mistakes which are evident from careful comparison with Ainslie and early 19th century maps may have been of little account to a military strategist but there are some major differences in lines of road as compared with Ainslie's map which suggest changes in the actual road pattern during the intervening period of twenty years and these are worthy of closer study.[1]

There are inherent ambiguities in the smoothly curving lines of Roy's draughtsmen which may or may not even out the more irregular and angular courses shown by Ainslie between the same places, but where Ainslie's detail can be checked against the same irregularities today the accuracy of some of Roy's smooth curves becomes more suspect.

Viewing the broad pattern of the network, the most striking change to be noted from the cartographic evidence between 1755 and 1775 is represented by the omission from Ainslie's and subsequent maps of Roy's route from Burntisland in the direction of Perth by way of the east shore of Loch Leven. A route is shown by Dorret in 1750 (Figure 3.4)

---

1. As in Chapters 9 to 13, below.

as starting from Kinghorn and running nearly parallel and slightly east of Roy's line, almost as far as Gullet Bridge before merging with it. Both these routes would have been used by relatively long distance travellers through sparsely inhabited country with few enclosures and an arbitrary choice of tracks. Their abandonment by 1775 is probably attributable to the easier travel offered by improvements to the Great North Road, using the Queensferry passage.[1]

Progress in Road Improvement up to 1774

The publication of Ainslie's map within a year of the 1774 Act, and its comparison with that of Roy twenty years earlier, provides a valuable means of assessing what was happening in the latter part of the 'silent' period during which the activities of the Fife commissioners of supply are largely unknown to us.

In the years which elapsed between the two surveys, changes in the Fife road network can be seen to have been under way. These largely took the form of the choice by traffic of cross country routes which were the least steep of the various alternative roads, but already a major route development, the improvement of the Great North Road, was drawing traffic to it, to the detriment of at least one older route.

There is, however, little indication during the period up to 1774, either from these maps or from other sources in the 18th century, that much had yet been done positively to lay out and build roads which took different lines from those already in use.

To judge from the performance of commissioners of supply and justices of the peace in other counties during the 18th century (Whetstone 1981.81 et seq.), the gentlemen of Fife were by no means the least diligent of their number in Scotland. From the volume of road and bridge repairs

---

1. Roy's route is still detectable for much of its length but has recently been obliterated where it crosses the Westfield open cast coal working. (Aerial photograph F44:58/RAE/6638:26FEB65:0084).

dealt with in their meetings up to 1737, and the remarks quoted above from outside sources about their achievements in the 1740's and subsequently, it would appear that the limited potential of the statute labour system in its original form may well have been fully exploited by the time of the 1774 Act.

As will be seen below, the new Act expanded the horizons of those erstwhile commissioners who now assumed a new function as district trustees. Armed with the power to convert labour services to money, they could now embark upon a programme of real improvement.

Roads in Fife 1774-1790

In the volume of minutes which starts on 20th August 1772, a brief glimpse is given of road administration by the commissioners of supply before the 1774 Act is passed. The business conducted is of the nature of a holding operation as it is obvious from their referral of numerous petitions to the first forthcoming district meeting that they have no wish to take on any responsibilities that can be passed to the districts.

Since, in the period before 1790, only the minutes of Cupar District survive, information about roads and bridges in other districts is inevitably incomplete. A few facts may be gleaned from other records which may usefully be reviewed before proceeding to a closer examination of events in Cupar District.

The Great North Road was being improved by the use of 'carriages and exemption money' from Dunfermline and Inverkeithing in 1774 and 1777 respectively, as was also the road between the two towns.[1] This is consistent with the status of the roads under the Act of 1753.[2]

An improvement to Pettycur harbour in 1776 by Kirkcaldy District is revealed by its application to other districts for assistance[3](C of S 21.5).

---

1. DBC SRO B 20.13.11; IBC SRO B 34.10.4
2. A 'turnpike' act and thus considered in Chapter 7
3. The commissioners for the forfeited estates were also invited to contribute.

At the same time Kirkcaldy was being asked to give money towards the cost of a better road from Cupar through Brackmontmill to the Tay ferries (Cu S 28.5.1776), a development discussed in Chapter 10.

In St Andrews District the fact that certain bridges required expenditure that had to be shared with other districts is recorded by Cupar. Thus we know that Guard Bridge, Dairsie Bridge and the Shore Bridge, St. Andrews were undergoing major repairs in 1777, 1782 and 1787, respectively.

One of the few new road works known to have been undertaken by St Andrews before 1790 comes to light through a retrospective petition to the commissioners of supply in 1784. In this William Thomson of Priorletham (497127) complained that he was not adequately compensated for the land taken for a road said to have been made some ten years earlier, from St Andrews to Colinsburgh, Elie and Largo. He also claimed the cost of stone dykes he had built on either side of the road in 1783, work he was obliged to do under a new lease.

The commissioners had to tell him that the petition did not 'properly come before them'. The fact that Thomson was misinformed suggests that either he was surprisingly ignorant as to how roads were managed in St Andrews District or that their activities were minimal.

When this episode is considered in relation to the absence of records for districts other than Cupar (Chapter 2), the impression is given of inadequate administrative practices and a correspondingly low level of activity in the field of road improvement in St Andrews District.

Road Improvement in Cupar District 1774-1790

The Loudoun Manuscript, quoted above, referred to six 'county' roads which in 1767 were said to be 'carried on', and it is here assumed that the two 'great' roads referred to, which had been selected in 1748 for improvement, would be included. The latter

can be unequivocally placed within Cupar District, being the road from Pittillockford to Cupar and that from the same point to Falkland and thence to Perth, although whether through Strathmiglo or through Auchtermuchty was not stated (Figure 6.6).

In 1775 it was the Auchtermuchty route which was favoured by the heritors and linen dealers of that town who asked for a bridge to be built at Dunshelt. This bridge, they said, would lead 'southward to the Coals, Lyme and Coast of Fife and northwards to Newburgh, the nearest market for wood and iron, where most of the linen bought at Auchtermuchty and Strathmiglo and where great quantities of flax and yarn is weekly landed from Dundee for the use of the manufacturers in the neighbourhood' (Cu S 11.4.1775).

The question of whether the trustees should aim to improve a road between Pittillockford and Auchtermuchty over Shiels Bridge or complete a road across lowlying ground north of Falkland was debated in 1784 and the latter road, through Falkland Wood, was favoured by the people of Falkland. Those travelling to Auchtermuchty had to go by Strathmiglo which they preferred to the Shiels Bridge road, but as Figure 6.6 shows, either was a frustratingly roundabout route compared with the proposed road through Falkland Wood. Their aim was to make greater use of the port of Newburgh which would save them three miles of land carriage, adding that 'all the imports and exports presently carried on in the Parish of Falkland and neighbourhood (are) made at the port of Kirkcaldy'. If a road were formed through Falkland Wood there would be a 'great advantage to Linnen manufacturers, as the greatest part of the Linnens made in Falkland and neighbourhood are brought to Auchtermuchty for sale'. The owner of the land agreed it should be a public road. Four bridges were needed for which local people had already subscribed £50, and work on the road was started the following year.

However, the Shiels Bridge route was important in that it served for access both to Auchtermuchty through Dunshelt and to Kinloch with

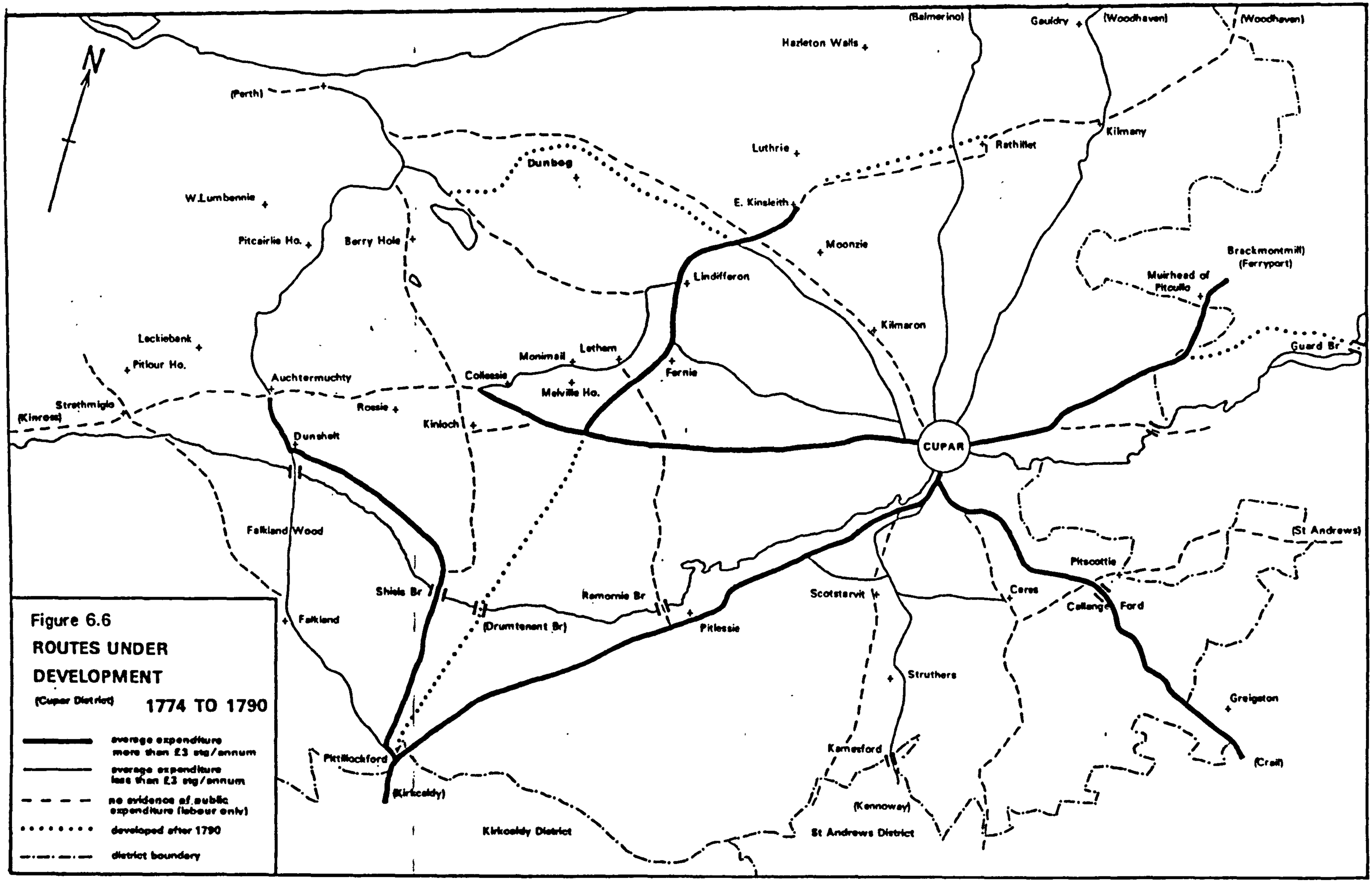


Figure 6.6
ROUTES UNDER DEVELOPMENT
(Cupar District) **1774 TO 1790**

- average expenditure more than £3 stg/annum
- average expenditure less than £3 stg/annum
- no evidence of public expenditure (labour only)
- developed after 1790
- district boundary

its connections to Newburgh and to the Dundee ferry via Lindifferon. As it happened, both routes were developed, under separate road committees, but the Shiels Bridge routes received the greatest financial support. In 1785 it was claimed that as many as 200 carriages would pass over the bridge in a day, presumably during the season for driving lime and coals.[1]

North of Auchtermuchty another road was being planned to improve access to Newburgh and part of this line, by Broombrae (240124) was reported as staked out in 1774. There seems to have been some local confusion at this time over the status of certain roads to the north of Strathmiglo and Auchtermuchty. In 1775 residents of both towns complained that 'the Great Road to Newburgh' had been 'turned about' by Baxter of Leckiebank (224122) to go round his inclosures. Trustees were told that this had happened some years previously and that the road was 'absolutely impassable'. A month later Mr. Baxter replied to the meeting that in his opinion the road to Newburgh went through Auchtermuchty 'which is now repairing in a compleat manner at a great expense to the County as a proper highway'. What he referred to snidely as 'the said Track now christened the great road from Strathmiglo to Newburgh' or 'this bye way' he claimed had been seldom used but by the owners of Pitlour and Pitcairlie when visiting one another. The previous owner of his land had established its status as a 'road by tolerance' and, to emphasise his point, had ploughed over it once a year. This Baxter no longer did, and he claimed it was in a better state than the old road he had diverted.

As to the road northwards from Broombrae, there was considerable doubt about the route by which people were in the habit of travelling.

---

1. A figure also put forward by the inhabitants of Strathmiglo when they wanted their street paved (9.4.1782). The driving of lime and coals was mentioned in support of their petition.

Later in 1775 the trustees considered three alternative lines for improvement, through Wester Lumbenny (227157), by Haltonhill (245162) or by Berryhole (258159), of which the second was judged the best. Three years later the exact line by Haltonhill was still undetermined and an elderly resident gave evidence, on oath, that for fourteen years carts from Lumbenny to Auchtermuchty came across the burn, 'sometimes on Mr. Cheape's ground and sometimes on Mr. Cathcart's ground, and then kept to the channel of the burn till they came to the White field or common'. However, 'six or seven years ago' the burn was straightened; the committee of trustees had to make up their own minds where the line should go and they then staked it out.

In 1780 the first of the three alternative roads, through Lumbenny, was reported to be closed by Cheape of Rossie. The second, that staked out in 1778, became known as the Pitcairlie road and was allocated extra carriages in a number of years,[1] but not without some local opposition. A petition from the linen dealers of Auchtermuchty in 1785 complained that the new road was too steep and that they would rather have the third mentioned of the old roads, that through Berryhole,[2] repaired. However, the laird of Pitcairlie rebutted their criticism a year later and was supported by the other trustees.

The controversy aroused by the selection and establishment of the Pitcairlie road illustrates a phenomenon occurring many times during the late 18th century, that of a choice being made between two or more alternative, ill-defined and not universally accepted routes, where landowners were not very keen on encouraging traffic across their land and eager to close a route if given the opportunity.[3]

---

1. It was to be another 20 years before this road was finished and opened as a turnpike road.
2. The continued use of this road was later to become an embarrassment to the turnpike trust (Chapter 7).
3. A further study of the whole area north of the Cupar to Auchtermuchty road and the alternative routes towards Newburgh is made in Chapter 9.

It was noted above that Shiels Bridge was used by traffic to Pittillockford both from Auchtermuchty through Dunshelt and from Newburgh through Kinloch. At Kinloch another route through Collessie led by Letham and Lindifferon to Woodhaven, but it was also possible to reach Letham from Pittillockford by going along the road towards Cupar and crossing Ramornie Bridge. Both the Shiels Bridge and Ramornie Bridge roads were placed under separate committees of trustees in 1786.

The road from Pittillockford to Cupar, often referred to as the 'Great Road through Fife' was supported each year by a share of the 'bridge money'[1] until after 1790, continuing the emphasis placed upon it in 1748. Such support was not always sufficient, for in 1786 a farmer at Pitlessie claimed compensation for damage to his clover crop which he said was due to the road becoming impassable and traffic using his fields, a reminder that by this time enclosure of arable land and the growth of valuable crops could make failure to maintain a hard road expensive for the trustees.

On the north side of the Howe the Cupar trustees were developing a route past Letham to Luthrie as early as 1774, for in 1776 it was reported by the Lindifferon Road committee that two years work had been done, resulting in the completion of 3,000 yards of road, and they now needed £15 towards the cost of another 2,000 yards of road, including the paving of a ford. The exact location of the new work is not stated but it seems probable that they would wish to replace the old road to the north east of Letham.[2] The convenor of this committee was Robert Baillie of Luthrie, a particularly vigorous trustee.

Beyond Luthrie two routes were being supported by allocation of extra carriages under the supervision of a committee for a road 'from

---

1. The product of the levy on valued rent, 1% in the 1770s., yielding £77 Stg., was called 'bridge money' because the first call on it was for bridge maintenance requiring hired labour. Roads shared whatever balance remained and the allocation of this balance is an indication of the priorities assigned to them by the trustees.
2. Inspection after ploughing does not reveal extra stone applied to this road and it appears to have been abandoned in its unimproved state.

Woodhaven to Kinghorn by Lythrie' and another for a 'Kinsleith and Lindifferon Road'. From this it would seem that the normal route to Woodhaven was not along the valley bottom where Easter Kinsleith is now situated (333185), but over the hills through Hazelton Walls (338221). Neither was heavily ..funded until after 1790, when the lower road was extended towards Rathillet and Kilmany.

It is probable that at this stage a route from Luthrie to Woodhaven was competing for resources with the alternative route from Pittillockford, that through Cupar. It will be recalled that Dorret's map (1750) showed only one road in eastern Fife, that from Kinghorn through Cameron Bridge to Cupar and then by Kilmany to Woodhaven. The section north from Cupar and a diverging route from Cupar to Balmerino were both granted money from 1777 onwards, but already, in 1776, the line taken by the modern road through Brackmontmill (441224) had been selected for improvement[1] and Kirkcaldy District were asked for financial assistance (Cu S 25.5.1776). This latter road was to receive a total of £104 from Cupar District up to 1790, whereas the Balmerino road got £30 and the Kilmany road £14 during the same period.

Since the ferry ports were in St Andrews District and much of the development took place after 1790, further details of its history are to be found in Chapter 10. However, as an indication of the cooperation in the use of statute labour between adjacent districts, it is notable that a transfer of carriages from a road in St Andrews District was agreed on the grounds that it would be of benefit to St Andrews to build a new road from Pitcullo ground to Guard Bridge as an alternative to the steep road from Dairsie Bridge over Knockhill (442 165) (Cu S 21.5.1787). The statute labour of the parish of Dairsie in Cupar district previously used on the Knockhill road was to be transferred to the new road and the

---

1. This was not a new line of road, for, as was noted above, a road at 'Muirhead of Pitcullo' (420190) was granted funds on 2.6.1730.

statute labour of several St Andrews District farms on the north bank of the Eden was also used.

Other roads from Cupar, developed to the west during the period 1774 to 1790 are included in Chapter 9, but it is appropriate to note here the way in which resources were divided between them. Thus, while a committee was granted extra carriages for a bridge at Demperston (222109) in 1786, the £115 allocated to the Auchtermuchty road during this period went almost entirely to that section between Cupar and Kinloch. Two other roads were developed from the eastern, Cupar, end. One had originally led to Newburgh over the hills and was improved only as far as Fernie. At the same time its replacement, through Dunbog, was being developed under a 'Cupar to Kilmaron and Moonzie' committee, for which extra carriages were allowed in 1782 and 1783. Between 1784 and 1789 no extra assistance was given and it was only in 1790 that a series of allocations of labour from the town of Newburgh showed a serious effort was being made to improve that end of the road from Cupar.

To the east of Cupar a road which had been actively developed with local labour before 1774 was that between Cupar and the south east coastal towns. The section between Callange ford (415125) and the east end of Bruntshiels Moss (450104) was the subject of expenditure as early as 1736 and one of its purposes was to provide an alternative route from Cupar to that through Ceres with its steep slopes on either side of the Ceres Burn. The section between Ceres Muir and Pitscottie was begun in 1784 and by 1787 was considered to have extended six miles from Cupar as far as Greigston (451103). This was made possible by a series of transfers of statute labour not only from neighbouring parts of Cupar district but by means of reciprocal arrangements with St Andrews. Easily accessible coal seams along this road[1] may have encouraged a level of expenditure which was sustained for sixteen successive years.

---

1. The road 'to the Coalside' Cu S 26.5.1783.

How far the road was improved through the St Andrews district in the direction of Crail at this stage is uncertain, but it is known that the eastern sections of it were still below a standard suitable for a toll road some fifty years later (Chapter 7).

Although the transfers of labourers, carts and horses noted above appear in the majority of cases to have been amicably agreed, this was not always so. For instance, when the Cupar statute labour trustees decided to replace the old Cupar to Kennoway road, through Scotstarvit and Clatto Den, by a new road, they received a petition from Gourlay of Craigrothie complaining that his men and carts had been switched to various roads of no benefit to him. For ten years, he said, he had not been allowed a single carriage or a half penny to mend the (old) road from Cupar to Kennoway, which ran 'through the petitioner's lands at the very doors of his farmstead' (Cu S 15.5.1787). The work force was not even to be used on the proposed replacement for the old Kennoway road, which was not in fact commenced until 1790 (Cu T 22.10),[1] but was transferred to a road between Cupar and Crail in which he had even less interest.

Conclusion

This survey of the progress made in one district with statute labour or its monetary equivalent, up to 1790, seeks to demonstrate the emphasis placed, during the latter half of the 18th century, by trustees on the development of selected roads.

It could be argued that an increase in traffic, related to the current needs of agriculture and, locally, of the textile industry, would in itself bring about deterioration selectively and lead to preferential expenditure. However, it could also be said that the

---

1. the new road was then to be 'chaulked out by a plough furrow'.

planning of new lines of road and the concentration of the workforce on portions of long-distance routes for several years at a time indicates more than a response to immediate road damage, and that these developments imply an underlying recognition of a need for long term investment.

To what extent the trustees were consciously working towards a turnpike system, and building with public money the infrastructure for their future investments, is not clear.

If the progress of road development outlined above is related to the account of the administrative difficulties in Cupar and the other districts in Chapter 2, it will be seen that only two years before the first Fife turnpike act a list of ploughgates was presented in Cupar as part of a determined campaign to introduce some order and reliability into the accounting procedures.

It was suggested above that if this was the situation in the district which contained the seat of county government and some of the most competent and influential people, notable for their administrative experience, then it would not be surprising if those districts which were patently less zealous in their procedures were rather less ambitious in their schemes of road improvement.

At the same time, the district of Cupar may serve as an example of how much was being achieved under the Scottish system of statute labour during a period when in England there was no credible alternative to turnpike roads. Parnell (1833.316) emphasises the contribution of the widespread adoption of monetary conversion by Scottish counties when he refers to 'its great superiority over the old Scotch system'[1] and over that of the English parish.

By 1774 the old organisation of roads under the commissioners of supply appears to have reached the limits of what could reasonably be achieved in Fife by the direction of local muscle power. The new

---

1. In the case of Fife, that in use before 1774.

district statute labour trustees had now come up against limits imposed by such difficulties as slack book keeping, procrastination and even deliberate obstruction by certain of the more awkward trustees. In short, the limitations were largely those of human nature and it is tempting to consider whether Fife could have put off even longer the general introduction of turnpike roads, were it otherwise.

Faced as the road trustees were with these difficulties, the more capital intensive organisation offered by the turnpike system was one, and perhaps the only, practicable means of escape.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TURNPIKE SYSTEM AND ITS INTRODUCTION TO FIFE

The authority of Parliament to charge tolls for the upkeep of the Queensferry to Perth road, later known as the Great North Road, in 1753 (26 GIII.91) marked the extension to Scotland north of the Forth of a system already established on certain roads between Edinburgh and Glasgow. The turnpike acts for the Scottish roads embodied many of the well tried legislative measures that had been found necessary in England since the first turnpike act had been passed, that for a road in Hertfordshire in 1663. The new device of resorting to tolls as a means of paying for the repair of roads was evidently viewed with some scepticism in England, since it was not until 1694 that another such act was passed, a delay which Pawson (1977.78) attributes to a measure of satisfaction with the existing parish repair system at that time. However, from 1694 until 175[illegible] there was in England a gradual increase in the number of turnpike acts passed, followed by what has been termed a 'turnpike boom' between 1750 and 1770 (Pawson 1977.113).

In Scotland the first roads to be 'turnpiked' under this system were in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh (12 Anne, 1713).[1] As in England there was a gap before further acts were passed and in 1750 toll roads were authorised by the Act 24 GII.35 to South Queensferry. The system was extended westwards to Linlithgow in 1752 (25 GII.28) and to Glasgow in 1753 (26 GII.81). Scotland was not unfamiliar with the use of tolls locally for the upkeep of certain bridges and short sections of road,and people with business in the south, such as members of Parliament, were accustomed to travel on English turnpike roads.

A mixture of motives, not least of which was a desire to support a government anxious to improve communications along the road to Inverness,

---

1. The expiry of a local toll in 1714 is noted in Chapter 4.

encouraged leading public figures to promote the bill which became the 1753 Act 'for repairing the Road from the North Queen's Ferry, through the Towns of Inverkeithing and Kinross, to the Town of Perth ...' and two other roads, to Culross and to Kirkcaldy.

The Queensferry to Perth road or Great North Road was to be managed jointly by trustees appointed from the shires of Fife, Kinross and Perth. Although initially these were named, there was also a requirement that a trustee should own land worth over £100 Scots a year which was the property qualification for a commissioner of supply. In the latter capacity the new trustee would be well aware of the difficulties of repairing roads with local labour and of the need to engage skilled workmen. Of the sixty-nine named trustees from Fife, over half resided in the districts of Cupar and St Andrews, somewhat remote from this section of a national highway crossing the western end of the county, and only a handful of the Fife trustees attended the meetings of the Great North Road Trust. Those who did attend, however, were to form a nucleus of informed and experienced turnpike trustees. These, or their heirs, were in a position to influence their fellow heritors when an extension of the system into the whole of Fife later came to be considered. The rates of tolls set by the Act were high compared with the average level of English trusts in the same period, and higher than those laid down in subsequent Fife turnpike acts. The standard sample of vehicles and animals quoted by Pawson (1977.202) and used to assess the English tolls showed average tolls for the period 1751 to 1770 amounting to 61d, whereas the same sample using the Queensferry to Perth road would be charged 163d.

In common with the customary clauses to be found in most turnpike acts there were provisions in the 1753 Act for the widening of roads and the alteration of their courses. The local people were still liable to attend to give statute labour although they could arrange to make monetary payments instead. Those living within three miles of a tollbar could pay an annual lump sum and be exempted from further tolls at that bar. Others

who might think they could save money by taking minor side roads round a tollbar or by unhitching horses on approaching a tollbar were discouraged by fines. As in England, the right to take the tolls could be leased, and money could also be borrowed by the trustees on the security of future toll income, up to £3,000 Stg. on the road to Perth,and up to £500 each for the two branches to Culross and to Kirkcaldy at an interest rate of up to five per cent.

The roads designated by the 1753 Act and other acts relating to turnpike roads in Fife are numbered in Table 7.1 The extent of subsequent action taken in pursuance of each act is set out in Table 7.2 Some of the roads listed cannot with any certainty be identified with particular known roads, especially where parish names are given. This is less of a problem where a new line of road has come to be built, but where only pre-existing roads could have been referred to and these remained statute labour roads such descriptions as that of Road 27 convey little information.[1] The distinction between a 'statute labour road' and a 'turnpike road' lies in whether it was under the management of one or other body of trustees.[2] Statute labour roads had to be listed under the 1797 Statute Labour Act and Cupar district was making lists before that year (CuS 22.5.1786).

The admission of a road to a statute labour list had to be justified by its utility to the public. The criteria for the taking over of a statute labour road by the turnpike trustees were less clearly defined. In practice, it has been found necessary to look for a number of characteristics of which the erection of a tollbar on the road itself is is the most conclusive. Turnpike roads can otherwise be identified with

---

1. Steuart (1766.12) recognises the possibility of confusion in the vague wording of certain turnpike acts and points out that the intermediate locations mentioned should not be interpreted too literally and that trustees possessed considerable powers of deviation and land purchase. He criticised them for not using more imagination, especially where steep gradients might be avoided, and refers to a road to Cumbernauld in 1762 (Glasgow Pamphlet 1766).
2. The Minister of Auchtertool was evidently confused as to the status of the Auchtertool to Kinghorn road in 1836. This was never a turnpike road (NSA 262, Stephen 1975.65, 1836 Report).

Table 7.1

Roads in Fife designated as Turnpike Roads by Act of Parliament

1753 Act 26 GII 91

1 North Queensferry - Inverkeithing - (Kinross - Perth)
2 North Queensferry - Dunfermline - Torryburn - (Culross)
3 North Queensferry - Inverkeithing - Burntisland - Kirkcaldy

1790 Act 30 GIII 93

4 Newmill Bridge - Foodies Mill - Inverkeithing - Aberdour
- Kirkcaldy - Gallatown - Cameron Bridge - Crail
5 Newmill Bridge - Dunfermline - Crossgates - Auchtertool - Kirkcaldy
6 (Branch) - Crossford - Keavil - Ladysmill - Charlestown - Limekilns
7 Dunfermline - (westwards) - (Perthshire)
8 The Plasterers - Kinglassie - Auchterderran - Kirk of Beath
9 Kirkcaldy - (northward) - / junction with Road 8
10 Kirkcaldy - New Inn - Cupar - Pitcullo - Dundee Waterside
11 New Inn - Falkland - Strathmiglo - (northward) - (Perthshire)
12 (Branch) - Shiels Bridge - Newburgh
13 Cupar - Kamesford - Letham - Kennoway - Cameron Bridge - / junction with Road 4
14 Cupar - Callange Bridge - Balcarres - / junction with Road 4
15 (Branch) - Lathockar Bridge - Crail
16 Cupar - Strathmiglo - (westwards) - (Kinrossshire)
17 (Branch) - Letham - Newburgh - (Perthshire)
18 St Andrews - Guard Bridge - / junction with Road 10 at Dronsmuir
19 Dundee Waterside - Guard Bridge - Denhead - / junction with Road 14 at Radernie ground
20 Kirkcaldy - Dysart - (eastward) - / junction with Road 4

1797 Act 37 GIII 180

21 Road 4/ - Little Couston - Balmule - Kilrie - Kirkcaldy
22 Windygates Toll Bar - Balfarg
23 (Branch) - Plasterers
24 Damhead (Glenfarg) - / junction with Road 9
25 (Branch) - Damhead - Strathmiglo
26 The Dundee Ferries - (Kinrossshire)
27 (Branch) - Balmerino Parish - Flisk - Newburgh
28 (Branch) - Balmerino Parish - Kilmany Parish - Cupar
29 (Branch) - Creich Parish - Moonzie Parish - Cupar
30 (Branch) - Abdie Parish - Denbog Parish - Newburgh
31 (Branch) - Monimail Parish - Cupar
32 (Branch) - Collessie Parish - Kettle Parish - New Inn
33 Balmalcolm - Falkland
34 Newburgh - Kinloch - Shiels Bridge - / junction with Road 11
35 Falkland - Kennoway
36 Road 13/ - Letham Mill Burn Bridge - Leven
37 Brackmontmill - Newport

1802 Act 42 GIII 97

38 (Causewayhead near Stirling - Dollar) - West Saline - Crossford - / junction with Road 4

---

1 The terminus of Road 26 is given as Shiels Bridge in s.9 of the 1829 Act

1805 Act 45 GIII 108

39 Dunfermline - Balmule - Gask - Nivingston - / junction with Alloa Turnpike Road west of Tullibole
40 The High Road near Saline/ - (eastwards) - Roscobie - The Stone Road - / junction with Road 1 south of Kelty

1807 Act 45 GIII 11

41 Brackmontmill - Ferryport
42 St Andrews - Kingsbarns - Crail
43 St Andrews - Lathones - /junction with Road 14 at Largoward
44 (Branch) - Higham Loan
45 St Andrews - Dunino - Anstruther Harbour
46 (Branch) - Nether Carnbee - Pittenweem Harbour
47 St Andrews - Balone - /junction with Road 19
48 St Andrews - Magus Muir - Ceres - /junction with Road 13
49 Cupar - Teasses - Largo Burn Mouth
50 Balcarres Mill - Kilconquhar - Elie Harbour
51 Road 4 at Balchrystie / - Elie - Pittenweem
52 Road 14 / - Fawfield - Pratis Muir - /junction with Road 13
53 Road 4 / - Kellie - Balhouffie - /junction with Road 45 at Pitkierie
54 (Branch) - Back of Balhouffie - Crail
55 Road 10 at Thornton / - Strathore - Cluny - /junction with Raod 8
56 Callange - Pitscottie Bridge - Dura Den or Rumgay Ford - / proposed road Osnaburg - Ceres Muir
57 Road 4 at foot of Boreland Loan / - East Wemyss - Mooredge - Sawmill Ford - / junction with Road 4 at Scoonie Bridge

1809 Act 50 GIII 31 (see also 1 and 2 GIV 28 of 1821)

58 'The New Line of Road' (or Road 1 at Cowdenend - Road 1 at Blairadam Bridge

1810 Act 50 GIII 72

59 Road 40 / - Pitcairn Mill - /junction with Road 8
60 Road 39 / - Burt's Coal Hill - Lochend - Red Craigs - Outh - Hillside - (Powmill - Yetts, in Perthshire)
61 Road 5 at Town Green / - Bellyeoman - Kingseat - North Meikle Beath - /junction with Road 1 at Kirk of Beath
62 (Branch) - Lassodie Mill - (across old section of Road 1) - / junction with Road 58 north of Netherton
63 Road 58 / - White Rashes Road - Burntisland Harbour
64 Road 38 at Bambo Bridge/ - (Lands of Carnock, Comrie, West Grange, Brucefield) - / Road Kincardine - Alloa at Kennet
65 Road 38 near West Luscar / - Clune - Drumtuthill - Coaltown - Lochend - / junction with Road 39 at Meldrumsmiln
66 (Branch) - Craigluscar - Myrie Hall - / junction with Road 40
67 Auchtermuchty - Moniefred - Lumquhat Miln - Pitcairlie - Denmill - Newburgh
68 (Branch at Pitcairlie) - Weddersbrae Den - / junction with Road 16 near Rossie
69 (Branch at Pitcairlie) - Macduff's Cross - / junction with Road 34
70 Leslie - (Scotlandwell in Kinrossshire)
71 (Branch across Gullet Bridge - east of Kirkness) - Kinglassie
72 Leslie - Balbedie - (Kirkness - the Brackleys) - Shanks of Navity - (The Binn and Barns - Nivingston in Kinrossshire)

1829 Act 10 GIV 84

73 Road 14 at Loans Toll Bar / - Kirkton of Largo
74 Road 16 near Gateside / - (Perthshire section of Road 1 at Beansnook)
75 Falkland - Dunshelt - Auchtermuchty
76 Road 9 at Bennochy / Sauchanbush - Torbain - Shawsmill / Road Lochgelly - Kirk of Beath
77 (Branch, across south-east part of Wester Bogie) - Chapel - / junction with Road 9
78 West Bridge of Innertiel - (northwards) - Abbotshall Gate / Road 5
79 Leslie - Cabbagehall Bridge - (southwards) - Inchdairney / Road 9
80 St Andrews - Balone - Claremont - Magask - Ladeddy / Road 48 at Blebohole
81 Dunfermline - Pitbauchlie - Duloch - Fordell - Balbougie - Hillend
82 Whitehill Toll Bar - Aberdour Harbour
83 Ferryport - Spearhill - Newport
84 Dunfermline - (Farms of Grange, Gellets, Blackhall, Primrose, Rosyth, Orchardhead) - North Queensferry
85 (Branch, through Rosyth Farm) - / junction with Road 4
86 Road 4 / - (through Abden grounds) - Pettycur

1839 Act 2 and 3 Vict. 48

87 Road 57 to be diverted at eastern end from Sawmill Ford to Proposed new bridge at Leven

1842 Act 5 and 6 Vict. 51

88 New Burntisland Pier - Kinghorn

Table 7.2

Implementation of Turnpike Acts : Evidence of Operation as Toll Roads

Enabling Act	No. in Table 7.1	Toll Bar[1] Installed	Remarks (S.L.R. = remained statute labour road)
1753	1	1756 Jamestown	
	2	1790 Pittencrieff	
	3	1790 Kirkcaldy (E)	
1790	4	1799 Pittenweem	Controlled by Kirkcaldy (E)
	5	1795 Baidlin	Further Extension of Road 3 Western section = Road 2
	6	1796 Crossford	
	7	1790 Rumbling Well	
	8		Not built (see Chapter 13)
	9	1791 Cluny	
	10	1790 New Inn	
		1791 Cupar (E)	
	11		Controlled by New Inn T.B.
	12	1790	" " " "
		1801 Newburgh	New line completed
	13	1801 Struthers	
	14	1810 Sodom	Balass section complete 1804, New line Pitscottie - Radernie 1818
	15	1816 Higham	Eastern section completed 1829
	16	1804 Carslogie	
	17	1802 Letham	
	18	1791 Guard Bridge	
	19	1791	Controlled by Guard Bridge T.B.
	20	1790	" " Kirkcaldy (E) "
1797	21	1807 Whitehill	
	22	1813	Controlled by Windygates T.B.
	23		S.L.R.
	24		Unidentified
	25		S.L.R.
	26	1802 Rathillet	
	27/8		Unidentified
	29/31	1802 Kilmaron	
	32	1801 New Inn and Newburgh	Replaced Road 12
	33		S.L.R.
	34		Unidentified. May duplicate Road 12
	35/6		S.L.R.
	37	1807 Newport	
1802	38	1802	Controlled by Crossford T.B.
1805	39	1805	" " Town Green T.B.
	40	1816 Gask	
1807	41	1809 Ferryport	
	42	1809 Shore	
	43	1810 Loans	
	44	1816	Controlled by Higham T.B.
	45	1809 Shore	

1 Toll Bar Locations : see Figures 8.3 to 8.7

	46/7			S.L.R.
	48	1809	Argyll	
	49	1811	Teasses	
	50	1810	Elie	
	51	1810	Elie	
	52	1812	Teuchats	
	53	1811	Kellie	
	54	1845	Lochton	
	55			S.L.R.
	56	1810		Controlled by Pitscottie T.B.
	57	1817		Described as a T.P. road (KT 2.8)
1809	58	1809		Controlled by Crossgates T.B.
1810	59			Not built
	60	1810	Grantsbank	
	61			S.L.R.
	62			S.L.R.
	63	1819	Kirkton of Burntisland	
	64	1830	Blair	
	65			S.L.R.
	66			Not built
	67	1813	Pitcairlie	
	68/72			S.L.R.
1829	73	1829	Loans	
	74	1830	Beansnook	
	75	1832		Controlled by Pitcairlie T.B.
	76	1836		" " Bennochy T.B.
	77	1836		" " Bennochy T.B.
	78	1836		" " Kirkcaldy (W) T.B.
	79	1836		" " Cluny T.B.
	80	1833		" " Pitscottie T.B.
	81			S.L.R.
	82	1829		Controlled by Whitehill T.B.
	83	1835	Marytown	
	84/5			S.L.R.
	86	1836		Controlled by Kirkcaldy (W) T.B.
1839	87	1840	Leven Bridge	
1842	88	1844	Kirkton of Burntisland	

varying degrees of certainty by the names used in the minutes or accounts of the trustees, also by their depiction on district maps prepared in the late 1820s and the 1830s. Road 22 is an example of a road where the turnpike trustees noted the use by heavy traffic to and from a tollbar at Windygates (347005) and agreed to pay something towards the road's repair. This assistance seems to have been given for only two years and the ultimate adoption of this road by the turnpike trustees is suggested by the colouring in a government commission report in 1836.[1] An example of a road unequivocally supported by tolls, even though there was no toll bar placed on it, is Road 11. This received a fraction of the produce of New Inn tollbar in Kirkcaldy district, by agreement with the trustees of Cupar. In the absence of other records certain roads have been categorised as 'turnpike roads' on less direct evidence. The nature of this evidence is summarised as each road is mentioned below, and the sequence of roads follows that of their designation as proposed toll roads in the successive turnpike acts.

The 1753 Act (26 GIII.91) Roads 1 to 3

Road 1 (Table 7.1 , Figure 7.1) was a major through route of national economic and strategic importance, especially for traffic to Inverness rather than Aberdeen. The latter destination was more easily reached by the road between the Fife 'broad ferry' from Leith to Kinghorn and the Tay ferry to Dundee (Stephen 1975.69).

Roads 2 and 3 were branches of Road 1 from Inverkeithing and they could have been included in the bill to encourage the support of Fife members of Parliament. Dunfermline burgh began work on Road 2 in 1756 and its western end had reached Crossford by 1780. This road connected Dunfermlin with a ferry at Torryburn (Thomson 1800.299).

Road 3 encountered opposition from the Magistrates of Dunfermline in 1753 who told their M.P. that it was wanted by 'the gentlemen in the east of Fife' to connect Dunfermline to Kinghorn. Although Dunfermline failed

1. A map of Kirkcaldy District shows statute labour roads in red and turnpike roads in blue.

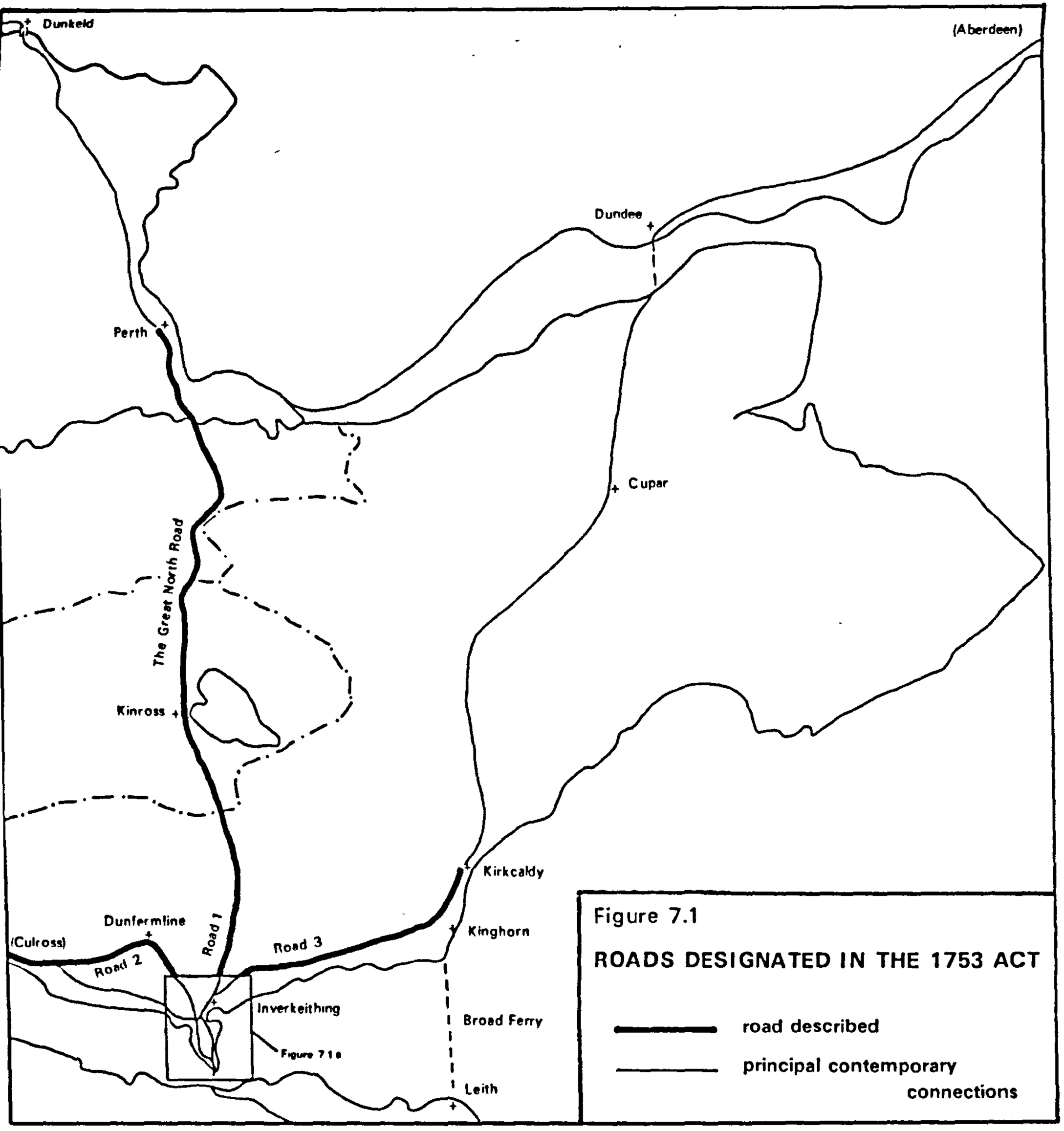


Figure 7.1

ROADS DESIGNATED IN THE 1753 ACT

road described

principal contemporary connections

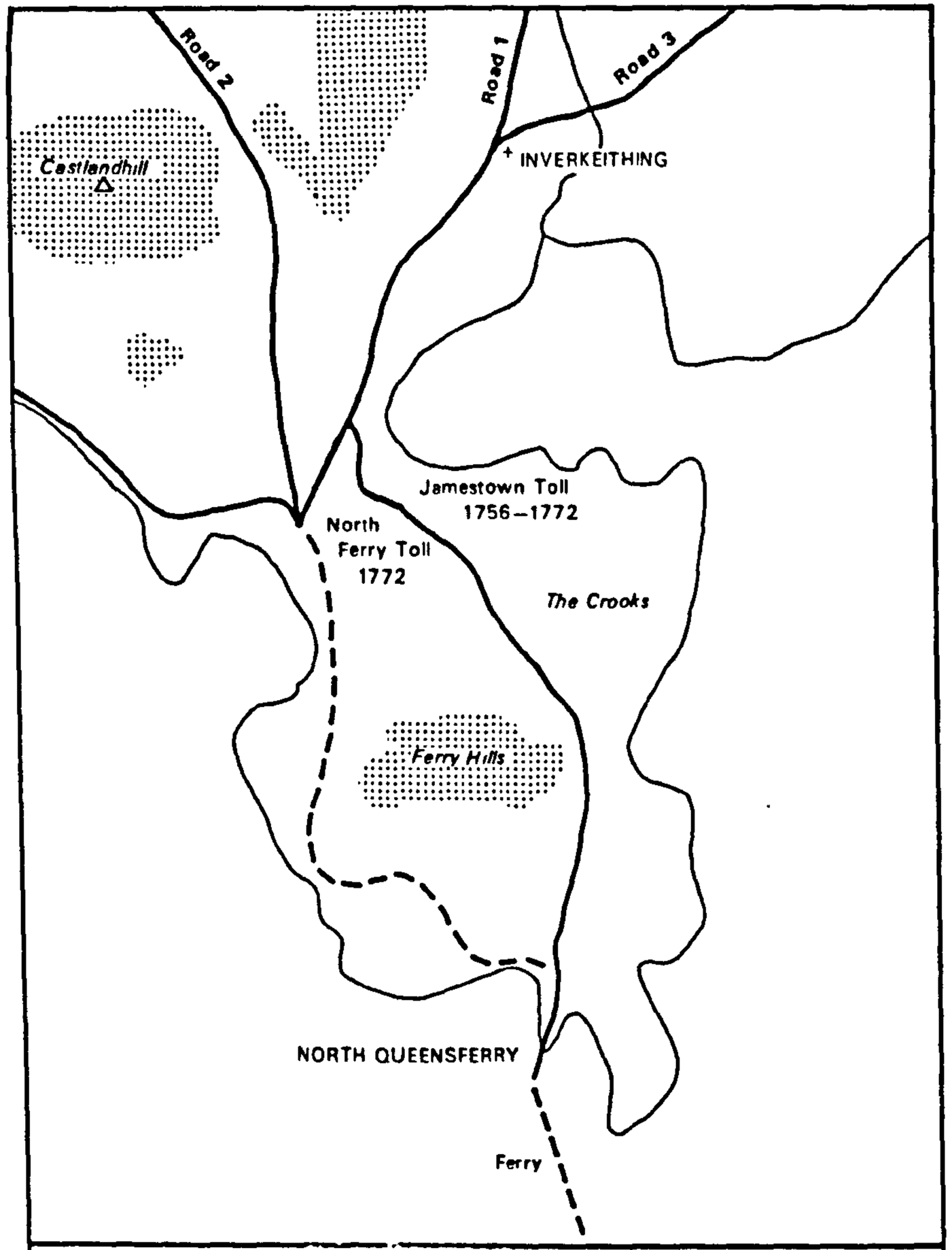


Figure 7.1a

ROADS BETWEEN NORTH QUEENSFERRY AND INVERKEITHING

land over 61 m

roads in use in 1772

road shown by Ainslie 1775, Taylor 1777

to have the road removed from the bill, the attitude shown may explain why the road was only partly developed before it was incorporated, in part, as Road 4, in a later act (1790). As far as Dunfermline was concerned, the inland route by Crossgates and Auchtertool to Kirkcaldy was preferable. This was started in 1756 (DBC 30.6) and appeared on Ainslie's map of 1775, but was not authorised as a turnpike road until 1790 (Road 5). Thomson, writing from Markinch in 1800, described the 1753 Act as having been 'very limited, being confined to the western district of the county' and this may reflect some dissatisfaction among those of eastern Fife at the delay in improving communications with North Queensferry.[1]

Only one tollbar was erected in the period before 1790. This controlled entry to both Roads 1 and 2 from the ferry and Figure 7.1a shows its original position at Jamestown, on a direct but steep line of road to Inverkeithing, abandoned in 1773. The map shows the subsequent line adopted in 1769 and the new location of the toll bar at the junction of Road 2 with Road 1. It has been remarked above that the tolls charged were relatively high but until 1790 this was the only tollbar in Fife and for a single payment the traveller could use 30 miles (48 km) of road to Perth. Others were authorised by the Act, but in the case of a projected toll bar at Bois Bridge (132836) Inverkeithing burgh paid £2 Stg. per year 'to free the town of a Tollgate' (IBC 26.3.1755) and similar arrangements could have been made elsewhere.

The 1790 Act (30 GIII 93) Roads 4 to 20 (Figure 7.2)

Road 4 was an extension of Road 3 under the previous act and was to serve the entire south coast of Fife. A deletion of Roads 2 and 3 from the provisions of the 1753 Act was approved at a joint meeting of the Great North Road trustees in February 1790 (GNR/PPL 2/4/1) and this meant

---

1. A dissatisfaction not removed by the designation of a central east-west road in 1790 (Road 8 and Chapter 13).

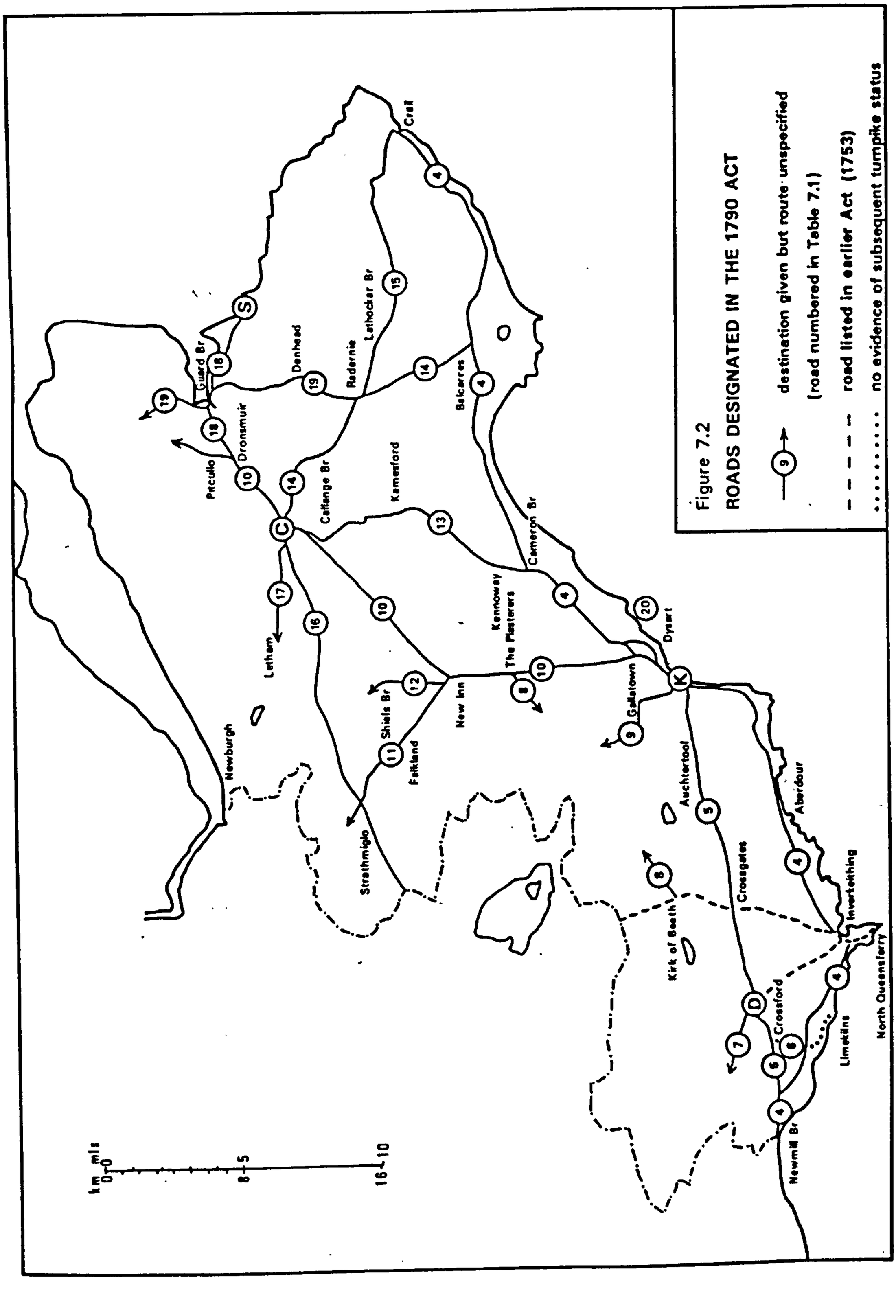


Figure 7.2
ROADS DESIGNATED IN THE 1790 ACT
destination given but route unspecified
(road numbered in Table 7.1)
road listed in earlier Act (1753)
no evidence of subsequent turnpike status
Crail
Guard Br
Denhead
Lathocker Br
Raderne
Pitcullo
Dronsmuir
Cattenge Br
Kemsford
Balcarres
Cameron Br
Kennoway
The Plasterers
Dysart
Newburgh
Lathrisk
Shiels Br
Falkland
New Inn
Gallatown
Auchtertool
Aberdour
Strathmiglo
Kirk of Beath
Crossgates
Crossford
Limekilns
Inverkeithing
North Queensferry
Newmill Br
km
mls
0
5
10
16

that the roads concerned, partly or wholly incorporated into Roads 5 and 4, were to be under the undisputed control of Fife trustees alone.

Although the eastern half of Road 2 did not correspond to Road 5, it was nevertheless proposed that the proportions of the receipts of North Queensferry tollbar, two fifths to Road 2 and one fifth to Road 3, allocated by the trustees in 1786, should be transferred to Roads 5 and 4 respectively.

Road 6 appears to follow a wagon way shown by Ainslie (1775) from north of Road 5 across Broomhall grounds to Limekilns, with a westward extension to Charlestown. The inclusion, in the description, of Ladysmill (090867) is, however, difficult to explain.

Road 7, the road to Carnock, was immediately used as a source of revenue with the erection of a tollbar at Rumbling Well in 1790. There is no direct evidence of public expenditure on this road but it could have been brought to an adequate standard with statute labour alone.

Road 8 was an ambitious line, the building of which seems to have encountered a number of difficulties. It was possible by 1828 (Sharp's map) to travel from Plasterers Inn (286015) to the Kirk of Beath by way of Kinglassie and Auchterderran, but only along a sequence of short lengths of road with numerous changes of direction. It seems unlikely that this was what the proposers of this road had in mind and the only piece of turnpike road along this route to be in operation by 1836 (Statute Labour Report) was part of the future Road 76 west of Loch Gelly. Correspondence in 1805 (Minto Papers 162-178) indicates a continuing struggle to get agreement on a line for this road and failure to obtain the necessary subscriptions. The project was abandoned in 1807 in favour of another east-west route (see Road 55) but revived along a more southerly line in the 1980s.[1]

Road 9 was the coal road used by Lord Rothes to take coal from Cluny to Kirkcaldy from about 1750 onwards (Chapter 11) and the southern section

---

1. See also Chapter 13.

would have had to be regularly maintained. It was intended to connect to Road 8 but its main destination in fact became the town of Leslie (when extended by Road 79).

Road 10 was the principal road to be improved under this Act. Records of regular maintenance since the 1740s indicate that the road was kept in good order as far as Cupar, but from there a connection was needed to Brackmontmill through Pittormie and this had been a subject of negotiations between Cupar and St Andrews in 1787. The proposed road promised to provide a more level route to St Andrews than that by Chapelwell (402157) over Dairsie Bridge and up Knock Hill (440165). 'A tollbar came into operation at the east end of Cupar in 1791 but beyond Brackmontmill further roads were needed, to be provided by subsequent acts (Roads 37 and 41) in order to reach the ferries at Newport and Ferryport otherwise known as 'Dundee Waterside' (Chapter 10).

Road 11 follows the line to Strathmiglo on Roy's map which continues through Abernethie Glen towards Perth. Roads 10 and 11 were 'the two great Roads' identified in the 1767 Loudoun Manuscript on which, between 1748 and 1753, the whole of the levy authorised by the 1669 Act for the county was expended (Chapter 6). After the erection of the New Inn tollbar in 1790 the revenue was divided between four roads, Road 11 receiving 3/20ths.

Road 12 received another 3/20ths. This was improved only as far as Shiels Bridge and then as a part of a route to Auchtermuchty by way of Dunshelt. As a route to Newburgh it was superseded by a 1797 Act road (No.34) and on the completion of the latter road in 1804 it reverted to being a statute labour road. The abandoned southern section is shown in Plates 7.1 to 7.3.

Road 13 was a major realignment of the road from Kennoway to Cupar through Clatto Den shown on Ainslie's map. As early as 1785 work had begun on a replacement for this road through Kames Ford and it was open as a turnpike road by 1793 between Windygates and Kames Ford. The realignment of the

Plate 7.1 The old Shiels Bridge road (Road 12): south of Freuchie
The burn formerly crossed by this stone bridge has been diverted along the straight ditch (right centre) and the road has been cultivated as part of the field. GR 283056 bearing 105

Plate 7.2 The old Shiels Bridge road: metalling
A band of stones, size up to 15 cm, connects the bridge of Plate 7.1 to the surviving grass covered road leading into Freuchie.
GR 283056 bearing 355

Plate 7.3 The old Shiels Bridge road: surviving section
The distance between lateral ditches is about 7.5 m. The road would have ceased to be repaired after Drumtenant Bridge on Road 34 was completed in 1804. On the 1855 O.S. sheet it is shown complete to its southern junction with the Pittillockford - Falkland road. GR 284058 bearing 020

northern section to Struthers led to a tollbar being erected in 1801. A more detailed account of this road is to be found in Chapter 10.

Road 14 had been almost continuously supported with money in the 1730s and during the period from 1775, when a new line was staked out at Callinch Bank (420123), up to 1793. By 1810 it had been improved as far as the junction at Balcarres (487036) with Road 4 to Crail. The principal realignment was that between Cupar and Callinch Bridge, replacing a climb over Ceres Moor through Sodom (412127) by a more gentle ascent through the lands of Balass (393144) and across a new causeway to the foot of Callinch Bank. A tollbar was moved from Sodom to Pitscottie, on the new road in 1817. (Plates 7.4, 7.5).

Road 15 offered a more direct route from Drumhead (452100) to Crail than Roads 4 and 14, but served few settlements of any size. It was not made turnpike until 1829.[1]

Road 16 was an established highway in the 17th century even if its exact line differed from the route envisaged by the proposers of the 1790 Bill. Unlike other roads developed under the Act which administered by the districts through which they passed, this road failed to draw sufficient funds from Fife. Knowing the road to be desired by heritors in Kinross-shire, those of Fife invited subscriptions from both counties, whose trustees then managed the road jointly (Pagan 1845.188).

Road 17 is difficult to identify with any particular line west of the Lindifferon-Letham valley. Between Cupar and Fernie a definite effort was made to improve a road after 1775 and this was referred to as 'the Newburgh road.' This and the alternative lines to the west are discussed in Chapter 9. Whatever were the intentions of the 1790 Act, further work seems to have been abandoned when the more ambitious valley bottom road through Dunbog, Road 30, was included in the 1797 Bill.

---

1. The slow progress of road improvement in St Andrews District is discussed in Chapter 12.

Plate 7.4 The old Cupar to Crail road near Pitscottie
The dotted line marks the former course of a road crossing the Ceres Burn before ascending Callange bank. The steep slopes on this direct line from Cupar were later avoided by building a new bridge and causeway to serve a lower road (line of dashes).
GR 408128 bearing 120

Plate 7.5 The old Cupar to Crail road : abandoned bridge
A substantial two arch bridge with adjoining causeways. The date of abandonment is uncertain, but funds were being applied towards an improved line of road (Road 14) as early as 1775.
GR 406125 bearing 020

Road 18 followed the general route between Guard Bridge and St. Andrews that must have carried traffic for centuries to and from the Dundee ferries. It was however given increased importance by the decision of Cupar and St Andrews trustees in 1787 to replace the Knockhill route to St Andrews by what became Road 10. In 1790 St Andrews district received a share of money borrowed on Guard Bridge tollbar for Road 18 and for that part of Road 10 which lay within the district boundary.

Road 19 also received an allocation of money in 1790 and this provided a link between Guard Bridge and Road 14. An older road shown by Roy's map passed down Kincaple Den (455180) but was replaced by the straight connection to Road 18 further east on which Haig's whisky distillery was sited, as shown on Ainslie's map in 1775. A toll bar erected on Road 18 at the statutory six miles from Cupar (East) tollbar controlled the exit from Road 19 and is used as an illustration of how payment might be avoided in Pagan's 'Road Reform' (1845.213).[1]

Road 20 was an inter-urban link from Pathhead (285923) to Dysart and provided an alternative route to join Road 4 by way of Boreland Loan (303 945).

The 1797 Act (37 GIII 93) Roads 21 to 37 (Figure 7.3)

The 1790 Act had provided for the turnpiking of an even pattern of roads over most of Fife with the exception of the hilly area in the north between Cupar and the Tay. A comparison between Figures 7.3 and 7.2 shows that, apart from an isolated link between Kirkcaldy and North Queensferry and ~~three~~ two Kirkcaldy district roads, which were never turnpiked, it was in the access between New Inn and the Tay shore that the main emphasis lay in the roads listed in the 1797 Act.

---

1. See also Chapter 8. 180.

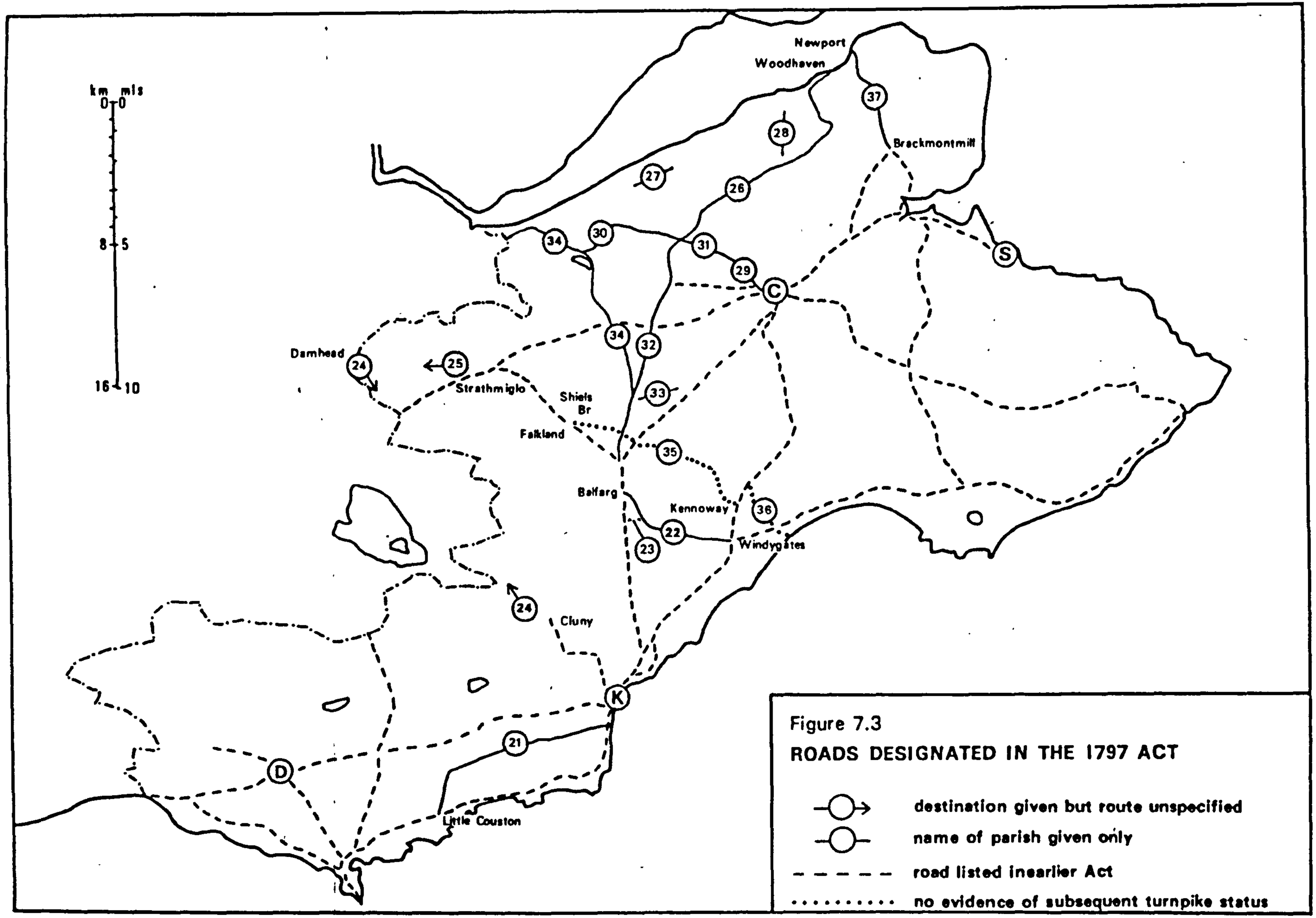


Figure 7.3
ROADS DESIGNATED IN THE 1797 ACT

- destination given but route unspecified
- name of parish given only
- road listed inearlier Act
- no evidence of subsequent turnpike status

Road 21 was placed at the beginning of the Act, and this suggests that an attempt might well have been made to include it in the previous act. It appears that work on Road 4 had not been pursued with much vigour and the liaison between the three districts through which this long road ran seems to have been poor. The prospect of a more level link between Kirkcaldy and North Queensferry through Little Couston had evidently caught the imagination of the trustees of Kirkcaldy by 1790 and the resistance of the burgh of Dunfermline noted in 1753 was no longer noticeable.[1]

A line was staked out in June 1790, the committee responsible being asked to make trial stretches of road 'to be able to make an equal bargain' with the contractors. Much of the road had been completed by 1793 and the need for a tollbar was discussed in 1796, which provides an additional reason why the road should be the first to be mentioned in the 1797 Act. A toll bar at Whitehill (181861) was rouped in 1807. Road 22, connecting Lord Leven's colliery at Balgonie (300996) and Lord Rothes colliery at Cadham (280020) to Cameron Bridge, received some of the toll income at Windygates, as mentioned on p. ~~7.4~~ 142, but was not administered by the turnpike trustees until after 1813 (KT 13.8).[2] Roads 24 and 25, vaguely defined in the Act, do not appear to have been proceeded with at all. A similar proposal to that for Road 25 was placed in the 1807 bill, but the road was still never built. By that time trustees considered that rather too many roads were being included in the current bill and their proposers were to be charged a sum proportionate to the estimated cost of each road (CT 27.8.1807).

---

1. What may have excited the opportunists was 'the very great quantity of lime', probably from Lord Morton's works at Dalachy, which could be made to pay tolls (KT 13.10.1792 and Chapter 11).
2. Road 23 remained a statute labour road.

Roads 26 to 32 were so poorly described in the Act that the impression is given of trustees anxious to keep their options open in coming to a decision on the exact lines to be taken. However, it is fairly clear which roads correspond to the descriptions and they are marked accordingly on Figure 7.3.

Road 26 and Road 32 probably represent two stages in the development of the same road. Before 1797 the only ways across the Eden north of New Inn were by Shiels Bridge and Ramornie Bridge and, in Chapter 6 it was noted that work, on what had been referred to as the King's Highway to Dundee waterside through Lindifferon (Taylour 1723), had been recorded in 1774. In 1790 Roads 11 and 26 each received an equal share (3/20ths) of the produce of the New Inn tollbar. That such an important road as No. 26 should have been so vaguely defined in the 1797 Act may have been due to uncertainty about the future bridge at Drumtenant (293085), which was not in fact completed until 1804 (see also Road 34).

Road 27 has been cited above as an example of an unidentifiable road that appears not to have been developed. Road 28 can possibly be identified with the road through Hillcairnie (365186) given extra support in 1777 (CuS 26.5). This remained a statute labour road.

Roads 29 to 31 could correspond to different sections of the road from Cupar to Newburgh through Dunbog since the middle, northwest and south eastern sections of this road, built after 1797, pass through the parishes listed in the Act of that year. The development of this road is more fully described in Chapter 9 and the first record of a tollbar is of one rouped in 1802 at Kilmaron.

As suggested above, Road 32 combined with Road 26 could be regarded as giving legislative cover to the road shown in Figure 7.3 between Woodhaven and New Inn through Lindifferon and is there referred to as Road 26. This road carried a tollbar at Rathillet (366208) in 1802 and is the subject of a separate study in Chapter 10.

Roads 33 and 35 remained statute labour roads and in 1834 it was even claimed that Road 35 had had statute labour funds withheld, in a petition stressing its utility to the public as a road for lime from Forthar quarries to Windygates (CuS 2.4.1834).

Road 34 was affected by the replacement of Shiels Bridge by that of Drumtenant in 1804 and this meant that only a section from the latter bridge northwards could be said to correspond with the wording of the Act. A new road, which was to bypass Kinloch, was completed in 1805, crossing Road 16 at Trafalgar Inn (281130), and was later extended round the east shore of Lindores Loch towards Newburgh to join the road shown by Ainslie from Lindores.

Road 36 represented an improvement of a road shown by Ainslie and retained its northern junction with the Cupar to Windygates road (375052). It remained a statute labour road (1836 Report).

Road 37 can be taken to duplicate the northern section of Road 10 beyond Brackmontmill. The building of this road by Berry of Tayfield in 1806 is described in Chapter 10.

The 1802 Act (42 GIII.97)

Road 38 (Figure 7.4) is described as entering Fife from Stirling by way of West Saline (983937). From there to Bambo Bridge (051891) it corresponds to a turnpike road shown on Sharp's map of 1828, but the last section planned, through Crossford, appears not to have been developed, being represented by only minor roads. Trustees under this Act were drawn from Clackmannanshire by virtue of a property qualification but persons from other counties such as Fife could become trustees by subscribing over £100 sterling.

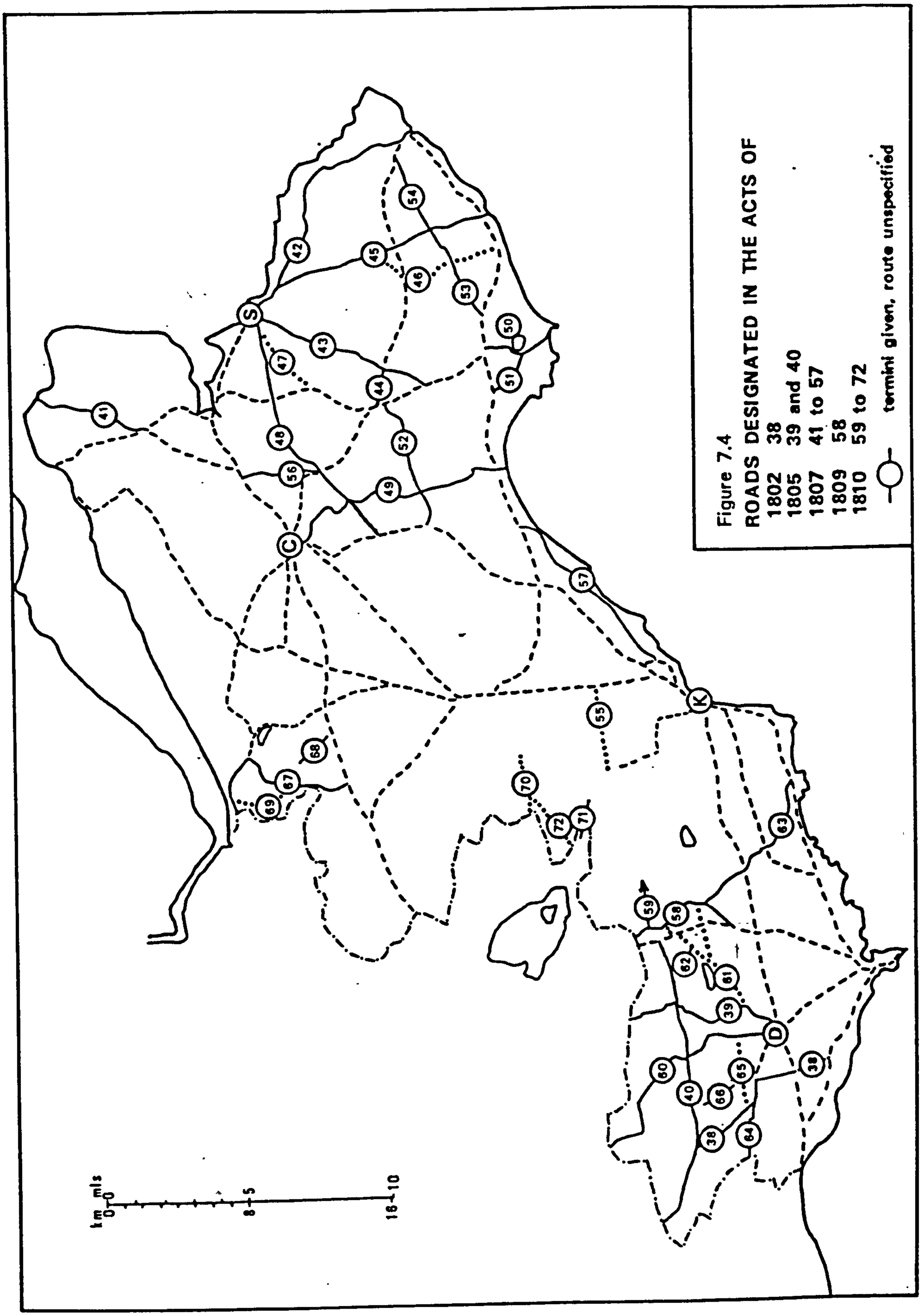


Figure 7.4
ROADS DESIGNATED IN THE ACTS OF

1802	38
1805	39 and 40
1807	41 to 57
1809	58
1810	59 to 72

termini given, route unspecified

The 1805 Act (45 GIII.108)

Roads 39 and 40 were privately administered and independent of Dunfermline district trustees. As with Road 38 they were in the previously neglected northern part of the district.

Road 39 corresponded to an existing road on Ainslie's map and was surveyed by Adam of Blairadam in 1798, becoming a turnpike road in 1805.

Road 40 was, apart from a short section west of Slateford (932102), an addition to Ainslie's map of 1775. The Stone Road, from the Gask junction (007932) to Kelty on Road 1, had evidently been constructed by 1805 and this section of Road 40 was still a statute labour road in 1814. The absence of milestones along the Stone Road on Sharp's map of 1828 suggests that only the section west of Gask was operated as a turnpike road, the eastern section being absent from the turnpike accounts in 1830. Under this Act trustees were to be appointed from three parishes in Fife and four in Kinross-shire.

The 1807 Act (47 GIII.11)

Figure 7.4 shows that, apart from two roads near Kirkcaldy (Nos. 55 and 57) and a link between Brackmontmill and Ferryport (No.41) all the roads under this Act lay in the East Neuk, the sector south and east of Cupar.

Road 41 followed a route to a ferry said to have lost customers when a new bridge was built at Perth in the 1770s (OSA 366).

The history of access to the three main ferries across the Tay is discussed in Chapter 10 but it can be noted here that Road 41, like Road 37, completed the final stage of Road 10 ('... to Dundee Waterside'). A tollbar was in operation south of the entrance to the ferry owner's residence at Scotscraig (455278) in 1809.

Roads 42 to 45 as designated, confirmed the importance of long established roads to St Andrews and there is no evidence of major realignment at this time.

Road 46 could have been envisaged as leaving the Anstruther road (No.45) at 543095 and following a now relict line to the present Carnbee kirk, thence south to Pittenweem. Only the southern section is in use today and it was never developed as a turnpike road.

Road 47 included the ascent of Balone Bank (485155), and this was set out as a new line. Until it was extended under a later act as Road 80 (q.v.) it was not considered important, and at one time was in danger of closure (CT 1.5.1821).

Road 48 confirmed the abandonment of the pre 17th century Bishop's Road over Magus Muir (455150) and, west of Ceres, replaced a previous ridge road joining No.13 at 381096 by what has become the modern road to Craigrothie (378106). A tollbar was in operation at Sodom by 1810 and was later moved to Pitscottie. The ridge road was still sufficiently important in 1801 for the tollbar on Road 13 at Struthers to be sited at the junction.

Road 49 was the subject of a number of realignments, some of which were carried out before 1807. The direct route over the east shoulder of White Hill (390128) had been abandoned in favour of a new road across Ceres Muir in 1784, the northern section of which formed a more level connection to the Sodom-Callinch-Crossgates road (No.14). South of Ceres, a new line followed the Craighall Burn rather than climb up past Craighall itself (417107) along a road shown by Roy. A hillside route avoided Teasses Hill and led to Teuchats. Roy had shown a line from here to Pratis on Road 13, but this was not used and Road 49 continued south to cross the den below Pitcruvie (414046). Tolls at Teasses tollbar (400114) were rouped in 1811.

Roads 50 and 51 show no evidence of realignment and these appear to have followed pre-existing roads. There was a tollbar at Elie in 1810.

Road 52 contains a section west of Teuchats which follows neither the older connection on Roy's map nor any line in this direction shown by Ainslie and is probably a new line of road. The importance attached to coal

working in this part of Kilconquhar parish (OSA 457) is justification enough for its inclusion in the Act.

Roads 53 and 54 are two consecutive sections of a road leading towards Crail. Local support appears to have been lacking, for subscriptions were still being invited to complete Road 53 after 1829 and there had been no bids at a roup of a tollbar at Kellie in 1811. Road 54 was completed in 1840 after local labour problems and was almost the last turnpike road to be built in Fife. A tollbar was rouped at Lochton (594085) in 1845.

Road 55 was to give access to Road 10 for traffic from the Cluny and Kinglassie coal mining area. The difficulties in establishing an east-west route from Kirk of Beath to The Plasterers up to 1805 are noted in Chapter 13, and in 1806 when it was proposed that the same line be included in the 1807 Bill, the alternative line offered by a new road through Strathore was said to take traffic 'one third of a mile more but without the slightest pull,' as compared with a line from Kinglassie to The Plasterers (KT 8.6.1807). The road was built but remained under the statute labour trustees.

Road 56 was on a line of movement between the south coast and the Tay shore which ran down Dura Den and shared the 15th century Dairsie Bridge with the old St Andrews to Cupar road over Knock Hill. The alternative Rumgay Ford route (406152) appears not to have been developed but there is a road from Osnaburgh over Dairsie and Kemback bridges to Ceres Muir as mentioned in the Act.

Road 57 was to follow the line shown by Ainslie (1775), linking up a string of coastal settlements and leading into Leven by a ford which was passable except in the worst floods. The Wemyss family had been developing their inland coal pits between Lochhead (320961) and East Newton (335972) since before 1800. Although a rail road had been built to West Wemyss harbour in 1795 (OSA 791) some coal was moved by road and a connection was needed

to Methil harbour. Improvement of an 'earth road' had been mentioned in 1800 and by 1817 it was being referred to as a 'turnpike' road.

The 1809 Act (49 GIII.31)

Road 58 (Figure 7.4) was a diversion of a section of Road 1 along a more level route. As noted in Chapter 5 it had to be taken round the western end of the Moss Morran peat deposit. This Act referred to 'considerable progress in laying out the new line of road' as prescribed by the Act of 1753 and as enlarged by an act in 1772 (12 GIII.83). Some details of construction of this road were mentioned in Chapter 5.

The 1810 Act (50 GIII.72)

Roads 59 to 72. This Act provided for a number of roads which passed into the adjoining counties to the west and are shown in Figure 7.4 They were to be administered by trustees drawn from Fife, Kinross, Perth and Clackmannan shires. Only Roads 63 and 67 lay wholly within the borders of Fife. Only four of the fourteen roads listed, Nos. 60, 63, 64 and 67 became turnpike roads.

Road 59 had as its only fixed point the name of Pitcairn Mill (198953). This was not located on any modern road but a revival of a road on a plan of 1762 from Lassodie (120927) to Auchterderran could have been envisaged. In 1810 hopes of the proposed road from the Kirk of Beath to the Plasterers (Road 8) were not yet extinguished (Chapter 13).

Roads 61, 62 and 65 are all identifiable as statute labour roads which were not turnpiked, No. 61 possibly because the continuation, Road 8, was never built.

Road 66 can be compared with an existing track over Craigluscar Hill at 056910 meeting the Saline-Stone Road (No.40) at 054925, but this leaves Myrie Hall nearly 1 km to the west.

Pagan (1845.65n) confirms that in the case of Roads 59, 61, 62, 65 and 66 'the act has not been put in operation.'

Road 60 was a new road laid out to easy gradients and completed in the same year as the Act, 1810. It was managed by enlarging a trust created for Road 39, which now became the Outh and Nivingston Trust of which the earliest surviving minute book begins in 1810.

Road 63 took the place of a road shown by Ainslie in 1775 which ran over the Pilkham Hills and included several steep sections.[1] The less demanding Road 63 was constructed in 1816 to 1817 and modified by an embankment and cutting to ease the worst gradients still further in 1840.[2]

Road 64, which was effectively an improvement of a road shown by Ainslie in 1775, came under the management of the 'Carnock and Comrie Trust' as noted by Pagan (1845.149), and records of this trust appear not to have survived. The date of completion is probably indicated by a rise of 50 per cent in the receipts of Rumblingwell tollbar (078883) between 1814 and 1816.

Road 67, details of which are included in Chapter 9, below, had been well advanced before 1790, extra carriages being granted in 1778 and from 1784 to 1792 (Chapter 6). In 1790 twenty five labourers from Newburgh and the same number from Auchtermuchty were directed to work on this road. It was, however, not completed as a turnpike road until 1813, the Pitcairl: tollbar being erected in the same year. Access to 'the lime and coal-fields of Fife' is given in 1836 as a major purpose for this road (NSA 77).

Road 68: Ainslie shows no road between Rossie and Pitcairlie, nor is there a road through Weddersbie Den on Sharp's map (1828). The latter however shows the modern road through Rossie farm and the road in the Act is probably misdescribed.

Road 69 is a pre-Ainslie road with some very steep gradients. Entry to it was controlled by the Pitcairlie tollbar at the junction with Road 67.

Roads 70 to 72 appear to have been added at the end of the 1810 Bill in

---

1. The old road, much of it between double dykes, is visible on aerial photograph (58/RAF/6638.F44.26/2/65SDD.0223-4).
2. Stephen (1975.242) shows the lines of Road 63 before and after this improvement, together with the earlier route and the respective profiles.

Plate 7.6 The old road between Burntisland and the Great North Road near Cowdenbeath

Made redundant by Road 63 after 1816, this Pilkham Hills section has double dykes about 10m apart, with a band of poorly sorted metalling along the centre. It is marked as 'Old North Road' on the 1855 O.S. sheet.

GR 191897 bearing 110

response to a request by James Loch of Blair Adam in Kinross-shire. Mr. Loch maintained that the more roads that were put into the Bill, the cheaper each would be. When the previous bill, for 1807, had been passed two thirds of the cost of the bill had been paid by the proposers of the roads included, in proportion to the estimated cost of those roads (CT 5.5.1807). Mr. Loch was reminded of this requirement by the clerk to the trustees, but his roads were nevertheless included, none of them in the event becoming turnpike roads.

Roads 70 and 71 could describe roads on Ainslie's map which have persisted as modern roads.

Road 72 is curiously worded in the Act, the Shanks (180978) and Binn (142968) being on a road to the south of Benarty Hill, while the Brackleys are on a different road to the north.

The 1829 Act (10 GIV.84)

Roads 73 to 86: The passing of the 1829 Act introduced the last major phase of turnpike development in Fife. Fourteen roads were listed of which ten were turnpiked during the next ten years. Figure 7.5 shows a scatter of supplementary links most of which were formed from pre-existing roads and there were two duplications, in part, of roads under previous acts, No.80 including Road 47 and No.87 including Road 57.

Road 73 fits the line shown by Ainslie which provides a gradual ascent over the east shoulder of Largo Law. In the modern road there is a realignment of less than 2 km. between Wester Lathallan (447064) and Largo Ward.

Road 74 was a new line and in 1814 received £100 from the district to augment subscriptions. It reduced the climb for traffic from New Inn from a summit height of 230m on the Dumbarrow Bank road (No.11) to one of 160m. A tollbar was rouped at Beansnook (160130) in 1830.

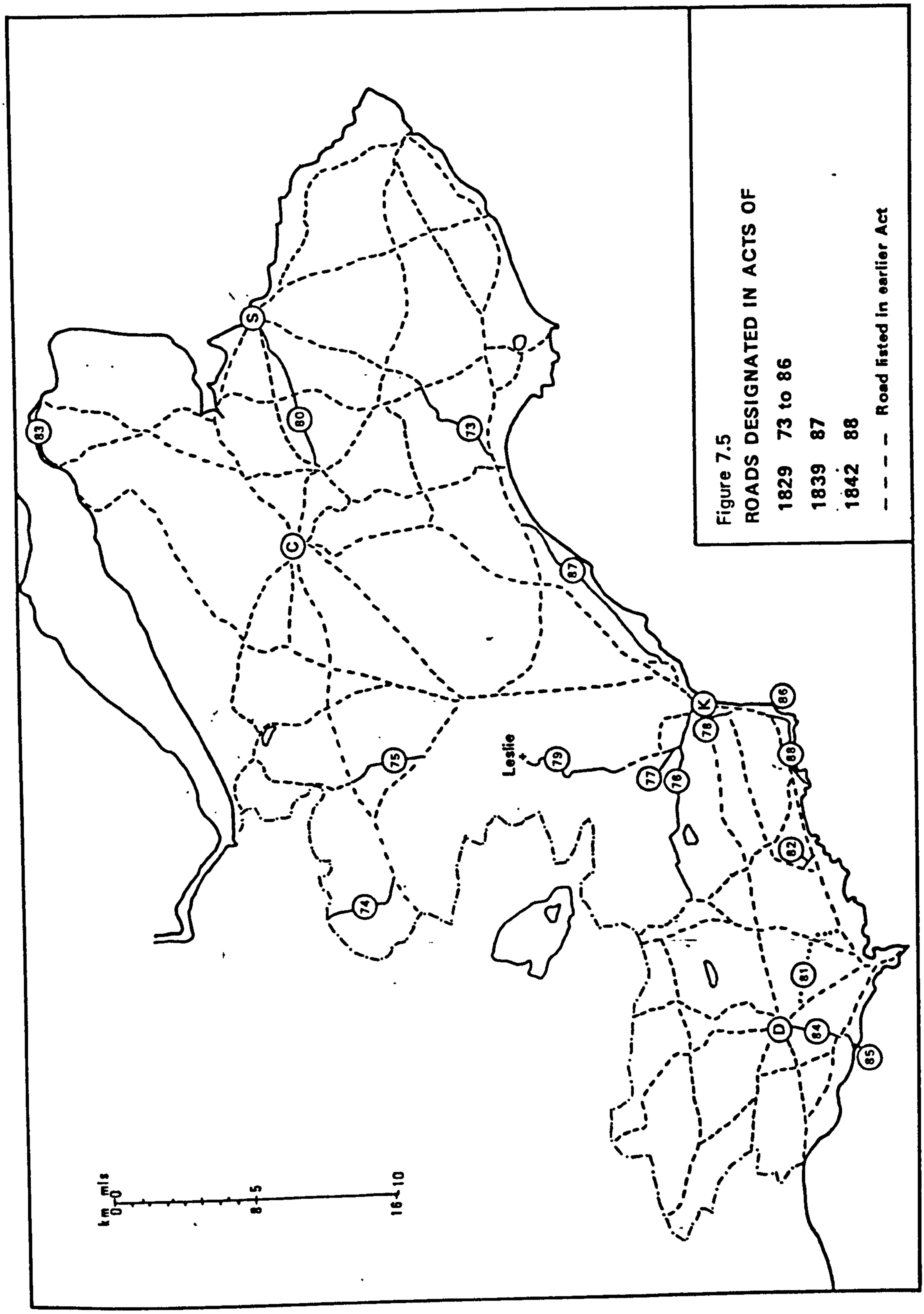


Figure 7.5
ROADS DESIGNATED IN ACTS OF
1829 73 to 86
1839 87
1842 88
– – – – Road listed in earlier Act
S
C
K
O
Leslie
73
74
75
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
km
0
5
10
miles
0
5
10

Road 75 through Falkland Wood was being improved as a new line in 1784. Ainslie had shown no road across the burn between Myres Castle (242110) and Auchtermuchty, but the road is unbroken on the sketch map in Thomson (1800).[1] As noted in Chapter 6, the improvement was not effected without some disagreement, since certain trustees favoured the alternative route by Shiels Bridge and Dunshelt. In 1790 the latter road was funded as far as Shiels Bridge, out of New Inn tolls, as the planned Road 12, but only Road 75 became a turnpike road.

Road 76 was of particular interest to Ferguson of Raith (256917), who in 1812 was canvassing support for the listing as a statute labour road of a road along this line towards Lochgelly which he said would 'open up a new field of coal and lime.' It extended a diversion of the road called Lang Braes (270917) he had made round the east end of the Raith grounds and was probably built largely at his expense. It was a turnpike road in 1836 (Statute Labour Report). Coal carts were said to use the Lang Braes road and these would have come from the Cluny colliery, probably along a road shown uncompleted by Ainslie.[2]

Road 77 corresponded to this latter road and furnished a link between Road 9 at Chapel and Road 76. It was shown as a turnpike road in 1836 (Statute Labour Report) and entry to it would be controlled by Bennochy tollbar (274923).

Road 78 provided a means of avoiding the narrow main street of Kirkcaldy on the way to Kinghorn and was a toll road in 1836.

Road 79 comprised a southern section from Cluny to Kinglassie, which probably completed the line intended for Road 9 and continued it north from Kinglassie, along a line corresponding to that shown by Ainslie, into Leslie. There had been a tollbar at Cluny since 1791 and the whole road was shown as turnpiked in 1836.[3]

---

1. Aerial photograph (Cambridge 31.7.79 K17-AT149) reveals no obvious alternative track or fording place.
2. See also Chapter 11.
3. Contrary to a statement by the Minister of Leslie in 1836, 'There are no toll roads in the parish' (NSA120).

Road 80 incorporated and extended Road 47. The western end had given access from Cupar to limestone at Laddedie and coal at Drumcarrow since before 1814 when it was admitted to the list of statute labour roads (CuS 6.4.1814). It was referred to in the St. Andrews district turnpike accounts in 1830 as the Denhead road and was shown as a turnpike road in a map of 1833 (Duncan).

Road 81 corresponded to Ainslie's line and was a statute labour road in 1823. By its absence from subsequent turnpike accounts it appears to have remained so.

Road 82 was reported 'complete, now turnpike' in 1829 (DT 2.11.1829).

Road 83 connected the ferry at Newport to that at Ferryport, the owner of which paid for the road to be built by way of a loan repayable out of the tolls, in 1820 (NSA86). A tollbar was in position (433289) in 1835.

Roads 84 and 85 remained statute labour roads.

Road 86 was a connection between Pettycur Harbour, which had for some years taken over the ferry trade from Kinghorn (NSA813), and the only road at that time, No.4, between Burntisland and Kirkcaldy.

The 1839 Act (2+3V.48)

Road 87 between Boreland Loan and the west bank of the River Leven would probably have been intended to correspond to Road 57. The main development was the building of a bridge to replace Sawmill Ford, thus avoiding the detour upstream to Cameron Bridge on Road 4. In December 1836 it was reported that a bridge was 'at present in contemplation.' The laird of Durie had to be persuaded to relinquish his rights of ferry in 1838 and became a trustee under the Bill. In 1841 it was observed that 'the Sawmill Ford Road is now turnpike' (KT 20.3.1841. See also Pagan 1845.142, 1857.27).

The 1842 Act (5 and 6 Vict. 51)

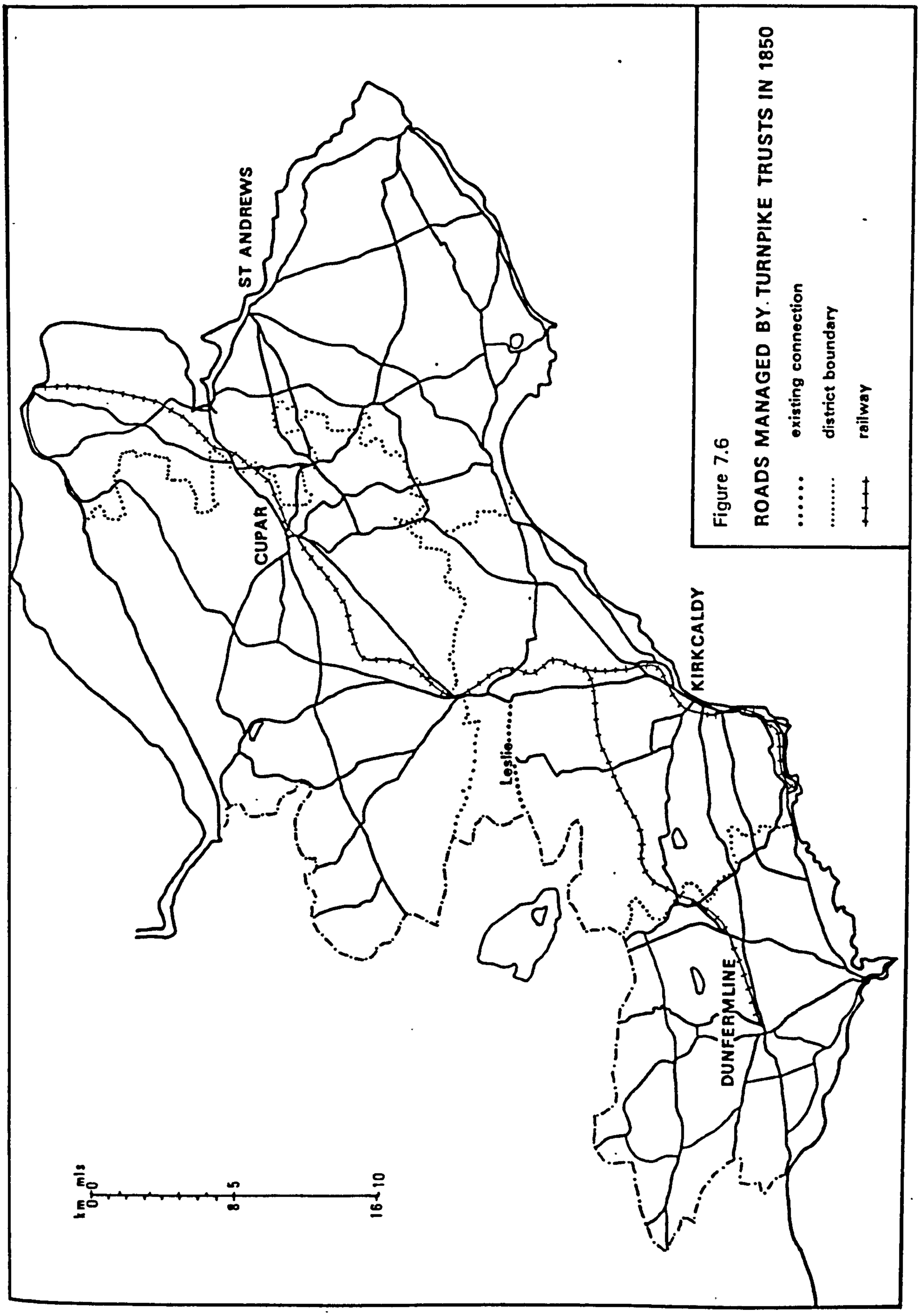
Road 88 was included in this Act as part of a scheme to build a non-tidal ferry terminal at Burntisland. At a meeting in 1840 it was argued that whereas most of the benefits would come to the parishes of Dalgety and Aberdour the expense would be borne by the whole county. However, when the potential use of the harbour by a railway was considered the proposals were accepted. This was one of the few works in Fife for which Thomas Telford was consulted and he was responsible for selecting the line of the new road. This was authorised to be built in 1841 and completed in 1844, with a tollbar (231863) in Kirkton of Burntisland. No specific reference to a road appears in the title of the Act, which ends '... and for repairing the communication between the said Pier and Kinghorn'.

The Turnpike System and the changing road pattern

Between the Queensferry to Perth Act in 1753 and the inaugural run of the first train from Burntisland to Cupar in 1847 a number of entirely new roads were built and extensive realignments made to pre-existing roads, a programme of work which could only have been accomplished slowly, if at all, without the revenue of tolls levied under the turnpike system.

The emergence of the road pattern to be found at the end of this period, shown in Figure 7.6 , was uniform neither in pace nor extent. The 1753 Act roads brought little benefit to people in that part of Fife other than those who wished to travel to Kinross or Perth although those who lived in Dunfermline had the use of a road supported by tolls leading to the ferry (Road 2). Development of the coast road to Kinghorn and Kirkcaldy was not pursued and the Burgh of Dunfermline instead started an inland connection (Road 5) to Kirkcaldy which collected no tolls for 40 years.

Road development in the rest of Fife was largely independent of the 1753 Act and sprang from a programme worked out in 1748 designed to make


ROADS MANAGED BY TURNPIKE TRUSTS IN 1850
existing connection
district boundary
railway
Figure 7.6
ST ANDREWS
CUPAR
KIRKCALDY
Leslie
DUNFERMLINE
km 0 5 10
mls 0 5 10

the best use of statute labour. The first roads to be improved were those meeting at New Inn and forming the core of the Fife network. Further development awaited the 1774 statute labour act after which a larger number of roads were given preferential treatment.

As has been noted in Chapter 6, the improvements after 1774 were not necessarily conducted with the pending adoption of the turnpike system in view. Indeed, it has been argued that, with more efficient use of the existing resources, resort to tolls as a source of revenue might have been avoided, or at least postponed.

The three early roads meeting at New Inn were among the first to be turnpiked, while those experiencing the greatest delay were a road in the far north west (No.67), built and financed with difficulty by a single proprietor, and a long road to Crail (No.15) through sparsely populated country in a district where the trustees were not noticeably active until after 1800.

The 1790 Act provided for connections between the four district centres with links to Crail in the east and through to adjoining counties in the west. Road 13 was a substantially new road and, apart from Roads 8, 12 and 17 these were all eventually turnpiked.

The 1797 Act shifted the emphasis in development to northern Fife and introduced four new roads, three crossing the Howe and the hills to the shore of the Tay, and one providing easier access to the North Ferry from Kirkcaldy. The 1802 and 1805 Acts listed three roads north of Dunfermline, one of which, Road 40, was almost entirely new. The 1807 Act concerned roads through St Andrews District together with two roads in Kirkcaldy, one of which was new (No.55). The 1810 Act included three major links using carefully set out gradients and all directed to facilitate through travel to adjoining counties.

At this stage the pattern was nearly complete. There remained a scatter of shorter links, half of which were in Kirkcaldy District. The most noticeable addition was Road 74 to Beansnook, an easier connection

to the Great North Road in the north west, which was a new road.

CONCLUSION :

As has already been noted, the spatial development of the Fife road network in the 19th century had virtually come to a halt before 1850 and the efficacy of the turnpike system as an administrative device and source of finance has been only briefly discussed. It is of course assessed in some detail by Pagan (1845, 1857), whose contribution is acknowledged in Chapter 8, below. In 1846 a 'road reform committee' expressed gratitude to Mr. Pagan for his plan but, 'in the uncertainty as to the extent and the effect of these changes' ... (the abolition of tolls and the introduction of a tax on horses) ... 'they were not expedient at the present time.'[1]

The extent to which the system was adopted varied from district to district as has been indicated in the shifts of emphasis in successive Acts. The enterprise displayed in the 1753 Act owed little to the individual proprietors of Dunfermline district and was conceived against a national background of communications. In the Acts of 1790 and 1797 the influence of Cupar, as the seat of county government and its position as the hub of the northern Fife road system, can be seen at work.

Much of the initiative for later road development in the west of the county derived from the Great North Road trustees, with their interest in a connection to Burntisland (Road 63) and from William Adam, a prominent landowner north east of Dunfermline.

A concern from St Andrews that existing roads should be upgraded to turnpike standards isevinced in the 1807 Act but the district appears to have been ill-organised to effect any major improvement without help from Cupar. Trustees were appointed to operate the principal toll bars for the benefit of the roads they served. In the case of the bar at

---

1. The committee was continued. In Pagan's later edition he added the alternative of a property tax.

Guard Bridge, they regarded themselves as persons of some distinction. On Mr. Haig's proposal in 1818 that the matter of a check bar on an evasion route across his land at Seggie, whereby grain landed at Guard Bridge port for his distillery might escape tolls, should be referred to a statute labour committee at Leuchars, Mr. Cheape of Strathtyrum protested. The committee was composed of gentlemen, he claimed, 'of an inferior rank to that of the Trustees of the Guard Bridge toll bar' ... (and) ... 'cannot of course take under its cognisance a measure proposed by a superior committee, as that would be inverting the natural order of things' (CT 5.5.1818).

His argument was not accepted, but the incident suggests that when the time came, in the 1830s, to institute more efficient procedures in the district, the new general surveyor, Mr. McConnell, had to exercise considerable tact and persuasion.

The deliberations of the Committee appointed in St. Andrews District to consider the engagement of McConnell in 1834 gives some indication of links with certain prominent road trustees in adjacent regions of Scotland, whose activities were probably already known to his prospective employers.

Thus, he produces separate letters of recommendation testifying to his beneficial management of roads from Perth to Dunkeld, from Perth to Crieff, from Perth to Dundee, and of a new turnpike road at Montrose. A fifth letter comes from Edinburgh referring to roads at Cramond.

It might be argued that, from other indications mentioned above, St Andrews district was in greater need of a professional manager than its neighbours, but, as is noted in Chapter 12, the value of McConnell's services was soon recognised by trustees in Kirkcaldy district. Here, trustees with interests in mining and manufacture were in a position to make the most of the potential toll revenues, as their later accounts testify (Pagan 1845.133).

While trustees at Cupar saw the road system in a broader perspective in terms of county or even national communications, those at Kirkcaldy

were more restrained in their suggestions as to which roads might profitably be included in the successive turnpike bills. It will be noted that while Roads 4, 5, 10 and 63 were primarily through routes to major population centres in other districts, Roads 9, 20, 55 and 76 were developed by coal owners, initially for their own purposes. The Leven Bridge road (No.87) was to be run by an independent trust, and the remaining roads, Nos. 77 to 79, 86 and 88 were comparatively short connections.

CHAPTER 8

THE NATURE OF ROAD TRAFFIC IN FIFE

The interrelation between road demand and road provision can be followed through the 18th century by having regard to two prevailing trends: the response to an increasing production of those goods that required land carriage, and to an increase of passenger traffic.

The Movement of Grain

In the first half of the century, as was noted in Chapter 5, the needs of agriculture dominated the pattern of transport over Scotland as a whole, and although many tenants had begun to pay their rents in money, payment in grain continued in the arable eastern lowlands (Whyte 1974.330). However, whereas this grain had hitherto been delivered to the proprietors' barns, this practice began to be replaced by carriage by the tenant to a market centre, to be sold by the proprietor or his agent. The old system had the disadvantage that carriage to the barns was normally required during the winter months when the use of wheeled vehicles was impractical over unmade roads. Most of the grain would have had to be carried on horseback, a tenant of a ploughgate of land needing to carry some ten to twenty packhorse loads (Whyte 1979.193).

Where access to a market centre was easy, a proprietor might encourage his tenants to sell the grain themselves and, as in other parts of Scotland, pay him in money.

In Fife, no tenant would have been much more than six miles from a market centre in 1707 (Whyte 1979.188), several non-burghal centres having been created since 1660. In 1685 the ports of Fife ranked fifth, after Leith, Montrose, Dundee and Inverness, in the quantity of grain exported, most of which left from Kirkcaldy, the pre-eminence of which port was later noted by Defoe (1727). At the end of the century,

Thomson (1800.299) selected the ports of Kirkcaldy and Anstruther to illustrate the export of grain, the practice having increased greatly 'of late', and noted that some 3,600 tons a year of grain were leaving these ports in the 1790s. In the north of the county it was claimed that most exports of grain went through Newburgh, 'chiefly for the Edinburgh and Glasgow markets' (OSA 676) but the minister of Balmerino, estimating exports at over 350 tons of grain, stated that his parish port was 'the chief place on the south side of the Tay for shipping wheat and barley for the Forth and Canal' (OSA 83). He claimed that exports had begun in the 1760s when merchants started buying grain from farmers in Cupar market and having them deliver it to Balmerino, remarking that before that time farmers either had to make their own arrangements to ship grain to Dundee or take it by horseback to the south coast. Thomson confirms the importance of the north coast ports in terms of the number of ships employed, and refers to 'the great quantities of grain shipped from the north side' (1800.301).

Cattle

The long distance movement of cattle in Fife seems to have had little effect on the road system or its management, but evidence of the existence of this traffic comes from a number of sources.

The droving of cattle south from the Highlands had diminished steadily after the 1760s when sheep were found to be more profitable (Haldane 1952.139) and although at an earlier date many more cattle may have crossed Fife, by the 1790s the numbers provoked no comment from the road authorities.

References occur to sales of cattle in various Fife parishes to English dealers in the 1790s, as at Auchtermuchty (OSA 56) and Cupar (OSA 224), and Thomson (1800.260) estimates the stock of black cattle at 60,000. In 1816 it was estimated that half the county's beef cattle went to England (NSA 271).

At Ferryport-on-Craig in 1791 the minister, after describing the reduction of general traffic on the road from Cupar and St. Andrews since the new bridge was built over the Tay at Perth, writes, 'The drovers, however, still frequently pass here, having good conveniency for their cattle on both sides of the river' (OSA 366). Improvement of the pier and road connections to Newport had the effect of capturing much of Ferryport's traffic in cattle, 2,371 cattle crossing to Newport in 1816 (Tayfield 26/1) and by 1822, with the acquisition of a steamboat, greater numbers travelled this way, 4,598 cattle crossing in 1834 (NSA 514).

Evidence from inland sources is sparse. A toll house at Balgedie (172035) in Kinrossshire is reported to have been sited on a drovers' route and is aligned with the 'drove road' (230040) on the south flank of the Lomonds in Fife. Further west, evidence for movement of animals comes from William Adam of Blairadam in 1809 when he writes of 'the many thousands of cattle' driven along the Great North Road (Adam 1834).

The shorter passages across the Forth would have taken some of the cattle for Falkirk Tryst, most of which would have used the bridge at Stirling. The Forth passage was not without dangers and in 1793 the minister of Inverkeithing reports, 'There was a large boat overset some years ago, occasioned by a sudden squall and its being fully loaded with black cattle' (OSA 398).

At the extreme western edge of Fife, cattle had been crossing Comrie Bridge (020894) before 1834 on their way to the Falkirk Tryst since Dunfermline trustees approved a tollbar in that year (DS 4.4). The cattle were said to be travelling 'by the Torryburn Road' and this suggests that they came through Loanhead (022915) and used the road past old Inzievar (020877) to Torry Pier (016858).

Haldane (1952) does not regard Fife as lying on any of the main droving routes. Remarking on the unsuitability of metalled roads for

cattle he later says 'roadless country was an advantage rather than an obstacle' (1962.173).

As the numbers of sheep raised in the Highlands increased, he says 'roads on the routes of the drovers took on an added importance, easing the task of the drovers and providing, as parts of the King's Highway, established and recognised routes to take the place of the traditional drove roads many of which were falling out of use and recognition.'

Certainly, the damage from concentrated cattle traffic which aroused comment in the Highlands (Haldane 1962.70) prompted no such references in the Fife records.

In fact, apart from the isolated reference to Comrie Bridge, above, the passage of cattle is mentioned only where the occasional farmer claims exemption from tolls on his beasts between field and steading.

It is arguable that drovers of cattle, as distinguished from sheep, did not favour the use of metalled roads and any effect they might have had on tracks across unenclosed country and along disused roads would have been unrecorded. (Haldane 1962.69)

Coal and Lime

The transport of these two commodities plays such an important part in the development of Fife roads that it is prominent in more than one context.

Thus, the role of lime as a fertiliser and building material in the agricultural improvement movement of the 18th century is stressed in Chapter 5; the stimulus given to developing road connections between the Markinch Gap and the coal and lime deficient north of the county is a recurring theme in Chapter 6. The transport of both minerals is discussed in detail in Chapter 11 and it will be noted that the interests of coal owners lay behind the negotiations for a central route in Chapter 13.

Although figures for output of coal and lime and market prices are

given, particularly in the late 18th century, the means of haulage employed is seldom mentioned.[1] In spite of the body of evidence for the ownership of wheeled vehicles on farms well before 1700 and the use of carts for carrying coal south of the Forth (Whyte 1979.175), specific references to 'coal carts' are rare in Fife until some time after horse drawn waggons on rails were introduced at Fordell in 1752 (Baxter 1966.20). It may be assumed that where the surface of the ground was suitable, tenants would use their own carts to fulfil coal carrying services to their landlords and to fetch their own lime (Smout 1969.121).

The use of carts by owners of coal pits in the 1740s is questioned by A. Thomson (1981.51) when he argues that the economic benefit of a switch from packhorses to carts is being considered. In the case cited, transport of coal from Cadham to Kirkcaldy for export is proposed in carts carrying less than half a ton but Thomson suggests that packhorses were the normal means of conveyance at that time.

References occur in 1775 to 'carriages' as implying carts rather than packhorses, as when a road with an easy gradient is selected north of Auchtermuchty from two alternative lines although it was described as 'impassable for carriages' (Cu S 11.4).

In the same minute book in 1782, a claim that 'in the season for driving lime and coals' more than 'two hundred carriages a day' pass through the streets of Strathmiglo is unlikely to mean that these were exclusively packhorse loads. (Cu S 9.4)

There is a similar uncertainty attaching to the use of 'waggons'. For instance, in 1791 the minister of Carnock, in describing a colliery, notes the absence of waggons in the parish, but later, under 'roads', says, 'they are hardly passable, owing to the softness of the soil, and the great number of heavy carriages' (OSA 131).[2]

---

1. Sinclair (1814.266) gives the common allowance of coal for farm servants as three tons per servant per year and concludes that 'an ordinary farmer cannot be allowed less than sixteen carts annually'.
2. He may of course be referring to the damage done by the hooves of heavily laden packhorses.

The word 'waggons' would seem therefore to imply a railway with trolleys, but at the same time his fellow minister at Wemyss, while he mentions a waggon way to Methil, also notes that 'Coal for exportation is driven in large waggons from the pits to the harbour of Wester Wemyss'. In the latter case no waggonway, equipped with wooden or iron rails, is known to have existed, and the minister is probably referring to road vehicles (OSA 791).

Surveying the previous fifty years, J. Thomson (1800.130) makes it clear that by the end of the century the design of carts was 'brought to the same perfection in (Fife) as in other counties' and he writes approvingly of the more recent adoption of a smaller cart than the former two-horse carts. Two of the new carts carried more than one double cart and, although less stable on poor roads, could be handled by one driver. He says the hay and corn version was designed to carry one ton.[1] Even larger vehicles were being used to carry coal at that date (Chapter 11, below) and where iron ore was found in adjacent strata the damage caused due to 'the great traffic by ironstone carriages' over a short distance between 1798 and 1817 is noted below (Chapter 11).

The transition from packhorses to carts for carrying quicklime is mentioned in Chapter 5, and although the evidence for Fife is inconclusive, there is no reason to doubt the applicability of Headrick's observations in Angus (1813.511) over the previous half century, namely that the packhorse was far from ideal as a means of carrying quicklime and access to building lime corresponded to the provision of better roads, that is to say, roads capable of taking wheeled vehicles.[2] The expansion of agricultural lime consumption in the late 18th century is a similar indication of the use of carts.

---

1. Sinclair (1813.i.75) recommends single horse carts for lime in the summer.
2. Pennant (1776) refers to the use of lime for building in Fife which, he says, 'occasions a considerable consumption'.

Textiles

Except in the vicinity of the larger ports, manufacturing in Fife up to the middle of the 19th century was largely confined to the textile industry. Much of the production was represented by the hand weaving of linen and was dispersed over a number of villages in Fife. Flax had for a long time been grown in small quantities for the immediate needs of the rural population but although efforts were made to encourage more growing of flax in the county, considerable quantities were imported from the Baltic and from Holland. Estimates of the proportion of home grown flax varied widely, but Thomson (1800.306) reports that by the end of the century the spinning mills in Fife, of which three were on the Leven[1] and two on the Eden (Steel 1975.95), consumed 660 tons of flax a year and 'commonly' used Baltic or Dutch flax. An earlier source quoted by Durie (1979.35) states that the coarse linen of the east of Scotland used more locally grown flax. The same writer records (p.108) that some 3,000 tons of foreign flax was coming into Dundee in the 1790s. Some of this would be trans-shipped to Newburgh. With a total of five million yards of linen stamped for sale per year, Thomson (1800.304) calculates that the 5,000 looms employed in Fife would require yarn weighing over 2,000 tons.

At Auchtermuchty, a leading hand weaving village, over 500,000 yards - one tenth of Fife's total production - were stamped in 1791 (OSA.60). Using Thomson's $3\frac{3}{4}$ lb. spindle at 240 spindles to the 1,000 yards cloth per loom (pp.304-5), an estimated total of 500 looms at Auchtermuchty needed some 450,000 lbs or about 200 tons of flax. Much of this would reach Auchtermuchty made up as yarn and carried on horseback (about 2,000 loads if all imported).

The transport of the cloth itself demanded more careful treatment and the use of wheeled vehicles (Lenman 1974.26-7 and Durie 1979.162). This is apparent in the petition quoted in Chapter 6 from the heritors

1. Turner (1957.133) dates the first power spinning mills on the Leven between 1788 and 1790.

of Auchtermuchty and Strathmiglo in 1775 for a bridge at Dunshelt on a road over Shiels Bridge which they explain 'loads . . . . northwards to Newburgh, ... where most of the linen bought at Auchtermuchty and Strathmiglo (is taken) and where great quantities of flax and yarn is weekly landed from Dundee for the use of manufacturers in the neighbourhood' (Cu S 11.4). If only packhorses were needed, the existing tracks would have been more direct and no petition would have been justified.

A different request was made by the citizens of Falkland in 1784 when they asked for a road from Falkland to Auchtermuchty which would shorten the journey to Newburgh by one mile, as compared with the Shiels Bridge route, and would make that port more convenient than Kirkcaldy. The petition pointed out 'the great advantage to Linnen manufacturers, as the greatest part of the Linnens made in the Falkland neighbourhood are brought to Auchtermuchty for sale'[1]. The advantages for lime and coal carriage were also stressed (Cu S 13.4.1784).

Apart from the supply of yarn and the marketing of cloth, transport was required to take cloth and yarn to bleachfields, which ranged in size from burnside sites, operated by the weavers themselves, to special establishments covering several acres and equipped with boilers, vats, drying sheds and a system of drains. In seven of the parishes in the Old Statistical Account the minister reported the presence of a bleachfield, often stressing its reliability, those of Abbotshall (near Kirkcaldy) and Leven being described as 'extensive' (OSA 5 and 768). Durie (1979.32) notes that bleachfields were newly created between 1746 and 1760 at Strathmiglo, Kettle and Balbirnie.

To heat the lye or alkaline liquid a supply of coal was required. At first 'ashes' were used for bleaching, imported in 'very large barrels' (Durie 1979.83), as an alternative to burnt kelp or fern, and the amounts retailed to bleachers may be judged from the division at Pathhead of a 1,000 pound consignment into several smaller parcels. (Durie 1979).

1. By 1821 Morris (1980.78) notes a service by long distance carts to Glasgow from Auchtermuchty, Cupar and Kirkcaldy.

The cheaper material, lime, could be used but was regarded with disfavour since it tended to weaken the fibres. Chlorine could be transported in the form of a solution in water and was used at Dunfermline in 1790, but the great advance came when the gas was absorbed in slaked lime as bleaching powder which came into use after 1799.

Building Materials

The use of lime for building construction as well as an agricultural fertilizer has been mentioned above. Stone and timber required to be moved in increasing quantities especially towards the end of the 18th century where there was widespread rebuilding of private houses, farmhouses, steadings and cottages (Thomson 1800.63,67,80). There being little mature woodland in Fife, the bulk of the constructional timber was imported through such ports as Leven and Newburgh, where a petition of 1775 from the people of Auchtermuchty stressed the importance of this material.

The most sought after walling material was the freestone, or less jointed sandstone, which was to be quarried easily south of Stratheden. In the north the igneous rocks were better for roadstone or building walls than for accurate masonry or ashlar needed round window and door openings, chimneys and quoins. An early instance of a route for haulage of stone to Balmerino Abbey from Nydie, near St Andrews, is recorded by Smith (1948.167) in the 13th century, where, although 'waggons' are mentioned, a more probable form of transport would be oxen-drawn sledges.

In 1792 freestones driven to Leuchars are priced by the cart load (OSA 612), and in 1806 400 cart loads of stones pay toll at Dysart (KT 12.8). Stones for paving North Street, St Andrews, coming from Nydie Hill in 1819 are exempted from toll (CT 9.9) but in 1843 a builder liable to full toll at the St Andrews tollbar used an evasion route which added two miles to the journey. To account for the stated loss

of tolls, it was later estimated that 1,600 carts would have had to pass to have made the procedure worth the builder's while (Pagan 1845.246).

Personal Travel

The traffic represented by the bulk loads considered above, and their economical transfer from one place to another could, given adequate data, be evaluated in terms of cost per ton mile, economies in haulage being a powerful motive in road improvement. It would be more difficult to quantify the influence on a system of land communications of the movement of people in the 18th century.

In the generation of personal travel the historic role of the needs of efficient administration was explained in Chapter 4, only the movements of rulers, bishops, judges and others of like rank being recorded They, indeed, were the only travellers who were in a position to view the communications system as a whole or to do anything constructive about it.

Their numbers were swelled after the Union of 1707, when there was inevitably an increase in the movements of such people between Scotland and England. To the functionaries of an earlier period were now added military personnel and parliamentary representatives.[1] The lawlessness and periodic insurrection which persisted in the Highlands provided the background to the military road programme of the 1730s and the letters of Burt (1737) give an indication of the movements of one officer. In the quieter lowlands, as has been noted in Chapter 5, leaders of the Scottish community travelling in their various capacities brought to their activities as landowners and road administrators the new agricultural and other practices encountered south of the border.

All these people required the support of a system of postal communications which, as Haldane (1971) describes, was substantially extended in the 18th century and of which some examples in Fife are given below.

---

1. Smout (1969.201) suggests that the journeys made to Westminster were of dubious benefit to their country.

As the political climate became more stable in the latter half of the century, hitherto unrepresented categories of travellers, such as the commercial agent seeking new business opportunities, or the writer, charged with investigating the unfamiliar or simply to enlarge his own experience, opened up fresh economic and cultural territory. (Defoe 1727, Pennant 1776, Johnson 1773).[1]

Visitors to Fife or with destinations further to the north took either the short ferry passage at Queensferry, crossing only the western part of Fife along the Great North Road, or they could choose the 'broad' ferry from Leith to Kinghorn and head for the ferries to Dundee. Horses and vehicles could be hired at Queensferry, as by Robert Lindsy in 1709 (Bodie 1980.407) or at Kinghorn, as recorded in Archbishop Sharp's account of 1663 (Brown 1891.319). Both Lindsy and Sharp employed a guide, in itself a comment on the poor definition of the routes they used.

The evidence for the use by Sharp of a coach on this occasion is inconclusive but coach horses were certainly used and he was attended by a coachman. On his last journey in 1679 his use of a coach is confirmed (Mackay 1890.130). The later travellers, Defoe in 1725 and Pennant in 1772, rode horses which enabled them to wander anywhere they pleased, whereas Johnson in 1773 hired a post chaise and stayed the night at Cupar on his way along the main road to St Andrews.

The presence of passenger vehicles in Cupar itself is recorded in the 1793 parish report (OSA 232), there being one coach and eight chaises. These may not all have been for hire, since in a similar account for Kirkcaldy in 1795 (OSA 515) when two coaches and seven post chaises are listed, only one coach and five chaises are said to have been for hire. The Dunfermline report makes no such distinction and merely lists '8 gentlemens wheel-carriages' (OSA 320). In Kinghorn parish in 1793 the first mentioned uses for the seventy non-agricultural horses are in post-chaises and 'letting out for hire' (OSA 492). A retrospective account, referring to the days before steamers and stage coaches, states,

1. Hill (1964)

'the demand for saddle-horses was so great, that, in the recollection of some old men, not less than sixty belonged to Kinghorn' (NSA 814).[1]

A less numerical but perhaps more convincing indication of the extent of private travel by the 'post roads' in the late 18th century is offered by the appearance of a number of itineraries, some in the nature of guide books, one of the earliest being by Paterson (1778). However the number of each acquired by travellers in Fife is difficult to assess.

Carriers

Among the transport services available to local communities there was that provided by the carrier who often combined the transmission of small items with itinerant trading when he was known as a 'cadger'. Many cross country tracks are traditionally associated with cadgers; examples may be found near Leslie (233008)[2], described by Davidson (1942), and between Earlsferry and Grange (479000), mentioned by Wood (1887.192).

Information about carrier services, as in the case of post-chaises, is available from a number of parish reports. Thus a minister seems anxious to portray Leuchars as a centre of communication, especially on the St Andrews to Dundee route where carriers 'pass and repass twice every week', although he does not conceal the fact that those from Cupar bypass the village (OSA 613).

The Leuchars account also mentions a quayside on the Motray Water at Inner Bridge, provided for the convenience of carters loading and unloadin small vessels. A distinction between carriers and carters is illustrated in the Kirkcaldy account where only three carriers are noted, as against thirty carters (OSA 513). In this parish it is probable that the carrier were engaged in longer journeys, the carters being mainly employed in transporting coal to the docks. Such specialisation may be seen as extending that noted among certain agricultural tenants by Smout (1969.121

---

1. this activity in catering for the needs of passengers from the ferry is contrasted with the 'deficiency of bustle and traffic' in 1843.
2. 6 inch O.S.1855

That the earlier function of the cadger was still recognised in 19th century Fife is evident from reference to the condition of a 'cadger's road' through Cordiesmailing (464077) in 1848 (ST 4.4), and a reminder of a specialised carrying function is given in 1801 when the road 'through the Moss' between Kirkcaldy and Burntisland is said to be 'most trafect in wet Seasons owing to the herring taken at Burntisland', to the extent that it might need 400 carts of stones per year to repair the damage (KT 9.6).[1]

Postal Traffic and Coach Services

Among the traditional functions of the carrier was the transmission of mail and this could be by horse, or on foot as a 'runner'. After 1667, authorised contractors for the carrying of mail were providing a twice weekly service between Edinburgh and Aberdeen (Haldane 1971.17). The route crossed Fife between Burntisland or Kinghorn ferry to the ferry for Dundee and one carrier completed the whole journey at a remuneration of 6/8d for the return journey and 1/6d expenses for the ferries (ibid.48).

The connection between this single route and other parts of Fife was effected by authorised common carriers, and a scale of charges was given under an Act of 1711. However, for many rural areas in the 18th century regular messengers or private servants had to be employed to carry letters, to or from the nearest post office.

In 1763 the foot post to Aberdeen was replaced by horse posts in relays at a frequency of five posts per week, using the same route, from Kinghorn to Dundee.

At the Queensferry passage a stage coach carrying mail was running in 1767 from Edinburgh as far as Perth, but it was not until improvements had been made to sections of road to the north east of Dundee that a stage coach ran to Aberdeen, using the new bridge over the Tay at Perth, completed in 1771.

---

1. A similar example from East Sussex, the steep Juggs Road, was deeply worn by Brighton fishwives taking their loads to Lewes by donkey (Parish 1957.68).

This remained the only coach service for mail north of the Forth until 1809 and in Fife until after 1813 (Figure 8.1). A connection at Kinross through Falkland in the direction of St Andrews had evidently been established by 1792, for the minister for Auchtermuchty argues (OSA 63) that the post office at Falkland should be transferred to Auchtermuchty and adds, 'this is not only a more centrical place, and more business carried on, but is also in a direct line from Kinross to Cupar and St Andrews'. By 1838 he would have been gratified by the fact that a horse or gig post had been established through Auchtermuchty on Road 16 while Falkland reverted to the foot post on the way to Kettle, referred to in 1787.[1]

A plea in 1791 from the minister of Wemyss for a post office to be provided in his parish (OSA 805) refers to Dysart as the nearest post-town. The post-boy went through Easter Wemyss to Leven and this confirms the use of Road 57, the road indicated in 1813. Dunfermline also had a post-office in 1792 (OSA 320) which had a bye bag in 1789 for Culross and Stirling (Haldane 1971.284). This establishes the earlier existence of the Road 2 route shown on the 1813 map.

One of the difficulties facing the turnpike trusts in Scotland arose from the exemption of mail carrying vehicles from tolls. In England exemption clauses had been included in the individual turnpike acts up to 1785 when a general act for the whole of Great Britain (25 G III.57) covered all turnpike roads and exempted 'all Carriages of what Description soever, or Horses, which shall be employed in conveying . . . the Mail or Packet . . .' As the numbers of coaches

---

1. At Orkie ford (292070), 'a little be-east the Freuchie being the post road betwixt Falkland, Cupar and St Andrews is very often impassable and exceedingly dangerous when there is any rise of water and that the Runner has been in eminent danger of being lost over and again or else go round another way which greatly retards his progress.' This caused sufficient concern among the Cupar statute labour trustees to prompt the allocation of £8.19.0 to a bridge (Cu S 21.5.1787).

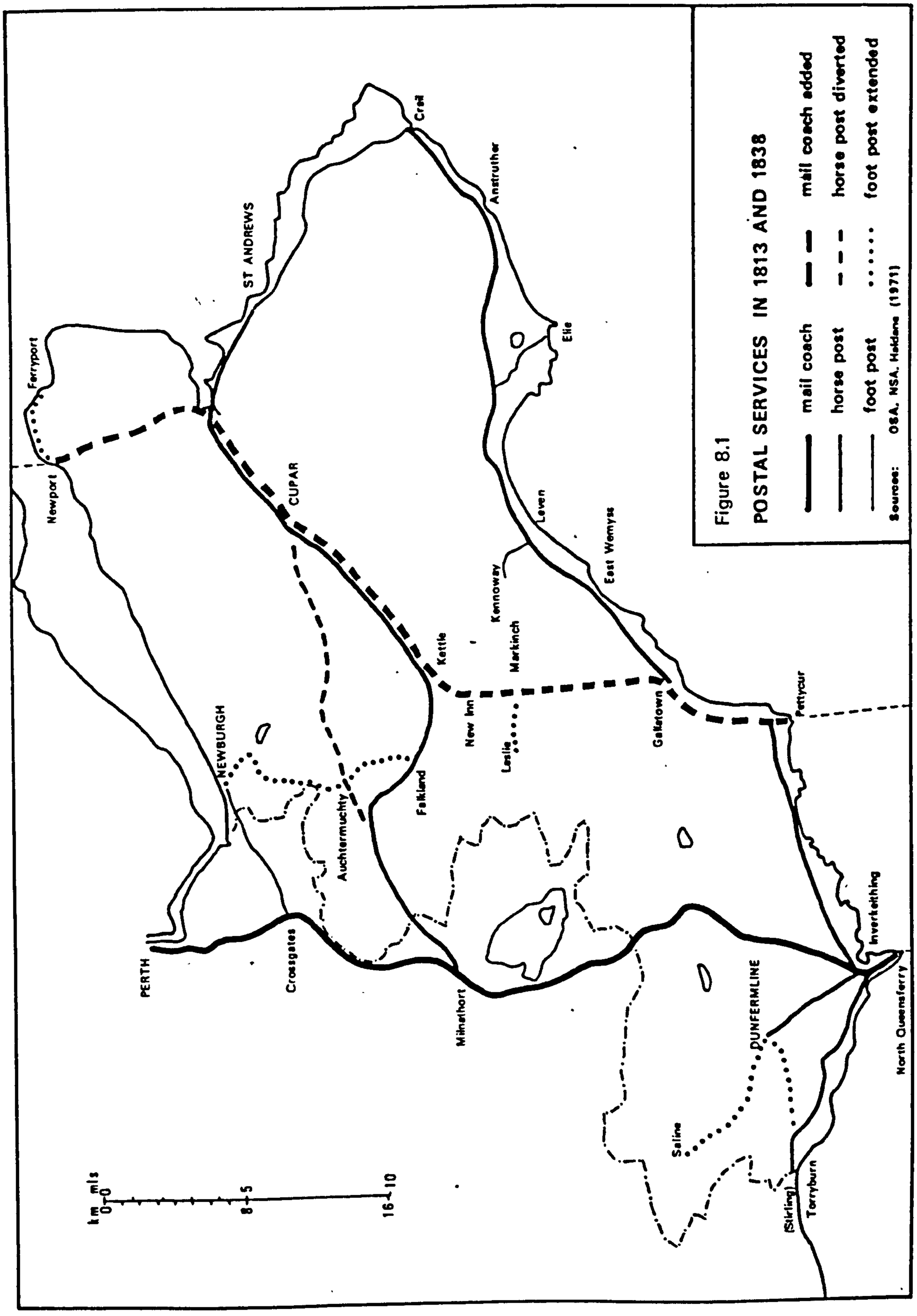

POSTAL SERVICES IN 1813 AND 1838
mail coach added
horse post diverted
foot post extended
Sources: OSA, NSA, Haldane (1971)
ST ANDREWS
Cral
Anstruther
Ferryport
Newport
CUPAR
Elie
Leven
East Wemyss
Kettle
Markinch
New Inn
Leslie
Gallatown
Pittycur
NEWBURGH
Auchtermuchty
Falkland
PERTH
Crossgates
Milnathort
Inverkeithing
North Queensferry
DUNFERMLINE
Saline
(Stirling)
Torryburn
km mls
0 0
8 5
16 10

Figure 8.1

carrying mail increased, the Scottish turnpike trusts came to realise the amount of the potential revenue denied to them. The trustees of Perthshire successfully contested the exemption in the case of a pre-turnpike toll on the Bridge of Earn in 1800, after a struggle lasting several years (GNR/PPL 3.9.1793), but otherwise the Post Office stood firm. The turnpike trusts argued that, apart from needing the revenue to be able to provide adequate roads, the mail coaches, of which the numbers were to increase to 200 by 1812 and which weighed up to 2 tons, could do great damage to the roads (Haldane 1971.88). They added that not a few stage-coach owners offered to carry mails for short distances and at low rates, solely to qualify for the exemption from tolls.

On the side of the Post Office it had been argued in 1798 (Haldane 1971.86) that the limited space permitted for passengers on mail coaches enabled a few to popularise travel among those who were able to hire private chaises and pay tolls, a view again put forward by the postal surveyor in 1809. During the course of this debate the Post Master General approached the Fife trustees with a plan to improve the postal service by means of mail coaches on the Kinghorn to Dundee road. The plan was approved in principle - provided the coaches paid tolls (CT 6.5.1800).

An application to Parliament was made in 1808, was still undecided in 1810 and a bill was declared lost in 1812 (CT 3.9.1812). However, the committee was continued and the bill was evidently reintroduced with success, becoming law in 1813 (53 G III.68). Vehicles with more than two wheels carrying mail had to pay tolls, but two-wheeled vehicles remained exempt, provided they carried no passengers. A surcharge of a halfpenny on letters was made, intended to cover the increased cost of tolls.

Districts varied as to whether tacksmen of toll bars were asked to include compositions or lump sum payments from coach operators in the

income on which they based their bids at roup. In Fife, county trustees excluded coach compositions in letting the New Inn and Cupar tollbars in 1812 and 1813, but in 1814 Gallatown tollbar was let to include coaches.

No composition arrangements between Fife turnpike trustees and coach operators seem to occur before 1813. Before this date it was possible that most coaches carried some mail and other vehicles attracting the same level of tolls were not making a sufficient number of journeys to make such a composition worth while.

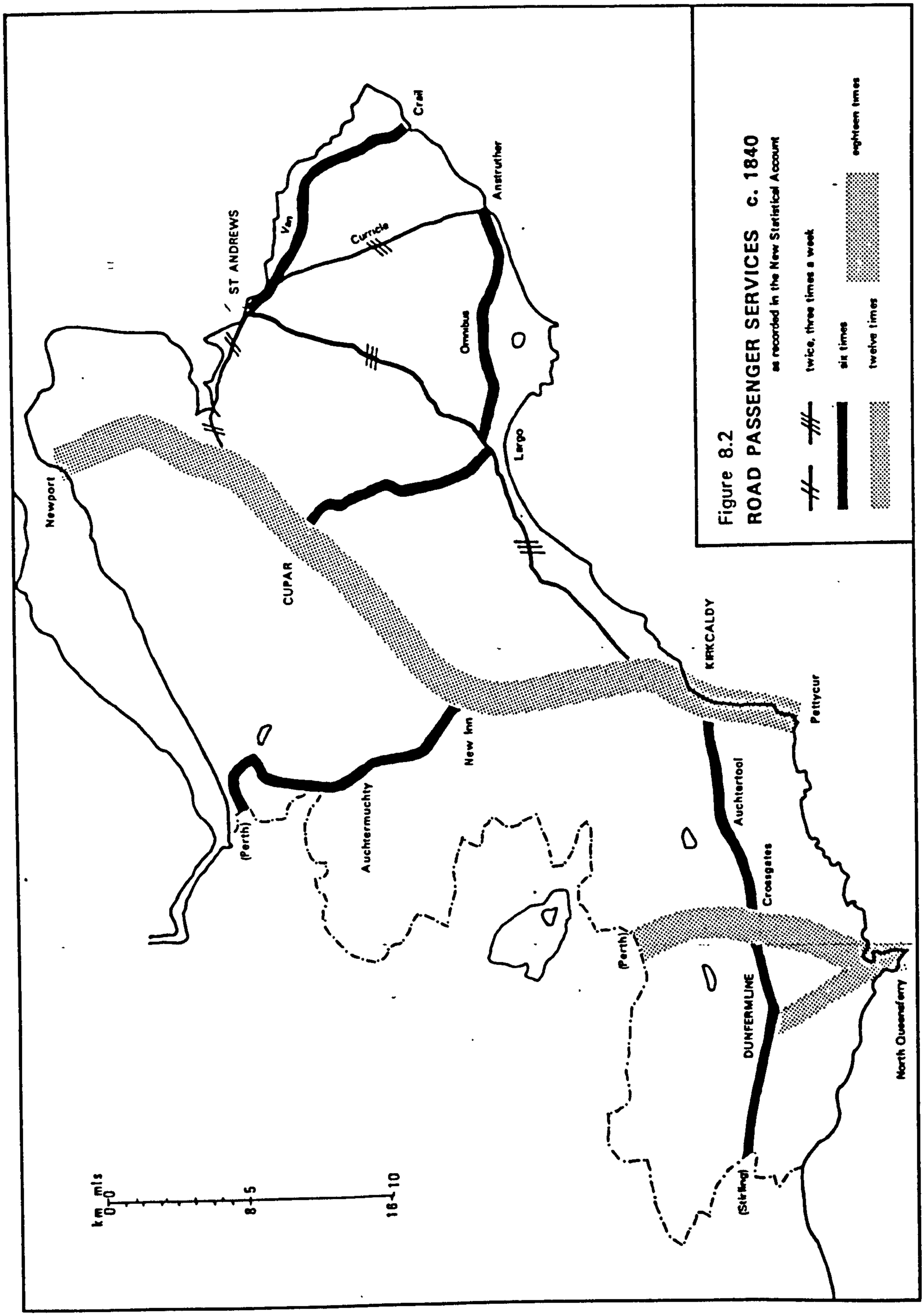
It might be expected that the Post Office scheme proposed in 1800, for putting on a coach from Kinghorn to Dundee waterside, would have been introduced as soon as tolls started to be paid on mail coaches in 1813, but this does not occur until 1834, at a time when three coaches, the Royal Union, the Kingdom of Fife and the Tally Ho had been transferred from Road 1 to Road 10. From Kinghorn to New Inn on the latter road they were joined by the Defiance which then proceeded to Newburgh by Road 11 (through Falkland) and Road 67 (by Pitcairlie).

The pattern of coach routes, of which reports are given between 1836 and 1845 in the New Statistical Account, is shown in Figure 8.2. A triangular area will be noted between the Newburgh and Cupar roads from New Inn, and the Tay shore, which had no coach services.[1] The subsequent introduction of a service west of Cupar is indicated in 1845 when the tackswoman of Balgarvie toll[2] complained of the loss of tolls caused by the change of route of the Cupar to Newburgh coach which now went by Bow of Fife.

The route between New Inn and the Dundee ferries favoured by the coach operators was that through Cupar, a long established posting station and well appointed for the needs of horses and travellers. The route from Drumtenant Bridge through Letham and Rathillet (Road 26) was,

---

1. at least up to the date of the report by the minister of Collessie parish (NSA 1836.34).
2. on Road 30 at 365149.


Crail
Anstruther
ST ANDREWS
Van
Currie
Omnibus
Largo
Newport
CUPAR
KIRKCALDY
Pettycur
New Inn
Auchtermuchty
(Perth)
Auchtertool
Crossgates
DUNFERMLINE
North Queensferry
(Stirling)
km
0
5
10
m/s
0
8
18
Figure 8.2
ROAD PASSENGER SERVICES c. 1840
as recorded in the New Statistical Account
twice, three times a week
six times
twelve times
eighteen times

perhaps contrary to the expectations of its initiators, little used by coaches, its main traffic being the carriage of coal from Balbirnie and Balgonie, and lime from Forthar to destinations in the Howe and northern Fife. The relation between traffic categories and receipts from tolls on these roads is further considered below.

Indications of Traffic Flow

Apart from those coaches which were known to travel along set routes so many times a week and illustrated in Figure 8.2, the actual numbers of vehicles using the roads are seldom revealed by the records of the road trustees. A request in 1782, noted above, for repairs to the street of Strathmiglo, was backed by a claim that over two hundred 'carriages' a day passed through 'during the season of driving coals and lime' (Cu S 9.4.1782). The same, probably notional, figure appears again in 1785 referring to the Shiels Bridge route between New Inn and Auchtermuchty. In general, however, such numerical statements are less usual than relative terms, for example 'a very great quantity of lime' (KT 13.10.1792) or 'one third less coal' (CT 9.10.1800).

Information from Toll Revenue

It might be expected that some measure of traffic flow could be derived from the records kept by toll keepers on the turnpike roads after 1790, but the scarcity of toll receipts was noted in Chapter 2. It was not in the interest of the tacksman to expose records of his income to scrutiny and thereby reveal the amount of his profit (Pagan 1845.174). Nor was it prudent for a trust employing a collector to reveal the takings which, if they were low, would have encouraged a prospective tacksman to underbid.

Public roups of tolls were held at a meeting of county trustees in Cupar up to 1831 and at district meetings after that date. Failure to reach an upset (reserve) figure could lead to a separate bargain which was often not recorded.

Up to the passing of the 1829 Act[1] district turnpike trusts were not obliged to keep proper accounts, but in compliance with section 34, full accounts based on the previous year's income and expenditure were circulated to individual trustees.

Of the four districts, Cupar provides the most complete record in this respect and has the additional interest of containing the greatest total length of newly constructed roads in the period up to 1830.

If the rental figures for Fife tollbars before 1830 are incompletely known, the location of tollbars is more certain. The placing of a toll bar on the Queensferry to Perth road in 1756 and its subsequent removal to a new position in 1769 has been described in Chapter 7. Further toll-bars were erected as soon as the respective turnpike acts were passed and Figure 8.3 shows those mentioned as being in existence in 1791. At that date the presence of a toll bar was no indication that a road was being maintained to the standards that later came to be associated with turnpike roads and a perennial source of controversy at trustees' meetings was the question of the share in the total receipts from the rental of the tollbars to be apportioned to individual roads, a share which might or might not happen to correspond to the relative share of the toll-paying traffic.[2]

Traffic and Trust Management

As was noted above, there were strong disincentives against disclosure of actual toll keepers' receipts, and many of the trustees' computations appear to have been the result of guesswork or personal influence rather than based on an objective census of traffic. Their deliberations were not helped by the quality of the administration, for it was said of a deceased district surveyor, Mr. Martin, in 1830 that he

---

1. 10 G IV.84
2. Stephen (1975 229a) represents traffic flow as a function of toll rentals. Unfortunately the arithmetic is defective, as at New Inn junction. Lateral feeder roads between toll points are ignored. The method works where an isolated road has its own tollbar, e.g. Arnots Combe. See also Pagan 1845.124 and 133.

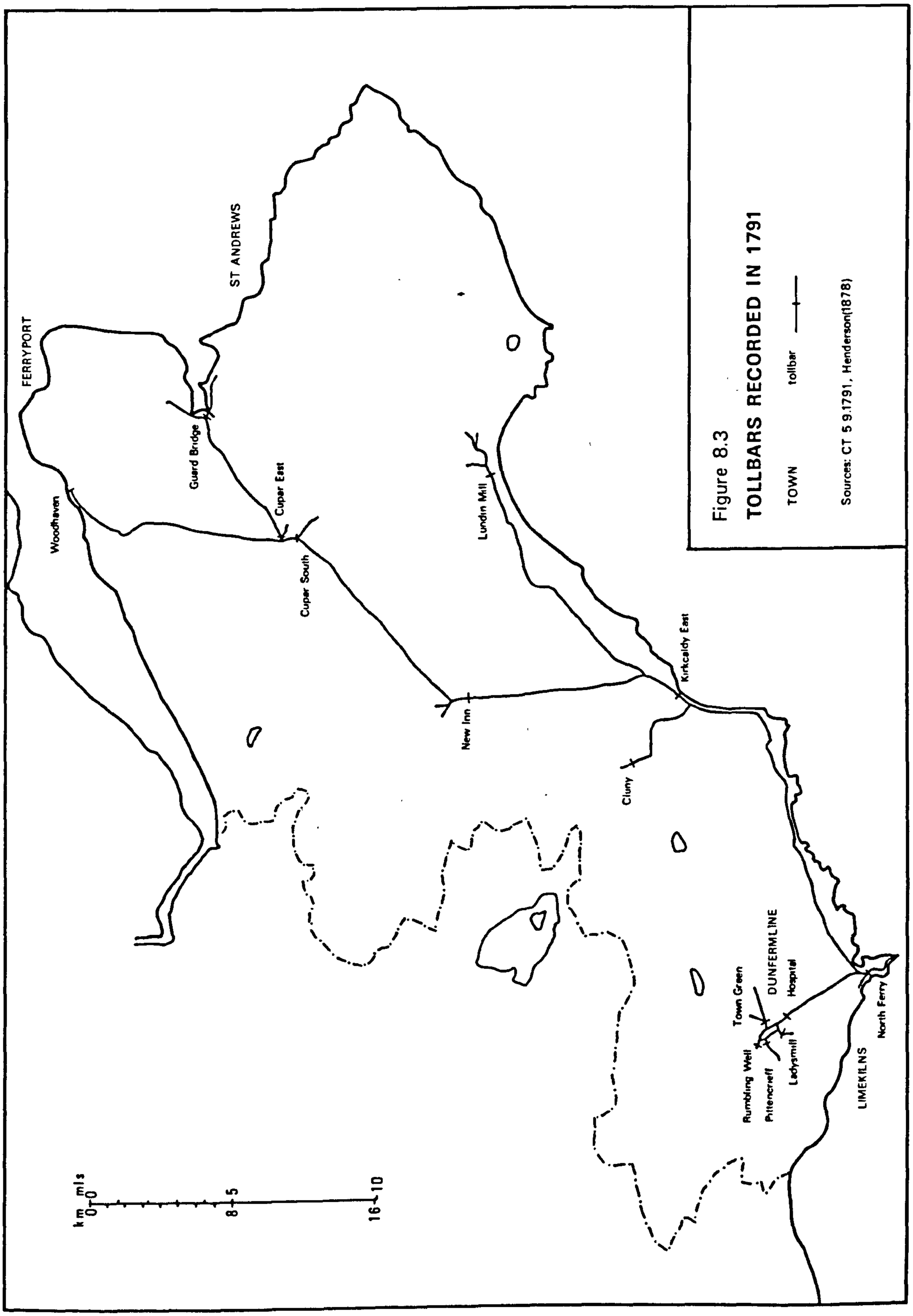


Figure 8.3

TOLLBARS RECORDED IN 1791

TOWN — tollbar

Sources: CT 5 9.1791, Henderson(1878)

had died bankrupt and had left the accounts 'in . . . a state of confusion', and with outstanding debts of £6,300 (Cu T 19.5). A trustee, Mr. Kyd managing Road 26, also became bankrupt but survived the experience, leaving the road with debts of £7,400. Road 31 was also under his control and, if not actually in debt, had not flourished. It is perhaps not without significance that the Cupar trustees had some difficulty in preventing Mr. Kyd from intercepting the produce of Arnots Combe tollbar between the tacksman and the treasurer (Cu T 18.4.1831).

These events confirm the need for the more stringent accounting procedures introduced by the 1829 Act and are consistent with the opening remarks of the chairman in August that year, when he referred himself 'satisfied that much simplicity might be introduced into the procedures of the Trust and that all the transactions might be carried on more intelligibly and accurately and with greater security than formerly' (Cu T 4.8.1829).

When the New Inn tollbar had been set up in 1790 it was decided that 9/20ths of its produce should be transferred to Kirkcaldy District in respect of the road southwards to Lochty Bridge. Cupar's share was to comprise 5/20ths for the road to Cupar, as far as Pitlessie, and 3/20ths to each of the roads to Shiels Bridge and to Falkland. By 1830 the old Shiels Bridge route to Newburgh (Road 12) had been replaced by a road over the new bridge at Drumtenant, thus providing a means of access to the two new roads, No.26 to Woodhaven and No.34 to Newburgh (described in Chapter 7, above). The trustees felt it was time for a review of the earlier apportionment of the New Inn toll rental. At one stage the county trustees had anticipated that coaches between New Inn and the Dundee ferries would use the Drumtenant road and granted it not only an additional 1½/20ths from the Kirkcaldy allocation, but also the benefit of any coach duties, although in the event the coaches chose to take the Pitlessie road (No.10) through Cupar. It was later seen that for the Drumtenant road to get 4½/20ths of the New Inn toll rent for its two

miles, with little of the damaging coach traffic, as compared with 5/20ths for the five miles to Pitlessie,[1] was inequitable. The solution arrived at for 1831, and represented in Figure 8.4, broke away from the previous formula for the apportionment of the share of Cupar District (£757) and increased that of the Pitlessie road to nearly a half.

It is important to note the adjustments applied to each roads' gross share of the sums for which the bars were rouped. Statute labour conversion money from adjacent parishes and bank interest were added, while interest on debt and administrative expenses were deducted. There were also opening and closing balances which lead to apparent anomalies where the sums expended per mile come to be calculated.

From the expenditure per mile on each road it is apparent that the New Inn - Pitlessie and Pitlessie - Pittormie lengths were better supported than the roads across the Howe (Nos 11, 26, 30 and 34). The high figure for the road through Newburgh may be attributed partly to the town street and partly to the difficult section through the Den of Lindores. The financially independent Woodhaven road, for which figures are not shown, with its three tollbars and the statute labour money of six parishes, received only £14 per mile, which may go far towards explaining the bankruptcy of Mr Kyd, the trustee in charge of this road, referred to above (p.189).

The accession of new toll bars to the Fife turnpike road system between 1802 and 1848 is shown in Figures 8.5 to 8.7. Only the accessions since the previous map are identified ~~by letters but on the larger scale map of tollbars in 1848, all bars known at that date are identified, the key being found as Table 8.1.~~ The precise location of these tollbars, together with a description of some of the surviving structures, is given by Stephen (1967a. 248, 1975.293) and the schedule of tolls at Struthers bar is the subject of an article by the same author (1967b.198).[2]

The Coming of the Railway

In Figure 8.7 the two railways built in 1847 and 1848 are also shown. The building of the Dunfermline to Charlestown horse drawn

---

1. The road beyond Pitlessie was supported by Cupar tolls as indicated in Figure 8.4.
2. Two of the Cupar toll houses are shown in Plates 8.1 and 8.2.

Plate 8.1 Cupar East toll house
The toll house stands where the road to Pitscottie and Crail (to the right) leaves the road to Newport ferry and St Andrews. Stephen (1967.249) notes the provision of a separate fireplace in the annexe used by the toll keeper. The location of the stone pillar against the wall on the left corresponds with that of the former turnpike barrier. GR 378147 bearing 030

Plate 8.2 Cupar South toll house
Another Y - junction toll house where the road to Ceres leaves the road to Kennoway and New Inn. The plans of both this toll house and that in Plate 8.1 are given by Stephen (1967.250).
GR 376139 bearing 200

Figure 8.4 DISBURSEMENT OF INCOME FROM MAIN TOLLBARS IN CUPAR DISTRICT 1831

toll income shared between two or more roads

contributory tollbar

limit of road length supported

main tolls / other income — gross revenue allocated to road

net amount expended

expenditure per mile

associated road

Sources : CT 1.5.1832 , Tayfield 13/4

PERTHSHIRE

NEWBURGH

632

Joint Newburgh Road

221
169
112

Lindores

138 | 135
184
24

273
166
30

(Perth)

Strathmiglo

148
149
30

Falkland

Drumtenant Bridge

238
67
30

371
256
64

Pitlessie

(Woodhaven)

(Newport)

ST ANDREWS DISTRICT

Pittormie

Pitlessie—Cupar—Pittormie

Cupar bars | coach tolls

607 | 275
631
78

Balgarvie Toll 135

989

Balass

131
60
12

43 | 47
106
14

208
203
37

Struthers Toll 47

Callange

1211 NEW INN

454
to Kirkcaldy District funds

KIRKCALDY DISTRICT

(Windygates)

Teasses

(Largo)

ST ANDREWS DISTRICT

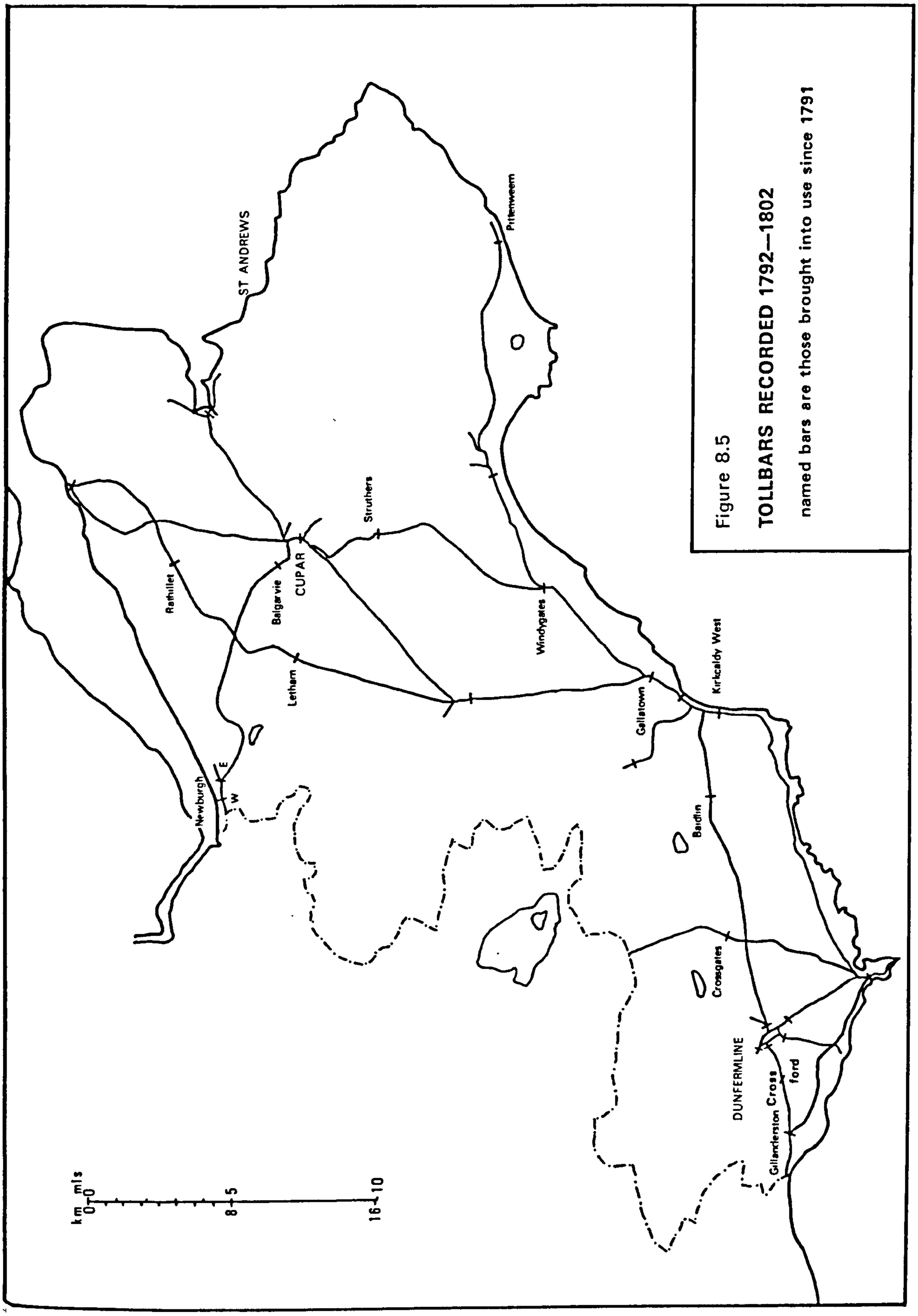


Figure 8.5

TOLLBARS RECORDED 1792—1802

named bars are those brought into use since 1791

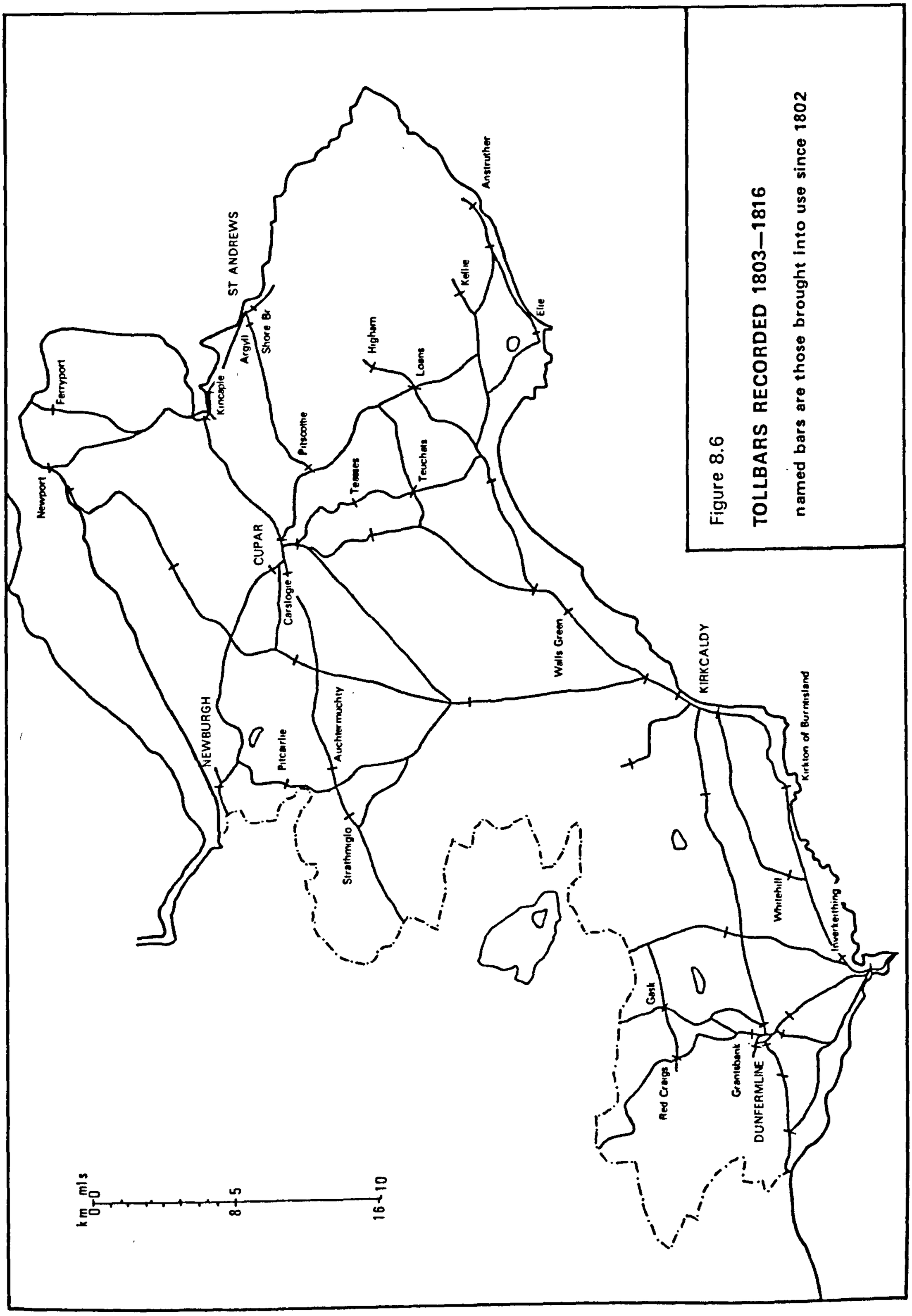


Figure 8.6

TOLLBARS RECORDED 1803—1816

named bars are those brought into use since 1802

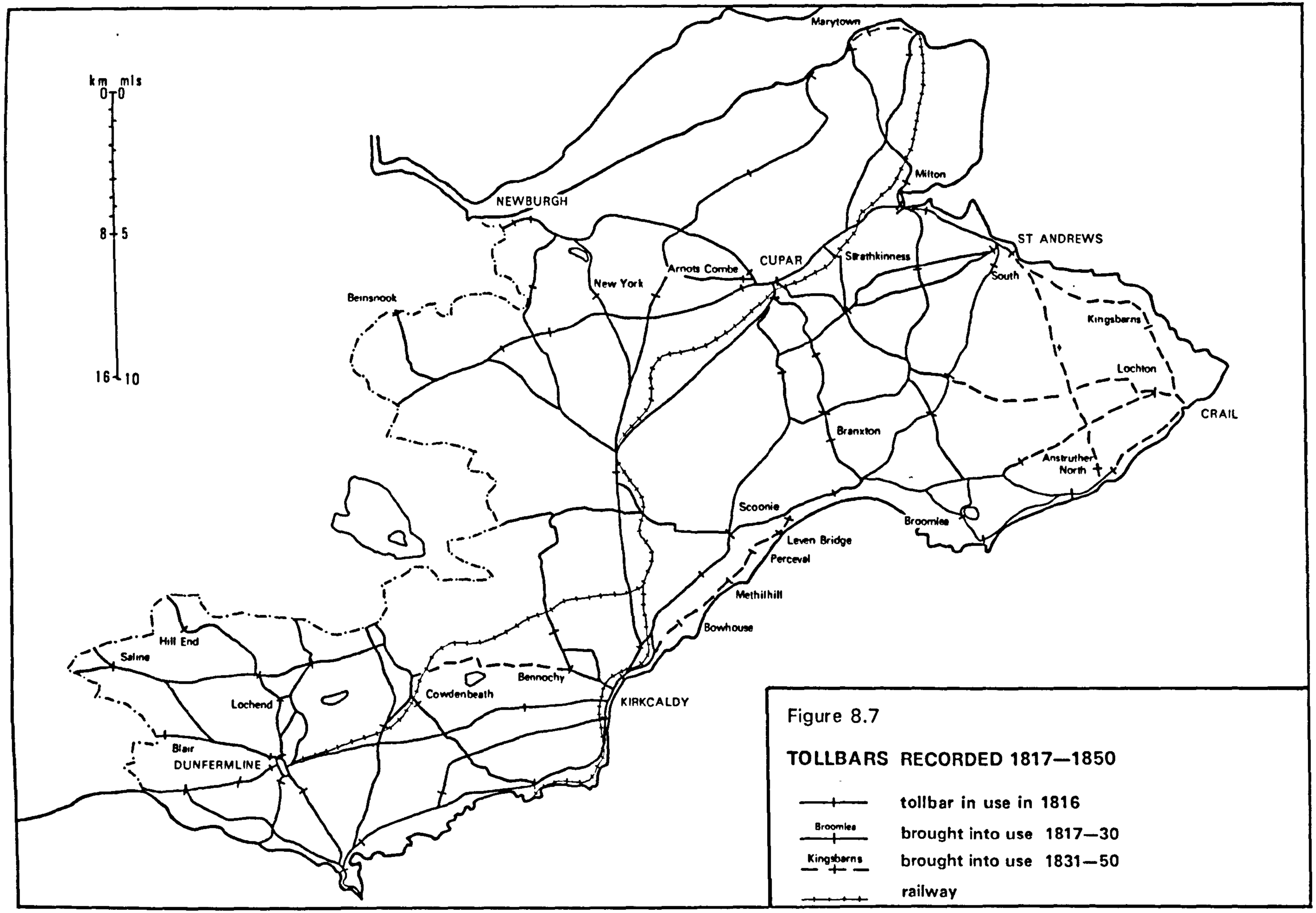


Figure 8.7

TOLLBARS RECORDED 1817—1850

tollbar in use in 1816

Broomlee — brought into use 1817—30

Kingsbarns — brought into use 1831—50

railway

passenger railway in 1834 is recorded by Henderson (1878.645) and the effect of the extension of the Scottish railway system on communications in Fife is evident in 1844. In that year the minister of Dunfermline reports a daily service by two horse drawn coaches from Dunfermline to Falkirk to connect with a train from Glasgow to Edinburgh (NSA.895). In 1845 locomotives were being ordered for the proposed railway from Burntisland to Cupar and work was started on the line at Kinghorn in 1846 (Scott Bruce 1980.45). The first train ran to Cupar in 1847 and the line was continued to Ferryport (later renamed Tayport) the following year. In 1848 a branch line from Thornton Junction reached Crossgates and the remaining journey to Dunfermline was completed by coach.[1]

Much of the time of road trustees' meetings in the late 1840s was taken up with questions of compensation for loss of toll revenue under terms negotiated with the railway companies designed to remove the road trusts' opposition to the railway bills in Parliament. Alterations to roads had to be agreed, involving diversions, new bridges and level crossings. Short stretches of access road to stations were built by the railway companies themselves. Pagan (1857.96) describes in some detail attempts by the trustees to move toll bars to catch rail-generated road traffic and their efforts to get compensation for damage done to the Cupar to New Inn road by the hundreds of waggons carrying stone for the embankment west of Kingskettle which managed to avoid passing either of the tolls.

There was now no prospect of any further development of the road system outside large towns for the remainder of the century. The effects of the railways on coach services are summed up in an 1857 footnote by Pagan, 'The railways have left few or no public coaches on our roads, and coach tolls, long a most productive item, are now reduced nearly to zero' (ibid.p.7). He is, of course, primarily concerned to bring about

---

1. Henderson gives the date of completion of this last link as December 1849 (1878.661).

the complete replacement of the toll system as a means of maintaining roads, but he accepts the railways as 'giving an immense impetus to travelling and to commerce', and foresees a greater number of horses being employed on numerous short journeys, which would increase the revenue from his proposed horse tax. (ibid.1857.78). Pagan is an enthusiastic campaigner for cheap popular travel and looks forward to an increase of 'cross public conveyances between one town and another' and adds, 'Each locality will have its stage-coach, or omnibus, or fly, unless where provided with railway conveyance' when tolls are abolished.[1] However, he is comparing his vision of the future with the current reality when he says, 'Coaching on toll roads pays only betwixt very populous towns, as the high fares consequent on the tolls preclude the mass of the community from ever presuming to set foot in a coach!'.

Conclusion

During the earlier part of the study period, up to the 1740s, the Fife road system carried transport predominantly of agricultural origin, the composition of the traffic reflecting the widespread ownership of wheeled vehicles among tenants, with pack animals more in evidence during the winter months.

The latter half of the 18th century saw increasing carriage of coal and lime over Fife although the proportion of the loads borne by vehicles is uncertain. The use of passenger coaches spread from a very restricted ownership at the beginning of the century to include the public use of mail coaches, prompted by the inauguration of the Edinburgh to Aberdeen service in 1771, and reaching a frequency of 18 coaches a week on the Cupar road by 1836.

As Chapter 6 shows, the road authorities planned improvements to meet the increasing volume of traffic as early as 1748, and after 1790 were able to invest heavily through the introduction of the turnpike system. Their success in using tolls to finance road improvement

1. Morris (1980.77,79) shows a decline between 1821 and 1861 in the long distance carrier trade between Fife and Glasgow.

was to some extent dependent on the exercise of route choice by users, particularly coach operators, and the new route to Woodhaven bypassing Cupar has been cited as an example of miscalculation by the trustees.

The use of toll revenues as an indication of traffic flows is set about with pitfalls, as was clearly recognised by the trustees of Cupar District. As part of a wider topic, Stephen (1975.229) briefly examines the problem, the main obstacle being the virtual absence of toll keeper's records. One benefit which may flow from a study of the fluctuation of toll rentals over the period 1790-1850 is represented by Figure 8.8, which relates the revenue from New Inn tollbar to contemporary events of wider economic interest. It should be added, however, that there appears to be little correlation between such fluctuations and the contemporary levels of road improvement activity or the passage of turnpike legislation in Fife during the same period.

In the context of the development of the Fife road system the most dramatic of the economic changes noted - the coming of the railways - came too late to influence its extension, other than negatively. As was indicated in Chapter 7, with the exception of the short road connection to the ferry terminal at Burntisland, such activity had come to a halt before the first locomotive was delivered.

Only when, in 1830, the trustees at county meetings had been able to call upon district accounts - and those of Dunfermline were rudimentary - could an overall strategy for matching tolls to traffic be worked out. A closer examination of the minutes during the 1830s and early 1840s reveals a constant switching about and adding of toll bars, intended to 'catch' some lucrative traffic, be it a new coal pit, a coach service or supplies for a distillery; a strategy which the wary victim found means of circumventing as is described in Chapter 11.

The prospects of profitability for turnpike roads began to wane as soon as a railway service was first mooted, well in advance of its actual arrival, and there was a period of little more than fifteen years when

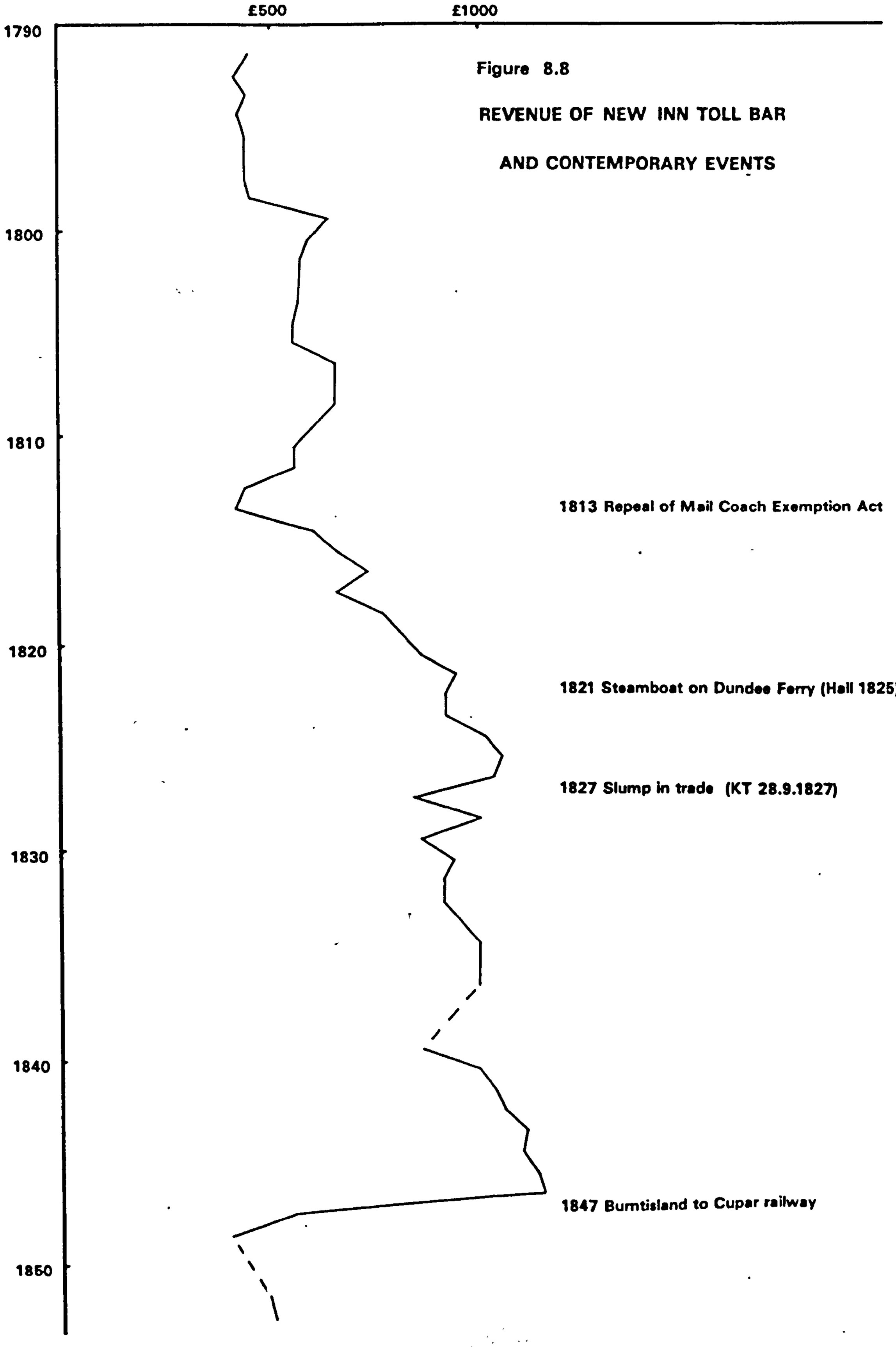


Figure 8.8

REVENUE OF NEW INN TOLL BAR

AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

it could be said that the regulation of traffic was by design rather than by chance.

Even then, the decisions made were by no means wholly rational or objective as Pagan so eloquently points out (1857.53), and he observes, 'It is not for us to say whether those irregularities are the fault of the system or of the trustees who have administered it. Suffice it for our purpose, that manifold irregularities - iniquities - do exist, and these not in the infancy but in the mature years - we hope the last years - of the system. Within itself there are no means of redress. When one-half of the trustees in a district propose additional toll-bars, or a change in the positions of existing bars, more than likely the other half make a point of thwarting them. If the one have an interest in moving the bars, the interest of the other lies in keeping them where they are; the interested parties are themselves the final judges, and a fair decision is not to be looked for. If self-interest be awanting, then some will be found to oppose any additions or changes, for the sake of popularity, or because the proposition did not originate with themselves but with their political adversary. Hence the bad and incurable state of our toll-bar system.'

CHAPTER NINE

ROAD DEVELOPMENT CASE STUDIES

Introduction

In this and subsequent chapters selected local examples will be examined which illustrate some of the more formative influences in road development in Fife.

Thus, the abandonment of upland routes is examined in this chapter in the hilly country of north western Fife. In Chapter 10 that part of the Edinburgh to Aberdeen road which lies across the peninsula is considered in itsfunction as a link between two ferries. The role of coal and lime distribution as a stimulus to road improvement is further explored in the Kirkcaldy and Dunfermline districts (Chapter 11). The road pattern in the East Neuk is relatedto the former dominance of St. Andrews as an ecclesiastical centre and its links to the southern ports (Chapter 12). Finally, in Chapter 13, some of the difficulties encountered in agreeing and funding a road scheme are examined in central Fife.

Much of the evidence on which foregoing chapters have relied is to be found in documents of public administration. In these case studies greater attention is given to individual local sources, private correspondence and observations in the field. The latter are too numerous to detail but their nature is outlined in Chapter 2 and some examples of specific relict features are mentioned below.

THE WAYS FROM STRATHEDEN TO NEWBURGH - A local study of the abandonment of upland routes.

It was noticed in Chapter 5 that one of the most common phenomena found when comparing Scottish roads of the mid 18th century with those around 1800 was the realignment of routes, resulting in the elimination of steeper gradients. An area in which this is well illustrated in Fife is that of the hilly country between the Eden valley and the Tay. In

particular, a triangular area embracing the towns of Newburgh, Auchtermuchty and Cupar (Figure 9.1) which happens to be relatively well documented and rich in undisturbed field evidence, shows where former routes along hillsides and over ridges have been progressively superseded by new lines of road at lower levels.

The Pitcairlie Road

The establishment of a road at the western edge of this area, through Pitcairlie, was used in Chapter 6 to illustrate the origin of a 19th century turnpike road in the activities of the statute labour trustees at an earlier date. It was noted that the old routes thus replaced, through Lumbenny and through Berryhole, were so ill defined in places as to require the taking of oral evidence from local inhabitants. The customary routes used by local people had also to be taken into account when it was claimed that after the turnpike was completed in 1813 the road through Berryhole[1] should remain open, to the annoyance of the turnpike trustees, for whom it constituted a means of evading tolls.[2]

The Greenlaw Road

Much earlier evidence exists for a road further east through the village of Collessie, dating from the early 14th century.

By a charter[3] from the owner of 'the Wood of Kyndeloch'[4] the monks of Lindores Abbey, just east of Newburgh, were permitted a right of way southward across his land as far as 'the Moor of Edyn' to fetch peat from a moss called Monagrey.[5]

---

1. although it entailed a climb to 153 m as against a maximum of 115m on the new road.
2. A gate erected across the road was destroyed by the spirited people of Auchtermuchty, who 'knocked down pillars and burnt the whole (gate) to atoms' (Pitcairly Trust 15.5.1830).
3. Dowden, ed. 1903.175. The date of an adjacent entry in the Chartulary is calculated to be 1302 (p.178).
4. 'per medium Boscum nostrum de Kyndelohc'; there is also a reference to '... mora nostra de Kyndeloch'.
5. A place name 'Monkstown' (300098), near Ladybank, is a suggested location.

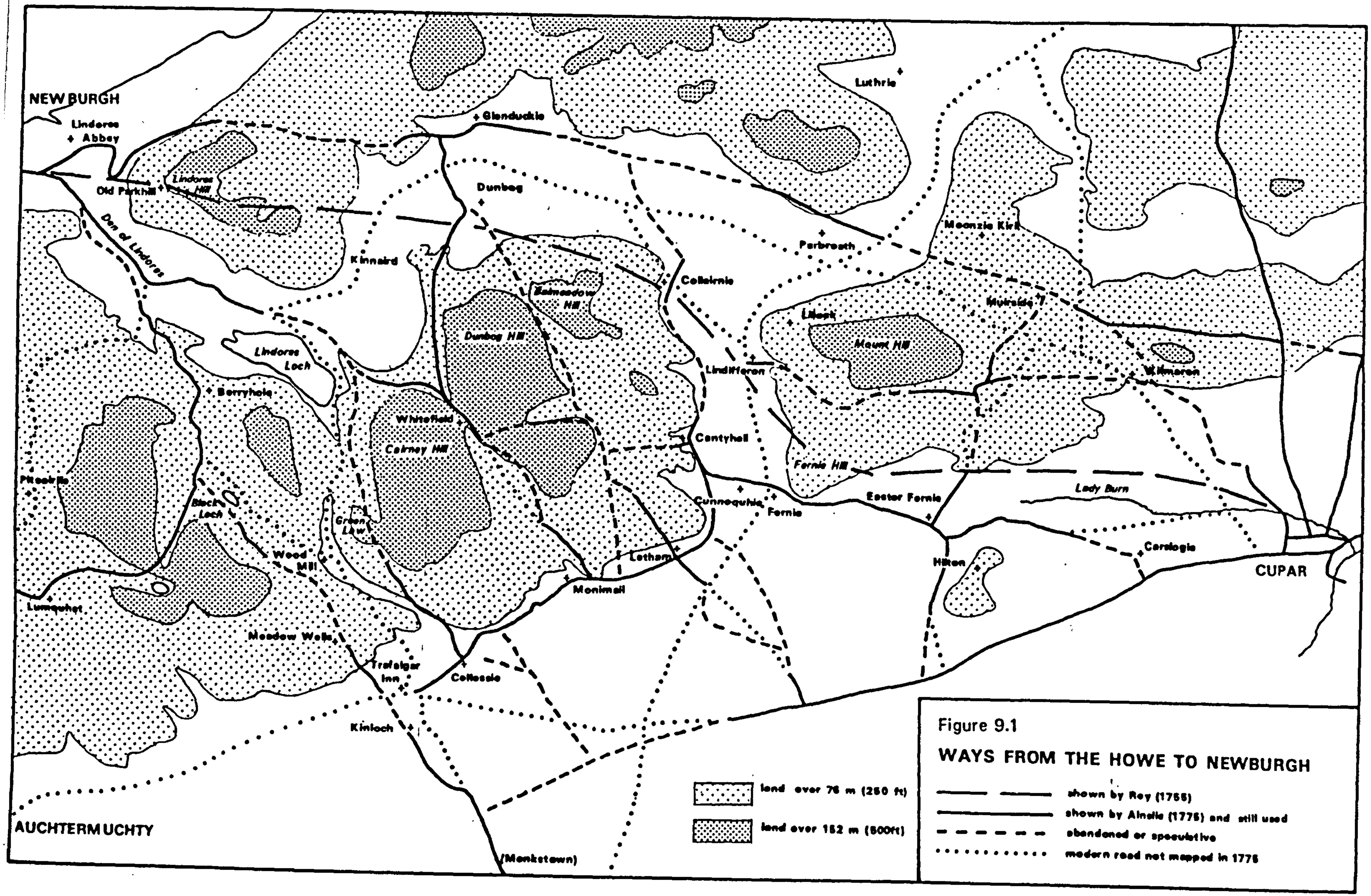


Figure 9.1

WAYS FROM THE HOWE TO NEWBURGH

shown by Roy (1755)

shown by Ainslie (1775) and still used

abandoned or speculative

modern road not mapped in 1775

Another charter from the same owner entitled the monks to cut and carry two hundred loads of heather[1] each year using the same route. Contemporary with this charter is a grant of land in which the main road between Collessie and Lindores Abbey is referred to, and the land itself is described as extending as far as a burn 'running into the great lake'. In the same grant the owner mentions that the monks may go through the village of Collessie on their way to the Moor of Edyn, provided that any damage done to crops by oxen, wagons, horses and carts[2] is paid for by the abbey.

A likely route exists north of Collessie for which a petition was presented in 1733 asking for repairs to be carried out. It passes east of Greenlaw (276147), a knoll projecting from the south west shoulder of the ridge. The road is not now in use, but the building up of the down-hill shoulder with colliery waste suggests it was used, at least as a farm track, up to the mid 19th century (C of S 15.5.1733, Plates 9.1 to 9.8).

The Whitefield Road

To the north east of Greenlaw, the ridge which includes Cairnie Hill, Dunbog Hill and Balmeadow Hill is breached by two cols, the routes over which form part of a veritable network of well defined tracks across this area, of which the main components are normal to the axis of the ridge.

To the east of Collessie, at Monimail, a road leaves the northern margin of the Howe to run over the ridge past Whitefield (284157). This was stated to be in the care of a committee for 'the Road from Cupar to Newburgh by Letham and Whitefield' in 1774. In 1778 the road was reported as having been 'full of slunks and holes' and the services of local carts, temporarily transferred elsewhere, were recovered.(CuS 14.4).

---

1. 'ducente Carrate bruere'
2. '... eorum boues, seu plaustra, Equi, vel carrecte ...' (p.185)

Plate 9.1 The Greenlaw road from south east of Collessie
Beyond the line of the fence is the poorly drained Collessie Den. The dotted line follows a former hillside route to Lindores past Braeside farmstead. Monks of Lindores Abbey were invited through Collessie to fetch peat in the 14th century. The walls of the house on the left are of rough hewn volcanic rock, the ashlar work being in sandstone (see p.180). GR 288132 bearing 315

Plate 9.2 The Greenlaw road from the foot of the slope
The continued use of the road as a farm track has been a contributory factor in preserving the benched cross profile.
GR 284137 bearing 320

Plate 9.3 The Greenlaw road : constructional material
The upper 15 cm contains colliery waste, material not found in northern Fife. However, this does not preclude the use of the same route in previous centuries. GR 283138 bearing 060

A

A

Plate 9.4 View across the Howe from the Greenlaw road
The relatively flat area is crossed by the railway from Ladybank (A x A), the reputed site of the Lindores Abbey peat deposit, to enter the post glacial channel of Collessie Den on the right. Until the 18th century the Howe was an area of heathland and marshes, to be crossed with difficulty. GR 281139 bearing 155

B A C

B A C

Plate 9.5 Upland routes between Cupar and Dunbog
Two routes converge from either side of Cunnoquhie East Hill to pass the ruin of Collairniehill on the way to the col above Dunbog (lower left). From Cupar (A xA) the most direct route lay between Mount Hill with its monument and Fernie Hill, passing near Lindifferon (B x B). The more southerly route passed through Cunnoquhie (C x C). GR 293165 bearing 100

Plate 9.6 Col between Letham and Dunbog
One of several linear northwest - southeast depressions which offered direct routes across this upland block.
GR 297163 bearing 150

Plate 9.7 The Dunbog trough
Viewed from a col at GR 292170, the settlements of Dunbog and Glenduckie are aligned. A crossing of the low ground at Dunbog enabled 18th century travellers from the south east to continue over the northern line of hills into Newburgh. An alternative valley side route from Cupar is also shown by a dotted line, and the new valley bottom road (Road 30, authorised in 1797) is marked by a line of dashes. bearing 330

Plate 9.8 The descent into Newburgh
The well defined terrace way curves down to cross the Lindores Burn near Old Parkhill, to the left. It seems to be too marked a feature to be derived solely from agricultural use.
GR 253185 bearing 275

Letham to Dunbog

Almost exactly parallel to the pass over which the Whitefield road runs is another, between Letham and Dunbog. It rises to a height at the col (292171) of 151m, as opposed to 165m near Whitefield, and offers a straighter line. Although not recorded as repairable by statute labour, it probably owes its existence to the position of Letham at crossroads between the Collessie-Connoquhie and Bow of Fife-Dunbog routes, and this is strengthened by the description of Letham in 1723 as 'famous for a sheep mercate' (Taylor 303).

Connoquhie to Dunbog

A connection to this road exists from Connoquhie that could be taken by a traveller from Cupar, through Fernie and Cantyhill, as an alternative to the longer but easier way round Balmeadow Hill.[1]

Connoquhie is mentioned in 1723 as the crossroads between the 'King's highway' connecting 'the South ferry and the waterside of Dundie', passing through Lindifferon, and the 'publick road ... from Coupar to Perth' (ibid.304), which suggests that a route through Cantyhall and possibly over the ridge to Dunbog was referred to.

Dunbog to Newburgh

On the north west side of the ridge, the way to Newburgh lay in the 18th century either across the marshy valley by the slightly higher ground near Dunbog or along a morainic ridge east of Lindores Loch. At Whitefield col there are tracks leading to both these crossing places. The moraine route, north of Cairneyhall (274158) was probably that followed by the monks of Lindores Abbey (243186) in the 14th century and leads down the winding steep-sided Den of Lindores into Newburgh.

---

1. for the repair of which money was granted in 1736 (C of S, June) 17 roods (85m) of casson (causeway or paved road) were built along Collairnie Park Dykes.

The route by Dunbog leads to a number of alternative ways over the ridge between Lindores Hill and Higham Hill, the most pronounced being that by Old Higham (275193), descending the north slope diagonally to Old Parkhill (249184). The exact course of the route shown by Roy (1755) is debatable, but it does appear on the map to pass by the grounds of Kinnaird (now 272174), along a more westerly line than that shown by Ainslie, and then over Lindores Hill with a steeper descent into Newburgh.[1]

Cupar to Newburgh by Fernie

Roy's line was the only one from Cupar in the direction of Newburgh and in order to leave the two hills shown on his map between it and the named Kirk of Moonzie and the castle of Lordscairnie it would require to go by Fernie and up the valley to Lindifferon. At its eastern end, unlike the road shown by Ainslie, it appears to remain north of the Lady Burn.

Which route is referred to by Taylour in 1723 as passing through Connoquhie is not certain, but Ainslie (1775) shows the road as leaving the Auchtermuchty road near Carslogie[2] and not crossing the Lady Burn until Bridge End, near Easter Fernie (333148). Administratively, the road is referred to in 1732 as the 'Easter Fernie Road' and in 1774 there was a committee appointed to a road 'from Cupar to Newburgh by Connachy'.

By this time, however, a scheme was being put forward for a new valley bottom road from Cupar through Parbroath to Lindores, but in spite of the pending transfer of traffic to this route, within a few years those trustees in charge of the road through Fernie were successful in having the latter included in the list of roads in the 1790 Turnpike Act (No.17 of Chapter 7), where it was described as going through Letham and Newburgh on the way to Perth.

---

1. By the side of one track, where cart wheels have cut deeply into the rock, the Witches Loch (264177) provides a convenient watering place. Both may be seen on aerial photograph (F22:58/RAF/1716:15APR 55.0421)
2. Reference to a 'chalked out line' across the lands of Carslogie and Hilton (Cu S 16.4.1798) suggests that this was probably the time when the present connection was made to the Kilmoran road, superseding that shown by Ainslie.

This ambition was to be only partly and belatedly achieved in 1831,[1] but extra carriage services and statute labour money were allocated to the Fernie road during the 1790s, at least to the eastern section. The trustees continued to refer to the destination of the road as being Newburgh right up to 1800 and it is possible that its presentation to the district meeting as a 'through road' could have been seen as giving it a better chance of being allocated public funds.

Cupar to Newburgh by Parbroath

The replacement of the northern road through Parbroath and Glenduckie constitutes the longest example in Fife of the lateral shift of a road from hillside to valley bottom, and, like the road from New Inn to the Tay ferries (Chapter 10), the builders had to overcome considerable drainage problems, relying initially on statute labour alone. The worst obstacle was the section between Dunbog and Lindores which would almost certainly have been waterlogged before a system of ditches had been dug.

The old Parbroath road, shown on an estate plan in 1761 (RHP 6751/1) and by Ainslie (1775), can be traced from Cupar through Kilmaron, to the north of Muirside (349169) and, after Parbroath, is still in use as a farm road.

An attempt was made in 1831, 29 years after the completion of the new turnpike, to close this section[2] but the request was withdrawn, possibly after protests from local users.

The commencement of work at the Cupar end of the new road is suggested by the appointment of a committee for 'the Road from Cupar to Lythrie'[3] in 1774, and for 'the Road from Cupar to Moonzie by Kilmaron'

---

1. A toll bar was erected in 1831 at Arnots Combe, a few yards from Balgarvie toll and operated by the same tacksman.
2. Fife Quarter Sessions 25.10.1831.
3. The Baillies of Luthrie owned Parbroath at this time.

in 1786. The whole road was listed as one maintained by statute labour in 1798 under the title, 'the Road from Cupar to Newburgh by Moonzie and Lindores', funds having been transferred to it from the Fernie road to Newburgh which it was to replace. The first tollbar was erected at Kilmaron in 1802. It was in fact the first of the roads between the Howe of Fife and Newburgh to be turnpiked.

Kinloch to Newburgh

Further west, near Collessie, the road from Kinloch is shown by Ainslie as taking an upland route past Meadow Wells and to the west of Black Loch. In 1800 statute labour funds were allocated to the 'Road from Shielsbridge by Kinloch and Woodmill to Newburgh,' in the charge of Kinnear of Kinloch.

This indicates that the road ran at a lower level,[1] to Woodmill, and would then have taken the present route to the east of Black Loch, joining the precursor of the Pitcairlie turnpike south of Berryhole (258154).

Work on the low level road between Woodmill and Lindores Loch is signalled by the payment of funds in 1803 to the 'Cttee on (the) new road'[2].

It would be shortly after this time that the old hill route past Green Law would be expected to have fallen into disuse.

The several upland routes to Newburgh within the triangular area considered above were therefore successively reduced to only three routes in the early 19th century. These entered Newburgh by the Den of Lindores and two of them were taken along valleys in which the drainage had to be considerably improved. Two ridges, north and south of Lindores Loch,

---

1. The junction near Collessie was to become a crossroads when Kinloch village was relocated and a new road from Drumtenant Bridge was taken to the same point at Trafalgar Inn in 1805.
2. There was a tollbar at Woodmill in 1806, shown on Sharp's map in 1828 and by 1841 a tollbar had been erected at New York (276138) the receipts for which were collected by the tacksman of the Newburgh toll bars (Pagan 1845.125).

eastern prolongations of the Ochil Hills into Fife, seem to present but a slight barrier to movement from the south and east, on account of the low gaps which cross them. These gaps, however, have in practice acted as obstructions rather than routeways, at least until the end of the 18th century, by reason of the confused drainage and areas of marsh they contained.

Even in the more elevated section of road between Cupar and Parbroath a traveller in 1790 complained that it was 'rendered in winter absolutely impassable thro' hanging spouty ground' and this description typifies a common problem faced by people living between Cupar and Falkland who wanted to reach Newburgh. (Cu S 24.5.1790).

In 1775 the linen merchants of Auchtermuchty and Falkland were concerned about the poor communications with that port, while the farmers in northern Fife wanted better roads to make carriage of coal and lime across the Howe competitive with seaborne imports. By 1805 there was the bridge at Dunshelt the merchants had asked for and easier routes to Newburgh both from Auchtermuchty and from Collessie. The old roads over the hills continued to be used by light traffic, especially if the payment of tolls could be avoided.[1]

It is some measure of the utility of the new roads that between 1805 and 1820 the rent of the combined Newburgh tollbars doubled.

Conclusion

The response of the road authority to the needs of heavier wheeled traffic on the approaches to Newburgh is but a small example of a change which was noted in Chapter 5 as occurring in many parts of Scotland over similar terrain.

Early travellers evidently had a preference for a firm dry route even if it entailed a climb. Writing of the late 18th century in the Lothians,

---

1. Lumquhat Mill - Berryhole remained open despite the efforts of the trustees to close it, but they were more successful in the case of Monimail - Whitefield - Lindores (Chapter 6).

Robertson (1829.37) says, 'Travellers had no aversion to hill-tops; they rather preferred them, because the ground was firmer to tread on, and they could see better about them.'

Between the Howe of Fife and Newburgh there have been noted, above, several instances which bear out Robertson's observation: (that), 'respecting all the original great roads ... there was a general tendency to carry them forward in straight lines, with very little regard to the natural bearing of the country; whether up-hill or down-hill, all one; with the exception that if they deviated at all, either to right or left, it was to avoid either swampy ground, or a hollow.'

A traveller on foot or a horse carrying a rider had little to lose from a steep climb but temporarily tired muscles,and the limit to a packhorse's load was what its back could take on the flat rather than the steepness of an incline. Once wheeled carts became the most popular means of transporting bulk loads, great weights could be moved horizontally, but for a two ton cart a degree increase in gradient at one point or the resistance of an uneven surface might be critical to the practicality of the whole journey.[1]

---

1. The variables are related mathematically by Parnell (1833.434-8).

CHAPTER TEN

FROM THE FORTH TO THE TAY FERRIES

Introduction

In the previous chapter a number of roads converging on a single port were examined in relation to transverse relief features over a period when lower gradients were becoming an economic necessity. This study is concerned with the routes across gentler terrain which lay between two groups of ferry ports and which formed part of a major national highway.

Although there are similar examples of realignment of routes to accommodate heavier wheeled traffic, but with a lesser incidence of abandoned upland routes than in the area south east of Newburgh, the main interest of the 'Great Road through Fife' lies in the changes which occurred in the ferry facilities, their locations, and the corresponding modifications taking place in the roads leading to them.

The Forth Ferries

The existence of regular crossing places along the north shore of the Forth has been recorded from mediaeval times and some of the early history of the Queen's Ferry was noted in Chapter 7. To the east of Queensferry the main crossing places, collectively known as the Broad Ferry, were at Aberdour, Burntisland, Kinghorn with its outport of Pettycur, and Kirkcaldy. Further east again there are a number of minor ferry points, such as Leven, Largo and Earlsferry, noted as popular in the 19th century by Wood (1887) and Mackay (1896). Earlsferry, it is suggested by Adamson (1803.333), was named after an earl of Fife[1] in the 12th century.

By far the most popular crossing places east of Queensferry in the days of sail were the Broad Ferry ports, the choice between which often

---

1. Adamson identifies him as Macduff, Graham (1966.101) as Duncan.

depended on the state of the wind and the tide. Ease of landing influenced the decisions of the boat men, while the availability of accommodation and the hiring of horses and vehicles could be important considerations for passengers. Charges, including 'the taking of freight from the Queen's lieges', by ferrymen were restricted in an Act of 1551 at Kinghorn, Queensferry and Dundee.[1] As a key route across the Forth, the ferry could be used to restrict the spread of plague as in 1584 (RPC iii.713), when it was decreed that 'thair salbe no passage ower Forth be the ferry boitties at ony pairt except onlie betvix Leith and the Prettycur' and the use of Queensferry or the Burntisland route was expressly forbidden to passengers.

Burntisland, Kinghorn and Kirkcaldy were all named in 1617 when arrangements were being made for the king's baggage to be carried to Falkland Palace, on which occasion the carts and horses of the whole adjacent countryside were made liable for service.

When Archbishop Sharp visited St. Andrews in 1663[2] he brought over two horses from Leith to Kinghorn where he found accommodation. From there he was probably provided with a coach and a man to guide it. Sibbald (1710 in Adamson, ed.1803.312) confirms Pettycur as the 'harbour for passage boats' and his editor later notes that about 1763 it was 'greatly improved and enlarged' but was subject to silting up.[3]

Accounts of Defoe (1727), Pennant (1776) and Paterson in his road book (1771) all confirm Kinghorn or Pettycur as the principal ferry terminal for Fife from Leith, although Defoe finds Burntisland more suitable in bad weather and the same port is said by several writers to have been worthy of greater development (OSA 93).

Between the Broad Ferry and Dundee Waterside

The importance of the road between Kinghorn and Kirkcaldy was

---

1. APS ii.486.1551
2. Brown 1893.321
3. See Plate 10.1

Plate 10.1 Pettycur from Grange Hill
The small promontory carries a quay at which ferry passengers landed from Leith. Efforts in the 1760s to clear the bay of sand are described by Adamson (1803.312), and the harbour was allowed to fall into disuse after 1847 when the railway was built from Burntisland. The boulder on the left emphasises the danger of rock falls along this piece of coast, the road and railway below being constructed only after expensive addition of material in the 1840s (See Road 88 and Pagan 1845.135). GR 261865 bearing 145

evident in 1730 when petitions asked for it to be causewayed.[1] At the same time repairs to the contiguous sections through Pathhead and Gallatown figure prominently in the records.

North of Gallatown there were two main roads towards Dundee (Figure 10.1). The early 18th century traveller could choose either the Cameron Bridge road[2] which would take him over the east-west ridges or 'rigging' to Cupar,[3] or take an easier route, again to Cupar, by Pittillockford.[4] There was another option if he went by Pittillockford, represented by the routes across to the north side of the Howe, using one of the bridges at Shiels, Kettle or Ramornie.[5]

By Cameron Bridge and Cupar

The importance of the Cameron Bridge road in the early 17th century is clear from the licence granted.to Scotstarvit in 1621,[6] by which he was allowed 'to remove, divert and distroye that pairt of the (foirsaid) hie streit and Commoun way Quhilk lyis fra the ferrie[7] syid to the burgh of Cowper.'

At that date the road came from Cameron Bridge through Kennoway as at present, but northoof Kennoway it took what may be regarded as the kind of straight line route regardless of gradients that was so much criticised in Scotland in the mid 18th century. Indeed the old road was one of the earliest roads to be realigned in Fife under the turnpike act of 1790 (Road 13 of Chapter 7).

The steep-sided Clatto Den section (368073) was particularly difficult to keep in repair, with a causewayed terrace approach to a bridge.[8]

---

1. C of S 1730
2. the origins of this road are discussed in Chapter 11
3. rising to 168m at 383064
4. 91m at 284050
5. noted in Chapter 6
6. APS iv.678
7. the road could also come from Leven as indicated by the name of a committee for a road 'from Cupar to Keamford leading to Leven' (Cu S 14.6.1774)
8. Repairs in 1711 required the services of the people of the parishes of Ceres, Cults and Kennoway. Its course, prior to afforestation, may be seen on aerial photograph (F21:58/RAF/1263.8SEP53.0130)

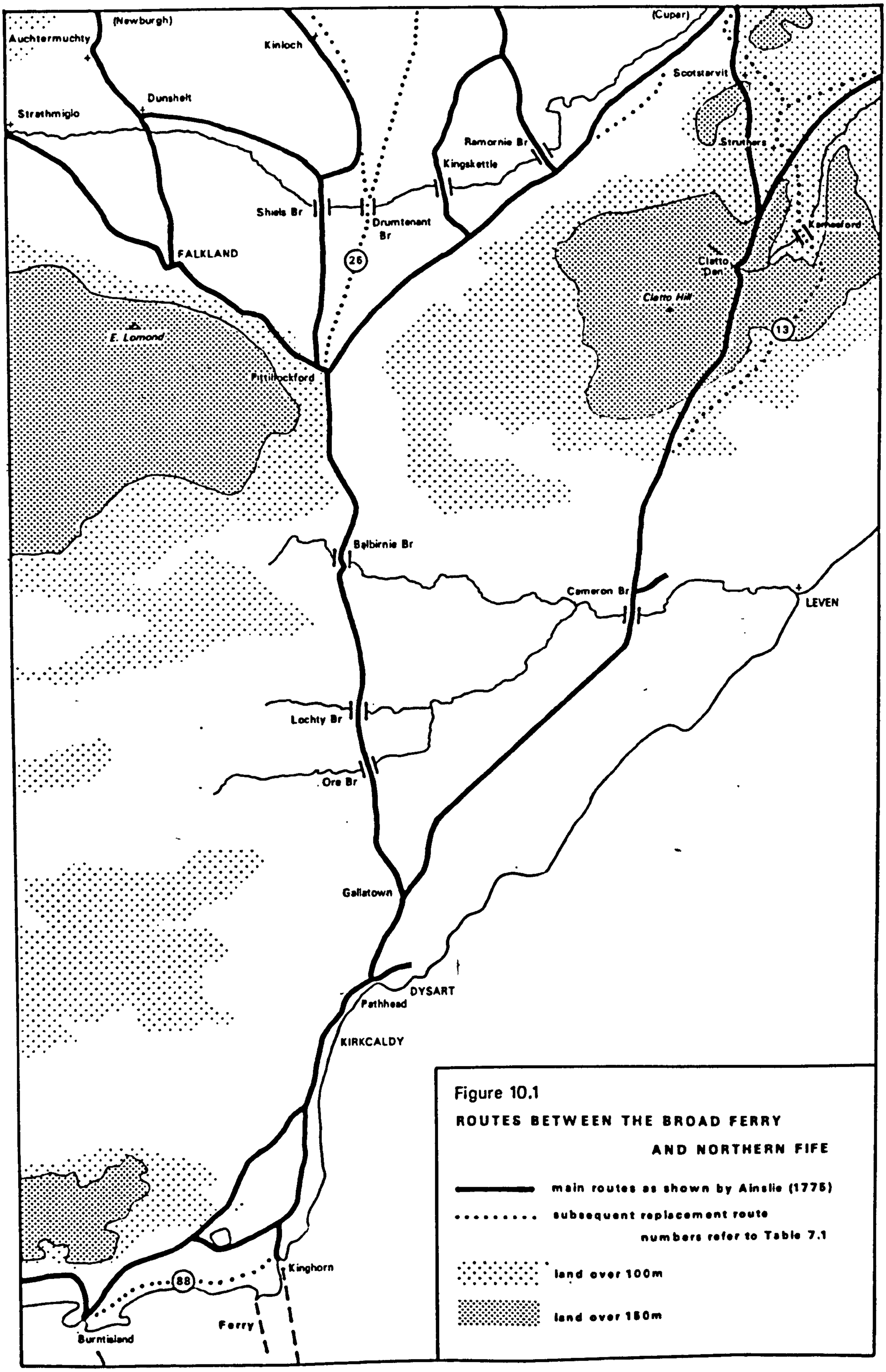


Figure 10.1

ROUTES BETWEEN THE BROAD FERRY AND NORTHERN FIFE

——— main routes as shown by Ainslie (1775)

. . . . . subsequent replacement route

numbers refer to Table 7.1

land over 100m

land over 150m

Competing with it for funds was a bridge across the Craigrothie Burn[1] (374103) leading to Scotstarvit.

Beyond Scotstarvit is an example of the replacement of a straight line descent, shown on the maps of Roy[2] and Ainslie, by an extended S shaped route. This was part of a major realignment of the road from Kennoway to the foot of Garley Bank, which cut out the hilly Clatto Den route.[3]

Such changes were not without their critics and a heritor on the old road was quick to complain at the withdrawal of funds from his section. Other heritors had by this time enclosed many of their fields and a road that might previously have been taken in an arbitrary line across open country had now to be carefully set out by a land surveyor after consulting the various landowners concerned (Cu T 22.10.1790).

Work on the new realignment proceeded slowly. It was sufficiently established in 1793 to close the Clatto Den road (CT 21.5) and Kirkcaldy district had put a toll bar at the southern end by 1794. Another toll bar followed at Struthers in 1801 (CT 15.10). Delays in the final completion of the road brought an outburst from Wemyss of Winthank in 1813, who demanded that unless the last mile at the northern end was metalled, it should be closed[4] (CT 2.9).

By Pittillockford and Cupar

The alternative route from Gallatown to Cupar through Pittillockford was important primarily as a road for coal to be exported from Kirkcaldy and its development is discussed in Chapter 11. Its line north from Gallatown seems not to have differed significantly in the 18th century

---

1. money to be shared by both in 1724 was exhausted by Clatto Den
2. Roy shows no connection to the south
3. Work started in 1777, extra carriages were being allocated in 1785 and separate committees existed for the Kamesford and Scotstarvit roads in 1786.
4. Complaints later came from Kirkcaldy, fearful that bad conditions at Garley Bank would tempt their toll paying travellers to take another route.

from that of the modern road.[1] A notable landmark south of the bridge across the Leven in the 18th century was 'a very convenient inn built by ... the best plaisterer there ever was in Scotland'.[2] 'The Plaisterers' appear on maps by Ainslie (1775) and by Taylor and Skinner (1805); it is also given a prominent position in contemporary itineraries.[3] Another inn, mentioned in 1725,[4] north of Balbirnie was to be superseded by the inn whose name appears on the turnpike milestones and by which the junction at Pittillockford came to be known: the New Inn[5] (285049).

Between Pittillockford and Cupar a road must have been established well before 1700 (Chapter 6) and the need to maintain it for coal and lime carriage ensured that it was passable for long distance travellers for much of the year. The resources applied to it from 1748 to 1790 are described in Chapter 6 and the disruption caused only temporarily by a short section in poor condition near Pitlessie in 1786 is evidence of the standard of maintenance which was normally expected. The bridge at Cupar, which the Pittillockford and Kennoway roads shared, was less fortunate and the heavy expenditure on the realignment of the latter could be held responsible for the bridge being reported as neglected in 1792 and dangerous in 1804. (Cu T 20.3.1792, CT 15.5.1792, CS 1.5.1804)

The above routes meeting at Cupar were the most frequently mentioned ways of reaching the ferries to Dundee from Kinghorn in the 18th century and on the maps of Dorret (1750) and Roy (1755) it is only the direct road from Cupar through Kilmany which is shown.

---

1. The bridges over the Ore and the Lochty, are shown by Gordon (1645), described by Sibbald (1710) and repaired in 1718 (C of S 3.6)
2. Balfour 1725 (in Mitchell, ed.1906.300)
3. and was the proposed terminus of Road 8 of the 1790 Act (Chapter 13)
4. Also Balfour 1725. Located by Bodie (1968.98)
5. Illustrated by Bodie (1960) and seen on aerial photograph (F21:58/RAF/1716:15APR55.0283)

By Lindifferon and Kilmany

This route and its successors are described below, but first there should be considered the development of the route through Lindifferon from Pittillockford across the Howe, threading its way between the low foothills between Parbroath and the ferries.[1] That part of its development which took place up to 1790 is outlined in Chapter 6 but the bulk of the work needed to complete this road was carried out after that date. The all weather road between Luthrie and Lindifferon, on which work had been begun in 1774, was continued south to Ballantager (308137) in 1802 (Cu S 7.4). To the north east, the road from Luthrie[2] had been extended by 1800 to include Easter Kinsleith, Starr and Rathillet. A link existed between Rathillet and Kilmany the following year and in 1802 toll bars at Letham and Rathillet were rouped for the first time (Cu S 11.5.1801, CT 21.10.1802).

Traffic was still having to cross the Howe from Pittillockford at this stage by way of Shiels, Kettle or Ramornie Bridges, but the building of Drumtenant Bridge in 1804 brought into operation a new road through the forests, heath and marshland to Melville Gates (304127).

At Rathillet and Kilmany were intersections with roads from Cupar which formed part of a web of roads from the two directions, including the ridge road through Hazelton Walls and Gauldry, to the Tay shore. The old road shown by Dorret and Roy through Kilmany required a stiff climb over to Gauldry by what is now a deep hollow-way[3] at Round Hill (388223). Roy's surveyors noted a bifurcation at about 387227 (Figure 10.2), rejoining at the eastern end of Newton Hill.[4] Ainslie omits the

---

1. This was the route noted in Chapter 9 as mentioned by Taylour in 1723
2. In 1774 there were two road committees, one for Luthrie-Dundee (through Hazelton Walls) and another for Luthrie-Kilmany
3. Another hollow-way at 385229 is long disused, with a line of beech trees along the west side (Plate 10.4).
4. confirmed on an estate plan dated 1761 (RHP 6752) and RAF F22.540 30Aug54.0372

Plate 10.2 The Kilmany - Gauldry - Woodhaven road
Beyond the village of Kilmany, the main route from Cupar to Woodhaven lay, up to about 1800, along the dotted line. At the time of Roy's map (1755) a route diverged to the north east over Newton Hill, along the line of dashes. The building of a new valley bottom road through Kilmany (A - A), Road 26 under the 1797 Act, avoided the climb over the ridge. GR 387210 bearing 000

Plate 10.3 Hollow way east of Round Hill (B x B on Plate 10.2)
Although undoubtedly deepened by more recent agricultural traffic and rain wash, the degree of incision must owe much to its former function as part of a major road through Fife.
GR 388223 bearing 010

Plate 10.4 Abandoned portion of road between Kilmany and Gauldry (C x C on Plate 10.2)

No longer used by modern farm traffic, this section is flanked by beech trees, suggesting the maintenance of a hedge line against the road as recently as the last 100 years.

GR 385229 bearing 340

Newton Hill roads and shows Roy's west branch continuing as a Gauldry-Peasehill-Woodhaven road.[1]

Why people were prepared to climb to an elevation of over 105m at 384234 rather than keep along the valley side to the south of Newton Hill, maximum height 46m, is not clear, for the lower road was indeed shown on Ainslie's map and 'the Dundee road from Newton cotten[2] be east Kilmenny ...' of a petition in 1784 must surely be this one. The answer may lie in the jumble of kame ridges and marshy hollows which fill the Wormit Gap and which are crossed by the roads on both Roy's and Ainslie's maps. Conditions here in winter may have made the climb over to Gauldry a lesser evil.

The Fife ports of the lower Tay and roads serving them

The activities of the ports on the Tay north of Cupar, often referred to collectively as 'Dundee waterside' are well recorded. Balmerino was mainly a port for the export of grain in the 1760s (OSA83) and also received imports of coal and lime at prices less than the overland products from the Markinch Gap. Access from Cupar was through Rathillet and Grange although, curiously, Ainslie (1775) does not show a road beyond Rathillet.

Ferryport-on-Craig is recorded in the 15th century as the subject of regulations limiting charges and requiring the provision of landing stages (APS ii.89.1467). The minister in 1791 (OSA366) does not mention any other ferries, but confines himself to observing that the building of the bridge at Perth (in 1771) was followed by a reduction in traffic and caused the road to the ferry to become 'almost deserted'.

Newport was founded by a Guildry of Dundee in 1718[3] but did not achieve eminence as a ferry port until the early 19th century. It was

---

1. This was granted funds in 1807 (Tayfield/21/2) and was still being repaired up to 1840, even though there had been a petition to have it closed (CS 2.5.1815)
2. Just north of Hawkhill (409241) on Ainslie's map
3. Geddie (1894)

however to be identified with the 'East Ferry' to which Roy's line is taken. The latter passes by Woodhaven, but there can be little doubt that this was the principal ferry port for passengers towards the end of the 18th century. It is the terminus of the road shown by Dorret (1750) and of the Cupar road shown by Ainslie (1775). It is also the port referred to as the destination of several routes in Cupar District which were being improved in the 1790s (Plates 10.5 and 10.6).

To Woodhaven by the Wormit Gap

To a new turnpike road, made 'about the year 1790' (NSA 512) was attributed a period of prosperity for the Woodhaven ferry. The road at first ran along Ainslie's line across the Wormit Gap and passed over the ridge between Wormit Hill and St. Fort Hill (410259) (Figure 10.2). In 1792 the owner of St Fort was concerned about the steepness of the section descending the north slope into Woodhaven (CT 29.10.1792) and on a map of 1794 an additional road was shown winding on a serpentine line to the port.

This was not the only worry of the St. Fort family at this time for it appears from evidence given in a right of way dispute at a later date that they objected to the road which joined it from St. Andrews which 'went very close on the south side of the House of St Fort and certainly was not very agreeable to the family residing there'.[1] As an additional argument they added, 'Besides it was very inconvenient for the Public from their having to go up one steep hill and down another[2], of which those who had occasion to travel on it or to drive loaded carriages had frequent cause to complain' (St Fort 112 Memorial for Counsel 1836).

By 1804, however, another turnpike road had been built, along the line of the modern B946, passing by the west side of Wormit Hill and not over the ridge. The St Fort estate paid for a connection to this road

---

1. A common motive for realignment. The conflict between private amenity and public good is commented upon by Robertson (1829.55)
2. See Plate 10.7.

A B

A B

Plate 10.5 Flass Bank from the Newton Hill road
Before 1800 two routes crossed the Wormit Gap with its hummocky outwash deposits, to converge near the col above Flass (A x A). The Newton Hill route (foreground) is shown by Roy (1755), whereas on Ainslie's map a road is shown from Hawkhill (across the sandpit). Yet another route came past St Fort (B x B) from St Andrews. The Flass routes were abandoned after the lower road through Wormit (line of dashes) was constructed in 1804. GR 400243 bearing 040

A

A

Plate 10.6 The pack house at Woodhaven
The quay at Woodhaven owned by Stewart of St Fort continued as a landing place for agricultural produce after the ferry had been eclipsed by that from Newport (quay at A x A). Construction of the pack house was discussed in 1799 (CT 7.5.), the date on the plaque.

GR 406269 bearing 055

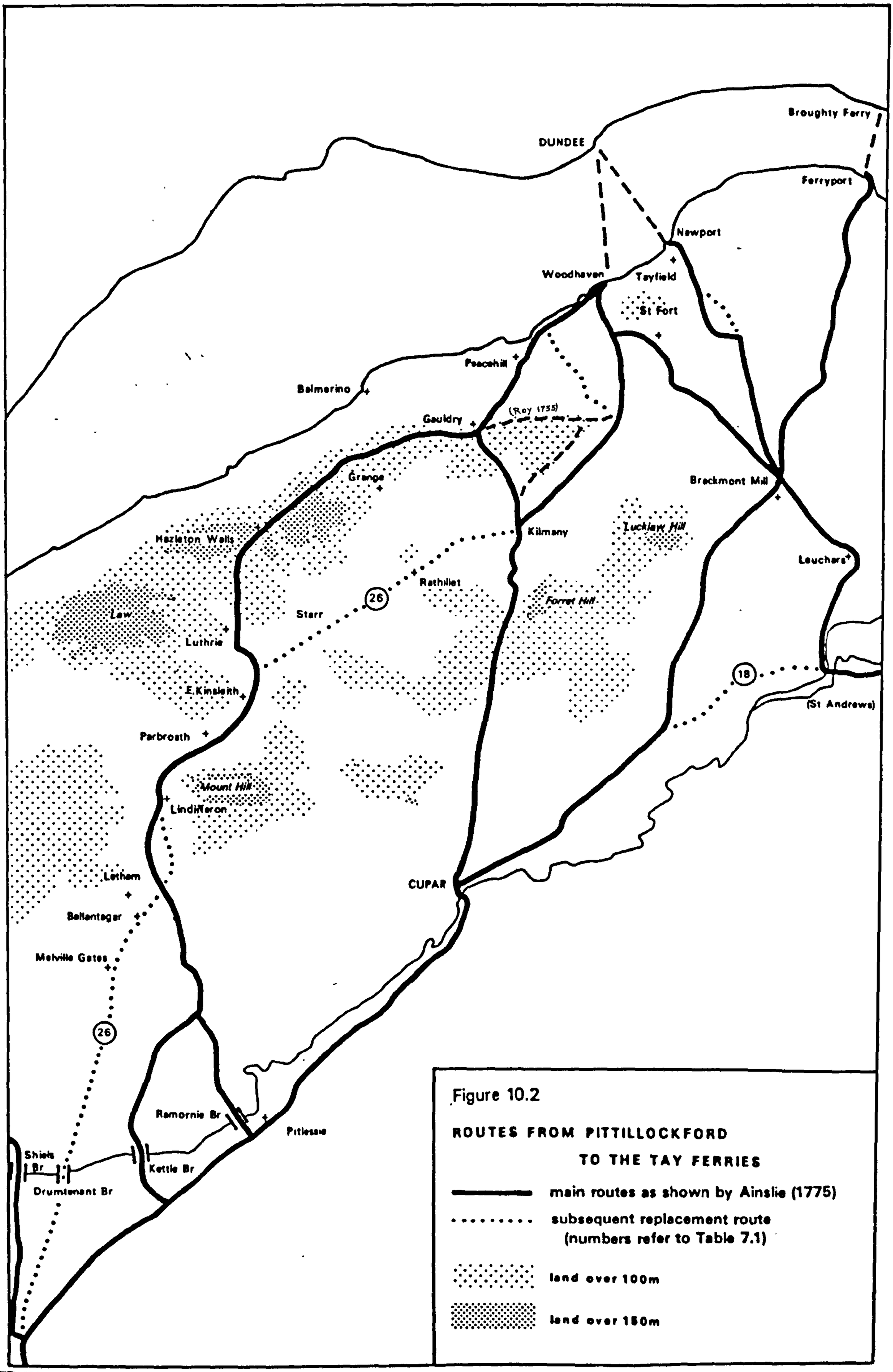


Figure 10.2

ROUTES FROM PITTILLOCKFORD TO THE TAY FERRIES

main routes as shown by Ainslie (1775)

subsequent replacement route (numbers refer to Table 7.1)

land over 100m

land over 150m

from the foot of Baronsloan (419251) in exchange for the right to close the road they were complaining about and the latter was authorised to be shut up by an order in 1806.[1]

As owners of the ferry facilities at Woodhaven the Stewarts of St. Fort had every interest in encouraging traffic and it appears they were successful, for the tacksman of Cupar East tollbar asked for a reduction in rent the year the new turnpike was built since, he claimed, 'the new road from New Inn was more used than that going through Cupar'.[2]

To Woodhaven and Newport by Brackmontmill

The improved traffic through Woodhaven was to be short lived, however, for the road on which the tollbar stood, through Brackmontmill, was also a convenient route to Newport which was now being energetically promoted by its owner, Berry of Tayfield.

The Brackmontmill road had been maintained as a public road before 1730 and its development as a main route was being planned in 1776, when its perceived importance to Fife as a whole brought a contribution from Kirkcaldy. The use of this route to the Dundee ferries from Cupar, rather than through Kilmany, added 3 miles (5Km) to the journey but the maximum elevation reached, 54m, was an improvement as compared with 105m on the Kilmany route. Support for the new road was not unanimous among the Cupar turnpike trustees. Some considered it would be too expensive and claimed that the Kilmany road was adequate. They also added the criticism that the road would be going 'out of the most populous part of the country', which they interpreted as contrary to the spirit of the 1790 Act (Cu T 3.9.1791).

---

1. It was the interpretation of this order as a right to close the road as a kirkroad for people near Wormit that gave rise to the legal action in 1836
2. When he leased the bar at the upset price the previous October he might not have anticipated such a switch of traffic from one road to the other

The rise of Newport ferry

The principal improvement sought by Berry was the construction of a new road from a point on the St Andrews to Woodhaven road, just north of Brackmontmill, to Newport pier and in 1799 he asked the surveyor, Robert Mitchell, to prepare a scheme he could present to the St Andrews district turnpike trustees.

At the same time his neighbour, and rival ferry owner, Stwart of St. Fort arranged two independent surveys, one by a local schoolmaster. These were viewed with disfavour by Mitchell, who wrote to Berry, 'If Mr. Stewart or those who are advocates for these alterations would honestly say that they want the road to go where it is most convenient for their purpose of Inclosing or to please their whim, this would be telling truth and they would get credit for it. But to pretend that they are serving the public by such an alteration is insulting common sense.' (Tayfield 25/4 12.10.1799).

The next year Berry managed to convince the St Andrews trustees that Mitchell's route was the most suitable (CT.9.10.1800), but it was not until Berry had made a mile of road on his own property and written round to several other trustees that he was able to get their support for the spending of public funds. (Tayfield 25/4 21.5.1803).

At a county meeting in 1804 he claimed, in respect of his new road: Newport was opposite and one mile nearer to Dundee than Woodhaven; the water was deeper at Newport, with fewer sand banks opposite the pier; the boatmen from Woodhaven were having to go eastwards to clear the shoals at low water; the post office preferred the Newport crossing; the Woodhaven and Newport roads could be joined above the two ferries; a decision needed to be made as to future investment since all three ferries, including Ferryport, were in poor repair; and lastly, Newport had recently increased in importance as a port for shipping grain and for unloading coal and lime. (CT 1.5.1804).

The following year it was reported that the Woodhaven road[1] was not only in disrepair but also that the boatmen at Woodhaven were resigned to a loss of customers and were giving up their trade. A compromise was reached between the two ferry owners whereby the tolls from bars at each port were pooled and used to pay off their debts (CT 1.10.1805).

In spite of the gloomy report given to the trustees, above, Woodhaven continued to be used as a ferry port. What brought about its demise in this capacity was a growing public concern for safety and a demand for a smaller number of larger vessels. In 1807 a total of 25 boats served the three ferries, manned by 100 men and boys, which 'were found to be alike unsuitable for the safety and accommodation of the public' (NSA 513). An accident in 1815 resulted in the loss of 17 lives and prompted plans to reduce the number of boats in service. Piers and landing places were to be improved under an Act of 1819, setting up a statutory trust. The old sailing vessels were replaced by a steamboat in 1821, plying alternately to Woodhaven and to Newport, but after a year Woodhaven was omitted and thereafter became restricted to goods traffic (Hall 1825).

Ferryport

The changes at Newport affected not only Woodhaven but also Ferryport. A road had been built along the coast to Newport in 1830 (Road 83 of Chapter 7), but this did not help the ferry trade. The Minister in 1836, unlike his predecessor who had blamed the poor traffic on a bridge at Perth, recalls, 'Neither horses nor cattle ... cross the river by this passage, since the erection of the steam-boat between Newport and Dundee ...' He also refers to the state of the ferry passage itself, 'which has still to be effected in every state of the weather by small sailing boats', and adds, 'Scarcely any where else in the kingdom is this now the case on a passage of nearly two miles. A steam boat is

---

1. from Brackmontmill

therefore much desiderated.'[1]

The Ferryport crossing has been viewed above as one of the three alternative termini for the Great Road through Fife, but it should also be noted that only the improvement of the Cupar to Brackmontmill road made it a realistic option for passengers from the south, and then only if they were bound for Aberdeen, through Broughty Ferry, rather than Dundee. In 1791 it was principally a port for drovers, for shipping grain and importation of coal and lime. As the lowest harbour on the Tay it was also a customs port (OSA 366-78).

A traveller from St Andrews would find little difference in the distance to each of the ports by road, although the attractiveness of Newport was greatly enhanced by Berry's new road.[2]

The Broad Ferry ports - Later developments

The road connections to and from the ferries at the southern end of the Great Road were briefly examined at the beginning of the chapter, from the point of view of a traveller before the end of the 18th century. On arriving at one of the Broad Ferry ports there was no practical alternative to passing through the one long street of Kirkcaldy, described in 1795 as, 'winding and irregular; deformed by the frequent projection of contiguous houses and stairs; and as the traveller daily feels, wretchedly paved'[3] (OSA507). This was before he reached Gallatown where, as has been observed, he had a choice of routes.

He was most likely to be put ashore at Pettycur and this was to remain the case for subsequent travellers up to 1845, when the improvements to Burntisland harbour were completed. Thus, when

---

1. It is unlikely that the Minister would have foreseen the revival in the fortunes of Ferryport when it became the terminus for the railway from Burntisland and Cupar in 1848 and was renamed Tayport.
2. No doubt it was to influence such a traveller that a particularly splendid cast-iron wayside marker was erected at the junction with the Woodhaven road (Stephen 1967.Plate 22a).
3. The writer adds that the statute labour 'is now converted' and saved up for new paving.

contrasted with the wide range of alternative approach roads to the Tay ferries across the whole of northern Fife, those to the Broad Ferry were more restricted. Up to the time of Roy's map (1755), routes from Aberdour, Burntisland and Kinghorn towards Perth round the shores of Loch Leven were considered important enough to merit inclusion on the earlier maps (Chapter 6), but by the time of Ainslie (1775), only a connection to the now improved Great North Road remained and this, with its steep climb over two ridges and a crossing of Mossmorran, must have been an unattractive route until improved in 1816 (Road 63 of Chapter 7).[1]

Most of the traffic arriving from the other side of the Forth on the Broad Ferry was bound for destinations north or east of Kirkcaldy. As for the facilities at ports other than Pettycur, it is perhaps worth noting that at Aberdour in 1790 there was but one ferryboat to Leith 'principally employed in carrying grain' (OSA20).

Burntisland

Of Burntisland harbour, Sibbald notes that there was 'a large and safe harbour, for ships of the biggest size; there may be docks made here, and at the east end of the town. Because of its situation, and accommodation for landing, and for the entertainment of passengers, it is one of the three towns for passage over the firth, and well frequented' (Sibbald 1710.304-7). The minister in 1791,is eloquent in its support and claims the harbour is 'one of the best in Scotland.' He advocates its development as a naval base and Adamson (1803.305) quotes this source without dissent. The convenience of Burntisland in bad weather, noted by Defoe in 1725, and the easier landing at low tide, offset to some extent the lengthened road journey to Dundee. Roy shows a road along a line which would have meant an arduous climb up to Grange Hill and going along the exposed cliff top north of the Bents (257865). Ainslie has a short truncated road leading towards Pettycur along the shore, which

1. NSA 262-3, Stephen 1975.65

suggests a possible means of communication at low tide.[1] He has no clifftop road but instead shows a road following the same line as the modern B293 round Kinghorn loch, with a branch to Kirkcaldy at 253874 closely corresponding to an extant road.[2]

The minister in 1791 referred to the streets of Burntisland as having been repaired as part of a bargain with Cromwell (OSA91), and sorrowfully adds that they had never been mended since, 'which their present state too clearly proves.' He is hopeful that they would soon be improved on the establishment of 'the public ferry from Burntisland to Leith or rather to Newhaven.'

Kinghorn and Pettycur

His fellow minister at Kinghorn chooses to say little about the adequacy of the roads and is ambivalent towards the public ferry which he suggests 'may justly be considered as having been hitherto the ruin of Kinghorn, both in respect of industry and morals.' He recognises the economic benefits of the ferry but deplores the effect on public behaviour of 'all the banditti and vagabonds of the country continually passing and repassing through this great thorough-fair, and occasionally stopping and lodging for days and weeks together.' He has, however, some praise for the watermen to whose skill and sobriety he attributes their good safety record, so that 'there is not an instance of so much as one of these boats having been lost, within the memory of man.' (OSA 494).

The minister had, perhaps, taken the maintenance of the road to Kirkcaldy for granted, for it is evident that it had been regarded as important from records of expenditure in the mid 18th century. As well as the repairs in 1729 referred to above, there were contributions from

---

1. An uncoloured road on the 1836 Report map of Kirkcaldy District gives a similar impression.
2. The unchanged line of this road may not be unconnected with the minister's statement in 1791.that, 'a great part of the land of the parish is enclosed' and the right angle bends north of Drinkbetween on both Ainslie and the modern map indicate a permanence of line in 1775.

several nearby parishes and from county funds in the 1750s [1] and the fact that the minister notes a low price for coal and lime as one of the benefits of the parish implies the satisfactory condition of the road from the nearest coalpit at Cluny and from the limeworks at Innertiel (271898), which was certainly in production before 1805 (KT8.11).

The poor communication with Burntisland on the Kinghorn Loch road[2] continued to be held against the use of Burntisland as the principal ferry port and the road's vulnerability to traffic is suggested by its poor condition in 1800 after it had been 'much trafect in wet Seasons owing to the herring taken at Burntisland.' (KT 14.8.1800).[3]

This road was part of that designated under the 1753 Act as 'the Road from the (said) Queen's Ferry through Inverkeithing to Bruntisland and Kirkcaldie' and was again incorporated in the longer road at the beginning of the 1790 Act leading to Crail (Road 4 of Chapter 7), which listed along its route the towns of Inverkeithing, Aberdour and Kirkcaldy.

The first road of the next turnpike act in 1797 (Road 21) joins that from Aberdour to Kirkcaldy by an inland route avoiding Burntisland and the omission of the latter in the designation of Road 4 suggests that the drafters of the 1790 Bill wished to keep open the option of the inland route. Certainly, it was in 1790 and not 1797 that the new road was staked out (CT 1.6.1790) and on 30.11.1791 work was authorised to start.[4] The supposed intention that the line of Road 4 should avoid Burntisland appears to be confirmed by the listing of Road 21 as a 'toll road' in 1795 (KT 2.6), but an agreement to defer the decision on the location of a tollbar in 1796 may indicate doubts as to its legality, for the first recorded rouping of a tollbar on this road, at Whitehill (182861) is in

---

1. An undated abstract in the County statute labour minutes records contributions from 1749 to 1753.
2. The only road shown by Taylor and Skinner (1776).
3. noted in Chapter 8.
4. the consultant surveyor, Robert Mitchell, also advised Berry on the Newport ferry road (above).

1807 (CT 15.10). Access to it from the Kirkcaldy end was by a side bar in 1807 (KT 2.5), when it was referred to as 'the Road to Queensferry by Kilrie.'

The trustees were clearly more eager to improve communications with Queensferry and West Fife than they were to develop Burntisland at this stage, but the next fifty years were to see a number of proposals to have the ports of the Broad Ferry recognised as a national asset and to persuade the government to invest in improved piers. In 1807 Rennie made a survey of Pettycur and concluded that Burntisland was the more suitable port for development, although in his report he pointed out the difficulty of access along the hilly road past Kinghorn Loch.(Rennie 1808.12)

Steamboats and the railway

The introduction of a steamboat by Kirkcaldy town in 1818 intensified a rivalry with the ferry trustees appointed under an act of 1792,[1] resulting in the acquisition of further steamboats and a schedule of calls, including Aberdour, along some twelve miles of coast. Attempts by a local entrepreneur to take over the ferries resulted in financial disaster and his withdrawal from the enterprise in 1826. Having suffered once, the ferry trustees were reluctant to try any further experiments but after a series of schemes had been put forward involving proposed alternative harbours between Pettycur and Kirkcaldy, a scheme for a low water pier at Burntisland, promoted by the Duke of Buccleuch and Sir John Gladstone resulted in the Act of Parliament in 1842, summarised in Chapter 7. Three boats were purchased in 1844, in the same year that the Edinburgh and Northern Railway company was formed. They bought ground for the railway and the harbours of Kinghorn and Pettycur in 1845.(SRO GD 152/2190.

---

1. 32 GIII.93. Smith (1952) notes a rivalry between Kinghorn and Kirkcaldy for ferry rights in the 17th century (TSA 506-7).

The purchase of the ferry rights from Pettycur and Burntisland took place in 1847 and the first train ran from Burntisland to Cupar. The regular scouring of Pettycur then ceased, thus removing competition as the old harbour rapidly silted up and became virtually useless for passage boats.

Access to Burntisland from Kinghorn was greatly improved by the new road specified in the 1842 Act, Road 88 of Chapter 7, undertaken by the turnpike trustees of Kirkcaldy District. In 1843 their road manager, McConnell, surveyed the line of the new road (KT 18.3) and the new road was completed in September 1844 (CT 28.7.1846). Attempts by the Kirkcaldy District trustees to erect a tollbar on this road aroused fierce opposition from the Burgh who were supported by the County. Although tolls were suspended on a court interdict they were again levied for two weeks in July 1845, but then the bar was finally removed and the road remained toll free.

Conclusion

To compare, once again, the development of the ferries at either end of the Great Road: the difficulties attending the concentration of traffic in one ferry port on the Tay and the introduction of steamboats seem trivial by comparison with events on the Forth coast. On the Tay the main protagonists were two small landowners whose estates happened to include the ferry terminals. The shift to the east away from Woodhaven was a response to improved vessels and greater concern for safety rather than commercial rivalry. Devious though Stewart's schemes to attract traffic to Woodhaven might appear, he accepted his diminished prospects with good grace when Berry built the new road to Newport. The tolls were pooled and a road made up between the two ports without difficulty. Dalgleish's[1] later improvements and link road to Tayport

---

1. Dalgleish of Scotscraig, the 'sole proprietor' in 1830 (NSA 86)

showed cooperation between road trustees and landowner in which he was receiving the tolls to recover his expenses on the road.

Between the ferries, the development of the several alternative routes may be seen as the outcome of a number of influences.

As the southern port of passage it was Pettycur which became dominant until within a few years of the coming of the Burntisland to Tayport railway.

Initially the almost straight route over the upland ridge sufficed for light traffic through Cupar, supported by additional traffic from Leven to Cupar.[1]

For heavier traffic a more suitable but longer route lay through the Markinch Gap and Cupar, offering gentler gradients.

The Markinch Gap gave access to the Howe, initially for coal and lime distribution to northern Fife but with the additional advantage of an independent route to the Tay ferries, avoiding Cupar.

As was noted in Chapter 8, it was the Markinch Gap route via Cupar that was given the seal of approval by the coach operators, but there is little doubt that the route across the Howe resulted in substantial savings in the cost of coal and lime. It was an ambitious undertaking for the time it was first embarked upon, in 1774, on the conversion of statute labour to money.

Two hundred years later the motorist has cause to be thankful for the A914 as a fast-route between the M90 at Kinross and the Tay Bridge, while the citizens of Cupar are relieved from much of the traffic from Kirkcaldy and Glenrothes bound for Dundee.

---

1. This is the only road between the ferries on Dorret's map of 1750 (Figure 3.4).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MINERALS AND ROADS IN FIFE

Few factors in the development of a transport network are more uncompromising than the location of mineral deposits. Where those such as building stone were widespread in Fife the establishment of distribution routes is less marked, although it has been noted above (Chapter 8) that Balmerino Abbey on the freestone deficient north coast was supplied overland from quarries near St Andrews.

Easily workable coal seams and bands of limestone were more specifically demanding of access and the accelerating exploitation of these minerals, whether for export or for distribution to all parts of the county, by the early 18th century, was a major factor in the motivation of landowners to improve the road system.

The Demand for Coal

Grants of the right to dig coal are recorded for the abbeys of Holyrood and Newbattle in the early 13th century (NCB 1958.34) and in Fife, monks of Dunfermline Abbey were in 1291 given permission to work coal on the lands of Pittencrieff wherever they wished, but only for their own use.[1] The parish minister in 1791 considers 'it was only used in the abbey, and by persons of distinction in the country' (OSA 311). Although it would seem that some coal would be used domestically for heating, Clow (1952.18) suggests that most of it would have been mined by the monks for the purpose of evaporating sea water for salt, a use later reserved for 'panwood' or coal of inferior quality.

The use of coal as a domestic fuel is considered by Whyte (1979.82) to have been widespread by the 17th century as far north as Stonehaven, but was confined to the houses of the wealthy. There were few places where it was cheap enough to be used by the tenantry. Those living on the coalfields of Fife would be among the regular coal users.

---

1. Cunningham (1913.9) interprets this restriction as an indication that sales were occurring elsewhere.

Whether it was common for poorer people to be given unrestricted access to surface worked coal is not clear. The Minister of Dunfermline recalls that 'in progress of time it was more generally used as a fuel' and indicates a surplus to domestic requirements when he says, 'when trade began to flourish, it was exported to foreign parts.' He adds, however, that little was exported before the middle of the 18th century in his parish (OSA 311).

The same could not be said about the other parishes along the coast from Torryburn[1] to Dysart and Wemyss from which coal was being exported in the 17th century to other parts of Scotland, to England and to countries across the North Sea. This activity did not necessarily make coal more freely available for domestic purposes and, as deeper seams were exploited and expensive shafts and pumps had to be installed, the supply to local consumers became restricted. Thus, at Dysart in 1556 the council imposed customs charges to discourage non-residents of the burgh from coming in and taking away 'ye collis yat are sauld by ye labourers of ye Hoche at yis present time,' the reason given being their 'inorbitant and great dearth.'[2] In Edinburgh in 1563 peat was the 'reigning fuel' (Chalmers 1885.23), but coal was also being brought from nine miles away on horses' backs. A greater distance was involved when the English garrison at Falkland was supplied from Largo in 1653 (Lamont 1672.68) and its availability was evidently a matter of the ability to pay or to command.

From the 16th century or earlier there was a multitude of small drift mines or bell pits, each often worked by a single family, scattered over outcrops on the Lomonds-East Neuk ridge and southwards. Beyond this area, peat no doubt served as a fuel for most of the population as it did for the monks of Lindores in the 14th century (Chapter 9). Sibbald (1710.155), commenting on the problems of removing excessive bodies of

---

1. Alloa and Culross, further west, were pioneers of this trade.
2. Cunningham (1912.39). Customs were not payable where coal was purchased from 'our good lord and master, Lord Sinclair.' A similar 'dearth' of coal is noted by Chambers (1885.216) round Edinburgh in 1621 when 'the pits could scarcely supply the laird's houses.'

peat, as on the Rankeilour estate in Fife, goes on to recommend the black moss as giving 'the best fire.' However, Whyte (1979.83) points out that on many estates the need for the careful conservation of remaining peat supplies was appreciated.

In Dunfermline in 1670 the burgh council was restricting the cutting of peat on the town moor at the same time as it was arranging to sell coal[1] from within the burgh limits (DBC 21.3.1668). By the mid 18th century Chamberlayne (1755.48) finds that in Scotland there is pit-coal 'in great Perfection almost everywhere, at a very small price; and where that is wanting, there is in some Places Wood, and in others great Plenty of Turf and Peat.'

At the time of the Statistical Account, in only a few Fife parishes does it appear that peat serves as more than a kindling for coal (OSA Carnock 129). The minister of Saline says his parish 'abounds with coal in every part' ... but that ... 'little or none is wrought owing to the inactive spirit of the proprietors' and to the proximity of Blairngone[2] colliery 'which supplies all the country round at a low price.' He does however point to the 'large tracks of moss' in the parish, 'some of which yield excellent peat for fuel.' (OSA Saline 754).

The control of pit owners over the access to coal of the local people may not have been absolute, but the gift by Lord Elgin of coal to the poor in January 1795 (DBC 31.1) suggests that they had no independent source of fuel at that time, possibly a temporary situation due to severe weather.

Certainly the low value placed on second grade coal is illustrated at Dysart in 1800 when it was used as a material for a public footpath (KT 3.4).

The dependence upon coal for fuel at the end of the 18th century

---

1. In 1641 the council was exporting coal through Limekilns and using the carriage services due from the tenants of the burgh acres to transport it (DBC 1641)
2. Probably near Blairs Green (023910)

can perhaps best be summed up by Thomson (1800.280) who, after saying that coal in northern Fife could cost as much as three times that at the pit-mouth in the south, adds, 'except by those who live in the immediate neighbourhood of the mosses, peat is seldom used as ordinary fuel,' pointing out also its disadvantages in terms of wasted time and the difficulty of handling in wet weather. He confirms that by 1800 in Fife wood was too scarce to provide a practical alternative fuel.

The amount of domestic coal consumption at the end of the 18th century has been estimated by several writers.[1] Haulage of coal was normally confined to the summer, the season when tenants were obliged to carry coals for their landlords as part of their service dues (OSA 39). Up to at least the mid 18th century much of the coal would be conveyed on the backs of horses.

It is doubtful whether domestic coal consumption alone influenced greatly the level of road maintenance, still less the provision of roads for this purpose. What was more likely to have prompted expenditure on maintenance and improvement was the prospect of profit from the sale of coal to limeworks and its carriage in large quantities to the coast for export, often in the form of 'great coal' which needed careful handling (Stephen 1975.141).

While distribution for domestic purposes of coal within the coalfields themselves generated a diffuse pattern of short range transport in small units, the needs of more distant consumers such as those accessible through a port, came to be most efficiently met in the late 18th century by contemporary forms of wheeled bulk transport, represented by the two horse cart of thirty hundredweight (1523 Kg.).

Regular and heavy traffic of such vehicles would soon result in impossible conditions, especially if deliveries had to be continued through the winter months. The routes used had to be clearly defined and

---

1. Thomson (1800.280) gives the quantity consumed in Fife as 160,000 tons; Wilson (1980.85) quotes a coal output in the 1790s of over 250,000 tons per annum.

deliberately built up, with firm surfaces. In laying out such roads the resources available to the larger coal owners dwarfed those of the local communities with whom roads were ordinarily shared.

The coal owners were engaged in a relatively capital intensive venture for their times, where either failure or success could be on a dramatic scale. The coal industry sharpened their commercial awareness and led them to seek any way of cutting down overhead expenses, particularly transport costs. It developed a shrewdness and opportunism[1] that is manifested repeatedly where coal owners are seen to intervene in the financing of roads, however much their motives might be dressed in an expressed concern for the public good.

Evidence of special pleading and covert tactics may be perceived in a number of cases where the interests of the more agriculturally minded of the road trustees do not wholly coincide with those of the coal owners and the following survey throws up a number of examples.

The Coalfields

For the purpose of this study the coalfields of Fife can conveniently be considered in terms of their principal geological characteristics, the products and their means of distribution.

The Productive Coal Measures of the eastern field, shown in Figure 11.1 , were being exploited before 1700, with a vigorous export trade, first from Dysart and then shared with the Wemyss ports and Methil. The deposits were almost entirely of fresh water origin with only a few thin marine bands and hence had no limestones of commercial value. There were workable iron deposits at Balgonie but these were well away from the coast and transport of iron ore caused severe damage to roads.

The small detached inland fields of Cadham and Rameldrie of the Limestone Coal Group were mined from the mid 18th century onwards and

---

1. Smout 1964.221 cites Lord Elgin at Dunfermline as an astute entrepreneur.

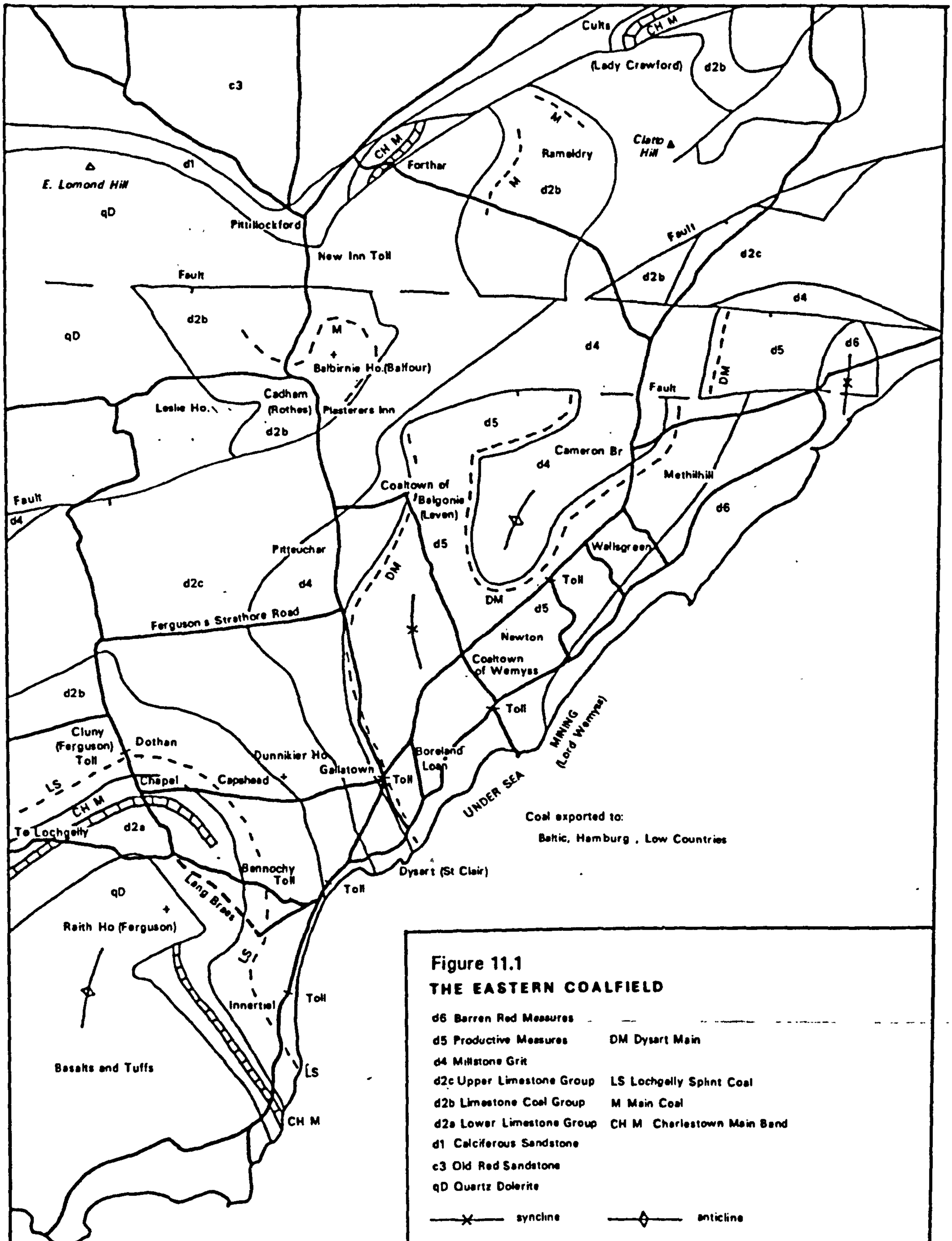


Figure 11.1
THE EASTERN COALFIELD

d6 Barren Red Measures

d5 Productive Measures — DM Dysart Main

d4 Millstone Grit

d2c Upper Limestone Group — LS Lochgelly Splint Coal

d2b Limestone Coal Group — M Main Coal

d2a Lower Limestone Group — CH M Charlestown Main Band

d1 Calciferous Sandstone

c3 Old Red Sandstone

qD Quartz Dolerite

syncline — anticline

their coal was carried to domestic consumers in the north and to lime quarries working the associated Charlestown Main band. The burnt lime from these quarries went out to all the surrounding districts as far as the Tay shore.

On the main field of the same geological group, the port of Kirkcaldy received much of the produce of the beds whose arcuate outcrop sweeps round to Lochgelly. An arbitrary line between Lochgelly and Ballingry serves to define a western limit to an area poorly provided with roads and oriented towards Kirkcaldy rather than western Fife. Between Lochgelly and Kirkcaldy the Charlestown Main limestone was again a source of agricultural lime, some of which travelled to the eastern coalfield.

West of Lochgelly, one of the distinguishing features of the area was the early provision of wagon ways, taking coal towards a number of ports, from Torryburn to St David's. Coastal limestone was burnt and exported in large quantities but there were other limestone quarries inland supplying local farms. Ironstones were also exploited in the far west of the county and were the basis of a short lived iron industry.

The Eastern Coalfield

Dysart Coal

This field, containing seams of the Productive Measures, was exploited commercially at an early date, starting with the most accessible outcrops along the shore at the western end. This is evident from a grant of revenue from the sale of Dysart coal in 1424 (Cunningham 1912.35) Various writers have commented on the tendency of these seams to ignite spontaneously and this seems to have been well known in 1446.[1]

The 'colheuch' is known to have been the property of the Sinclair family before 1654[2] and it was during their ownership that water problems

---

1. Sibbald (1710), Pennant (1776). Knox (1954.89) confirms Sibbald's attribution of this phenomenon to the presence of iron pyrites.
2. from a proposed marriage settlement (Cunningham 1912.33)

started to require the provision of pumps if working was to be continued, a horse engine with an auxiliary windmill being installed in 1676 (Cunningham 1913.16).

Early workings at Dysart were close to the harbour and needed only a minimum of road transport, but this situation changed as the workings extended landwards. The further development of this field required, by the 1790s, transport from near Gallatown and Boreland. The latter was a recently built collier village[1] and a route for the transport of coal to Dysart, via Boreland Loan, was used.[2]

The coal seams being exploited by the Sinclairs in the 16th century were collectively known as the Dysart Main and comprised a total of nineteen feet of workable coal (Geikie 1900.148). They are near the base of the Productive Measures and were steadily mined along their western outcrop towards the inland Coaltown of Balgonie.[3] Thomson (OSA 634) considers Balgonie to be 'too distant from a seaport for exportation' in 1792, but the decision as to where along the string of workings[4] which existed between Dysart and Balgonie, coal would be regarded as not worth exporting, would vary with market conditions and, of course, with the ease of transport.

That there may have been more than one route by which general traffic could proceed northwards from Kirkcaldy is evident from the existence of the Harlburn Road (281961), west of and parallel to the modern road through Thornton.[5] Yet it was the latter which had become established as the principal route in the 17th century and was shown by Gordon (1645) to be equipped with two major bridges, over the Ore and the Lochty.

---

1. 1756 (OSA 328)
2. later designated a turnpike road (No.20) in the 1790 Act
3. said by Thomson (OSA 634) to have existed in 1517 and also mentioned by Lamont (1672.92)
4. some are shown by Ainslie (1775)
5. shown by Ainslie.

In Sibbald's description (1710.377), both bridges are on the road from Kirkcaldy to Falkland, which road is clearly identified as 'to the east of Pitewchar' (285993), while the Harlburn Road would run to the west.

It therefore seems probable that the location of the edge of the Dysart Main outcrop was an important, if not decisive, factor in the selection of a particular road to concentrate work upon and to provide with bridges as part of the 'Great Road through Fife.'

Balgonie Ironstone

A third north to south road, absent from Ainslie's map (1775) but shown by Sharp (1827), is that from Coaltown of Balgonie to the port of West Wemyss. Thomson's dismissal in 1792 of Balgonie coal as being too far from the coast for export has been noted above, but a market was in any case also found for the associated ironstone which could be shipped to the foundry at Carron. In 1798 the Kirkcaldy road trustees were told by a contractor maintaining the turnpike road that a three mile section of the road north of Dysart was being damaged by increased traffic from the iron and coal carried from Balgonie. Two years later he received an additional payment to compensate him for the damage done by 'great traffic by ironstone carriages' (KT 3.4.1800).

Duckham (1970.146) indicates that the Balgonie iron business was a new venture which failed around 1817.[1] The road to West Wemyss[2] appears to have been reinforced after 1807, for the Balgonie ironstone traffic that year had 'cut the (turnpike) road much' (KT 8.6.1807) and work on this road may have been the company's response to tolls levied at Gallatown tollbar.

Wemyss Coal

Further east, on the Wemyss estate the Dysart Main seam was already

---

1. The parish minister in 1840 describes the enterprise as 'long since abandoned' (NSA 659)
2. A road in use in the 16th century, according to Dunn (1980.5)

being worked below ground in 1622 (Cunningham 1913.15) and higher seams, the Bowhouse (11 feet)[1] and Chemiss (9 feet), were encountered when a two mile adit was driven inland from Methil in 1654[2] (Cunningham 1913.16). The Wemyss estate included mines near West Wemyss which worked seams contiguous to those of the Sinclairs but mostly below sea level, the uppermost being worked in 1656, pumped by a horse engine (OSA 791). Coal from these mines required only short hauls to the port to which it was 'driven in large waggons' (OSA 791).

Workings in the eastern portion of the Wemyss estate extended from near Methil to beyond East Wemyss, and surface road haulage was needed over most of that half of the parish. The 'East and West Coaltowns' of the Statistical Account (OSA 797), the number of whose inhabitants was said to equal the whole rural population in 1791, were probably those settlements marked 'Newton' (later 'Coaltown of Wemyss') and 'Coal Town'[3] on Ainslie's map (1775). There is a dearth of roads on this map between the road through East Wemyss and the Cameron Bridge road, which could have been the result of a decision by Ainslie that many of the coal roads tended to be ephemeral and not worth the trouble of surveying. However, the southern of Ainslie's roads parallel to the coast could hardly have escaped being used by coal traffic. The minister in 1791 gives the matter of bridges and roads scant attention (OSA 796), merely stating that the one small bridge in the parish is sufficient and that the turnpike road (No.4) is too far away from the coast to be much use to his parishioners.

The Road Trusts and the Coal Roads round Dysart

Fifty-two years later, on Sharp's map (1827), four roads are shown

---

1. in the undersea workings (Knox 1954.96)
2. Contemporary with a shaft sunk at that date - a waggonway of this length is referred to as running 'from the pits to the harbour of Methil' in the Earl's journal for 1671 (OSA792) and could have been underground. A new pier had been built in 1660 (Cunningham 1913.43). See also Scott Bruce (1980.23).
3. Near the present Methilhill (958998).

linking Ainslie's two main roads, all of which lay between the various coal pits and the port of Methil. Over the intervening period there had been an increase in the amount of coal exported, from 6,000 tons through West Wemyss in 1791 (OSA 796) to 40,000 tons in 1838 (NSA 395), much of the latter through Methil. As successive pits were opened the changing pattern of routes used by the coal carts was a source of concern to the Kirkcaldy district road trustees, the Cameron Bridge road being one of the earliest turnpike roads under the 1790 Act. The subsequent designation of the Boreland-Loan-Methil road in 1807 (No.~~22~~ 57) improved the prospects for revenue from the coal traffic, but the relationship between them and the coal owners, themselves road trustees, was a delicate one.

Coal carts were found to be using portions of the Cameron Bridge road, and presumably causing a great deal of damage, without paying tolls in 1810 (KT 28.2) and a new private road made by a Sinclair avoided the Gallatown tollbar.[1] [2]

The response of the trustees was to place an additional tollbar at Wallsgreen (337986) (KT 21.8.1810).

In 1816 Lord Rosslyn (a Sinclair) managed to persuade the trustees to change the line of the Coaltown of Wemyss road at the western end, and as an overture of goodwill proposed to improve a steep section by Dysart Church at his own expense (KT 15.10.1816). Meanwhile, north of East Wemyss, the tacksman of the recently erected toll bar at Wallsgreen was having trouble with the Wemyss estate coal traffic which was succeeding in evading his bar.[3] There is no evidence of action on the part of the trustees and a compromise was reached with the Wemyss family in 1821. Lord Wemyss had opened another pit and was carrying coal

---

1. Thirty years later (KT 9.4.1840) a similar complaint from Gallatown led to an application 'to the Fiscal' under s.45 of the 1835 Act, which makes acquiescence by a proprietor to passage over his adjoining land, with the intention that tolls should be evaded, an offence.
2. The opportunity was taken at the same meeting to criticise a fellow trustee, Oswald of Dunnikier, for competing in the market for Dysart coal.
3. See Plate 11.1.

Plate 11.1 Bowhouse toll house
At a similarly placed junction to the toll at Wallsgreen, this late example of a toll house (post 1840 - see Pagan 1845.143) was erected to house the collector of tolls from traffic carrying coal to West Wemyss harbour. The coal owners responded by building a private road leading directly to the quay.
GR 319955 bearing 180

across the fields to avoid the tollbar. It was pointed out that the coal could quite easily be transported to the port by feeding it into an older pit, thereby using the Earl's own waggonway, rather than pay tolls. It was therefore suggested that it would be reasonable, since the Earl had leased the land for the toll house to the trustees, if he waived the rent in exchange for his carts to pass through without charge, to which the trustees agreed (KT 29.10.1821). This however did not stop subsequent tacksmen of the bar from complaining, and in 1827 the trustees were asked for an abatement of the tacksman's rent on account of evasion by coal traffic and it was reported that the public were also making use of a coal road to avoid payment, apparently with the Earl's connivance (KT 28.9.1827).

Another example of a compromise arrived at between a coal owner and the trustees was in respect of a portion of a road near Dysart which the owner had undertaken to repair. In fact this was not done and in 1837 the trustees expressed their concern that the surface was not up to the standard required for the Edinburgh post, an influential customer (KT 7.2.1837).

THE COALFIELDS OF CADHAM AND THE EAST NEUK RIDGE

The group of faults extending north eastwards through Markinch throw the Productive Coal Measures down against the older rocks of Carboniferous age. Further faults delimit a series of small coalfields, partly masked by dolerite sills, which extend in the direction of St Andrews (Geikie 1900.124 and Allan 1934.162). These fields, and in particular those collieries on the estates of Lord Rothes and Lord Balfour in the Cadham field, were the main suppliers of domestic coal in the 18th century for the northern part of Fife.[1]

---

1. The Minister of Kilconquhar notes carriage of coal to Falkland before 1603 (OSA457) and the need for a new road to serve this part of the coalfield is noted in Chapter 7 (Road 52). The supply of Newburgh is given in 1836 as a justification for Road 67.(NSA 77).

Coal was also carried southward, and the management by Lord Rothes of the Gallatown-Pittillockford road as a public road coincided with his commercial interests.[1]

THE COALFIELD BETWEEN LOCHGELLY AND KIRKCALDY

Lord Rothes also owned a colliery at Cluny (247955) and Thomson (1981.1) finds that coal was being mined there before 1685. Its main period of production began in 1730 when Lord Rothes, having tried putting in a tacksman and sharing the profits, took charge of the pits himself. By 1749 Thomson (1981.51) considers that the major part of the output was being transported to Kirkcaldy and he gives evidence of 1,002 loads carried in July. The Cluny colliery was sold before 1795 (OSA 518) to Ferguson of Raith and Thomson notes an increase in production under his management.

Since the road from Kirkcaldy continued beyond Cluny to Leslie, the road trustees wished to pay for its maintenance out of tolls on coal traffic and its inclusion in the 1790 Act (Road 9 of Chapter 7) was closely followed at a meeting that year by a detailed prescription of its route through to the Coal Wynd in Kirkcaldy (CT 1.6.1790) and instructions to erect a tollbar at Dothan (247953).

At the outskirts of Kirkcaldy the southern end of Ferguson's coal road passed along the east side of his grounds at Raith at the foot of a steep cliff capped by dolerite, the Lang Braes, and in 1812 he was anxious to divert the traffic to the top of the ridge, out of sight. At the same time he wanted the statute labour funds usually allocated to this road to be switched to a road he used for taking coal and lime towards Lochgelly (KS 9.4.1828). In 1814 he applied for the Lang Braes to be closed (CS 3.5), since a new road, the Bennochy Road (263926) had been built along the ridge,

---

1. He and Lord St Clair of Dysart had been described as 'the Spirit' of the committee set up in 1748 to improve 'the road from Kinghorn to Cupar' (Chapter 6).

which eventually became a turnpike road with a tollbar at the Kirkcaldy end. Ferguson then applied his own money to the road to Lochgelly[1] and this, together with the Bennochy road, formed the road designated in the 1829 Act (Road 76). Ferguson's pits at Cluny also required a connection to the east and about 1805 he built a road through Strathore which was suggested as part of a proposed link with the Great North Road (Chapter 13)

The expansion of the coal business at Cluny is suggested as constituting an important contributory factor in the provision of roads at this time to the northwest of Kirkcaldy. Figures 11.2 and 11.3 show the patterns of the main routes within 10 km of Kirkcaldy and of St. Andrews, areas which in 1755 contained total populations roughly comparable in size. The position of St. Andrews as a former ecclesiastical centre, university and secondary market town is discussed in Chapter 12, but what may be noted here is the even distribution of radial and concentric elements in the pattern of roads.

In the case of Kirkcaldy, the radial route corresponding to the St Andrews-Largo road is weakly developed and the line is lost in a network of local connections around Lochgelly, Auchterderran and Auchtertool. It would appear that if it had not been for the traffic generated by coal and lime transport this inland part of Kirkcaldy district might have been left only with statute labour roads.[2]

As Figure 11.2 shows, the populations of the interior parishes of Ballingry, Auchterderran, Auchtertool and Beath remained low during the period 1755 to 1790, two of them actually decreasing. This was at a time when the main road developments were occurring elsewhere in Fife.

The minister of Auchterderran in 1836 reports the absence of strong communication links across this part of Fife and mentions the failure to

---

1. Cluny was producing over five times the amount of coal that was dug at Lord Minto's colliery at Lochgelly in 1836 (NSA170) and was a vigorous competitor to the latter.
2. The coloured map in the 1836 Statute Labour Report shows the isolation of the two turnpike roads.

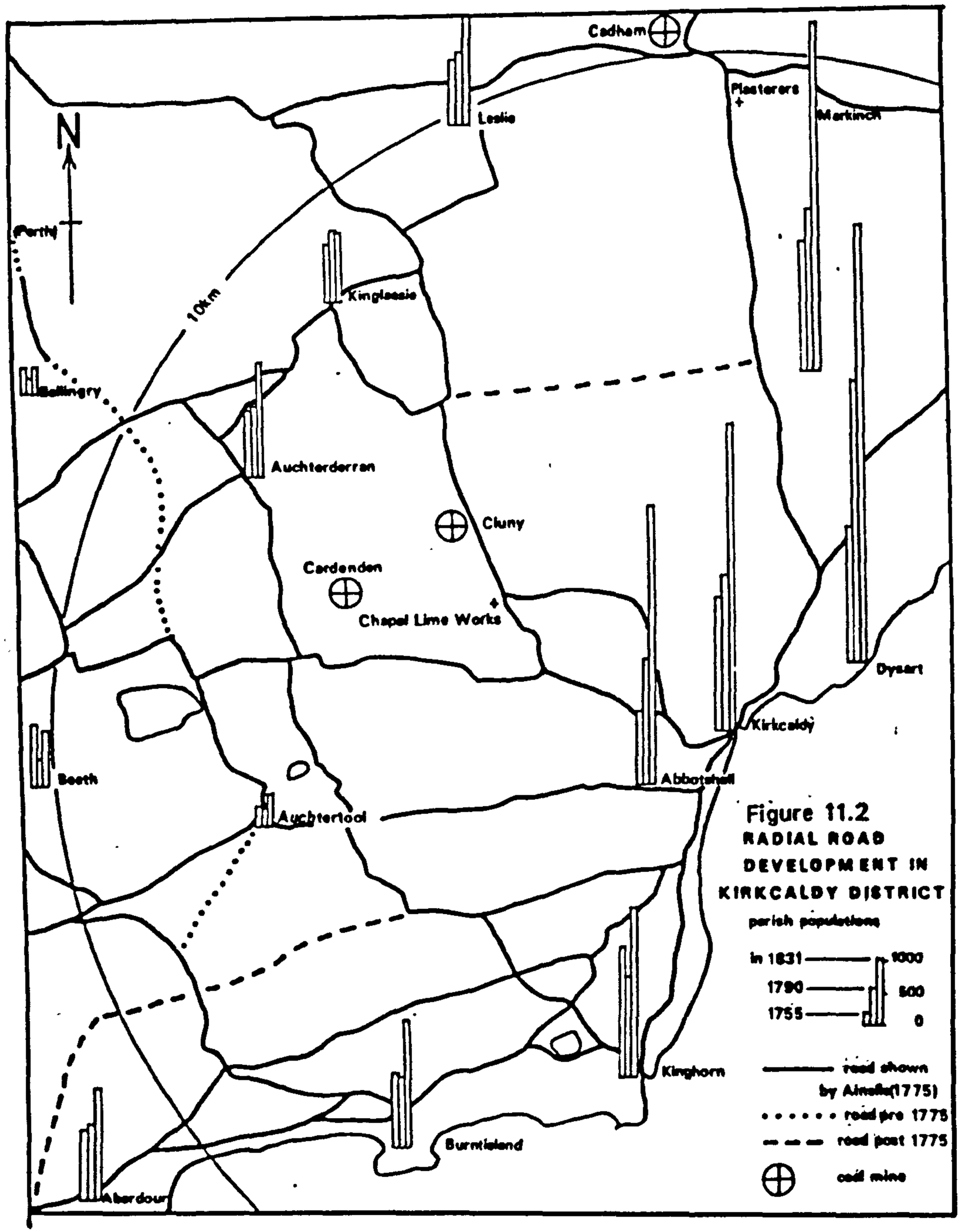


Figure 11.2
RADIAL ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN KIRKCALDY DISTRICT
parish populations
in 1831 — 1000
1790 — 500
1755 — 0
road shown by Ainslie(1775)
road pre 1775
road post 1775
coal mine

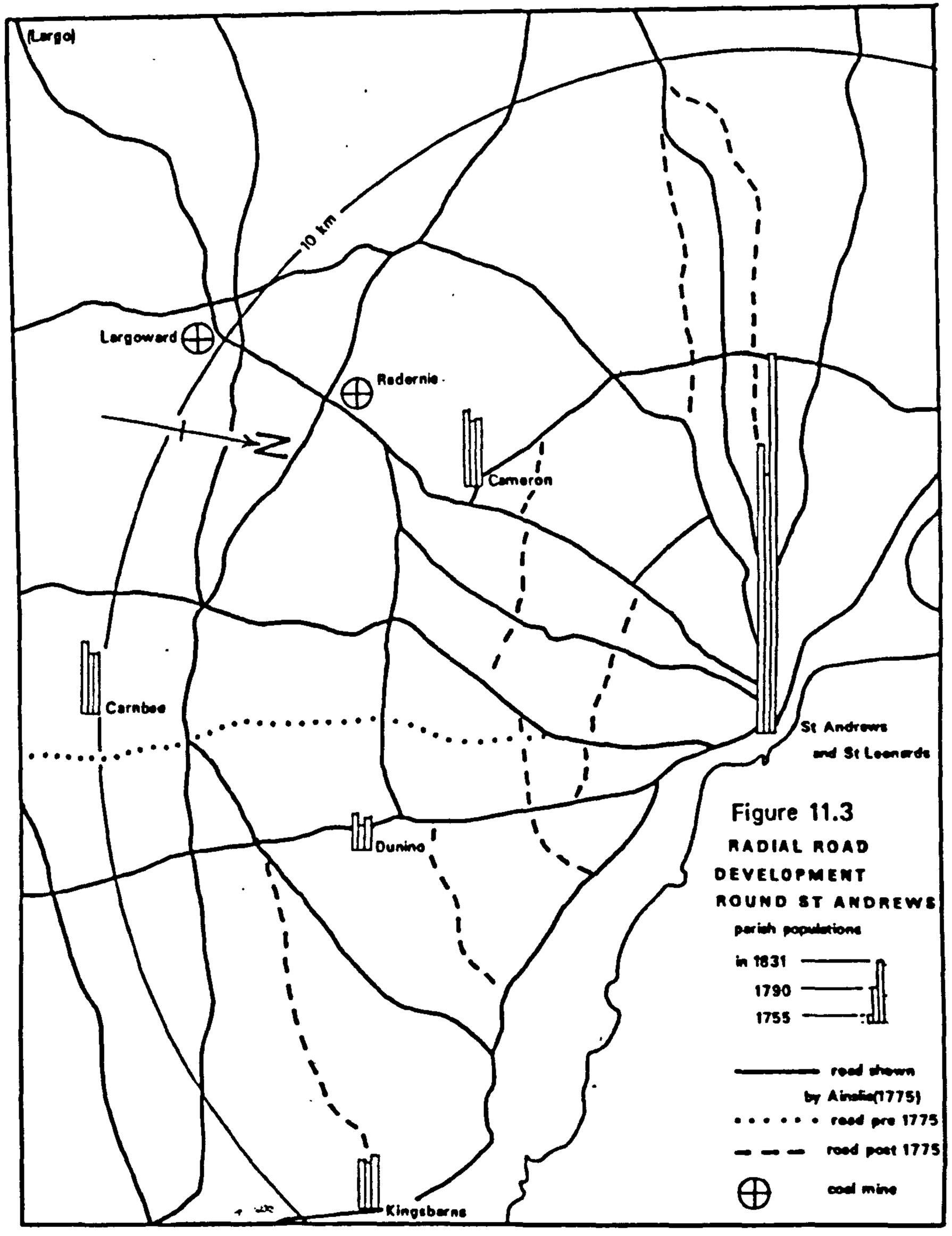


Figure 11.3
RADIAL ROAD DEVELOPMENT ROUND ST ANDREWS
parish populations
in 1831 —
1790 —
1755 —
road shown by Ainslie(1775)
road pre 1775
road post 1775
coal mine

revive the old line to Perth shown by Roy from Burntisland across to the east of Loch Leven. He also notes that a road proposed in 1790 from Plasterers Inn to the Kirk of Beath (Road 8 of Chapter 7) had not been built (see Chapter 13).[1]

To the north of Lochgelly, near Capledrae (185976) the Upper Limestone Group contains an unusual thickness of workable coal seams, amounting to over 25 feet (Geikie 1900.138), but in 1837 the minister of Ballingry says only that 'two good coals are now working which have an extensive sale' (NSA448). Of the supervening Coal Measures, exposed in an outlier west of Kinglassie, the ministers of Auchterderran and Kinglassie say nothing, but the Boglochty seams (205980) are sufficiently important as gas coals in 1835 for the colliery owner (Mr. Ayton) to attempt to revive part of the old road shown by Roy from Burntisland to Perth (KS 17.9.1835), with a view to sales in Kirkcaldy. Ayton also had an interest in the Capledrae colliery and he persisted in his petitions for the road to be reinstated, but in 1836 (KS 7.4) an investigating committee reported that the old Kinghorn to Perth road across Capledrae 'could not be adapted for wheel carriages' and it appears that any expenditure on this road would meet with local opposition (KS 7.4.1836).

The Limestones of the Limestone Coal Group

The most widely quarried limestone in Fife was that of the Charlestown Main formation, or its stratigraphical equivalent in the east of the peninsula, with its massive coral reefs containing up to ninety per cent of calcium carbonate (Robertson 1949.42).

As early as 1712 it was considered that building a bridge on the Pittillockford-Cupar road for 'the Carriage of Lymestone from Forthar Lyme Hills (would) occasion a high coachway to be built,' and heritors

---

1. The coalfields in the Lochgelly area were not fully developed until later in the 19th century by which time the railway had halted further major road development.

were to be compensated for the loss of land used in making the approach roads (C of S 3.6.1712).

Those interested in supplying coal to lime quarries and distributing burnt lime to farmers were active in supporting the improvement of the relevant roads and this could sometimes be at variance with the interests of other road trustees, especially where they could be used as a means of evading tolls. Where use of a toll road was inescapable, coal owners frequently sought ways of reducing payments.

A case in point was that of Lord Balfour with his limeworks at Forthar and his coal pits at Balbirnie on the Cadham field, and at Rameldrie. Even before the 1790 Act was passed the Forthar tacksman managed to extract a promise of half tolls on supplies of coals from Balbirnie, in exchange for not opposing the Bill proceeding through Parliament (CT 4.5.1790). The fact that this concession was reversed a year later, after the danger to the Bill had been removed (CT 17.5.1791) - on the grounds of alleged dishonesty - does not alter the evidence of the influence which it appears could be exerted. Another move was made by Balfour in 1822 when, at a county meeting (CT 7.5), he threatened to build a private road to a seam of coal at Rameldrie from which he claimed he could sell 1,000 tons without paying tolls at New Inn.

Lord Balfour tried again at a Kirkcaldy meeting in 1824 (KT 8.4) but no concessions were granted and for good measure the road link between the Rameldrie field and Cults limeworks (owned by Lady Crawford) was declared redundant at the next county meeting (CS 4.5.1824).[1]

The limeworks at Forthar and Cults had customers to the south east in the farmers on the Coal Measures, within the Dysart-Markinch-Leven area, where it has been noted there had been no prolonged marine incursions and so practically no limestones were present. The quarry owners were anxious that the minor roads leading in that direction should receive as much support as possible from public funds.

---

1. See also Cu S 6.4.1836

Lord Balfour, in his turn, complained in 1834 that funds were being withheld from a road between Forthar limeworks and Kennoway, which he claimed carried a greater quantity of lime 'than any line of road of the same extent in this District' (CuS 2.4.1834).

Beyond the Cults limeworks, towards the East Neuk, the coalfields near Ceres and at Drumcarrow contained limestones which were burnt for the local farmers and builders. The road connecting Drumcarrow coal pits[1] to the kiln at Backfield of Ladeddie (440137) happened to cross the boundary between the Cupar and St Andrews districts and its maintenance was the subject of negotiations between them in 1785 (CuS 12.4). Coal and lime were being carried at that date across Craigton Muir and into St Andrews by the Canongate (494156). In the opposite direction, towards Cupar, coal was carried along the old ridge road to Callange Bridge (415125), but this was made redundant by a new connection to the lime quarry from the Blebo Hole junction (422133) in 1819 (CuS 7.4), a road which was later extended towards St Andrews as a turnpike road (No.80 of Chapter 7).

To the south, on the main Limestone Coal Group outcrop, coal for Innertiel quarry (271898) was being brought from Dysart, first through the Kirkcaldy East tollbar and then through the West tollbar (276902), for Innertiel on the same ticket (KT 8.11.1805). A similar free pass was given to coal which had come through the Cluny tollbar. Innertiel was on a route to Kinghorn regularly used for deliveries of Cluny coal before 1754 (Thomson 1981.51) and the existence of this traffic goes far towards explaining the priority given to the Cluny road in the 1790 Turnpike Act (Road 9).

Much of the Cluny coal was used at Chapel limeworks, in the same

---

1. described by Landale (1837.320). Small scale working over a long period is indicated when he says, 'the south slope of Ladedda Hill has many marks of old pits upon it (of which there are no record) ..' Bell pits close to a lime quarry at Teasses form a distinctive pattern on aerial photograph (RS106G/SCOT/UK/5:14APR46=RAF.4110).

ownership (Rothes then Ferguson), and in 1809 Ferguson requested the trustees to have a road completed from the existing Road 9 at Capshead (270939) eastwards to Gallatown for the benefit of his coal and lime customers beyond. The road like that through Strathore, mentioned above, is absent from Ainslie's map (1775) but both are later recorded as statute labour roads.[1]

THE WESTERN FIELD

West of Lochgelly and the CullaloeHills, the burden of overland coal transport was greatly eased by the early construction of waggon ways. The output from Henderson's pits at Fordell (150852) was conveyed to his harbour at St David's[2] and in due course mines at Cuttlehill and Donibristle were to follow.[3]

It is notable that the first record of the waggonway, in 1752 (Baxter 1966.231), predates the improvements along the Great North Road which did not commence until some years after the 1753 Turnpike Act (Road 1 of Chapter 7). While the waggonway presented an economy in horse transport, as opposed to packhorses or carts, (Duckham 1970.211) the main road may in any case be presumed to have been in no condition to take such traffic. It did however serve to distribute coal from a number of collieries further north, for beyond Kirk of Beath the Great North Road crosses another outcrop of the Limestone Coal Group and Cunningham (1922.12) notes workings at Kelty in Fife and at Blairadam, just inside Kinross, in 1560. He quotes a description by Adam of Blairadam in 1772 of a pit north of Maryburgh (137958), on the main road, after the opening of which 'all the

---

1. Trust accounts and 1836 Report.
2. Scott Bruce (1980.24) refers to the earlier use of packhorses between Fordell Castle and Hillend.
3. That there was road transport of coal from Donibristle and Cuttlehill to the adjacent country is evident in 1830 when a tollbar was erected to catch this traffic at Stewarts Arms (184894) (KT 19.11). Fordell coals travelling towards Dunfermline were also a source of revenue for the road trustees (KT 11.6.1831). A customer for Cuttlehill coal in 1794 was the limeworks at Dalachy (210864) (Stephen 1975.111).

lawn up almost to the doors of Blairadam House (was) covered with coal.' • Coalpits along this road are marked south of Kelty Bridge by Ainslie (1775), at which time there was a tollbar at Gairney Bridge to the north to augment the funds for the road, jointly managed by Fife, Kinross and Perthshire trustees, to which the coal traffic in that direction would contribute.

Between Lochgelly and the Great North Road sufficient coal was being transported from the collieries at Lumphinnans (173930) and Cartmore (179197) in 1834 to justify installing a tollbar west of Lochgelly (KT 4.6), but Lord Dundas contrived to agree a lump sum with the trustees in lieu of the threatened tolls,and so long as this covered the repair of the damage done by his carts it appears the trustees were content to take no action.[1]

The outcrop of coal-bearing strata west of Fordell passes north of Dunfermline and through to the coast at Torryburn,and it was at Pittencrieff (086872) near Dunfermline that the owner granted free coal to the abbot in 1291 (OSA 310n). Duckham (1970.148) traces the activities of the Halketts of Pitfirrane (064861), one of the principal coal owning families, from 1395 onwards, and mentions their ownership of Whinnyhall colliery (044877) on the road to Carnock and a lease of Urquhart (080870). The pits supplying Dunfermline itself were mainly within two miles of the town centre and required no special road provision, the townspeople fetching their own coal in small quantities. Much movement of goods took place along the roads radiating from Dunfermline including the materials and products of the linen industry (Barclay 1723). Coal was exported from Limekilns and Torryburn; some was destined for the London market (OSA 781) and travelled not only on the road through Crossford but also through the parish of Carnock. The minister complains in 1791 of the poor state of the roads in winter 'owing to the softness of the soil and the great number of heavy carriages' (OSA 131) and regrets that, 'Notwithstanding

---

1. Dundas's lack of support for the Kirk of Beath to Plasterers road is discussed in Chapter 13.

the great abundance of coals, there are no coal waggons[1] in the parish.'

To the east of Dunfermline a number of collieries were sending coal by road to Inverkeithing for shipment before the mid 18th century, and it was probably to this movement of coal that the Inverkeithing burgh council refers in 1753 when it is reported that a landowner had 'ploughed up and sowed' part of the road to Mastertown, Touch, Whitfield and the coalhills of Beath, which had been used 'past memory' (IBC 11.5.1753). A grant of money from the burgh of Dunfermline was used to build a bridge on 'the coal road to Inverkeithing' in 1764 (DBC 18.8).

The exploitation of seams between Halbeath (127889) and Inverkeithing was later accompanied by the building of a waggon way, completed in 1783 (Baxter 1966.231, Duckham 1970.212). This carried limestone as well as coal, for the Charlestown Main formation outcropped at Duloch near its route (Robertson 1949.101).

The opening of the waggon road was celebrated by the gift of three waggon loads of coal for the poor and the building of two bonfires, while the baillies were invited to 'take a glass' when the first load was down (IBC 25.1.1783).

The minister of Dunfermline reports in 1791 the annual export of 60,000 tons of coal from Limekilns and Inverkeithing. To Limekilns were also transported some of the 30,000 tons he estimates as 'consumed in the town and parish of Dunfermline and the immediate neighbourhood' (OSA 319). This must include the 12,000 tons used to burn lime in Lord Elgin's limeworks at Charlestown (OSA 309n) - sufficient to produce over 36,000 tons of 'shells' (quicklime). Lord Elgin's own colliery at Berry Law (072878) is said to have been served by a waggonway in 1768 (Baxter 1966. 232) and this appears to have been extended about 1791 (OSA 312) to serve

---

1. The waggon as a road vehicle was rare in Scotland (Chapter 5). Although the Minister of Wemyss also refers to 'waggons' (OSA 791) his colleague at Carnock may be lamenting the absence of a waggonway with rails, as at Fordell.

other coalfields bought by Lord Elgin north west of Dunfermline, the Berry Law, Urquhart and Pittencrieff pits being 'nearly exhausted.'

Another waggon way is noted by Baxter leading to Dunfermline from Venture Fair (094889), operated in 1812 with pits near the Town Loch.

The detailed history of the 18th and 19th century waggon way systems would be out of place here[1], but former coal roads were often used as waggonways, as witness the Pittencrieff Coal Road from West Baldridge (079887) to near Liggers Bridge (089861). If Ainslie's 1775 map is compared with that of the Ordnance Survey (1853-6), the extension of the waggonways may be seen, from two single lines, Fordell to St David's and Berry Law to Limekilns, to a network of lines linking the Hallbeath-Inverkeithing waggon way with its counterpart on the Elgin coalfield to the west of Dunfermline.[2]

The southern end of the original Elgin waggonway went, on Ainslie's map, through Broomhall parks. By the time of Sharp's map (1828), the waggonway had been diverted round the west side of the parks, but the former track was retained as an access road to the main house. Only a short section past Meadowsend (077852) was common to the old and new waggonways.[3]

Limestone to the south and west of Lochgelly

Of the lime produced in western Fife the greater part was destined for sale by sea, due to the occurrence of thick bodies of limestone at Charlestown and at Dalachy (210863) near Burntisland. The latter was in

---

1. See: Inglis 1946, Dott 1947, Baxter 1966, Butt 1967, Bruce Scott 1980.
2. A link between the Hillbeath waggonway and Baldridge colliery was approved in 1828 (DBC 10.5) and Bruce Scott (1980.29) notes a connection at Guttergates (128883) to the Townhill colliery (103898) in 1841.
3. The new line formed part of the 'Elgin Railway' constructed in 1834, 'the first fare paying passenger service in the Fife Peninsula' (Bruce Scott 1980.31).

places 23 feet thick and is described by Robertson (1949.99) as used principally for fluxing. Unlike the Charlestown limestone it is found in the Oil Shale Group of rocks and the formation is known as the Burdiehouse Limestone. It was being shipped to the Carron ironworks in 1791 (OSA 20) who bought the quarry from the owner, Lord Morton, in 1825 (KT 16.6). The Dalachy quarry was supplied partly from Cuttlehill colliery overland, but by 1807 most of the coal was being brought in by sea (Stephen 1975.111). The influence of this transport on the local roads appears to have been confined to the imposition of tolls at Starleyburn tollbar, which Lord Morton refused to pay on his coal in 1807 (KT 2.5). He was engaged in a protracted legal dispute, over the release of water across his land, with the Kirkcaldy turnpike trustees. It was perhaps due in part to his continued opposition that the tollbar was moved to Burntisland in 1819 (KT 18.10).

The history of the Elgin family's limeworks at Charlestown is related elsewhere[1] and the effect of its demands for coal supplies on the waggonway and road connections with the collieries round Dunfermline is noted above. The bulk of the Charlestown lime was distributed by sea. Smaller limeworks situated inland catered for the needs of the farming community. Limestone occurring along the route of the Halbeath-Inverkeithing waggon way was partly sold by sea, but north of Dunfermline there were several outcrops of the Charlestown Main limestone between Carnock and Roscobie (091930) of which the principal quarry was at Roscobie, with 89 per cent of calcium carbonate (NSA 837 and Robertson 1949.102). The transport of lime westwards through Saline and eastwards to Kelty and beyond was a factor in the decision to include turnpike road No.40 in the 1805 Act, but the use of the name 'The Stone Road' for the eastern section of this road may relate to its construction, rather than its function.

---

1. OSA 308-9, Sinclair 1814.67, Stephen 1975.115-128.

Ironstones in western Fife.

The most valuable ironstones to be worked in western Fife were those associated with the Upper Limestone Group known as the Blackband ironstones. These occurred as beds or nodules of argillaceous iron carbonate (Geikie 1900.203) and contain carbonaceous material which aids smelting. The exploitation of ironstone south-west of Dunfermline before 1771 is mentioned in 1791 (OSA 310). It was exported for smelting at Carron and would be carried by road to Limekilns until the waggon way from the Berry Law pits was built in 1768.

An ironworks was built at Oakley near the western boundary (024892) opposite Comrie (Perthshire) in 1845. Before the Forth Ironworks Company could take advantage of the extension of the public railways to Dunfermline in 1850 (Bruce Scott 1980.126) this generated considerable road traffic. The main loads appear to have been of supplementary coal from Dunfermline through Carnock and this was causing damage to that road (DT 23.11.1846). In 1847 the Forth Iron Company agreed (DT 6.12) with the turnpike trustees a reduced toll for coal of 4d per load for carts weighing less than 30 hundredweight. Their alternative offer to take over the road together with tollbars was refused (DT 28.6.1847).

A reason for this extra coal coming from the direction of Dunfermline is suggested by an anonymous report of 1860 quoted by Stephen (1975.103), in which the writer says that the Oakley coal would 'not do of itself and not with one half Oakley and the other half Halbeath. The men say give us two of Halbeath and one of Oakley and we will make more iron.' Roads to the coast from Oakley ran to Torry Pier past old Inzievar (020877) and east of Oakley House[1] (026880) but records of traffic on these roads and their management are not available. Smith (1952.391) notes that the

---

1. Now (unhelpfully) renamed 'Inzievar'.

ironworks were abandoned in 1869,[1] after ironstone had had to be brought in from other locations.[2]

SUMMARY

The use of particular roads in Fife predominantly for coal, ironstone and lime carriage is largely a phenomenon of the latter half of the 18th century. Before about 1740 the supply of domestic coal came from numerous small scale workings; individual consumers or their tenants fetched coal in small quantities 'from the hill,' mainly in the summer months when roads were hardly needed.

Peat was used locally, at least for kindling, even within the bounds of the coalfields of southern Fife and this fuel may have been important where the more accessible surface workings of coal were becoming exhausted in the mid 17th century.

The large scale exploitation of the coal deposits was linked to the opportunities for export and, while this was to be found in the Dysart-Wemyss coalfield as early as the 16th century, the output remained modest and confined to coastal locations until the mid 18th century when investment by the larger coal owners in deeper shafts and pumping devices enabled them to expand production.

It was the chance of participating in this trade that prompted the inland coal owners such as Rothes, Balfour, Henderson and Halkett to send coal to the coast for shipment.

---

1. Also Webster (1938.116). The mention of animals for the Falkirk Tryst in 1834 (DS 4.4) suggests that a drove road existed between Comrie Bridge (020896) and Torryburn harbour. This accords with the presence of a winding road through a belt of trees between widely spaced walls on Sharp's map of 1828, which Ainslie (1775) shows as double dyked past the grounds of Inzievar (020878). This road would have provided a suitable means of transporting pig iron to Torryburn Pier before the railway. See also F42 and F43:58/RAF/6638:26FEB65. 0050.
2. Haldane (1931.62) gives the analysis of the Inzievar Ironstone, which had an iron content of 34.24%, and notes that it was worked up to 1907.

Some of the roads used for coal by the Sinclair and Wemyss coastal enterprises became established as roads in public use, but there was also a network of private coal roads,surviving only until the pit each served became exhausted, so that the pattern of traffic was constantly shifting. These routes, usually across the coal owner's land, had the virtue of relieving the public roads from damaging traffic. On the other hand they offered opportunities of escaping liability from tolls when those roads became turnpiked.

While in the eastern coalfield specialised roads were sometimes made for coal and ironstone, as to Balgonie, and a waggonway led to the port of Methil, the most extensive development of waggonways was in the area west of Lochgelly. Here some followed the lines of earlier coal roads but few were converted back to roads, for public use, after the rails were taken up. More important to the public network were those roads shared by both public and coal traffic which were found by a coal owner to be inadequate for his purposes. In such a case the coal owner would invest his own money in strengthening the road foundations and improving surfaces, so that they would bear not only the usual agricultural vehicles but the heavy coal carts. He would also use his influence as a local landowner, and therefore as a road trustee, to see that the road received all the support from public funds to which it was entitled.

Two of the roads thus improved under Lord Rothes became important components of the county network. That from Kirkcaldy to Cluny was to become a turnpike road through an otherwise neglected area, while the road from Gallatown to Cadham and Balbirnie, developed along the outcrop of a major coal seam, was to be confirmed as the principal route from the Forth to the Tay through Fife.

In attempting to meet criticism from road trustees regarding the extra wear caused by their traffic, coal owners would sometimes take

over responsibility for upholding stretches of public road over which their vehicles passed, but there is evidence that undertakings were not always honoured and such proposals tended to be viewed with scepticism.

The other major mineral industry, the quarrying and burning of limestone, required haulage of coal supplies along defined roads, but the distribution of the product seems to have generated traffic less demanding upon road surfaces than coal. The facility with which lime could be carried was frequently cited as a reason for maintaining roads at sub-turnpike standard which were not otherwise of great public benefit. Although the big concerns at Charlestown and Dalachy with their use of water transport required few road connections for distribution, the smaller inland limeworks disposed of most of their burnt lime to consumers who came to the kilns with their carts or pack horses. This required an adequate number of road connections but traffic would not be concentrated nor would individual loads be so damaging as in the carriage of coal.

Colliery and quarry owners, in their dual roles as business managers and road trustees, were able to exert a powerful influence on the disposition of resources in the maintenance and improvement of roads. As local landowners, they were able to make substantial contributions, both financially and in terms of leadership, to the public roads in their respective districts.

The desirability of easy access to coal workings is seen as a major factor in the decisions made by landowners along the proposed Lochgelly to Balbirnie road around 1800. The initiative of Ferguson of Raith in building the Strathore road effectually dismissed the alternative schemes, as will be seen in Chapter 13, below.

- CHAPTER TWELVE

ST ANDREWS AND THE ROADS OF THE EAST NEUK

On a modern road map of East Fife the strongly developed radial pattern of the connections between St Andrews and the south coast is striking. Connections to the market centre of Cupar in the Eden valley, to the Kinghorn ferry for Edinburgh by Ceres, and to the Dundee ferries by Guard Bridge, complete the impression of regional dominance, with few major settlements to be seen between St Andrews and the periphery of the East Neuk.

Yet activity in terms of turnpike road designation and construction lagged behind that of the other three road districts (Chapter 7). At that time, the end of the 18th century, St Andrews was only beginning to emerge from a long period of economic stagnation and depopulation. This period, which may well have extended back into the 17th century, can be compared with the several accounts of the city 'in the meridian of its glory' up to the beginning of the Protestant Reformation (Grierson 1838.78, 108), when it was an ecclesiastical centre for Scotland, with a flourishing university and many overseas contacts, both political and commercial.(Lyon 1843, Hay Fleming 1890).

Some indication of the influence of St. Andrews in respect of communications may be derived from the various estimates given of the population of the town between 1560 and the latter half of the 18th century. A comparison is made by Pennant (1776.196) between the number of bakers, sixty, at the beginning of the 16th century, and the twelve bakers found in the town in 1776, at which time Pennant estimated the population at little over two thousand. Grierson looks instead at the importance of the annual Senzie market, held in the early 16th century within the Priory, for which 'two or three hundred vessels were generally seen to arrive,' with merchants from most of the trading kingdoms of Europe.

Less distant in time from the Reformation is the estimate by Bishop Spottiswoode, in office 1615-39, of a population of 12,000 to 15,000 in about 1560, but Hay Fleming (1890.1xvi) regards this as 'probably far too high.' The latter suggests that the population had risen slightly after 1560 only to be 'terribly thinned by the pest' in 1585. Writing of the same event, Lyon (1843.122) quotes Moyse as writing in his memoirs of 1585,'the plague broke out in St Andrews, and continued till upwards of four thousand people died, and the place was left almost desolate.' A minimum figure for the total population is indicated in 1615 when there were over 3,000 regular communicants . (Hay Fleming 1890, 1xxiv), but an overall reduction, over an unspecified period, is indicated by Thomas Tucker who, noting the disuse of the harbour in 1655, remarked that the town had 'formerly been bigger' (Robertson 1923.184). Sibbald started compiling his history of Fife in 1684 in which he claims that the town 'was of old more populous' (Adamson 1803.iv). Lang (1951.312) considers the most rapid decline in the town's fortunes, both economic and demographic, to have dated from 1688 when the episcopacy, with its seat in St Andrews, was abolished. Lyon's description (1843.ii.119) of the circumstances in which the removal of the University to Perth was mooted in 1697, suggests a decline had taken place, and he considers that without the University the town would have become 'no more than a fishing village.'

Further reports occur in 1728, when some 4,000 inhabitants are said to be living in 945 houses out of a total of 1,104 (the remainder being in ruins) (Lang 1951.317), while Defoe (1727) produces similar figures.

If the urban/rural ratio figures of the 1793 report (OSA 718,735) are applied to Webster's estimates of 1755, a town population of 3,234 is computed, a figure which makes Pennant's 'scarcely over 2,000' in 1776 appear to be an underestimate. The population of St Andrews town in 1793 was given as 2,854. By the time of the parish minister's report, however, signs of optimism are evident. The writer of 'Scotland

Delineated' (1791.184)- hopes that St Andrews 'may again rise to a degree of respectability from trade and manufacturers,' the Reformation having 'reduced it to a heap of deserted ruins' and Adamson (OSA 707) notes its emergence 'by the spirited exertions of a few individuals.'

From the above observations it appears that, by the time of the first overall view of roads in the East Neuk, Roy's map of 1755, St. Andrews had largely lost those functions which had made it the focus of communications two centuries before. The roads which Roy's surveyors chose to note in the East Neuk are shown in Figure 12.1.

At that time, before the conversion of statute labour into money, communal arrangements for improving roads were limited, but the East Neuk was an area of small but enterprising lairds,where prospects for agricultural improvement were good (Thomson 1800.47), especially along the coastal belt between Largo and Crail. It was noted in Chapter 6 that these proprietors were active in securing their share of any county funds.

Road improvements were, however, necessarily of a piecemeal nature and there is little evidence of a coordinated body of district trustees after 1774, such as was to be seen at Cupar.

A comparison of Sharp's map (1828) with that of Ainslie (1775) reveals only a few major alterations, the principal of which are the replacement of the Bishop's Road and the rerouting of a road past Kinaldy, described below and illustrated in Figure 12.1.

The main changes to be noted in the 18th century are concerned with the redundancy of certain elements in a road pattern largely of mediaeval origin, as a result of the more demanding requirements from traffic.

Redundancy among radial routes

The earliest map of Fife to show more than one or two connections between towns is that of Nicholls (1710) (Figure 3.5). Among the straight line connections in the East Neuk is one between St. Andrews and

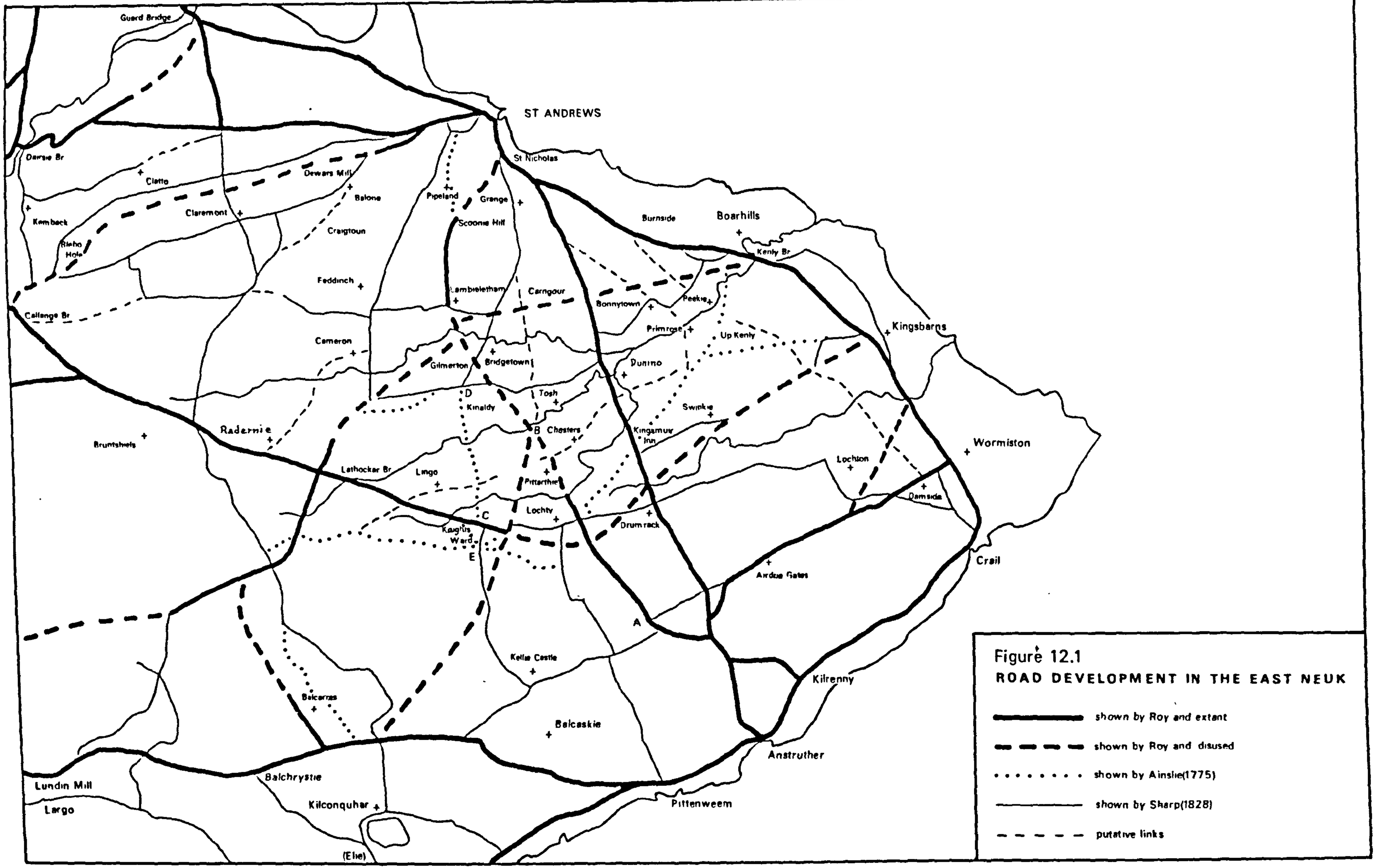


Figure 12.1
ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN THE EAST NEUK

shown by Roy and extant

shown by Roy and disused

shown by Ainslie(1775)

shown by Sharp(1828)

putative links

Pittenweem. No line is shown between St Andrews and Anstruther, where a road runs on Roy's map (1755) corresponding closely to the modern road. Neither Roy nor Ainslie shows a through road from St Andrews to Pittenweem. However, a road 'by Pittarthie' (521091) was the subject of an apparently unsuccessful petition for repairs in 1734 (C of S 4.6) and it may be that the road indicated by Nichols took this line and was by 1734 already being seen to be becoming redundant. Roy's line A to B on Figure 12.1 follows a possible line for this road at least as far north as the Kinaldy Burn near Tosh, but then it turns north-westwards to pass near the old site of Gilmerton house and takes a new alignment similar to the modern Lambieletham road towards St Andrews. Having surmounted Scoonie Hill it does not follow the Pipeland road, shown twenty years later by Ainslie, but swings across to St Nicholas.

These two swings in direction might be explained by the freedom in 1755 to choose those parts of established routes that were in the least state of disrepair, as would be possible in a largely unenclosed landscape. Tennant's account of his departure from St Andrews (1776.199) in which he finds 'the country on the heights very uncultivated and full of moors' is consistent with this supposition. The same flexibility of choice of routes may explain the presence of a section of road from C to D on Figure 12.1 omitted by Roy but shown by Ainslie.

There would appear to have been at least two quasi parallel routes west of the Anstruther road linking St Andrews to the St Monance-Pittenweem section of coast (Figure 12.1). One may be traced from a seaward extension of the avenue south of Balcaskie (528027) past Kellie Castle and west of Kellie Law, thence by Knights Ward and passing east of Lingo, joining the Lambieletham road near Gilmerton. This line contains the section C to D on Figure 12.1

The other line is close to the modern Pittenweem-Carnbee road, to the east of Kellie Law and going by way of Pittarthie to Tosh and possibly near Carngour (519126) using the northern half of the Grange road to reach

St Andrews. It is the latter road which most closely corresponds to the straight line on Nicholls' map, and had perhaps carried traffic between St Andrews Priory and its dependent foundation at Pittenweem for which there was a prior in 1221 (Connolly 1869.206), but which had passed into private hands after 1560 (Plates 12.1 to 12.4).

The main roads at present in use to the south of St Andrews run to Anstruther and to Largo, with a branch to Elie at Largoward. They cross the same west to east flowing burns, but whereas the Largo road runs where their upper sections are easily fordable and where the interfluves present only slight gradients, the Anstruther road has needed bridges where the burns are entrenched in steep sided dens. The two, largely abandoned, roads described above, through Knights Ward and through Pittarthie, conformed to neither profile, there being an awkward west-east ridge from Lingo through South Kinaldy to Chesters, and with the flow of the burns making fording difficult after heavy rainfall. It is probable that both routes were found to be unsatisfactory as heavy wheeled traffic became more common.

Further east, the St Andrews to Crail road has to cross the Kenly Burn which carries the water of two of the burns crossed by the Anstruther road. The present bridge carries the date 1793 and is one of several extant or former bridges built between Boarhills and Dunino. One handsome structure with interlocking coping is that at Peekie, now quite disused (560126). It bears the arms of Prior Hepburn who was in office from 1488 to 1517 (Sibbald 1710.258). The mill upstream of the bridge is probably on the site of Molendinum de Putachie mentioned in a charter of the priory of St Andrews in 1144.[1]

In 1512 a hospital originally intended for the reception of pilgrims visiting the relics of St Andrew was found to have outlived its purpose

---

1. The Kenly Burn is referred to as 'the water of Puttekin' in 1793 (OSA161).

A

Plate 12.1 From Pittenweem to St Andrews : the route over Pittarthie ground
A road is shown by Roy near where this strip of ground is too full of stones to be cultivated and this may be the road referred to in a petition of 1734. The ruins of Pittarthie Castle can be seen on the skyline (A x A). GR 530083 bearing 330

Plate 12.2 Pittarthie tower house from the south east
The eastern extension bears the date 1653 and the presence of a number of associated buildings suggests that the estate was formerly unlikely to have suffered from its present isolation from a main road. GR 522091 bearing 315

Plate 12.3 The north slope of the Pittarthie ridge
A narrow belt of woodland is aligned between Pittenweem and St Andrews and, like the road in Plate 12.1, forms part of a parish boundary. That it represents the line of a road is unconfirmed, but the boundary itself is marked by the dyke shown in Plates 12.5 and 12.6. GR 521096 bearing 000

Plate 12.4 The Pittarthie ridge from the south
The long strip of woodland in Plate 12.3 is on the left, and the line of a field dyke illustrates the steepness of the climb to the ridge. GR 520109 bearing 160

Plate 12.5 The dyke on the march between Cameron and Dunino parishes

A closer view of the dyke along the west side of the belt of woodland in Plate 12.3. The size of the boulders, up to 1m, suggests that the largest stones were the first to be cleared from adjoining cultivable land and possibly were used for an early enclosure dyke to delimit a right of way.

GR 522105 bearing 000

Plate 12.6 Two generations of dyking stones

The dyke on the right continues that in Plate 12.5. The smaller size of the stones in the left hand dyke, which meets it at a right angle, suggests a later date for stone gathering for this purpose - the larger the stones, the older the dyke.

GR 510106 bearing 020

and in these premises Prior Hepburn established the college of St Leonards (Lyon 1843.i.254). Among the lands provided for the support of the college were those of Peekie (NSA 499), and millers of St Leonards parish were recorded as bringing loads into the city of St Andrews in 1597 (Hay Fleming 1890.536). A road between the bridge and St Andrews can be followed on Sharp's map (1828), either through Burnside Muir (550139) or along the line of a present day shaw,[1] and joins the present main road at 542143. An earlier route from St Andrews to Crail led south from Peekie Bridge through Damside (607085), and in 1828 appears to have persisted as an alternative route to the main road through Kingsbarns, although the crossing of the burn was by this time not by Peekie Bridge but by a ford still marked on the 1855 six inch ordnance survey sheet (No.13). The old bridge had the disadvantage of a vertical sandstone cliff so close to the southern end that a sharp right angle turn was needed and this alone may have been a reason for seeking a more suitable site.[2] A bridge was built further downstream in 1722 (C of S 5.6) but this may not have been the immediate successor of Peekie Bridge, for only minor alterations were required to the Kingsbarns road to provide access to the new bridge.

In the remaining, western, sector of the radial pattern centred on St Andrews are the routes from the city to Ceres (as part of the route to Kennoway and Kinghorn), the road by Dairsie Bridge to Cupar and the road by Guard Bridge to the Dundee ferries. Only the first of these has been the subject of a major realignment and the change has followed the pattern, familiar in upland areas, of the replacement of a ridge route by a valley route. The original route is still known as the 'Bishop's Road' from the association with the death of Archbishop Sharp in 1679 on his way from Kennoway to St Andrews (Lyon 1843.ii.394). It may be traced from Dewars Mill (478159) to Blebo Hole (424135) and is shown on Figure 12.1. The road appears on the maps of Roy (1755) and

---

1. which also happens to be a property boundary.
2. see Plate 12.7.

Plate 12.7 Peekie Bridge from the north west
The cliff (in sunlight) beyond the bridge necessitates a sharp turn to the left before proceeding along the south bank of the Kenly Burn. GR 560126

Plate 12.8 Peekie Bridge from the south east
The cliff is to the left of the camera. Slightly upstream on the left is Peekie Mill with a road to St Andrews. The coping is morticed and sweeps round to the new direction on this side. In the spandrel before the main arch are found the arms of Prior Hepburn (c.1500).

Plate 12.9 The Bishop's Road from Drumcarrow
A belt of woodland runs along the crest of a low ridge and marks the course of the old road from Edinburgh to St Andrews, in use up to 1810. The cross marks the position of the monument which records the murder of Archbishop Sharp in 1679.
GR 462133 bearing 355

Plate 12.10 A dyke along the line of the Bishop's Road
Subangular boulders of up to 0.6 m suggest movement by only a short distance to build this dyke, probably at an early stage of land clearance. GR 434145 bearing 160

Ainslie (1775) but not on that by Sharp (1828), although efforts were being made to close sections of it in use for farm traffic as late as 1826 (CS 2.5).

Both of the roads replacing it, one to the north through Tongues of Clatto and to the south through Claremont, were designated as turnpike roads in the 1807 Act (Nos. 47 and 48 of Chapter 7) and were maintained with assistance from toll revenue after 1810.

The old ridge road is bounded on one side in a section south of Morton (432147) by a dyke built with exceptionally large boulders, a possible indication of an early stage in enclosure of adjacent land.[1]

Whyte (1979.103) notes legislation in this connection in the 1660s and these larger dyke stones do seem to be associated with roads likely to have been in use in the late 17th century. Another example of such a dyke was found west of Tosh on the supposed Pittarthie redundant radial road, juxtaposed with or abutting a wall of lesser age with smaller stones (522106).[2]

Between the major radial roads there are many branches which may be perceived as augmenting the radial pattern, but most have become discontinuous. A line from Balone (484152) to Crossgates (452104) has lost its northern section through Craigtoun but survives as part of a road from Guard Bridge to Elie. A branch from the Dairsie Bridge road at Strathkinness can be traced to Kemback (419151) and is shown entire by Sharp (1828). From Cameron a green road is evident as far as Radernie (466096) although part is submerged by the modern reservoir. The alignments of many short sections of road and enclosure or parish boundaries suggest numerous other examples of redundant routes, some parts of which still serve as farm tracks, but which, at a time when bridges were few and one unmetalled track as good as another, provided numerous alternatives to those lines which later came to be developed as built roads.

---

1. See Plate 12.10. 2. Plate 12.6

An example of such a branch occurs north of Primrose (554123) heading towards St Andrews of which less than half a kilometre has been utilised by a modern road. A radial route that was not so much replaced as diverted is that section of the St Andrews to Crail road that lies between Kingsbarns and Boarhills and passes Morton (583127). The earlier line is shown on Roy's map (1755) but is diverted round Pitmilly parks on Ainslie's map (1775). The change can hardly have been made for the convenience of the public and may have expressed the influence of the prominent family of Moneypenny (Sibbald 1710.348, Connolly 1869.337).

Another diversion occurs on the Guard Bridge to Elie road at Balcarres, the turnpike road through the parks (No.14) being replaced by a road keeping to the east of Balcarres Den, but although the southern section of the diversion is marked on Sharp's map (1828), the northern part is of late 19th century construction. In this case the removal of public traffic to the outer edge of the parks may have been of only incidental benefit, since the new line avoided two steep slopes north of the house.

Concentric elements of the road pattern centred on St Andrews

Thus far, attention has been directed mainly to the radial elements of the East Neuk network. Viewing the early 19th century road system as portrayed by Sharp (1828), the concentric elements are represented either by short links between adjacent radii, mainly serving inter-farm movement, or by longer cross-country routes between centres of population. The latter include the connections between either Cupar or Leven and the ports between Elie and Kingsbarns, shown in Figure 12.1. Only that from Airdrie gates (567072) to Wormiston (611095) has survived as a modern road. This road is also shown by Ainslie but, apart from a short, now disused, connection between Lambieletham and Boarhills, his other inter-radial lines do not agree with those shown by Roy. Only

one road, north of the Airdrie-Wormiston road survives as a modern road - the Drumrack-Lochton road to Crail. It is true that a strong line on Ainslie from Lochty to Boarhills, with a branch to Kingsbarns (both absent from Roy's map) persists on Sharp. However, it appears to have been diverted round a number of field boundaries near Upper Kenly (506119) before 1828 in a way which suggests that inconvenience and lengthening the distance for travellers was not a consideration - a liberty which might not have been taken with a more public road.

Routes in the East Neuk less directly related to St Andrews

Other routes follow neither radial nor concentric directions and these include two principal roads from the north east of the county, passing over the mediaeval Dairsie and Guard bridges, both joining the road from Cupar to the string of ports from Elie to Crail. Neither of these predominantly north-south roads is shown on Roy's map, and on that by Ainslie the Guard Bridge road is incomplete.

Links between Cupar and Crail appear to have been weak at the time of Roy's map (1755), but Ainslie shows a fuller provision. A road Knights Ward-Drumrack-Lochton-Crail, part of which has been referred to above, was to become a turnpike road in 1840, probably the last new turnpike road in Fife (ST 12.5).

Links between Cupar and Kilrenny and between Cupar and Elie are also more evident on Ainslie. Although St Andrews is shown with a more direct route to Largo (to become Turnpike Road No.43 in 1810), the dominant influence in road provision and improvement is that of Cupar, an influence extending over a distance of 27 km in the case of the connection to Crail. Another important connection is that shown by Ainslie between Cupar and Elie through Balcarres. On Roy's map Elie lacks even the link to Balchrystie.

If the discrepancies between Roy and Ainslie are to be taken as indicating the adoption of different routes, rather than mere oversight on the part of Roy's surveyors or draughtsmen, the changes described above may be interpreted as a growth in the importance of Cupar or the south coast ports in the latter half of the 18th century.

However, there is little doubt that, while the population of Cupar was increasing, this was a period of decline for nearly all the coastal parishes. A particularly gloomy account is given by the minister of Crail in 1791 (OSA161) who notes the decline in the fishing industry and the inadequacy of the harbour for current sea trade. He reports 'the road leading from Anstruther to St. Andrews and passing through Crail' to be in tolerable repair and then goes on to say how the 'interior part of the country' would benefit 'if the middle road to St. Andrews were made.' He does not say the road through Crail is the only one between Anstruther and St Andrews, for this could hardly have been the case, since the more direct route by Drumrack is shown unequivocally on both Roy's and Ainslie's maps. Whether by the making of 'the middle road' the minister means the improvement of an existing route or the formation of a projected new line is not clear. Only a route via Lochty and Kingsmuir Inn (543095) had been shown by Ainslie sixteen years before - one which was to be modified by a change of line to Drumrack by 1828 (Sharp's map).

<u>Modifications to the local agricultural network and redundancy of some earlier routes</u>

It therefore seems that it was more probably from 'the interior of the country' that the demand came for better communications and not from the trading interests in the coastal towns. St. Andrews itself might have been emerging from a period of stagnation but this did not necessarily apply to the heritors of the East Neuk with their agricultural improvements in progress. Such interests may explain the appearance of

the Feddinch route to Largo and the Grange road to Bridgetown on Ainslie's map. Thomson (1800.291) indeed makes a special plea for better 'by-roads,' pointing out the difficulties experienced by farmers, and although he accepts that the 'great and cross-roads' must have priority in the use of funds, the continuing expense to farmers of inferior means of access to markets should be recognised.[1]

Just as the radial roads from St Andrews have been pruned by the exigencies of higher standards of road maintenance, so the inter-radial links and concentric elements in the East Neuk road pattern exhibit similar examples of redundancy. Figure 12.1 shows the pattern that results from plotting roads shown by Roy and Ainslie on the 1828 map, the latter differing little from the modern network in this predominantly agricultural part of Fife.

The additions to the Ainslie network shown by Sharp (1828), which connect radial roads, have little relation to their counterparts on the earlier maps and appear to have been set out in conjunction with the planning of new farmsteads and enclosures.[2]

The link on Roy's map between Lambieletham and Boarhills follows part of a longer sequence of alignments stretching from Boarhills to the old Callange Bridge and Cupar.

Another line, partly followed by a road shown by Ainslie, goes from Kingsbarns to Lingo, lending a little credence to the traditional association of Boarhills and Kingsbarns with Falkland Palace, but whose more prosaic economic function remains obscure. The overall impression given by these east-west alignments and their remnants appearing on Roy's and Ainslie's maps is that they represent possible lines of movement more important before the mid 18th century than later.

---

1. A concern more recently expressed by Christie of Durie (Fife C.C.1946.145).
2. As noted below, the Bonnytown and Swinkie roads were only accepted as public roads with reluctance.

Road management in the East Neuk

Evidence from other areas suggests that the creation of new routes, as opposed to improvement or maintenance of existing routes, would not have been likely in the early 18th century and the allegedly depressed state of St Andrews itself at this time gives no reason to suppose that work carried out on roads amounted to much more than minimal repairs.

This did not of course preclude the initiative of improving landowners and the local inspiration, or coercion, of parish labour obliged to give service under the 1669 Act. As noted above, some references to road repairs are made in the records of the county road authority in the minutes which survive from 1709 to 1736. The use of local labour for simple unskilled work goes largely unrecorded but may be assumed to be continuing at this time, if only sporadically, as is indicated by an unwillingness on the part of the commissioners to sanction payment for certain works 'in regaird they ought to have been done by the country people.' (C of S June 1736).

Up to 1730 the only roads which are listed as in need of repair are those south of the ridge road from Pitscottie to Crail (Figures 6.2, 6.3). Between 1730 and 1736, work on this latter road included the provision of 'ten roods of cassons' across the east end of Bruntshiels Moss (445107) and several ditches, signifying an unusually determined effort at this early date (C of S 18.5.1736). The Pittarthie road was mentioned in 1734, as discussed above, but was becoming redundant as a supernumerary radial road from St Andrews to Pittenweem. A portion of the road to St Andrews near Dairsie Bridge was repaired using funds that could be used for roads under the 1669 Act but were more usually exhausted by the cost of upkeep of bridges. Perhaps it was expenditure of this nature that in 1736 prompted the commissioners to exclude payment for work that should be done by parishioners without monetary reward. There are references however to the provision of ale which might have raised the morale of an otherwise reluctant work force, a practice noted in the district of Lord Rothes (Rothes 40/37/3).

Primitive as the measures to maintain road surfaces may have been, there was no question of allowing important bridges to collapse and those at Pitscottie, Lathockar, St Andrews and Kenly were all repaired or rebuilt during this period (1709-1736). The replacement of a bridge over the Kenly Burn was first considered by a committee in 1711 but work was not given approval until 1722 when it was decided not to continue to repair an existing bridge.

Access roads had to be built, presumably to connect a relocated Kenly bridge to the existing highway (C of S 5.6.1722). On Ainslie's map (1775) two crossing places on the Kenly Burn are shown, one in the position of the modern bridge (570135) and one connecting Nether Kenly with Boarhills in a position close to that of a surviving footbridge (566133). The remains of the masonry abutments suggest that this could have been no more than a packhorse bridge and a map of 1857 shows stepping stones for a footpath in this position (SAP UY 1386). As noted above, Peekie Bridge is omitted by both Roy and Ainslie.

A fourth bridge has appeared by the time of Sharp's map (1828) connecting Nether Kenly to a new inter-radial link through Bonnytown which corresponds to the position of a modern brick and concrete structure[1]

At St Andrews the only bridge mentioned in the minutes of the commissioners up to 1727 was the 'bow' bridge over the Kinnessburn, which in 1711 was described as 'altogether ruinous and cannot be past in the winter time without the hazard of peoples lives.'

A new bridge was authorised the following year but had to be repaired in 1730 when the north stool was damaged by floods. Meanwhile another bridge, a 'South Bridge' has been mentioned, the arch having fallen (C of S 6.6.1727). That this was distinguished from the other bridge is suggested by the term 'East Bow Bridge' being applied in 1730 to the one referred to in 1711.

---

1. but, curiously, shown only by a pencil line on the 1857 map.

Payments were made in 1725, 1726, 1735 and 1736 following an initial request in 1724 'for helping the Creiks of St Andrews' and it seems that the commissioners were also looking after certain landing places or works connected with the harbour. The money was to be received by a mason but a road to 'the Crooks of St Andrews' was also mentioned (C of S 2.6.1724) and this may have served landing places or quays.

The activities of the Commissioners of Supply between 1737 and 1771 have to be deduced from scattered sources since the minutes appear not to have survived (Chapter 2). In other parts of Fife, such as Markinch, the sequence of events can be worked out without much difficulty but in the case of the East Neuk, records are particularly sparse. As noted above, the appearance of additional lines on Ainslie's map (1775) as compared with Roy's (1755) is unlikely to have been due entirely to inadequate surveying and some of the more important roads such as that between St Andrews and Largo may well have been laid out during the intervening period. Among the six unnamed roads described as improved in the Loudoun Manuscript (1767) at least one could have served the East Neuk, and the coast road to Crail suggests itself as a likely candidate.

When the work of the Commissioners is again recorded in 1771 this is on the eve of their passing over their responsibilities for roads and bridges to the trustees appointed under the 1774 Statute Labour Act. After 1774 the management of roads in St Andrews district is sometimes revealed by communications either with the county trustees or with those of adjoining districts. Thus in 1787 the district of St Andrews is asked to contribute towards the cost of repairs to Dairsie Bridge. It seems that the roads in Kemback parish, in St Andrews district, have been taken over by Cupar, in particular that from Dairsie Bridge towards St. Andrews, and the product of the ploughgate levy for that parish has been sequestered. This is not enough to repair both the roads and the bridge, hence the necessity of the request.

In the same way, a road through Leuchars parish, in St Andrews district, is being built in 1787, with only a monetary contribution from St Andrews and with all the work being organised by Cupar. In 1792 some of the revenue of Guard Bridge toll is allocated by Cupar to a road within the St Andrews district and a surveyor is, the same year, instructed by Cupar turnpike trustees to inspect all the roads in the St Andrews district.

The above examples, combined with the apparent absence of formally kept records, suggests that between 1774 and the early 1790s the heritors of St Andrews had an arrangement with Cupar to oversee any shared roads that they could not attend to themselves as individual landowners with the help of parish labour. This would not require more than rudimentary administrative procedures, and accounts or minute books may have been dispensed with.

There were however certain requirements under statute. The 1774 Act required a list of ploughgates to be kept (14 GIII 31 para.9). A list of statute labour roads had to be submitted to the county trustees meeting under the 1797 Act (37 GIII 52 s.7) and this was done the following year (CS 1.5.1798).

The involvement of St Andrews district in the extending turnpike system was at first limited to those roads in the 1790 and 1797 Acts which entered the district's boundaries from elsewhere. The first of these, Road 4 of Chapter 7, ran from Leven to Crail with a tollbar at Lundin Mill. In the East Neuk further roads were designated under the 1790 Act (Roads 4, 14, 15, 18 and 19) but the actual participation of the heritors in their administration was indirect. For instance, the setting up of a toll house at Lundin Mill was proposed at a county meeting (CT 1.6.1790) and its income was noted in Cupar minutes (Cu T 4.5.1792). Road 14, the first section of the Cupar to Crail road carried no toll bar within St Andrews district until 1810. Roads 18 and 19 received part of the revenue of Guard Bridge tollbar, but the allocation between roads

in St Andrews was decided by Cupar trustees (Cu T 11.4.1792).

St Andrews trustees north of the Eden were more actively cooperating with Cupar in constructing a new road to the Dundee ferries and in these arrangements Berry of Tayfield was particularly influential (Chapter 10).

The inclusion of several roads in the 1807 Turnpike Act (Nos 42 to 54) led to the erection of a number of tollbars (Figure 8.6, 8.7). Committees were appointed by the County meeting to supervise these bars (CT 2.5.1809), again implying an abnegation of management responsibilities by St. Andrews, but in 1815 the county called upon St Andrews to roup its own tolls in future, either at St. Andrews or at Colinsburgh. Although the St. Andrews to Crail road (No.42) was described as a turnpike road in 1828 (SS 13.5), it was some time before it had its own tollbar, at Kingsbarns, probably after 1841 (Pagan 1845.129).

In a petition the tacksman described the tollhouse as 'a hovel of the meanest description ... too great a distance from the bar and shut out from having almost any view of the road.' (ST 1.4.1845). There was also delay in completing the link between Kellie and Crail, Road 53, which, while not a new road, was not considered of a suitable standard to merit the charging of tolls until 1840 (ST 12.5).

Some indication of the leisurely pace of road improvement in the East Neuk is afforded by the apparent state of the trustees' book keeping arrangements.

Reports of their proceedings were reaching the County's minutes in 1800 (CT 6.5) but no extracts from formally kept minute books are transferred. Section 43 of the 1807 Statute Labour Act (47 GIII.12) required trustees to keep books and accounts, with recovery procedures for misapplication of funds by the trustees. It is not clear to what extent St Andrews complied with this Act. The same book keeping requirements were included in the 1823 General Turnpike Act (4 GIV 49.ss 14,15), the treasurer and clerk being required to be separate persons, with safeguards for trustees in that they could obtain free copies of

accounts on demand. In their turn, the trustees had to produce accounts and vouchers for their respective roads or appear before Quarter Sessions. The existence of statute labour minute books for St Andrews from 1822 may indicate foreknowledge of this Act. Further encouragement for the observance of correct procedures was provided by the Fife Turnpike Act of 1829 (10 GIV 84 s.33). The clerk and treasurer each became liable for a £50 penalty in the case of inexact accounts and they had to submit accounts annually to an auditor. The time had evidently come for St Andrews trustees to keep separate books for turnpike business. They had not complied with the 1823 Act in respect of the separate identity of clerk and treasurer for this was treated as a new departure (ST 4.8.1829). In spite of the keeping of turnpike minutes, some turnpike business continued to appear in the statute labour books (SS 17.6.1833) and certain trustees continued to be dilatory in presenting their accounts (SS 6.4.1830[1]).

When McConnell was engaged (ST 29.9.1834) he was faced with a daunting task. After two year's work he pointed out (SS 10.5.1836) that accounts were not being properly kept either under the 1807 or the 1829 Act and that the turnpike and statute labour accounts must be kept separate (CT 14.7.1836). He was fortunate in that the turnpike roads were paying well, the revenue from tolls having been £3,311 in 1828 second only to Cupar (£3,464) (ST 4.8.1829). By the time negotiations with the railway companies had to be considered, a sub-committee was in a position to report that whereas other turnpike trusts had unprofitable roads and had little prospect of paying off their debts unless they assigned their tolls to the railway, St Andrews was able to demand monetary compensation for any loss of tolls (SS 7.4.1846).

The earlier reluctance of heritors to adopt more rigorous accounting procedures is consistent with the slow pace of road development in the East Neuk. In the early 18th century the heritors managing their

---

1. The road surveyor expressed 'surprise and dissatisfaction' that Sir Wyndham Anstruther was in arrears of ploughgate contributions for the Elie Estate for 1833-4 (SS 8.5.1838)..

respective sections of road in each parish were semi-autonomous and they organised the local statute labour in an informal manner largely without recourse to district meetings. Only where there were through roads were requests made for assistance from the limited county funds and then often only to supplement their own expenditure. After the 1774 Act they could call on the conversion money, for which they could be held accountable, and there must have been kept simple records if only in the hands of individual trustees. The introduction of the turnpike system was slow and emanated from Cupar. The course of the roads to be found at the end of the 1840s differs little from the lines shown on Ainslie's map (1775). In fact the replacement of the Bishop's Road to Pitscottie by Roads 48 and 80 ~~48~~ was the principal change.

Many of the redundancies in the earlier road system have been noted as occurring before the middle of the 18th century, but one striking exception is the six-way junction between Largo Ward and Lochty shown by Ainslie, the exact position of which is conjectural but is probably not that of the modern junction (510080). A petition asking for the road to the north to be revived was made in 1836 (SS 10.5) but was rejected. The inter-radial link roads through Bonnytown (545125) and Swinkie (558102) were in existence by the time of Sharp's map (1828), although attempts were still being made in 1843 to have the Bonnytown road included in the lists of roads maintainable by statute labour (SS 4.4). It was claimed by the petitioners that the road was essential for the supply of coal and lime to Boarhills.

The western half of the inter-radial north of Kinaldy (512104) was realigned after 1829 (Purvis J. in Mitchell, ed.1980.32). A fork in the earlier road is shown on an undated estate plan (Dundee MS 15/56P/5) and on a plan of 1818 by Alexander Martin (SAP 'Lathockar 10'). The fork can still be seen, marked by two diverging avenues of beech trees (493105), isolated in an open area of pasture.

1. Marked E on Figure 12.1

Reforms in procedure and the engagement of McConnell

If the changes occurring in the lines of the roads between 1775 and 1850 were minor and the introduction of tolls relatively late, compared with other districts of Fife, the heritors of St Andrews were perhaps more willing to review openly matters of policy, particularly after 1829. At the first separately minuted meeting of the district's turnpike trustees (ST 4.8.1829) it was asked whether there could be a parliamentary commission for the 'great road through Fife' (between the Forth and Tay ferries through Cupar) as existed for the road to the south from Edinburgh. In 1834 Sir Ralph Anstruther of Balcaskie raised the question of a reform of procedures of management. Disquiet had been expressed at the meeting (SS 1.4.1834) at the unprofitability of a toll on the Tay shore and at the lack of information regarding road debts. Sir Ralph described the current system of management as 'highly objectionable and imperfect ... so that from the numerous small trusts into which the District roads were subdivided the funds were so frittered away as to render it impossible for the Trustees in the Management, with every anxiety, on their part, materially to benefit the roads.' He then gave an account of his first meeting with the professional road manager, McConnell, and the trustees were 'deeply impressed', a committee being appointed to negotiate his employment by the Trust.

As noted in Chapter 5 the McAdam system of roadmaking was well known to Fife trustees since before 1820 when the county meeting was advised to correct the 'present erroneous system in making roads' and adopt that followed by McAdam (CT 25.7). The McAdam-McConnell partnership were not engaged as managers, however, until 1834 and this was only in St Andrews district. Kirkcaldy district was to follow in 1837 (KT 7.2) and the trustees were clearly satisfied with McConnell's achievements in St Andrews (KS 29.9.1838). In 1835 (ST 7.4) he produced detailed reports on all roads in the district, each of which was listed with its length and the expenditure required. In 1844 he was

being asked to give his recommendations on a proposed reduction in the statute labour assessment, on the level of tolls, and the advisability of changing the number and distribution of tollbars. His findings are summarised by Pagan (1845.212), who uses St Andrews district to illustrate a number of unsatisfactory features of the turnpike system in a work addressed to a readership embracing the whole of Britain. Pagan notes an earlier attempt (ST 24.9.1838) to increase the number of toll-bars, including one at Kingsbarns, approximately half way between Anstruther and St Andrews, to charge travellers through Crail.

Lord Douglas, presenting the report of a committee, described the special situation of St Andrews, whose 'insular position deprived it of the great traffic which as thorough fares the others possessed - it had few seats of manufacture and no great extent of commerce and having the sea on three sides the carriage for commercial purposes was chiefly on water and that consequently the sources to which the district had mainly to look for the support of its roads were' ... (agricultural traffic, ploughgate assessments, tollgates to catch) ... 'agricultural and other produce to seaports and the import of mercantile commodities, coalfields and the inlets from the west.' All the tollgates had been established .. 'when the roads were not all in the same state of keeping - when their condition depended on the different degree of skill and attention which different individuals happened to possess and bestow ... and where debts are mostly increasing ... Now when things were otherwise ... (and) ... 'the produce of the tolls applied alike to all parts of the district' ... why should not the tollbars be put in a better position? For instance, there was no fairness in taxing Anstruther, Pittenweem and Elie as sea ports and allowing Crail, Largo and St Andrews, on its southern side, to escape toll free. (ST 24.9.1838).

Lord Douglas suggested there should be extra tollbars at Crail, at Largo, and at Feddinch, south of St Andrews. After a lengthy

discussion the meeting voted to reject the committee's proposals. A fresh attempt was made to introduce the extra tollbars in 1841 (CT 4.5) which was narrowly successful (31 votes to 27) but this decision was reversed in an adjourned meeting (CT 27.7.1841). Pagan comments (1845.212), 'Such was the fruitless result, and will too often be the fate, of attempts to give fair play to the toll-bar system. When once a road is made, and people are accustomed to use it toll-free, they abhor the idea of a tax being imposed upon it, and immediately rise in open arms against any such proposal, however equitable it may be.' However, he points out that additional bars were in fact placed later at Kingsbarns and at Lochton (594085).

The report presented to the trustees in 1845 by McConnell (SS 1.4) was critical of the inequalities of distances between tolls resulting from the current distribution, and added to Lord Douglas's list of unfairly handicapped towns, St Andrews and Ferryport, which McConnell said were 'so closely barred that the inhabitants cannot travel the smallest portions of the roads untaxed.'[1] He proposed a reduction in the rate of tolls of one fourth, liberal exemptions for farmers of burgh acres, and freedom from paying tolls more than once within a distance of four miles. He preferred a toll reduction to the possible alternative of a reduction in the statute labour assessment on the grounds that, 'while it affords equal relief to the agriculturist, it has also the advantage of tending to increase the traffic of the country, and greatly alleviating the hardship ...' He wanted an increase of the number of tollbars in St Andrews district from 19 to 28, a proposal which his contemporary, Pagan, viewed at the time with scepticism, predicting opposition and alluding to his other remedies which included a tax on the ownership of horses. By his third edition (1857) Pagan was able to report that the trustees in favour of more tollbars had in May 1845 overruled their opponents on a legal technicality.

---

1. Pagan (1845.212) remarks sardonically, 'Such was the compliment paid to the administration of the St Andrews district turnpikes.'

Evidence from the minutes of the trustees shows that Lochton and Kingsbarns tollbars were first rouped in March 1845, thus anticipating the appeal hearing, and the establishment of these tollbars effectually marked the last stage of the expansion of the turnpike system in the East Neuk.

From about 1850 up to the abolition of the system in 1878 (41 and 42 Vict.51) the spatial distribution of roads in the East Neuk was affected only by minor adjustments to those roads which happened to be crossed by extensions of the railway. The period 1850 to 1878 lies outwith the limits of this study, and is predominantly one of administrative history; most of the coach services ceased to operate and road expenditure was limited to that required for repairs. The subject is more fully covered by G. Bennett (1983) and M. Reid (in preparation) as part of their historical studies of communications in Fife as a whole.

East Neuk roads and territorial boundaries

Indicative perhaps of the persistence of established routes from an earlier period in the East Neuk is the evidence of adherence of ancient and more recent routes to property and parish boundaries of which the old route from St Andrews to Crail may serve as an example.

An investigator following the section of this route south east of Peekie Bridge (Figure 12.1) cuts diagonally across pre 1828 rectangular enclosures, through a disused World War II airfield and, by way of a footpath, finds himself on a disused railway line past Cookston (586105). As with many roads the line planned for the railway in 1883 (Scott Bruce 1980.102) had followed a parish and property boundary for over a kilometre just south of Boarhills. A minor watercourse, found convenient as a march between the former Crail and St Andrews parishes as they existed before the 16th century, had been selected as a means of minimising compensation for severence of agricultural land when the railway was built.

SUMMARY

For nearly two centuries the principal elements of the East Neuk network have remained intact, a circumstance attributable to the strong influence of the cathedral city and the continued predominance of agricultural land use away from the immediate coastal fringe. The supply of coal and lime from the latter part of the 18th century to coastal farms augmented the flow of agricultural goods along the concentric elements of the network, while the decay of certain radial routes can be shown to correspond to advances in road technology, helped by the provision of bridges. A body of small but moderately prosperous heritors remained detached from the main stream of turnpike road development seen in the other districts of Fife, but when obliged to follow suit, made successful use of professional expertise. Their deliberations and achievements were seen as providing a suitable case study for a classic treatise on road administration reform.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE ROAD LINK ACROSS CENTRAL FIFE - A SCHEME LONG DEFERRED

It was noted in Chapter 7 that of the roads listed in the successive turnpike acts a number could not be identified as having been inaugurated as toll roads and in some cases were never built at all.

Few roads aroused so much local interest or experienced such a protracted series of delays in their execution as the first new route to be named in the 1790 Act, stated to run from Kirk of Beath, on the Great North Road, to the Plasterers Inn, on the Kirkcaldy to Cupar road. It was a road greatly desired by the landowners in those parishes which it crossed, the parishes abutting the Kinrossshire border: Beath, Ballingry, Auchterderran and Kinglassie.

Among the most active among these gentlemen as road trustees were those for whom a new road would reduce the cost of distributing coal from pits on their lands, particularly Syme of Lochore, Ferguson of Cluny and Raith, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Lochgelly. The latter took an active part in the drafting of the 1790 Act and appears to have been the principal initiator and coordinator of the local demand for a better east-west route.[1]

In 1790 the minister of Auchterderran, the Reverend Andrew Murray, noted a series of tracks roughly corresponding to the proposed Kirk of Beath-Plasterers route which he said were 'already in use in the summer months' but suggested that 'a free communication through this inland district would be highly advantageous' (OSA 44). Referring back to this statement at a later date when many local improvements had been effected (Houston^{1924}/424), he was still able to say, 'not one of the present roads runs even the smallest distance in the line that this road would occupy, a line that would be far more level, much shorter, and in all respects a greater accommodation to the public than the present circuitous and ridgy conveyance.'

1. NLS Minto 139 18.6.1789

Most of the roads listed in the 1790 Act did in fact become toll roads, including Road 9 to Cluny (Ferguson's coal road) described in the Act as 'the Road from Kirkcaldy Northward till it joins the Road from the Plaisterer's to Kirk of Beath', thus suggesting that the construction of the latter road was regarded as a foregone conclusion.

The earliest evidence that practical steps were being taken towards the building of the road appears in a draft of a letter, seemingly in the hand of Lord Minto,[1] to which the date 1804 is assigned. It is not clear for whom the letter was intended and since it expresses, somewhat intemperately, dissatisfaction with Mr. Syme of Lochore, a Writer to the Signet with a practice in Edinburgh, who became Lord Minto's close adviser, it is quite likely that it was never sent. However, there are several statements in the draft which show that financial support for the proposed road was actively being sought. The writer refers to Syme's offer to give a subscription (amount not disclosed) but is sceptical as to his capacity to pay or even whether his support for the road is genuine

The road, he says, is to include two miles made by Ferguson of Raith and Fergus of Strathore and continues, ' - everything is settled - the Trustees having consented to placing two gates upon it.' The statute labour trustees had granted £230 in instalments and he considers the money subscribed to be sufficient for making the road.

'It might be begun tomorrow', he writes, if Mr. Syme was not either crazy or worse. He says he will not subscribe if there is any committee and I am told he cannot lay down the first half of his subscription, being certainly distressed and his affairs in great confusion. I find he has for some years been deranged himself as well as his affairs, owing to a fall from his Horse four or five years ago, and on that account was obliged to quit his profession. He has never attended any meeting tho'

---

1. Sir Gilbert Elliot was created Baron Minto of Minto, Roxburghshire in 1797 (Houston 1924.103). All the documents referred to in this chapter are from the Minto Papers NLS 13299 folios 139 to 238.

always promising and always summoned and has done all in his power to prevent this road. Measures are to be taken by the Gentlemen of the Committee - I enclose their names - to bring him round if possible, of which I despair. If he withdraws his subscription (which he will do if he can), We must either pay the Piper or have no road. I must decide within these three months - if we do not begin the road within that time the engagement of the Bridge Money will be at an end, and we are never so likely to get it again in any fresh application.'

The intended recipient of the letter is told that even if there is no net profit from the tolls, he would get more than a five per cent return on a subscription of £1,500, from the benefits to his coal business alone.

It later transpired that there were no individual subscriptions above £500 and the highest was £1,000 from Lord Minto himself.[1]

In 1805 a number of letters show Syme as an active road trustee who keeps in close touch with Lord Minto at his home near Jedburgh. A rough estimate of £3,500 is given for the cost of the road and the surveyor, Robert Mitchell of Largo, is asked to work out the details of the line. Figure 13.1 shows the western line agreed between Kirkford and Easter Colquhally. From there, opinions are divided as to whether the eastern half of the road should proceed by a northern route through Kinglassie or should pass south of Auchterderran to link up with Ferguson's new Strathore road. Controversy over these two lines was to prove a source of much delay and uncertainty with regard to subscriptions.

One difficulty on the western line lay in the absentee landlords who had to be approached. The parish ministers noted a high proportion of land in such ownership and the Rev. Murray was led to observe 'What a benefit to the country are resident proprietors!' (NSA 169). In Beath

---

1. A possible recipient of the letter might have been Balfour of Balbirnie or his brother who had a mine at Dundonald. Balfour later joined Ayton of Inchdairnie in a subscription of £700.

parish only five of the thirteen landowners were resident in 1836 (NSA175), although it should be noted that Adam of Blairadam who lived only just over the border in Kinrossshire, took an active interest in this road. Of Lord Moray, owner of land east of Kirkford, Syme was able to say 'altho' he will give no money (he) will not object to it' and anticipates little difficulty in persuading Lord Dundas to agree to that part of the road over Lumphinnans ground. He was in fact too persuasive, in the eyes of Dundas's agent, for he also obtained a promise of a subscription of £500 which he placed before a Kirkcaldy District trustees committee. Charles Innes, his agent, criticised Syme for taking advantage of the probable disregard by Lord Dundas of the low rent of what was only a grass farm. He suggested that owners should contribute amounts proportional to their rent rolls, on which basis Syme and Lord Minto should be paying five or six times Dundas's subscription. Under the circumstances, he asserted, Lord Dundas could not be held to such an undertaking.

On the eastern side of Auchterderran several alternative lines had been proposed. A request by Blyth of Kinnimmonth for a line from Kinglassie through Leslie to Balfarg was discouraged at an early stage, although not before, in the words of Mitchell, 'Mr. Blyth led us this danse.' Two estimates were prepared for the lines through Kinglassie, shown in Figure 13.1 , one by Thomas McBean, a contractor, in January 1805 for a line which met the Cupar road half a mile south of the Plasterers. The road work was priced at not less than 15 shillings a rood and the total, including bridges, was £2,950. The other was an advisory estimate from Mitchell who put a lower figure on the easier sections, including the improvement of some existing road, and this came out at £2,205. His line ended south of the crossing of the Bighty Burn.

A trustees' committee on 10.8.1805 noted doubts on the part of Ayton of Inchdairnie about the line from his property eastward and the decision

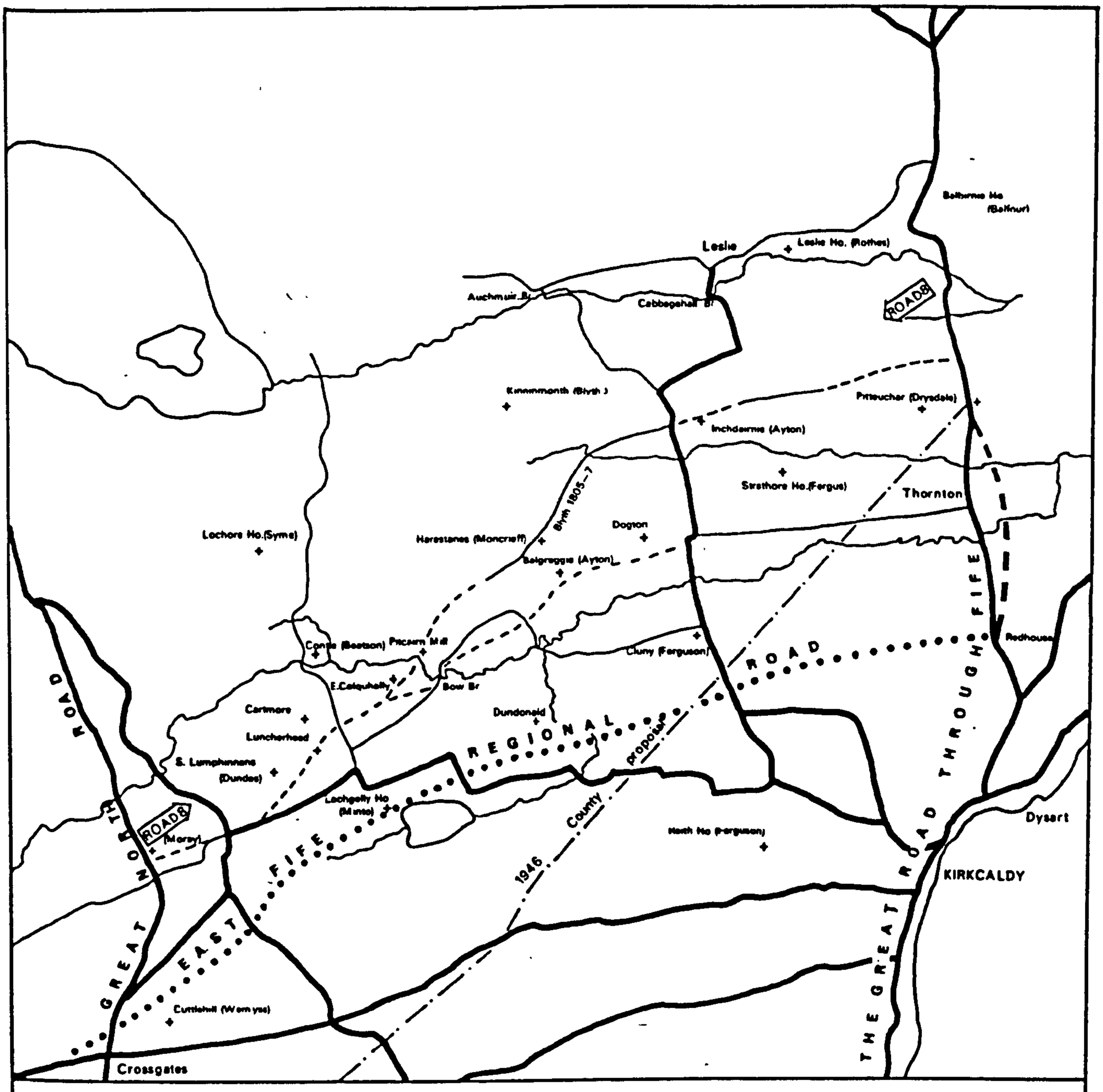


Figure 13.1

LINKS BETWEEN THE GREAT NORTH ROAD AND THE GREAT ROAD THROUGH FIFE

road turnpiked — other main roads — Thornton Bypass

projected lines between Kirk of Beath and The Plasterers

was left to three other heritors.[1] What their recommendation was is not recorded but the situation was little changed two years later, after Lord Minto had left for India (1806).

It appears that in 1807 James Loch, the experienced factor, was advising both Lady Minto at Lochgelly and her son, Gilbert Elliot at Jedburgh. At this time Loch was also assisting his uncle, William Adam of Blairadam in overseeing the progress of the easterly diversion of the Great North Road round the lower ground below the Kirk of Beath (Road 58 of Chapter 7) and advised Elliot (12.7.1807) to see that the part of the western end of what he called the Lochgelly Road lying between the old and new lines of the Great North Road was not built. He warned him that 'the Beath Lairds' were keen to improve that section as part of a road over Beath Hill to the other side 'for no reason but because no one (whatever) would go that way if they could.'

Loch thinks (20.9.1807) that both the north and south lines east of Auchterderran should be encouraged.

A fresh stimulus to action at the western end appears in November 1808 when Loch writes that the Burgh of Dunfermline, 'hearing of the revival of the plan of making the Kirk of Beath road and being anxious to have a communication to the East of Fife that way, may probably come forward in order to have the whole go on together.'[2] The line they proposed would, he said 'come smack into the Kirk of Beath road.' Some of the motivation for Loch's exertions is revealed when he continues, '- luckily for the County three or four of us have taken to new Roads as our hobby, and it would surprise the more prudent and sober minded people of the South to see with what eagerness and constancy we gallop the poor animal[3] not over hill and dale but round hills and through dells'.

---

1. The ruins of Inchdairney and the now abandoned road may be seen on aerial photograph (F44:58/RAF/6638:26FE865.0077).
2. Road 61 listed in the 1810 Act. It was not turnpiked.
3. (their 'hobby horse').

Among the difficulties that these scattered road planners had to contend with was a scarcity of maps and plans drawn from them. It was even difficult to get Mitchell, the surveyor, to provide a plan to accompany a report on the proposed lines. Referring to a meeting with Syme and Blyth in 1805, Mitchell writes, 'I never made any Sketch of the lines proposed ... Mr. Syme did not think it necessary' - which appears a good excuse. However, in the same letter, to Wemyss of Cuttlehill (1.4.1809), he says, 'I am sorry I cannot send you with this the sketch you require. If you will look over Ainslie's Map of Fife I hope you will understand the description. I intended to have sent you a sketch taken from that map but mine is not at hand, having lent it some time ago and there is no time ... The Minister of Auchter will show you where the Bridge over Ore was proposed and point out the line ... he is interested[1] and I think him very reasonable to talk to. As soon as I get the map and have a little leasure I shall send you the sketch - I have had much trouble and expencerespecting this business for no purpose but I am glade to see you taking some thought about it.'

The lack of suitable plans is referred to by Loch in writing to Elliot. He sends him a rough sketch, showing the effect of the diversion of the Great North Road on the western end of the road through Lochgelly, and also asks Elliot if he would be willing to subscribe towards a 'new map of Fife from actual survey' (19.11.1808). One surviving copy of John Ainslie's map is from an edition in 1801 and bears rough lines corresponding to those described in the Minto documents, and the lines shown in Figure 13.1 are only slightly modified from the overdrawn lines.[2]

It is easy to sympathise with Mitchell's reluctance to put himself to the trouble of providing a plan for an individual trustee, for he had

---

1. This was the Rev. Murray who had argued so forcefully for the new road in his reports to Sinclair (OSA and NSA).
2. If all the lines were overdrawn at the same time, the fact that the diversion of the Great North Road is shown as starting much further south, at Bois Bridge (132836), than the line subsequently taken (north of Crossgates), suggests that they were drawn on one of a new run of copies soon after they were printed.

probably had numerous similar requests over a period of four years and some trustees could be tiresome and perhaps would not reward or thank him for a time-consuming task. However, this was among the weaknesses of organisation mentioned by James Loch writing to Lady Minto on 10.2.1809. 'You will see that the North Line seems to have a good chance of going on. To the South and the West Line there must all exertion be applied. It however occurs to me that the whole proceeds on a fundamentally bad principle. There appears to be no concert, nor any meeting of all the persons concerned, to settle the business, nor no plan, nor estimate, nor nothing.'[1]

Efforts by Loch to whip up enthusiasm for the road date from before 1807,[2] at a time when doubts were being expressed in the district meeting of trustees as to the necessity of the northern line through Kinglassie. After all, they said, the new road was nearly completed through Strathore and this, together with a road between Cluny and Auchterderran through Balgreggie, would provide a sufficient connection to the Great North Road (KT 8.6.1807).[3] Further attempts were made in 1808 to reach agreement on lines and contributions. Beatson of Contle notes (15.12.1808) that Syme wants the road to use the existing, somewhat dilapidated, Bow Bridge, and go through the lands of Cartmore, and he indicates a concern to reach a generally acceptable agreement when he says, 'The decision on the line should be seen to be neutral', but he notes that the road cannot now be begun before the next spring and in any case the sums subscribed were not yet sufficient. In a letter to William Adam (21.12.1808) he despairs of getting anything from Beatson, 'nor indeed from any body that I know hereabout.' Of another heritor, who Syme describes as 'very rich', he

---

1. He is of course exaggerating. A group of trustees had been appointed to form a committee and there were several estimates received, including McBean's and Mitchell's.
2. his letter to Elliot 12.7.1807.
3. Parts of this line are visible on aerial photograph (F43:58/RAF/6638: 26FEB65.0078-0080).

says, 'if he were not a narrow minded miserable creature, (he) should give a considerable sum - you know it is only lending at interest and I really think that the security will be very good - if you like you may take the trouble to write tb him, but I do not suppose that the doing so will be productive.' However, he is still optimistic that Dundas will contribute eventually and adds that, in any case, he considers that the cost of the 'road to Auchterderran' is already covered by his and Lord Minto's subscriptions.

One heritor, impatient to achieve something tangible - and possibly as an example to others - built a piece of road himself, but his action seems to have been premature: James Blyth, writing from Forthar, New Falkland on 29.12.1808,[1] states that the line west of Kinglassie, which had been 'surveyed over and over again,' was agreed between Syme and Mitchell. He refers to the delegation of the decision on the line east of Inchdairnie to three independent heritors, but could not see why he should not begin 'where there was no difference.' Syme wanted to wait until Balfour had paid a subscription, but Blyth was so anxious to get started that he paid a subscription himself, engaged a surveyor and got a contractor to build a mile of road. 'Before it was half finished,' he notes, 'Mr. Fergus and Mr. Ferguson had begun the road you mention[2] and then Mr. Sime told me[3] as Mr. Balfour had never subscribed it was proposed to take the Lochgelly road besouth Balgrigy to meet Mr. fergusons road.'

Blyth says he does not mind if both roads are built, but prefers the northern one through Kinglassie.[4] Syme had suggested that he should apply for assistance to the district in order to finish his road south

---

1. The recipient is not named, but appears to be James Loch.
2. Blyth is evidently referring back to the time when Ferguson built the Strathore road in 1805.
3. the letter is innocent of punctuation.
4. This would serve his land at Kinninmonth.

west of Kinglassie as far as the road from Auchterderran, but after several unsuccessful applications and having spent £142 of his own money on the road, he stopped the work.

'After lying of a year or two' he applied again to the district to borrow £100, but was only able to secure an offer of £50 if this could be matched elsewhere. He continues, 'as I could not make a better of it I agreed I applied to General Aiton who has given £25 I have advanced all the rest and it is now finished ...'

By this time Ayton and Balfour had come forward with a joint contribution of £700, to be applied only to making the road from Inchdairnie eastward to the Cupar road and Blyth records that he had written to Lady Minto saying that the main priority now was to continue the road he had finished westwards to Pitcairn Mill (the revised bridging point of the Ore) and continues, 'I was so much impressed with the importance of the plan I would even lend some assistance to it Notwithstanding I had done much more than my part already.'

Blyth was concerned that he had had no reply from Lady Minto and, supposing her not to have understood him, tried calling on her at Lochgelly but she proved elusive.[1]

He urges his correspondent not to lose a moment in getting the road 'completely made eastward from Kinglassie.' As to the completion of the connection to the Queensferry road he reckons that subscriptions of £1000 from Lord Minto, £500 from Syme and £300 from Lord Dundas, total £1800, would pay for the distance from the end of the section Blyth had built, adding, 'and even more this you can know by getting an estimate.'

As a postscript he notes that the trustees of Sir Thomas Moncrieff had 'proffered liberally to the road upon the original plan of the road going by Kinglassie but as soon as it was proposed to take it besouth Balgrigy they informed me they would withdraw their subscription and

---

1. 'but she was gone or ever I got any word she was there.'

that very properly.'[1] This was the southern connection to Ferguson's Strathore road and it seems to be the northern, Kinglassie, line to which he then refers when he says, 'I have always thought and still does Mr. Syme should have Carried on the road while he had such Liberal funds proffered at Least I would have done it (addition illegible) is always best to Strike when the Iron is hottest.'

There appears to be no corroborating evidence for Lord Minto's increasing his original contribution from £500 to £1,000. Ayton, in a letter of the same date as Blyth's (29.12.1808), mentions that Lord Dundas has withdrawn an offer of £500 but considers he could be persuaded otherwise. He also states that 'the Road north of Balgriggy is made', but later, in the letter from Loch to Lady Minto of 10.2.1809 in which he criticises the gentlemen at the eastern end of lack of coordination (above), he also refers to the northern line as having 'a good chance', so it is unlikely that it was completed as far as the Cupar road. The main burden of Loch's letter is in fact an attempt to rouse his eastern neighbours to organise themselves properly. To this end he suggests that Stuart of Aberdour should get a meeting of trustees together and that Stuart and Elliot get in touch with Ferguson.[2] He notes that Syme is anxious about the delay.

It is at this stage that Mitchell writes to Mr. Wemyss of Cuttlehill (1.4.1809) telling him of all the alternative lines from Auchterderran eastwards which have been discussed. They were: 1) Kirk of Beath-north of Lochgelly-Colquhally-Pitcairn Mill-Inchdairnie-Cabbagehall Bridge over the Leven-Leslie Park-Balfarg. This was Blyth's suggestion, now rejected; 2) a variant: -Inchdairnie-south of Bighty Burn, the line of Mitchell's estimate of 1805; 3) -Inchdairnie-Pitteuchar-Bankhead. This might have been put forward to induce Drysdale of Pitteuchar to contribute. Mitchell remarks, 'The bottom was bad and no prospect of materials near the line, consequently the Estimates were far above their ideas and the

---

1. Perhaps Blyth means 'promptly'?
2. who has proved himself a business like and forceful trustee at Kirkcaldy.

matter was droped'; 4) Kirk of Beath (Kirkford)-Colquhally, as No.1, then - bridge across Ore below Pitcairn Mill-south of Auchterderran-Ferguson's road. This line seems to meet the desire of Syme who wants to use the old Bow Bridge if possible, and Loch evidently thought in February 1809 that it had a good chance of being built. Mitchell considers that it would serve well the needs of people north of Lochgelly who wished for a 'Road to the Coast.' It also had the merit that the line was leveller than No.2 and there were plenty of materials at hand, resulting in an anticipated reduction of twenty per cent in the cost per rood on this line. He adds, 'I see little prospect of good materials for the Line east of Inchdairny' (his No.2 road).

With many difficulties out of the way, it would appear that work could be resumed in the summer of 1809, but this was not to be.

Trustees at a district meeting on 8.6.1807 had considered that the northern line to a point south of the Plasterers would not be necessary, now that the Strathore road had nearly been completed, and they were prepared to adopt as a turnpike road the whole line from Kirk of Beath -through Balgreggie to Strathore when finished. This approval was confirmed in 1809 (KT 8.3).

In May 1809, Loch writes to Elliot asking for his support in getting the road proposed by the Burgh of Dunfermline to the Kirk of Beath included in the Bill for 1810 (Road 61 of Chapter 7). He also advises Elliot that the law permitted a road to be started before the money for it was received. Lord Dundas, he says, is still hesitating and 'would rather give money than sign a bond.' More ominous, perhaps, is a reference to Lady Minto's right to sue for recovery of her husband's subscription. A further letter on 1.6.1809 appears to conclude the surviving correspondence, and states that Lord Dundas does not in fact want the Kirk of Beath road at all. The amount he promised, £300 or £500, would not have been a critical factor in the abandonment of the road but the decision must have been severely discouraging.

Loch made one more effort to win the support of the Kirkcaldy trustees not only for this road, but also for certain minor roads to be included in a forthcoming Bill (KT 22.8.1809). Three of the roads were included in the 1810 Act[1] although none in fact became turnpike roads. A fourth road (No.59 of Chapter 7), which was never built, had as its terminus a junction at Pitcairn Mill.

Loch had claimed that the more roads were put into a Bill, the cheaper each became, but the clerk persuaded the trustees that no more roads were to be put forward unless two thirds of the cost was subscribed. This may be compared with an earlier decision by a committee (Minto 187, 10.8.1805) when it was required that subscriptions to the Kirk of Beath to Plasterers road should amount to not less than £3,000 and that at least half of this sum should be deposited with a bank in Kirkcaldy before a contract could be signed. In his letter to Elliot of 10.2.1809, Loch reminds him that payment into a bank is required, but in a later letter (9.5.1809) says 'We have never in the Western District complied with the strictness of the County Act in this respect.'

Lord Dundas's final withdrawal of his subscription was but a symptom of a wider range of disabilities which prejudiced the success of this road. Several other roads in the Fife turnpike acts which failed to be put into effect were those intended to open up areas of poor or 'indifferent agricultural quality. The presence of coal was an important incentive for road improvement but even if better roads were to their private advantage, coal owners were unwilling to bear what seemed a disproportionate share of the cost of a road primarily for the benefit of the public. The prospects for a substantial return from the revenue of toll bars were never rated highly, and there were suggestions that even the repairs might not be covered by receipts.[2]

---

1. Roads 70, 71 and 72 of Chapter 7
2. Lord Dundas' lukewarm attitude towards new roads may be related to his later objection to the placing of a tollbar on a road west of Lochgelly which would affect his Lumphinnans coal sales (KT 4.6.1834).

Perhaps the greatest handicap facing the promoters of the east-west road was the difficulty in coordinating the support of the small resident proprietors. The most active promoter was Sir Gilbert Elliot, later Lord Minto, but his participation was cut short when he went to India in 1806, and his local representatives, Syme and Loch, had to correspond with his son at Jedburgh or his wife.

Both James Loch and his uncle William Adam took an interest after 1806, but their influence with the Fife lairds may have been limited through their residence in Kinrossshire. The absentee landlords Dundas, Moray and Moncrieff were difficult to make contact with or persuade to contribute, and the locally situated Ferguson, Ayton and Balfour were interested only in the eastern end of the road. Of the landowners resident in the affected parishes, Lady Rothes in Leslie was barely involved, and in Auchterderran parish the owner with the largest valued rent assessment, James Blyth of Kinnimonth, who appears to have made the greatest practical effort, stretched his personal resources to the limit, even though he had little interest in coal sales.

As a man of affairs, James Loch was perhaps best placed to take an overall view of the situation and his recognition of the lack of coordination among his eastern neighbours (Loch to Lady Minto 10.2.1809) focusses attention on the administrative difficulties of such a project.

At the western end, there was the Burgh of Dunfermline, with its town funds, able and willing to complete its link to the Kirk of Beath but delaying until it could see the road being started to the east.

Further progress in creating the link they asked for with East Fife awaited the establishment of a corporate local road authority with the power to raise adequate taxes which recognised a need for such a road in the general interests of the travelling public.

At district level it was accepted by the Kirkcaldy trustees in 1807 that, with the building of the Strathore road, the need had become less urgent.

The Minister of Auchterderran in 1836 put forward arguments in favour of the road which took account of the proposed low water pier for steam vessels at Burntisland and a comparison of costs with those of the new road from Carlisle to Glasgow (Houston 1924.425). He did not, however, contemplate the effects of steam locomotion on railways, although this possibility had been raised by Sir George Campbell at Cupar the same year (CT 3.5.1836).

The Crossgates to Thornton railway was opened in 1848 (Scott Bruce 1980.58) and by that time the prospects of reviving discussion of the east-west road were slight. The inconvenience of the existing indirect route between the two major roads was in due course to be lessened by improved surfaces, the internal combustion engine and the pneumatic tyre.

A tentative proposal was made for a road Inverkeithing-Auchtertool-Bankhead in 1946 (FCC pp.108-9 and Figure 13.1), but it is only in the 1980s, with a regional road authority, powerful earth-moving equipment and a rising demand for rapid road transport across the southern part of central Fife, that a line, oriented not towards Cupar, but towards the more populous and industrial Kirkcaldy-Leven area, has been begun.[1]

If the hopes of the early 19th century promoters of the Kirk of Beath to Plasterers road were never fulfilled, their efforts have made some contribution towards the modern Fife landscape and road pattern.

Blyth's determination in 1805 to push ahead on his own, established the line of the B921 between Auchterderran and Kinglassie. By the time of Sharp's map (1828) most of the roads shown by Ainslie had been transposed to their present lines. Bow Bridge remained in use, serving a main road to the northern part of Lochgelly town, and the same road continued south west to join the new line of the Great North Road at Leuchatsbeath (165925). There has been a slight diversion since 1828 to the road to Kirkford, at Foulford (162921), the section of road replaced having been described in Mitchell's survey of 1805.

---

1. Publicity for the new road includes the extract from 'Fife Line' for March 1983, reproduced in Appendix B

Between Inchdairnie (246990) and the Cupar road, portions of the present road north of East Finglassie (262993) correspond to Mitchell's line, and near the point where the latter was planned to end, south of Bighty Burn, there is a strip of woodland about thirty feet wide across Bighty Muir, meeting the old Cupar road near Eastfield (288001).[1]

With regard to the southern line east of Auchterderran, Ferguson's Strathore road may be continued on the ground to the west along the access road to Dogton and then as a substantial embanked field road as far as Craigside Plantation (233966). The line on the Ainslie map, referred to above,[2] appears to pass further north but it might have been a proposed addition in 1805 or earlier.[3]

CONCLUSION

In a sense the Kirk of Beath to Plasterers road has been deferred and realigned rather than abandoned. It is doubtful whether the line of the East Fife Regional Road past Lochgelly House is quite what Lord and Lady Minto had in mind.

In considering the southerly shift of the line to meet the Kirkcaldy to Cupar road at Redhouse (293953) it is perhaps worth recalling that Mr. Robert Mitchell, the surveyor, justified a southerly shift of a junction in 1809. Writing to William Wemyss, he says, 'You will observe the Road by Strathore is only 45½ Chains further from Cupar than No.2[4] ... which one may ride in 5 minutes but the line is much leveler and plenty of materials at hand' (Minto 226 1.4.1809).

In five minutes, in a car, using the new Thornton bypass, he would travel well past the Plasterers Inn.[5]

---

1. The history of ownership of Bighty Muir, part of which belonged in 1813 to Balfour of Balbirnie and part to Drysdale of Pitteuchar, is summarised by Ferguson (1982.28). Both heritors were involved in the negotiations for the construction of the east-west road. The reservation of this strip of land is consistent with such an intention.
2. On deposit to the National Library of Scotland from the Signet Library. The name of the donor of the map is unknown.
3. A useful datum is the Dogton Stone (236968) marked as 'Roman Stone' by Ainslie.
4. which ends at 13 chains south of Bighty Burn.
5. Described in Bodie (1968).

The modern road will pass well to the south of Auchterderran and the journey from Cowdenbeath to Leslie or Glenrothes will still remain, in the words of the Reverend Murray, 'a circuitous and ridgy conveyance'.

CONCLUSION

Road management in Scotland, between the Act of 1669 setting up the statute labour system and the adoption of toll charges as a means of finance has received less attention than it deserves, and Fife, with its road records from 1709 onwards, is well fitted to illustrate the developments which were taking place over a wider region. Among the studies at county level, few assess what was achieved before the turnpike system, but it is evident that, despite its patent limitations, the statute labour system under intelligent and determined leadership was a means not only of keeping roads passable for the traffic of the early 18th century but permitted some degree of forward planning along the principal routes.

When Anderson in 1967 traced the development of roads in Kirkcudbright over three centuries he was breaking fresh ground. His main 18th century evidence was found in the minutes of the commissionersof supply for the Stewartry, which survive from 1728. Fife is fortunate in having preserved corresponding records from an earlier date and it has been possible, by deducing, a pattern of routes in use around 1700, to provide a basic network within which the performance of the legislation of the previous century may be assessed.

The developments in 18th century Fife must be seen against the background of changes in agriculture which brought greater quantities of produce on to the roads and demanded increasing supplies of lime and coal. In agriculture, labour services and payment of rents in kind were giving place to monetary payments, and a shift from a primarilypaternalistic to a more commercially based landlord - tenant relationship found its parallel in road management. A transition can be seen from virtual coercion of 'the country people' at the

beginning of the century, through a phase where selected parishioners were trained to carry out semi-skilled roadwork, to a general commutation of services to money under a body of management more broadly based in which all but the smallest heritors had a voice. At the same time, the granting of longer leases to farm tenants made it possible for their labour to be willingly given to longer term improvements such as enclosure and the extensive land drainage works without which the new statute labour roads of northern Fife could not have been built.

By 1748 it seems that the gentlemen of Fife had organised themselves under efficient procedures, learning new techniques of construction and conscious of the place of the roads under their charge in the regional communications network.

This assessment contrasts with what is so often a denigration of road management before the turnpike era. One reason for this dismissive treatment of the statute labour system is to be found in the radically different bases of road administration in England and in Scotland, and another may stem from the eagerness of late 18th century writers to promote the turnpike system in Scotland by asserting the inadequacy of earlier measures to keep roads in repair.

The position of the peninsula of Fife in the well populated eastern seaboard of Scotland gave rise to a strong pattern of transverse routes related to the principal ferrying ports across the Forth and the Tay. One route through Cupar became dominant in the east and favoured by 19th century coach operators. The south west limb of the county was crossed by the route to Inverness and took over, by means of a branch to Burntisland, an earlier alternative route to Perth. These were routes on a national scale and perceived as such by Fife landowners who deployed their resources in their favour.

The presence of coalfields in the southern half of the county led to the dominance in road administration of the coal owning landowners whose interest in distributing their product - for export, for domestic consumption or for the burning of limestone - was influential in the extension of roads into northern Fife through the Markinch Gap and in opening up the poorly served hinterland of Kirkcaldy. Added to this was the desire of merchants in flax and linen for improved access to the northern ports which led to new road planning well in advance of the first turnpike roads in that area.

In considering the task facing the leaders of the road improvement movement in Fife it has been necessary to examine the state not only of legislation but of road technology in Scotland as a whole. McAdam developed his famous method, based on a standard unit of hard angular stone, after numerous observations while travelling round the country and there is reason to believe that, while he castigated many Scottish road makers, his method was based upon the best of long established practices. However, in Fife there was much remedial work to be done when he and his partner, McConnell were engaged as consultants in the Great North Road and asked to advise two of the district trusts as managers. Evidence for the diffusion of ideas between regions is to be found in the new approaches to alignment of roads and their integration with new patterns of enclosure. The earlier evidence is to be found outside Fife, but it is clear that the principles were well understood in Fife by the end of the 18th century from the new alignments north of Kennoway and the new roads of the 1810 Act. In the implementation of the advances in either technology or administration there were noticeable differences as between the four districts of Fife. That which contained the seat

of county government, Cupar, set the pace of road improvement in the late 18th century, closely followed by the more industrially based Kirkcaldy district with its need to distribute coal. Dunfermline, with its links to adjoining counties of the upper Forth valley and to Edinburgh, was less in touch with county road development and the formation of a strong link to the north east of Fife was long delayed. The mainly agricultural district of St Andrews appears to have adopted the administrative practices of road management at a late stage and it is here that the work of the professional manager is well displayed and where much of the controversy over the siting of toll bars, referred to by Pagan, is illustrated.

When it is considered that the main roads of Fife were dependent for over a century on statute labour for their maintenance, the period during which the turnpike system of management was being extended was relatively short - in the eastern half of the county less than fifty years - and it is important to keep this in perspective particularly where the more complete records of the turnpike trusts are liable to lead to a disproportionate emphasis on this phase of road development.

While much of the 19th century road network was planned under statute labour management, it was by the application of money borrowed on the security of toll revenue that roads were finished up to a standard acceptable for coach traffic. A number of roads designated in each turnpike act continued to be maintained by statute labour money, if they came to exist at all, and the negotiations to build a new road across central Fife reveal the political, economic and social factors determining whether a road might, firstly, be included in a turnpike bill and, secondly, receive sufficient

financial backing to be implemented. Several roads were financed and managed jointly with adjacent counties, notably the Great North Road, and where the records have not been preserved in Fife information about these is fragmentary.

In planning future additions to the turnpike network the trustees of the county had little apparent guidance from realistic estimates of revenue. Arguments in favour of including further roads were usually couched in terms emphasising the public benefit, a fixed percentage return being assured to subscribers. There was a wide variation in the profitability of different roads, some well covered by coach revenue or coal traffic while some accumulated considerable debts. The trustees were always searching for new sources of revenue in the siting of toll bars, but the only people in a position to make informed judgements of future receipts were the tacksmen, whose calculations were reflected in the bids they made at roups of toll bars. They had every reason not to disclose the figures on which their livelihoods depended, and although an attempt has been made above to relate toll rentals to road expenditure for one year in one district, there is more work to be done to understand fully the economic aspects of turnpike road management.

In so far as the spatial development of the Fife turnpike road network is concerned, most of the new road building is represented in the implementation of the Acts between 1797 and 1829, after which the anticipation of the railway inhibited development on more than a limited scale. These roads were well engineered and served the needs of Fife well into the present century.

The roads of Fife illustrate many of the features of road development in lowland Scotland, particularly in the latter half of the 18th century and it is hoped that further work will be done in other counties, to which this study may supply an irritant or a catalyst.

Appendix A

THE LOUDOUN MANUSCRIPT

(NRAS 631 Bute Papers, ? 1767)

The Gentlemen of the County of Fife, having met at Cowper in May 1748, to consider the Condition of the High Roads, and to fall upon some Scheme for the more effectually repairing them in time coming, came to the following Resolutions :

First,

That the Sum of ten pence be laid upon each £100 Scots of valued Rent within the County, amounting yearly to £150 Sterling

Secondly

That all Roads be laid asside from geting any of the aforesaid Money, till the most publick Roads in the County be finished viz The Road from Kinghorn to Cowper, and from thence to Dundee and to Faulkland, being the Road to Perth.

Thirdly

They appoint a Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen upon that Road, to oversee the Work and call out the Day Labourers and Carriages, of which Lord Rothes & Lord St Clair were the Spirit

The Committee having met at Kirkcaldy some days after, came to the following Resolutions, which having been approved of by the County, have been practised ever since with little variation :

That every Person who has a Cart in his Possession in any of the Towns shall turn out to work on the said Roads, for three Days before & three Days after Harvest, or pay two Shillings Sterling for each defficient Day.

Secondly

That each Farmer in the County being lyable in a Carriage for each Plough of Land in his Possession, or when the Lands are enclosed, and so mostly in Grass, they shall be charged with one Carriage for each Fifty acres, or Twelve Shillings Sterling in default of the Six Days Work of the Carriage. Allways Providing, that the aforesaid Composition Money both for Day Labourers and Carriages be paid without Trouble, for if they stand a Charge before a Justice of the Peace, the Payment for Deficiencies, to be as the Law Directs.

Thirdly

That all Noblemen and Gentlemen be lyable to pay the Statute Work for Lands in their Possession, according to the foregoing Rule, but when their Grass Parks are set out in Parcels, below fifty acres (as is often the Case), the Gentlemen is to pay twelve Shillings for each 50 Acres and to be relieved by the Tennants according to the quantity they possess

Fourthly

That £50 worth of proper Working Tools be immediately bought for carrying on the Work, &

Fifthly

That each Nobleman and Gentleman give their Attendance in their Turn, from Eight in the Morning till five in the Afternoon according to the following List, to, be put into the Overseer of the Roads Hands, he being to write to the Gentleman to be on his Attendance three Days before his Turn is.

Sixthly

That the Overseer shall produce a List of the Carriages and Labourers summoned for that Day by the Constable, and show him also

before Ten o. Clock a list of the Persons who have been summoned for that Day by the Constable, and who are Deficients, which List the Gentleman Overseer for the Day shall subscribe, and which Lists to be sent to a Meeting of the Justices of Peace to be held allways at the giving up the Work upon the Roads for that year both before and after Harvest.

I must observe that it was owing to the constant and unwearied Attendance of the Gentlemen who had the Management of these Roads, animated by the Example of the Lords Rothes & St Clair that they were so well and speedily carried on, and to the employing all the County Money on the most publick Roads, and not parceling it out as formerly, which was ate up by the Constables without doing any Good, as it was not worth any Gentleman's while to attend, where so few Men were employed and so little to be done.

In five years the two great Roads were finished, and the People of the Country made so perfectly acquainted with that sort of Work, that ever sine, the Roads of the County which are Six, among which the £150 is divided, are carried on by a Constable and sometimes by an Overseer hired likewise without troubling any of the Gentlemen oftener than once a fortnight to see what has been done.

It must be understood that none was summoned to work upon any Road above four computed Miles from their Dwelling House, all the other Parishes of the County being constantly employed in making more private Roads where they have done a great deal with the Statute Work alone, without any assistance of Money, as this County was for the most part well peopled till of late.

Crucial road project begins at last

LATER this spring, if all goes to plan, a bulldozer will carve a swathe of earth out of the ground close to the Edinburgh-Perth M90 motorway and a start will have been made at last on Phase I of the East Fife Regional Road. After 35 years of pressure on successive governments this major trunk road project estimated at £40m is about to become the reality which will eventually provide a dual carriageway all the way from the M90 through the heartland of Fife to Glenrothes.

In addition to providing a quicker and safer route it should provide a massive incentive for industry to establish further into Fife than the Forth Bridgehead. The East Fife Regional Road will be the most important highway project undertaken in the Kingdom this decade. The location of the proposed route was established in the mid 1970s and since then has greatly influenced the Region's policy on future industrial land sites. As a result approximately 80 per cent of available industrial land is located within reach of the proposed route.

POTENTIAL

Surveyors working for prospective investors, developers and industrialists have long noted the potential of Central and East Fife but all have been concerned by the poor communication links which many otherwise excellent sites have with the M90 and this has been a major factor in location decisions. The completion of the new highway and associated link roads will greatly increase the potential of the available sites.

Intersections on the East Fife Regional Road will dramatically improve access to Cowdenbeath, Lochgelly, Lochore, Cardenden, Auchterderran, Kirkcaldy, Glenrothes and Levenmouth. The remoter East Neuk will benefit too, particularly when the proposed Windygates By-Pass is completed. Tourism provides employment for as many as 7,000 persons in Fife and the EFRR will be a major factor in the efforts being made to turn more tourists into the picturesque and historical areas of The Kingdom.

SKILLS

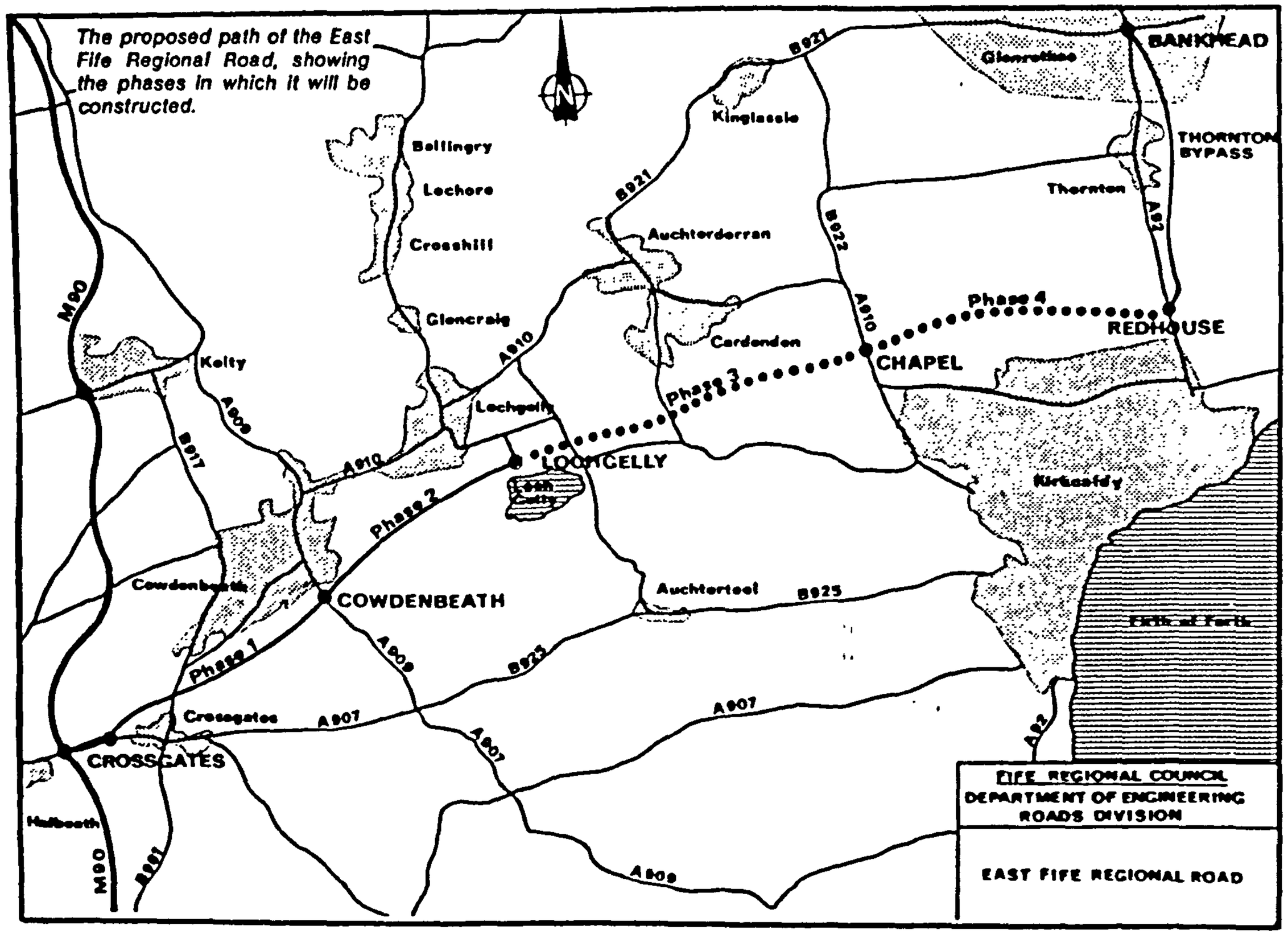
The project, which is being prepared by the Region's Roads Department on behalf of the Scottish Development Department, has taxed the skills of the engineers. First, the road's line had to run in proximity to the built up areas, yet result in the minimum amount of disruption and demolition. Next, ground conditions meant dealing with deep peat moss deposits and the age-old hazard of spent mine workings. Linking up with the National Coal Board, the Roads Department has ensured that when possible coal reserves running beneath the line of the new road have been extracted prior to construction, so that it is not threatened with subsidence in years to come.

MAJOR

Another major trunk roads project which will be completed this year is the Thornton by-pass. This £10m contract removes a major cause of traffic congestion between Kirkcaldy and Glenrothes and should be open by late summer.

In all, this year sees the start of the biggest Fife roads construction programme since the building of the M90 and it will cost more than £16m to complete.

Apart from the EFRR and Thornton by-pass road projects the final touches are being put to the plans for the £3m Eastern Link Road scheme which will remove through traffic from the centre of Dunfermline, a bus station development in the same burgh, which will cost the Regional Council about £1.8m, improvements to the Inverkeithing to Aberdour road and the upgrading of the road between Balfarg and New Inn.



The proposed path of the East Fife Regional Road, showing the phases in which it will be constructed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations used in Bibliography:

A.A.A.G. - Annals of the Association of American Geographers

Ag.Hist.Rev. - Agricultural History Review

Bull.Geol.Surv.Gt.Br. - Bulletin of the Geological Survey of Great Britain

J.Geol.Soc. - Journal of the Geological Society (London)

Mem.Geol.Surv.Gt.Br. - Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain

Proc.Prehist.Soc. - Proceeding of the Prehistorical Society

P.S.A.S. - Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland

S.G.M. - Scottish Geographical Magazine

S.H.S. - Scottish Historical Society

T.D.G.N.H.A.S. - Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

	Abbreviation used in text	
University of St Andrews		
St Fort Estate Papers		MS Deposit 26
Estate Plans:		
St Andrews University Muniments	SAP	UY
Miscellaneous		Lathockar
Report of the Committee appointed by the General Meeting of the ... Heritors of the County of Fife, on the 7th October 1788		Ms HE 363.S3.D88
Scottish Record Office	SRO	
Forfeited Estates Papers		E 783
Hamilton Bruce Muniments		GD 152
Leven and Melville Muniments		GD 26
Burgh Records: Dunfermline	DBC	B 20
Inverkeithing	IBC	B 34
Fife Quarter Sessions Minute Books		JP 28
Estate Plans	RHP	RHP
National Library of Scotland	NLS	
Minto Papers	Minto	13299 ff.139-238

University of Dundee		
Estate Plans		MS 15/56P/5
Tayfield, Fife		
Berry of Tayfield Papers	Tayfield	NRAS 874
Mount Stuart House, Rothesay		
Bute Papers: Loudoun Manuscript[1]		NRAS 631
Kirkcaldy Museum		
Rothes Papers	Rothes	40/37/1-4
Dunfermline Public Library		
Minutes of the Trustees of the Great North Road (incomplete) 1832	GNR/DPL	
Perth Public Library (Sandeman Library)		
Minutes of the Great North Road Trustees	GNR/PPL	1770-1809
Fife House, Glenrothes		
Minute Books:		
Commissioners of Supply		1709-36, 1772-91
County Statute Labour Road Trustees		1797-1878
District " " " " :	Cupar	1774-1879
	Dunfermline	1814-78
	Kirkcaldy	1810-78
	St Andrews	1822-79
County Turnpike Road Trustees		1790-78
District " " " :	Cupar	1790-92, 1829-78
	Dunfermline	1815-79
	Kirkcaldy	1790-1846
	St Andrews	1829-79
Committees: General Committee		1838-79
Road Committees :	Cupar to Kinross	1803-48
	Cupar to Newburgh	1826-43
	Dunduff to Outh	1810-17
	Great North Road	1823-29[2]
	Sawmillford	1839
	Pitcairlie	1800-78
	Pittormie	1820-42
	Cupar to Largo	1830-37
	Pitscottie to Ceres	1830-37
	Burntisland Pier, Ferry and Road	1840-46
	Fife and Midlothian Ferries	1813-14

1. Reproduced in Appendix A hereto
2. See also minutes held at Dunfermline and Perth libraries

Accounts and Registers

St Andrews District Statute Labour Road Trustees
Ploughgate Applications 1799-1818, 1821-35

St Andrews District Turnpike Road Trustees
Register of Bonds 1838-58

County Statute Labour Road Trustees
Bridge Money Allocations 1838-73
Register of Bonds 1831-53

County Turnpike Road Trustees: Register of Bonds 1843-57
" " " " : Abstracts of Accounts 1830-53

STATE PAPERS

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (3rd Series)

Acts of Parliament of Scotland

Acts of Parliament (England and Wales) Rastall W. 'A Collection in English of the Statutes ...' (London, 1583)

Acts of Parliament (Great Britain)

OTHER OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

1836 Report from the Select Committee on Statute Labour, Scotland

1859 Report of the Commissioners regarding Public Roads in Scotland

1861 The Census of Scotland Vol.I

THE STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS

The Statistical Account of Scotland, Sinclair J.ed.21 vols. Edin. 1791-9

" " " " " , vol.10 Fife, Re-edited by Grant I.R. and Withrington D.J. 20 Vols. with a new introduction by R.G. Cant Wakefield 1978[1] (abbr. OSA)

The Statistical Account of Fifeshire (under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy) London 1845 (abbr. NSA)

The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Fife (abbr. TSA)
Smith A. Survey Officer London 1952

1. References to parishes in Fife (OSA) are made to the 1978 edition. All other parishes: See 1791-9 edition

OTHER PUBLISHED MATERIAL, MAPS[2] AND UNPUBLISHED THESES

Adam, W. Letter to Rear-Admiral Adam M.P. from his father — Blairadam 1834

Adamson, L. ed. See Sibbald R. The history, ancient and modern, of the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross ... a new edition — Cupar 1803

Ainslie, J. The Counties of Fife and Kinross 6 sheets
Scale : 1/63360 — 1775
second edition — 1801

Albert, W. The Turnpike Road System in England 1663-1840 — Cambridge 1972

Alexander, J. The Statute Labour and Turnpike Roads of the District of Cupar, Fife
Scale: 1/63360 — 1832

Allan, J.K. and Knox, J. The Economic Geology of the Fife Coalfields:
Area 2 - Cowdenbeath and Central Fife
Mem.Geol.Surv.Gt.Br. — 1934

Allardyce, A. ed. Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century Ramsay J. of Ochtertyre 2 vols. — London 1888

Anderson, A.D. The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkudbright 1590-1890
T.D.G.N.H.A.S. 44 — 1967 Pt1 205-222 Pt2 211-227

Andrews, J.H. Road Planning in Ireland before the Railway Age
Irish Geography 5 — 1964 17-41

Appleton, J.H. The Geography of Communications in Great Britain — London 1962

Balfour (The Laird of) (1725) Description of Markinch in the Shire of Fife. In: Macfarlane's Geographical Collections
Mitchell A. ed. Edinburgh 1906 vol.1 298-301

Barclay G. (1723) Description of the Parish of Dunfermlin - Fife. In: Macfarlane's Geographical Collections
Mitchell, A. ed. Edinburgh 1906 vol.1 287-291

Barrow, G.W.S. The Kingdom of the Scots — London 1973

Baxter, B. Stone Blocks and Iron Rails — Newton Abbot 1966

Belhaven, Lord (Hamilton J.) The Country Man's Rudiments — Edinburgh 1699

Bell Dictionary of the Law of Scotland — Watson G. ed. — London 1890

2. See also Royal Scottish Geographical Society
The Early Maps of Scotland — vol.1 1973, vol.2 1983

Bennett, G.P. The Great Road between Forth and Tay — Markinch 1983

Bindoff, S.T. Tudor England — London 1950

Bodie, W.G.R. Glenrothes and its Environs in days gone by — St Andrews 1960

Bodie, W.G.R. Some Light on the Past around Glenrothes — St Andrews 1968

Bodie, W.G.R. Introduction to the Rothes Papers P.S.A.S. 110 — 1978-80 404-431

Brown, P.H. Scotland before 1700 from Contemporary Documents — Edinburgh 1893

Buchanan, R.A. Industrial Archaeology in Britain — London 1972

Burghardt. A.F. The Origin and Development of the road network of the Niagara Peninsula of Ontario 1770-1851 A.A.A.G. 59 — 1969 417-40

Burt, E. Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland 2 vols. — London 1815

Butt, J. The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland — Newton Abbot 1967

Campbell, R.H. Scotland since 1707 — Oxford 1965

Carstairs, A.M. The Distribution of the Population of Scotland 1450-1750 Unpublished B.Phil. dissertation University of St Andrews 1951

Chalmers, G. Caledonia 7 vols. — Paisley 1887

Chambers, R. The Domestic Annals of Scotland — London 1885

Chamberlayne, J. The Present State of Great Britain — London 1755

Chisholm, J.I. An association of raised beaches with glacial deposits near Leuchars, Fife. Bull.Geol.Surv.Gt.Br. 24 — 1966 163-174

Clow, A. and N.L. The Chemical Revolution — London 1952

Coles, J. The early settlement of Scotland: excavations at Morton, Fife. Proc.Prehist.Soc. 37 (2) — 1971 284-336

Colville, J. ed. Letters of John Cockburn of Ormistoun to his gardener 1727-44 S.H.S. 5 — 1904

Connolly, M.F. Fifiana, or Memorials of the East of Fife — Glasgow 1869

Cossons, A. The Turnpike Trusts of Nottinghamshire. Historical Association Leaflet 97 — 1934

Cunningham, A.S. Dysart, Past and Present — Edinburgh 1912

Cunningham, A.S. Mining in the 'Kingdom' of Fife — Dunfermline 1913

Cunningham, W. A Scottish Lairds Account Book. In: Scotland before 1700 Brown P.H. 323-343 — Edinburgh 1893

Curtis, G.R. Roads and Bridges in the Scottish Highlands: the route between Dunkeld and Inverness, 1725-1925 P.S.A.S. 110 1978-80 475-496

Davidson, J.T. The Road of the Bluidy Feet — Kirkcaldy 1942

Dean, P. and C. Passage of Time — North Queensferry 1981

Defoe, D. A Tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain 3 vols. — London 1724

Dickinson, W.C. ed. John Knox — London 1949

Donnachie, I. The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway — Newton Abbot 1971

Dorret, J. A General Map of Scotland ... from new surveys ... roads of communication or Military Ways 6 sheets Scale c. 1/300,000 — 1750

Dott, G. Early Scottish Colliery Wagon Ways — London 1947

Dowden, J. ed. The Chartulary of Lindores S.H.S. 42 — 1903

Duckham, B.F. History of the Scottish Coal Industry — Newton Abbot 1970

Duncan, J. Skeleton plan of the St Andrews district ... (with) ... turnpike and statute labour roads Scale 1/63360 — 1833

Dunn, G. Wemyss to Markinch Walk West Wemyss Environmental Education Centre — 1980

Durie, A.J. The Scottish linen industry in the eighteenth century — Edinburgh 1979

Fenton, A. Skene of Hallyard's Manuscript Ag.Hist.Rev. 11 — 1963 65-78

Fenton, A. Transport with Packhorse and Slide-car in Scotland. In: Land Transport in Europe Fenton A., Podolak J. and Rasmussen H. eds — Copenhagen 1973

Ferguson, K. A History of Glenrothes Glenrothes Development Corporation — 1982

Ferguson, J. The Law of Roads, Streets and Rights of Way in Scotland — Edinburgh 1904

Fife County Council · Fife Looks Ahead — Edinburgh 1946

Fife Regional Council — Crucial road project begins at last
Fife Line — March 1983

Flinn, M.W. British Population Growth 1700-1850 — London 1970

Foster, J. — Scottish Nationality and the Origins of Capitalism.
In: Scottish Capitalism — Dickson T. ed. — London 1980 — 19-62

Freeman, M.J. — A study of road transport development during the Industrial Revolution : southern Hampshire 1750-1850
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis
University of Southampton — 1977

Fulton, J.T. — The Roads of County Down 1600-1900: The Evolution of the Road System of an Irish County
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis
University of Belfast — 1972

Geikie, A. — The Geology of Central and Western Fife and Kinross
Mem.Geol.Surv.Gt.Br. 1900

Glasgow Pamphlet (The) — Observations on the advantages arising to the public from good roads
Attributed to Sir James Steuart of Coltness — c.1766

Goodwin, A.K. — Road Development in Ayrshire 1750-1835
Unpublished M.Litt. dissertation
University of Strathclyde — 1970

Gordon, J. — Fifae Vicecomitatus, The Sherifdome of Fyfe — Dedicated 1645
In: Novus Atlas — Blaeu W.J. ed. Vol.5 — Amsterdam 1654

Graham, A. — Archaeology on a Great Post Road
P.S.A.S. 96 — 1962-3 318-347

Graham, A. — The Military Road from Braemar to the Spittal of Glen Shee
P.S.A.S. 97 — 1963-4 226-236

Grant, I.F. — The Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603 — Edinburgh 1930

Grant, I.F. — The Economic History of Scotland — London 1934

Greene, R. and Berry, W. — A New Map of Scotland with the roads
Scale: c. 1/850,000 — Advertised 1679

Gribbon, H.D. — The History of Water Power in Ulster — Newton Abbot 1969

Grierson (Dr.) Saint Andrews — Cupar 1838

Haldane, A.R.B. The Drove Roads of Scotland — Edinburgh 1952

Haldane, A.R.B. New Ways through the Glens — London 1962

Haldane, A.R.B. Three Centuries of Scottish Posts — Edinburgh 1971

Haldane, D. and Allan, J.K. The Economic Geology of the Fife Coalfields Area 1 Dunfermline and West Fife. Mem.Geol.Surv.Gt.Br. — 1931

Hall, B. Account of the Ferry across the Tay at Dundee. Edinburgh Philosophical Journal N.S.13 — 1825 146-159

Hamilton, H. The Industrial Revolution in Scotland — Oxford 1932

Handley, J.E. The Agricultural Revolution in Scotland — Glasgow 1963

Hannay, R.J. ed. Rentale Sancti Andree 1538-1646. S.H.S. 2nd series 4 — 1913

Hay Fleming, D. ed. Register of the Kirk Session of St Andrews 1559-1600 Part 2 1559-1600. S.H.S. 7 — 1890

Headrick, J. A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus — Edinburgh 1813

Henderson, E. Annals of Dunfermline — Glasgow 1878

Hill, G.B. ed. revised Powell, L.F. Boswell's Life of Johnson 5 — Oxford 1964

Hoskins, W.G. The Making of the English Landscape — London 1955

Houston, A.M. Auchterderran, Fife: A Parish History — Paisley 1924

Inglis, H.R.G. The Roads and Bridges in the early history of Scotland. P.S.A.S. 47 — 1913 303-333

Inglis, J.C. and F. The Fordell Railway — Perth 1947

Jackman, W.T. The Development of Transportation in Modern England — Cambridge 1916

Johnson, S. See Hill, G.B.

Jusserand, J.J. English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages — London 1891

Knox, J. The Economic Geology of the Fife Coalfields: Area 3 Markinch, Dysart and Leven. Mem.Geol.Surv.Gt.Br. — 1954

Kyd, J.G. Scottish Population Statistics
S.H.S. 3rd series 44 1952

Lamont, J. Chronicle of Fife Edinburgh 1810

Landale, D. Report on the Geology of the East of Fife Coal-field with map and sections.
Prize Essays and Transactions of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland New Series 4 1837 265-348

Lang, A. St Andrews, Bushell, G.H. ed. St. Andrews 1951

Lebon, J.H.G. The face of the countryside in Central Ayrshire in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries
S.G.M. 62 (1) 1946 7-15

Lebon, J.H.G. The Process of Enclosure in the Western Lowlands
S.G.M. 62 (3) 1946 100-110

Lebon, J.H.G. The Beginnings of the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions in Ayrshire.
Collections of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society 5 1959 150-181

Lenman, B. From Esk to Tweed London 1975

Lyon, C.J. History of St Andrews 2 vols. London 1843

Lythe, S.G.E. and Butt, J. An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939 London 1975

Lythe, S.G.E. Economic Life.
In: Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century Brown J.M. ed. London 1977 66-83

Mackay, A.J.G. Fife and Kinross London 1890

Mackie, J.D. A History of Scotland London 1978

Martin, G.H. Road Travel in the Middle Ages
Journal of Transport History 1975-6 159-178

Mathieson, W.L. The Awakening of Scotland 1747-97 Glasgow 1910

McAdam, J.L. Remarks on the Present System of Road Making London 1822

Miller, R. Major-General William Roy, F.R.S.
S.G.M. 72 (2) 1956 97-100

Millman, R.N. The Making of the Scottish Landscape London 1975

Minchinton, M.E. (In review of a book on iron and steel)
Industrial Archaeology 7 1970 99

Mitchell, A. ed. Macfarlane's Geographical Collections
Vol.1
S.H.S. 51 1906

Mitchison A History of Scotland London 1970

Moir, D.G. The Roads of Scotland
2 Statute Labour Roads: The First Phase
S.G.M. 73 (1) 1957 101-110

Moir, D.G. The Roads of Scotland
2 Statute Labour Roads: The Second Phase
S.G.M. 73 (3) 1957 167-175

Moll, H. A pocket companion of ye roads of ye north part of Great Britain called Scotland
Scale: c. 1/1,800,000 1718

Moll, H. The Shires of Fife and Kinross
Scale: c. 1/300,000 1725

Morer, T. In: Early Travellers in Scotland
Brown, P.H. ed. Edinburgh 1891

Morris, A.S. The Nineteenth Century Scottish Carrier Trade: Patterns of Decline
S.G.M. 96 1980 74-82

Mowat, I. Easter Ross 1750-1850 : The Double Frontier Edinburgh 1981

National Coal Board A Short History of the Scottish Coal Mining Industry Edinburgh 1958

Nicholls, S. A New Map of North Britain or Scotland
Scale: c. 1/800,000 1710

O'Dell, A.C. Fife, with Kinross and Clackmannan.
In: Stamp, L.D. ed.
The Land of Britain Pt 30 London 1946

O'Dell, A.C. and Walton, K. The Highlands and Islands of Scotland London 1962

Pagan, W. Road Reform Edinburgh 1845 3rd edition London 1857

Parish, W.D. A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect Bexhill 1957

Parnell, H. A Treatise on Roads London 1833

Parry, M.L. and Slater, T.R. eds. The Making of the Scottish Countryside London 1980

Paterson, D. A new and accurate description of all the direct and principal cross roads in Great Britain London 1778

Pawson, E. The Development of the Turnpike Road System in the Eighteenth Century
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis
University of Oxford 1975

Pawson, E. Transport and Economy : The Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth Century Britain London 1977

Pennant, T. A Tour in Scotland — London 1776

Pryde, G.S. The Court Book of the Burgh of Kirkintilloch 1658-1694
S.H.S. 53 — 1963

Pryde, G.S. The Burghs of Scotland : a critical list — London 1965

Purvis, J. The Integration of Trees and Farming Practice
In: Mitchell, R.J. ed.
Trees in the Fife Landscape : Land Use in North East Fife — St Andrews 1980 31 - 37

Raistrick, A. Industrial Archaeology - An Historical Survey — London 1972

Ramsay, J. of Ochtertyre : See Allardyce, A. ed.

Reader, W.J. MacAdam : The McAdam family and the Turnpike Roads 1798-1861 — London 1980

Reid, M.J. (Provisional title : The Development of Turnpike Roads in Fife and Angus)
Ph.D. thesis in preparation.
University of Dundee

Rennie, J. Report respecting the proposed improvements at Pettycur and intended Ferry-Boat Harbour at Newhaven — London 1808

Rice, R.J. The glacial deposits at St Fort in North-eastern Fife
Transactions of the Edinburgh Geological Society 18 — 1961 113-123

Robertson, G. Rural Recollections — Irvine 1829

Robertson, E.S. Old St Andrews — London 1923

Robertson, T. The Limestones of Scotland
Mem.Geol.Surv.Gt.Br. 35 — 1949

Rogers, C. Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus 2 vols. — London 1879-80

Rogers, J.E.T. A History of Agriculture and Prices in England ... 1259 ... (to) 1793 — Oxford 1866-1902

Roy, W. Fair Copy drawn from the Military Survey of Scotland 1747-55
Scale : 1/36,000 — See also Miller R. (1956)

Salmond, J.B. Wade in Scotland — London 1938

Saunders, L.J. Scottish Democracy 1815-1840 : the social and intellectual background — Edinburgh 1950

Schenck, F. Plan of the Western District of Fife Turnpike and Statute Labour Roads Scale : 1/31,680 — c.1850

Scotland Delineated (Anon.) — Edinburgh 1791

Scott Bruce, W. The Railways of Fife — Perth 1980

Sharp, J. (Archbishop of St Andrews) : See Brown, P.H. (1893) 319-322

Sharp, T., Greenwood, C. and Fowler, W. Map of the Counties of Fife and Kinross Scale : 1/63360 Surveyed 1826-7 — Published 1828

Shearer, A. Burgh Records of Dunfermline in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — Dunfermline 1951

Sibbald, R. (1710) : See Adamson, L. ed. (1803)

Sinclair, J. An Account of the Systems of Husbandry adopted in the more improved districts of Scotland 2 vols. — Edinburgh 1813

Sinclair, J. General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland 4 vols. — Edinburgh 1814

Singer (Dr.) General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dumfries — Edinburgh 1812

Sissons, J.B. The Geomorphology of the British Isles : Scotland — London 1976

Skene, J. The Exposition of the termes and difficill wordes contained in the foure buikes of Regiam Majestatem — Edinburgh 1597

Skene, J. (1666) : See Fenton, A. (1963)

Slaven, A. The Development of the west of Scotland 1750-1960 — Boston 1975

Smiles, S. Lives of the Engineers — London 1904

Smith, A.M. The Forfeited Annexed Estates, 1752-1784 Unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of St Andrews — 1974

Smith, J.H. The Gordons Mill Farming Club 1758-1764 Aberdeen University Studies No. 145 — Edinburgh 1962

Smith, R.F. and Johnson, N.M. From Quarry to Abbey : An Ancient Fife Route P.S.A.S. 83 — 1948-9 162-167

Smith, S. General View of the Agriculture of Galloway — London 1810

Smout, T.C. Scottish Landowners and Economic Growth, 1650-1850
Scottish Journal of Political Economy 11-12 1964-5 218-234

Smout, T.C. and Fenton, A. Scottish Agriculture before the Improvers
Ag.Hist.Rev. 13 1965 73-90

Smout, T.C. A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 Glasgow 1969

Snoddy, T.G. Afoot in Fife Edinburgh 1950

Steel, D.I.A. The Linen Industry of Fife in the later Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis
University of St Andrews 1975

Stephen, W.M. Toll-houses of the greater Fife area.
Industrial Archaeology 4 1967 248-254

Stephen, W.M. Milestones and Wayside Markers in Fife
P.S.A.S. 100 1967-8 179-184

Stephen, W.M. A Toll-schedule at Struthers, Fife
P.S.A.S. 100 1967-8 198-199

Stephen, W.M. Industrial Archaeology of Fife 1790-1914
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis
University of Strathclyde 1975

Steuart, J. (c.1766) : See Glasgow Pamphlet

Stevensone (Mr.) (1724) Description of Beath Parish
In: Macfarlane's Geographical Collections
Mitchell, A. ed. Vol.1
S.H.S. 51 1906 302-3

Strawhorn, J.[1] An Introduction to Armstrong's Map
Collections of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society 5 1959 232-255

Taylor, C. Roads and Tracks of Britain London 1979

Taylor, G. and Skinner, A. Map of the Roads of Scotland 1777

Taylor, J. (1722) An Account of the Paroch of Abernethie in Perthshire and its situation
In: Macfarlane's Geographical Collections
Mitchell, A. ed. Vol.1
S.H.S. 51 1906 115-118

Taylor, J. (1723) Description of the Parish of Monimaill in Fife.
In: Macfarlane's Geographical Collections
Vol.1 Mitchell, A. ed.
S.H.S. 51 1906 303-304

1. Also editor of Vol.5

Taylor, W. The Military Roads of Scotland — Newton Abbot 1976

Taylour, J. (1722) A short Geographical Description of Parishes of Auchtermuchty and Collessie. In: Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, Vol.1 S.H.S. Mitchell, A. ed. 51 — 1906 296-298

Thirlwall, M.F. Implications for Caledonian plate tectonic models of chemical data for volcanic rocks of the British Old Red Sandstone J.Geol.Soc. (London) 138 — 1981 123-136

Thomson, A. The Rothes Pits 1738-53 Unpublished dissertation University of St. Andrews — 1981

Thomson, J. A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife — Edinburgh 1800

Trevelyan, G.M. A Shortened History of England — London 1942

Turnbull, G.L. Traffic and Transport — 1979

Turner, W.H.K. The Textile Industries of Dunfermline and Kirkcaldy 1700-1900 S.G.M. 73 — 1957 129-145

Turnock, D. The Historical Geography of Scotland since 1707 : Geographical Aspects of Modernisation — Cambridge 1982

Ure, D. The History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride — Glasgow 1793

Vinogradoff, P. The Growth of the Manor — London 1905

Walker, W.H. Limekilns and Passagium Reginae — Edinburgh 1929

Webb, S. and B. English Local Government : The Story of the King's Highway — London 1920

Webster, B. Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603 — Cambridge 1975

Webster, J.M. The History of Carnock (Fife) — London 1938

Whetstone, A.E. Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries — Glasgow 1981

Whittington, G.W. Landscape changes in the Vale of Monteith In: Essays in Geography for Austin Miller Whitlow, J.B. and Wood, P.D. eds. — Reading 1965 188-206

Whittington, G.W. Land Utilisation in Fife at the close of the Eighteenth Century S.G.M. 82 (3) — 1966 184-193

Whittington, G. and Whyte, I.D. eds
An Historical Geography of Scotland — London 1983

Whyte, I. Agrarian Change in Lowland Scotland in the Seventeenth Century
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis
University of Edinburgh — 1974

Whyte, I. Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland — Edinburgh 1979

Williams, L.A. Road Transport in Cumbria in the Nineteenth Century — London 1975

Wilson, G. Industrial Coal Markets in Fife 1760-1860
S.G.M. 96 — 1980 84-90

Wood, W. The East Neuk of Fife — Edinburgh 1887