

# FISHER TENEMENT DESIGN IN CELLARDYKE AND THE NORTH EAST FIFE COASTAL BURGHS 1862 - 1905

BY  
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The centuries old rivalry between Anstruther Easter and Kilrenny and Cellardyke harbours effectively ended in the early 1880s with the completion of Anstruther Union Harbour, which henceforth served as the dominant landing point for the north east Fife fishing fleets. In one important respect, however, the relationship between the burghs remained unaltered. As in earlier times the great majority of the fisher community continued to live in Cellardyke, a phenomenon commented upon in 1895, when it was noted that:

'... it is mainly by the efforts of the Cellardyke fishermen that the town of Anstruther Easter is maintained, the inhabitants thereof being merchants, fishcurers, fishsalesmen, and others, who dispose of the catch made by the fishermen, none of whom reside in Anstruther Easter' .1

One consequence of this, particularly relevant to this article, was that a steady rise in the local population, beginning in the mid nineteenth century and stemming from the revival, after a period of prolonged depression, of the Fife fishing industry,<sup>2</sup> was unevenly distributed. In 1851 there was already an appreciable discrepancy in the size of the neighbouring populations, With 2,194 inhabitants recorded in the burgh of Kilrenny and Cellardyke and 1,146 in Anstruther Easter. Thirty years later their populations had increased to 3,198 and 1,248 respectively, a rise of 46 per cent as opposed to only 8 per cent.<sup>3</sup> The resultant overcrowding of the Cellardyke housing stock was a source of repeated contemporary comment, an 1861 account describing how:

'There is scarcely requisite house accommodation for two thirds of the population, and the consequence is that many families are so huddled together that one room serves for the sleeping room of an entire family. One gentleman informs us that he this week visited a small room in which were four beds, each containing at least one occupant.'<sup>4</sup>

In the same year it was observed that in some houses

'there are to be found no less than eight individuals all living and sleeping in one apartment and these individuals composed of both sexes' .5

As these accounts suggest, population densities appear to have peaked in the 1860s when it was estimated that

'three fourths of the families of the fishermen are each compelled to live in a single room'.<sup>6</sup>

From the late 1860's onwards, however, the pressures brought to bear by a rising population were alleviated by a succession of house building programmes, the largest of which were sited on the previously unexploited farmlands extending northwards from Cellardyke's traditional landward boundaries. Proposals to develop this

area had in fact been circulated as early as the late 1850s only to be thwarted by the 'flat refusal' of the relevant land superiors to release feus for building purposes.<sup>7</sup>

The formation of a local co-operative venture, the Cellardyke Building Company, was followed by a significantly different outcome, the object of which was described in an East of fife Record report of May 1862:

'The great necessity for additional house accommodation in Cellardyke is now about to be met... in that a joint-stock company has been started to accomplish this desirable object. The company was formed in the course of the last week or two, and is composed principally of public spirited gentlemen both in Cellardyke and Anstruther. Their object is the human desire to afford house-room to the very crowded and over-grown population of Cellardyke... they propose to build a block of houses which will accommodate sixteen families... There cannot be a doubt but that the company will get than at once off their hands; for we learn that it is a fact that in Cellardyke there is not the requisite room for much more than half of the existing population'<sup>8</sup>

Land was successfully negotiated several weeks later, and the ambitious nature of the undertaking confirmed by the identity of the 'competent. party' commissioned to draw up plans; the St Andrews architect George Rae (1811-1869), whose proposals involved the creation of an entirely new thoroughfare, Ellice Street, running parallel to Toll Road and at right angles to the service road that would eventually constitute West Forth Street. The company's original intention was to 'dispose of the sites by sale to parties who (might) wish to buy them and erect the dwellings according to the plan laid down', with the qualification that 'in the event of no immediate sale the company will at once begin to build the houses and afterwards either let or sell them'.<sup>9</sup> No acceptable offers to purchase the plots seem to have been made for in December 1862 the company sought estimates for the building of numbers. 5 and 7 (Plate 1), which were to constitute the only dwellings erected as part of the original Ellice Street development.<sup>10</sup>

The failure to either sell the sites as building plots or to erect more than two of the projected sixteen houses on its own initiative, at a time when the demand for accommodation was considerable, suggests that the scheme, ironically, aimed to provide a standard of housing that the fishermen of Cellardyke could not afford. Significantly the two houses, when completed in March 1863, were described as being 'of a much better class for fishermen than have hitherto been in existence'<sup>11</sup> drawing praise as having been 'planned by a skilled architect' who had 'carefully studied the convenience and comforts of the future occupants'.<sup>12</sup> 'Comfort' was catered for by the provision of five apartments, in addition to a large garret and cellarage space. The arrangement was greeted enthusiastically:

'Instead of a family, male and female, all crowding in one apartment, these houses are so designed as to supply several apartments to the same family, and may thus be the means of promoting better habits of decency and order than, we are sorry to learn have hitherto been in practice...' <sup>13</sup>

While their spaciousness undoubtedly placed the houses beyond the means of the great majority of the fisher community, it was this very quality, coupled with an intelligent, and alternative, solution to the traditional problem of net and tackle storage, that established Rae's design as a model that was to determine the form of terraced fishermen's houses and tenements erected in Cellardyke throughout the ensuing quarter century.

Until the 1860s the great majority of fishermen's houses in Cellardyke had conformed to a low, barely two-storeyed arrangement dismissed by Gourlay (1879) as amounting to 'little more than a smoke begrimed cot'<sup>14</sup> that Whittingdon (1967) has suggested was a local modification of a 'basic single-storeyed, two roomed, two

windowed' dwelling type, the Scottish 'but and ben'.<sup>15</sup> In such dwellings it was customary for the living space to be situated on the upper floor and reached by an external forestairs, while the all-important fishing gear was stored below in a basement cellar, a room half sunk below street level. The external and internal arrangement of the Ellice Street houses departed from this format in a number of important respects.



Plate 1. Numbers 5 and 7 (now 3 and 4) Ellice Street, Cellardyke



Plate 2. Fisher tenements, East Forth Street, Cellardyke, 1908  
(Scottish Fisheries Museum)

Firstly, Rae's design exploited a higher quality of construction, with street elevations of squared as opposed to random rubble sandstone. It was also significantly taller, rising through two full storeys surmounted by a spacious attic, or more correctly, garret · area. Each house was served by an internal stairway, thereby conforming to the policies of the Kilrenny and Cellardyke Police Commissioners, who had campaigned relentlessly against the provision of outside stairs.<sup>16</sup>

By far the most significant feature of Rae's design was, nevertheless, tile prominent role, visual as well as

utilitarian, assigned to the garret, which was new adapted for the repair and storage of fishing gear. Towards this end a gabled dormer was provided for each house, flush with the street elevation and serviced by a hoist.<sup>17</sup> The effect was to turn what had formerly comprised an irregularly occurring feature of north east Fife fishing dwellings into a standard element of design. With only a small number of exceptions, Cellardyke tenement arrangements of the post 1862 period made use of the idea which, when it re-emerged in the later 1860s and 1870s was in the hands, not of an architect, but members of the local building community.

Following the failure of the Ellice Street speculation, building activity focused instead on the neighbouring thoroughfares of East Forth Street (c1867-9)<sup>18</sup> and West Forth Street (1872-3).<sup>19</sup> Both developments adhered to Rae's two storey arrangement with garret, simplified dormer and sliding hoist, adding a small paved and walled area, sited at the front, for the temporary depositing of nets.<sup>20</sup> (Plate 2) In contrast to the Ellice Street houses these slightly later arrangements were designed to accommodate two families and therefore constituted tenements proper,<sup>21</sup> hence the introduction of a doored close, a traditional tenement feature that had not figured in Rae's designs. Running through the entire depth, of the building this gave access to ground and, via a rear stairway, to first floor two roomed flats as well as permitting unobstructed access to the back courtyard area, where additional storage accommodation was provided.

Aimed at a broader sector of the Cellardyke population than their Ellice predecessors, the Forth Street tenements still constituted a distinctly superior level of working class accommodation, and were described as such in the local press.<sup>22</sup> The conventions of profit sharing adhered to by the north Fife herring boats are worth referring to at this point, notably the distinction drawn between full crew members contributing both labour and fishing gear and who received two shares in the catch profits, and those who contributed their labour only, and were thus restricted to a single share as 'half deals men'.<sup>23</sup> It was clearly the former group that the East and West Forth Street dwellings, with their generous provision of gear storage space, sought to attract. This contrasted with a smaller, if sizeable sequence, of three storey tenements erected a quarter of a mile to the east, along Dove Street (numbers 4-14, 1862-69) which, arranged on a one and two apartment basis, but lacking additional working areas, can be seen to have constituted the only serious nineteenth century attempt to meet the housing requirements of the least prosperous sector of the Cellardyke fishing community.<sup>24</sup>

Variations in dormer heights and window mouldings suggest that responsibility for the Forth Street tenements was shared between at least three builders. Only one of these can be identified with certainty, the monumental sculptor turned builder Alexander Wallace, who was active in both developments, subsequently repeating the formula in a number of gap site speculations, notably numbers 30-32 Janes Street (1885).<sup>25</sup> Wallace's possibly vital contribution to the evolution of Cellardyke tenement design is suggested by his involvement in the much larger and more systematic exercise in the formula that followed before the end of the 1870s, eventually forming the Rodger Street/Fowler Street inter-connection, sited immediately to the north of the Ellice Street houses and developed piecemeal over a nine year period. Despite the time scale involved, these tenements constituted an exceptionally unified and coherent development, with each building conforming to the requirements of a common feuing plan drawn up by the Kirkcaldy civil engineer John Sang.<sup>26</sup> The plan itself, to which the public were given access in mid-December 1876, was augmented by a letter of January 1877 in which the land superior, Admiral Charles Henry Bethune, laid down the conditions that prospective vassals and housebuilders were bound to follow:

'... the houses to be built with mutual gables and division walls, and placed 10' back from the line of' the street and footpaths of channel and curb, and the roadway to be made by the feuars; the houses not to exceed two storeys in height, and to be built of stones with slates; and not to be used for any purpose other than dwelling houses and sale shops, the carrying on of any obnoxious trade being prohibited; drains to be submitted to Admiral Bethune, so as to ensure the erection of a good class of house'.<sup>27</sup>

The basic arrangement eventually adopted standardised the design type already introduced in the East and West Forth Street developments. When, in December 1876, it was first announced that Bethune was to feu land at the rate of £20 per acre, specific reference was made to just such a model: 'a feu for a fisherman's house such as those at present erected in East Forth Street, will only be about 30s a year'.<sup>28</sup>

The sites eventually taken up formed only a proportion of those originally envisaged by Sang's plan, which made provision for seventy-four building plots, forty-four of which were subsequently developed. Construction began in March 1877 when the Cellardyke builder, Thomas Brown, commenced work on three plots, thus initiating the development of the west side of Rodger Street.<sup>29</sup> The first of these was assigned to a self-contained corner house, but the remainder were devoted to two family tenements, with two rooms to each family unit, a layout described by Gourlay (1879) who explained how:

'Each house is divided into two distinct properties, consisting of a ground floor and upper storey, with a lofty attic, specially designed for the repair and storage of sea gear. The section being 26' within the walls, is further divided into an inner and outer room for the action of the family, who have the further convenience of a front area, 10' wide, fenced by a low wall, or parapet, with cellars in the rear, and a garden filling up the feu, which, in this way, is 20' in width by 150' in length. Here, then, on the once silent field a cheerful and busy street is seen to have a place, with groups of happy children dancing all day long in the sweetness and music of the sunbeam•.3°

Garret dormers were inserted to front and rear. Although a small number of fixed external rear hoists were secured, the most favoured expedient was again found in sliding dormer beams, at least one of which survives (Plate 3). Water was secured via courtyard pumps, representing an advance on generally prevailing conditions in Cellardyke and the Anstruthers, where privately owned wells continued to meet the needs of the majority of the population until the early years of the new century. As in East and West Forth Streets a ground floor hallway led from front to rear, providing access to a courtyard and sheds



Plate 3. Sliding garret hoist, Number 4 Rodger Street, Cellardyke

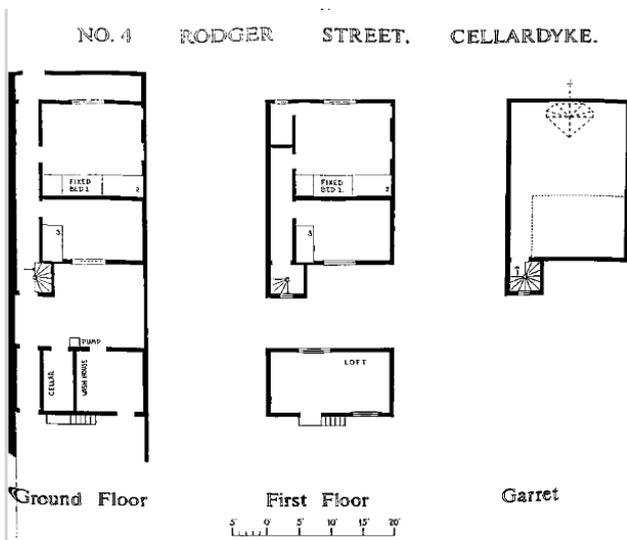


Plate 4. Plan, Number 4 Rodger Street, Cellardyke

The latter, leading in turn to a shared garden area, was arranged on a two storey basis with the upper level assigned to gear storage, the lower to sinks, coal cellarge and back boiler (Plate 4). Contrasting with their Forth Street predecessors, and reflecting the local prosperity of the 1870s and early 1880s, the majority of the Rodger Street tenements operated as partial, as opposed to full, letting investments. In these circumstances the tenement owner invariably occupied the upper flat, which must have been quieter, possessed additional accommodation in the form of a front room closet, and frequently enjoyed the advantage of a bedroom extension into the garret area, to which the term 'attic' was exclusively reserved.<sup>31</sup>

On April 5, 1878 the Pittenweem plasterer, Robert Williamson, secured a feu for a 'double house' on the east side of Rodger Street.<sup>32</sup> The buildings subsequently erected on this side of the development (Plate 5) differed from Brown's tenements only in detail, with more elaborate window and door margins and gutters supported by ornate cast iron brackets. Their uniformity suggests that all were the work of one building firm, and it seems likely that Williamson was the responsible party.<sup>33</sup> Work on the remaining west side tenements developed at approximately the same time, involving Wallace, Williamson and probably Brcwn.<sup>34</sup> Slight variations in tenement heights, masonry bondings and internal arrangements confirm their uneven progression, never extending to more than four tenements at a time. The majority were completed by 1883 when a carved datestone was placed in the gable of the east side's northernmost building, a corner shop.<sup>35</sup>

Eleven tenements were erected in adjoining Fowler Street, completed in a relatively short period (1885-6) and shared between the Anstruther builder James Henderson and Robert Williamson, with the latter working in co-operation with his brother-in-law, the Pittenweem master joiner, William Lunsden.<sup>36</sup>



Plate 5. Rodger Street, Cellardyke, viewed from the south, c1900 (Scottish Fisheries Museum)

Prices secured ranged from £340 to £360, and all were sold to fishermen. The still ragged gable to number 2 Fowler Street confirms that a northern extension to Rodger Street was still projected in the mid 1880s. Although this part of Sang's plan was never in fact realised, a still impressive total of forty-two tenements were erected between 1871 and 1886, constituting by far the largest nineteenth century housing development in the north east Fife coastal burghs. Well before the latter date the now thoroughly standardised formula had found wider application, at first in St Monans (numbers 23-33 Forth Street, 1881), 37 slightly later in Pittenweem (numbers 55-65 Abbey Walk, 1884), the latter a speculation by James Henderson, 38 whose contribution to the Cellardyke Fowler Street programme has already been noted.

The years 1885 to 1894 constituted a period of virtually unrelieved depression for the north east Fife fishing fleets, the consequences of which were particularly acute in Cellardyke where a wholesale laying off of crews in the winter of 1885 39 was followed by the institution of soup kitchens, listed as serving five 'hungry and destitute' families in the winter of 1886-7.40 A decline in population, from 3,198 in 1881 to 1,998 in 1891, was accompanied by a rise in the number of unoccupied dwellings, from 21 to 82.41 By 1885 property prices had collapsed and domestic building starts had all but been brought to a halt.42 Presumably in response to this situation Alexander Wallace, previously one of the burgh's most active building contractors, left Cellardyke in 1886, setting up in business in Kirkcaldy, where the building market remained buoyant.43 Recovery, gradual at first, was more or less complete by 1899 when catches and prices rivalled the peak years of the late 1870s and early 1880s. 44. Although comparatively short-lived, ending with a catastrophic collapse in 'fish landings between 1908 and 1912, the boom was sufficiently deep-rooted to sustain a further phase of tenement building which now focused on George Terrace, St Monans, where twenty-nine tenements based on a simplified version of the Cellardyke format were erected from 1900 onwards, promoted by a small group of local land holders working in association with the Lumsden/Williamson partnership and, introducing variations in the position of the great gable dormers, yet another Cellardyke builder, John Clark.45

More were undoubtedly planned. The vigorous promotion of a cottage terrace speculation on an adjoining site may, however, have constituted a significant inhibiting factor, particularly as the cottages sold well, representing a 'new departure' from what could now be described in unmistakably derogatory terms, as 'the stereotyped style of tenement fishermen's houses'.46 Whatever the reason no attempt was made to Perpetuate the formula, which ended in 1905 with the completion of the last of the George Terrace tenements and the decision, three years later, to assign the speculation's remaining plots to cottage units.47

## Footnotes

1. East of Fife Record, 22 Feb 1895, p 2
2. The consequences of which are described by Gourlay, 'in living memory only two fishermen dwelt in [James] Street to the westward of the Burgh Cross .. or in a section of the town where more than one hundred sea faring families are accommodated today', G Gourlay, Fisher Life; or the Memorials of Cellardyke and the Fife Coast, (Cupar 1879) p 150
3. Census of Scotland - 1861, Population Tables and Report, Vol 1 (Edinburgh 1862), pp 44,46; the eighth Decennial census of the Population of Scotland, Vol 1 (Edinburgh 1882) pp 44,47
4. East of Fife Record, 5 Oct 1861, P 2
5. Ibid, 16 Nov 1861, p 2
6. Ibid, 8 Feb 1862, p 2. The same source continues, 'we are told sometimes that the state of morality is low in Cellardyke. However true this may be ... we would ask how it can be otherwise, when families of seven and eight individuals, some of them grown up sons and daughters, are compelled to eat, live, and sleep in the apartment'.
7. Ibid, 16 Nov 1861, p 2. For the advertisements of" the Experience Investment Society of Edinburgh ('Let a new town engirdle the present old town ... east, west and north, feus without limit can'-obtained'). See.Ibid, 4 May 1857, p2 and 3 Nov 1860, p 1
8. Ibid 3 Hay 1862, p 2
9. Ibid, 3 May 1862, p 2 and 21 Mar 1863, p 2
10. Ibid, 20 Dec 1862, p 1
11. Ibid, 21 Mar 1863, p 2

12. Ibid 1, p 1

13 Ibid, p 2

14. Gourlay, op cit, p 150

15. G Whittington, 'The Impact of Former Occupations and the Improver Movement on House Types in Fife' *Journal of the Society for Folk Life Studies*, Vol 5 (1967) p 54

16. As many as fifty or which were removed as part of a process of civil improvement in the period leading up to 1879, (Gourlay, op cit, p 150). The Kilrenny and Cellardyke Police Commissioners Minutes for 1 Jun 1863 record the lengthy negotiations surrounding the removal or one such 'projection', dismantled at a cost of: £25 compensation to the proprietor, a Mr Pringle.

17. Which survived in number 7 (now number 3) Ellice Street until 1985 when the interiors of the dwelling were stripped of their original furnishings.

18. The, 'great increase of carting traffic... brought along Forth Street' is noted in Kilrenny and Cellardyke Burgh Council Minutes, Vol 5, pp 22-30 (17 Feb 1868). See also the Kilrenny and Cellardyke Police Commissioners Minutes (10 Feb 1868). The buildings 'in course of erection' along East Forth Street are described in some detail in the East of Fife Record, 20 Mar 1868, p 2. Some at least of a sequence of front page advertisements in the same journal seeking tenders for unspecific areas of house building in Cellardyke, presumably relate to this programme. Seven appeared between 1867 and 1869, placed by James Morris (19 Apr 1867); 11 Oct 1867; 26 Feb 1869), Hugh Birrel & Son (5 Jun 1868; 29 Jan and 14 May 1869) and John Montadore (10 May 1867).

19. Numbers 34/36 and 28/30 West Forth Street being the dates 1872 and 1873 respectively. The progress of work is described in the East of Fife Record, 24 May 1872, p 2.

20. M Hurray, *In My Ain Words: An East Neuk Vocabulary* (Dundee 1982), p 7

21. Eight, 'new houses... at present finishing' in West Forth Street were thus described as providing, 'additional accommodation ... for 16 families', East of Fife Record, 24 May 1872, p 2. Their East Forth Street predecessors were similarly described as 'flatted', Ibid, 20 Mar 1868, p 2.

22. As 'excellent and commodious houses' Ibid, 4 Jun 1869, P 2, 'handsome building ... constructed in the most approved style' possessing 'every household accommodation', .ibid., 20 Mar 1868, p 2.

Population densities nevertheless remained relatively high, with sixty-two occupants and twelve families recorded as inhabiting the six East Forth Street tenements in 1871, *Census of Scotland 1871: Kilrenny Burgh*, pp 44-7).

23. Described in P Anson, *Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk in East Coast Scotland* (London 1930) p 98. For the Scottish 'share' system is general, see P Thompson (with T Wailey and T Lurnmis), *Living the Fishing* (London 1983), pp 58, 61-2, 157, 231, 211-6

24. East of Fife Records 21 Sep 1861, p 1; 1 May 1879, p 2; 4 June 1869, p 2

25. Wallace is described as 'at present finishing 4 new houses [in] West Forth Street' in the East of Fife Record, 24 May 1872, p 2. His contribution to both 'forth Streets' is cited in his obituary, Ibid. 1 Apr 1898, p 4. For his building contracting work in James Street, see Ibid, 25 Sep 1885, p 2; 9 Oct 1885, p 1; 17 Sep 1 886, p 2.

See above footnote 18 for the possible identity of other builders involved.

26. East of Fife Record, 1 Sep 1876, p 2. Gourlay, op cit, p 151 refers incorrectly to him as 'Mr Saig'.

27. East of Fife Record, 15 Dec 1876, p 2; 12 Jan 1877, p 2

28. Ibid, 29 Dec 1876, p 2. One product of standardisation was the emergence of a descriptive vocabulary, restricted to the Forth/Rodger/Fowler Street tenements. Hurray, op cit, p 7, lists two such terms: 'brick' (the walled and paved area to the front of the tenements) and 'through-gan' (passageway beneath the rear storage loft, leading from courtyard to garden). The word 'transe', denoting the ground floor hallway running from front to rear, was apparently employed by the inhabitants of Rodger Street alone.

29. East of Fife Record, 30 Mar 1877, p 2. The Kilrenny and Cellardyke Police Commissioners Minutes, 17 Apr 1877 record the decision 'to name the New Street... north of Ellice Street, now in progress of being built, Rodger Street'.

30. Gourlay, ~. P 152

31 Murray, ~. p 1 0; Record of the Register of Scotland (Sasines), Fife, Vol 22, p 12317. Ownership of the tenement number 22 East Forth Street (1869) was thus shared between John Martin, merchant, Robert Watson, grocer and Robert Brown, fisherman (all of Cellardyke), none of whom is listed as an occupant in the 1871 census. Reaffirming the trend encapsulated by the Rodger Street properties, this tenement was purchased for his own occupancy by a fisherman, William Watson, in 1877, subsequently operating as a family house, with his son, James Watson (also a fisherman) residing in the lower flat, Register of Sasines, Fife, Vol 3, pp 2136-7. Self-contained flats were sometimes purchased independently, as in the case of number 31 Rodger Street (1885) which was shared between James Dick, fisherman and Janet Boyter, spinster, necessitating a strict demarcation of the courtyard and cellarge areas (Register of Sasines, Fife, Vol 9, p 5729). Although the majority

of Rodger Street properties now operate as one family units a sizeable minority continue to be divided along traditional lines, with the lower flat assigned to rented accommodation.

32. Title deeds in the possession of the present proprietor, number 10 Badger Street, Cellardyke (Mr o Smith). Williamson's early negotiations with Bethune are described in the East of Fife Record, 8 Feb 1878, p 2.

33. He advertised a 'new house' in Rodger Street in, ~. 2 May 1884, p 1.

34. Wallace is described as one of the Rodger Street builders in .ibid, 1 Apr 1898, p 4. Records of the Registers of Scotland (Sasines), Fife, Vol 9, p 5729

35. The Minutes of Kilrenny and Cellardyke Police Commissioners (Vol 6) provide an approximate guide to the progress of work, recording decisions relative to the provision of pavements (29 Apr 1878), main drain and cess pools (1 June 1881) and final road surface (7 Feb 1884).

36. East of Fife Record, 11 Sept 1885, p 2; 2 Oct 1885, p 3; 30 Oct 1885, p 3; 13 Nov 1885, p 3

37. Title deeds in the possession of the present proprietor, number 25 Forth Street (Hrs B Neale). The speculation was George Sommers 'carter', and the purchaser Willian Gowans, 'fishennan'. The ground to the north, south and west of the new building 'was described as' still belonging to Sommers. The property on the site to the east (number 27 Forth Street) had already been sold, to a John Leslie.

38. Pittenweem Burgh Council Minute Book, Vol 9, pp 838-40, 842. East of Fife Record, 14 Mar 1884, p 3; 21 Mar 1884, p 3; 9 Hay 1884, p 3 and St Andrews Citizen, 6 Sep 1884, p 8. The contrasting cost of feus in north east Fife is commented upon by Gourlay, op - cit 151-2 who cites Cellardyke, West Anstruther and St Monans (£20 an acre) and the much cheaper Pittenweem (£ 12 an acre). Henderson's ground was secured in accordance with precisely this figure, amounting to £1.10.1d, Pittenweem Burgh Council Minute Book, Vol 9, p 845).

39. East of Fife Record, 1 Jan 1886, p 2; 22 Jul 1887, p 3; 30 Dec 1887, p 2

40 Ibid 6 May 1 1887 1 p 2

41. Ninth and tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, Vol 1 (Edinburgh 1882), p 211 and Vol 1 (1892), p 47

42. The East of Fife Record observing that it was 'impossible to sell houses at a reasonable rate... several properties are said to have changed hands at a discount of 50 per cent and more on the price not so long ago', 4 Oct 1889, p 2.

43. Ibid 1 Apr 1893, p 4

44. The recovery of catches is described in ibid 14 Feb 1902, p 4; 2 Jan 1903, p 2; 25 Dec 1903, p 2. The annual landings totals for Anstruther District between 1855 and 1904 are listed in ibid 24 Feb 1905, p 5.

45. The relevant speculations are identified as Robert Marr, Andrew Scott, David Smith, Robert Tenat and 'Miss Sommers', presumably a relation of George Sommers, former proprietor of the neighbouring Forth Street site (see above footnote 37), Minute Book of St. Andrews District Committee of County Council, Vol 111, pp 42, 68,75, 214. The progress of work is recorded in the East of Fife Record, 22 Jun 1900, p 4; 27 Dec 1901, p 5; 5 Sep 1902, P 4; 18 Sep 1903, p 4. Extra information supplied by Mr George Cathcart, Cellardyke.

46. The cottages (twelve in all) comprise Miller Terrace. East of Fife Record, 21 Feb 1902, p 4; 26 Sep 1902, p 4; 4 Oct 1907, P 4

47. Ibid., 31 Dec 1908, p 1