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TOLLS and TACKSMEN

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ROADS IN THE COUNTY OF JOHN LOUDON McADAM

David McClure

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David McClure has held posts as manager and director in pharmaceutical and biotechnology companies. In 1992 he set out on a new course, which has taken him into graphic design and business consultancy, as well as down some old Ayrshire roads. He has lived in Ayr for twenty-one years, but having worked outside the town for most of them, he is accustomed to being known locally as Sue McClure's husband.

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TOLLS AND TACKSMEN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ROADS IN THE COUNTY OF JOHN LOUDON McADAM

BEFORE THE ROAD ACT

Ambrose Bierce¹ defined a road as:

A strip of land along which one may pass from where it is too tiresome to be to where it is futile to go.

And a strip of land is just what roads were for most of the 18th Century, without any prepared, hard-wearing surface or satisfactory provision for drainage. They were in a deplorable condition and a great impediment to travel, even over short distances. There was scarcely a yard of made road in the county, although according to Rev. Dr George Lawrie³, minister of the parish of Loudoun, John Campbell 4th Earl of Loudoun began making roads as early as 1733, and he credited him with the first made road in Ayrshire. In 1768, Alexander Montgomerie of Coylfield⁴ summed up the current situation:

[Ayrshire is] the most forward of any [county] in Scotland for every other sort of improvement, but with respect to the roads the most backward of all, indeed shamefully so, most, if not all of the great roads leading through it being next to impassable for six months in the year⁵.

The first legislation upon road maintenance in Scotland was an act of 1617, which gave this responsibility to the newly created Justices of the Peace. They were empowered to order the mending of all highways and passages to and from any market town or seaport within the shire and to take charge of the roads from towns to parish churches. This was followed up in a 1669 act, which provided for the appointment of overseers in each parish, and the use of statute labour, compulsory labour on the roads by tenants and cottars on six days a year⁶. After the Union of Parliaments in 1707, the firstAct of the Parliament of Great Britain for highways in Scotland came in 1718⁷.

What impact did the 1718 Act, and preceding Scots Acts, really make? According to Whetstone⁸, even by the 1750s few counties were taking

effective action. The use of statute labour was ineffective. The tenants and cottars turned out resentfully because they were unpaid, worked badly, and were supervised by inexperienced overseers who often had no greater interest than the labourers in the results of the work.

Since the Justices of the Peace had legal powers, they were theoretically in a position to enforce statute labour, and to secure the services of men as surveyors and overseers. But there are no records surviving of the Justices of the Peace for the county to indicate their diligence in these matters. We are left with Whetstone's general assessment of a widespread lack of achievement, and the consistent impression given by contemporary reports, that the roads were in a very poor state.

The Commissioners of Supply took responsibility for bridges. They had tax-raising powers, very necessary because the construction and maintenance of bridges called for the skilled work of masons, and could not be left to the hazards of unskilled and unpaid labour. In the course of levying the rate or cess for central government, they were able to levy an additional rate for "bridges and other uses". In 17559 in Ayrshire this was 10s Scots for each £100 Scots¹⁰ of valued rent, which would yield £958:0:6 Scots (£79:16:8½) of bridge money. The rate had increased to £1:10:0 Scots by 1774¹¹, where it remained until the end of the century¹²; this yielded £2874:1:6 Scots (£239:10:1½).

At the land tax meetings (usually held on 30th April each year), the commissioners would hear petitions for bridge repairs or the construction of new bridges, and they would allocate such sums of money as they saw fit. The bridge over the Doon at Alloway was to merit their attention. The earliest record in the commissioners' minute book of the necessity of repairing this bridge is dated 9th August 1713¹³, when it was estimated that it would cost £1140 Scots (£95). On 30th April 1778 William Crawford of Doonside¹⁴ requested £400 for a substantial repair to the bridge; they allowed £350¹⁵. Despite the division of responsibility, there would not have been any difficulty in coordinating their activities, because the Commission of the Peace and the Commission of Supply were drawn from the same population of landowners, and in many instances the same individuals served in both capacities, regarding the offices as perquisites of their rank. The one notable exception was that of the peerage. The earls, such as Dumfries, Eglinton, Loudoun and Cassillis, were ineligible for the Commission of Supply.

A turnpike act gave a group of people the right to put a gate across a road and to charge travellers for passing through it. In return they were

expected to maintain the road in a satisfactory condition. The first English turnpike act was passed in 1663, the second in 1695 and acts became frequent in the eighteenth century¹⁶. The first similar act in Scotland in 1713¹⁷ concerned Edinburgh bridges and highways. The second came in 1750¹⁸ and was described briefly as being for Edinburgh and Leith roads. Similar acts followed, including those for roads between Stirling, Falkirk and Edinburgh (1752); Strathaven, Hamilton and Glasgow (1753); and a road between the counties of Dumfries and Roxburgh (1764).

The Ayrshire Commissioners of Supply first considered a road bill for the county on 2nd May 1758. Presumably discussions continued (there are no surviving minutes from 1758 until 1774). Eventually, in January 1767, an advertisement appeared in the *Glasgow Journal*, calling the gentlement of the county to a meeting¹⁹:

At the desire of many of the nobility and gentry of Ayr, Sir Thomas Wallace Convener, acquaints all concerned, That there is to be a meeting held at Ayr, on Tuesday the 6th January, to take into consideration a proposal for applying to parliament for a turnpike act, to make the principal roads through the county.

Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie had also been Convener of the Commissioners of Supply at the time of the 1758 meeting. A further advertisement appeared a fortnight later²⁰:

Ayr 6th January 1767

The Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Shire, Convened here in consequence of an Advertisement in the paper, having subscribed a petition to parliament for leave to bring in a bill for amending the principal roads in the shire, creating of Turnpikes, and levying a Toll for defraying the expence thereof, adjourned their meeting to Wednesday the 4th of February next, when the form of the Bill will be laid before the meeting, of which all the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Heritors of the said Shire, are hereby advertised, that they may be present at Ayr said Day.

There are no more entries in the *Journal* tracking the progress of the bill. Public records take up the story with the opening of the minute book of the trustees at their first meeting, held in Ayr on 14th July 1767²¹.

THE 1767 AYR ROAD ACT

According to Alpert²² most of the English turnpike acts were for short stretches of road, or for pieces of road emanating from a single point with a small aggregate mileage. The early Scottish acts were not dissimilar, though their mileages may have been greater. The Ayr Road Act, however, was for an entire county. While 'ts provisions for turnpiking were similar to the preceding acts, it contained an important new feature: the conversion of statute labour into a tax. The act restricted application of conversion money to the 24 roads it contained. All other roads in the county, the parish roads, were left without any public provision for improvement and maintenance.

This first Ayrshire Road Act (7 Geo. III, c.106) was defined as "An Act for repairing and widening several Roads leading from the Town of Ayr, and other Roads therin mentioned in the County of Ayr", and made the following provisions:

It named 24 roads (Table 1) The total length, after allowance for common sections, was 255 miles.

It named 135 trustees and specified their qualifications²³. These were that they be the proprietor or life-renter of lands in the county having a valuation of at least £200 Scots per annum; or the heir apparent to such a person; or the Provost of the burgh of Ayr, the Provost of the burgh of Irvine; or the eldest Baillie of the town of Kilmarnock. Peers were eligible to be trustees²⁴.

It set tolls which could be applied on the roads (Tables 1 and 2) and permitted the erection of gates, both on the turnpike roads and on side roads.

It permitted the raising of capital by subscription, for which toll income could be pledged as security.

It stipulated that the first meeting should be held on Tuesday 14th July 1767, with subsequent meetings to be set by adjournment.

It allowed conversion of statute labour "for such sums annually as to the said trustees shall seem reasonable", and the appointment of collectors.

It provided for setting up milestones.

Further provisions regulated the management of the affairs of the trustees, allowing them to appoint salaried officers, set up district sub-committees,

and exact penalties from toll defaulters.

The roads are sketched in the centrefold map. The following points may be noted:

THE 1767 AYR ROAD ACT

The road from Ayr to Dalmellington was not included in the act. Road 24 is Irvine by Stair bridge to Dalmellington.

The road from Ayr towards Edinburgh was by Mauchline, Sorn and Muirkirk.

The Ayr to Cumnock road was the road towards Sanquhar and Dumfries. The road from Cumnock to Muirkirk was not included. There are no roads in the act south of the Doon (i.e. in Carrick).

Although 135 trustees were named in the act, not counting the two provosts and one baillie, the attendance at this meeting numbered 17. This suggests that most of those nominally involved were apathetic, not galvanised with the spirit of enterprise which is supposed to accompany great ventures. Of the 259 meetings held under the first and second Ayr Road Acts, from 14th July 1767 to 7th January 1805, only 8 of the named trustees managed to attend 50 or more, while 49 did not show up at a single meeting. For most of those 38 years there was a core of active trustees (Table 3) including some not named in the first act, membership necessarily changing as financial circumstances, infirmity or death removed some, and succession brought in other, younger men. It did not matter if only seven trustees (the quorum) attended a meeting if they were all interested in pursuing the business in hand.

At this first general meeting they appointed a committee to determine a suitable line for the road from Ayr to Kilmarnock and to estimate the expense of making it, and appointed James Lambert, gardener at Kilmarnock, as surveyor to the committee. The members of the committee were requested to "report their opinions" to the next meeting, which was set for 20th August 1767.

They also decided to advertise the next meeting in the *Glasgow Journal* in the following terms:

That at the first General Meeting of the Trustees for putting in execution an act passed in the last session of Parliament, for the better repairing of the principal high roads in the county of Ayr, they adjourned themselves to Thursday the 20th day of August next, and appointed the same to be intimated, that all commissioners of supply of the said county, and every heritor of two hundred pounds Scots, of valued rent, may attend the meeting at Ayr the said day.

Their second meeting was attended by 35 trustees, more than twice the attendance of the first. They appointed 21 road committees for the 24 roads in the act. One committee was responsible for 3 roads (nos. 20, 21 and 22), another for 2 (nos. 16 and 17), while the remainder each had a single road. These were large committees, most with about 30 members of whom 5 constituted a quorum. They were instructed:

at their first or any after meeting to name their own convener²⁵ [their first convener being named here], and inspect or cause to be inspected the said roads, and to report to a General Meeting the state and condition thereof, what alterations should be made thereon, with plans and estimates of the sum or sums of money necessary to make and repair the same.

The principle applied was that committee members should have "a connection with the ground through which the road should pass" ²⁶. The committees were required to keep a record of their business, but the minute books of only two committees are available today (excluding the Carrick committee which was not formed until after the 1774 act). These are for Road 18 (Kilmarnock by Mauchline to Old Cumnock); and Roads 3, 4 and 5, whose members chose to have combined meetings²⁷ (Irvine by Stewarton towards Pollock, Irvine to Saltcoats and Irvine to Kilmarnock).

General meetings were more frequent in the early years, and produced more voluminous minutes than subsequently, for two reasons:

Descriptions of road lines were of necessity lengthy. In later years, when lines had been established and were no longer subject to dispute or revision, these lengthy contributions ceased.

The committees were given more power to act without reporting to the general meeting, which set guidelines for them to follow²⁸ and ruled in the event of disputes.

By the act of 1669 of the Scots Parliament, highways had to be at least 20 feet wide, and this was still the legal width in 1767. In 1771 the trustees ruled that henceforth no public road in the act was to be made less than 30 feet across clear of dykes and ditches.

The trustees and their surveyors had the authority under the 1767 act to:
make, or cause to be made, Causeways, and cut and make
Drains through the Grounds lying contiguous to the said Roads;
and to make or erect Arches or Bridges of Brick, Timber, or
Stone: And ... if they find any of the aforesaid Roads not of a
sufficient Breadth, according to the Rule and Standard
established in Scotland, to widen and extend the Breadth of

such Roads to the legal Standard; and where it shall appear necessary to alter the Situation of the said Roads altogether, or to widen the said Roads to a Breadth beyond the present legal Standard ... not exceeding fourteen yards; and for that purpose to pull down and demolish any house or Building, whose Side Walls shall not exceed Twelve feet in height, and to remove any other obstructions: And ... to make such Ditch or Ditches, Trench or Trenches, as the said Surveyor or Surveyors shall judge necessary for the draining, amending, and repairing the roads aforesaid ...

They made full use of these powers, as when on 7th September 1768, the committee on the road from Ayr by Mauchline, Sorn and Muirkirk to the county line (no. 12) said in their survey that it:

should run from the cross of Mauchline by the passage leading from the house on the east end of the town belonging to William Gibb to the high way that goes through the place where the public horse market is kept, opposite to which house belonging to William Gibb is a house belonging to John Peden. That so much of said Peden's house should be taken down as to make the high way at that place sixteen foot wide, and so much of the east end of Wm Gibb's house should also be taken down as make the high way between John Peden's office houses sixteen foot wide, and that the passage from that to the foresaid market place be twenty foot wide from Wm. Gibb's hedge along the south side of that passage by purchasing the ground or yards on the north side for making that passage.

They were also authorised to obtain materials for making the roads: to open Stone Quarries, dig, gather, take, and carry away, any Stones, Gravel, Furze, Heath, Sand, or other Materials, out of any Waste or Common in the said County, without paying any thing for the same ...

under the condition that they had to level any pits or holes they created.

They were allowed to take materials from private grounds, paying an amount of damages to be settled by five or more trustees living in the neighbourhood. They were prohibited from taking materials from certain grounds:

whereon any houses stand, nor a Garden, Orchard, Yard, planted Walk or Walks, or Avenue to any House, nor any Piece or Parcel of Ground set apart and used as a Nursery for Trees ...

What the act did not set out was how such materials were to be employed, or how the roads should be constructed. And breadth apart, there was no legal standard. It should be remembered that when the act was passed, John Loudon McAdam was only ten years old, and it was not until the next century that people would speak of "macadamised" roads. Their first recorded specification occurs in the second general meeting (20th August 1767) and concerns the Ayr to Kilmarnock road. This meeting was chaired by the 4th Earl of Loudoun, whose early road-making was mentioned above. They determined that the road should be:

thirty feet broad, fifteen whereof in the middle to be made of the materials can be got sixteen inches thick all over.

On 14th June 1768, Alexander Fairlie proposed a cheaper specification which he claimed would save a considerable sum. This was that it should be only:

24 feet broad clear of dykes and ditches and metalled 15 feet broad, 14 inches thick in the middle diminishing gradually to 9 inches thick at the sides.

This was accepted on 2nd August with the reservation that it should be as broad as previously stipulated "where the ground will admit".

In July 1769²⁹ the Kilmarnock to Irvine road committee took Thomas Oliver, "*roadmaker in Stewarton*", along the whole course of their proposed line, and gave him their specification, which was:

The road . . . to be formed twenty four feet wide, metalled twelve feet broad, fourteen inches thick in the middle to ten inches in the sides, the understratum to be made of stones not exceeding six pound tron weight and six inches thick, the second stratum four inches thick of metal not to exceed two pounds weight, the upper stratum four inches thick of metal not exceeding half a pound at most, but smaller if possible, the whole stratums [sic] to diminish in proportion to their thickness in size to the sides.

In his written estimate³⁰, Oliver remarked on the limitations of the materials available to him:

Stewarton, 5th August 1769,

Sir, according to your order, I have with two men looked for materials for making the road from Irvine to Kilmarnock, and find that from Annick bridge to Gareer Burn the road may be made for seven shilling per fall³¹, with good water or land gravel, none of the stones to be in any part above the size mentioned in the above direction. And from Gareer Burn to

Corsehouse bridge, as there is nothing to be got but land stones and very few of them, it will take ten shillings per fall to make and cover the same with land or water gravel four inches thick on the top, but the land stones cannot be broke to the very size proposed. From Corsehouse bridge to Kilmarnock materials still worse to be got, so that it will take twelve shillings per fall to make it with the best metals that can be got, within a quarter of a mile³² leading to the places to be laid down on the said road, and to be covered with land or water gravel as above, and the stones to be broke as near the size as the stones will admit of. The whole to be finished in two years from this date if accepted of by the committee . . .

In June 1771 James Finlayson, contracting to make part of the Kilmarnock to Cumnock road, agreed that stones in the lower stratum were to be four pound, and half a pound in the upper stratum, while in May 1788³³, the trustees made this specification for the Loch Brown road (in the 1774 act, no. 63):

[24 feet] wide clear of drains, ten feet broad in the Mettle Bed, The Metalls to be twelve inches Deep, Eight inches whereof to be bottomed with Land Stones broke to the size of a Hen Egg and the other four inches to be of Sufficient Land or Water gravell ...

Often the road committees omitted any mention of the size of stones to be used from their specification, and sometimes even the depth of road metal. There was no evident development of this important aspect of road engineering during the period of the first two Ayr Road Acts.

THE 1774 AYR ROAD ACT

In essence this act (14 Geo. III, c.109) reproduced all the terms of the first act, with a number of changes, the more significant of which are detailed below. One aspect which gave rise to confusion, is the term during which the 1774 act was to be in force. A duration of 21 years was the common term of turnpike acts, so it was anticipated that the new act would expire in June 1795. In reality its term was for a further 21 years after the date when the 1767 act would have expired, if not repealed by the new act, so that the 1774 act would not have expired until 1809. There were thus four years of its term in hand when it in turn was replaced by the 1805 Ayr Road Act³⁴.

According to the preamble to the 1774 act, "the greater Part" of the 24 roads in the former act had been repaired or amended. They could not be kept so, however, unless the terms and powers of that act were enlarged. In addition, there were other roads which deserved attention. Carrick, omitted entirely from the former act, was included with about 60 per cent of the new mileage. The principal changes made by the act were as follows:

It named 39 new roads (Table 4) with a combined length, after allowance for common sections, of 295 miles. The total in the act, including the 24 roads carried forward from the former act, was 550 miles.

No trustees were named in this act. It continued the trustees named in the previous act and its qualification of trustees as being any one in the possession of, or liferenter of, lands with a valuation of £200 Scots or more, and their eldest sons. To the offices formerly named as entitling their incumbent to act as a trustee were added: the Sheriff Depute of the county and his Substitutes; the Chief Magistrates of the burghs of Ayr and Irvine and of the towns of Kilmarnock and Maybole.

It increased tolls for certain of the roads in the former act, and set out tolls for the new roads (Tables 1,2,and 4).

It provided for an annual general meeting to be held on the third Tuesday of October.

It made certain changes to free and reduced toll passage at gates.

It gave preference to the roads contained in the former act, so that the new roads would not interfere with the repayment of existing creditors

and payment of their interest. Where a new road would pass through the same parish as a road in the former act, tolls were not to be collected on the new roads, nor statute services or conversion money expended upon them, unless security was found for completing them within seven years of such collection or expenditure.

It imposed a penalty for the piling of timber, stone, manure and other materials within 5 yards of the side of any of the roads.

It stipulated that "no Tree or Piece of Timber, or any Stone, or any Thing whatsoever" was to be drawn upon the roads "otherwise than upon a Wheel-Carriage".

It prohibited any conveyance drawn by more than eight horses or other beasts.

In addition to milestones, it provided for setting up "Guide-posts" where the roads "are crossed or joined by other Roads".

It allowed the road committees to enter into contracts for road repair and improvement without recourse to the general meeting. The general meeting determined the composition of road committees and heard appeals against their proceedings.

PAYING FOR THE TURNPIKE ACTS

House. The trustees were disturbed to be advised by Mr Spottiswood, in a letter considered at their meeting on 21st March 1774, that the whole expense of the bill would be not much less than £700. The eventual cost was £480:4:4 before interest.

On 28th July 1774, "There was produced to the Meeting an account of the Expence of the last and present Turnpike acts for the County of Ayr, As made up by a Committee appointed for that purpose". The two Acts had cost £1088:3:11 (including interest), which was to be raised by a levy on "the Heretors or Landowners within the County of Ayr, According to the valuation of their respective Lands". The balance due to Fergusson was £422:14:1. The Commissioners of Supply discussed the matter on 29th April 1775, and again on 8th April 1778, when they decided to pay the late James Fergusson's son (also James) £340 to account. At the land tax meeting on 30th April 1778, William Wood reported on the state of the collection of the levy for payment of the two acts:

Mr. Wood also reported to the Meeting a full and distinct accott. of the Valuation of the Several Heritors and Land owners of the County of Air, who are in arrears for their proportions of the Expences of the two Turnpike Acts, with a Column Annexed to each article apportioning the Ballance due at this date of the Sum ascertained by the above Meeting of Trustees of the 28th July 1774 and which Ballance amounts at this date to the sum of £963:9:4 sterl. Mr. Wood produced an accompt of such money as he himself had received from several of the Gentlemen of the County in payment of their proportions of the Sums due for obtaining of said acts.

The Meeting having considered what is above Reported, They are of opinion, That it is of the greatest importance to this County to have the above arrear furthwith Levied from the several Heritors and Land-owners of the Shire who are in Arrear thereof. And They recommend it to the General Meeting of Trustees upon the Turnpike Roads to whom it belongs, to make the Above Arrear Effectual furthwith and to take the most effectual measures for recovering said Arrears and paying over the same to whom due.

On the same day there was a general meeting of the Road Trustees at which it was resolved that the arrears must be paid by 1st July "on pain of prosecution".

How ineffective the trustees and commissioners were in following up such resolutions is revealed by this extract from the minutes of the trustees'

PAYING FOR THE TURNPIKE ACTS

It was relatively expensive for a county to obtain a turnpike act. The landowners of Ayrshire, who were active in developing the county's road system under the first two acts, were slow to pay their share of the expense and to repay those who had advanced the funds in the first instance.

At the first meeting of trustees under the 1767 act on 14th July 1767, they appointed James Fergusson, writer in Ayr, to be their clerk *pro tempore*. The appointment was confirmed at their next meeting, on 20th August 1767, and Fergusson continued in the post until his death in 1773. His salary was £15 per annum³⁵.

On 6th October 1769 he petitioned the general meeting of trustees for repayment of the expenses he had incurred in obtaining the 1767 act, amounting to £474:6:0, which represented, according to his petition, "the whole Expence of the said Act and several other small Articles relative to the Execution thereof ... with the Interest of two Bills drawn on him". Understandably James Fergusson said that it was "not convenient for the petitioner to be any longer in advance".

The trustees tabled the petition for their meeting on 31st October, and recommended to the Commissioners of Supply to call a meeting on the same day. Unfortunately there are no extant minutes of the commissioners for that date. The trustees on 31st October simply put off consideration until the next meeting, at which however the petition was not discussed. He received a payment of £150 on 9th May 1771, and £56:3:0 on 29th October 1772³⁶. This was all that was repaid during his lifetime.

In April 1772, the trustees set up committees representing the three districts of the county to consider amendments to the turnpike act. In September 1772 the district committees were requested to draw up the heads of a new bill, and on 26th October 1773, at a meeting called "in consequence of Advertisements published in the newspapers by order of Alexander Montgomerie of Coilsfield, Convener of the County", the trustees considered a draught bill drawn up by William Wallace of Sauchrie. Mr. Spottiswood, a London solicitor, was retained to manage the preparation of the bill for Parliament and David Kennedy of Newark, Member of Parliament for the county from 16th April 1768, was instrumental in seeing it through the

meeting on 16th October 1781, more than three years later:
... notwithstanding of public notice being repeatedly given, very
few of the proprietors of the county had advanced their

proportion of the expence of obtaining the late and present turnpike acts of this county as the same is stated in the minutes of the meeting of the 28th July 1774.

They were to be advertised to pay up by December to William Hunter, clerk to Messrs Hunters & Co., bankers in Ayr, otherwise "a warrant shall be granted for recovering said expense by pointing and quartering".

There, as far as the minute books of the two bodies go, the matter ended. However a warrant was issued in at least one case, to the probable amusement of James Boswell when he read the following passage in a letter from his factor, James Bruce³⁷:

Having wrote you on Wednesday last concerning the money for repaying that Act Procured for the roads in this county, Its Strange that the Gentlemen should have so long neglected it, as I understand that None About this has pay'd. The Officer tells even Sir Adam Fergusson was the first he quarter'd on ...

FINANCING ROAD DEVELOPMENT

Road trustees were unpaid, as were Commissioners of Supply and Justices of the Peace. The position was both an entitlement and a duty of landownership, though service was not obligatory. The money that they received for road improvement was public income, vested in the trustees. They determined what improvements should be made, advertised them, considered estimates, gave contracts, examined the completed work and, if they were satisfied, paid the contractors. Their direct employees were few: a clerk for the general meeting; clerks and cashiers for the road committees (though often these two offices were combined); and toll-gatherers for any toll-bars they had not leased. Trustees could not take positions of profit under the act, but were permitted to finance road improvement and receive interest on their investment. Their conduct was open to public inspection, since any heritor was entitled to examine their minutes and accounts.

There were two sources of income under the act: conversion money, considered in the following section, and toll money, considered more fully later. Conversion money could only be expended on roads which were both in the act and in the parish in which it was raised. The expenditure of toll money was restricted to the road on which it was collected.

The costs of roadmaking usually varied between £80 and £200 a mile. Capital could be raised by subscription. Subscribers became creditors on the roads, receiving yearly interest of five to seven percent and eventual repayment of their subscriptions from the income (in theory if seldom in practice). In some instances subscriptions were made in the form of a bond, due for payment later, on which short-term finance would be raised from a bank, as happened in the case of the road from Kilmarnock to Cumnock. Trustees could secure loans by pledging the income from the tolls, though not conversion money. For example, William Fullarton of Rosemount advanced £2000 sterling for making the road from Ayr to Kilmarnock and on 12th October 1770 he petitioned the general meeting for an assignation of the tolls³⁸.

As well as the landowners, solicitors, merchants and ministers lent money for roadmaking. Subscribers to the Kilmarnock to Cumnock road included the Mauchline parish minister, William Auld, and the cashier and clerk to the road committee, Robert Paterson and Mr McCrotchart. On 15th

September 1772, the latter two were relieved of their subscription bonds before they became due for payment, on their agreeing to waive payment of their salaries up to that date³⁹. They had become concerned at their liability for expenditure over and above their subscriptions. Auld remained a subscriber. Interest payments to him and his fellow subscribers, including James Boswell⁴⁰ who inherited his father's investment in the road, are shown in Hamilton's accounts⁴¹ (Tables 5 and 6; see also below).

Alternatively a road could be taken off the trustees' hands by one or more heritors undertaking to make it at their own expense within a period of four years (seven years under the 1774 act), and to maintain it for the duration of the act. In these circumstances the heritors were entitled to a proportion of the conversion money of each parish through which the road passed, and the trustees were prohibited from erecting gates and collecting tolls upon it. In 1776⁴² Sir Thomas Miller of Barskimming (Lord Glenlee) undertook to make the road from "Mauchline by the old bridge of Barskimming till it joins the road at Drongan", saying that "in its present state [it] is impassable for carriages". For this he was entitled to £9:17:7 annually as his proportion of Mauchline parish conversion money, as recorded in Gavin Hamilton's accounts. That road lay principally in the parish of Stair, which parish's conversion money would have been shared between it and the road from Irvine to Dalmellington.

The acts allowed the substitution of a tax for statute labour. It actually consisted of two elements: A rate levied on landowners as a proportion of their valued rent, in the same way as the land tax, bridge and rogue money⁴³, and as had been allowed before the acts, but payable to collectors employed by the road trustees; and a tax on householders in the parish who were not landowners or whose valued rent fell below a threshold. In the terms of the 1767 act:

[The Trustees] shall, and are hereby impowered and required to, compound and agree with all or any of the aforesaid Person or Persons who are liable to perform Statute-work and Service at and upon the Roads hereby intended to be repaired, or upon any other Road or Roads within the said County, at the following Rates; videlicet,

For each Man liable in such Statute-work, four Pence Sterling by the Day.

For each Man and Cart with One Horse, One Shilling Sterling by the Day.

And for each Man and Cart with Two Horses, One Shilling and Six Pence Sterling by the Day.

Each road was entitled to a proportion of the conversion money of any parish through which it passed, in proportion to its length in that parish. If a parish contained only a single road named in the acts, then that road was entitled to all of the conversion money regardless of its length within the parish. The minister of the parish of Ochiltree, Rev. William Thomson, inveighed bitterly against the perceived iniquity of this distribution in his 1792 submission to the *Statistical Account* and again at even greater length in 1794. His principal objection was that other roads were not entitled to any conversion money whatsoever.

Although the poor could be exempted, the Rev. James Richmond of Irvine⁴⁴ thought that the imposition of conversion money on householders in the town was oppressive:

Three shillings sterling are paid for every householder in the town for that purpose, which, in many instances, is a very hard and oppressive tax, especially in the seaport towns, where there are so many sailors' widows, left with numerous families, and often in poor circumstances. This is an evil which calls for redress.

Collection of conversion money was often ineffective. The general meeting on 29th August 1776 recommended all parishes to pursue all arrears by "the course prescribed by law". If any parishes were deficient in this, the meeting would appoint new trustees who would be more diligent. At the general meeting on 30th April 1778, the trustees noted that "in several of the parishes of the county great difficulties occur in levying the composition" and appointed a committee to come up with a plan for "rendering the collection of the composition ... more effectual". No report of this committee is recorded. However on 30th April 1779, the clerk was instructed to find out which parishes did not collect composition or perform statute labour "in order that the proper steps may be taken for the execution of the law".

The story of the Auchinleck parish conversion money accounts and the implication of James Boswell is told in the minutes of the Kilmarnock to Cumnock road committee⁴⁵. Boswell was a member of this committee, but when in Ayrshire rarely attended its meetings. The issue first appeared in the minutes in November 1786. Bruce Campbell, on behalf of his cousin, James Boswell, requested the committee to appoint a new collector for Auchinleck and to have a sub-committee draw up a state of the accounts.

He described the present collector, William Halbert, the local schoolmaster, as being utterly insufficient for his task. John Boswell senior in Cumnock, on Campbell's recommendation, was appointed at a salary of 5 per cent of the money collected. The statute money was to be paid to James Boswell, who was to keep the road from Dipple burn bridge to Cumnock in repair and to give an account of his "intromissions" annually to the road committee.

In June 1787, the committee requested such an account from James Boswell and in September he "renewed his request" that the debt due to him be examined and that a committee be appointed. Claud Alexander of Ballamyle [as these minutes invariably had it], the convener of the road committee, was deputed to examine the accounts. In October 1787 he reported that Halbert:

acknowledges to have been very negligent in his Accounts and that he keept his money in an open drawer without Lock or Key. His Memory seems to be very much impaired, and a very improper man for such an office.

Alexander did find that James Boswell owed some money, though no impropriety is imputed to him by the minute:

a New Account is making out of Mr Boswells Debt on the Roads in the above Parish, In which he is to admitt to His Debit Some Money Charged in the former Account delivered And to give the Trustees Credit for the Statute Money of the Farmers in his own Possession.

James Smith, a Mauchline merchant, was appointed collector of the composition for Mauchline in 1772 at a salary of £1, "for this season". By 6th January 1775, Gavin Hamilton, the Mauchline lawyer, later friend of Burns, was collector for the parishes of Mauchline and Sorn and he was still in this capacity in 1791. In June 1776, he was appointed clerk to the Kilmarnock to Cumnock road committee in place of Robert Paterson, solicitor in Newmilns. In January 1777, Paterson said that he could no longer continue as cashier; Hamilton was appointed in his stead.

For some years, Gavin Hamilton included detailed accounts in his minute book, covering the conversion money for the two parishes for which he was collector, and the road accounts of the Kilmarnock to Cumnock committee (Tables 5 and 6). These contain typical transactions of road committees: payments of interest to subscribers, of conversion money to other road committees, of sums for road-making and maintenance to contractors, and to masons for repairing bridges⁴⁶; and receipts of conversion money and of rent for the leases of the three tollbars on the road. In 1797, Hamilton was dismissed from his post as clerk and cashier to "the Mauchline"

District of Trustees" and replaced by Robert Wodrow "in Mauchline". The dismissal was disputed, and went to appeal at the general meeting on 30th April 1798, which upheld the decision of the Mauchline trustees, requiring Hamilton to:

deliver over to the said Robert Wodrow the books and papers in his possession belonging to the said trustees, and also to pay to him what balance of cash is in his hands as clerk and cashier foresaid.

Whereas toll money was road based, conversion money was parish based, though in each case the money was vested in road trustees. Given their common cause, and the power of the general meeting to decide in the event of disagreement, one would expect that any disputes over the allocation of conversion money to roads would be soon resolved. This was not always the case. William Paterson of Braehead took over responsibility for Kilmarnock conversion money in 1770. At the 5th March 1771 general meeting, it was alleged that he claimed to have laid out all the money on the road from Kilmarnock to Hurlford bridge, and that he had refused to give the Kingswell road committee their due proportion, despite having been given notice to do so by James Fergusson by order of a general meeting. On 3rd April it was ruled that James Muir Campbell of Rowallan, one of the members of the Kilmarnock by Kingswell to Flockbridge road committee, could draw what was due to him for the years 1769, 1770 and 1771 from the Kilmarnock conversion money for 1771.

The Kilmarnock to Cumnock committee took a dispute over their share of the conversion money of the parish of Riccarton to the Court of Session⁴⁷. They first raised the issue at their meeting on 2nd September 1772, and took it to the general meeting on 8th September, which ruled that they were entitled to a part of the money in proportion to the length of the road in the parish, as also for the parish of Galston. The general meeting's ruling counted for little, because in April 1775 the road committee noted that they had never received any money from Riccarton and Galston. They instructed their cashier to have the turnpike roads in the two parishes measured, so that he could calculate the proportion of the conversion money of each to which they were entitled, and to request its payment for 1774 "and in time coming".

In August 1775 they once again told their cashier to request the money due from Riccarton, warning him to take particular care that only roads properly entitled to a share of the money were taken into account: that is, that a share should be allocated only to roads already made or to those for which security had been found for making them within seven years.

In October 1782, they considered a minute of the trustees for roads in the parish of Riccarton, in which those trustees determined that they were not obliged to pay any part of Riccarton's conversion money to any road in the parish, provided the tolls were sufficient to pay the interest on the debts of the road and to uphold it, and on these grounds they would not make any payment to the trustees of the Kilmarnock to Cumnock road or the road from Ayr to Kilmarnock. William Fullarton of Rosemount, a Riccarton trustee and a large creditor of the Ayr to Kilmarnock road, had dissented from this ruling. The Kilmarnock to Cumnock trustees agreed with him, saying that the Riccarton trustees were sadly mistaken about their road's finances, the books of which were open to inspection at any time. They therefore unanimously agreed to go forward with Rosemount with a:

joint Summary Petition to the Court of Session in terms of the
Statute in order to have the sense of the Statute Ascertained
and the above misapplication of the statute work corrected.
and appointed John Hunter as their agent and Mr Ilay Campbell, Mr James
Boswell and Mr William Miller as "Councill". The fathers of Boswell and
Miller were both law lords, both on the committee of the Kilmarnock to
Cumnock road, and both subscribers to the road.

However, despite these judicial forces, and whatever was decided by the Court of Session, they still failed to obtain any money from Riccarton and Galston, and in September 1791 yet again called upon those parishes to pay up their share of the road's expenses. Gavin Hamilton's road accounts confirm that no payment was received from Riccarton and Galston during the period which they cover. Similar disputes are recorded for other parishes, in particular concerning Dundonald, New Cumnock and Stewarton.

The trustees were often slow to pay the tradesmen who surveyed the lines and made the roads. John Foulis of Roseholm, who was engaged as a surveyor some years before the 1767 act and again after it was passed, had to petition for payment on 7th May 1771 for services dating back to 1757. He had surveyed the roads in Kyle and Cuninghame and in 1771:

presented a plan of the whole of them with a sketch of sundry other roads in these districts, and the situation of the most capital towns & places in them, their connections with one another & with the towns of Glasgow & Paisley.

He continued that:

he was sorry if these plans, surveys & other his trouble & expenses about these roads had been turned to no publick use or account. That besides a considerable deal of labour time anxiety and fatigue, he was really above twelve pounds sterling

of money out of pocket in expense about these affairs which his circumstances did not easily admit of. Not did he think the trustees required any thing [other] than to be put in mind that such things were, to engage them to indemnify him, and if they thought his time & pains deserved any reward, to order so. He paid his proportion of statute labour with any in the shire to the highways, and was as much assized at toll gates as any, as the said representation signed by the said John Foulis bears.

The clerk was ordered to pay him fifty guineas out of funds at his disposal, and to recover the proper amounts from the various road committees that had commissioned Foulis.

Thomas Oliver was another who had to resort to a petition for payment years after the work was performed. This was heard at the general meeting on 7th April 1773:

There was presented to the meeting a petition addressed to them by Thomas Oliver, Roadmaker, humbly shewing, that the petitioner was employed by their honours in August 1767 to go along with James Lambert in order to see him measure the different lines of road between Ayr and Kilmarnock which the petitioner was to give in estimates of making the different lines to their honours. That accordingly he attended Lambert for 8 days, sketched out the different lines of road and gave in estimates thereof and likeways paid out to the men that were needed on the above occasion £1:19:4 by an account produced. That the petitioner likeways paid 20s. of horse hire he having attended the trustees for 3 several days at their meetings over and above the time he was employed in surveying the road. And therefore craving it might please their honours to ordain the petitioner to be paid the above £2:19:4 which he laid out of his pocket and if thought reasonable to allow him any small gratification for his trouble, their honours thought proper.

The outcome was not recorded.

ROAD DEVELOPMENT

There is a moralistic poem entitled "The Path of the Calf" which suggests that roads developed along the paths that wandering animals made, because old tracks were always followed without question. When considering the twists and turns that remain in many of the county's roads today, it is easy to believe that:

Each day a hundred thousand rout Followed this zigzag calf about, And o'er his crooked journey went The traffic of a continent.

But it is not true. The lines of the roads contained in the act were discussed in some detail. Groups of trustees rode out to see where better could be found, where a road could be straightened, or made shorter, or more level. Disputes arose between proponents of alternative routes, and sometimes when they thought a route had been agreed upon, another objection would be made, and someone, still dissatisfied, would: "take instruments and appeal to the next Quarter Session".

The general meeting minutes were lengthy in the early years because of the many discussions which were recorded on lines of roads. Sometimes the committees employed so-called surveyors (such as Foulis) to assist in determining the line. On other occasions they called on their factors. James Bruce, gardener and factor to the Boswells at Auchinleck, surveyed with Robert Crozier a portion of the Ayr to Cumnock road from the Waggon ford to the vicinity of Drongan, attended by Adam Smith, with whom they consulted on the best place for a bridge near the ford (minutes 28th October 1767).

Of course in determining the best line, a road committee had to take into account the wishes of the more powerful landowners. The trustees on the Irvine to Kilmarnock road altered the proposed line on account of the objections of the Earl of Eglinton and Captain Cuningham of Caddell (minutes 16th January 1771), but they did so with reluctance and put the final decision back in the Earl's court:

Yet the trustees then present [at the survey] thought the said road, where it goes through the lands of Fardelhill would be more beautiful and as advantageous to the public to go in the line complained of by Lord Eglintoun, to whom it may be left to alter or not as his Lordship may think proper.

The progress of improvement on several roads can be considered. The road committee for the Ayr to Kilmarnock road was appointed on 20th August 1767 with the eldest baillie of Kilmarnock as convener. On 28th October four possible lines were described. The one preferred was from Ayr by Wallace Street, south east of Prestwick to the Pow burn, then the existing line to Monkton; by Rosemount, Symington and Spittlehill to Riccarton, behind the Sandbeds and across the Water of Kilmarnock by a new bridge and finally by a passage into the Cross. Mr Foulis estimated £110 a mile and Mr Crosier almost £200. The committee was told to pit out the road⁴⁹, determine the placing of bars and decide the tolls to be charged at them. By 30th December 1767 the road had been pitted out (but see below, 5th April 1769).

On 23rd March 1768 Charles Dalrymple of Orangefield proposed to change the line: to carry on through Monkton to Fairfield's dyke (on the Irvine road) and then go straight to Kilmarnock joining the committee's line near Helenton. He offered to make both roads on the credit of the tolls and conversion money. The committee favoured Orangefield's proposal but it apparently suffered some criticism, because on 24th May 1768 he wrote to defend it. To the same meeting Alexander Montgomerie of Coylfield wrote objecting in principle to any change in a line recommended by a committee. He argued that if they were going to alter a line every time the owner of nearby lands objected, the roads would never be improved. Orangefield's alteration was approved by a majority, but Rosemount, "having come into the meeting", appealed against it to the next Quarter Sessions. Also on 24th May a petition was presented from the magistrates and people of Kilmarnock objecting to the line by the north side of Helenton and by Knockendale; they favoured the road going on or near to its existing course.

On 14th June 1768 the Orangefield judgement was reversed. The line between Bowbridgehill and Kilmarnock was to be:

on, or as near as conveniently can be, to the old road through Symington towards the Water of Irvine at the Blind Coal ford, having a branch to go from near the Forty Acres to the bridge of Riccarton

but with straightening. Rosemount and Orangefield proposed the line from Monkton to Bowbridgehill to be on the line of the old road, suitably straightened, which, on 2nd August 1768 was accepted by a great majority. However John Dunlop of Dunlop moved to have all judgements on the line

taken under consideration (meaning set aside for reconsideration at a general meeting advertised in the newspapers). This was refused, upon which the Earl of Eglinton "took instruments" and appealed to the next Quarter Sessions. It appears that by the meeting on 7th December 1768 the line had been fixed at the Quarter Sessions, but in favour of whom or of which line is not recorded. Rosemount, in a letter, said that it was time to choose sites for toll bars and to invite estimates for making the road. He offered to raise a subscription. James Campbell of Treesbank was appointed convener. On 21st December 1768 he reported that he had been unable to raise a quorum, and five new members were added to the committee.

It was proposed on 25th January 1769 to have three toll bars, charging half the road toll at each, with a ticket system so that travellers would only pay at two of them, with dykes along the road near the toll bar between Newton and Prestwick to prevent evasion.

A line was proposed from Netherton to Kilmarnock, for which no line had been fixed by the Quarter Session. The specification and financing of the dykes was discussed on 5th April 1769. Dunlop of Aiket was appointed road convener. Several of the pits marking the line had been filled in; they wished to identify the offenders and prosecute them.

There was a petition from John Ritchie of Knockendale presented to the meeting on 12th July 1769, seeking damages because the new line would go through his cornfields; the road committee were asked to enquire and report. The "two out of three" toll scheme was to be reconsidered. It was agreed that Rosemount could compound for the tolls at the Bowbridge and Newton/Prestwick bars at the annual rate of £2:10:0 for himself and others working for his estate⁵⁰. The ticket system was overturned on 9th August 1769; one-third tolls were to be levied at each bar. On 3rd October 1769 the dilatoriness of the committee was criticised: They had not erected toll bars nor commenced to collect toll. William Paterson of Braehead (a solicitor who was the collector of conversion money for the parish of Kilmarnock) and the eldest baillie of Kilmarnock were delegated to do so.

By 13th December 1769 it is clear that some construction was underway, when it was reported that the section of road which the late 10th Earl of Eglinton had undertaken to make was not finished. Rosemount was authorised to see to it.

24th September 1770 brought the first notice of a dispute concerning the "yeards at Sandbed of Kilmarnock". This dragged on through a number of petitions, holding up progress on the road, until on 21st May 1771, the Sandbed proprietors agreed to make the road through the yards opposite to

their properties at their own expense, which they preferred to the line determined by the committee.

On 5th March 1771 the Ayr to Kilmarnock road committee, and the committees of the three others sharing the road there, were instructed to pay £10 towards repairing the road at Bridgend of Ayr, which was "next to impassable". This entailed drastic action, and on 7th May 1771 it was reported that:

before the entry to the bridge of Ayr at the northeast end can be made of a proper breadth, & safe & convenient for passengers, a laigh house at Bridgend possessed by William Smith or his subtenants, which in building hath encroached on the high way, must be taken down. The meeting appoint said house to be taken down so as the high road may be made of a proper breadth.

On 21st May 1771 £60 was allocated to the Bridgend repairs from the Newton and Boghall tolls.

By 18th October 1771 the road was falling into disrepair:

The road from Ayr to Kilmarnock would soon go to ruin, and the great expense laid out in making the same in a manner be lost, if the necessary steps were not soon fallen on to keep it in proper repair ... the committee on the road to contract with a proper person for keeping said road in proper repair for such number of years as they shall see fit.

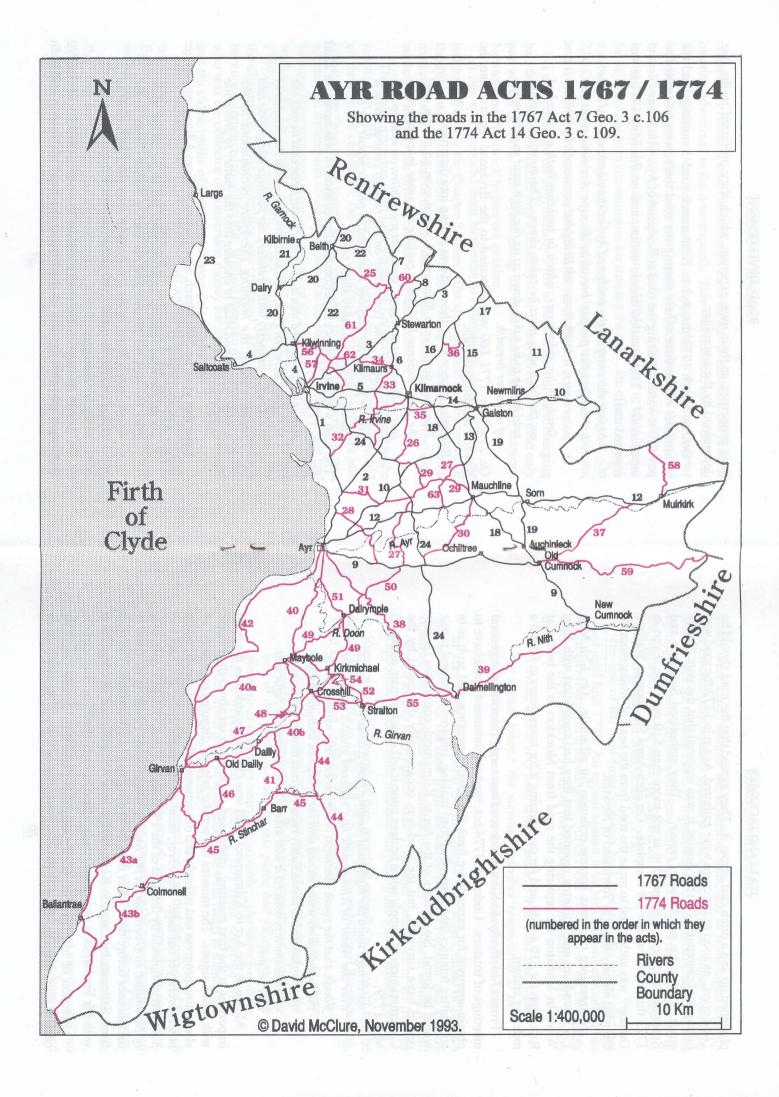
The road was also subject to deliberate depredation as was noted on 22nd January 1772:

It being represented that a deep ditch had been cast across the high road between Prestwick and Newton within the bounds of the Newton property which renders the passage dangerous and inconvenient, the meeting therefore recommend to the committee on said road to enquire into the matter to prosecute the offenders.

Later that year, on 24th March, a petitioner William Allison, messenger in Ayr, was authorised to:

lay off the road leading to Kilmarnock, in so far as the same goes through his property at the end of Wallacetown, in the line formerly fixed, of no less breadth than thiry feet, clear of Dykes and ditches, and remit to the committee formerly named, to fix his damages.

Deliberate damage to the road could be excused. On 19th May 1772 they were told that the line of the road at the head of Newton had been



ploughed up and a ditch cast across it. They agreed that the road should be "laid open" as soon as the crops were gathered. Again in 1772 the road was falling into disrepair. On18th August It was reported that the part "lately made, was going much out of repair". They authorised Sundrum and Rosemount to have it attended to at not more than £10 per mile. Even in 1773 this road was not yet complete. On 30th April Sir Thomas Wallace Dunlop⁵¹ was authorised to make the road from the head of Wallacetoun to the road already made at Townhead of Newton.

Maintenance contracts became common for all roads. On 17th May 1773 Sundrum and Fullarton reported that they had contracted with John White in Monkton for repairing the road from Monkton to the bridge at Riccarton for £10 a mile, and for maintaining it for seven years at £2:6:0 a mile per annum.

From 1774, the Ayr to Kilmarnock road was rarely mentioned at general meetings of trustees. Under the 1774 act, road committees did not have to obtain approval for expenditure from the general meeting, and so it is in committee minutes that a record of road making, improvement and repair would be found. No minutes of the Ayr to Kilmarnock committee for this period have survived, but the road was occasionally discussed by the Commissioners of Supply when bridges upon it fell into disrepair, as on 7th May 1779:

the bridge upon the high road leading from Kilmarnock to Ayr over the Water of Kilmarnock had suffered greatly in the late floods, that the south abutment is almost entirely washed away, the foundations undermined and the bridge in iminent danger of downfall unless immediately repaired and that by an estimate of tradesmen produced it will take £9:5:0 to make it sufficient and secure.

Although the Ayr to Kilmarnock road was clearly regarded as the most important at the first meeting, other road committees set about their roads with equal vigour. The minutes tell similar tales of disputes over lines, of alternating progress and setback, and of sections falling into disrepair while others were yet unmade. However, many of the roads in the 1767 act had not been completed by the time of the 1774 act. Of one, "Aston Pople, east of Newmilns, to Overmuir, in the road to Eaglesham", there is no trace in the minutes before then, other than the setting up of a committee. The road from Saltcoats by Largs to Kelly bridge is only mentioned in connection with Mr Foulis. It is one of the roads which he surveyed⁵².

Erection of toll bars preceded roadmaking and thus should mark the earliest date when work could have commenced on a road. However some

roads were made without the benefit of tolls, and in some cases tollbars, were erected only when it appeared that the conversion money would be insufficient for making them. Permission for the Galston to Cumnock road committee to erect tollbars and levy tolls was granted at the meeting on 8th September 1772; the same for Stewarton to Whitehouse and Stewarton towards Neilston on 26th October 1772.

The line of the road from Saltcoats by Largs to Kelly bridge was not fixed until June 1776. An appeal against it by Mr Crauford of Auchnames was read at the general meeting on 15th October 1776, and on 4th December that year they found in favour of the road committee, adding their opinion that:

it would take a very long time to make if it be done only from the statute labour, the meeting therefore recommend to the committee to judge whether or not it would be proper to erect one or more toll bars.

In May 1779, the general meeting heard from John Dunlop of Dunlop that while part of the road from Stewarton towards Neilston was already repaired, the committee were unable to agree on "the line in which it shall be carried to join the Neilston road". Another committee of six trustees was appointed to determine this and "to pitt off the line so fixed by them".

Even close to the burgh of Ayr, principal turnpike roads could still be almost impassable in 1780. On 27th May Thomas Miller of Barskimming, Lord Justice Clerk, told the general meeting:

that being here upon his circuit, he was called upon in terms of Act of Parliament of George the first to take notice that the turnpike road leading from Wallacetown eastward which was one of the great avenues to this place had fallen into such disrepair as to be very nearly impassable ... that therefore there was a necessity for ... having this road repaired from Wallacetown to the first turnpike where the roads to Edinburgh & to Mauchline separate.

By 1782 it could be said at a general meeting that the portion of the high road to Dumfries that lay within the parish of New Cumnock was complete. This was in the first of many petitions concerning the proper application of the conversion money of that parish, which amounted to about £70 a year.

The coast road from Girvan to Portpatrick was in the act as far as the county line on Loch Ryan, but was in fact built at government expense. The first mention of this is in the minutes of the general meeting on 22nd September 1779, when it was said that the line had already been marked

out by a surveyor appointed by General Skeen, and that the making of the road through the "difficult and inaccessable Glen of Glenapp" was in progress "without any expense to the county". The road was discussed by the Commissioners of Supply on 16th May 1781. It was observed that the government had for some time been making "the great road leading upon the coast by Ballantrae to PortPatrick" in the course of which several bridges had already been built. Six more were required "over the Water of Glenapp and other places". The commissioners were reminded that it had always been the practice for the county to pay for conveying "materials to whatever bridges government makes" and:

it was the opinion of the King's Overseer that the expense of leading the material to the six bridges to be built this season will be at lest eighty pounds sterling.

By 1785 the line from Girvan to Ballantrae had been proposed by Major Frazer, and the Treasury advised the commissioners that construction, including bridges, would be undertaken at government expense, provided that the county agreed to maintain the road and its bridges thereafter without public aid. They agreed to this condition at their land tax meeting on 29th April 1786.

The building of bridges by the government did not extend to the expensive and difficult bridge over the Stincher at Ballantrae. This was a county bridge, funded from the bridge money and by subscription, and its construction began in April 1776. The bridge was only partly built by April 1777, at which time the expenditure amounted to £756. In 1795 this bridge was in danger of becoming redundant, because the Stincher had built up a bank of gravel which threatened to alter the course of the river. In a petition for money to remove the gravel, Thomas Kennedy of Dunure said that:

as the said Bridge was built at a very great expence, and as it was the great military road to Ireland, it is of the upmost consequence that the free communication be preserved ...

The sum of £65 which he requested was granted.

The 1774 act included a road (number 58) which was described thus: The Road which departs from the Road between Ayr and Douglass at Garranhill, in the Parish of Muirkirk, and leads from Garranhill aforesaid by Blackside and Waterhead, and from thence to the Confines of the County of Lanerk.

Despite the lengthy description, this stretch was only 4½ miles long. No road committee was appointed until 23rd October 1787, when the 13 members included Claud Alexander of Ballochmyle (convener), Keith Stewart of Glasserton, Sir Thomas Miller of Barskimming, Hugh

Montgomerie of Coylfield and John Loudon McAdam of Sauchrie. The committee did not set about making the road, which in 1789 became a small part of a proposed road from Glasgow, by Muirkirk and Sanquhar to Dumfries, under a turnpike trust established by Act of Parliament for that purpose⁵³. This act also included the road "from the Town of Hamilton by Eaglesham in the County of Renfrew to King's Well in the County of Ayr".

What was the attitude of the Ayrshire landowners to this road being adopted by another trust? "Overwhelming relief" might be an apt description, because on being told at their Quarter Sessions at Ayr on 5th August 1788⁵⁴ that they would be expected to bear neither the expense of the act nor of making the road, the Justices of the Peace did "therefore unanimously approve of the intended application to Parliament". They then appointed a committee of seven to examine surveys and the draught of the bill and to report to the next general meeting of the county. The members included Keith Stewart, Claud Alexander, John Loudon McAdam and two others from the former road committee, together with the Earl of Dumfries and James Boswell of Auchinleck. Whatever report they may have made was not recorded, but the act creating the new trust was approved and responsibility for the 4½ miles in the 1774 act passed from the Ayr Road Trustees (see also below, in connection with McAdam).

The objective of the 1789 act was to form the shortest and best line of communication between England and the West of Scotland, to the great benefit of the the new Muirkirk Iron Company. As the A74/M74 and A76 now testify, the trustees were not successful, but the story of their failure is beyond the scope of the present work. It is interesting, however, to see the road from the viewpoint of the contributors to the first and second Statistical Accounts. Rev. John Shepherd of Muirkirk wrote in 1791-2 that the road to Carlisle was "in great forwardness and will be compleated before the end of the present year". It would, he said, pass by the great new inn⁵⁵ in Muirkirk (being built by Keith Stewart) and then go southwards to Sanguhar. Rev. John Robertson of Kirkconnel on the other hand, wrote in 1794 that though the road was nearly completed, its situation on "the face of the hills on the north side of the parish, and through the wildest and highest part of it" would render travel precarious and often impracticable. For the New Statistical Account, Muirkirk's parish minister, Rev. James Symington wrote in 1837 of the roads to Ayr, Mauchline, Strathaven and Edinburgh, but not of a road to Sanguhar. The Strathaven connection, the cost of which overwhelmed the Cambuslang and Muirkirk Turnpike Trust, was all that Muirkirk ever saw of its high road to England.

The 1767 act allowed for the erecting of tollbars in these terms: [The trustees] shall erect, or cause to be erected, One or more Gate or Gates, Turnpike or Turnpikes, in or across all of any or the said Roads, and also such Number of Toll-houses as they shall think fit in or upon the same; and demand and take the Tolls and Duties ...

They were authorised to employ toll-gatherers, and to pursue by distress and sale those who neglected to pay the due tolls. They could also erect tollbars where side roads met their toll roads, in order to prevent the principal bars from being circumnavigated.

Income from the tolls was intended to be the primary source of finance for road improvement. So on most of the roads, the early erection of bars was a priority. Three tollbars on the road from Ayr by Old and New Cumnock towards Sanquahar were authorised by the general meeting on 30th December 1767; the siting of two bars was altered at the next meeting. On 5th October 1768 it was agreed to site a tollhouse and bar where the roads from Ayr to Galston and to Mauchline separated, and others on those roads where the committees thought fit. The locations for three tollbars on the Ayr to Kilmarnock road were agreed on 25th January 1769. In the event of more than one gate upon a road, which was usual, the trustees could divide the road tolls between the gates in whatever proportion they saw fit, provided that no more than the toll permitted by the act was levied on the whole road. In a display of considerable but hopeless optimism, the act provided for tolls to be removed when the roads were in complete repair and money advanced for building them had been repaid.

Tolls⁵⁶ were levied on conveyances of all kinds, on horses and other beasts carrying people or goods, and on animals being herded, but the exemptions allowed were numerous. No tolls were charged for pedestrians, nor for any conveyance or beast of burden carrying stones or other materials for repairing the roads or bridges upon them, or for repairing the streets in Ayr, Irvine and Kilmarnock; any kind of corn of grain to or from a mill; "Farm meal" to the granary of any heritor; lime, manure, rubbish or "implements of husbandry", or anything else for the manuring or stocking of lands or gardens near to the roads; hay or "corn in the straw" to be laid

up in houses, barns or yards adjacent to the roads, unless for sale, or when sold. Free passage was also granted to anyone going to church, chapel or any other place of worship on a Sunday; stock going to or from pasture or water; post-horses carrying "the Mail or Packet"; and horses of soldiers on the march and conveyances accompanying them. In all cases except that of soldiers, the exemptions only applied to conveyances pulled by no more than two horses; for three or more horses, the normal rates were payable.

Coal for export was a different case of exemption. Toll for all coal was payable only in proportion to the distance travelled on a road at the following rates per 4 miles: 1d for a horse, 2d for a cart pulled by one horse and 4d if pulled by two horses. As before, if a cart was pulled by more than two horses, normal tolls applied. If the coal was intended for export, then the toll-gatherer would issue a "Ship's Ticket" as a receipt for payment of toll. This would be handed over to the master of the vessel when the coal was loaded, and he or his representative could obtain repayment of the toll on presenting the ticket at the gate where it had been issued.

Special exemptions were also granted by the trustees. On 10th November 1769, in response to a petition from the magistrates and council of Irvine, they agreed that the toll bar to be set up at Irvine bridge should not impede traffic going between town and harbour, which would not be liable to toll, provided that traffic between Irvine and Ayr would not be able to evade it. This concession was withdrawn for a time because of just such evasion, but was reinstated on 12th October 1770. It may be that the complicated exemptions at the Irvine bar contributed to the problems that Andrew McFie encountered in levying toll there (below).

The 1774 act modified and added exemptions in the following ways: It introduced half toll for "Broad Wheels" for a period of seven years, which could be extended at the discretion of the trustees. For a conveyance pulled by up to three horses, a broad wheel had a minimum width of 4 inches; for 4 horses it was 6 inches; and for 5 or more horses it was 9 inches (no conveyance was allowed to be pulled by more than eight horses). Instead of the former reduced toll for coal based on mileage travelled, half toll was introduced. In the case of coal for export (from any port within the county), the half toll would be rebated provided that the "Broad Wheel" rules were satisfied. The free passage for road materials was extended to the repair of any road, public or private; paving the streets of any burgh, town or village; or repairing any bridge in the county. Ministers of the Gospel were to be exempt from toll while travelling within their own parishes.

Having erected a gate or bar, the trustees had to employ someone to collect tolls (a toll-gatherer), or they could lease the toll to a tacksman for a

maximum of three years. The tacksman would pay a quarterly rent, in return for which he would be entitled to collect and retain all the tolls payable at the gate. In practice, a tacksman might take the tack of of more than one gate and employ a toll-gatherer at each. If they opted for leasing their gates, the trustees had to advertise an auction or roup. At the general meeting on 15th February 1770⁵⁷, they agreed that tolls at the bar between Ayr and Boghall, on the Galston road, should be set for one year by public roup on 6th March:

and appoint said roup to be intimate in the Glasgow Journal and through the Burgh of Ayr by beat of drum each market day till that time.

The roup was unsuccessful, no offers being made when it was exposed at the upset price of £80 for a year. This may have been due to poor collections at the bar. In April the general meeting was informed that many avoided paying the toll by means of breaches in enclosures near the bar. They resolved that the breaches were to be closed and that:

a gate be put on each enclosure at the side of the road where the proprietor or possessor directs, on which a lock is to be put, and the possessor furnished with a key, and after this is done, the possessor shall maintain and keep up the fence, so as no coach, cart or other carriage, horse, ass or other cattle shall get into same; and that such possessor shall be liable in twenty shillings sterling for every offence, and be held as having knowingly or willingly permitted the same.

Although on 1st May the upset price was dropped to £70, there were still no offers, and in August the trustees were still employing their own toll-gatherer.

They had more success with other bars. By August 1770, Robert Paterson Wallace was tacksman of the toll bar at Holmston. In March 1771, the bar at Bridgend of Irvine was set to Andrew McFie for the yearly rent of £47, while in April 1771 that at Netherton of Kilmarnock "fell in the hands of James Marshall at Shotts at the sum for £70 sterling [and] the toll bar at Bowbridgehill fell in his hands at £40 sterling". On 4th June 1771, the bar between Newton and Prestwick went to John Douglas, innkeeper in Glasgow, for £125 and Townhead of Kilmarnock for £59, Gallowknow bar to James Anderson in Neilston for £80 and Townhead of Irvine to James Cairns, cooper in Ayr, for £46. The names of many other tacksmen are recorded in the minutes, though the records of tacks are very far from complete. Gavin Hamilton's Kilmarnock to Cumnock road accounts record collections of rent from the tacksmen of the tolls, together with some interesting expenses for buying them drink.

The meeting on 31st October 1769 heard from John Allison, toll gatherer at Townend of Kilmarnock, that:

on the afternoon of Saturday the fourteenth day of October instant, seven horses and a cart drawn by two horses, belonging to or under the charge of Thomas Hunter and John Boyle, carriers in Ayr, passed through the foresaid toll bar, and they refused to pay the toll therefore, insulted and abused the petitioner, cursed and more, called him bad names, and damned and aspersed the characters of many of the honourable trustees . . .

It was agreed to prosecute the two men.

On 7th August 1770 the meeting heard a complaint from Robert Paterson Wallace, tacksman of the bar near Holmston, concerning a road opened through Gateside, whereby many people avoided payment. They authorised him to move the bar at his own expense. In July 1771 Andrew McFie, tacksman and keeper of the bar at Bridgend of Irvine, complained that he had been maltreated and abused by John Hamilton, an Ayr excise officer, when levying toll; the trustees decided that Hamilton should be "prosecute according to law".

Substantial landowners who were road trustees could be guilty of enabling, if not actively encouraging, toll evasion. On 18th November 1772 John Hamilton of Sundrum reported that tolls collected at the Holmston bar had fallen greatly since Mr Oswald had "opened two gates near said bar through his lands, by which the toll was evaded". On this occasion five of Oswald's peers were appointed to investigate: Coylfield, Bargany, Ardmillan, Hillhouse and Doonside.

Andrew McFie suffered at the hands of two farmers who refused to pay toll at Bridgend of Irvine. According to the petition he presented to the meeting on 7th September 1773, Hugh and James Barr, farmers in Laigh Douchra:

passed the tollbar with two horses and carts loaded with timber, but refused payment of the tolls payable for such carriages, and upon the petitioner's offering to stop the horses for payment of the toll duty, the said Hugh Barr struck and otherwise abused the petitioner till he was rescued from their hands by other passengers.

The trustees decided that the two men should be "prosecute before the next legal quarter sessions according to law".

The 1774 act introduced a special penalty of £5 for assaulting a toll-gatherer or forcing a passage, payable to the trustees "whose Collector is so assaulted"; this may have been of doubtful consolation to the toll-gatherers.

Road trustees could themselves become victims. In August 1776 Alexander Fairlie reported that, when travelling with others to a road meeting in Kilwinning:

he was attacked by a set of disorderly persons assembled in a mob who threw stones and dirt at him and other ways so abused and threatened him that he was forced to fly for his safety.

JOHN LOUDON McADAM IN AYRSHIRE, 1783 TO 1798

John Loudon McAdam's contribution to road engineering is remembered to this day in the use of his name to describe a type of road surface. His national and international reputation was made long after he had left Ayrshire for the south west of England, but it is of interest to consider to what extent he contributed to road improvement in his native county during his adult years there.

McAdam was born in Ayr on 21st September 1756 to James McAdam of Waterhead and his wife Susannah, through whom he was related to the earls of Dundonald. In 1770 James McAdam died, and John Loudon was sent out to the colony of New York, where his uncle, William McAdam was a prominent merchant. In March 1778, then described as a merchant, the 21 year old McAdam married Miss Gloriana Margaretta Nicholl, who had a large fortune. McAdam spent a further five years in New York before returning to Scotland with his wife and his two eldest children in June 1783. He was then 26 years old.

Soon after his return, McAdam bought the estate of Sauchrie in the parish of Maybole. The former owner, the late William Wallace, had been a road trustee and the solicitor responsible for drawing up the draft of the 1774 Ayr Road Act. In 1787 McAdam added to the estate with the purchase of adjoining grounds from Wallace's trustees. He became first agent, then manager and finally owner of the British Tar Company, established in Muirkirk in 1786 by Archibald Cochrane 9th Earl of Dundonald⁵⁸.

His first attendance at a road committee meeting took place on 30th December 1785, when he was at a district of Carrick meeting in Maybole⁵⁹. He was added to the Maybole parish road committee and to a small committee delegated to see to the erection of a toll bar near Girvan. It is said that in 1787, McAdam made a road from Sauchrie to join the Ayr to Maybole road near Culroy⁶⁰. No mention of this road has been found in the public records of the various road meetings of the time, nor in the Seaforth, Ailsa and Bargany Muniments in the Scottish Records Office. In October that year, at the age of 31, he attended his first general meeting of Ayr Road Trustees in Ayr⁶¹, at which he was appointed to the newly formed committee for the road from Muirkirk towards Sanquhar which came to be included in a subsequent Act of Parliament for a road from Glasgow to Dumfries, which

was mentioned above. He was on the road committee and the committee to examine the bill because he had an interest in the area through which the road would pass.

In October 1788, he attended another general meeting in Ayr, at which no business was conducted. However on 14th November he attended a Lanarkshire county meeting in Hamilton⁶². Here McAdam gave Mr Ainslie's⁶³ report containing estimates for the cost of making the road from Muirkirk to Sanquhar, including the sum of £1511:12:6 for the part within Ayrshire. McAdam was asked to find out if the Ayrshire commissioners objected to the inclusion of the road in the bill and if they would bear any part of the cost. Their favourable attitude had already been expressed at the Quarter Sessions, as described above, and it clearly did not change: the bill became an act in 1789 and the county never contributed to the making of the road.

McAdam attended a meeting of the Ayr to Muirkirk road committee at Mauchline on 7th April 1789, at which the resiting of the Muirkirk toll bar was agreed⁶⁴. He continued to be active in Ayr in 1789⁶⁵. On 30th April he attended the commissioners' land tax meeting, but this was postponed. He attended when the meeting reconvened on 16th June, and presented a petition for £26:10:0, which was allowed, for bridge repairs:

[a bridge] across the Water of Ayr near Muirmiln on the great high road from Ayr by Muirkirk to Douglass is gone into great disrepair and unless soon amended there is reason to believe it will become dangerous for passengers⁶⁶.

Earlier on 5th June came the first meeting of the new road trust at Hamilton⁶⁷. On 2nd July, McAdam was in Muirkirk at a meeting of the trustees for the Ayrshire part⁶⁸, at which it was said that Stewart, McAdam and Grieve⁶⁹ "had attentively examined that part of Ayrshire through which the road was to pass". McAdam and Logan of Knockshinnoch were deputed to go to Sanquhar for a meeting with Dumfriesshire trustees, to consider the appropriate place for the road to cross the county line. This they did on 7th July, as was reported at the Dumfries trustees' meeting on 22nd July⁷⁰. Also on 2nd July, the meeting delegated McAdam, Mr Aird of Crosshall and Grieve:

to receive proposals for making the road and bridges through Ayrshire and to accept such proposals as to them appear the most reasonable and accordingly to bargain with the undertakers so that the road may be carried through with all necessary expedition.

With Stewart, McAdam and Grieve had both examined the line of the road,

having the benefit of Ainslie's survey, and were now, with Aird, given commercial responsibility for negotiating contracts for the making of it.

Perhaps because of their active involvement in the road development in Muirkirk, Stewart and McAdam were both appointed, in their absence, by a meeting of the Carrick trustees in Maybole on 7th December 1789 to a committee for the Balloch road⁷¹. Their remit was to direct application of the conversion money of the parish of Barr to the making of the road south of "the Balloch" (that is, the road to Galloway by what came to be known as Rowantree Toll), and to mark out and contract for the road.

In February 1790, McAdam's committment to the British Tar Company increased dramatically: he acquired it for £15,000, taking over the lease of the tar kilns and obtaining a licence from Dundonald to the coal tar patent⁷². He was supported by a loan of £9,950 from Stewart. Despite this new burden, he was prepared to attend a meeting of the Balloch road committee at Maybole on 15th May 1790. Here they discussed where the road should cross the county line, discussed surveys and estimates, and determined to raise as much as they could towards the cost from private subscriptions. After the line had been surveyed by James Johnston, McAdam and Kennedy of Dunure were delegated to have a contract made out and signed "with all convenient speed".

McAdam's next recorded attendance was at the commissioners' land tax meeting on 30th April 1791, at which a petition was heard from Admiral Keith Stewart and other trustees on the road from Mauchline to Muirkirk⁷³. This related to the grant by the commissioners in April 1788 for £150 to build two bridges over the Waters of Greenock and Garpel, payable upon completion, as was the practice. The three years allowed for building had expired without the work being started, because:

the completing of that line of road had exhausted more than the funds applicable thereto and the difficulty of procuring workmen on account of the numerous works and building carrying on in the Parish of Muirkirk ...

The petitioners craved an extension to the end of 1792, which was granted. McAdam was a signatory to the petition on behalf of Stewart.

Later in 1791, on 18th October McAdam attended a general meeting of trustees in Ayr, at which there was no business conducted. He attended a busier general meeting on 5th March 1792, albeit one with little of concern to him⁷⁴. He and all the other fifteen in attendance were added to the committee on roads through the parish of Stewarton. This was to bolster the committee whose convener, John Dunlop of Dunlop, had been unable

to raise a quorum to deal with the threat of prosecution by their collector, Mr Cuninghame of Lainshaw, who was unwilling to account for his disbursements of the conversion money. At this meeting McAdam heard judgement given against John Logan of Knockshinnoch and others in their dispute over the application of New Cumnock conversion money to the road between Dalmellington and New Cumnock. The following day he attended a commissioners' meeting, which was of little consequence, and on 2nd April was at a general meeting of trustees which conducted no business.

On 21st May 1792 he made his first attendance at a county meeting called by the Lord Lieutenant, Archibald Montgomerie 11th Earl of Eglinton⁷⁵. A draft address to the King was discussed, concerning "seditious writings, groundless jealousies & discontents", which reflected landowners' fears of the revolutionary spirit of the times. He was at another county meeting on 20th June at which the business was an "Address of Thanks to his Majesty, on the Royal Proclamation". On 30th October he attended a general meeting of trustees, which dealt with arrears due to their clerk, David Limond, and the appointment of a collector for St. Quivox. He again attended a land tax meeting on 30th April 1793. This dealt favourably with a petition for £67:14:7½ for the repair of two bridges on the Ayr to Mauchline road, and another for repairing one on the road east of Muirkirk (£35:10:0) and a small bridge opposite Robert Edgar's house in Muirkirk (£13).

In May 1793, McAdam was back on Balloch road business, attending a meeting of the road committee in Maybole on the 4th which was attended by only two others, Thomas Kennedy of Dunure and Primrose Kennedy of Drummillan. They examined the collector's accounts and the payments made and still due to the two contractors, John Adam and Walter Mitchel. Although they had entered the contract in partnership, Mitchel had gone away having been paid by the collector for more of the road than he had completed, so that there was a deficiency in payments to Adam. It was decided, with Adam's approbation, to ask Sir Adam Fergusson of Kilkerran to arbitrate in the matter.

From this point, McAdam attended no more minuted meetings of the Carrick district. When new committees for Carrick were appointed at the general meeting in Ayr on 6th Augúst 1793, which McAdam did not attend, his name was not included. His involvement in county business continued. On 4th March 1794 he attended a county meeting which concerned the internal defence of the county and another on the same subject on 1st May. On 30th April he was at the land tax meeting. He was one of 9 trustees named as a committee to draft a new turnpike bill for Ayrshire. On 6th May

he was at a commissioners' meeting, and on 24th July 1794 at a county meeting at which nineteen Deputy Lieutenants were appointed. James Boswell was among them, but not McAdam. Internal defence was on the agenda: the need to "suppress domestic tumult and repell external invasion". On 30th April 1795, he attended the land tax meeting, and another commissioners' meeting on 6th October.

He was at the land tax meeting on 30th April the following year, when he was appointed to another committee of fourteen commissioners to draft the new turnpike bill. In 1796 he attended commissioners' meetings on 2nd August and 4th October, and was on the committee which examined the accounts of land tax, bridge and rogue money, which reported on the latter date. McAdam was then approaching his finest hour in his involvement in county affairs. At a county meeting on 27th January which the new Lord Lieutenant, Hugh Montgomerie 12th Earl of Eglinton had called to "lay his commission before them", thanks were voted to McAdam and to Quintin McAdam of Waterside (they were not related) for their success in raising the "Quota of men apportioned upon this County, for the service of his Majestys Army and Navy". The meeting discussed the establishment of a military camp in the vicinity of Ayr for the protection of the coast.

On 6th February 1797, at a county meeting which he did not attend, McAdam was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of Ayrshire, one of twenty five. Having achieved this position in the county, McAdam had little more than a year before he would leave it for England. There were a few more meetings to be attended: At the land tax meeting on 1st May 1797 the committee on the new road bill was continued, he was again appointed to the committee on the public accounts, and he was named on a committee to inspect the new valuation roll. That day he also attended a county meeting concerning the Militia Bill. He was at the county meeting on 5th June at which the proposed turnpike tax was disapproved of; at a commissioners' meeting on 3rd October 1797, and at a county meeting on 28th February at which the Lord Lieutenant gave a speech "on the State of the Country".

His last public meeting in the county was one called by the Lord Lieutenant on 19th March 1798. In May McAdam left Ayrshire for Falmouth, never again to live in Scotland. He was 41. His estate at Sauchrie was sold for £8,050, which went to the trustees of the now-deceased Keith Stewart. McAdam still owned the British Tar Company whose lack of success, arising from a long-running dispute with the Muirkirk Iron Company over the quality of coke⁷⁶, and the Navy's use of copper for sheathing its ships rather than pitch for sealing them, was the cause of his departure. His son Alexander

took over management of the tar company. McAdam set up business in Falmouth which survived for some years and made road inspection a sort of unpaid business. He claimed to have travelled 30,000 miles between 1798 and 1814. In 1811, a select committee of the House of Commons invited McAdam to give evidence, which was published as an appendix to the committee's report, and entitled "Observations on the Highways of the Kingdom". This was a very influential work, and McAdam included extracts from it in his book "Remarks on the Present System of Road Making [etc]", which was into its 6th edition by 1822.

In 1816, at the age of 59, McAdam took up a position as surveyor to the Bristol Turnpike Trustees. The rest of his career involved him in the making of roads all over the country and led to his name passing into the language. He died in 1836. In the great matter of the making of roads, McAdam took more out of Ayrshire than he left behind. That is, he gained experience in the general business of making roads; dealt occasionally with collectors, surveyors, contractors and masons; encountered some of the problems which beset turnpike trusts; but left behind no road that could be considered to represent his early work, nor any indication that he had, during his time in Ayrshire, yet formulated his prescription for a robust road surface.

TWENTY FIVE YEARS ON

In his Report for the Board of Agriculture (1793), Colonel William Fullarton of Fullarton took a rosy view of the condition of roads in Ayrshire. "Few counties", he said, "are so well-accommodated". "The turnpike roads are made and repaired by the produce of the tolls; and cross roads by the statute labour of the different parishes". This view was not in complete accord with those of the parish ministers, writing at around the same time for the Statistical Account. His statement regarding statute labour was at odds with the acts, with the minutes of the general meetings of the trustees, and again with the Statistical Account.

The 1767 act restricted the use of statute labour or of conversion money to the roads named in it. As early as 13th January 1768, the trustees affirmed at a general meeting that the "whole statute work" of a parish had to be applied solely to roads in the parish which were contained in the Act, until they were put in proper repair. The 1774 act provided for the restriction to be lifted when the tolls were sufficient to keep the roads in repair and to pay interest on the money borrowed for making them. This condition was most unlikely to be met and gave rise to a number of disputes.

The ministers' reports differed according to how well the trust roads served their parishes. Rev. Alexander Miller in Kilmaurs could boast that they "so divide and quarter this parish, that no farmer is distant from one or the other of them more than the fourth of a mile". In Kilwinning on the other hand, although there were four trust roads, they were in the "very extremities" of the parish, wrote Rev. Thomas Pollock. He added that "the other roads, not included in the present act of parliament, are totally neglected, and are next to impassable for more than three fourths of the year", which is pretty much as they were in 1767.

Others agreed with Pollock. In Ardrossan "the other roads to church and market, to lime and coal, in the winter, and even in a wet summer, are almost impassable" (Rev. John Duncan). In Ochiltree "there is not one made road, excepting the turnpike road to Ayr... and another small portion of road, that crosses the north west side of the parish" (Rev. William Thomson). Old Cumnock was better served because the Earl of Dumfries had made the cross roads at his own expense, serving his own farming, coal and lime interests but of benefit to all the people in the parish. Nor was the

situation rapidly improved. Even in 1837, writing for the *New Statistical Account*, Rev. James Symington wrote that only some of the parish roads in Muirkirk had been repaired and that "it is expected that the remaining roads will be made and repaired ere long".

By the 1790s the Ayr Road Trustees had determined the lines of the principal roads in the county. They had metalled them, though imperfectly so that they often became impassable by carriages and sometimes by horses. But the other roads in the county had been largely unattended and were in at least as bad a state in 1790 as in 1767.

For a final and more general assessment, it is perhaps fitting to turn to John Loudon McAdam, with a quotation from his evidence to the select committee in 1811:

The roads in Scotland are worse than those in England, although materials are more abundant, of better quality, and labour at least as cheap, and the toll duties nearly double; this is because road-making, that is the surface, is even worse understood in Scotland than in England⁷⁷.

NOTES

- 1 The Devil's Dictionary.
- ² Made road was a term used to indicate a metalled road; one that was surfaced with stones
- 3 The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair.
- Convener of the Commissioners of Supply for Ayrshire, 1771 to 1784. His son Hugh became 12th Earl of Eglinton in 1796.
- 5 CO3/4/1 (minutes of the general meetings of Ayr Road Trustees, 1767 to 1805), 24th May 1768. All records beginning "CO3" are in the County Buildings, Ayr, under the supervision of Strathclyde Regional Archives.
- ⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (in National Library of Scotland).
- ⁷ 5 Geo. I, c.30. 5 Geo. I, c.12 was for England and Wales.
- 8 Ann E. Whetstone, Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (1981).
- 9 CO3/1/1. CO3/1/1 to CO3/1/5 are minutes of the Commissioners of Supply for Ayrshire.
- £ sterling is used except where £ Scots is stated.
- 11 CO3/1/2.
- 12 CO3/1/5.
- 13 CO3/1/1.
- Names and estates are spelt as in the trustees' minutes. Where the minutes are inconsistent, the more frequently used spelling is used here.
- 15 CO3/1/3.
- W. Alpert, The Turnpike Road System in England 1663-1840 (1972).
- 17 13 Ann. c 30
- 18 24 Geo. II, c.35.
- 19 Glasgow Journal 25/12/1766 1/1/1767.
- ²⁰ Glasgow Journal 15 22/1/1767.
- The general meetings of the trustees from 1767 to 1805 are in CO/4/1, apart from a small section which is in CO/5/3.
- op. cit.
- ²³ To be a trustee, it was not necessary to be named in the Act.
- And the Earls of Cassillis, Dumfries, Eglinton and Loudoun all attended general meetings and served on road committees.
- Notwithstanding the delegation of the power of appointing their conveners to the committees, the general meeting at times makes the appointment; for instance, see 12th November 1767 and 17th May 1768.
- On 17/9/1767 a new committee was appointed for Road 11 because the first did not satisfy this principle.
- There had still to be a quorum of each individual road committee for the actions to be lawful; see minutes of general meeting on 30th March 1776, concerning a meeting held in Kilmarnock.
- e.g. 2nd June 1774 regarding contracts; 30th March 1776 regarding advertising of meetings.
- Reported at general meeting on 9th August 1769.
- 30 Entered in the minutes of the same meeting.
- £88 to £99 a mile, depending on what measure was used for the fall, which could be from 18 feet 7.2 inches to 21 feet.
- ² English miles were used, except in rare instances.
- ³³ Both in CO3/5/1.
- ³⁴ 45 Geo. III, c. xxviii (a *local* act; the preceding ones were *public* acts).
- 35 CO3/4/1, 28th July 1774.
- 36 ihid
- From the Boswell estate papers, 25th January 1783 (John Strawhorn, private communication).
- 38 CO3/4/1.
- 39 CO3/5/1
- For Boswell's participation as a trustee and his associations with other members, see his published Journals.
- 41 Gavin Hamilton's accounts for the Kilmarnock to Cumnock road, and for the conversion money of Mauchline and Sorn, are in the committee's minute book, CO3/5/1.

- ⁴² CO3/4/1, 29th August, 1776.
- 43 Rogue money was levied by the Commissioners of Supply to meet the expenses of apprehending and detaining criminals.
- 44 The Statistical Account of Scotland.
- 45 CO3/5/1.
- 46 Including James Armour. See also David McClure, James Armour: A Pretty Considerable Mason (Burns Chronicle, Nov. 1993).
- The relevant minutes will be found in CO3/5/1 and CO3/4/1.
- ⁴⁸ Attributed both to Samuel Foss (1895) and Anonymous.
- ⁴⁹ To mark the line by digging pits [sometimes pitts] on it.
- This was permitted by the act and occurred on other occasions.
- 51 Grandson of the former county convener, Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, whose daughter had eloped with John Dunlop of Dunlop.
- ⁵² His surveys and their costs are listed in CO3/4/1, 19th May 1772.
- 53 29 Geo. III, c.79.
- 54 Seaforth Muniments, GD46/13/11 (Scottish Record Office).
- 55 The Irondale Inn.
- ⁵⁶ As detailed in Tables 1, 2 and 4.
- 57 CO3/4/1.
- J. R. Hume and J. Butt, Muirkirk 1786-1802: The Creation of a Scottish Industrial Community (Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 45, 1966, pp. 160-183).
- 59 CO3/5/12.
- ⁶⁰ For instance by G. S. Barry, John Loudon McAdam (*Journal of the Institute of Municipal and Sanitary Engineers*, Vol. 63, No. 10, 1936); this paper was delivered in Ayr on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial in Wellington Square on the centenary of McAdam's death.
- 61 CO3/4/1.
- 62 GD46/13/11 (19).
- 63 John Ainslie, an Edinburgh surveyor.
- 64 GD46/13/4 (letter from Claud Alexander to Keith Stewart refers to McAdam's attendance at the meeting).
- 65 See History of Ayr (John Strawhorn, 1989), esp. p.91/2, for his other activities at this time.
- 66 CO3/1/4.
- 67 GD/46/13/11 (34).
- 68 GD46/13/11 (39).
- ⁶⁹ A partner and the manager of the iron company. Some time before 27th August 1790 he left to become Stewart's factor at Muirkirk (Hume and Butt, op. cit.).
- ⁷⁰ GD46/13/11.
- ⁷¹ CO3/5/12.
- ⁷² Hume and Butt, op. cit.
- 73 CO3/1/4.
- 74 CO3/4/1.
- ⁷⁵ County meetings are recorded in the minute book of the Commissioners of Supply, CO3/1/4.
- For more on this dispute, see Hume and Butt, op. cit., and the Seaforth Muniments.
- Observations on the Highways of the Kingdom, presented to a committee of the House of Commons (extracts included in Remarks on the Present System of Road Making [etc] (6th ed., 1822).

Table 1: Roads Contained in the 1767 Ayr Roads Act

	The permitted 1767 and 1774 tolls (if different) are shown; e.g. A/D. See Table 2.
No.	Description According to the Act.
1	Ayr to Irvine. A
2	Ayr to Kilmarnock. A
3	Irvine by Stewartoun, towards Pollocktoun, so far as that Road is within the County of Ayr. A
4	Irvine to Saltcoates. A
5	Irvine to Kilmarnock. A
6	Kilmarnock, by Kilmares, to Stewartoun. A
7	Stewartoun, to a Place called Whitehouse. A
8	The Road which departs from the Road between Stewartoun and Pollocktoun, to the march of the Shire towards Nalston. A
9	Ayr, by Ochiltree, Old Cumnock, and New Cumnock, towards Sanquhar, so far as that Road is within the said County of Ayr. A/D
10	Ayr to Galstoun, towards Strathaven, so far as that Road is within the said County of Ayr. A/E+F
11.	Aston Pople, East of New Milns, to Overmuir, in the Road to Eaglisham. A
12	Ayr, by Mauchline, Sorn, and Muirkirk, towards Douglas, so far as that Road is within the said County of Ayr. A/D
13	Mauchline to Galstoun. A or B (listed twice in the acts)
14	Kilmarnock to Galstoun. A
15	Water-side of Loudoun, where it departs the Road leading to Straven, towards Kingswell, till it falls into the foresaid Road from Kilmarnock, to Kingswell. A
16	Kilmarnock and Kingswell, to Flockbridge. A
17	From the March of the Shire, towards Eaglisham, till it joins the Road leading from Kingswell, to Flockbridge. A
18	Kilmarnock, by Mauchline, to Old Cumnock. B
19	Galstoun, by Sorn, to Old Cumnock. B
20	Kilwinning, by Dalray and Bieth, to Clark's Bridge. B
21	Dalray to Maich bridge. B
22	Kilwinning, by Bieth, to Caldstream Bridge. B

23 Saltcoats, by Largs, to Kelly Bridge. C

Irvine, by Stair Bridge, to Dalmellingtoun. C

Table 2: Tolls Permitted by the Ayr Road Acts

Category	1767	1767	1767	1774	1774	1774	1774
(toll charges are in shillings and pence)	A	В	С	D.	AE	vd Fla	G
For every Coach ¹ , drawn by Six Horses ² :	4:0	2:8	4:0	8:0	5:4	2:8	4:0
And drawn by Four:	3:0	2:0	3:0	6:0	4:0	2:0	3:0
And drawn by Three:	2:6	1:8	2:6	5:0	3:4	1:8	2:6
And drawn by Two:	1:6	1:0	1:6	3:0	2:0	1:0	1:6
And drawn by One:	0:9	0:6	0:9	1:6	1:0	0:6	0:9
For every Waggon ³ drawn by Six Horses ⁴ :	6:0	4:0	6:0	12:0	8:0	4:0	6:0
And drawn by Five:	5:0	3:4	5:0	10:0	6:8	3:4	5:0
And drawn by Four:	4:0	2:8	4:0	8:0	2:8	2:8	4:0
And drawn by Three:	2:0	1:4	2:0	4:0	2:8	1:4	2:0
And drawn by Two:	1:0	0:8	1:0	2:0	1:4	0:8	1:0
And drawn by One:	0:6	0:4	0:6	.1:0	0:8	0:4	0:6
For every Sledge without Wheels:	0:6	0:4	0:6	1:0	0:8	0:4	0:6
For every Horse, Mare, Gelding, Mule, or Ass, laden or unladen, and not drawing:	0:3	0:45	0:3	0:6	0:4	0:2	0:3
For every Drove of Oxen or Neat Cattle, per Score ⁶ :	0:10	0:10	0:10	1:8	1:1.3	0:6.7	0:10
For every Drove of Horses or Fillies unshod, per Score:	1:8	1:8	1:8	3:4	2:2.7	1:1.3	1:8
For every Drove of Calves, Sheep, Lambs, Hogs, or Goats, per Score:	0:5	0:5	0:5	0:10	0:6.7	0:3.3	0:5

Coach, Chariot, Berlin, Landau, Calash, Chaise, Chair, or Hearse.

Table 3: Ayr Road Trustees

The most active trustees according to attendance at general meetings, 1767 to 1805.

Name	Meetings	First	Last
William Logan of Castlemains *	129	14/07/67	20/10/95
John Campbell of Wellwood *	117	14/07/67	5/01/85
John Hamilton of Sundrum *	116	20/08/67	7/01/05
Mungo Smith of Drongan	105	17/09/67	7/01/05
James McGhie of Skeldon	93	30/04/68	20/10/95
David Bannatyne of Gardrum	82	14/07/67	21/10/77
William Fullarton of Rosemount *	76	4/04/70	7/01/05
Alexander Fairlie of Fairlie	69	20/08/67	30/04/96
James Neill of Shaw [and Barnweil]	68	8/11/70	5/03/93
Alexander Montgomerie of Coylfield	67	14/07/67	30/04/83
Charles Dalrymple of Orangefield	62	14/07/67	6/06/81
William Cuninghame of Auchenskeith [Sir Wm Cuninghame of Robertland]	60	20/08/67	12/09/04
Gilbert McAdam of Merkland *	50	20/08/67	4/12/76
William Crauford of Doonside	48	21/10/77	3/01/03
Hugh Hamilton of Pinmore	47	23/10/87	7/01/05
Alexander Dunlop of Ackett [and Collellan]	47	14/07/67	30/04/88
David Fergusson * [Provost of Ayr for 14 years]	42	20/08/67	19/10/90
Hugh Montgomerie yor. of Coylfield [Hugh Montgomerie of Skelmorlie, later 12th Earl of Eglinton]	41	6/10/67	7/01/05
John Boswell of Knockroon *	39	16/01/71	20/02/82
William McKerrell of Hillhouse	38	20/08/67	30/04/79

Among over 200 proprietors of Douglas, Heron, & Co; See Frank Brady, *So Fast to Ruin*, (AANHS, 1973).

² Horses, Mares, Geldings, or Mules.

³ Waggon, Wain, Cart, or other Wheel Carriage.

⁴ Horses, Oxen, or other Beasts of Draught.

The amount is anomalous; by comparison with other columns, it should be 2d.

and so in proportion for any greater or less Number.

Table 4: New Roads Contained in the 1774 Ayr Roads Act
The permitted tolls are shown; e.g. D. See Table 2.

No.	Description According to the Act.
25	Stewarton to Beith, by the Old-Hall-Bridge over the Water of Lugton. G
26	The Road from Fail till it joins the Road from Ayr to Kilmarnock at Riccartown. G
27	Coyltown to Galston by Gadgirth Bridge and Tarboltown, till where it joins the Road from Kilmarnock to Cumnock, near Lawersbridge. G
28	Coyltown by St. Evox to Munktoun. G
29	Mauchline by Millburn to Craigie Castle. G
30	Mauchline by the old Bridge of Barskimming till it joins the Road at Drongan. G
31	Muncktoun to Tarboltown. G
32	Kilmarnock by Oldroomford through Dundonald, till it joins the Road from Ayr to Irvine near the Loans. G
33	Kilmaurs by Corsehousebridge and Oldroomford through Symington, till it joins the Road between Ayr and Kilmarnock. G
34	The Road from Kilmaurs till it joins the Road from Irvine to Stewartown, near Cuninghamhead. G
35	Hurleford to Riccartown. G
36	Finwicktown to Shawbridge. G
37	Old-Cumnock by Muirkirk to the Confines of the County towards Douglas. G
38	Ayr to Dalmellington. G
39	Dalmellington to New-Cumnock. G
40	Ayr by Maybole to Girvane, which Road divides at the Redbrae near Maybole into two branches, one of which goes by Kirkoswald, and the other by Garpinebridge and Daily. G
41	The Road which departs near Muirston from that Branch of the Road immediately above described as leading by the Garpine-Bridge and Daily to Girvane, and leadeth by Kilkerran-Mill to the Village of Barr. G
42	Ayr by the new bridge of Doon at Greenan along the Coast to Cullean, and from thence till it joins the Road from Kirkoswald to Girvane above Turnberry-Houses. G
43	Girvane to the Confines of the County beyond Glenap, leading to Stranraer; which Road consists of two Branches, one of them going by Ballantrae, and the other by Colmonel. G
44	From the Garpine-Bridge by the Balloch to the Confines of the County leading towards Wigton. G
45	From the Balloch by the Bar, till it joins the Road from Girvane by Colmonell to the Confines of the County towards Stranraer. G

Table 4: Continued

No.	Description According to the Act.
46	Old Daily by Penkill till it joins that branch of the Road from Girvane to the Confines of the County by Colmonel. G
47	Maybole to Girvane by Drumelland, Dalquharran and Killochan. G
48	From Ladyburn by Drumgirnanford to join the Road from Maybole to Girvane, immediately herein before described, near Dalziellely. G
49	Maybole to Dalrymple-Bridge, and from thence to Kirkmichael. G
50	The Road from Dalrymple-Bridge till it joins the Line of Road from Ayr to Cumnock, near Coyltoun. G
51	The Road leading from the said Bridge by Carclowie and Doonholm to the Town of Ayr. G
52	Maybolle to Straitoun by Kirkmichael. G
53	Crosshill to Straitoun. G
54	The Road from Crosshill by Kirkmichael-Bridge till it join the Road from Maybole to Straitoun. G
55	Straitoun to Dalmellington. G
56	Kilwinning by Corsehill Chapel and Milnburn to Dreghorn. D
57	Milnburn by Hygenshouse to the West End of the Town of Irvine. D
58	The Road which departs from the Road between Ayr and Douglass at Garranhill, in the Parish of Muirkirk, and leads from Garranhill aforesaid by Blackside and Waterhead, and from thence to the Confines of the County of Lanerk.
59	Old Cumnock by Halglenmuir to Crawfordjoan. D
60	From Stewartoun towards Kaimshill, and from that to Dunlop-House, and from that to the Road leading to Glasgow. D
61	The Road from the Cockpitt near Stone-Castle by Armsheugh, Auchinharvie, and Dunlop, till it joins the Turnpike Road leading from Glasgow by Nielstoun to Ayrshire. D
62	Middletoun by Greenvale and Armsheugh to Kilwinning. D
63	The Road from Fail-Bridge to Lochbrown till it joins the Road from Mauchline to Kilmarnock D

Table 5: Extract from Mauchline and Sorn Conversion

Money Accounts

Charge the said Gavin Hamilton Dr.	3	S	d	3	s	d
To Balance due by the Collector at last Clearance 1st June 1780.		nen ener	00.11	13	2	8
To Arrears of Statute Money in the Parish of Machline for 1778.	22	6	8.5	ul mo I nim	8 F	
To Arrears of Do. in the Parish of Sorn for said year.	20	5	2.5	alodyal	W B	
Pideo III II I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	ekamen	1994		43	1	11
The Valuation of the parish of Machline is £5251:8:4 Scots which at 3d p. pound is of Composition.	65	12	9.5	yilou le Rot		
Eighty nine day labourers in said parish besides those that pay as tennents etc. at 3s each.	13	7	S of a	liodys!	4 5	
Three Carters in said Town at 4/6 each.	Hirles	13	6	e Ros	T	
The Road from Rimours till it joins the Road from fireign to S	79	13	3.5	uellar		
Deduce therefrom the valuation of severall houses in the Town of Mauchline valued in whole at £77:12:8 which the Possessors thereof claim as not being bound to pay above their 3// each at 3d p. pound.	iotori 10 likt Isuori	19	5	uoliai kniek mudnii	S K	
[for 1779 to 1782 at £78:13:9.5 per annum]			109 0	314	15	2
The Valuation of the Parish of Sorn is £5391:1:4 Scots which at 3d p. pound of Composition is	67	7	9	oriemo		
Fourty two day labourers in said Parish at 3/ each	6	6				
[for 1779 to 1782 at £73:13:9 per annum]		10.0	tolo	294	15	0
Discharge the said Gavin Hamilton Cr. [Deduction for over-valuation of Bankend]	Partie Partie No Re	odt,		7	10	
By Cash payed Alexander Pedine to Account of Making the Road from Sorn to Muirkirk. [payments 22/12/1780 to 6/5/1784]	elegi gong	en Di	ed que	216	7	0.5
Payd George Hutcheson for upholding the Road from Machline to Dippleburn. [payments 14/12/1782 to August 1783]	ng in in and the en Cost	chi obj		89	9	2
By Payd My Lord Justice Clerk. [Mauchline conversion money for Road 30, 1779 to 1782 inc.]	so by	loimi loimi	nall t	39	10	4

Table 6: Extract from Road No. 18 Accounts

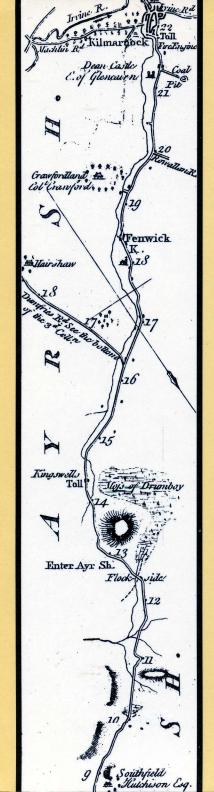
Charge Gavin Hamilton Writer in Machline their Cashier.	3	S	d	3	s	d
To the Rent of Howfoord Tollbarr from Whitsunday 1783 to Do. 1784 Sett to Alexander Jamieson.	e RSI	ľA.		35	15	
To the Rent of Machline Tollbarr from Whitsunday 1783 to Do. 1784 Sett to James Dumbar.		. 33		60		
To the Rent of Hurrellfoord Tollbarr from Whitsunday 1783 to Do. 1784 Sett to David Mitchell.		M P	esno?	47	-	
Discharge				-		
By cash Payd the Earl of Dumfries to Account of His Lordship's Interest on said road being the 6th & 7th Payment of the like Sume.	14	(Nu 152	o nas glimi	Law He pil	pipita Nerva	Rod
Do. Payd. the Earl of Loudoun Do.	14	ega e e e	12000	11.10	vor s	11 18 28
Earl of Marchmont.	14	(1) E	DETOSA	onor:	-	myA,
Earl of Glencairn.	14					Ayrıs
Mr Boswell of Auchinleck.	28	HLL)	QPA DI	U qu	Sut	
Lord Justice Clerk.	14	EWG.)) SV	(9316	
Sir John Whitefoord.	21	a) n	A 10	SONO	d ag	
Hugh Logan of Logan.	14	Syrst	L mi a	gA s	note	
Sir William Cuningham.	7	0/0/	1961	II SIN	UEVE	
Netherplace.	7	Ideo	507 0	C-MI	enen	
Baillie Parker and Mr William Auld [£7 each].	14	951	23,61	ner!	Ins	
Wild (MacKenson)	KIPLAL.	QUI.	0661620	161	21 HG	
By Payd John Farquhar Gray of Gilmilnscroft Eight Payments of £3:10 each to Account of the Interest of his Debt	ere (C yrshi	gyrsh Of A	s of A Frade	28	end Ship	orr orr
By Payd William Morton Mason in Cumnock for Building a Bridge of Gliesnock at Cumnock receipt 8 June 1780.	irkw 1324	A).51	yrshi Allo	22	Nial d	
Payd Allan Fisher for Drink allowed the Tacksman of the Hurrellfoord Tollbar p. acct.	(San	shire	ryA s	insl	2	6
Payd James Armour for repairs made on Howfoord Bridge p. receipt 3 March 1781.	Alex	ry (sided	ing) :	ooce d Ay	7	6
Payd Allan Fisher for Drink to the Tacksmen of the Tollbarrs 1780 &1781 p. rect. 25 April 1781.	rida	yA To	açn)	A Z Z	7	8
Payd Robert Sutter for Repairing a pen upon the Road near Cumnock 19th June 1781.					9	8

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