

Inverkeithing Research Report

[Includes North Queensferry]



Sacred Landscape Project

St Mary's College, University of St Andrews

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Part 1 - Inverkeithing

Fig 1. Inverkeithing and North Queensferry.
Ordnance Survey 1" Coloured Sheet 32 (1865).¹



Fig 2. Coat of Arms of Inverkeithing.²



¹ 'Ordnance Survey One-inch to the mile maps of Scotland, 1st Edition, 1856-1891 - Sheet 32', *National Library of Scotland. Map Home*, Accessed 4 March, 2021, <https://maps.nls.uk/view/216384233>.

² 'Inverkeithing', *Heraldry of the World*, Accessed 20 February, 2021, <https://www.heraldry-wiki.com/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Inverkeithing>.

Introduction

Inverkeithing is a coastal community that have been at the hub of religious, economic and political transport routes for the past 1000 years or more. Inverkeithing's coat of arms (see Fig 1), the earliest record of which dates from 1296, marks the importance of its maritime and sacred past. They consist of a ship placed next to the town's patron, St Peter. The town's sacred past can, by tradition, be traced to the fifth century. However, it is only firmly supported by documentary evidence from the eleventh century, around the time that St Margaret is reputed to have founded the ferry crossing that led to the establishment of North Queensferry. Throughout the Middle Ages it was a key location on the pilgrim road to St Andrews and Dunfermline, possessing chapels and hospitals catering to the needs of pilgrims. By the later Middle Ages, it was also home to a Franciscan Friary, while the religious experience of the townspeople mainly centred around their large and impressive parish church. Following the Reformation, Inverkeithing's parish church was the main focus for religious activity in the town until the late eighteenth century, when Burgher, United Presbyterian, Free Church and, more recently, Episcopal, Baptist and Catholic meeting places were introduced. In more recent times, the sacred heritage of Inverkeithing has led to its inclusion as a stopping place for modern day 'pilgrims' on the Fife Pilgrim Way- the new long distance walking route opened in 2019.

Religious sites and the landscape of Inverkeithing

The naturally enclosed bay, and its location close to the old north (Roman) road, were key stimuli for the development of a community at Inverkeithing, but of equal import was its place within a wider religious landscape. This wider landscape was the southern pilgrim road to St Andrews, and later, Dunfermline. That route, particularly once the pilgrim ferry was established in the late eleventh century, confirmed Inverkeithing as a transport hub and crossroads for maritime and overland routes, and as a key stopping place for pilgrims, establishing the town's strong association with hospitality. This also made it an ideal candidate to become a Royal Burgh in twelfth century, a status that has played a key role in the town's identity and economic life ever since. Thereafter, the presence of pilgrims, and the growth of the town, has had a significant impact on the built landscape of the burgh, with the construction of the hospital and chapel, parish church and later the friary, with their associated graveyards and gardens. The parish church and surviving part of the friary (the Hospitium) dominated the townscape until the modern era. The period post c.1750 has seen the proliferation of churches

and support buildings such as manses and church halls. The immediate repurposing of the Hospitium, post-reformation, has also begun something of a local tradition, with buildings that are now longer required (due to religious change or more recently the consolidation of the congregations), taken into public control, and being transformed into vital community resources for the people of Inverkeithing.

The inclusion on the Fife Pilgrim Way (2019), has led to the improvement of walking and cycling paths around the town, and has the potential to bring further alterations to the landscape should the scheme be a success. Religious buildings, like the parish church, and the hospitium, also remain important cultural spaces and assets for the community of Inverkeithing.

1. Early Christianity (c500-c1000AD)

Site of Interest

Church/Chapel of St Erat

Nature of the Site

Inverkeithing first appears in the documentary record in the eleventh century, although it is likely that the settlement existed there long before that time.³ Local tradition records that Christianity was brought to the area in around 500AD by a holy man called St Erat. He was believed to have founded a church on what would later become the parish church (St Peter's). It is also possible that by the year 1000 the settlement was already connected to the pilgrim road which led to the shrine of St Andrew in eastern Fife. The earliest long-distance pilgrims to the shrine are recorded in the tenth century, around 100 years before Queen Margaret (d. 1093) founded the Queensferry crossing. No written evidence, and very little archaeological evidence, survives however, to support the St Erat legend, or the presence of pilgrims prior to the eleventh century.

I. Church/Chapel of St Erat



Fig 3. Plaque outside the Parish Church of Inverkeithing

An ancient well known as *Heriot's* or *Erat's*, after which nearby Heriot Street is also named, can be found close to the site of the later medieval parish church of Inverkeithing. The well is first recorded in a charter of 1219, but the earliest firm reference to it as *Eriot's well* can be dated no earlier than the year 1588.⁴ A tradition seems to have developed in the late nineteenth century which suggested that Erat was a follower of St Ninian (one of the most popular medieval Scottish saints, whose shrine was at Whithorn in Galloway), and that he arrived in Inverkeithing sometime in the fifth century.⁵ The well, and a chapel at nearby Fordell, are the only recorded dedications to a saint named Erat or Therot in Scotland.⁶

³ A settlement was certainly in existence in Inverkeithing in the mid-eleventh century, when it first enters the written record in a charter dating from the reign of Macbeth (1040-1057), Thomas Thomson, ed, *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1841), pp. 114.

⁴ Cosmo Innes, ed., *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc. Registrum Abacie de Aberbrothoc* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1848-56), i, no. 119, A. T Simpson & S Stevenson, *Historic Inverkeithing: the archaeological implications of development* (Glasgow, Scottish burgh survey series, 1981), p. 11.

⁵ This tradition seems to have developed in the late nineteenth century as the story of Erat does not feature in the Statistical Accounts of 1794 or 1834, or any other early histories of the burgh. Some of the earliest discussion is in James Wilkie, *Bygone Fife. From Culross to St Andrews. Traditions, Legends, Folklore and Local History of "The Kingdom"* (Edinburgh, 1931), p. 38-39, William Stephen, *The Story of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 13-14.

⁶ National Records of Scotland, Papers of the Henderson Family of Fordell, GD172/17/1, RMS, vii no. 442.

17 June 1219 -4 March 1229

Philip de Moubray, for the welfare of the soul of the late William, his lord, king of Scotland and for the welfare of the souls of himself and his spouse Galiena and their heirs, has given, granted, and by this his charter established to Arbroath Abbey one full toft in the burgh of Inverkeithing which Roger de Fonte (Wells?) held, on the eastern side of the parish church next to the well, in free, pure and perpetual alms, with all its pertinents and easements, free and quit from all service, custom and secular exaction.⁷

The only other possible evidence of early Christianity in the area is the Inverkeithing Stone, a 10-foot-high cross-slab, destroyed in 1835, which stood only c.300 metres from where Clockcluine Road meets the Great North Road (inland from the coast). It is not clear whether the stone had any religious significance, it may have been used a boundary marker or as a memorial to a battle.

Fig 4. Image of the lost Inverkeithing Stone.⁸



⁷ Innes, ed., *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, i, no. 119.

⁸ A rubbing from a replica by L. A. Reid based on a drawing in John Stuart, *The sculptured stones of Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1856) v. i, plate 131.

2. High Medieval Christianity (1000-1300)

Sites of Interest

Chapel & Hospital

Parish Church (St Peter's)

Introduction/Nature of the Site

Inverkeithing was granted Royal Burgh status sometime in the 1150s, and flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as both a trading hub and an important stopping point for pilgrims.⁹ Four annual fairs were held in the town, the most important of which was held on Lammas Day (1 August), a traditional harvest festival that is also connected with St Peter, the burgh's patron saint. The feast day of St Peter-in-Chains, commemorates that saint's miraculous escape from captivity. The settlement was a key station on probably the most important and well used of the routes by which pilgrims approached St Andrews. Most pilgrims from the south would have taken the ferry across the Forth and then stopped to give thanks for safe passage at the chapel dedicated to St James in North Queensferry. That process would have taken some time, so it is likely that many of the pilgrims would spend the night two miles further along the coast road at Inverkeithing, before travelling either north west towards Dunfermline or north east towards St Andrews the following morning.¹⁰ Passing pilgrims were served by the chapel, while the community at Inverkeithing used the parish church.

I. Inverkeithing: Chapel and Hospital

The *chapel of Inverkeithing* is first mentioned in a charter from 1150s which noted that it belonged to Abbey of Dunfermline. It has been suggested that this chapel later became the parish church, but the charter clearly states that it was located outside of the burgh, so it is likely to have been a different building, possibly related to a hospital that was found close to the west port of the burgh.¹¹ It was last mentioned in the 1220s and seems to have disappeared sometime thereafter. A hospital, located close to the chapel, is recorded in 1196, and may have provided hospitality for pilgrims.¹² A charter from 1202x1212 noted that some of the tithes of the parish were also used by the monks of Dunfermline to defray the costs of the poor and travellers, so it is likely that there were further facilities in the town, long before the Friary with its *Hospitium* was constructed in the later Middle Ages.¹³

⁹ G. W. S Barrow, ed, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, i, *The Acts of Malcolm IV* (Edinburgh, 1960), nos.178, 212, 232, Cosmo Innes, ed, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Bannatyne Club, 1842), no. 46.

¹⁰ There the road headed north past Scotlandwell, crossing a bridge there over the river Leven and then on St Andrews through Markinch, Kennoway and Ceres, Peter, Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 1999), pp. 58-59

¹¹ John Spottiswoode, *Liber S. Mari de Dryburgh*, (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1847), no. 250, William Stephen, *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (Aberdeen, 1921), p. 25.

¹² Spottiswoode. *Dryburgh*, no. 250.

¹³ Innes, *Dunfermline*, no.141. (A charter of 1453 notes that the hospital was located beside the Brade Croft (west side of Hope Street now 1-11. Stephen suggests just inside the west gate (although it could have been just outside), Stephen, *History of Inverkeithing*, p. 25.

1152 X 1159

Robert, bishop of St Andrews, for Dunfermline Abbey; has granted churches of Perth (PER) and Stirling (STL) and their schools, churches of Newburn (FIF), Kinglassie (FIF) and Kirkcaldy (FIF), **chapel of Inverkeithing** (FIF), church of Inveresk (MLO), chapel of Cousland (MLO), teinds of Keith (Humbie, ELO), and churches of Woolmet (MLO) and Hailes (MLO), reserving episcopal right and custom.¹⁴

15 March 1196

Pope Celestine III has established to Alan, abbot, and the brethren of Dryburgh, the churches of Lessudden (St Boswells, ROX), Mertoun (BWK) Channelkirk (BWK), Saltoun (ELO), Lanark (LAN), Kilrenny (FIF), Askeby (Westmorland), Bozeat (Northampton), the grange of Kedslie (ROX), **the hospital of Inverkeithing** (FIF) with pertinents, from the gift of the king of Scots.....¹⁵

1225 X 1236

Prior Henry and convent of St Andrews for Dunfermline Abbey; have proffered consent to grant and confirmation which Bishop William of St Andrews made concerning churches, possessions and all ecclesiastical benefices which Dunfermline hold and possess in bishopric of St Andrews, just as contained in bishop's charter, namely..... **the chapel of Inverkeithing** (FIF)..... saving episcopal rights and customs.¹⁶

II. Inverkeithing parish church (St Peter's)

What would become the parish church of Inverkeithing is first documented when it was granted by the baron of Inverkeithing, Waltheof, son of Gospatrick to Dunfermline Abbey in a charter dating from between the years 1165 and 1182.¹⁷ By the early 1200s, when a firm parish structure was being gradually put into place across the kingdom of the Scots, this church had achieved full parochial status, and it was formally consecrated on 26 August 1244 by the bishop of St Andrews, David de Bernham.¹⁸ It was a structure of some size as several large meetings were held there in the thirteenth century, the most famous of which, between representatives of the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld and monks from the Celi De order was scheduled for 6 November 1250, although the Celi de did not show.¹⁹ One of the strangest tales to come

¹⁴ Norman Shead, eds, *Scottish Episcopal Acta, volume I: The Twelfth Century* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 2016), no. 120.

¹⁵ Spottiswoode. *Dryburgh*, no. 250

¹⁶ Innes, *Dunfermline*, no. 106

¹⁷ Innes, *Dunfermline*, no. 165

¹⁸ A.O. Anderson, ed, *Early Sources of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1922), ii 525. It was probably already dedicated to St Peter at this point, although our earliest firm reference for Peter as patron saint of the church comes from a charter of 1428. A charter of 1428 relating to the lord of Fordell was *drawn up in the parish church of St Peter of Inverkeithing*, D. Easson & A. Macdonald, eds, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (Scottish Historical Society, Edinburgh, 1938), no. 48, page 55-56.

¹⁹ The Culdees did not show and afterwards disappeared from the records, William Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands, as they appear in history: with an appendix of evidences* (Dublin: Gill, 1864), Appendix M. No

from Inverkeithing relates to an incident that was reputed to have happened in the year 1282 and involved the parish priest. According to the Lanercost Chronicle, the priest so enraged the local population with his Easter plays, that they murdered him. While there may well have been some truth in the story of a parish priest in Fife who put on slightly odd Easter plays, it is likely that it had been exaggerated by the time it reached the chronicle compiler, a Franciscan friar called Richard of Durham. It is also possible that he deliberately embellished it himself.²⁰

1165 X 1182

*Waltheof son of Cospatric has granted and given and by this his charter established to Dunfermline Abbey the church of Inverkeithing (FIF) in perpetual alms, for the love of God and St Margaret.*²¹

1282 Lanercost Chronicle

About this time (c.1282), in Easter week, the priest of Inverkeithing, named John, revived the profane rites of Priapus, collecting young girls from the villages, and compelling them to dance in circles to the honour of Father Bacchus. When he had these females in a troop, out of sheer wantonness, he led the dance, carrying in front of a pole a representation of the human organs of reproduction, and singing and dancing himself like a mime, he viewed them all and stirred them to lust with filthy language. Those who held respectable matrimony in honour were scandalised by such a shameless performance, although they respected the parson because of the dignity of his rank. If anyone remonstrated kindly with him, he (the priest) became worse (than before) violently reviling him.

*And (whereas) the iniquity of some men manifestly brings them to justice, (so) in the same year, when his parishioners assembled according to custom in the church at dawn in Penance Week, at the hour of discipline he would insist that certain persons should prick with goads (others) stripped for penance. The burgesses, resenting the indignity inflicted upon them, turned upon the author; whole, while he as author was defending his nefarious work, fell the same night pierced by a knife, God thus rewarding him that deserved for his wickedness...*²²

16. Discussed in GWS Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots. Government, Church and Society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century* (Edinburgh, 2003), p. 191.

²⁰ The second half of the account is the most dubious, as the murder of the priest by his parishioners was incredibly rare and would have been taken very seriously by the Scottish Church and lay authorities, leading to a paper trail and some reference in other chronicles from the period, Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c.550-1307* (Routledge, London, 1996), pp. 493-496

²¹ Innes, *Dunfermline*, no. 165

²² Herbert Maxwell, ed, *The chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346* (Glasgow, 1913), pp. 29-30.

3. Late Medieval Christianity (1300-1560)

Sites of Interest

Parish Church (St Peter's)

Friary and Hospitium

Introduction/Nature of the Site

In the later Middle Ages Inverkeithing remained an important trading burgh and a frequent stopping place for the Scottish royal house on their way to and from Dunfermline. The piety and wealth of the town's burgh elite was reflected in the development of a large and complex parish church, and in the foundation of a number of chaplaincies within it, dedicated to a range of different saints. Lammas Day continued to be an important festival, with the town's horse market attracting James IV (1488-1513) in 1508. Inverkeithing continued to be an important stop on the pilgrim way to St Andrews and Dunfermline in the later Middle Ages, although the peak in pilgrimage to these sites was probably over. The foundation of a Franciscan Friary in Inverkeithing in the fourteenth century was probably partly due to this pilgrim road location, and a reflection of the general prosperity of the burgh.²³

1508 (1 Aug)

James IV bought three horses in Inverkeithing at £6 5s, £3 10s and £3 3s respectively- he also bought three bridles for 4s. While in INV 18s was spent for the expenses of Pyke de la Mair and Pieris the Frenchman (a painter) and for their horse costs.²⁴

I. Inverkeithing parish church (St Peter's)

Although the current building was substantially remodelled following a fire in 1825, enough of the medieval fabric remains, or can be reconstructed from the documentary record, to indicate that the late medieval church was an impressive structure that would have dominated the local skyline.²⁵ The earliest stone structure may well have been damaged during the Wars of Independence, as the 1310s and 1330s saw disputes between the vicar Willam Guky and his successor, John of Kinross, and the monks of Dunfermline over the costs of restoring the choir and roof.²⁶ The west tower was added in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and by the fifteenth century the church had a large nave flanked by aisles on either side.²⁷ This large space was necessary to hold the 8 separate altars, that could be found in the church, each one dedicated to a different saint. This embellishment of the church was partly a result of the

²³ John Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland, Fife*, (London, 1988), p. 250.

²⁴ *TA*, iv p. 138.

²⁵ As has been done effectively by Richard Fawcett, 'Inverkeithing- Architecture', *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches Inverkeithing*, Accessed 20 February, 2021, <https://arts.standrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158650>

²⁶ Innes, *Dunfermelyn*. nos. 338, 340, 344 & 372.

²⁷ Fawcett, *Inverkeithing*.

development of the doctrine of purgatory, the idea that most people did not proceed directly to heaven when they died, but spent time in an unpleasant waiting area. Receiving official sanction from the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, it was believed that to lessen the time your soul spent in purgatory it was important to lead a good life, to die well and to secure prayers and masses for your soul after death. The most effective form of such prayers by the later Middle Ages were those performed by priests at chapels and altars dedicated to saints, who would be expected to intercede with God on your behalf. The precarious nature of life in the era of war, famine and plague combined with this new doctrine, to stimulate a proliferation of such altar foundations, known as chantries or chaplainries in Scottish churches.

Fig 5. Parish Church of St Peter, West Tower



While the high altar of the church of Inverkeithing was dedicated to St Peter, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, a number of burgesses and members of the local nobility founded subsidiary altars in the church. The earliest of these, dedicated to St Michael the Archangel, was founded by Robert Stewart, the duke of Albany in 1406, and later belonged to the Stewarts of Rosyth. This was followed before 1420 by altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the Holy Cross, under the patronage of the town council, and another founded in 1453 by a burgess couple John and Margaret Binning, dedicated to John the Baptist. A chaplain of the altar of St Katherine of Alexandria was first noted in 1477, and in 1484 a group of burgesses John Davidson, Richard Spital, David Scott, William Broun, John Story, Thomas Broun, John Scott and William Bardie, and the Blackburn family founded an altar dedicated to the Holy Blood. John Scott of Spencerfield founded an altar dedicated to St Lawrence the Martyr in 1495, and in 1512 there was a reference to the altar of St Ninian of Whithorn.

Fig 6. Baptismal Font (R. Fawcett).²⁸



The saints chosen were fairly typical of those popular across Scotland and Western Europe in the period. The one that stands out is the Holy Blood altar, a dedication normally found in the larger trading burghs, which gives a strong indication of the involvement of Inverkeithing merchants in contacts with Flanders, and in particular Bruges, in the fifteenth century.²⁹ It would have been the burgesses of Inverkeithing who were responsible for funding additions to their church, and most of the internal decoration, although it is possible that Anabella Drummond or her husband (Robert III, 1390-1406) gifted the c.1400 baptismal font (see Fig 6). The font (probably hidden at the Reformation and discovered during

²⁸ Fawcett, 'Inverkeithing'.

²⁹ RMS, ii, no. 1596, Richard Oram, 'Inverkeithing- History', *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*, Accessed 20 February, 2021, <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158650>.

renovation in the parish church in 1806) is also decorated with shields bearing the arms of the royal house, and Anabella's own Drummond heraldry combined with the royal arms, and those of four local landowners (Foulis of Colinton and Bruce of Balcaskie quartered; Melville of Glenbervie; Ramsay of Denoune).³⁰ It may have been gift to the town from Anabella and her husband, or was possibly commissioned to commemorate her close connection to Inverkeithing.

Antiquarianism and the discovery of the font

From the early eighteenth century, a renewed interest in the past stimulated by the Enlightenment and works by writers such as Walter Scott, saw the publication of a number of travel and history books on Fife and a growing in interest in archaeology. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also saw the production of parish histories, often written by local ministers. The minister of Inverkeithing, Andrew Robertson, who wrote both the 1794 and 1836 Statistical Account entries for the parish, had a firm interest in the past, as can be seen in his reaction to the discovery of the medieval font in 1806...He noted that; *when the late church was repaired in 1806, there was found a font made of fine sandstone, which had been placed in the porch of the present church. Its form is hexagonal, the extreme breadth being a little more than three feet, and, with its pedestal, it is about four foot high. The bowl of it is a sort of hemisphere, two feet broad, and one deep, with a hole an inch in diameter, pierced through the bottom. It had been carefully buried and surrounded with straw, the remains of which were still beside it, and it contained, within the bowl of it, a quantity of human bones, probably relics, and an ink glass. The six angles of it are wrought in a kind of ornamental pillar, and on every one of the six faces, there is a bust an angel with expanded wings, having on its breast, and supported by its hands, a shield of a triangular form with curved outlines. These shields contain ancient armorial bearings.*³¹

Altars in parish church

28 Sept 1406

*Robert, Duke of Albany, granted, and by this our present charter has confirmed to God and Blessed Mary the Virgin and Blessed Michael the Archangel, all the lands of a third part of the barony of Rosyth, within the sheriffdom of Fife, to support one suitable chaplain at the altar of Saint Michael the Archangel in the parish church of Inverkeithing to officiate in perpetuity.*³²

20 Aug 1420

Indulgence.

The bailies of the whole community of the royal burgh of Inverkeithing, had an altar in honour of the Holy Cross, and another in honour of St Mary constructed in the parish church, partly funded and endowed a chaplaincy at each and intended to endow them more fully. But on account of a fire in the town the rent of the altars has been greatly diminished. Supplication for an indulgence for those who visit the altars on feasts of Holy Cross (16 Sept), Assumption

³⁰ Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Inventory of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (Edinburgh, 1933), pp. 152-53.

³¹ *NSA*, Vol. IX, 1845, p. 240-241.

³² *RMS*, i, no. 888.

(15 Aug) and Nativity of St Mary (8 Sept) and contribute to the upkeep, the indulgence is to continue to be granted until the rents of altars are raised to 20 marks.³³

9 Apr 1453

Mortification to John de Bening, burgess of Inverkeithing, for masses for James II, royal family and his family he founds an altar in honour of John the Baptist in the parish church situated on the north side of the church.³⁴

28 Jan 1478

Instrument of resignation and sasine in favour of sir David Story, chaplain of the altar of St. Katharine the Virgin in the parish church of Innerkething, in name and on behalf of said altar of a tenement in said burgh, on resignation by David Kyrkcaldy.³⁵

20 Aug 1484

Royal (James III) confirmation of a charter by John Davidson, Richard Spittal, and David Scot, bailies, William Brown, John Story, Thomas Brown, John Scot, and William Bardy, councillors of the burgh of Inverkeithing, by which, with the consent of the executors of John Blackburn, fellow-burgess of the said burgh, and of Janet his wife, and of the guardians and governors of William Blackburn, nephew of the late John, and of the son and heir of the late William Blackburn, son and heir of the said late John, for the salvation of King James II, Queen Mary, his consort, etc., they granted, in pure alms, to one chaplain celebrating mass annually at the altar of the Holy Blood in the parish church of the burgh of Inverkeithing on the north side, the annual rent of 10 marks.³⁶

12 Apr 1512

Payment of 15s annual rents to the altar of St Ninian in the parish church of Inverkeithing by Alexander Setho.³⁷

³³ E. R. Lindsay & A. I. Cameron, eds, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-22* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1934), pp. 228-29.

³⁴ NRS Inverkeithing parish church, letters of mortification 1453-1509, GD1/224/1.

³⁵ NRS Records of Inverkeithing Burgh, B34/20/8.

³⁶ RMS, ii, no. 1596.

³⁷ Erskine Beveridge, ed, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584* (Edinburgh, 1917), no. 360.

II. Friary and Hospitium

Fig 7. Friary and its lands. OS Map Sheet NT18SW 1967.³⁸



In the second half of the fourteenth century a Franciscan Friary was founded in Inverkeithing.³⁹ The Greyfriars, as they were known from the colour of their cowls, were a significant presence in the burgh, with their buildings and gardens stretching from Queen Street south, down to the harbour.⁴⁰ The establishment of this new house was a reflection of Inverkeithing's economic and political importance as a royal burgh. It may also have been connected to the town's position on the pilgrim road. The only section of the friary to survive aboveground is the *hospitium*, a building

whose purpose was to provide hospitality to travellers and important guests, such as Queen Annabella Drummond (consort of Robert III, 1390-1406), who stayed in the town in the 1390s. Contemporary evidence of the friary is limited, with our firmest information on their property holdings surviving from later materials.

In 1384 the house of the Grey or Minorite Friars in Inverkeithing was made free of a series of financial burdens

*1384 De qua, allocati per donacionem et concessionem domini regis facta in elemosina perpetua Eratribus Minoribus de Inverkethyn de quodam tenemento in villa de Inverkethyn situato quod inhabitant dicti Eratres, ij s. iiij d., ita quod ipsum tenementum de cetero sit liberum ab omni solucione hujus pensionis, et ab omnibus aliis oneribus secularibus quibuscunque. Summa hujus allocacionis patet.*⁴¹

James IV regularly gave alms to the friars in the early sixteenth century.

*6 September 1507 Item, to the Freris of Inverkethinu, . . . xiiij s.*⁴²

The lands of the friars in Inverkeithing are set out in a charter from 1605;

1605 (17 June)

*The king (James VI), has conceded in feuferme to Mark Swinton, provost of the burgh of Inverkeithing, and Joanne Swinton, his wife and all their heirs, the place of the hospitium of Inverkeithing with the gardens (between the lands of Robert Dempster and David Stanhouse, and the sea shore), which once belonged to the friars of the order of St Francis of Inverkeithing...*⁴³

³⁸ Ordnance Survey Map Sheet NT18SW 1967, *National Library of Scotland. Map Home*, Accessed 4 March, 2021, <https://maps.nls.uk/view/188146119#zoom=2&lat=5572&lon=3701&layers=BT>

³⁹ An earlier tradition that it was founded in the 1260s was based on a forged charter.

⁴⁰ As described in a 1605 charter, *RMS*, vi, no. 1626,

⁴¹ *ER*, ii, p. 127.

⁴² *TA*, iii, p. 294.

⁴³ *RMS*, vi, no. 1626.

4. Reformation and Early Modern Period (1560-1800)

Sites of Interest

Parish Church (St Peter's)

Hospitium

St John's Church

Introduction/Nature of the Site

The sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries were a period of economic decline for Inverkeithing, resulting from a combination of competition from other burghs, the end of pilgrim traffic and the impact of war, climate change and pandemic disease. No account survives of the arrival of the Protestant Reformation in Inverkeithing, but the friary was in ruins by August of 1560, and parish church is likely to have been 'purged' around March of 1560 when the Abbey of Dunfermline was sacked by the Lords of the Congregation.⁴⁴ Thereafter St Peter's, adapted to the new form of Protestant worship, was the only formal place of worship in the town until the congregation split in 1752. This split followed a dispute over the appointment of a new minister, Andrew Richardson, by the church's patron, and against the wishes of a large number of the congregation.

I. Inverkeithing Parish Church (St Peter's)

Fig 8. Edinburgh Firth. Greenville Collins (1693).⁴⁵



Following the Reformation, St Peter's seems to have been relatively easily adapted to the new form of worship, although it required significant repairs between 1618 and 1641 (when a new Michael Burgerhuys bell was installed in the tower), and again in the 1770s. It was the largest and most striking building in the town throughout the early modern period, and featured on many of the early maritime maps to include the town, such as Greenville Collins' map from 1693 (Fig. 6), and a French map of 1757 (Fig 7). It is clear that the church's spire was a useful point of reference for mariners. As, prior to 1752-53, the only place of worship in the parish (which included Rosyth from 1618, and was used by used by some members of the community at North Queensferry), there was considerable competition for space in church. This competition erupted in violence in 1690, when three men were accused of breaking into the church and using axes to destroy a seat belonging to Isobel Bairdie. This case was eventually brought before the Scottish Privy Council, and settled in Isobel's favour.

⁴⁴ A. J. G. Mackay, ed. *History and Chronicles of Scotland by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie* (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1899), ii, 168.

⁴⁵ Collins Greenville, 'Edinburgh Firth, 1693', *National Library of Scotland. Map Home*, Accessed 4 March, 2021, <https://maps.nls.uk/coasts/chart/179>.

Fig 9. Carte du Golphe d'Edinburgh. J N Bellin (1757).⁴⁶



1625 (8 Jan)

minute of the burgh session notes that the council resolved to impose a tax *'for repairing of the parish kirk that is tending to decay'*.⁴⁷

1633 (Apr)

stent of 400 marks imposed upon the inhabitants for *repairs and beitting of the kirk of the said burgh in all parts in*

walls, roof and other necessaries as stood.⁴⁸

1690 (4 Feb)

*Complaint by Isobel Bairde, relict of Alexander Anderson, merchant in INV against William Broun in Townend, John Henderson, late dean of guild in INV, and Andrew Broun, merchant...on or about 7 Dec they and their accomplices did enter the church of Inverkeithing 'in a most tumultary and ryetous maner', and remove Isobel's seat, which was before the one of the deceased William Blackburn, and at the back of the Lord of Dunfermline's seat...- the seat was then put back in place by some soldiers of the Lord Balgonie's regiment (who could not bear to see the actions of Broun et al)- they then on 15 Dec stole the keys to the church and used axes to break up the seat...they were ordered to replace the seat or face a fine of £100, and pay 60 pounds Scots in expenses.*⁴⁹

1794 Andrew Robertson (Minister) *Old Statistical Account*.

*The church was repaired and partly rebuilt within these twenty years... It is a little singular in appearance, being covered with three roofs of equal dimension, which are supported by two rows of arches within, and the two side walls...Upon the west side, adjoining to it is a steeple, which seems to be very ancient, from the appearance of the stones and the form of the building.*⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Bellin, J. N, 'Carte du Golphe d'Edinburgh, 1757', *National Library of Scotland. Map Home*, Accessed 4 March, 2021, <https://maps.nls.uk/view/74401116>

⁴⁷ Stephen, *History of Inverkeithing*, p.240.

⁴⁸ Stephen, *History of Inverkeithing*, p. 240.

⁴⁹ J. H Burton et al, eds, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877-1970), 3rd series volume xv, pp. 62-63.

⁵⁰ *OSA*, (1793), x, 508.

II. Friary and Hospitium

Fig 10. The Hospitium (from the south)



The buildings and lands of the friars were sold to John Swinton of Luscar in 1559, and the friary itself was in ruins as early as August 1560. Thereafter only the guest accommodation that formed the west wing of the friary survived. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was known as the Rot(h)mell Inn or the Inns, and a tradition developed associating it with Anabella Drummond, queen consort of Robert III, who regularly resided in Inverkeithing in the 1390s. This reuse of

the site was so effective that when Richard Pococke, bishop of Ossory, visited the town in 1760 he could not identify any remains of the friary.

A charter confirmed in 1565, but dating from 1560, was signed 'at the ruins of the said place' showing that the buildings had been partially destroyed by that point

29 May 1565

Mary I confirmed a charter by Brother Marcus Flucar, gardianum of the ministry of place of the friars of INV (known as the Cordileir Friers) with the consent of the order feufermed to James Scots of Spencerfield for a set sum 2 acres of arable land in the Tofts, lying next to the lands of Hilfield, annual rent of 13s 4D for the lands. Charter was presented at the place of INV at the said minister, on 3 Aug 1560.⁵¹

By 1605 the name *Hospitium* was used in a charter

1605 (17 June)

*The king (James VI), has conceded in feuferme to Mark Swinton, provost of the burgh of Inverkeithing, and Joanne Swinton, his wife and all their heirs, **the place of the hospitium of Inverkeithing** with the gardens (between the lands of Robert Dempster and David Stanhouse, and the sea shore), which once belonged to the friars of the order of St Francis of Inverkeithing...⁵²*

1760 Richard Pococke

We came in a mile to Inverkeathing.....Here was a Convent of Franciscans ; I could not be informed of any remains, and suppose it was at the parish Church ; the ruined East End of which is old, and so is the tower.⁵³

⁵¹ RMS III, no. 1628

⁵² RMS, vi, no. 1626.

⁵³ Daniel Kemp, ed, *Tours in Scotland by Richard Pococke 1747, 1750, 1760, Bishop* (Edinburgh, 1887), p. 283.

1794 Andrew Robertson (Minister) Old Statistical Account.

There is a house called the Inns, which still has peculiar privileges and exemptions, not being within the jurisdiction of the magistrates, and appears to have been one of them, from its form, vaults, high garden walls, and other buildings.⁵⁴

1836 Andrew Robertson (Minister) New Statistical Account

An old tenement, named, the Inns' is said to have been the residence of Annabella Drummond, Queen of Robert III.... The house is exempted from burgh jurisdiction, though in the middle of the town.⁵⁵

III. St John's Church

Fig 11. St John's, Inverkeithing (Bess Rhodes)



1753 saw the construction of a new place of worship in Inverkeithing for the first time in nearly 400 years. The dispute which led to the secession of a large part of the congregation of St Peter's, began following the death of the minister in William Buchanan in 1749. The presentation of his successor, Andrew Richardson, to the role by the patron of the church, Captain Philip Anstruther, was opposed by 150 families, including most of the burgh

council. After three years of unresolved discussion with the church authorities, on 6 May 1752, 127 people left the Parish Church. They joined the Burgher Presbytery of Perth and Dunfermline, acquired a *yard with houses* on the north side of the burgh and in 1753 built a church.⁵⁶ Their first minister the Rev. David Forrest, was ordained in January 1755. Following Forrest's death, a protracted dispute within the congregation led to a large part of the church becoming Cameronians, before they re-joined the Burgher church in 1786.

Complaints were heard before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1752, which set out the main issues in the dispute.

1752 (22 May), Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland

David Hunter, Thomas Gillespie, Alexander Daling, Thomas Fernie, and John Spence, being called upon, acknowledged they had received the summons; that they had not obeyed the Assembly's appointment, and for the reasons of their conduct, they gave in a representation signed by them, and Mr Stark at Torryburn, whereof the tenor follows....

⁵⁴ OSA, x, p. 511n.

⁵⁵ NSA, ix, p. 240.

⁵⁶ Robert Small, *The History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church 1733-1900* (Edinburgh, 1904), i. 363-366, 'History of St John's', *Inverkeithing Parish Church*, Accessed 25 February, 2021, http://www.inverkeithing-parish-church.org.uk/St_Johns.html

The Assembly know well, that it appears, from their own Acts and resolutions, entered into their records, that the law of patronage has been considered as no small grievance to this Church, not to say as inconsistent with our Union settlement; and we find it declared, Act 25th of May, 1736, that it is, and has been, since the Reformation, the principle of this Church, that no minister shall be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation; and, therefore, it is seriously recommended by the said Act to all judicatories of this Church to have a due regard to the said principle, in planting vacant congregations, so as none be intruded into such parishes... Permit us to inform the Assembly, that after repeated endeavours used by committees of the Presbytery, to lessen the opposition to Mr Richardson in the parish of Inverkeithing, matters still remain in such a situation, that we are brought to this unhappy dilemma, either of coming under the imputation of disobedience to a particular order of our ecclesiastical superiors, or contributing our part to the establishment of measures, which we can neither reconcile with the declared principles, nor with the true interest of this Church. On the whole, we cannot help thinking, that by having an active hand in carrying Mr Richardson's settlement into execution, we should be the unhappy instruments, as matters now stand, to speak in the language of Holy Writ, of scattering the flock of Christ, not to mention what might be the fatal consequences of such settlements to our happy civil constitution..⁵⁷

1779 J.D Fleming.

Consequent upon a dispute regarding the Rev Mr Forrest and about the time of this death, his supporters claimed the Church as their property and made several violent attempts to eject the remainder of the congregation, who were in possession. *'On three separate Sabbaths, it is stated that, to defeat their efforts, the congregation had the doors and windows of the church bolted and barred, while they held their Service on the Green; and we further learn that a valorous Christian, named Peter Cock appeared as their champion....On one of the Sabbaths referred to, when an assault was expected, he exhorted the minister to continue his preaching, for he had his gun ready and would shoot down the first who ventured to disturb them'. Thereafter the congregation was left in peaceable possession of the church.⁵⁸*

1794 Andrew Robertson (Minister) Old Statistical Account.

Rather more than the half of the inhabitants of the town adhere to the established church; the rest are burghers, Anti-burghers, Relief and Cameronians. A Burgher meeting house was established 40 years ago, occasioned by the settlement of the late incumbent, who it seems, though a most worthy and respectable character, was disagreeable to a large number of the parishioners. It is mostly attended by the lowest part of the people, and many of them come from neighbouring parishes. The Anti-Burghers and Relief are not numerous, and attend their meeting houses in Dunfermline. The Cameronians, in this place, took their rise, a few years ago, from a difference among the Burghers, many of whom, along with their minister, joined this sect. They have no proper meeting house....It is remarkable that all these differences arose about church politics, they are maintained and kept up with the same spirit and zeal, and the

⁵⁷ *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842* (Edinburgh Printing & Publishing Co, Edinburgh, 1843), 707-708.

⁵⁸ Papers of Rev J D Fleming, cited in William Stephen, *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (Aberdeen, 1921), p. 266.

*leaders of each sect rule use the utmost endeavours to retain their adherent and followers, which, among such a clash of hearers, are frequently attended with considerable success.*⁵⁹

⁵⁹ *OSA*, (1793), x, 508-10.

5. Late Modern (1800-2021). Religion in modern Inverkeithing

Sites of Interest

Parish Church (St Peter's)

Hospitium

St John's Church,

Scottish Coastal Mission

St Peter's Episcopal Church

Baptist Church

St Peter's in Chains (RC)

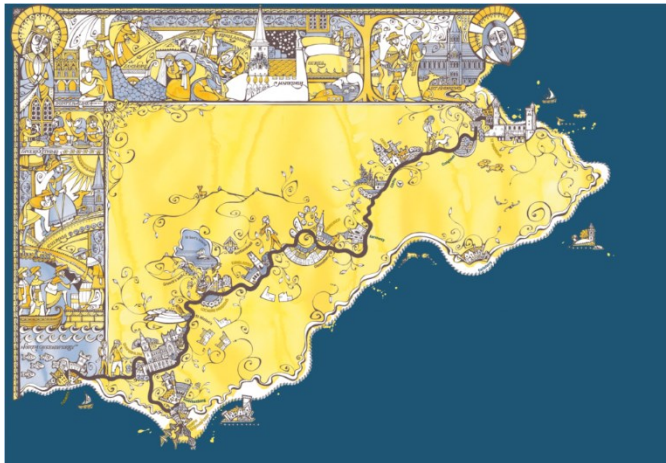
Introduction/Nature of the Site

From the latter part of the eighteenth century, Inverkeithing saw rapid economic and social change. Coal, lead and whinstone mined and quarried in Western Fife were exported from the harbour at Inverkeithing, while ship building, textiles and other industries developed in the town itself. As these heavy industries declined from the late nineteenth century, they were replaced by ship breaking, and light industries such as paper making. The population grew from around 1600 in 1750, to a peak of 5000 in the 1950s. The growing population, religious tolerance and wider social changes, saw St Peter's and St John's (who united to form one church in 2006) joined by a Scottish Coastal Mission (1858), Episcopal (1903), Baptist (1905) and Roman Catholic (1976) Churches. Throughout this time of change, one medieval tradition has survived. The Lammas Day fair, paired with a Highland Games in 1914, with its Hat and Ribbon Race, is still held annually on the first Friday and Saturday of August. The later twentieth century has seen unions between the various Presbyterian denominations, and a steady drop in church membership and attendance. In 1952 there were still two Church of Scotland congregations, as well as Baptist, Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches and chapels, with Smith noting that *some 1,200 people claim membership of several churches*, around 1/5 of the population.⁶⁰ By the 2011 census, 50.2% of the population of Inverkeithing were recorded as having no religion (higher than the 36% in the country as a whole), with 26.8% belonging to the Church of Scotland and 10.7% to the Roman Catholic Church.⁶¹ This has resulted in mergers between congregations and parishes, and the closure of churches, with only St Peter's (Church of Scotland), St Peter's-in-chains (RC) and the Baptist Church remaining in ecclesiastical use.

⁶⁰ Alexander Smith, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. Fife* (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 362.

⁶¹ 'Inverkeithing: 2011, Identity', *Scotland's Census*, Accessed 27 May 2021, <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/search-the-census#/explore/snapshot>.

Fig 12. Map of the Fife Pilgrim Way.⁶²



Since 2019 the sacred heritage of Inverkeithing has led to its inclusion as a stopping place for modern day ‘pilgrims’ on the Fife Pilgrim Way- the new long distance walking route, which uses the southern pilgrim roads to St Andrews as its inspiration.

I. Inverkeithing Parish Church (St Peter’s)

Fig 13. Inverkeithing Parish Church from the South East (R Fawcett, 2012)



Following the split in 1752, and the establishment of what contemporaries described as a *dissenting church* in Inverkeithing, the established church seems to have retained the loyalty of about half of the town’s population through the nineteenth century.⁶³ Under a series of ministers who held the charge for long periods, it retained a reputation as a moderate church, as recounted in James Simson’s reminisces on life in the town in the first half of the nineteenth

century. By the early 1800s the late medieval church fabric was in need of substantial repair, and during one of these episodes in 1806-1807, the font was rediscovered.⁶⁴ In 1825 a fire swept the building, and in 1826 the old medieval nave was entirely rebuilt to the designs of James Gillespie Graham, with a new spire added in 1835.⁶⁵ In the following year the minister described his new church as having a *handsome appearance...and commodious and elegant within*.⁶⁶ The interior received significant renovations in 1900 and more recently in 2006-2007, while the tower was repaired between 1980 and 1992. Aside from a brief period during the repairs of 2006-2007, St Peter’s has remained an active parish church for more than 800 years.

⁶² Ian Bradley, *Fife Pilgrim Way. In the footsteps of Monks, Miners and Martyrs* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 2019), p. 9-10.

⁶³ In 1836 the minister noted that his congregation had around 1625 members compared to around 1100 in the dissenting church, *NSA*, ix, p. 246.

⁶⁴ Royal Commission, *Inventory of Fife*, pp. 152-53.

⁶⁵ Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland, Fife*, pp. 247-249.

⁶⁶ *NSA*, (1836), ix, 245.

It was united with St John's in 2006, and the current minister shares the charge with North Queensferry parish church.

1836 Andrew Robertson (Minister) New Statistical Account

*The parish church is situated in the middle of the burgh...The town population are all within 5 minutes' walk of it, and the greater part of the country people within two miles; about a 100 may be farther distant, but none farther than three miles except the inhabitants of one small cottage. It was built in 1826, replacing the one which was partly burnt the year before, and is in a state of good repair.....The church has a handsome appearance, commodious and elegant within, and ornamented with two rows of pillars running through it, having arches in the style of a Gothic cathedral. There is a very old steeple adjoining the west end of it, containing a large bell and an old clock. The building accommodates nearly a thousand persons.*⁶⁷

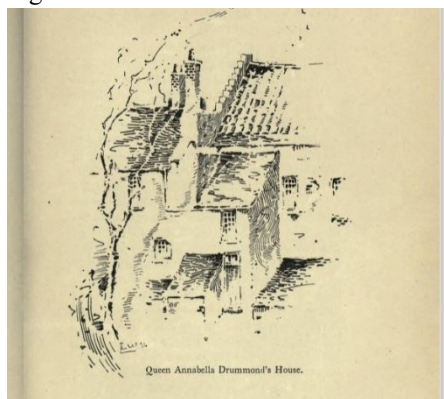
James Simson (published in 1882 but talking about the 1820s and 1830s)

*The minister of the parish (Andrew Robertson, author of the Statistical Accounts) was a large, heavily-built and aged man that had been settled there for nearly fifty years. His predecessor filled the charge for nearly the same length of time. Both being what were called " Moderates," it was said that the parish had " lain in weeds " for a century.*⁶⁸

*Our next neighbours were an old blacksmith, his wife, and his daughter Rachel, or " Rech," that married the foreman of the Cruicks' farm, who bore a Highland name....."Rech's" husband would spruce himself up of a Sunday, and set out to church in his blue coat with brass buttons, as big as anybody.... it was our custom to have what might be called three suits of clothes ; one for church, one for school or everyday conventional occasions, and one for home, which was not worth much. And this rule was observed by my father likewise.*⁶⁹

II. Friary and Hospitium

Fig 14. Sketch of 'Annabella Drummond's House', 1894.⁷⁰



Sometime in the 1830s the foundations of a number of friary buildings, and what was thought to be a chapel, were uncovered.⁷¹ However, it was not until the late nineteenth century that a direct connection was made between the Franciscans and the structure known as the 'Inns'.⁷² This was confirmed by an RCAHMS field visit in 1930 which concluded that *this building, on the east side of Queen Street has the appearance of a late 17th-century tenement but, on examination, its walls were found to represent part*

⁶⁷ NSA, (1836), ix, 245.

⁶⁸ James Simson, *Childhood at Inverkeithing or Life at a Lazaretto* (Edinburgh, New York, 1882), p. 45.

⁶⁹ Simson, *Childhood at Inverkeithing*, pp. 12 & 21.

⁷⁰ John Geddie, *The Fringes of Fife* (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 41.

⁷¹ John M. Leighton, *History of the County of Fife: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Glasgow, 1840), iii p. 242.

⁷² W. M. Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars* (Edinburgh 1909), i, pp 248-249.

*of the western range of the cloister buildings of the Grey Friars and to date mainly from the 14th century.*⁷³

Shortly after that visit the Hospitium was subject to an antiquarian reconstruction by J Wilson Paterson (1932-35), using surviving fourteenth and seventeenth century sections as the model. Since that restoration the Hospitium has become an important community resource, used first as a community centre and library (1930s-1950s) and then from 1974, the upper storey became a town museum until it closed in 2006. In 2018, an archaeological excavation and community project 'Back in the Habit - Digging for Inverkeithing's Medieval Friary' was undertaken which found the southern wall of what is likely to have been the friary church, as well as pottery and a sandstone floor.⁷⁴

John Leighton 1840.

*An old building in the burgh, called the "Inns," is said to have been the residence of Annabella Drummond, queen of Robert III. She died here in 1403. This house, though in the middle of the town, is still exempted from the jurisdiction of the magistrates. There are numerous vaults and ruins near it, and the foundations of the chapel were only dug up a few years ago. These ruins are supposed to have been the remains of the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries, both of these bodies having formerly establishments in the burgh.*⁷⁵

Mr. W. Moir Bryce, c.1909

*There is good reason to believe that an ancient building known as the Palace now stands on the old friary demesne, if it does not enclose a part of its buildings, because the boundaries of the area occupied by the Palace, from the street on the north to the foreshore on the south, correspond in general terms to those contained in the old title deeds of the Friary.*⁷⁶

Stephen 1921

*Hospitium formed the west end (of the friary). The appearance of the building has been considerably altered since medieval times, old arched openings have been enlarged or built up, and new doorways, windows, and external stairs constructed. But in its massive walls and vaulted chambers it still retains much of its pristine beauty and ample evidence of its fourteenth-century construction. In the basement of the building may be seen the large arched passage, now built up, which formed the entrance to the Friary*⁷⁷

1975 Percy Campbell's (curator) Foreword to the Museum guidebook

The opening of the museum on 30 January, 1974, marks the end of an old and the beginning of a new era in the history of the Royal Burgh of INV... ..in 1975 new local government acts mean that INV will no longer be a Royal Burgh- it is intended to be a Folk Museum in which the

⁷³ Royal Commission *Inventory of Fife*, pp 153-155.

⁷⁴ A. Becket, 'Inverkeithing Friary Gardens, Excavation', in Jennifer Thoms, *Discovery Excavation Scotland, New*, vol. 20 (2019), p. 87

⁷⁵ Leighton, *History of the County of Fife*, iii, p. 242.

⁷⁶ Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*. i, pp 248-249.

⁷⁷ Stephen. *History of Inverkeithing*, p. 302.

*residents of the burgh can participate and at the same time preserve interesting paraphernalia.*⁷⁸

III. St John's Church

By the late eighteenth century, the *dissenting* church established in 1752 was an important part of the burgh's spiritual life. The barn in which the meetings had been held, was heightened and widened in 1798-99 to accommodate what, by the 1830s, was a congregation comprising roughly half the burgh's population.⁷⁹ Members of the Associate Congregation in 1786, the church joined the United Associate (Secession) Congregation in 1820. From 1780 to 1835 the minister was Reverend Ebenezer Brown, a gifted preacher with a nationwide reputation, whose authority and persona impressed James Simson, even though his family were not members of the church.⁸⁰ In 1847 they became part of the United Presbyterian Church, following the union of the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church in 1900, the church was known as Inverkeithing United Free Church. In 1929 following the union between the United Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland, the charge was renamed Inverkeithing St John's Church of Scotland. In 2006 it was united with St Peter's and is no longer in use for worship.

1836 Andrew Robertson (Minister) New Statistical Account

*There is a dissenting meeting house in the town, belonging to the United Associate Synod.....The number of family's belonging to the Establishment, according to the minister's visitation list, is about 400, containing about 1625 persons- the usual proportion of whom attend public worship in the church....The number of persons connected with the dissenters residing with the parish is, according to a list of the late incumbent, about 1125. The ministers and the people, both of the Established and Dissenting churches, maintain a friendly intercourse with each other, and show good feeling and a Christian spirit*⁸¹

James Simson (published in 1882 but talking about the 1820s and 1830s)

*There was also the dissenting church of Ebenezer Brown....The Reverend Ebenezer Brown was then living at Inverkeithing. He was held in such veneration that even the children would advance near to the middle of the road and take off their caps to him as he passed. I once did that, when the person driving him — from whom different things could have been expected— laughed at me; and I never repeated the salutation.*⁸²

1857 Barbieri's Descriptive and Historical Gazetteer of the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan,

⁷⁸ *Royal Burgh of Inverkeithing Museum* (Dunfermline, 1974)-double check page

⁷⁹ NSA, (1836), ix, 246, Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland, Fife*, pp. 249.

⁸⁰ Small, *The History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, i. 363-366, Simson, *Childhood at Inverkeithing*, pp. 46.

⁸¹ NSA, (1836), ix, 246.

⁸² Simson, *Childhood at Inverkeithing*, pp. 46.

*The UP Church is rather neat, and very commodious, besides being heated by stoves in winter.*⁸³

IV. Scottish Coastal Mission

The Scottish Coastal Mission, founded in 1850, was a Protestant organisation dedicated to ministering to sailors and maritime communities. By 1861 they employed 10 missionaries and had 29 stations along the east coast of Scotland. In 1858 a missionary called Mr Hughson spent two years in Inverkeithing, visiting sailors and fishing families and holding meetings *in private homes, in the open air, or on-board ships*. The Dunfermline Press of 23th August 1860, contains a report on his activities.

1860 Dunfermline Press

When Mr Hughson first came here, [two years previously in 1858] many people asked – “What is the use of a missionary here? We have two ministers already.” He admitted that they had two very good ministers, but their time was too occupied to allow them to visit the ships that came into the harbour, or indeed to visit the seafaring community at all.

*Mr Hughson then gave a report of his proceedings during the time that he had been a missionary in Inverkeithing. During the past year he had held 182 meetings, some of them in the church, and others in private homes, in the open air, or on-board ships. The sailors had listened to the word of salvation with great attention, and he trusted that the work begun so auspiciously would continue to spread. He had visited 2000 families during the year, and he also paid 318 visits to sick or dying persons. He had also sold 54 copies of the Scriptures to seamen, both English and foreign. This was not so large a number as he had sold last year; but this was to be accounted for by the fact that many of the seamen had been supplied with him by copies the year before. He had paid 365 visits to the ships, and distributed upwards of 500 tracts among the men. He also had nine copies of the “British Messenger” and 48 of the “Mothers’ Magazine” in circulation every month.*⁸⁴

⁸³ M. Barbieri, *A Descriptive and historical gazetteer of the counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (Edinburgh, 1857), p. 189.

⁸⁴North Queensferry Heritage Trust, ‘The Church’.

V. St Peter's Episcopal Church

Fig 15. St Peter's Episcopal Church (Bess Rhodes)



A third church was added to Inverkeithing's roster in 1903 when St Peter's Episcopal Church was constructed on a site in Hope Street. In 1899 the bishop of St Andrews, Dunblane and Dunkeld was successfully petitioned for the foundation of an episcopal mission church in Inverkeithing to cater to the community in nearby Jamestown, close to the west of the burgh. In 1902 a site in Witch Knowe Park was purchased from the Town Council, and by the following year the nave had been built to a design by Henry F. Kerr. The chancel was completed in 1910.⁸⁵ By 1980 the congregation had declined in numbers, and the church building was split in two with nave converted into an all-purpose hall. The church is now used as a community hall, with services carried out at Inverkeithing High School.⁸⁶

VI. Baptist Church

Fig 16. Inverkeithing Baptist Church (Bess Rhodes)



Inverkeithing's Baptist Church was formed in the early 1900s as part of a wider revival moment in Fife. A mission was first planted in the town in 1903, and following its success, particularly among quarry workers, a Church was founded in 1905. They met initially in the Music Hall, finally building their own church in 1917.⁸⁷ The congregation moved to its current site in 1980 and are still active with a congregation of 35-40. they describe themselves as *As a Bible believing evangelical Christian community situated in the town centre of Inverkeithing, we seek to reveal the love of Jesus Christ in our community*'.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Gifford, *Buildings of Scotland, Fife*, p. 249.

⁸⁶ 'St Peter's Episcopal Church', *Places of Worship in Scotland*, Accessed 25 February, 2021, <http://www.scottishchurches.org.uk/sites/site/id/6108/name/St.+Peter%27s+Episcopal+Church+Inverkeithing+Fife>

⁸⁷ George Yuille, *History of the Baptists in Scotland from Pre-Reformation Times* (Glasgow, 1926), pp. 147-148.

⁸⁸ Gifford, *Buildings of Scotland, Fife*, p. 249, 'About', Inverkeithing Baptist Church, *Facebook*, Accessed 25 February, 2021, <https://www.facebook.com/ibcfife/>.

VII. St Peter- in- Chains (RC)

Fig 17. St Peter-in-Chains (Creative Commons)



Nearly four centuries after the Protestant Reformation, a Roman Catholic congregation returned to Inverkeithing area with the foundation of the Church of St Peter-in-Chains in Jamestown in 1913. The development of the Royal Naval Dockyard at Rosyth after World War 2 led to the expansion of the congregation and eventually they moved to their current site in Hope Street in 1976-77.⁸⁹ From 2010, a single priest served both Inverkeithing and Rosyth and in 2018 the parish was amalgamated with Rosyth and Dunfermline to form a South West Fife Parish, with services shared between the three locations.⁹⁰

Epilogue. The Sacred Landscape in the twenty-first century and the Fife Pilgrim Way

In modern day Inverkeithing three churches remain in use- Church of Scotland, Roman Catholic and Baptist, although the RC church is one of three used in rotation by the congregation. Since the year 2000 another former Church of Scotland structure (St John's) has been sold to developers, and the former Episcopal Church is now a community hall.

Fig 18. Established and Under Development Pilgrim Routes in Scotland



In 1987 the Camino de Santiago de Compostela was designated a Cultural Route by the European Council, a decision that reflected a resurgence in the popularity of the journey to the shrine of St James at Santiago. This modern rebranding of medieval pilgrim routes has seen a much greater focus on the journey rather than the ultimate destination, the shrine itself, tapping into a broader trend in the popularity of long-distance walking routes in northern Europe and elsewhere. This development, dubbed 'Caminoization', has led faith organisations, hiking groups and government organisations, particularly those involved in tourism and healthy living initiatives, to consider the possibilities of the medieval pilgrim routes in their backyards.⁹¹ The first attempt to introduce this 'new pilgrimage' to Scotland was the St Cuthbert Way (1996),

⁸⁹ Gifford, *Buildings of Scotland, Fife*, p. 249.

⁹⁰ 'History and Clergy of the Parish', *Catholic SW Fife*, Accessed 20 April, 2021, <https://catholicswfife.com/about/the-history-and-clergy-of-the-parishes/>

⁹¹ Marion Bowman, "'Rehabilitating" Pilgrimage in Scotland: Heritage, Protestant Pilgrimage, and Caledonian Caminos', *Numen* 67 (2020) 453–482, at 453-454.

linking Melrose and Lindisfarne, and the Scottish Pilgrim Routes Forum (founded in 2012), and has since established four further routes, with several under development.⁹²

It was within this context that the development of a long-distance walking trail, using the pilgrim routes to the shrines of St Andrew and Margaret (Dunfermline) as its inspiration, was first mooted in the early 2010s. After a successful Heritage Lottery Fund application in 2016-2017, the Fife Coast and Countryside Trust developed the 64-mile trail which they named the Fife Pilgrim Way. Opened in 2019, it is divided into nine sections of about 8-10 miles, and follows the southern route to St Andrews and Dunfermline, beginning either in Culross or North Queensferry. Modern day pilgrims who chose the second option, begin at the old ferry terminal in North Queensferry, pass by the ruins of the chapel of St James before heading up the peninsula and around the bay to Inverkeithing.⁹³ After a gap of more than 450 years, pilgrims (whether for spiritual reasons or simply to enjoy the walk and views), are found on the streets of Inverkeithing, once again enjoying the hospitality for which the town was renowned a thousand years ago.

⁹² 'Pilgrim Walking Routes', *Scottish Pilgrim Route Forum*, accessed 3 March, 2021, <https://www.sprf.org.uk/routes.html>.

⁹³ 'North Queensferry to Dunfermline', *Fife Coast and Countryside Trust*, Accessed 3 March 2021, <https://fifecoastandcountryside.co.uk/walks/fife-pilgrim-way/north-queensferry-to-dunfermline/>.

Part 2 - North Queensferry

Fig 1. North Queensferry.
Ordnance Survey 1" Coloured Sheet 32 (1865).⁹⁴



Fig 2. Coat of Arms North Queensferry Community Council.⁹⁵



⁹⁴ ‘[Ordnance Survey One-inch to the mile maps of Scotland, 1st Edition, 1856-1891 - Sheet 32](https://maps.nls.uk/view/216384233)’, *National Library of Scotland. Map Home*, Accessed 4 March, 2021, <https://maps.nls.uk/view/216384233>.

⁹⁵ ‘While North Queensferry does not have its own formal heraldry, the community council uses the same emblem as the burgh of Queensferry (south), ‘Queensferry’ *Heraldry of the World*, Accessed 20 February, 2021, <https://www.heraldry-wiki.com/heraldrywiki/wiki/Queensferry>.

Introduction

North Queensferry is a coastal settlement that has been at the hub of religious, economic, and political transport routes for over a millennium. The importance of its maritime and sacred past is marked on its coats of arms. The arms of Queensferry (Fig 2), used by the communities on both sides of the Forth, depict their founder, St (Queen) Margaret, standing on a galley. The sacred past of nearby Inverkeithing can, by tradition, be traced to the fifth century, but is firmly supported by documentary evidence only from the eleventh century. It was in the late eleventh century that St Margaret is reputed to have founded the ferry crossing that led to the establishment of North Queensferry. Throughout the Middle Ages it was a location on the pilgrim road to St Andrews and Dunfermline, possessing a chapel catering to the needs of pilgrims. North Queensferry became a distinct parish with its own church in the nineteenth century, although the former pilgrim chapel found a new role as a sailor's graveyard in the eighteenth century. In the present century, the sacred heritage of the town has led to its inclusion as stopping places for modern day 'pilgrims' on the Fife Pilgrim Way- the new long distance walking route opened in 2019.

Religious sites and the landscape of Inverkeithing and North Queensferry

There is a direct connection between North Queensferry's religious history and the landscape. While a small community may have already existed on the peninsula by the eleventh century, the location of the northern ferry terminus and a chapel to serve pilgrims, constituted the core purpose of the community's existence throughout the Middle Ages. The ferry survived the end of the pilgrim traffic and remained the focus of the settlement until the nineteenth century when it was superseded by the rail and road bridges. The maritime connection with the chapel was renewed when the North Queensferry Sailors' Society reused the site in the eighteenth century. The inclusion of North Queensferry on the Fife Pilgrim Way (2019) has led to the improvement of walking and cycling paths around the town, and has the potential to bring further alterations to the landscape should the scheme be a success.

1. Early Christianity (c500-c1000AD)

Site of Interest

None

Nature of the Site

The northern terminus of the ferry founded by Queen Margaret first appears in the documentary record in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The exact location of that terminus is a matter of debate, as twelfth century records often called it the passage of Inverkeithing, although it is possible that the term referred to North Queensferry.⁹⁶ Local tradition records that Christianity was brought to the area in around 500AD by a holy man called St Erat. He was believed to have founded a church on the site of the later medieval parish church at Inverkeithing.⁹⁷ It is also possible that by the year 1000 that North Queensferry was already connected to the pilgrim road which led to the shrine of St Andrew in eastern Fife. The earliest long-distance pilgrims to the shrine are recorded in the tenth century, around a century before Queen Margaret (d. 1093) founded the Queensferry crossing. No written evidence, and very little archaeological evidence survives, however, to support the saintly tradition, or the presence of pilgrims until the eleventh century.

2. High Medieval Christianity (1000-1300)

Sites of Interest

Chapel of St James

Introduction/Nature of the Site

North Queensferry housed a fishing community by the high Middle Ages, but its economic role was focused in the main around its position as the north terminus of the ferry crossing founded by St Margaret (d.1093) in the late eleventh century. It was a key station on probably the most important and well used of the routes by which pilgrims approached St Andrews. Most pilgrims from the south would have taken the ferry across the Forth and then stopped to give thanks for safe passage at the chapel dedicated to St James in North Queensferry. That process would have taken some time, as such, it is likely that many of the pilgrims would have spent the night two miles further along the coast road at Inverkeithing, before travelling either

⁹⁶ E. Patricia Dennison & Russel Coleman, *Historic North Queensferry and peninsula* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 14-15.

⁹⁷ This tradition seems to have developed in the late nineteenth century as the story of Erat does not feature in the Statistical Accounts of 1794 or 1834, or any other early histories of the burgh. Some of the earliest discussion is in James Wilkie, *Bygone Fife. From Culross to St Andrews. Traditions, Legends, Folklore and Local History of "The Kingdom"* (Edinburgh, 1931), p. 38-39, William Stephen, *The Story of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 13-14.

north west towards Dunfermline or north east towards St Andrews the following morning.⁹⁸ North Queensferry was part of the parish of Dunfermline, and its population may have used the chapel of St James, although it did not have parochial status.

c.1107

Turgot in his *Vita St Margaretae* noted that;

*And since the church of St Andrews is frequented by the religious devotion of visitors from the peoples around about, she (Margaret) had built dwellings on either shore of the sea that separates Lothian and Scotland; so that pilgrims and poor might turn aside there to rest, after the labour of the journey; and might find there ready everything that necessity might require for the restoration of the body. She appointed attendants for this purpose alone, to have always ready all that was needed for guests, and to wait upon them with great care. She provided them also ships, to carry them across, both going and returning, without ever demanding any price for the passage from those who were taken over.*⁹⁹

I. North Queensferry. Chapel of St James

The chapel of St James first enters the documentary record in the early fourteenth century. That it was already an established foundation is suggested by the use of *of old* in the charter by which Robert I (1306-1329) granted the chapel with the teinds of offerings and all other pertinent to Dunfermline.¹⁰⁰ The Mowbrays, who had been the barons of Inverkeithing since late twelfth century, were the patrons of the chapel in 1320. They either were the founders, or inherited it from the previous baron, Waltheof. It can probably therefore be traced to the later twelfth century-probably soon after the crossing began to have its north terminus on the peninsula at North Queensferry.

1320x1322

*Charter to Dunfermline abbey by Robert I of half the Queensferry held by the late Roger de Mowbray with the chapel on the north side of the ferry. The abbey must find two chaplains for the chapel, and repair, preserve and plenish it.*¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ There the road headed north past Scotlandwell, crossing a bridge there over the river Leven and then on St Andrews through Markinch, Kennoway and Ceres, Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 1999), pp. 58-59

⁹⁹ Catherine Keene, *St Margaret, Queen of the Scots. A life in perspective* (Basingstoke, 2013), Appendix 1, 202.

¹⁰⁰ Simon Taylor & Gilbert Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume One. West Fife between Leven and Forth* (Donington, 2006), p. 371.

¹⁰¹ A. A. M Duncan, eds, *Regesta Regum Scottorum V : The Acts of Robert I, 1306-29* (Edinburgh, 1986), no. 413.

3. Late Medieval Christianity (1300-1560)

Sites of Interest

NQ: Chapel of St James

Introduction/Nature of the Site

North Queensferry continued to be an important stop on the pilgrim way to St Andrews and Dunfermline in the late Middle Ages, although the peak in pilgrimage to these sites had likely passed. The settlement remained a part of the parish of Dunfermline, and its population may have used the chapel of St James, although it did not have parochial status.

I. North Queensferry. Chapel of St James

Fig 3. Chapel of St James (Turpie)



The chapel of St James first enters the documentary record in the early fourteenth century when Robert I (1306-1329) granted Dunfermline Abbey half of the queen's ferry held by the late Roger de Mowbray (d.1320), along with the chapel on the north side of the ferry, and an annual rent from Inverkeithing, with the proviso that the abbey provided two chaplains for the chapel and repair and preserve it. The charter hints that the chapel had been damaged or neglected during the

Wars of Independence. It was first recorded as the *chapel of St James* in 1323. By the late Middle Ages, the Apostle James was recognised as the patron saint of pilgrims as a result of the popularity of his shrine at Compostela in Galicia (Spain). Other dedications to James could be found on the Fife Pilgrim Way at Kinghorn Easter, Dysart, Crail and St Andrews. In 1479 a new chaplainry was founded in the chapel by Henry Crichton, Abbot of Dunfermline. The new chaplain, David Story, received a salary of 10 marks per year, a cut of the takings at the altar, and lived in the manse with a garden and pasturage for one horse. It was still in existence by the early sixteenth century when James IV (1488-1513) made an offering there.

1320x1322

*Charter to Dunfermline abbey by Robert I of half the Queensferry held by the late Roger de Mowbray with the chapel on the north side of the ferry. The abbey must find two chaplains for the chapel, and repair, preserve and plenish it.*¹⁰²

1 Apr 1322

¹⁰² Duncan. *Acts of Robert I*, no. 413.

*Letter patent to the provost and bailies of Inverkeithing to pay to Dunfermline abbey an annual of five merks which the king granted along with half the Queensferry passage to support two chaplains saying masses in the chapel of North Queensferry.*¹⁰³

30 Nov 1323

Confirmation by William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, of the grant to Dunfermline by Robert I. He identifies it as *the chapel of St James*.¹⁰⁴

1479 New Chaplainry

*Henry, Lord Abbot of Dunfermline, this year, granted the office of a chaplainry, newly founded by him, in St. James's Chapel, North Queensferry, to David Story, with a stipend of 10 merks yearly, to be paid from the coffers of Dunfermline Abbey, together with a garden, and two acres of ground and pasturage for one horse ; also all offerings at the altar of the chapel, except the oblations of the pix and those of lights, which are to be reserved for lighting the chapel ; likewise 20 shillings for supporting the ornaments and vestments of said altar ; but an account is to be rendered to the Abbot how the sum is applied. The chaplain, in consideration of these things must perform a daily mass for the souls named in the Charter of Infeudation; also, he shall continually reside at, and dwell in the manse of the chapel; and, if he undertakes any other cure, or resides elsewhere, by which the service may be neglected, the chaplainry shall be declared vacant, and fall into the Abbot's hands.*¹⁰⁵

24 Nov 1504

*To the Kingis (James IV), offerand in Sanct James chapel of the North Ferye.*¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Duncan, *Acts of Robert I*, no. 206.

¹⁰⁴ Cosmo, Innes, ed, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Bannatyne Club, 1842), no. 367.

¹⁰⁵ Innes, ed, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 462, translated in Ebenezer Henderson, ed, *The annals of Dunfermline and vicinity, from the earliest authentic period to the present time, A.D. 1069-1878; interspersed with explanatory notes, memorabilia, and numerous illustrative engravings* (Glasgow, 1879), pp. 165-166.

¹⁰⁶ *TA*, ii, p. 267.

4. Reformation and Early Modern Period (1560-1800)

Sites of Interest

NQ: Chapel of St James

Introduction/Nature of the Site

The people of North Queensferry lacked their own place of worship following the suppression of the chapel of St James c.1560 and worshipped at St Peter's in Inverkeithing from the early seventeenth century. The chapel, however, took on a new role as a graveyard in the eighteenth century.

I. North Queensferry. Chapel of St James

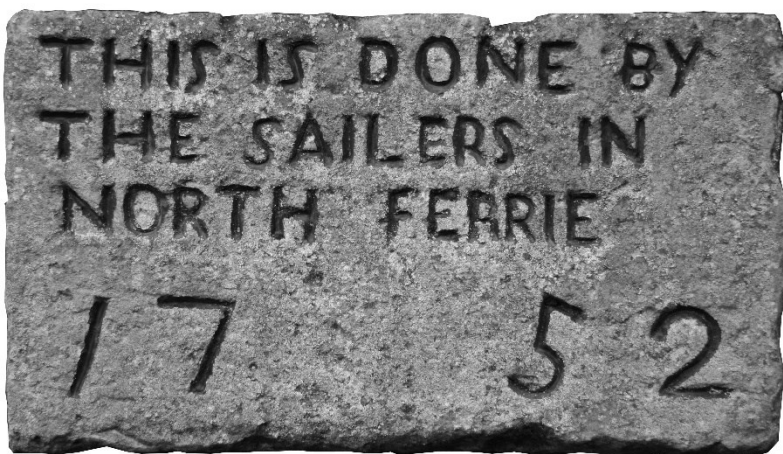


Fig 4. Datestone at the Chapel of St James.¹⁰⁷

On 25 December 1547, the English garrison of Inchcolm landed at North Queensferry and 'burned the town', probably damaging the chapel. In 1651 the town was again badly damaged, this time by Oliver Cromwell's troops shortly after the battle of Inverkeithing (20 July), and the chapel was said to have been left in ruins.¹⁰⁸ In between 1547 and 1651 the income associated with the chapel had been used to fund studentships and the site was no longer in ecclesiastical use.

At some point in the early eighteenth century, the interior of the chapel was used as a cemetery by mariners from the North Queensferry Sailors' Society. In 1752 the Sailors' Society built a wall around the site with the datestone in Fig 8 placed by the gate. They were a burial club whose members' entry fees paid for their funerals and the upkeep of the cemetery.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ 'St James Chapel', *North Queensferry Heritage Society*, Accessed 26 February, <https://www.nqht.org/st-james-chapel/>

¹⁰⁸ Dennison & Coleman, *Historic North Queensferry*, p. 18-20 & 69.

¹⁰⁹ NQHT, 'St James Chapel', and

5. Late Modern (1800-2021). Religion in modern North Queensferry

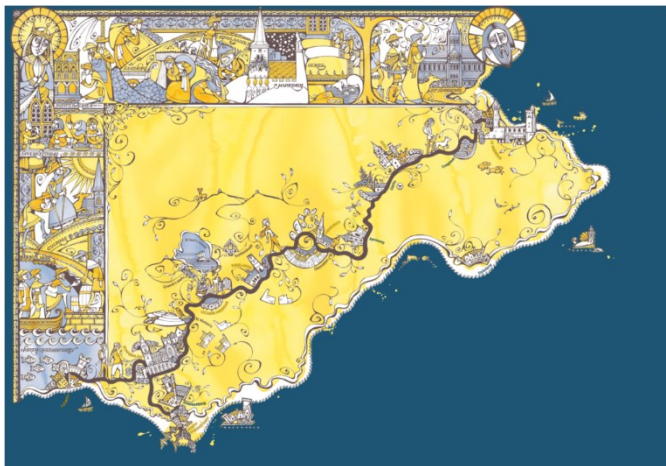
Sites of Interest

Meeting House, Parish Church, Chapel of St James

Introduction/Nature of the Site

North Queensferry saw rapid economic and social change in the late eighteenth century. With a population that fluctuated from 350-600 in the modern period, North Queensferry remained an important transport hub until the opening of the Forth Bridge in 1890. It has since developed into a small dormitory community linked to Edinburgh and the rest of Fife by rail and road. Until the 1850s, the villagers of North Queensferry would have travelled to the churches in Inverkeithing or in South Queensferry. This changed in 1855 when a Meeting House was opened, followed in 1878 by the Free Church, which moved to its present site in 1963.

Fig 5. Map of the Fife Pilgrim Way.¹¹⁰



The sacred heritage of North Queensferry led to its inclusion as a key stopping place for modern day ‘pilgrims’ on the Fife Pilgrim Way in 2019. The Fife Pilgrim Way is a new long-distance walking route that uses the southern pilgrim roads to St Andrews as its inspiration.

I. North Queensferry. Chapel of St James

The Sailor’s Society was dissolved towards the end of the eighteenth century, but was reformed in 1818.¹¹¹ Although the society still used the graveyard in 1857, it seems to have been abandoned by 1887, and certainly by 1921.

1857 Barbieri’s Descriptive and Historical Gazetteer of the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan

*The ruins of an ancient church are still visible, and its church yard is still in use.*¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ian Bradley, *Fife Pilgrim Way. In the footsteps of Monks, Miners and Martyrs* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 2019), p. 9-10.

¹¹¹ ‘The Church’, *North Queensferry Heritage Trust*, Accessed 25 February, 2021, <https://www.nqht.org/church/>.

¹¹² M. Barbieri, *A Descriptive and historical gazetteer of the counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (Edinburgh, 1857), p. 196.

1887 Beveridge, E, *Between Ochils and Forth*

*The only monument of antiquity of which the village can boast is the gable of an ancient chapel, with its little burying-ground, which is completely surrounded with houses, and almost totally concealed from ordinary observation. Few, indeed, are aware of its existence beyond those living in the immediate neighbourhood.*¹¹³

1921 William Stephen

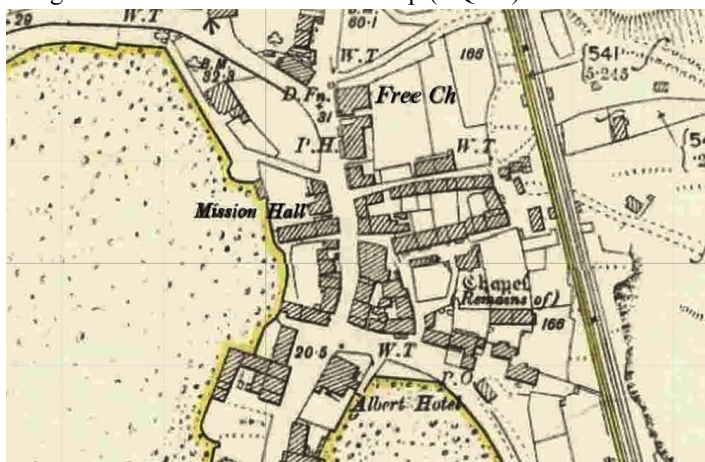
*The Chapel of St James the Apostle is situated near the centre of the village of North Queensferry, within a small graveyard. It is mentioned in a charter of the early 14th century.*¹¹⁴

2000 Dennison and Coleman

*Only a small portion of what was a considerably larger establishment now survives: the associated manse and garden, which stood to the north of the chapel, and related offices have now disappeared beneath more modern developments. The rubble-built west gable and mullioned window give some clues to its original structure; and a blocked entrance may be seen in the north wall.*¹¹⁵

II. North Queensferry. Meeting House

Fig 6. Mission Hall on 1896 OS map (NQHT).¹¹⁶



In 1855 Robert Robertson, a local linen merchant, purchased a former inn and converted it into a Meeting House for the villagers of North Queensferry. The name evolved from Meeting House to Preaching Station, eventually becoming the Mission Hall. It described itself as *un-denominational* and was served by a series of preachers, paid for by Mr Robertson, including Mr Hughson of the Scottish Coastal

Mission

1859 *Dunfermline Press*

There is only one place of worship in the village. As yet no special edifice has been constructed for this purpose, the present meeting-house, indeed, having formerly answered the purpose of an inn. The church here is un-denominational. Preaching is very ably supplied by Mr Howat,

¹¹³ Erskine Beveridge, *Between Ochils and Forth* (Edinburgh, 1887), p. 28.

¹¹⁴ William Stephen, *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (Aberdeen, 1921), p. 263-265.

¹¹⁵ Dennison & Coleman, *Historic North Queensferry*, p. 69.

¹¹⁶ *North Queensferry Heritage Trust*, 'The Church'.

who, we may be allowed to judge, is quite a favourite with his by no means indiscriminating charge. This preaching station is under the patronage and support of Provost Robertson. Before he provided this accommodation, the people were under the necessity of crossing the ferry, and going to Inverkeithing every Sunday for public worship. Now, however, while the meeting place affords seating for a congregation of about 200, scarcely one individual prefers going to other side, and few seek to go to the church in Inverkeithing.¹¹⁷

III. North Queensferry. Parish Church

Fig 7. North Queensferry Free Church (NQHT)



Stimulated by the construction of a new railway line in 1876, along with plans for the Forth Bridge, the Free Church was finally opened in North Queensferry in 1878. The congregation joined the United Free Church in 1900, and the Church of Scotland in 1929, but by 1962 the church was believed to be beyond repair and was demolished. By 1963 a new church was open and in use. By that time, the charge was already shared with St John's in

Inverkeithing (1958), and currently, since the union of St John's and St Peter's in 2006, with what is known as Inverkeithing Parish Church.

Fig 8. The New Free Church.¹¹⁸



Dunfermline Press

Saturday July 20 1878 – Opening of the new Free Church at North Queensferry. The want of a place of worship has long been felt in Queensferry, and to those who had the wish to be regular attenders on the services of the sanctuary, the want was deeply felt. Inverkeithing, where the nearest place of worship is, is two miles from it, and on any stormy or wet day, to go that

distance to church was out of the question.

The Church, which in every way harmonises with the locality in which it is located, is in design a simple adaptation of the Gothic style of architecture, and is situated at the entrance to the village on a commanding site overlooking the sea.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ North Queensferry Heritage Trust, 'The Church'.

¹¹⁸ North Queensferry Heritage Trust, 'The Church'.

¹¹⁹ North Queensferry Heritage Trust, 'The Church'.

Epilogue. The Sacred Landscape in the twenty-first century and the Fife Pilgrim Way

In modern day North Queensferry one church remains in use (Church of Scotland), although the charge has been shared with Inverkeithing Parish Church since 2006.

Fig 9. Established and Under Development Pilgrim Routes in Scotland



In 1987 the Camino de Santiago de Compostela was designated a Cultural Route by the European Council, a decision that reflected a resurgence in the popularity of the journey to the shrine of St James at Santiago. This modern rebranding of medieval pilgrim routes has seen a much greater focus on the journey rather than the ultimate destination, the shrine itself, tapping into a broader trend in the popularity of long-distance walking routes in northern Europe and elsewhere. This development, dubbed 'Caminoization', has led faith organisations, hiking groups, and government organisations, particularly those involved in tourism and healthy living initiatives, to consider the possibilities of the medieval pilgrim routes in their backyards.¹²⁰ The first attempt to introduce this 'new pilgrimage' to Scotland was the St Cuthbert Way (1996),

linking Melrose and Lindisfarne, and the Scottish Pilgrim Routes Forum (founded in 2012), and has since established four further routes, with several under development.¹²¹

It was within this context that the development of a long-distance walking trail, using the pilgrim routes to the shrines of St Andrew and Margaret (Dunfermline) as its inspiration, was first mooted in the early 2010s. After a successful Heritage Lottery Fund application in 2016-2017, the Fife Coast and Countryside Trust developed the 64-mile trail which they named the Fife Pilgrim Way. Opened in 2019, it is divided into nine sections of 8-10 miles, and follows the southern route to St Andrews and Dunfermline, beginning either in Culross or North Queensferry. Modern day pilgrims who chose the second option, begin at the old ferry terminal in North Queensferry, pass by the ruins of the chapel of St James before heading up the peninsula and around the bay to Inverkeithing.¹²² After a gap of more than 450 years, pilgrims (whether for spiritual reasons or simply to enjoy the walk and views), are once again found on the streets of North Queensferry.

¹²⁰ Marion Bowman, "'Rehabilitating" Pilgrimage in Scotland: Heritage, Protestant Pilgrimage, and Caledonian Caminos', *Numen* 67 (2020) 453–482, at 453–454.

¹²¹ 'Pilgrim Walking Routes', *Scottish Pilgrim Route Forum*, accessed 3 March, 2021, <https://www.sprf.org.uk/routes.html>

¹²² 'North Queensferry to Dunfermline', *Fife Coast and Countryside Trust*, Accessed 3 March 2021, <https://fifecoastandcounsidetrust.co.uk/walks/fife-pilgrim-way/north-queensferry-to-dunfermline/>

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