NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

086 11679 7

Thesis. L3138

"HIGHLAND SETTLEMENT EVOLUTION IN WEST PERTHSHIRE."

"DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE IN THE PARISH OF BALQUHIDDER FROM THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY TO 1851."

James Henderson Stewart.

The University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
Department of Town and Country Planning,
with the Department of History.

Staff Ph.D. Thesis. August, 1986.

"HIGHLAND SETTLEMENT EVOLUTION IN WEST PERTHSHIRE."

"Development and Change in the Parish of Balquhidder from the Fifteenth Century to 1851."

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with four leading ideas. These are continuity, persistence, discontinuity, and redundancy, as essential elements of the evolutionary process of human settlement. This requires a dynamic view of history, rather than a periodic one. The research, therefore, focussed upon one parish and traced its evolution from the middle ages into the nineteenth century. The thesis reviews evidence for origins of the social and settlement system before the fifteenth century. Internal local processes of change, and external forces, are examined. Modern theories of the antiquity and influence of great estates, and their subsidiary territorial units, upon the development of rural environments, are examined in relation to the development of land use, tenurial systems, and social organisation. Results indicate the persistence of ancient land divisions, and of cultural characteristics of communities, through periods of significant change. Demographic changes were very important driving forces in the evolutionary process. However, cultural traditions, handed down through generations, tended to inhibit changes, even in the face of economic necessity and land shortage. A destructive negative force operated within an

expanding population, on a fixed area of land. The policy-making role of the superiors in the great estates was seen to act as a positive force. This first produced incremental changes which accommodated crises, and later more fundamental changes resulting in some discontinuity. The dissolution of the archaic system, and synthesis of a new one, took place in the early nineteenth century. Population increase was traced as early as the sixteenth century. Responses in estate management appeared by the early eighteenth century. The research combined evidence from documentary sources and field surveys. This thesis follows one special aspect of the results. Others remain to be examined. It is an open-ended presentation, intended as a base for further work, although complete within itself.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The research programme would not have been possible without the generous help of many people, to whom the author extends his sincere thanks. The assistance and advice given by Dr Imry and his staff at the Scottish Record Office on various occasions was invaluable. The ready access to facilities at the offices of the Registrar General for Scotland, including the help and advice given by Mr Barbour, was central to an understanding of demographic patterns. The attention of staff of the National Library of Scotland, and the excellent services provided by Miss Margaret Wilkes of the map department, are gratefully acknowledged. Dr Alexander Fenton generously provided access to his reference collection in the Country Life department of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland early in the research, and has continued to encourage and support the author in his work. Professor MacQueen and Mr Megaw of the School of Scottish Studies read and commented upon the initial proposals, providing useful criticism. Very generous advice upon archaeological aspects of the field work was given by Dr. Margaret Stewart of Perth, and by Mr John Dunbar, and Mr Geoffrey Stell, of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. His Grace the Duke of Atholl, and his staff at Blair Castle, not only gave free access to the Atholl Manuscripts, but made the task of research a delight. The late Major John Stewart of Ardvorlich also made many records available, and enlivened the research by his generous hospitality and friendship. Mr Patrick Ferguson of Achleskine, Mr Alexander Christie of Kirkton Farm, and Mr Donald Fergusson of Blaircreich, all provided access to some of their own records and books on local family histories. Mr John MacNaughton of Inverlochlarig allowed the author to see a valuable early plan of his estate, which helped in locating field material, and also allowed detailed exploration and survey work on his lands. Special thanks are due to Mr Donald Fergusson and his family at Blaircreich, Mr Iain MacVicar and his family at Immereon in Glenbuckie, and his successor Mr William Hendry of Immereon, for free access to enable field surveys and archaeological work to be undertaken on their lands, and also for generous hospitality and encouragement in that work. The Scottish Forestry Commission, through the officers of Strathyre Forest, not only allowed access to the forest estate, but provided information about monuments which came into their possession during the research, as well as those which they already possessed. The author is especially indebted to Mr Archie Smith for much of this support. Fountains Forestry kindly gave permission to survey sites in Balquhidder, and thanks are due to Professor W.J.M. MacKenzie of Glasgow, and Mrs MacKenzie of Fountains Forestry, for arranging this. Access to land was given by Mr Thow of Bailemore, and Mr Honeysett of Edenchip, for field walking and inspection of sites. The Reverend D.R. Fraser, minister of Balquhidder during most of the field work, introduced material, and provided a welcome on successive summers. The Secretary of the Stewart Society, Douglas Stewart, Ll.B., W.S., gave enthusiastic support and provided useful facilities in the Society library in Edinburgh. Mr Gordon Stewart of the Stewart Society, the author's uncle, provided family history material relating to Balquhidder which to a great extent opened up the research possibilities there, as well as making very useful sources available. In the later stages of documentation,

the staff of the Scottish Central Region Archives, and especially Mr George Dixon the assistant archivist, made available the newly deposited MacGregor of MacGregor papers and other relevant material. The evaluation of artefacts from archaeological investigations in Glenbuckie was undertaken by Dr. David Caldwell and Miss Susan Wingrove, at the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and their co-operation is gratefully acknowledged. Major D.W.Fergusson, lately of Edinburgh University and a member of the family of Fergussons of Muirlaggan, gave up a day of his retirement to provide background information on Balquhidder. The assistance given by Mary Stewart, the authors's wife, and by his son Iain, in field survey, made an otherwise impossible task attainable. Mary Stewart's assistance in transcribing and indexing countless manuscripts for the research was invaluable. The Research Committee of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne made two small grants available to enable the work to commence, and the Excavation and Field work Committee also gave financial assistance. The Department of Surveying in the University kindly loaned equipment over several summers. Professor Norman McCord of the Department of History at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne not only provided wise guidance and supervision of the project, but studiously read numerous working papers and drafts. This important critical review task was also undertaken by Dr. MacKichan of Tynemouth, who sent very useful criticisms and comments. The author must also acknowledge the practical support given by Professor Paul Brenikov and his colleagues in the Department of Town and Country Planning at the University, for enabling some leave of absence to be arranged in 1985, to allow the final stage of the research to be completed without distraction. Finally, thanks are due to all the friends made during the research in Balquhidder, and elsewhere, for creating such a fine atmosphere of interest and support which has made it impossible to deviate from the work, or to tire of it.

CONTENTS.

Chapters:		Page Nos.
ABSTRACT.		(2)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.		(4)
INTRODUCTION.		1.
PART I.	THE BASIS OF THE ENQUIRY.	
1.	Hypotheses and Standpoints.	12.
2.	Balquhidder - a Vehicle for Research.	20.
3.	Balquhidder - its Early History.	29.
PART II.	MEDIEVAL TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE & SETTLEMENT.	
4.	Balquhidder in Medieval Scotland.	42.
5.	Territorial Division and Settlement in Medieval Balquhidder.	63.
6.	The Tullibardine Lordship, and the end of the Medieval Period.	90.
PART III.	THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD.	
7.	The Balquhidder Estate from 1648 to 1665.	108.
8.	The Regality Administration from 1665 to 17188.	128.
9.	Land and Society in Balquhidder in the Early Eighteenth Century.	148.
PART IV.	THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.	
10.	The Balquhidder Settlements.	167.
11.	The Balquhidder Shielings.	185.
12.	The Atholl Estates in Balquhidder 1718 to 1801.	199.
13.	Two Tacksmen's Estates - Invercarnaig and Glenbuckie.	222.
14.	The Forfeited Estates: 1756 - 1776.	241.
PART V.	DISSOLUTION AND SYNTHESIS.	
15.	The Dissolution of the Old Settlement System.	266.

16. Population Change, 1700 - 1851. 280.

17. Changing Regional Patterns. 311.

18. Synthesis of the New Settlement Pattern. 333.

19. Conclusions and Emergent Hypotheses. 362.

APPENDIX I. TABLES ABSTRACTED FROM SOURCES.

TABLE 1. Medieval Holdings in Balquhidder assigned to William Stewart and Malcolm Maclery in 1480-1487. 378.

TABLE 2. Lands in Balquhidder assigned to William Stewart and his son Walter Stewart in 1502-1507. 378.

TABLE 3. Lands in Balquhidder assigned to William Stewart and his son Walter Stewart in 1508-1513. 379.

TABLE 4. Medieval Settlements in Balquhidder According to Other Sources. 379.

TABLE 5. Money Rent per Markland in Balquhidder in 1663-1665. 380.

TABLE 6. Produce Charged as Casualties in Rentals of Balquhidder in 1663-1665. 382.

TABLE 7. Number of Families by Townships in 1663-1665, and 1718. 383.

TABLE 8. Number of Holdings in Balquhidder from 1508-1668. 384.

TABLE 9. Average Number of Baptisms per Year by Decades in Balquhidder from 1718-1856. 384.

TABLE 10. Estimated Population, and Baptismal Rates per 1000 Population in Balquhidder, from 1718-1856, by Decades. 384.

TABLE 11. Relationship between the Average Number of Marriages per Annum, and the Average Number of Baptisms per Annum, from 1728-1856. 385.

TABLE 12. Average Annual Marriage Rate per 1000 Population by Decades in Balquhidder from 1728-1756. 386.

TABLE 13. Gross Population Densities in Balquhidder and Other Selected Parishes in 1755, 1801, and 1851. 386.

TABLE 14. Number of Spouses from Parishes Outside Balquhidder which supplied 10 or more Marriage Partners, between 1728 and 1853, as an indicator of Social Contact. 386.

TABLE 15. Population Statistics of the Barony of Balquhidder in 1755-1756. 387.

TABLE 16. Agricultural Statistics for the Barony of Balquhidder for 1755-1756. 387.

TABLE 17. Rents of Farms in the Barony of Balquhidder from 1733-1773. 387.

TABLE 18. Number of Tenant Families in the Barony of Strathyre from 1748-1779. 388.

TABLE 19. Rentals in the Barony of Strathyre in 1748, 1755, and 1778-79. 389.

TABLE 20. Rent Increases in Strathyre in 1778-79. 389.

TABLE 21. Migration into Balquhidder for Marriage, 1728-1853. 390.

TABLE 22. Migration into Balquhidder in 1851. 390.

TABLE 23. Enumeration Districts used in the 1841 and 1851 Census of Balquhidder. 391.

TABLE 24. Abstracts of Population and Housing Statistics in Balquhidder 1841-1861. 391.

TABLE 25. Population Structure by Age and Sex in Balquhidder in 1841. 392.

TABLE 26. Size of Agricultural Holdings in Balquhidder in 1851 in Acres, by Enumeration Districts. 392.

TABLE 27. Heads of Households and Some Employees shown Engaged in Agriculture in 1841. 393.

TABLE 28. Numbers of Persons Engaged in Agriculture in Balquhidder in 1851. 394.

TABLE 29. Occupations other than Agriculture in Balquhidder in 1841. 394.

TABLE 30. Occupations other than Agriculture in Balquhidder in 1851. 395.

TABLE 31. Places of Birth of the Population of Balquhidder in 1851. 396.

TABLE 32. Population of Sample Parishes in Perthshire from 1755-1851. 398.

TABLE 33. Population of Perthshire 1755-1855. 399.

APPENDIX II. ABSTRACTS FROM SOURCES.

1. Charter of the Earldom of Atholl, 1481. 400.

2. Charter of Lianach in Glenbuckie, 1509. 400.

3. The Lundeis Charter of 1531 for Correquhorumby and Leonach. 400.

4. Precept granting Glenample to Colin Campbell in 1547. 401.

5. Resignation of Patrick Stewart of Glenbuckie, 1552. 401.

6. Charter to David Lord Drummond for the Barony of Balquhidder in 1558. 402.

7. The Tullibardine Charter of 1587. 402.

8. John, 2nd Murray Earl of Atholl, invested with the Lordship of Balquhidder in 1648. 403.

9. Rentals of Balquhidder, 1663-1665:- Sample Entries for Glenbuckie illustrating Charges, and Subdivisions. 403.

10. Extracts from Baron Court Proceedings of Balquhidder, 1690. 404.

11. Act for Fairs at Balquhidder, 1695. 404.

12. Minutes of the Trustees for Highland Schools, 1707. 405.

13. Standard Form of Tack by the Duke of Atholl, 1722. 406.

14. Water Transport on Loch Voil - Account for the Expense of a Boat. 408.

15. Economic Effect of Punitive Measures after 1745 - Losses at the Burning of Glencarnaig Estate. 409.

16. Improving Lease by the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, 1776. 410.

17. Abstract from the Commissioners' Valuations of Improvements. Description and Estimates Relevant to the Lease cited in 16. 413.

18. Account for Building a New Steading at Bailefuill, 1771. 415.

19. Account for Forestry Planting, 1820. 416.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Part I. Sources. 417.

Part II. Cartographic Sources. 418.

Part III. Publications Referenced in the Text. 418.

Part IV. Other Publications Relevant to the Field. 424.

REFERENCES.

References and notes will be found at the end of each chapter. They are indicated in the text by a reference number, in square brackets thus: [2]. Abbreviations used are as follows:-

Atholl MSS.	Manuscripts from the Charter Room at Blair Castle. The numbers following indicate Box No., Bundle No., and the Item No. where given.
Drummond MSS. GD/60.	Drummond Estate Manuscripts in the Scottish Record Office.
H.M.S.O.	Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
MME. PD60/	MacGregor of MacGregor Papers, (Edenchip estate) in the Scottish Central Region Archives, Stirling. The number following the / is the Bundle No.
M.V.R.G.	Medieval Village Research Group.
N.S.A.	New Statistical Account of Scotland.
O.S.	Ordnance Survey.
O.S.A.	Old Statistical Account of Scotland.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London.
R.C.A.M.	Royal Commission for Ancient Monuments (England).
P.S.A.S.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
R.C.A.H.M.S.	Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland.
S.S.P.C.K.	Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
S.V.B.W.G.	Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PHOTOGRAPHS:	Facing Page No:
"Puidrac," The remaining Standing Stone from the Megalithic Period of Balquhidder's History.	31.
"Clach Aonghais," The Angus Stone; an Early Christian Monument.	31.
The Shielings of "Lechroine." A well preserved series of Shiel Bases on the banks of Allt a' Chroin.	190.
The Atholl Rent Book of 1705.	201.
Part of George Stobie's Map of Perthshire, showing Balquhidder and the Trossachs in 1787.	201.
The East Clachan Group at Lianach in Glenbuckie.	233.
The Early Nineteenth Century Lianach Farmhouse.	233.
Strathyre Village from the Summit of Beinn an t'Sithein.	296.
A Surviving old Feu Cottage in Strathyre.	296.

MAPS, PLANS, AND DIAGRAMS.

Fig.No.:		Facing Page No:
1.	Balquhidder: Location in Scotland.	20.
2.	Balquhidder: Location and Physical geography.	21.
3.	Balquhidder: General Topography.	22.
4.	Balquhidder: Principal Routes.	23.
5.	Balquhidder in Celtic Scotland.	30.
6.	Ancient Sites and Monuments.	32.
7.	Early Christian Missions; the Whithorn Hypothesis.	35.
8.	Scottish Celtic and Norman Earldoms in 1286.	44.
9.	Principal Medieval Burgh Plantations.	53.
10.	Balquhidder: Thirteenth Century Land Divisions.	66.
11.	Land Rented from the Crown by William and Walter Stewart and sons in 1508.	72.
12.	Principal Holdings, circa 1480 to 1780.	74.

13. Settlement Pattern circa 1480 to 1780. 78.

14. Land Holding by Principal Families in 1663. 116.

15. Value of Holdings by Rent in Scots Pounds per Acre of Infield in 1663. 122.

16. Early Specialisation: 1663-65. 124.

17. Land Holding by Principal Families in 1718. 142.

18. Continuity of Occupation at Invernenty. 174.

19. Two Deserted Sites at Invernenty and Lianach. 176.

20. Monachyle Glen Shielings, circa 15th to early 18th Centuries. 188.

21. Shiel Bases: Garachra and Lechroin. 191.

22. Land Holding in 1735: Beginning of Consolidated Feued Estates as a Dominant Feature. 206.

23. Estates circa 1760. 214.

24. Lianach in Glenbuckie. (Map of main features). 228.

25. Lianach: East Clachan Group. 232.

26. Longhouse: Lianach, Balquhidder. 234.

27. Lianach: Early 19th Century House. 235.

28. The "Barony of Balquhidder" under Forfeited Estates Control: William Cockburn's Survey of 1756, and John Leslie's Survey of 1773. 241.

29. Facsimile of John Leslie's Plan for Improvements at Kirkton, 1773-76. 250.

30. The First Page of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners' Lease of Lednascriden, of the 4th March 1776. 253.

31. 18th Century Resettlement Sites. 255.

32. Demographic Trends in Balquhidder between 1751 and 1891.

(1). Total population, 1755 to 1891.
Average Annual No. of Baptisms by Decades, 1718 to 1858.
Baptisms per Annum per 1000 Population, 1751 to 1851.
Total No. of Settlements Recorded in Documents from 1500 to 1900 (Approximate). 287.

33. Demographic Trends in Balquhidder between 1751 and 1891.

(2). Average No. of Marriages per year by Decades. 1728 to 1858. Average Annual No. of Baptisms per Marriage by Decades. 1728 to 1858. Marriages per Annum per 1000 Population 1751 to 1851. 289.

34. Population Structure by Age and Sex in the "Barony of Balquhidder" in 1755-56. 291.

35. Proportion of Males and Females in Balquhidder from 1801 to 1851. 291.

36. Census Enumeration Districts: Balquhidder Parish: 1841 and 1851-91. 293.

37. Population Structure by Age and Sex in the Four Enumeration Districts of Balquhidder in 1841. 295.

38. The First Page of the Indentures for the Apprenticeship of Duncan Stewart on his Arrival in Renfrew in 1795. 302.

39. Percentage Change in Population in Scotland and Balquhidder, 1751 to 1891. 311.

40. Population in Sample Parishes in Perthshire from 1755 to 1891. 314.

41. Population of Perthshire, 1755 to 1891. 328.

42. Plans for Edenchip School, April 1845. 352.

43. Edenchip Farmhouse, 1848. 353.

44. Analysis of Population Trends in the Northern Highland Counties from 1755 to 1971. (from Nicolson.J.R., 1975). 368.

****

INTRODUCTION

The interest which provided the incentive for this thesis had its origins in work carried out by the author in North Wales in 1963 and 1964. That work focussed upon rural settlement patterns in the Vale of Clwyd, and was presented in a postgraduate thesis, at the University of Manchester, for the University Diploma in Town Planning. The research was mostly confined to mid-twentieth century material, but the importance of earlier historical processes in the evolution of the modern landscape became very evident.

The author was later co-opted as a professional advisor to the Amenities Sub-committee of the Liverpool District and North Wales Area of the Rambler's Association. A major assignment was a critique of village planning and conservation policies of Cheshire County Council. This, and similar work, reinforced his interest in rural settlements. After ten years in practice as an architect and town planner, a change of career into higher education created the opportunity to offer lectures in environmental history and settlement studies. An appointment in the Department of Town and Country Planning at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1971 made the logistics of pursuing the study of Scottish Celtic settlement patterns feasible.

Research in West Perthshire commenced after an exploratory visit in 1975. The first objective was to collect material incrementally for periodical publications. The parish of Balquhidder had several advantages. It was very much a

geographical entity, and a substantial area in its western half was rich in field monuments which were accessible. It was also the author's ancestral homeland, which, in most Celtic communities, facilitates access to information. Much of the field material was also under incipient threat because of changing upland economies and the shift from sheep farming towards forestry. No serious work had been done to record the historical processes which underlay the field evidence, or to retrieve that evidence and collate it.

Twentieth century concepts of human settlements as evolving systems provided a standpoint for the research [1]. Theories about the essential relationships between evolving social processes and the design of human environments have led to the acceptance of the idea that settlements are not finite phenomena fixed in time and space. Such ideas lie at the foundation, for example, of modern approaches to settlement planning and urban design [2]. The growing study of urban history has in its best forms accepted this hypothesis [3]. The seminal work of the Medieval Village Research Group, of which the author is a member, has demonstrated this phenomenon through its long term archaeological investigation into the evolution of Wharram Percy in Yorkshire [4]. The challenge which was presented by the field material found in Balquhidder was essentially to demonstrate that it also must be the result of a long process of evolution. Although the Highland clachan system was very different from well developed medieval and post-medieval English villages such as Wharram Percy, the 'primitive' character of its remains in Balquhidder, and the allegedly late eighteenth century origins of the visible field material, may well have concealed much more complex and interesting truths about its development and its real provenance.

An hypothesis therefore had to be grasped, that the Balquhidder settlements were in fact of considerable antiquity. This appeared to be the issue most at risk in the research proposition. If this hypothesis failed, then the others would be beyond proof. It had to be argued that the settlements had origins in a socio-economic structure which, at the latest, belonged to the medieval period. The highly uniform state of decay of field remains also suggested a fairly rapid and uniform collapse of the system of which they were part. The visible ruins were therefore assumed to be the last physical remains of what was probably a series of settlements which had succeeded each other, on or near the same sites, over a substantial period of time. If that proved to be the case, then some contribution to the understanding of settlement processes might be made by researching their history.

Another incentive was the relative lack of research into the detailed history of Scottish Highland settlements at the local level. Most works on Scottish social and settlement history are strongest in dealing with the lowland areas [5]. In 1975, when the research was first envisaged, this was most true. During the ensuing decade there has been some amelioration of the position, so that a few comparative works have become available to the author late in the research programme [6]. Nevertheless, local studies in depth over several centuries of time are still extremely rare. The reasons for this became clear. Most of the necessary research material is scattered among various sources in the Scottish Record Office, other archives, and private estate muniments. No single source offers the basis for a comprehensive study.

Public interest in Scottish Highland history still revolves

around heroic episodes and the legendary characters attached to them. In the case of Balquhidder the focus of attention is the charismatic Rob Roy MacGregor, whose biography has now been written up on a more scholarly basis [7]. Another classic example of selective interest is in the Highland clearances [8]. What is available, therefore, is a series of popular historical writings which cover events unconnected in time or in location, in which history and legend are often inextricably interwoven. A further hypothesis therefore emerged, that the normality of Highland life would be revealed in contrast to the popular heroic images and spectacular catastrophes, which seemed to dominate the literature. The research has therefore sought particularly to uncover that normality, and deliberately resisted the temptation to indulge in the more spectacular and well known aspects of periodic warfare and cattle raiding. These ocurrences are acknowledged only in so far as they impinged upon normality, and are shown rather to be aberrations.

In one sense, the work might therefore be criticised for omissions in this respect. In reply, it would be said that the omission is deliberate. The enquirer may refer to an excellent nineteenth century collection of records and histories of the Lairds of Glenlyon, by Duncan Campbell (1886), recently reprinted (1984), which relates the political and internecine intrigues of Highland society from the fourteenth century to 1885 [9]. Campbell was a native of Glenlyon, schoolmaster in Fortingall and Balquhidder, a historian, and journalist. His writings are cited in the thesis, and provide acknowledged source material. One's own research was directed at the underlying relationships of Highland societies with their environments. Without such a special

focus, the objectives could not have been attained. It is not, therefore, a comprehensive history of Balquhidder, but a specialised investigation of a particular aspect of that history.

The primary sources are the Atholl manuscripts, which provided the largest amount of original material; the papers of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates in Scotland, which were essential to an understanding of the second half of the eighteenth century; the Drummond Writs, slender but useful sources; the MacGregor of MacGregor papers relating to the nineteenth century, with some very important supplementary eighteenth century documents; the Balquhidder Parish Registers, and the enumerators' reports for the census of Scotland from 1841 to 1891. All of these are unpublished manuscripts which were studied and analysed to provide an integrated framework of material. Published sources were the bound volumes of the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland; the well researched modern work on the History of Clan Labhran (MacLaren.M. 1976), the aboriginal clan of Balquhidder [10]; the Old and New Statistical Accounts of Scotland; and commissioned family histories. Duncan Campbell's work relating to Balquhidder provided a useful source and a guide to the way in which a nineteenth century contemporary writer perceived certain events and trends [11]. Various modern works have also been cited to provide context. Essentially, however, the research rests upon the manuscript sources, and upon field surveys. One small archaeological investigation was undertaken.

The original documentary sources provided material from the late fifteenth century onwards. The thesis therefore consists of five parts, which relate to thresholds apparent through study of the sources. Part one summarises the hypotheses and standpoints of

the research, introduces Balquhidder as the vehicle, and outlines what is known of its early history from other work and from field evidence. Part two introduces the first major section of original research, and links the evidence for the antiquity of the settlement pattern with the probable pre-medieval and early medieval structure. It postulates a medieval phase when the original Celtic order had already given way to an imposed bastard feudalism, but in which the old Celtic structure tended to persist. Part three suggests a watershed between the fairly unstable medieval period, and an early modern period, in the seventeenth century. During this period a stable aristocratic estate system emerged. Part four suggests another threshold about 1718, when more sophisticated and objective estate management systems presaged the gradual introduction of improvement. This ushered in the eighteenth century processes of slow change, without discontinuity in the settlement system. The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the first reorganisation of settlement and community by the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, and the imminent collapse of the archaic system. The final section of the thesis considers in some depth the transition from the residual Celtic pattern to the modern, and the development of the nineteenth century structure. It postulates a dual process of dissolution and synthesis, the one feeding the other, as demographic crises necessitated changes in the economy. The roots of this process are traced back to the late seventeenth century.

The reader will find a distinct change in the general tone and pace of the thesis in Part III. This will become even more evident from chapter eight onwards. The reason for this is to be

found in the source material. From the middle of the seventeenth century to the end of the second decade of the eighteenth, estate records become more numerous. The kind of detail which surviving documents contain also changed. Randomly preserved medieval charters were replaced by rent books and tenurial contracts. For the periods following 1718 the muniments at Blair Castle yielded a variety of manuscripts, illustrating many aspects of estate and social history. The first early map of part of Balquhidder to survive dates from 1718. Further cartographic evidence surviving from 1756 onwards provided useful details. Visible remains of settlements in the field also become increasingly important as research evidence for the history of the eighteenth century.

The conclusions are that there is no reasonable doubt that the field remains do identify sites of at least medieval antiquity, many of which may well be older. Cultural continuity, involving the absorption of adventitious groups, appears to have guaranteed continuity of social structure through a hybrid community until the beginning of the nineteenth century. This continuity was reflected in tenurial patterns and land use, and the pattern and morphology of settlements survived with it. Demographic pressures seem to have been important forces for change, from a subsistence to a market economy, certainly from about 1680 onwards. In the late eighteenth century the change in political status of Highland landlords and chiefs encouraged further a shift towards capitalist attitudes to estates. Relationships between overlords and tenants changed finally after 1800. There were no clearances, and indeed the incidence of deliberate large scale clearance in the Highlands has probably been exaggerated. Voluntary emigration and migration took place,

however, with increasing intensity, from the 1750s onwards. The highly complex demographic changes in the parish and the region are discussed in chapter 16.

The thesis itself was a late objective in the research project. The weight of material discovered demanded a comprehensive summary. The suggestion of writing the thesis did not arise until 1978. It has served a particular function within a research programme which by its nature is an open ended investigation. The objective was to trace the patterns of continuity and discontinuity through time, particularly noting persistent elements, and important shifts in the evolutionary processes. The thesis was not therefore a primary objective, but a vehicle; nor is it a terminal point in the research programme. Various special aspects remain to be investigated and developed. For example, it has already been suggested to the author that more archaeological work in the field is merited, on the basis of results so far achieved. The question of the evolution of the nineteenth century farms and houses, and the metaphorphosis of the resettlement villages into the late nineteenth century townships which have survived into the modern age, provides a potential further field of research. Hypotheses remain about early models of the Highland crofting economy, found in counties such as Perthshire in the eighteenth century, and later established by statute in the northern and west Highlands. In the field of management, more work needs to be done on the development of estate administration, and of early contracts for building and engineering work. Certain aspects such as woodland management already lie scattered among the research material, and require consolidation under thematic headings. By the necessity for a

chronological structure, the thesis tends to disperse thematic material. There is also considerable scope for comparative study of rural settlements in other parts of upland Britain.

It is therefore important to stress the open ended nature of the research, and the limited role of this thesis within it. A few articles and papers have already been published from the research, dealing with some special aspects of its findings [12]. The following chapters are therefore essentially an evaluation of certain specific hypotheses about Highland settlement evolution. It is postulated that they have a place within the theoretical field of settlement evolution generally.

During the research, the author has supervised a number of post graduate students working on settlement problems in developing countries. The parallels between the history of change in rural Scotland, and current developments in certain parts of the modern world, have been of great interest. The essential differences have also been emphasised. The fundamental problems of cultural evolution arise likewise in prehistory [13]. The possibility for contexts across space and time, and the need for a deeper understanding of the processes and mechanisms involved in the transition from rural to urban industrial societies, should not be dismissed. Even in Scotland, the influence of the historical evolution of rural settlements has been recognised as an important issue for modern planning [14]. There are, therefore, many possibilities for further extension of the study.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO THE INTRODUCTION.

1. The outstanding pioneer of the concept of human settlements as evolutionary phenomena was undoubtedly Patrick Geddes. Vide Geddes. P. "Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics." Williams

& Norgate, London. 1915. Geddes' life work and the development of his ideas are recorded in Boardman.P. "The Worlds of Patrick Geddes." Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1978."

2. The importance of the continuous evolutionary process to settlement form, and hence to the study and design of settlements, formed the basic standpoint of D.L. Thomas's work at Newcastle upon Tyne, qv. in "Planning the Design of Settled Topographies." Newcastle upon Tyne. c.1970.

3. See, for example, Martin.G.H. "The Town as a Palimpsest." in Dyos.H.J. (Ed.) "The Study of Urban History." Ch.III. pp. 155 - 169. See also Richard Hall, "The Excavations at York, the Viking Dig." Bodley Head. London. 1984. Ch.5. where the boundary systems of Coppergate have been traced back to circa AD.910.

4. See for example Beresford.M.W. & Hurst.J.G. "Wharram Percy: a case study in Microtopography." in "English Medieval Settlement" (ed.) Sawyer.P.H., Arnold, London. 1972. pp. 52 - 85. Also see Stamper.P. "Interim Report of the Thirty-fourth Season of the Wharram Percy Research Project, North Yorkshire." in Medieval Village Research Group, Thirty-first Annual Report, 1983. pp. 19 - 26. & reports for preceding years.

5. The problem of balance between Highland and Lowland history in Scotland may be illustrated by citing two well respected works. Smout.T.C. in "A History of the Scottish People, 1560 - 1830." Collins, London 1969., was able to devote only one major chapter out of nineteen specifically to the Highlands. Whittington.G.W. and Whyte.I.D. in "An Historical Geography of Scotland." Academic Press, London, 1983., were able to provide one chapter out of eleven on the issue. The latter work is eclectic, drawing on many available sources. Both are substantial works by authoritative authors and editors. The hypothesis emerging from searching the literature is that much of the fundamental research into Highland history remains to be done, and its results are not yet available to writers of comprehensive studies.

6. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon Press, London 1981., is a pioneering work. The substance of many years of research and published papers is drawn together in one of the first serious comprehensive studies of Highland society and territorial systems. Wendy Davies, in two works, "Wales in the Early Middle Ages." Leicester University Press, 1982; and "An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters." R.H.S., London, 1978. produced evidence of strong social and territorial organisation in early medieval Wales, with origins in the dark ages, which indicates congruence between the organisation of communities and settlements in western and northern Celtic Britain, when compared with Dodgshon's work. These provided a testing context for the final analysis of the Balquhidder research.

7. Murray.W.H. "Rob Roy MacGregor. A Biography." R.Drew. Glasgow 1982. Passim.

8. Typical of the genre of popular histories is Prebble.J. "The Highland Clearances." Penguin Books, London, 1969. One reviewer said of it that it was unimpressive, largely derivative, and with regard to Sutherland shallow, superficial, and entirely predictable (Dr. Kevin J. O'Reilly, London. in "What to see around Bettyhill, a Guide to local history and archaeology." undated.) It may be compared for example with Richards.E. "The Leviathan of Wealth." Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1973, based on a scholarly study of the Sutherland Estate Papers, and hopefully a forerunner of the new genre of Highland histories.

9. Campbell.D. "The Lairds of Glenlyon: Historical sketches of the lands and people of Breadalbane, Glenlyon, Glenorchy, Rannoch, and surrounding districts, from early times." Private publication by Sir Donald Currie of Garth and Glenlyon, 1886. Reprinted by Clunie Press, Tayside, 1984.

10. MacLaren.M. "The Maclarens: A history of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh, 1976.

11. Campbell.D. "Reminiscenses and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander." Inverness, 1910.

12. Stewart. J.H. "The Lands of Balquhidder." The Stewarts. Vol.XV. No. 4. 1979 (Stewart Society Journal) pp.256 - 276. Stewart. J.H. "Vernacular Buildings and the Problem of Settlement Evolution." S.V.B.W.G. Vernacular Building 6. 1980. pp.11 - 22. Stewart.J.H. "Insights into the Building Industry in Eighteenth Century Perthshire." S.V.B.W.G. Vernacular Buildings 8. 1983-84. pp.48 - 61. Stewart.J.H. "Glenbuckie: a Perthshire Tacksman's Estate." The Stewarts. Vol. XVII. No.3. 1986 (Forthcoming). Stewart J.H. & M.B. "A Highland Longhouse: Lianach, Balquhidder, Perthshire." P.S.A.S. Vol.116. 1986 (Forthcoming).

13. Van de Waals. J.D. "Discontinuity, Cultural Evolution, and the Historic Event." P.S.A.S., Vol.114. 1984. pp.1 - 14. An interesting discussion of the processes of cultural evolution in relation to artefactual evidence from prehistory, which reflects similar hypotheses to those adopted in this thesis. It must be remembered that in the present state of the art, Scottish Highland history before the late middle ages is very much a field for prehistorians, because of the sparse nature of records.

14. See for example: Houston J.M. "An Historical Background of Village Development in Scotland." Journal of the Town Planning Institute. Vol.XXXV. No.3. March 1949. pp. 87 - 95. and Burke. I. "The Redefinition of Settlement Pattern, with particular reference to East Central Scotland." Ibid. Vol. XXXVI. No.2. January 1950 pp. 49 - 56.

PART I. THE BASIS OF THE ENQUIRY

CHAPTER 1. HYPOTHESES AND STANDPOINTS

"The desire to know what went before, the desire to understand the passage down time, these are common human attributes." (G.R.Elton,1967).[1]

Elton's statement defines nicely the objectives of research into the evolutionary processes of human history. It is especially appropriate to the investigation recorded in the following chapters. Elton also asserts that the study of history is legitimate in itself, and that the use of historical research for any other purpose is secondary [2]. While this is true, the secondary objective is important. It focusses the research and provides the leading hypotheses. The field within which this research developed was that of upland settlements in the British Isles. The focus is upon the processes of their development. This implies certain hypotheses and standpoints guiding the enquiry.

The first hypothesis is that human settlements are part of an evolutionary system. This infers a dynamic view of history. The research cannot be confined to particular periods or events. To study a process it is necessary to follow it over a substantial time scale.

The second hypothesis is that the changing forms and patterns of distribution of settlements are the visible elements

of a complex system. The dynamics of that system depend upon the interactions of successive generations of people with their environments within the context of particular cultural frameworks.

The importance of cultural frameworks is increasingly recognised, both in settlement history and in theories of settlement design. D.L.Thomas (c.1970)[3] attempted to define settlement processes:

> "The gradual progression of human settlement...is an evolving rather than a terminating process. It evolves topographies in response to human requirements and preferences, investing the land with human activities and assets."

Key words in that hypothesis are "requirements," and "preferences." They imply the shaping of environments to meet practical human need within a system of values. C.Taylor (1983)[4] recognises the importance of choice as an influence upon settlement form and location in the context of settlement history. Amos Rapoport (1969)[5] demonstrated the function of cultural systems in helping to determine the design and shape of houses, and later applied the same hypothesis to the study of urban form (A.Rapoport,1977)[6].

The third hypothesis follows: A settled landscape will at any time reveal characteristics which have evolved from previous ages. This implies that certain aspects of settlements and communities may persist for long periods of time. In a true evolutionary process, robust elements from one generation should survive in following ones. There follows a hypothesis of persistence of fundamental characteristics, which may influence conditions even after major changes.

History is also punctuated by discontinuity. This occurs when major innovative changes take place, for example, in

technology or in political structures. It may appear hazardous to suggest that continuity of process can be detected through such changes, but this is a hypothesis to which attention must be paid. Some modern settlement historians have attempted to address this problem of significant shifts in development. B.K.Roberts (1983)[7] has suggested ways in which English nucleated settlement patterns may have evolved out of earlier dispersed or fragmented ones. C.Taylor (1983)[8] suggests, on the other hand, that territorial boundaries persist through very long periods of time, but also argues for an evolutionary process underlying the formation of many English villages. The forces of necessity and of choice are suggested as operating in this process within indigenous communities as their circumstances change. The need for land management and reorganisation, in the face of demographic change, is one element which presents itself, for example.

A fourth hypothesis may be postulated. If the pattern and form of settlement and land use evolves as the result of interactions between communities and environments through time, and if indigenous cultural factors are significant determinants in such a process, then certain characteristics unique to particular places and societies will emerge. If choice is governed by necessity and by value systems, certain aspects of choice will be unique to the culture group. Common human problems may be solved in differing ways. Environments also differ from place to place. Choices affecting settlement and land use arise from the need to manage the environment to survive. The unique characteristics of localities stem partly from those aspects of communities which emphasise difference.

The study of the history of a locality will therefore

produce results peculiar to the place. It would be invalid to suggest that they were fully applicable elsewhere. This limitation must be accepted as a price to be paid for highly focussed research. Principles of wider significance must also arise, however. Links between cultural and social evolution, and settlement and land-use, must occur in all societies. The mechanisms of the evolutionary process must exist in some form. In the context of this research, the results may fall into a wider pattern of rural settlement evolution in upland Britain. To test these wider implications of the hypotheses, a number of comparative studies would be essential.

In the Scottish Highlands the continued use of land for pastoral farming has preserved a wide selection of field evidence for early settlement patterns. Major change came later than in many parts of Great Britain, and resulted in extensive depopulation rather than significant redevelopment of the landscape. Field surveys can therefore reveal the patterns and forms of settlement from the post-medieval to modern periods over extensive geographical areas. A process of spontaneous conservation has occurred.

The importance of the physical remains of historic settlements in the Scottish Highlands in their European context was stressed by the Medieval Village Research Group in 1969 [9]. They demonstrate the structure of the group farm settlements of Celtic society, and may be unique as the monuments of one of the last tribal cultures in Europe. The extensive field remains are fragile, however, and large numbers are being lost through afforestation. The Research Group expressed concern that so little attention had been paid to the conservation and study of this

historically important material.

Research in the field of rural settlement varies considerably in emphasis. R.W.Brunskill (1974)[10] has studied vernacular architecture in the English Lake District, and in the North Pennines (R.W.Brunskill,1976) [11]. A.Gailey (1960)[12] has written on the peasant houses of the Southwest Highlands of Scotland, and researched the evolution of Highland Settlement in Argyle (A.Gailey,1961) [13]. In post-medieval historical and archaeological research in the Highlands, the work of Horace Fairhurst has been seminal. Examples are his investigations at Lix, in West Perthshire (H.Fairhurst, 1968) [14], and at Rosal in Sutherland (H.Fairhurst, 1967) [15].

A conference on rural settlement studies at the University of Glasgow in 1980 [16] provided an overview of work in progress. L.Alcock reviewed the problems of early medieval settlement history in Scotland [17]. T.B.Barry outlined work in Ireland [18]. L.A.S.Butler described work in Wales [19]. B.K.Roberts presented his work on village settlements in Britain [20]. A.Morrison reviewed research into settlement patterns on Lochtayside [21], where studies had commenced early with Margaret McArthur's editing of the "Survey of Lochtayside 1769."(McArthur.M.M. 1936)[22]. An important conclusion of the conference was the necessity of linking field work with documentary research (A.Morrison,1980)[23]. These examples show that studies tend to have special emphasis. Some are focussed upon individual sites, some on attempts to classify regional architectural characteristics, and some on patterns of settlement and land division. They also demonstrate the scattered nature of the locations. There are regions where very little work has been done,

especially in the Highlands. There is a need, in the present state of the art, for a series of local studies in depth, attempting a comprehensive reconstruction of the settlement history of clearly defined areas.

A working hypothesis which will be supported is that the social structure and material culture used as the vehicle for this research belongs to the Celtic tradition in British rural history. Three important modern works were completed independently in parallel with the Balquhidder study. They dealt with the broad structure of early Celtic societies and tenurial systems. The first was Wendy Davies's seminal study of the Llandaff Charters, revealing both the antiquity and the territorial persistence of ancient Welsh estates (Davies.W. 1978) [24]. The second was R.A.Dodgshon's research into land and society in early Scotland (Dodgshon.R.A. 1981) [25]. It supported the conclusions to be drawn from Davies's work, and linked land tenure, territorial structure, and socio-economic organisation. Dodgshon argued strongly for the persistence of old territorial structures into modern Scotland. Thirdly, the wider results of Davies's studies were published in her work on medieval Wales (Davies.W. 1982) [26]. These important publications provide a context in which the results of local research may be seen. There appeared a significant congruence between them and the conclusions reached in this study.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 1.

1. Elton.G.R. "The Practice of History." Sydney U.P. 1967 and Collins, Glasgow 1969.p.11.

2. Ibid. p.66.

3. Thomas.D.L. "Planning the Design of Settled Topographies." Vol.1. University of Newcastle upon Tyne. c.1970. Para:1.4.

4. Taylor.C. "Village and Farmstead: A History of Rural Settlement in England." George Philip, London 1984. p.12.

5. Rapoport.A. "House Form and Culture." Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs N.J. 1969. Passim, but especially Ch.3. pp.46 - 82.

6. Rapoport.A. "Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-environment Approach to Urban Design." Pergamon Press, New York and Oxford, 1977. Passim, but especially Part 5. pp.248 - 315.

7. Roberts.B.K. "Nucleation and Dispersion: Towards an Explanation." Medieval Village Research Group 31st. Annual Report, 1983. pp.44 - 45.

8. Taylor.C. 1983. Op.cit. pp.40 - 42 & 47 - 48, and pp.109 - 150 (Chs.7. & 8.).

9. Medieval Village Research Group. Memorandum to the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland. Typescript document. London. 1969.

10. Brunskill.R.W. "Vernacular Architecture of the Lake Counties. A Field Handbook." Faber & Faber, London,1974. Passim.

11. Brunskill.R.W. "Vernacular Architecture of the North Pennines." Northern History, Vol.11.,1976. pp.107 - 142.

12. Gailey.A. "Peasant Houses in the Southwest Highlands of Scotland." Gwerin (iii) 1960/62.

13. Gailey.A. "The Evolution of Highland Rural Settlements, with Particular Reference to Argyleshire." Scottish Studies, Vol.6, 1962, pp.155 - 177.

14. Fairhurst.H. "The Deserted Settlement at Lix, West Perthshire." P.S.A.S.,Vol.101. 1968/69. pp.160 - 199.

15. Fairhurst.H. "Rosal: A Deserted Township in Strath Naver, Sutherland." P.S.A.S.,Vol 100, 1967/68. pp.135 - 169. See also Fairhurst.H. "The Surveys for the Sutherland Clearances." Scottish Studies Vol.8, 1964. pp.1 - 18.

16. Morrison.A. (Ed) "Rural Settlement Studies: Some Recent Work." Published Conference Papers; Glasgow University, 1980.

17. Alcock.A. "Early Historic Settlement Problems in Scotland." in Morrison.A. 1980. Op.cit. pp.1 - 6.

18. Barry.T.B. "Rural Settlement Studies in Ireland." in Morrison.A. 1980, Op.cit. pp,7 - 11.

19. Butler.L.A.S. "Medieval Rural Settlement in Wales." in Morrison.A. 1980, Op.cit. pp.12 - 16.

20. Roberts.B.K. "Village Plans in Britain: A Note." in Morrison.A. 1980, Op.cit. pp.40 - 45.

21. Morrison.A. "Some Recent Research on the Rural Settlement Pattern of Lochtayside Before 1800." in Morrison.A. 1980, Op.cit.. pp.35 - 39.

22. McArthur.M.M. (Ed) "Survey of Lochtayside, 1769." Edinburgh, 1936.

23. Morrison.A. 1980. Op.cit. Editorial. pp. iv - v.

24. Davies, Wendy. "An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters." R.H.S., London. 1978.

25. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon, Oxford 1981.

26. Davies, Wendy. "Wales in the Early Middle Ages." Leicester University Press. 1982.

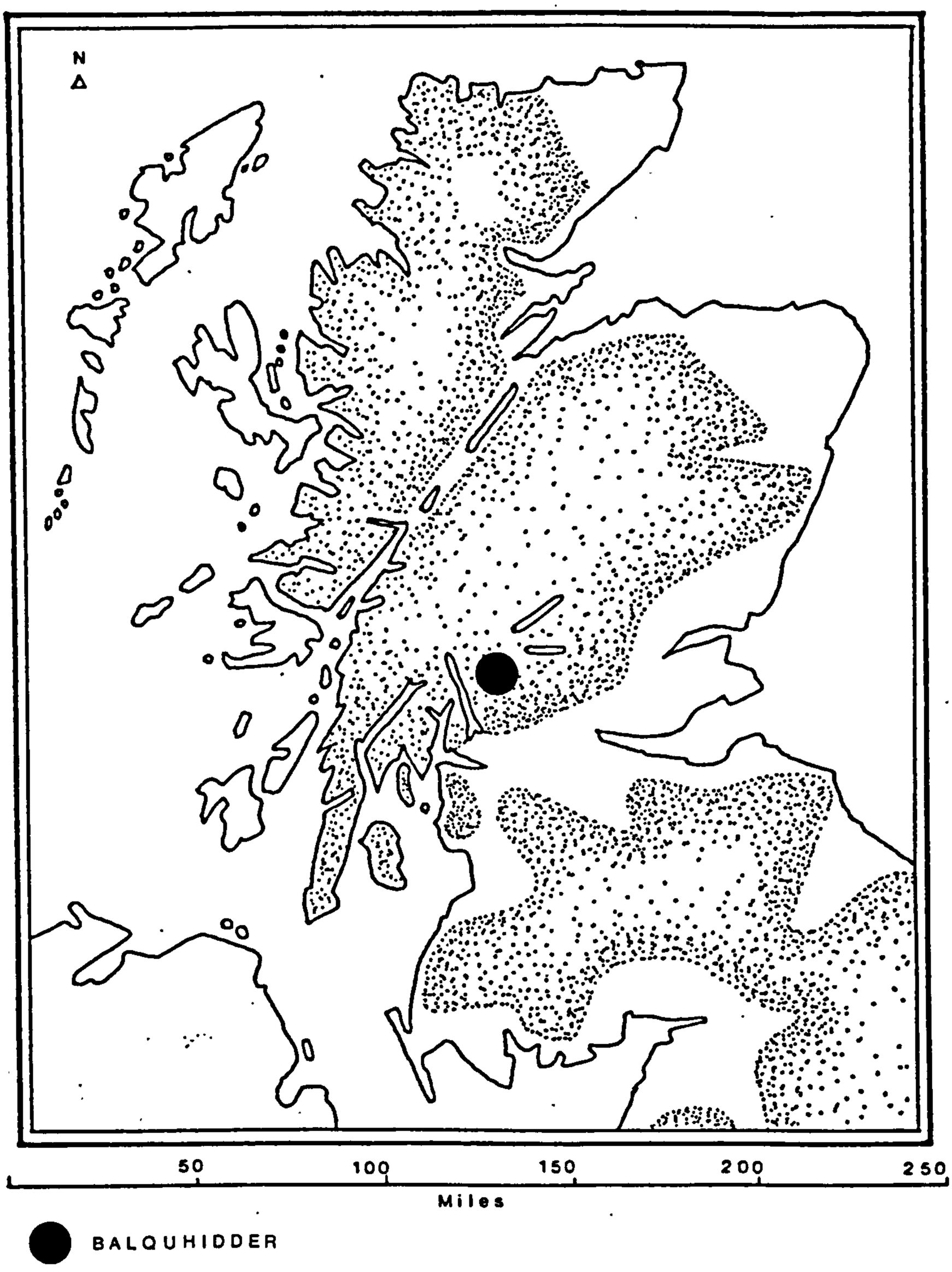


Fig.1.

CHAPTER 2. BALQUHIDDER - A VEHICLE FOR RESEARCH

The choice of a vehicle for research followed from the hypotheses and guiding principles outlined in Chapter 1. There was also an element of serendipity, when a visit to Balquhidder revealed extensive traces of deserted settlements. A paper by Gordon Stewart (1973) [1] indicated potentially useful documentary source material. Preliminary searches in the Scottish Record Office and the Stewart Society Library in Edinburgh confirmed that record sources existed. These presented the possibility of reconstructing the history of rural settlement in Balquhidder from the end of the fifteenth century.

Further investigation led to cartographic evidence. A copy of Roy's map of the district in 1750 was available [2]. George Stobie's map of Perthshire and Clackmannanshire in 1787 named and located nearly all the deserted settlements [3]. The first edition of the Ordnance Survey six inch maps provided a base in 1866. [4]. Two local estate plans were found dating from 1808 [5] and 1814 [6]. The records of the Forfeited Estates in Scotland yielded a map of the Barony of Balquhidder made by W.Cockburn in 1756 [7].

The published Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families [8] suggested continuity of the post-medieval settlement pattern from circa 1500 to the early nineteenth century. The Ardvorlich Papers in the Stewart Society Library pointed to lists of farms in the late fifteenth century [9]. The transcribed lists related closely to the cartographic evidence from the eighteenth

BALQUHIDDER: LOCATION AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

(Abstract from 1:250,000 Ordnance Survey Reproduced for Academic Purposes for this Thesis Only. Crown copyright 1969).

Fig.2.

and nineteenth century sources. Balquhidder appeared to offer an opportunity for studying settlement processes over a sufficient period of time to yield interesting results.

Logistically, Balquhidder was conveniently accessible for summer field work. Many of the deserted sites are far from metalled roads, but accessible on foot. A sufficient number were near enough to vehicular access for detailed survey. In the eastern parts of the parish much field evidence had been lost through afforestation and development, but the west had suffered little from such modern changes in 1976 when field work commenced.

The parish boundaries of Balquhidder had remained little altered since late medieval times. A small part of the northeast sector had been ceded to the neighbouring parish of Comrie, but it was readily defined, and lay outside the most promising areas for field study. The parish had also formed a unit within the medieval and post-medieval pattern of estates. Territorial stability combined with consistency of records offered a sound basis for research.

Balquhidder is located in West Perthshire, which became part of the Scottish Central Region in 1973. It lies fifty kilometres north of Glasgow, in mountainous country to the west of the Loch Lomond region. The parish is situated astride the principal gateway to the central Scottish Highlands from the south via Stirling, now the route of the A84(T). The modern road follows an ancient strategic pathway first improved in the eighteenth century as part of the military road from Stirling to Fort William.

The historic centre of the parish is the ancient Kirkton of Balquhidder (NN 536209) at the east end of Loch Voil. It is approximately twenty kilometres north of the Highland Boundary

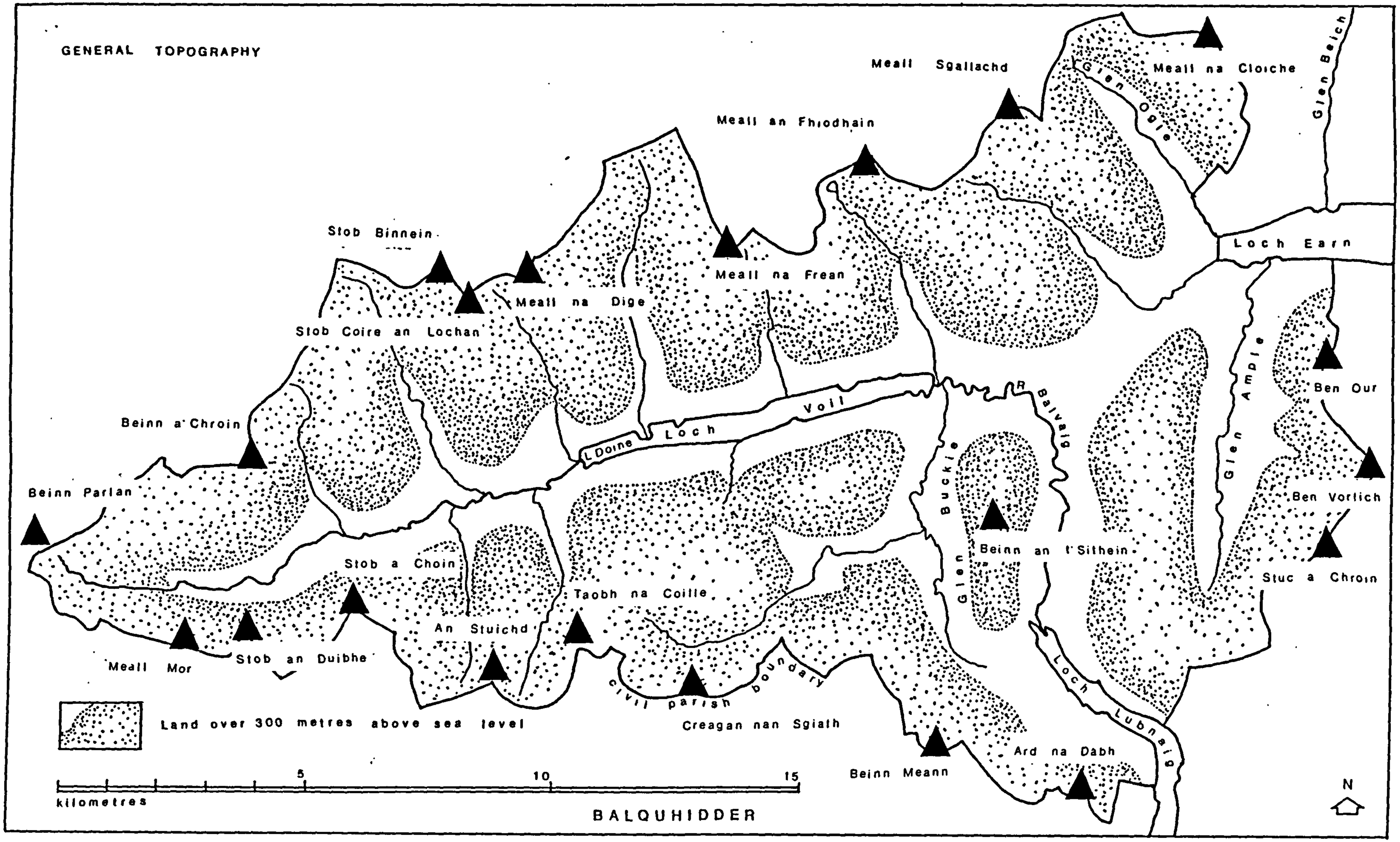

GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY
Meall Sgallachd
Meall na Cloiche
Glen Ogle
Glen Beich
Meall an Fhiodhain
Stob Binnein
Meall na Frean
Loch Earn
Meall na Dige
Stob Coire an Lochan
Ben Our
Glen Ample
Beinn a' Chroin
L Doine
Loch Voil
R Balvaig
Glen Buckie
Beinn Parlan
Ben Vorlich
Beinn an t'Sithein
Stob a Choin
Stuc a Chroin
Taobh na Coille
An Stuichd
Meall Mor
Stob an Duibhe
civil parish boundary
Loch Lubnaig
Land over 300 metres above sea level
Creagan nan Sgiath
Ard na Dabh
Beinn Meann
5
10
15
kilometres
N
BALQUHIDDER

Fig.3.

fault in Menteith, as the crow flies. The parish forms a triangle, with Balquhidder Glen as the long axis from east to west. The distance across the parish in this direction is twenty-five kilometres. The eastern boundary forms the base, about fifteen and a half kilometres in extent.

A perambulation of the boundaries clockwise might commence at Ben Parlan in the west (633m). The northern perimeter follows the high peaks and watersheds between Balquhidder Glen and Glendochart, including the summits of Stob Binnein (1166m.) and Stob Coire an Lochain (1066m.). It crosses the head of the pass over Glen Ogle and ascends to the summit of Meall na Cloiche, whence it descends to the west end of Loch Earn. The eastern boundary leaves the south shore of Loch Earn half way between Edinample (NN 601227) and Ardvorlich (NN 633228) and follows the crest of the great ridges from Ben Our, to Ben Vorlich (985m.) and Stuc a Chroin (927m.). It then descends to Loch Lubnaig. From Loch Lubnaig the line follows the steep ridge to the summit of Ardnandave Hill, the southern boundary following the watershed to Ben Vane (818m.), Creagan nan Sgiath, Taobh na Coille, An Stuichd, Stob a Choin (865m.), Stob an Duibhe, Meall Mor, and back to Ben Parlan. Balquhidder is enclosed by some of the highest peaks of the southern Highlands.

The entrance from the central plain into the Highlands at Kilmahog (NN 612082) north of the town of Callander is sudden and impressive. The deep narrow defile of the pass of Leny and Loch Lubnaig closes in upon the traveller. At the village of Strathyre the glen opens out slightly, giving way to the wider strath at Kingshouse (NN 564103) where the single track cul-de-sac road breaks away westwards for the Kirkton and Loch Voil. The main road

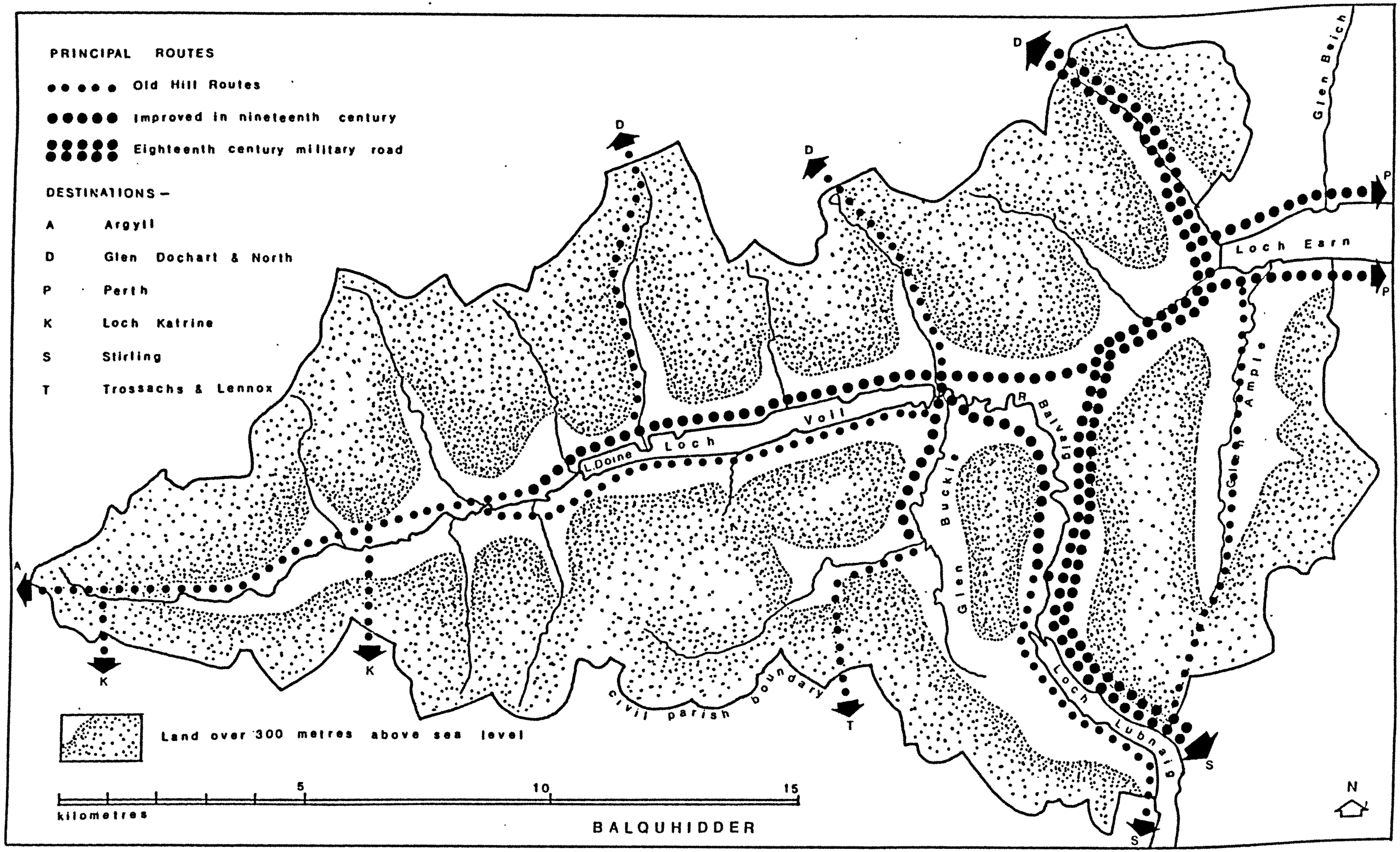

PRINCIPAL ROUTES
Old Hill Routes
Improved in nineteenth century
Eighteenth century military road
DESTINATIONS –
A Argyll
D Glen Dochart & North
P Perth
K Loch Katrine
S Stirling
T Trossachs & Lennox
Land over 300 metres above sea level
5
10
15
kilometres
BALQUHIDDER
Loch Earn
Glen Beich
Glen Ample
Loch Voil
L.Doine
Glen Buckie
Loch Lubnaig
Balvaig
civil parish boundary
N

Fig.4.

rises across the moorland watershed, to drop down to Lochearnhead, before ascending the high pass of Glenogle. At Lochearnhead is also a choice of routes along either bank of Loch Earn, to Strathearn and Perth.

The single track highway westwards through Balquhidder Glen terminates about two kilometres past the head of Loch Doine. At the Kirkton of Balquhidder another narrow road crosses the outfall of Loch Voil and ascends Glen Buckie to the south, terminating at Ballimore farm (NN 530176). From these road ends, much older unmetalled tracks lead through the hills. Westwards over the shoulder of Ben Parlan is the ancient route into Lorne and Argyll. Southwards from Glenbuckie a route winds through the hills to the Trossachs, joining a network one branch of which continues to Glasgow. Northwards from the Kirkton of Balquhidder a well defined route ascends the glen and descends into Glen Dochart and the country of Breadalbane. There are other routes across the enclosing hills. The modern road system conceals the historic centrality of the Kirkton of Balquhidder in the days before wheeled transport.

While the parish has a long history as an administrative unit, it contains three geographical entities. The significance of these in terms of Highland history should be appreciated. The special identity of place in the Highlands has been nicely expounded by James Hogg (1803) [10]:

> "I must here explain a circumstance to you which I believe I have never done yet, and which I ought to have done long ago, that is, what is meant by a "country" in the Highlands. In all the inland glens the boundaries of a country are invariably marked out by the skirts of the visible horizon as viewed from the bottom of the valley. All beyond that is denominated "another country," and is called by another name."

To stand on the bridge at the outfall of Loch Voil, recalling

Hogg's apt definition, is to realise the true extent of the Country of Balquhidder. Its bounds are the high western hills, the enclosing walls of the valley broken by the southern tributary valley of Glen Buckie, visually part of Balquhidder, and to the east the cone of Ben Vorlich rising behind the lower foothills. Strathyre and Loch Lubnaig lie beyond, and Lochearnhead is another country. The serious field work for the research was carried out within the Balquhidder heartland.

According to the Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland (1903) the extent of the parish is 23,231 hectares (56,149.25 acres) [11]. Of that, 597 hectares (1,474.6 acres) are water. The surface level of Loch Voil is less than 132m. above Ordnance datum. The River Balvaig has its sources in the western hills of the parish, flowing through Loch Doine and Loch Voil to the outfall at the Kirkton. It is joined by the Callair Burn from Glenbuckie, and flows eastwards, then turns south through Strathyre to feed Loch Lubnaig. That loch empties into the Teith and Forth river systems. There is little fall between Loch Voil and Loch Lubnaig, and the meadow lands are subject to frequent and severe flooding. The northeast corner of the parish drains into Loch Earn and the Earn and Tay system.

Geologically Balquhidder is part of the Trossachs region, and the complexity of land forms has been described in outline by Dr Basil C. King in a contribution to a report prepared for the Countryside Commission for Scotland (F.J.Evans,1972) [12]. The landforms of Balquhidder consist of slatey schists, with a broad band of limestone running across the centre of the parish from southwest to northeast. This forms the west wall of Glenbuckie and the hills behind the Kirkton. The result is a region of rugged

serrated hill ridges enclosing the far western corries, with more rounded hills at the east end of Loch Voil giving way to rugged country enclosing Strathyre and Loch Lubnaig, and precipitous rock ridges in the Ben Vorlich massif.

Strathyre and Loch Lubnaig are surrounded by Forestry Commission plantations from the period between 1918 and 1939. Kirkton Glen was planted at that time, and a smaller glen adjacent to the west. The country around Lochearnhead is largely enclosed. Glenogle, and Balquhidder Glen, were open sheep farming country in 1976. Between 1976 and 1983, the whole of the southern shore of Loch Voil and Loch Doine was forested by a private company. The Forestry Commission also planted the hills above Auchtoo (NN 560209) and Edenchip (NN576225), and Monachyle Glen (NN475220) at the west end of Loch Voil. Part of upper Glen Buckie was taken in to the head of the Loch Lubnaig forest. Several square miles of land were therefore planted during the field work. Rapid surveys were made ahead of this programme of afforestation, but several shieling grounds were lost. The natural woodland consists of birch, alder, and oak, in the mouths of tributary glens and near rivers. Scrub clings to the hillside ravines beside streams. The limestone hills support short mountain grasses, and heath dominates the schists. Bracken colours the landscape. Rushes, bog plants, and marsh grasses occupy undrained parts of the valley floors, the majority of the useful areas being enclosed for agricultural use.

The modern settlement pattern consists of the villages of Strathyre and Lochearnhead, a crofting township around Auchtoo, the Kirkton of Balquhidder with its cluster of houses and Kirkton farm around and below the Kirk, and isolated farmsteads. Large

sheep farms dominate the west and the Glenogle district, with smaller farms between Loch Voil and Strathyre. The latter area has enclosures fenced with hedges, whereas drystone dykes are characteristic of most of the landscape.

The Callander and Oban Railway was opened to Lochearnhead in 1870 [13], following the same route as the A84(T) but taking the west side of Loch Lubnaig. It brought changes to Strathyre and Lochearnhead, with railway stations, hotels, and Victorian houses. The line was closed after nationalisation but Lochearnhead in particular has continued to develop as a tourist centre. Some of the farms let former shepherds' cottages to summer visitors, and guest houses and bed and breakfast businesses are important to the modern economy. Other employment is in forestry, which is decreasing due to rationalisation, and agriculture which is principally operated by self employed farmers and their families. Parish population had fallen to 612 in 1891, and has remained low throughout the twentieth century.[14]

Average annual rainfall ranges from 1500mm. in the eastern parts of the parish to 2000mm in the west and in the higher mountains. Mean temperatures recorded in Perth and Stirling indicate averages of 2.4 degrees Celsius at Perth to 2.9 at Stirling in January; and 15.3 degrees at Perth to 15.4 at Stirling in July [15]. Local topography modifies the weather patterns, however, and Balquhidder enjoys periods when the temperature exceeds 17 degrees Celsius in the summer, as well as extended periods of rain. The glens provide shelter. A moist mountain climate prevails.

The research sought to probe into the origins of the modern landscape and settlement patterns. Most of the existing farms rest

on the site of medieval settlements, some incorporating the foundations of earlier houses. They have inherited the names of their predecessors. The extensive sheep runs and enclosures which they now form contain the remains of older, once separate, farm townships. Each modern holding appeared to be the result of a process of amalgamation of several older units. The boundaries of twentieth century ownerships suggested that the outer marches had formed part of the earlier pattern. The old landscape appeared to underlie the modern one. The present patterns of settlement and land use, and the parcels of modern extensive holdings, seemed to owe some of their characteristics to past systems. Balquhidder appeared to promise a fruitful extended research project in rural settlement history.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 2.

1. Stewart.G. "Stewarts in Old Balquhidder." in The Stewarts, Vol.XIV.No.2. 1973. pp.72 - 85.

2. Roy. General William. Map of the Highlands of Scotland, 1750. Copy: Nat. Mon. Records; Edinburgh.

3. Stobie.G. Map of the Counties of Perthshire and Clackmannanshire. 1787. S.R.O., RHP.177.

4. Ordnance Survey. Perthshire. 6ins to 1 ml. Sheet Nos: XCI,XCII,CIII,CIV. 1st Edition.H.M.S.O.,1886.

5. MacEwen.Gilbert. Plan of the Estate of Glenbuckie. Callander 1808. S.R.O. RHP.3369.

6. Langlands. The Lands of Duncan Stewart Esq. 1814. S.R.O. RHP.3654.

7. Cockburn.W. Plan of the Barony of Balquhidder. 8ins. to 1ml. 1756. Forfeited Estates Plan No.85. S.R.O. RHP.3482.

8. John VII Duke of Atholl. "Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families." Ballantyne Press, Edinburgh. 1908.

9. Stewart.J. of Ardvorlich. "The Stewarts of Ardvorlich, Part I." Bound typescript papers. Stewart Society Library. p.26f. and Appendix.

10. Hogg.J. "A Tour in the Highlands in 1803." Alexander Gardner. Paisley & London. 1888. p.76. (See also paperback reprint by Laughlan.F.W.(Ed), Byways Books, Hawick. 1981 & 1983. p.93.)

11. Groome.F.H.(Ed). "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical, and Historical." (New Edition) Vol.I. William MacKenzie. London. 1903. p.118.

12. Evans.F.J. "Trossachs Study: The Trossachs Report." Countryside Commission for Scotland. Redgorton, Perth.1972. pp.16 - 26.

13. Thomas.J. "The Callander and Oban Railway." David and Charles, Newton Abbot. 1966. Passim.

14. Census of Scotland. Perthshire. Balquhidder. 1891.

15. Evans.F.J. 1972. Op.cit. pp.27 - 29.

CHAPTER 3. BALQUHIDDER - ITS EARLY HISTORY

The difficulty of establishing a reliable early history for Scotland has been recognised by Nora K. Chadwick (1963) [1], and T.C.Smout (1969) [2]. Both authors point to the absence of a political entity which could be called the Scottish nation before the early middle ages. Smout chooses AD1034 as a date when the Picts, Scots, Lothian Angles, and Strathclyde Britons, became united under one ruler [3]. Chadwick [4] and Smout [5] depict the country divided between four peoples, differing in origin and in language. Smout faced this problem in seeking a starting point for a history of the Scottish people from the eleventh century AD. Chadwick faces the issue in the history of Celtic Britain. She traces the geographical divisions of modern Scotland in the Roman and post-Roman periods [6]. The Dalriadic Scots occupied Argyll. South of the Clyde were the British, an extension of Welsh culture northwards through Cumbria [7]. South of the Forth, occupying the Lothians and the modern eastern Border Region were Angles, part of the Northumbrian culture. Between the Forth and the Grampian mountains the Southern Picts lived, and the Northern Picts occupied the Highland Region and northeast Scotland north of the Pass of Druimuachder. Chadwick's conclusions were drawn from Bede [8]. Unification of these different groups commenced with Kenneth MacAlpin becoming king of Dalriada and Pictland in AD843, creating a single kingdom north of the Clyde-Forth line in the Highland and eastern Lowland country [9]. Edgar of England ceded Cumbria in AD

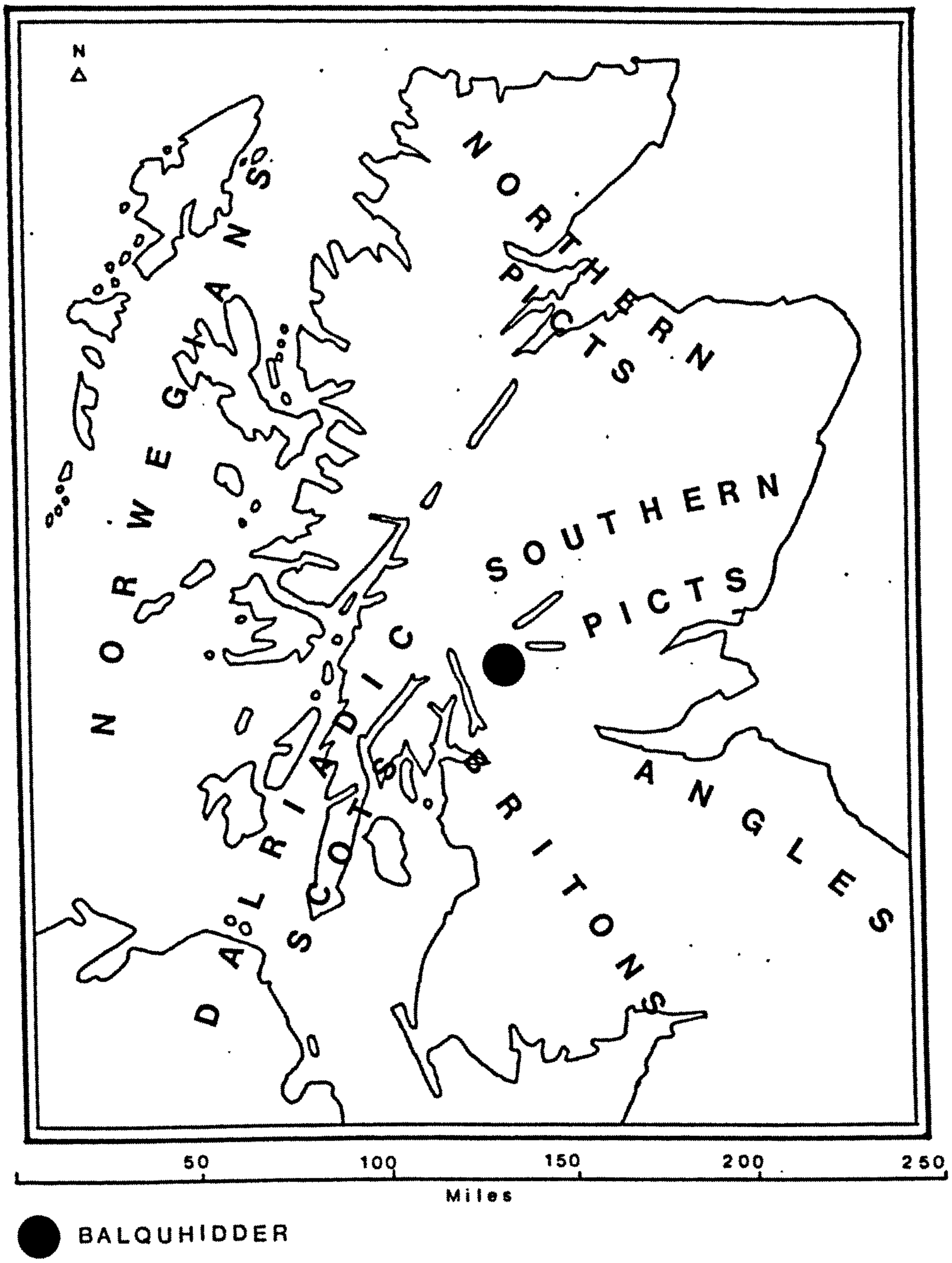

N
NORWEGIAN SEA
NORTHERN PICTS
SOUTHERN PICTS
NORTHERN ANGLES
DALRIADIC SCOTTONS
50
100
150
200
250
Miles
BALQUHIDDER

Fig.5.

945, and Lothian in 971, the latter cession being sealed in battle with the Earl of Northumbria in 1016. In 1057 Malcolm Canmore won this young kingdom from MacBeth at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire [10]. As Smout points out,the new nation was predominantly Irish-Celtic [11]. This chapter must set Balquhidder into the context of what is known about early history, as a foundation for the empirical research results to be presented.

Accepting Chadwick's map of Celtic Scotland, Balquhidder lies on the western boundary of the region of the Southern Picts, against the frontier of Dalriada, the land of the Gaels (Argyll). Citing Bede (H.E.III,iv.) Chadwick accepts that the area south of the Pass of Druimuachder constituted the home of the Southern Pictish peoples. She then discerns four provinces: Athfotla (Atholl); Circinn (Forfar or Angus, Kincardine or the Mearns, comprising the fertile Vale of Strathmore and the lower Tay); Forthriu or Fortren (The upper reaches of the Earn and Forth); and Fib (Fife). She notes the strategic significance of Fortren as the route into Dalriada. Balquhidder occupies one of the principal cross-country routes through the western mountains between Fortren and Dalriada on this map of dark ages Scotland [12]. She locates the Picts in the valleys of the Tay and Earn throughout the historical period.

This thesis based upon Chadwick is also accepted in S.Cowan (1909) in his history of the Celtic Earldoms of Atholl, Strathearn, and Menteith, and their survival into the territorial structure of medieval Scotland [13]. M.MacLaren (1976) also accepts it in her study of the history of Clan MacLaren [14], an indigenous Balquhidder family. Balquhidder therefore enters history as part of the dark age Province of Fortren, of the

"PUIDRAC," The remaining standing stone from the megalithic period of Balquhidder's history.

"CLACH AONGHAIS," The Angus Stone, in Balquhidder Parish Church. An early Christian Monument.

Earldom or Mormaership of Strathearn. It was a frontier district between Picts and Gaels. It lay across the gateway into the Highlands from the south (See ch.2.p.21, above). Whether influenced by Pictish or Goidelic values, it lay deep within Celtic territory and culture. It is important to establish this fact, in relation to the hypotheses postulated in chapter 1. (See p.12. above).

Field evidence indicates that Balquhidder was peopled in prehistory. J.L.Davidson and A.S.Henshall (1983) reported on a neolithic chambered long cairn at Edinchip (NN 575218) discovered by the Ordnance Survey in 1980 [15]. There is a standing stone in the meadows south of the road from Kingshouse to the Kirkton of Balquhidder (approximately NN 542208) [16]. The late Peter MacDiarmid of Broomfield showed the author a stone lying in the field below the road, with a bowl cut into it, which he said was known as The Priest's Stone (Clach an t'Sagairt). At the Kirkton there was a stone circle in the field below the church, according to G.A.F.Knight (1933), which was removed by the farmer [17]. Immediately north of the modern church is a mound named on the Ordnance Survey [18] as Tom nan Ainil (Gaelic Tom nan Ainneal = Knoll of the Fires). MacLaren (1976) cites an informant (Revd. David Cameron, minister of Balquhidder 1879 - 1930) who notes that the knoll had local superstitious associations until a late period [19]. The site is associated with the rituals of Beltaine (May 1st) and Samhain (November 1st) into recent history. MacLaren quotes accounts of the people extinguishing their fires, and gathering around the ritual blaze to receive new fire for their hearths [20]. The pagan origins of these customs are discussed by Ross (1970) [21]. Named knolls such as this one suggest burial

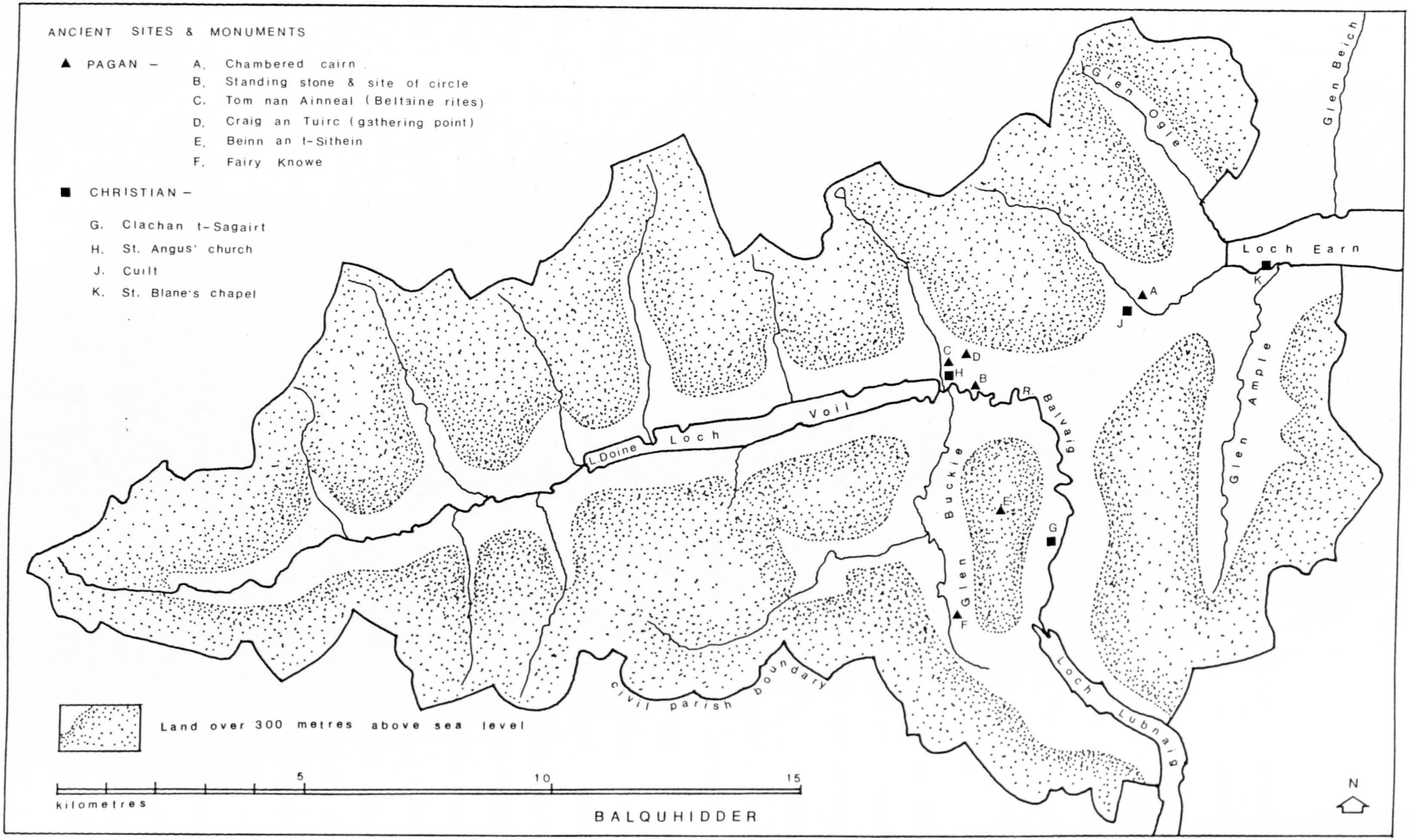

ANCIENT SITES & MONUMENTS
▲ PAGAN –
A. Chambered cairn
B. Standing stone & site of circle
C. Tom nan Ainneal (Beltaine rites)
D. Craig an Tuirc (gathering point)
E. Beinn an t-Sithein
F. Fairy Knowe
■ CHRISTIAN –
G. Clachan t-Sagairt
H. St. Angus' church
J. Cuilt
K. St. Blane's chapel
Glen Ogle
Glen Beich
Loch Earn
Glen Ample
Loch Voil
Loch Doine
Balvaig R.
Buckie Glen
Loch Lubnaig
civil parish boundary
Land over 300 metres above sea level
5
10
15
kilometres
N
BALQUHIDDER

Fig.6.

places. Immediately northeast of the churchyard is a prominant crag known as Craig an Tuirc (Angl: The Boar's Rock). Ross (1974) [22] discusses the great importance of the boar in pagan Celtic mythology and ritual, and also the importance of places of burial as ritual sites [23]. The boar cult is linked with the underworld, as are rituals connected with the dead. MacLaren (1976) records that Craig an Tuirc was the gathering point of Clan Labhran [24].

The coincidence of monuments, place names, customs, and traditions, allows the hypothesis that the site of the Kirkton of Balquhidder and its surrounding area may have had significance in prehistoric society. The centrality of the location may support this possibility. The discovery of the chambered tomb in 1980, four kilometres east at the head of the pass to Loch Earn, must strengthen such an hypothesis. A.S.Henshall (1963) argues for the survival of such ancient sites as meeting places in the landscape, being physically prominent and socially important [25]. She also argues for a need for organised labour to construct them [26]. This infers a significant population, whether settled or nomadic, with some social order. She argues for dates for chambered cairns from circa 2,100 BC based upon radio-carbon means from Tara in Ireland [27]. She notes recently held views that some date from 2,300 BC, while others were in use up to 1,000 BC or as late as 750 BC. The possibility of continuous occupation of Balquhidder from neolithic times is indicated.

In an interview in 1980 Major Donald Fergusson [28] recounted to the author the finding of a flint arrow head beside the shieling huts at Bealach Driseach (NN 495190). This shieling ground was destroyed by afforestation in 1977-1980. Other indications of pre-Christian culture are in names. Separating

Strathyre from Glen Buckie is Beinn an t'Sithein, the "Fairy Hill" or sacred hill (NN 547179). In the upper part of Glen Buckie below Ben Vane is a group of erratics known as Sithean Dubh, the "Black Fairies" [29]. On the opposite side of the glen, pointed out by Mrs Mary MacVicar lately of Immereon, [30], is a green conical mound with large stones within it locally called the Fairy Knowe. This monument rises out of flat land in the valley bottom and could contain a cairn, but its status is unverified. It was enclosed in a new plantation by the Forestry Commission in 1983 but survives. The name "Balquhidder" (pronounced Balwhither) has been disputed as to its derivation (MacLaren 1976) [31]. The prefix Bal is Gaelic for "town" or "farm" and is equivalent to the Saxon "ton." The remainder of the name has had no satisfactory explanation and one authority suggests it may be a corruption of a forgotten Pictish word [32].

The shadowy indicators of Balquhidder's prehistoric origins culminate in the pre-Christian legend of the birth of Clan MacLaren. Margaret MacLaren cites it as follows:

> "Once upon so long a time ago that no man can now say when that time was, there was a mermaid. She lived in a loch in the very heart of the land called Alba. She saw the sun rise over the peak of Ben Vorlich and she saw it set behind the great hills that lie between Strathearn and Lorn. She fell in love with a mortal man and from their union was born the progenitor of the MacLarens."

The citation (MacLaren 1976) [33] is commented upon by MacLaren in extension of the legend. She states that the mermaid was symbolic of the mother spirit of the Picts of Strathearn, and points out that the mermaid appears as the supporters in the arms of MacLaren. Ross (1974) draws attention to the association of Celtic goddesses with water, and the veneration of springs, wells, and pools [34]. During fieldwork, the author took observations of

equinoxial sunrise and sunset positions from Balquihidder. The cone of Ben Vorlich lies on a line from the standing stone in the meadows east of loch Voil to the approximate position of the rising sun. This line also lies along Loch Voil westwards to the approximate position of sunset. There is no loch other than Loch Voil which fits the orientation suggested in the legend. The standing stone, marked as Puidrac on the Ordnance Survey [35], has its long axis pointing exactly to the sunrise. Such evidence is circumstantial, but the alleged Pictish legend is compatible only with Balquhidder. Heroic mythological origins are compatible with Celtic culture [36]. MacLaren also points out that Pictish succession was matrilineal (see also Chadwick 1963) [37], hence the importance of the female in the water goddess as the sacred ancestor.

The Christian era in Balquhidder commenced with the sixth century Irish Celtic missionaries. The church at the Kirkton of Balquhidder is dedicated to St. Angus. G.A.F.Knight (1933) [38] notes that little is known about St.Angus, whom he states is credited (presumably by tradition) with being a Columban missionary from Iona. His research revealed that the Martyrology of Donegal records a saint's day on the 11th August, commemorating Mac Cridhe Mochta Lughmhaigh (The dear one of Mochta of Louth). The martyrology adds that his first name was Aonghus. Knight records that the Feill Aonghuis (Fair of Angus) was held in Balquhidder on or near the 11th August. Louth is six miles southwest of Dundalk and maps indicate Mochta's House as an ancient monument. The saint's Gaelic title indicates that he was a spiritual son or disciple of Mochta, and Knight notes that Mochta himself died in AD 535. Columba founded the Iona community circa

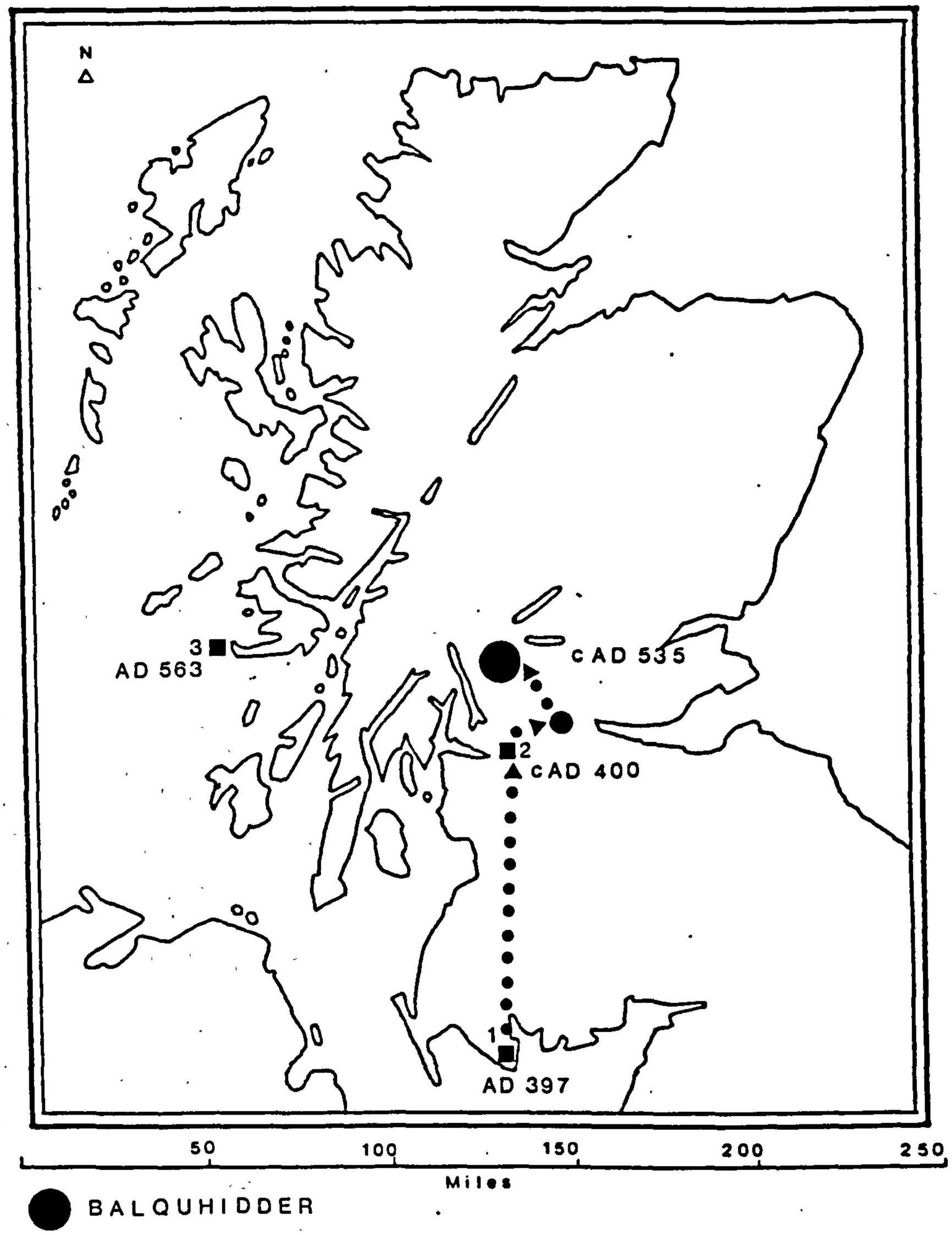

N
3
AD 563
c AD 535
2
c AD 400
1
AD 397
50
100
150
200
250
Miles
BALQUHIDDER
1 Whithorn; 2 Glasgow; 3 Iona;
St Ninian's parish & well;
Hypothetical progress of Whithorn missions

Fig.7.

AD 563 [39].

This opens two possibilities for the origins of Celtic Christianity in Balquhidder. Knight [40] suggests that St.Angus outlived his father in the faith long enough to join the Iona mission. The alternative could be that he came via Whithorn, the mission centre founded by St.Ninian circa AD 397 [41]. Bede credits St.Ninian with the conversion of the southern Picts [42]. The Ordnance Gazetteer outline of the history of Glasgow cites Jocelyn of Furness who credits St.Ninian with the foundation of the first church at Glasgow on the Clyde, later re-established by St Mungo (ie: Kentigern) circa AD 543 [43]. The latter date is also pre-Columban, and near to the date of Mochta's death. Knight records the tradition that St.Angus entered Balquhidder from the east. It is therefore not illogical to propose that he entered from the low country through the Pass of Leny and Strathyre, the old strategic route. Access from Lorn and Iona would be from the west, across the passes from Argyll.

The indications that Balquhidder was Pictish territory, and shared Pictish culture, in the early dark ages, would suit the argument that the Church in Balquhidder was founded late in the mission to the Pictish people, rather than extremely early in the Iona mission. There can be no conclusive result, but the traditions of the founding of the first Christian centre seen in the light of such an hypothesis fit well with all the other indicators for Balquhidder being part of the Pictish territory of Strathearn. If so, then the Goidelic nomenclature of the countryside may then be later in origin than the Pictish settlements. Daiches (1977) [44] doubts the tradition for St.Ninian founding the church at Glasgow, but finds the

St.Kentigern date acceptable. He suggests that Whithorn was founded by St.Ninian, as recorded by Bede, but that the missions to the Picts and the Kingdom of Strathclyde continued from it over a long period. The regions around Balquhidder contain at least four early Christian sites: St.Bride's Chapel at the south end of Loch Lubnaig (NN 585099) which bears the Christianised name of a Celtic goddess (See Ross 1970 re St Brigid) [45]; St.Angus's church at Balquhidder; Cuilt, a name derived from the Culdee monastic tradition attached to a deserted settlement (NN 576218) very near the neolithic chambered cairn; and St.Blane's Chapel on the south shore of Loch Earn at Edinample (NN 595230). The Cathedral of Dunblane north of Stirling bears the same dedication, dating from the seventh century [46]. The saint is said to have been of the "Irish Picts." Medieval and Post-medieval Balquhidder was within the see and presbytery of Dunblane (J.H.Cockburn 1960) [47]. Chadwick (1963) points out that the sixth century in the history of the Celtic church is known as the "Age of the Saints." [48]. Balquhidder and the surrounding region appears to have been important in that period. The St.Angus tradition is important to the theory of continuity of Balquhidder as a cult centre.

Knight summarises the traditions of the arrival and work of St.Angus. (G.A.F.Knight 1933) [49]. The missionary entered Balquhidder Glen from the east. Travelling towards Loch Voil, he was so struck with the beauty of the place that he fell on his knees and blessed it. The site still bears the name of Beannaich Aonghais (The Blessing of Angus). People passing it in historic times recited "Beannaich Aonghais ann san Aoraidh." (Bless Angus in the sanctuary). When the saint reached Balquhidder he found a pagan stone circle standing complete "whereas only 7 now remain"

(sic) known as Clachan Aoraidh, the sanctuary stones. Knight states that Angus built his own oratory beside the stones, and that the foundations remained visible in the eighteenth century. MacLaran cites a similar account from another witness (MacLaren 1976) in J.G.Fraser [50] who wrote in 1888 of a stone circle thirty feet in diameter in the field south of the manse, with seven stones remaining of which only one was then standing. The site of the oratory was also there, until removed by the then owner of Kirkton farm. The standing stone remaining is near the site suggested by Knight and Fraser and was probably associated with the lost circle. What emerges is an account, shrouded as it is in legend but borne out by field remains and place names, of a pagan cult site being taken over and hallowed by the early Christian saint. The argument for continuity is strong.

Final evidence for the early Christian centre is found in nine sculptured stones around the parish church. The most noted is the Clach Aonghais or Angus Stone, now standing in the nineteenth century church. This bears an incised representation of a man in ancient priestly robes, holding a small chalice. Stuart (1856 - 1857) [51] found this stone to belong to the Irish school of early carving, the figure being almost identical to one of a warrior found at Llandevaelog, in Brecon, Wales. That example bore inscriptions indicating a Britano-Saxon or Hiberno-Saxon calligraphy. The Angus stone lay before the altar in the old ruined church, and couples marrying stood on it to take the vows, as a good omen. It was taken into the new church for safe keeping. If Stuart's analysis is correct, the stone contributes to the Irish missionary tradition. Stuart records eight other carved stones, which include three displayed within nineteenth century

rails as "Rob Roy's Grave" and those of his family, but which are all centuries older than the folk hero. The author has examined the principal stones and agrees with Stuart.

In summary, therefore, evidence from the literature and from field monuments suggests that Balquhidder's origins reach back into pre-history. The argument for a Celtic cultural base in pre-historic and proto-historic times is very strong. The various sources cited, and the geography, suggest a Pictish origin, but the place names suggest early Gaelic colonisation. The existence of a Celtic cult centre appears to be strongly supported, overlying remains of an earlier neolithic site. The adaptation of that ancient ritual site to Christian usage in the sixth century is indicated in the traditions. Place names and customs support that hypothesis. The foundations of the first medieval church are visible on the spur between the site of the ancient oratory and Tom nan Ainneal, suggesting continuity into historic times. Accounts cited of the survival of pagan rites at Beltain and Samhain tend to support the hypothesis of persistence postulated in chapter 1. (See p.12 above). The concluding hypothesis arising from study of the background material in this chapter is that medieval Balquhidder, leading up to the commencing date of 1488 for the empirical research, should show indications of a Celtic culture and settlement pattern which may carry reflections of the scenario suggested for Balquhidder's early origins.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 3.

1. Chadwick.N.K. "Celtic Britain." Thames & Hudson. London 1963. p.52

2. Smout.T.C. "A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830." Collins. London 1969. p.15.

3. Ibid.p.22.

4. Chadwick.N.K. 1963. Op.cit. p.52.

5. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.21.

6. Chadwick.N.K. 1963. Op.cit. pp.52 - 53.

7. Ibid. pp.61 - 64.

8. Bede. H.E.III.iv.

9. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.22.

10. Ibid. p.19.

11. Ibid. p.22.

12. Chadwick.N.K. 1963. Op.cit. pp.53 - 55.

13. Cowan.S. "Three Celtic Earldoms: Atholl, Strathearn, and Menteith." MacLeod. Edinburgh 1909. Passim. For a comprehensive account of the medieval political and territorial structure of the region, arguing its survival from Celtic to feudal Scotland.

14. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens: A History of Clan Labhran." (Second edition) Edinburgh 1976. pp.7 - 13.

15. Davidson.J.L. and Henshall.S. "A Neolithic Chambered Long Cairn at Edinchip, Perthshire." P.S.A.S. Vol.113. 1983. pp.35 - 39.

16. Ordnance Survey: Perthshire. 6ins to 1ml. Sheet No. CIV.NW. 1901.

17. Knight.G.A.F. "Archaeological Light on the Early Christianity of Scotland." Vol.I. James Clarke. Edinburgh. 1933. p.50.

18. Ordnance Survey: Perthshire. 6ins. to 1ml. Sheet No. XCII.SW. 1901.

19. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. p.4.

20. Ibid. p.3.

21. Ross.Anne. "Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts." Batsford. London 1970. p.152.

22. Ross.Anne. "Pagan Celtic Britain." Sphere Books (Cardinal Edition) London 1974. pp.390 - 404. (NB. First published 1967 by Routledge Kegan Paul. London).

23. Ibid.. pp.65 - 78.

24. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. pp.44 & n.2., 66, & 95.

25. Henshall.A.S. "The Chambered Tombs of Scotland." Edinburgh University Press. 1963. p.1.

26. Ibid. p.3.

27. Ibid. pp.5 - 6.

28. Major Donald C. Fergusson was born in 1891 at Muirlaggan on the south shore of Loch Voil. Members of the family farmed Muirlaggan, Monachyle Tuarach, Invernenty, and Blaircreich. He joined the staff of Edinburgh University, and retired in Edinburgh. The interview took place at his home there on the 19th September 1980. The problem of antiquity of shieling sites is difficult. See Bradley.R. "The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain." Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1978. Ch.4. pp.. 55 - 71.

29. Ordnance Survey: Perthshire. Sheet No. CIV. 1866.

30. The Fairy Knowe is unmarked on maps. It is sited at approximately NN 542152. Mr and Mrs MacVicar farmed Immereon and Lianach in Glenbuckie for many years, and gained information and local knowledge of the landscape. Mr MacVicar was a native of Argyll and a Judge of the Land Court, with a deep fund of knowledge of Highland Scotland and Gaelic place names. The author spent several years of field work within their lands.

31. MacLaren.M. 1974. Op.cit. p.2.

32. Nicolaisen.W.F.H. "Scottish Place Names: Their Study and Significance." Batsford. London 1976. Discusses the significance of names prefixed "Baile." (Ch.7. pp.121 - 148.). He finds evidence for their being hybrid names where Gaelic settlers populated territories previously controlled by other language groups. This signifies a late culture imposed upon an earlier. He also suggests that the "Kirk" prefix replaced the "Kil" in a similar way. The Kirkton of Balquhidder is the only place in the parish with early prefixes of this kind. (Bailemore is a nineteenth century renaming of an older settlement). Baile is equivalent to Anglian "Ton" and Pictish "Pit"and Nicolaisen cites cases where direct displacement of Pit by Baile can be shown, and some where both prefixes have survived in popular use.(pp. 156 - 157).

33. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. p.1.

34. Ross.Anne. 1974. Op.cit. pp.48 - 50, & 245 - 248.

35. But see MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. p.2., where she cites Major J.Stewart of Ardvorlich, who attached the name "Putehiarach" to a lifting stone near the same site. Such were used for competitive trial of strength. MacAlpine & MacKenzie's Gaelic Dictionary (1832, revised Glasgow 1975) gives no exact help, but the nearest words are "Putah" translated "pushing" or "jostling," and "Puthar" translated "power." The latter is pronounced poo/ar ("th" being

silent). Gaelic "Iarraidh" is "a search," or "a petition." The latter is very near the second part of Ardvorlich's offering, and it may be speculated that a compound Picto-Gaelic name remained attached to the standing stone. This could suggest "Pit-Iarraidh" the place of petition, involving a semi-translation. It is probable that the name became transferred from one stone to another at different times. The late Mr David MacDiarmaid of Broomfield pronounced the name of the stone as Pudj/yar/ach, the first and second syllables short and sharp, and the last slightly longer with the "ch" somewhat aspirated. He had no knowledge of its meaning, and a lost name is a clear probablity, connected with a ritual site.

36. Vide: Eg: the Cu Chulainn saga. (O'Rahilly.C. "Tain Bo Cualnge." Dublin 1967., and references to the same in Ross.A. 1970 and 1974, Op.Cit.)

37. Chadwick.N.K. 1963. Op.cit. pp.82 - 83.

38. Knight.G.A.F. 1933. Op.cit. p.50.

39. Bainton.R. "The Penguin History of Christianity." Penguin Books. London 1967. Vol.1.p.168.

40. Knight.G.A.F. 1933. Op.cit. p.50.

41. Bede. H.E.III.iv.

42. Ibid.

43. Groome.F.H. "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland." New edition. William MacKenzie, London. 1903. Vol.2. p.97.

44. Daiches.D. "Glasgow." Granada, London. 1977. pp.1 - 7.

45. Ross.Anne. 1970. Op.cit. p.151.

46. Groome.F.H. 1903. Op.cit. Vol.1. p.409.

47. Cockburn.J.H. "Parochial Clergy of the Medieval Diocese of Dunblane." Proceedings of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral. Vol.VIII. Part III. 1960. pp.110 - 122. (Balquhidder clergy from AD 1266, p.118).

48. Chadwick.N.K. 1963. Op.cit. p.145. (See Ch. VIII, pp.142 - 155, for an outline of the history of the Celtc Church.)

49. Knight.G.A.F. 1933. Op.cit. p.50.

50. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit.p.4. and Footnotes 1 & 2.

51. Stuart.J. "Sculptured Stones of Scotland." Vol.II. Aberdeen 1856, and Edinburgh 1867. pp.32 - 33, and Plates LXVII and LXVIII. (Copy in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh).

PART II. MEDIEVAL TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE AND SETTLEMENT

CHAPTER 4. BALQUHIDDER IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND

The kingdom won by Malcolm III, Ceannmor, from MacBeth at Lumphanan in 1057 (see page 30 above) was a polyglot union of peoples. Gaels predominated in Galloway and the Highlands, mingling with Picts in the east and northeast. Britons were the principal inhabitants of Strathclyde and Cumbria. Northumbrian Angles had colonised the Lothians and southeast. Norwegians held Orkney and Shetland, dominated the Hebrides, and colonised the coasts from Wigtown in Galloway to Caithness in the north. Professor Nicolaisen (1976) has very successfully demonstrated the distribution of these groups, and the probable sequence of colonisation, from his work on Scottish place names [1].

Five centuries had passed since the Celtic missionaries had evangelised Balquhidder. Three hundred years were still to elapse to the period when sufficient records give a comprehensive view of medieval settlement in Balquhidder [2]. During those years important changes took place in church and state. Balquhidder's position in the ethnic geography of medieval Scotland shifted. It is necessary to summarise these changes for the sake of context, and to refer to some important recent studies which are relevant to the main research.

Malcolm Canmore died in AD 1093, and was succeeded by a line

of Gaelic kings: Donald Bane, 1093-1097; Duncan II, 1094, reigning for less than a year, in an attempted coup d'etat against Donald; Edgar, 1097-1107; Alexander I, 1107-1124; David I, 1124-1153; Malcolm IV, 1153-1165; William I, the Lyon, 1165-1214; Alexander II, 1214--1249; and Alexander III, 1249-1286. The dynasty ended with the premature death of Margaret, the Maid of Norway, only surving child of Alexander III, in 1290. Professor T.C.Smout (1969) postulates four major instruments used by these kings to reform the kingdom and weld it into a nation [3]. The principal innovator was David I (1124-1153), his work being consolidated by his successors. The four instruments used were:

1. The introduction of feudalism.
2. The reform of the church.
3. The plantation of boroughs.
4. Effective personal control of government.

Smout selects the introduction of feudalism as the most important. He is not in disagreement with Professor G.W.S.Barrow (1980) [4], nor with R.A.Dodgshon (1981) [5], in taking that position. Each attempts the difficult task of tracing the transition from a fundamentally Celtic tribal society to a feudal one. The process, and the principles involved, are significant for an understanding of tenure in Balquhidder in the fifteenth century.

From the history of Celtic pagan society portrayed by Anne Ross (1970) [6] through the founding of the Celtic kingdoms in Britain and their conversion to Christianity as outlined by Nora K. Chadwick (1963) [7], to the pre-feudal kingdom of early medieval Scotland, there is a certain continuity. Smout (1969) asserts that Malcolm Canmore's kingdom was essentially still Celtic in its structure [8]. R.A.Dodgshon (1981) postulates a

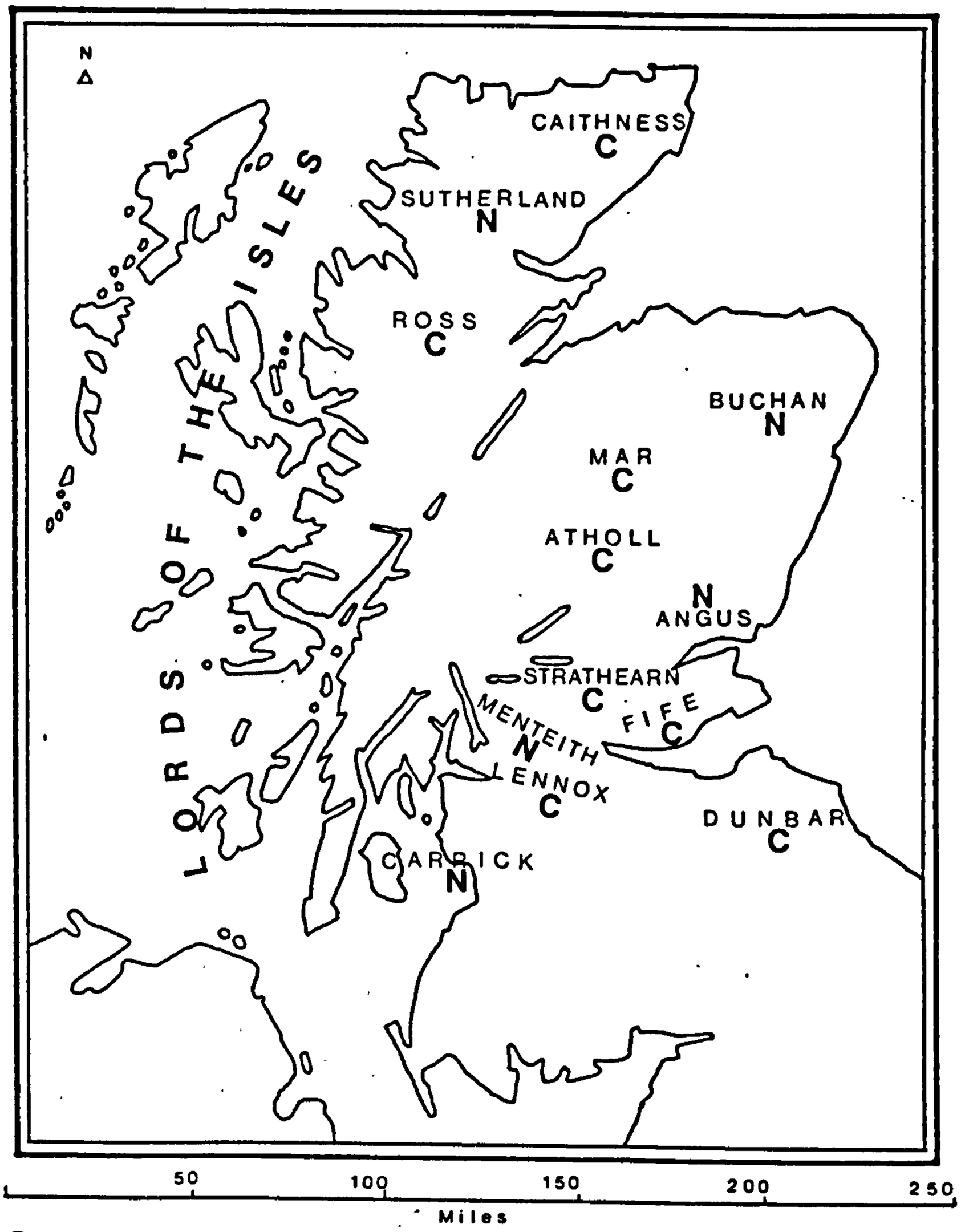

N
CAITHNESS
C
SUTHERLAND
N
LORDS OF THE ISLES
ROSS
C
BUCHAN
N
MAR
C
ATHOLL
C
N
ANGUS
STRATHEARN
C
MENTEITH
N
FIFE
C
LENNOX
C
DUNBAR
C
CARRICK
N
50
100
150
200
250
Miles
C Celtic Dynasties
N Norman Earls

Fig.8.

regional provincial system of government, ruled under the king by mormaers [9]. Both authors note the survival of these mormaerships into the early medieval earldoms [10]. Dodgshon deduces a Pictish origin for this regional structure. G.W.S.Barrow (1980) draws similar conclusions [11]. R.A.Dodgshon goes into the problem in some detail in his particular search for territorial systems in early Scotland and suggests a pattern of early land division and social organisation [12]. None of his work need clash with other authors.

Dodgshon (1981) traces a possible evolution from a Pictish division of Alba into a northern province, north of The Mounth (ie: the Grampians), and a southern one between the Mounth and the Forth. The former he associates with the Caledonii, and the latter with the Maeatae [13]. He suggests that they may have been governed semi-independently, or been ruled jointly by a High King through deputies or mormaers. By the sixth or seventh century AD he postulates that the two provinces were united. His tabulation of the Pictish Districts which existed within that larger structure [14], and his lists, agree with those offered by Chadwick (1963) [15] and Barrow (1980) [16]. Barrow accepts a thirteenth century source and demonstrates how the ancient mormaerships survived as feudal earldoms:

EARLDOMS UNDER CELTIC DYNASTIES IN 1286:

Caithness.	Strathearn.
Ross.	Lennox.
Mar.	Fife.
Atholl.	Dunbar.

EARLDOMS UNDER NEW FEUDAL LORDS IN 1286:

Sutherland:	Enfeoffed to Freskyns (Flemish).
Buchan:	Enfeoffed to Comyns.(Norman)
Angus:	Enfeoffed to Umphravilles.(Norman)
Menteith:	Enfeoffed to Stewarts (Bretons)
Carrick:	Enfeoffed to Bruces.(Norman)

The significance of the new overlords will be referred to later, but it must be noted that by 1286 most of the families represented were long resident in Scotland [17]. Dodgshon's case for ancient territorial divisions is central to the argument which must later be made for the antiquity of those of medieval Balquhidder. The list indicates that the Celtic mormaership of Strathearn survived as a Celtic medieval earldom in 1286. Balquhidder was a sub-unit of that great principality.

Dodgshon (1981) deduces similar land divisions in Dalriadic Scotland [18]. There also he notes kinship systems of tenure, citing three kindreds of Dalriada before AD 700. In the north was the Cenel Loairn, possessing Mull, Ardnamurchan, Morvern, Lorn, Coll, and Tiree. In the south was the Cenel n'Gabrain, possessing Cowal, Jura, Bute, Arran, and Kintyre. Cenel n'Oengusa had Islay. After AD 700 a fourth kindred, Cenel Comgaill,appears in possession of Cowal, suggesting a sept of Cenal n'Gabrain. The distinctive topographical entity of these territories is noted.

The territories appear subdivided into "houses." Dodgshon (1981) cites references to tribute being apportioned between districts and septs of these tribes or kindreds [19]. His sources point towards an even system of subdivision, with twenty houses to one "davoch" of land. He also notes sources suggesting that the Baile or township unit was subdivided into quarter lands [20]. This suggested some correspondence with Celtic inheritance laws, where land was inherited and subdivided through a kin group of four generations.

The argument for a territorial system moves to the evidence for multiple estates as fundamental units of organisation [21]. These appear to have been units of lordship, under a tribal chief,

king, or feudal baron. Dodgshon (1981) postulates that the lord's power focussed on a single capital settlement, where he conducted court. The model reflects the important work of Wendy Davies (1982) in exposing a similar pattern in early medieval Wales [22]. There also major estates were subdivided in an orderly way into units and apportioned. Her former publication of research on the Llandaff charters (1978) showed that local Welsh Kings were able to grant lands out of their estates to the church as early as the sixth century AD. [23]. All of these researches contain strong indications that medieval territorial boundaries were of great antiquity. Many survive into modern times. They appear to reflect a social order which developed in the context of advanced tribalism.

Following Dodgshon's (1981) argument further, he relates the concept of ancient multiple estates and their subdivisions to the thanages of eastern Scotland [24]. Most of the thanage lands which he discovered were in lowland areas, but he cites Fortingall, Cranach, Cromdale, and Glenlivet, which include extensive hill land. He notes that fourteenth century conveyances preserved these units into the late medieval period. Some formed later parishes, such as Birse in Aberdeenshire, which was conveyed to the Bishop of Aberdeen between 1180 and 1184. It contained sixteen townships and a kirkton [25]. He notes that each unit had an officer in charge, a thane, mair, or toiseach (ie: Gaelic chieftain). The officer resided in a thaneston, and many also had a kirkton [26]. The parallel with the parish of Balquhidder is hard to resist, and must be discussed.

North of the Forth, in ancient Alba, Dodgshon suggests that the shire counties may reflect old Pictish divisions [27]. This

may be more difficult to substantiate than the origins of the districts. For example, Perthshire embraces part of three ancient earldoms, Atholl, Strathearn, and Menteith. Dodgshon himself links Strathearn and Menteith as an early Pictish dual unit [28]. He finds evidence in the Highlands more difficult, but suggests the toponymic districts as putative territories, such as Knapdale, Cowal, and Lorn. This author notes the tribal personal names resident in Cowal and Lorn, which may reinforce his hypothesis. The responsible officer in Gaeldom is the Toschdor, or chief's representative. Similar problems arose in Dodgshon's research in Galloway [29].

One further point from Dodgshon's (1981) argument is relevant here. He suggests that the basis of the division may be the "tuath" or territories of the Irish Celtic tribes [30]. A further inference is that the "Pit" names of Pictish Scotland may conceal the locations of ancient tribal capitals. Names prefixed by the Celtic "Eccle" or Anglian "Kirk" may represent early Christian survivals of similar centres. If Dodgshon's hypothesis has weight, then the fact that there is only one "Baile" in Balquhidder parish, bearing the dual name of "Kirkton of Balquhidder," may be significant. The antiquity of it as a cult centre has been argued in Chapter 3.

The economic organisation of the system postulated by Dodgshon (1981) is important to later evidence to be presented for Balquhidder [31]. He defines five types of labour service and payment made by freemen to the chief: Rent (Gaelic cain), Hospitality (cuid oidche), Expedition (feact), Hosting (slagad), and Tribute (ich, or cobach). He found these obligations to be scaled, in relation to the arable assessment of a township. The

freemen of the tribe were therefore responsible for the support of the chief, who acted as the controller of resource as well as captain. The tribe within its lands therefore was an economic entity, membership being based on kinship, real or theoretical.

Dodgshon's detailed analysis, supported by research in Wales, suggests an early medieval structure in which tribal mormaers or high chiefs ruled within well defined territories. They in turn looked to the king, in the Scottish example, as the patriarchal high chief of the nation. Below the mormaers were the chiefs of septs or subdivisions, and the freemen. Such a structure would be an appropriate evolution of the social system outlined by Anne Ross (1970) for the earlier pagan age [32]. It is postulated that into this complex late phase of Celtic tribal evolution, David I came from the Anglo-Norman court in London, bringing with him the political ideas of medieval feudalism [33]. He also brought a following of feudal nobility, including Walter Fitz Alan who was to be David's High Steward, and ancestor of the house of Stewart [34]. These feudal courtiers and David I himself also held lands in England. The Scottish court became Anglo-Norman in culture, and initially Norman French speaking [35].

Professor T.C.Smout (1969) makes a perceptive remark about the impact between feudalism and the old Celtic kingdom. Theoretically, feudalism is the antithesis of tribalism [36]. His case is that in a feudal state the holding of territory is unconnected with kinship. All land belongs to the king, and may be enfeoffed to a subject in return for fealty and homage, and military and civilian services. The lord under the king may in turn subinfeudate estates on his land to subordinates on similar terms. In case of misdemeanor, or forfeiture, or vacancy of the

lordship, land automatically reverts to the superior or the king. Professor G.W.S.Barrow (1956) argues the same case [37]. It is clear that even although the mormaers and chiefs of the Celtic order received service and loyalty from their people, the difference in principle is that tribal lands belonged in perpetuity to the tribal community and were in theory inalienable. This distinction in principle is very important to the understanding of later attitudes to land in the Highlands. The principle is readily lost behind superficial similarities in the two systems. Not only is there a difference in land tenure, but the relationship between mormaer or chief and the king is not the same as that between feudal lord and his sovereign. In essence the latter enjoys a contractual relationship, the former a patriarchal one.

The first phase in the conversion of the Celtic kingdom into a European feudal state commenced under Malcolm Canmore, with the early religious and cultural reforms gently initiated by his queen, St. Margaret, kinswoman of Edward the Confessor [38]. She was educated at the Hungarian court, and brought the culture of medieval Europe to Scotland. David I built upon the foundation prepared by his mother. He introduced the European court offices of Constable, Chamberlain, Steward, and Marischal [39]. Numbers of his Anglo-Norman entourage were granted lands by feudal charter in southern and central Scotland. Professor Barrow (1980) demonstrates the effect of this upon the territorial and settlement patterns of the southern and central lowlands [40]. The new lords proceeded to subinfeudate these estates to their knights, a new rank in the Scottish hierarchy [41]. David's attention turned to the Celtic chiefs and mormaers of Alba,

converting their status into earls and their lands into feudal earldoms [42].

Malcolm IV (1153-1165) and William the Lyon (1165-1214) continued the process of extending feudal control northwards in the eastern lowlands. The province of Moray rebelled against the new system and was defeated militarily in 1187 [43]. Professor Barrow (1980) notes that the vacancy which resulted created opportunity for the Celtic Earl of Fife to expand his territory [44]. Once enfeoffed, native mormaers might be as ambitious as the adventitious Stewarts and Bruces. Barrow also notes that the mormaers and chiefs in some cases welcomed the powers which the feudal system bestowed upon them to create their own hierarchy of knights and barons [45]. Instances of erstwhile tribal freemen adopting such titles are cited [46]. The "Barony of Balquhidder" is a case in point. MacLaren (1976) argues that it was the original duthchas of the Clann Labhran of Balquhidder [47]. The Highlands were, however, resistant to the new system and difficult to penetrate for its enforcement.

Professors Barrow (1980) and Smout (1969) agree that an important outcome of these formative years was the change in the geography of language [48]. The court tended to reside in the southeast, Edinburgh replacing the old capital of Scone. The Lothians were the granary of Scotland, and the richest region. Scotland was a north sea country, and the east coast ports traded richly with Europe [49]. The language of the Lothians was Anglian, which soon became the civilised language of feudal Scotland and the court. The "Scottish" language, that is Gaelic, became confined to the Highlands. Barrow notes that the Old English of Anglian Northumbria became known as Scots. English dress and

custom, and English law, became normal in lowland Scotland. A cultural divide appeared along the Highland boundary fault. Both Barrow (1980) and Smout (1969) quote John of Fordun, writing in Aberdeen in 1380, to show how quickly the country had become two nations [50]:

> "The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech. For two languages are spoken amongst them, the Scottish and the Teutonic: the latter of which is the language of those who occupy the seaboard and plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the highlands and outlying islands....The highlanders and people of the islands....are a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent..." (John of Fordun, 1380).

Smout (1969) particularly remarks on the mature hostility evident in the passage, arising from mixed contempt and fear, which was to dominate relations between Highlander and Lowlander for six centuries. Examples will arise in discussion of manuscripts used in the research in Balquhidder [51].

The geographical relationship of Balquhidder within the changing Scotland of the middle ages becomes clear. It lay about twenty miles behind the Highland frontier within the still Celtic earldom of Strathearn. Up to 1286 the great estate of which it formed part remained intact. The language of the parish was to remain Gaelic until the Census of Scotland of 1891.

Next in importance to feudalism in the reorganisation of the kingdom was the reform of the church [52]. Saint Margaret had begun to wean the Celtic clergy away from their traditions towards accepted Roman practice [53]. She is credited by T.C.Smout (1969) with the founding of Dunfermline Abbey, probably correctly, as Groome attributes that work to David I in 1124, the first year of his reign [54]. It originated in the Church of the Holy Trinity built by Malcolm III in 1072, and under Margaret and David became

the first Benedictine house in Scotland.

David I reorganised the medieval church in Scotland into bishoprics on the Norman model, each see having many parishes and defined territorial responsibilities for church government. Smout (1969) points out that there had been a Bishop of Scotland at St.Andrews in Malcolm Canmore's time, but with no clear territorial assignment. Part of the programme of reform included the inauguration of the See of Dunblane circa 1150, and the building of the first Dunblane Cathedral [55]. The new bishopric embraced the parishes of Aberfoyle, Abernethy, Aberuthven, Auchterarder, Balquhidder, Callander, Crieff, Culross, and Dron (J.H.Cockburn, 1960) [56]. Groome (1903) cites Moore for the building of the first medieval church in Balquhidder in the twelfth or thirteenth century [57]. J.H.Cockburn (1960) gives the date of the first recorded vicar of Balquhidder as 1266, the incumbent having been one "Jacobus, parson of Buffudire." MacLaren (1976) suggests that the Celtic church was in decline by the twelfth century in the Highlands [58]. There is a congruence between the sources which postulates the beginning of a new and more centralised system of church government in Balquhidder between 1150 and 1266. This has some importance in relation to MacLaren's evidence for the eponymous founder of Clan Labhran having been one Abbot Labhran of Achtow, in Balquhidder, a titular abbot of the Celtic tradition circa AD 1200 [59]. The argument to be presented for territorial divisions in medieval Balquhidder must rest in the first instance upon the history of Clann Labhran.

The plantation of burghs was a fourth important instrument of reform. The work of Anne Ross (1970) [60] and N.K.Chadwick

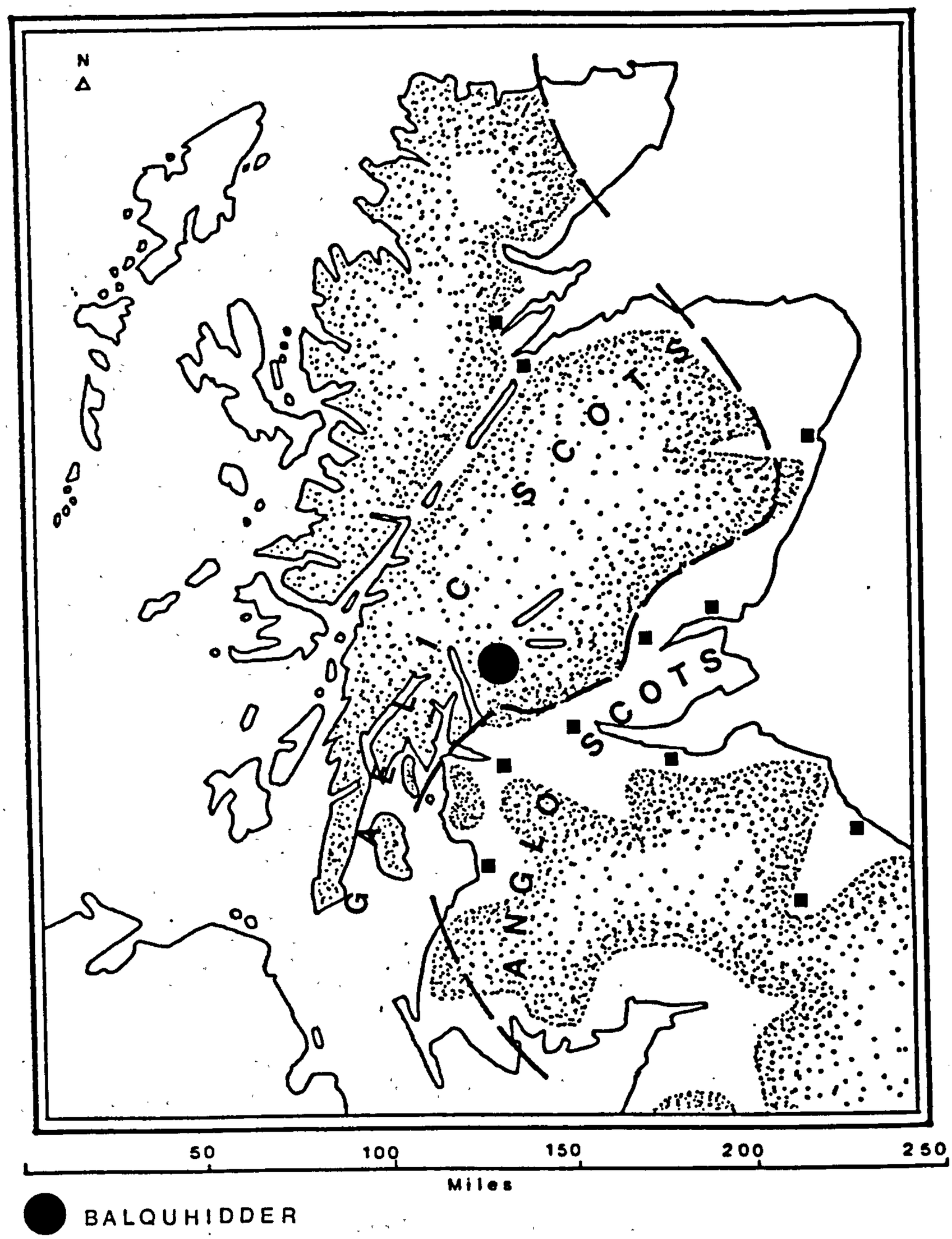

N
SCOTS
SCOTS
ANGLO
50
100
150
200
250
Miles
BALQUHIDDER
Principal Medieval Burgh Plantations

Fig.9.

(1963) [61], and the research by Wendy Davies (1982) [62], supports the belief that Celtic society was without towns in the medieval sense. While studies by Professor Jobey (1965) [63] in Northumberland show a system based on iron age enclosed settlements, and continuity of occupation of some Roman sites is accepted [64]. Smout (1969) accepts the view that in Scotland before the twelfth century burghs, as self-governing communities of merchants and tradesmen, did not exist [65]. David I and his successors planted a series of Royal Burghs in south, central, and eastern Scotland. The earliest were Berwick and Roxburgh, followed by Edinburgh and Stirling. The latter guarded the crossing of the Forth and the main route into the West Perthshire Highlands via Balquhidder. Others followed, including Invernesss and Dingwall in the north; Aberdeen, Perth, and Dundee in the east; and Ayr and Renfrew in the west. Ecclesiastical burghs such as Glasgow added to the number [66]. Most were fortified, many with royal castles. Smout (1969) notes that none were created in the Highlands, nor on the west coast between the Clyde and Caithness.

Professor Smout (1969) [67] summarises the function of these new towns. Most were very small, Edinburgh having only four hundred houses in the fourteenth century. They resulted in the regulation and intensification of trade between regions. Ports such as Perth provided foci for import and export exchange with Europe. The encouragement of merchant and professional classes led to support for peace and order necessary for trade. The liberties of the burghs would probably be uniform to a great degree, leading to acceptance of standard laws. They were self-governing communities, independent of the feudal system, and by the thirteenth century had their own Convention of Royal Burghs. The

inhabitants were English speaking, although members of cosmopolitan communities. Many like Stirling and Inverness were garrisons from which the surrounding regions could be policed.

It may be deduced that the provision of Royal Burghs in a great semi-circle around the Highlands must have had certain effects. Highland communities within reach of these towns may have experienced some of their influence. Balquhidder was about two days journey on foot from Stirling. On the other hand, within the Highlands the settlement pattern retained its old pre-feudal form, without towns or villages in the medieval sense. Not until the late eighteenth century did the Balquhidder region have any nucleated settlements [68]. It is probable therefore that the Highland and Lowland cultures became more differentiated, with a zone of transition between them. The embryonic urbanisation of the low country would also nurture architecture, especially military and ecclesiastic. Differences in the topography and landscape must have evolved. At some time, certain of the great lords began to emulate the royal burghs by erecting burghs of barony on their estates. The lowlands began to be civilised in the proper sense of the word, leaving the Highlands, Galloway, and parts of the Borders, in their aboriginal rural state.

The fourth instrument of reform suggested by Professor Smout (1969) [69] was effective personal control of government by the king. It is difficult here to distinguish means from ends. The establishment of feudalism, reform and patronage of the church, and planting of royal burghs, must all have contributed to this end. Professor Barrow (1965) in his study of Robert I, the Bruce, however, emphasises the great Scottish medieval concept of the "communitas regni Scotie," the Community of the Realm of Scotland

[70]. Unlike England, the idea of "communitas" did not degenerate into the concept of the "commons" as opposed to the aristocracy. It incorporated the whole concept of the nation, including the crown. Caroline Bingham (1974) [71] notes that the Scottish parliament was unicameral, consisting of representatives of the Three Estates of the realm: the nobility, the clergy, and the burghs, sitting together with the king. In the country, the kings created sheriffdoms, where their representative officers could uphold the royal writ in courts held in the king's name. The feudal system gave the king ultimate command of the army through his royal constable and marischal. In spite of the problem of controlling the Highlands and Islands and the province of Galloway, the position of the crown was strengthened. The concept of the "communitas" coupled with the status of kingship enabled Scotland to withstand English feudal ambition during the fourteenth century. Bingham (1974) [72] suggests that without the reforms implemented by the Canmore dynasty, Scotland would have remained an archaic unorganised Celtic society, and would have fallen to Anglo-Norman conquest as did Wales. Bingham traces the long process of extending the king's writ to the north and west and the Isles by successive kings up to the reign of James IV (1488-1513). During that period Strathearn ceased to be one of the Celtic earldoms, eventually coming under the lordship of members of the Royal house of Stewart. In 1437 it was annexed to the Crown [73].

In conclusion therefore, Balquhidder appears to have emerged into medieval Scotland as a defined territory within one of the ancient Celtic mormaerships. In the twelfth century the mormaer received the equivalent feudal title of earl, and the estate

appears to have remained intact. The topographical homogeneity of Strathearn as well as Balquhidder, supported by Dodgshon's arguments previously discussed, suggests that the units may have had their origins in the multiple estate structure of early medieval Alba. The name Kirkton of Balquhidder could be a compound in which the "Baile" was created as a head township during the process of Dalriadic expansion into Alba. The "Kirkton" may indicate an added status as the centre of the new parish established within the see of Dunblane in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. It is unlikely that the quoad sacra parish could have existed before circa 1150. The boundaries may have an older origin. An important aspect of the evidence is its indication of a secure place for Balquhidder within the Highland culture. This is a point which has been questioned during the research by various critics. At no time before the twentieth century did Balquhidder lose its Gaelic language [74]. The opinions cited in the references place considerable importance upon the linguistic divisions which emerged from medieval Scotland as major cultural boundaries. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesise a Celtic origin for the late medieval settlement pattern, and for the territorial subdivisions of Balquhidder. A more accurate hypothesis would be for a Scottish Highland settlement pattern dating from no later than the medieval period. Evidence has already been presented (Chapter 3.) for occupation in earlier periods, but apart from the site of the Kirkton of Balquhidder itself and sparse field monuments, nothing may be said about settlement in detail. To test this position, some outline of the processes of change within the Earldom of Strathearn itself, and some firm evidence for the medieval settlement and territorial

structure of Balquhidder in particular, must now be examined.

The context of the examination of late medieval Balquhidder also requires to be defined in terms of the development of Scottish feudalism which has been traced. The resulting form of government, especially in the Highlands, cannot have been classical feudalism. It must have been an amalgam of Celtic and feudal systems. The mormaers or Celtic earls retained much of their traditional role from the old economy. Professor Smout (1969) [75] agrees with this hypothesis, pointing out that in some cases knight service was not required of them. They already possessed powers to call out their hosts under Celtic law. The tribal relationship between mormaer, chief, and freeman, appears to be reflected in documents examined in this research. This will be discussed later. Smout (1969) [76] detects the persistence of kinship principles in lowland feudalism also. It may be concluded that the eventual form of government, and especially the customs and traditions which tempered it, was not pure classical feudalism. The old Celtic system and its values tempered the new regime, while being modified and reformed by it. One aspect of this hybridisation may be the evolution of the Scottish "Regality,"[77] which will be noted in the research on the Atholl estates. The Highland lords thereby held princely powers within their own territories, reflecting the scenario presented by the study of the mormaerships and the great multiple estates of the Celtic world. A legal aspect of this was the right of heritable jurisdiction which the lords and chiefs enjoyed, until its abolition by parliament in the late eighteenth century. In examining Balquhidder at the close of the fifteenth century one is therefore looking at a Highland territory at a late stage in its

transition from the old Celtic to quasi-feudal status.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 4.

1. Nicolaisen.W.F.H. "Scottish Place Names: Their Study and Significance." Batsford. London. 1976. Chs. 5-9. pp.68 - 191.

2. Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. Vol.10. 1488 - 1496. Appendix p. 638. Rentale SDN. Regis 1486 - 1492 p. 131.

3. Smout.T.C. "A History of the Scottish People 1560 - 1830." Collins. London. 1969. p.24.

4. Barrow.G.W.S. "The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History." Clarendon. Oxford 1980. For his view of Scottish Feudalism see Ch.V., pp. 118 - 144.

5. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon. Oxford 1981. Ch.4. pp.90 - 140.

6. Ross.Anne. "Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts." Batsford. London 1970. Passim.

7. Chadwick.N.K. "Celtic Britain." Thames and Hudson. London 1963. Passim.

8. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. pp.22 - 24.

9. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. p.27.

10. Smout.T.C. Op.cit. p.26, and Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. p.91.

11. Barrow.G.W.S. 1980. Op.cit. pp.84 - 85.

12. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. Chs.2-3.pp.26 - 89.

13. Ibid. p.27.

14. Ibid. p.28. Table 1, and Notes.

15. Chadwick.N.K. 1963. Op.cit. pp.53-54. Divisions of Strathearn and Tayside.

16. Barrow.G.W.S. 1980. Op.cit. p.158.

17. Barrow.G.W.S. "Robert Bruce." Eyre & Spottiswoode. London 1965. pp.8 - 10 & 28 - 32. See also his paper "James the Stewart of Scotland. circa 1253 - 1309." in The Stewarts. Vol.XII. No.2. 1965. pp.77 - 91.

18. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. pp.40 - 48.

19. Ibid. p.44.

20. Ibid. p.46.

21. Ibid. pp.58 - 67.

22. Davies. Wendy. "Wales in the Early Middle Ages." Leicester University Press. 1982. pp.43 - 46.

23. Davies. Wendy. "An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters." R.H.S. London. 1978. pp. 25 - 28, & 32 - 34, and others. Davies notices a few estates which survived to become Norman manors, but that severe disruption in Wales during the conquest probably caused extensive structural dislocation of landholding (p.25). This did not occur generally in Scotland, and survival of territorial units would be expected.

24. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. pp.66 - 67.

25. Ibid. pp.60 - 61.

26. Ibid. p.62.

27. Ibid. pp.63 - 64.

28. Ibid. pp.27 - 28. and Table 1.

29. Ibid. p.65.

30. Ibid. pp.66 - 67.

31. Atholl.MSS. 71.II.B4. show terms of rentals for Balquhidder in 1663-1665. Atholl.MSS. 29.(12).1. is the Duke of Atholl's Hunting Roll for 2nd September 1667. The survival of ancient obligations is clearly evident from such documents.

32. Ross. Anne. 1970. Op.cit. pp.35 - 39.

33. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.24f. But see Dodgshon R.A. 1981. Op.cit. pp.90 - 104. for discussion of similarities of the Celtic and Feudal systems of tenure as experienced by the tenant classes.

34. Bingham. Caroline. "The Stewart Kingdom of Scotland 1372 - 1603." Weidenfeld & Nicolson. London 1974. pp.21 - 23. See also Washington.G. "The Origin of the Stewarts and the Fitz Alans." in The Stewarts. Vol.XII.No.2.1965.pp.143 - 148. wherein is an examination and transcription of the Marmoutier Charter of 1032-1064. Bibl.Nat. de Paris. The latter illustrates the origins of one of the major Anglo-Norman and Scottish families in the cadet branch of a noble continental family.

35. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.24.

36. Ibid. p.25.

37. Barrow.G.W.S. "Feudal Britain." Edward Arnold. London 1956. pp.43 - 47.

38. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. pp.24 & 27. See also Barrow.G.W.S. 1956. Op.cit. pp.128 - 132, and Bingham.C. 1974. Op.cit. pp.5 - 6.

39. Bingham. Caroline. 1974. Op.cit. p.7.

40. Barrow.G.W.S. 1980. Op.cit. pp.30 - 50. and maps on pp.51 - 60. See his list of continental and indigenous family names incorporated into place names on pp.36 - 39.

41. Ibid.pp.121 - 136.

42. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.26.

43. Ibid. p.26.

44. Barrow.G.W.S. 1980. Op.cit. pp.84 - 90.

45. Ibid. pp. 124 - 127 & 129.

46. Ibid. pp.121 - 122.

47. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens: A History of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh 1976. pp.25 & 80.

48. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.43, & Barrow.G.W.S. 1980. Op.cit. pp.146 - 147.

49. Smout.T.C. 1969 p.31.& Old Statistical Account of Scotland (Ed. D.J.Withrington & I.R.Grant, Wakefield. 1976) Vol XI. pp.489 - 539. for port activities at Perth circa 1791 for survival of the European trade into the early industrial age.

50. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. pp.42 - 43, and Barrow.G.W.S. 1980. Op.cit. pp.146 - 147 for the full citation and comment. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. p.40. puts the division of Scotland into Highland and Lowland cultures as early as the end of the 12th century, commencing with the reforms of David I. The process of alienation probably evolved alongside the development of feudal rule and linguistic changes from the 12th to 14th centuries. All three authors agree about the fundamental causes, and the outcome.

51. For one example of the later lowland perception of the Highlander, see the S.S.P.C.K. "Memorial from the Committee of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge to the Right Honourable Commissioners of the Court de Police." Early eighteenth century (Undated). GD.95.10.63. S.R.O.

52. Smout.T.C. Op.cit. pp.27 - 30.

53. Bingham. Caroline. 1974. Op.cit. pp.5 - 6.

54. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.27. and also Groome.F.H. "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland." New Edition. William MacKenzie. London 1903. Vol.1. p.429.

55. Groome.F.H. 1903. Op.cit. Vol.1. pp.409 - 410.

56. Cockburn.J.H. "Parochial Clergy of the Medieval Diocese of Dunblane." Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral. Proceedings. Vol.III. Part III 1960. pp.110 - 122.

57. Groome.F.H. 1903. Op.cit. Vol.1. pp.118 - 119.

58. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. p.18.

59. Ibid. pp.15 - 18. & Appendix p.139. Notice Disiab, circa 1120, was a kinsman of Malise, mormaer and first Earl of Strathearn. (p.139). This reinforces the argument for a kinship basis for early territorial subdivisions of the Celtic provinces.

60. Ross. Anne. 1970. Op.cit. pp.34 - 39.

61. Chadwick.N.K. 1963. Op.cit pp.35 - 51 & 77 - 98.

62. Davies. Wendy. 1982. Op.cit. pp.19 - 27.

63. Jobey.G. "Hill Forts and Settlements in Northumberland." Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th Series. No. 43. 1965. pp.21 - 64.

64. Taylor.C. "Village and Farmstead: A History of Rural Settlement in Emgland." George Philip. London 1983. Chs. 6 & 7. pp.83 - 124.

65. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.30.

66. Daiches.D. "Glasgow." Granada. London 1982. p.1. Charter of William the Lyon 1175/1178 to Jocelyn, Bishop of Glasgow, for the right to have a burgh and market.

67. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. pp.31 - 32.

68. Old Statistical Account of Scotland (Ed: D.J.Withrington & I.R.Grant. 1976) Vol.XII. pp.41 - 42.

69. Smout T.C. 1969. Op.cit. pp.32 - 33.

70. Barrow.G.W.S. 1965. Op.cit. Preface pp. xix-xxiv.

71. Bingham. Caroline. 1974. Op.cit. p.25.

72. Ibid. p.7.

73. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. pp.21 - 24.

74. Withers.C.W.J. "A Geography of Language: Gaelic Speaking in Perthshire, 1698 - 1879." Institute of British Geographers. Transactions. New Series. Vol.8. No.2. 1983. pp.125 - 142. & maps.

75. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.26.

76. Ibid. pp.38 - 41. Note not only his view that kinship was a moderator of feudalism in Scotland, but also the absence of serfdom.

77. General Index: Acts of Parliament of Scotland. p.1035, for powers of Regality. p.211 for Jurisdiction of Barons. Heritable jurisdiction was reserved to owners as a right of property in the Act of Union 1707. c.7. P20.XI.411. (pp.637/638) The right was abolished after much opposition in 1747 (See Smout.T.C. Op.cit. 1969.pp.229 & 280 - 282). Barrow.G.S.W. 1965 Op.cit. pp.397 - 398 discusses the institution of powers of regality in the feudal era in 1321, on pretext of precedence under Alexander III. It was a de facto delegation of the powers of the king to a subject superior. In effect it created palatinates. Atholl was one such. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Regalities reflect the ancient rights of mormaers as deputy kings in Celtic Scotland.

CHAPTER 5. TERRITORIAL DIVISION AND SETTLEMENT IN MEDIEVAL BALQUHIDDER

If Balquhidder was a tribal territorial unit, within the Celtic mormaership of Strathearn, then the medieval period should reflect this in terms of continuity of overlordship and territorial division. Although firm evidence from documentary sources relating precisely to early land divisions in Balquhidder is lacking, it is possible to seek some correlation between the later historically verifiable patterns, and the proto-historical hypothetical scenario. The tribal structure postulated for the proto-historic period would be strengthened if some blood relationships between the mormaers of Strathearn and the Chiefs of Balquhidder could be demonstrated. The argument for persistence of territorial structure, in spite of social and political change, would be supported if, first, the mormaers continued in office into the feudal period, and secondly, if they were confirmed in their existing territories by charter. It would be expected that parcels of land, from being an inalienable tribal asset, would become a commodity to be granted, for the normal feudal obligations, under charters. If the parcelling of feudal estate also reflected the postulated proto-historical sub-divisions, then the hypothesis for persistence of the ancient patterns would be further substantiated.

The changing relationships between the Celtic Mormaers and the Crown are a necessary consideration. The relationship between

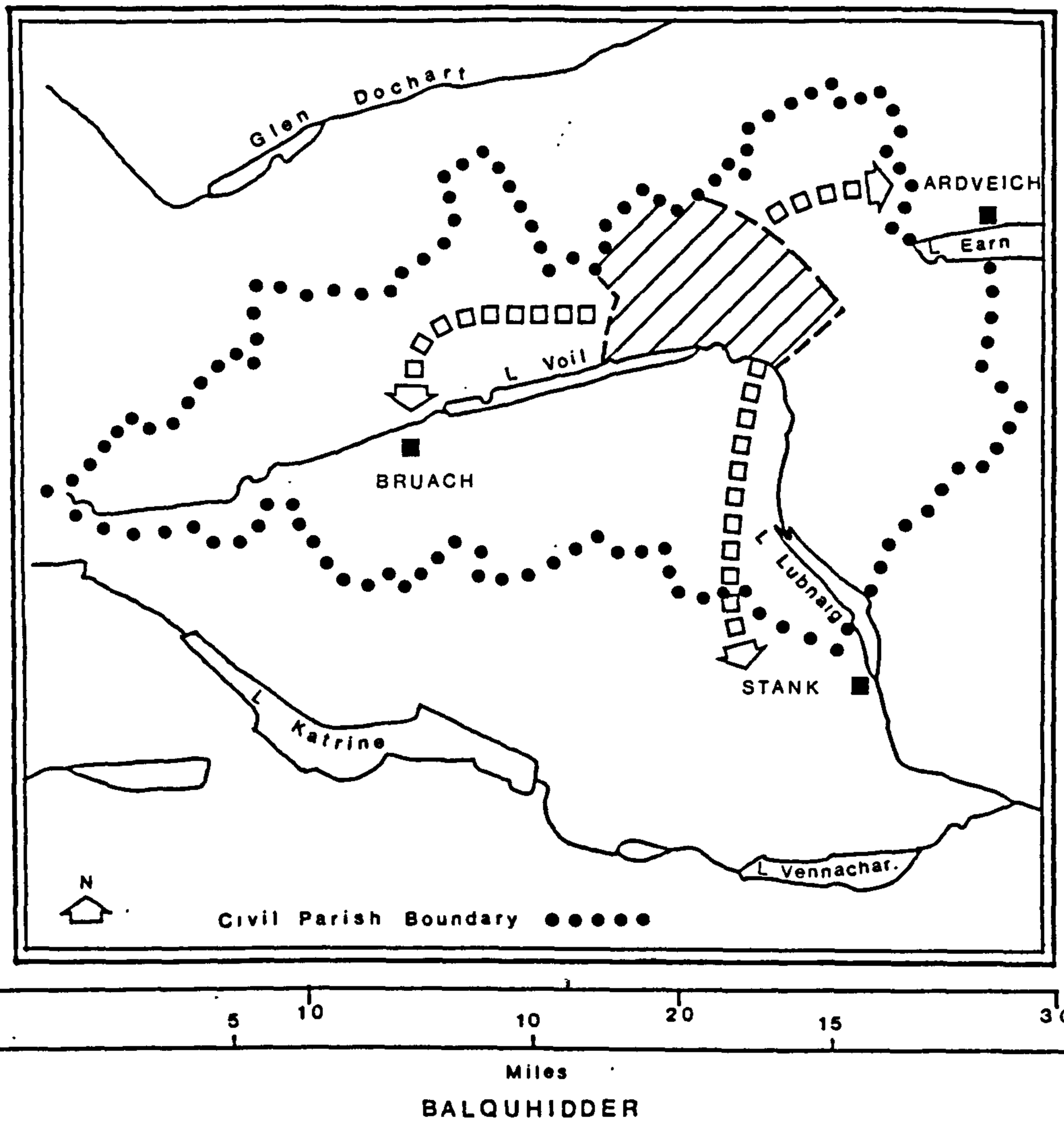
the Mormaers of Strathearn and the ruling house in Balquhidder is important, because it may reveal the basis of early territorial patterns. The probable antiquity of such patterns, and their survival into the post-medieval period, is a central argument. To demonstrate this hypothesis it is necessary to digress into the wider historical context surrounding developments in Balquhidder, with reference to land units and also to dynastic successions. In doing so, the author realises that the discussion must become more complex than would be the case if the argument was strictly confined to local issues. The alternative choice, to omit such contextual material for the sake of simplicity, would sacrifice certain foundations for later argument. As far as possible the major points to be made will be drawn briefly from secondary sources, which the reader may follow in more detail using the references.

When David I came to the Scottish throne in 1124, Strathearn was ruled by the Mormaer Malise. Professor G.W.S.Barrow (1980) [1] places his death circa AD 1150. Margaret MacLaren (1976) [2] notes that he had been succeeded by his son Ferteth by 1160. She cites the Charters of Inchaffray to show that by 1120 Malise was given the title of "comes," and thereafter became the First Earl of Strathearn under the new feudal order [3]. An unbroken Celtic dynasty of Earls of Strathearn followed, until Malise V, the eighth Earl of Strathearn, Earl of Caithness, and Jarl of Orkney, forfeited the Earldom of Strathearn in 1344. Overlordship of the province of which Balquhidder was a part therefore continued under the old Celtic dynasty well into the medieval period. It therefore appears that the Earldom of Strathearn remained as a major territorial unit in spite of the transition from tribal to feudal

government.

If there was a true tribal relationship between the Mormaers of Strathearn and the ruling house of Balquhidder, then the hypothesis for a bona fide Celtic system of land holding as the basis for these territories would be strengthened. The genealogy of the chiefs of MacLaren indicates kinship between Malise, first Earl of Strathearn, and Disiab, ancestor of Clan Labhran, in the early twelfth century [4]. The antiquity of Balquhidder and Strathearn coupled with this circumstance suggests a territorial structure reminiscent of the multiple estates discussed in Chapter 4. It also reflects a possible hierarchy based on a kinship system. This results in a hypothesis that Balquhidder was an estate within the ancient Celtic province of Strathearn before the introduction of medieval feudalism. The argument for a genuine Celtic origin for the land divisions of Balquhidder is therefore supported on the grounds that they were based on tribal social and political structures dependent upon kinship.

Margaret MacLaren (1976) [5] suggests that the basis of the internal divisions of Balquhidder itself originated in the systems of inheritance of Celtic societies. She concludes that there was no general use of the patronym "MacLaren" before circa AD 1200, and deduces that the eponymous founder of Clan Labhran was Abbot Labhran of Achtow in Balquhidder, who appears in the genealogies circa 1250. The lists of chiefs from the time of Disiab (circa 1120) to the death of her own great grandfather Donald, Chief of Clan MacLaren, in 1892, suggest continuous residence in Achtow and Achleskine, in the Barony of Balquhidder [6]. She also notes that the arms granted to the chiefs are those of the Earldom of Strathearn, differenced with a lymphad sable [7]. From these



McLaren Chiefs' Lands

McLaren cadet branches

13th CENTURY LAND DIVISION (McLaren's hypothesis;)

(Source; McLaren M; 1976)

Fig.10.

circumstances she argues that the area known as the Barony of Balquhidder from medieval times, was most probably the "duthchas," or heritable land, of the Chiefs, themselves a cadet branch of the dynasty of the Mormaers of Strathearn. This postulates a Celtic tribal origin for the boundaries of the Barony of Balquhidder [8]. The barony contained eight settlements: Tulloch on the shore of Loch Voil in the west, Lembar, Lednascriden, the Kirkton of Balquhidder, Achleskine, Achtow, Cuilt, and Drumness. All except Lembar and Drumness survived until the early nineteenth century.

MacLaren (1976) [9] suggests that Strathearn may have been granted to an ancestor, Donald Og, a kinsman of Kenneth MacAlpin, in the ninth century. She then hypothesises that Donald may have in turn granted the thanage of Balquhidder to one of his family. She presents evidence for the partitioning of Balquhidder some time before 1296 under the Celtic laws of partible inheritance [10]. The chiefs granted extensive areas of the parish to their sons. In the first subdivision, the family history indicates that the elder son received the west, and the younger the eastern lands of Ardveich and Loch Earn. A further division took place between three brothers. The eldest was given Auchleskine, the second "Bruach" in the west, and the third the lands around Stank at the southern end of Loch Lubnaig. Aspects of medieval and post-medieval land division reflect strongly such a pattern, especially in the separate survival of the Baronies of Balquhidder and Strathyre, including the detached holding of Stank and the banks of Loch Lubnaig, within Balquhidder until the end of the eighteenth century. These never became part of the Stewart or Murray of Tullibardine estate, but were ultimately granted to Lord Drummond of Perth as island territories within the Tullibardine

lands. The survival of the chiefs' house in Achleskine, and important cadet houses at Invernenty in the west and Ardveich in the northeast of the parish, until the nineteenth century, strengthens MacLaren's case. It may therefore be argued that in spite of dynastic changes, and the altered fortunes of local families, and notwithstanding the transition from tribal to a late feudal system of administration, no fundamental alterations to the ancient territorial and settlement patterns occurred. This supports the thesis for continuity of territorial and settlement patterns into the post-medieval period. What appears to have taken place was change of ownership and overlordship of long established holdings.

Taking into account that MacLaren's research was carried out before work by researchers such as R.A.Dodgshon (1981) and Wendy Davies (1978 & 1982) (see Chapter 4, above), there are some remarkable similarities between her hypotheses and the conclusions of these two authors. They postulate origins of modern territorial divisions of Celtic Britain in ancient "multiple estates" which once were the domains of Celtic princes or high chiefs. MacLaren's hypothesis and interpretation of history is compatible with such theses based on research into Celtic territorial structures. MacLaren's (1976) suggestion that Clan Labhran as such did not exist before the end of the twelfth century also accords with Dodgshon's argument for a medieval origin of the Highland Clans as landholding units of society. MacLaren's scenario indicates that what survived as evidence from earlier periods was a genealogy of "toiseachs" or thanes, a stratum of local landlords [11]. She bases her hypothesis for land division upon the four generation system of inheritance, in Celtic law, of the sons, grandsons, and

great grandsons of a chief. This supports her thesis for the successive subdivision of Balquhidder up to circa 1296, and is in keeping with Dodgshon's work (see Chapter 4, pp.44-48 above). The proposition being drawn for an ancient Celtic origin of land division in Balquhidder is in accord with the findings of other researchers.

The political reasons for the emergence of local clans as landholding units, and as socio-economic entities, in medieval Scotland, are discussed by Dodgshon (1981) [12]. He suggests that one result of feudal government may have been the final demise of the major tribal units, governed by the Mormaers. As these were replaced by earldoms, the kinship structure of the higher order systems would atrophy. This would leave the smaller family-based units with an enhanced role as kinship foci in the community. These smaller units or clans were also land holding units, survivals from the system of thanage. They were thus bound by ties of real or theoretical kinship, and also by ties to their lands. His argument is that the clan as a major social and landholding unit was therefore prominent only after the twelfth century. Dodgshon's theory is compatible with that of MacLaren. The argument for the development of a common patronym therefore can be supported by the need to be able to claim a share in land after the demise of the higher order tribal basis of tenure. MacLaren (1976) [13] notes that Gilbert, third Earl of Strathearn, was still styled "Earl of Strathearn by the Indulgence of God" in 1200. The demise of allodial status in relation to land tenure, and the substitution of feudal status, changed the legal standing of rights to territory. It would appear that in Strathearn the ancestral rights of the earl mormaers were not totally

extinguished until the estates were foreited in 1344. In Balquhidder, therefore, from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, the structure of overlordship was undergoing important transitions within the framework of established territorial units. This scenario supports a theory of evolutionary rather than radical change, and suggests once again that established territorial and settlement patterns would survive into the late medieval period.

The transition to feudal control which followed the forfeiture of Strathearn led to the king awarding the Earldom to others by royal charter (MacLaren 1976) [14]. It was first granted to John, Earl of Warenne, who was Malise V's son in law. It next went to Sir Maurice Moray of Drumsagard and heirs male, but he died at Neville's Cross without male issue. The earldom then reverted to the crown. In 1357 Robert Stewart, grandson of Robert I, the Bruce, was created tenth Earl of Strathearn. In 1371 he succeeded to the throne as Robert II, the first of the Stewart dynasty, and his younger son David became Earl Palatine of Strathearn. David died in 1389, leaving a daughter Euphemia, Countess Palatine in her own right. She married Patrick Graham, and their son Malise Graham inherited as thirteenth Earl of Strathearn. In 1427 he was deprived on the basis that the earldom was a male fief, and he had inherited through his mother. This demonstrated the difference between Celtic and feudal laws of inheritence. Strathearn was then granted for life to Walter Stewart, younger brother of David. Walter was executed for treason in 1437, and the earldom was formally annexed to the crown in 1455. It is from this annexation that the first reasonably comprehensive rentals of Balquhidder have been preserved in the

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. MacLaren (1976) [15] suggests that the medieval Clan Labhran lost their acknowledged heritable rights to lands in Balquhidder during the first forfeiture of the Earldom of Strathearn in 1344. She suggests that the family failed to obtain a charter under feudal law at that time, to confirm their tenure as vassals of the crown. This is not improbable. Clan Labhran would then become a broken clan. If the proposition that the territorial integrity of ancient Balquhidder survived these important dynastic and political changes is correct, then the various major holdings should appear either annexed to the crown or disposed of to a subject superior.

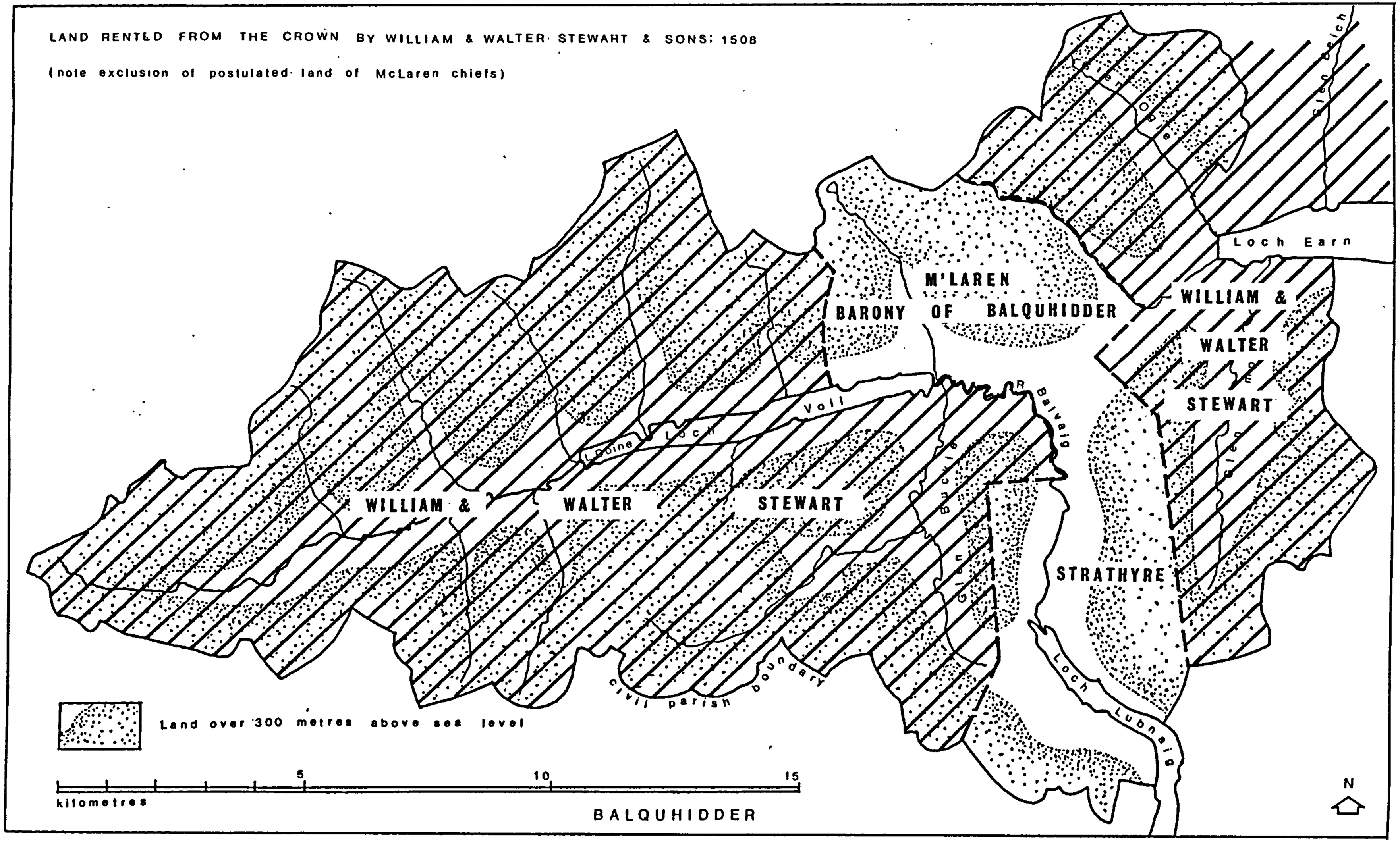
From the late fifteenth century it becomes possible to move from hypotheses to factual evidence. Examination of the Exchequer Rolls and extant charters from 1488 to 1587 provides a basis for testing the logic of the argument for the antiquity of Balquhidder's territorial structure. Before the second half of the fourteenth century, Balquhidder lies obscure in proto-historic time. It is postulated that there should be some degree of fit between the patterns dimly seen through the mixture of history, tradition, and field evidence, and the clear forms revealed from documentary sources. If the fit is good, then the case for the persistence of older patterns into the medieval and post medieval periods will become stronger. From the fifteenth century the historian may look backward into the less distinct past, and forward into the better documented historical period.

The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland [16] indicate what was happening in Balquhidder from 1437 onwards. In 1446 the lands of Balquhidder were assigned to Sir Andrew Stewart [17]. The rolls for 1480 - 1487 show William Stewart and Malcolm Maklery (sic)

having Balquhidder and other lands. In 1488 there is a complete list of townships in Balquhidder which were granted to William Stewart [18]. The list is repeated in the king's rentals for 1502 - 1507 [19]. The rentals for 1508 - 1513 assign the townships to William Stewart and his son Walter, and distinguish four townships let to John Stewart [20]. This evidence suggests that Balquhidder remained intact, but was granted to others as a unit of the Crown estates. The rental lists prove that Balquhidder contained numerous townships or holdings, and must have been a populous area. Analysis of the lists throws further light upon the divisions of Balquhidder.

Three important facts emerge. First, there was an established settlement pattern of at least twenty-nine townships assigned to the Stewart Baillies in Balquhidder in 1488. Secondly, the townships of the alleged duthchas of the chiefs of Clan Labhran were not included in the crown rentals, nor were the townships in Strathyre and around Loch Lubnaig including Stank. Thirdly, a new local dynasty of the house of Stewart had been established in Balquhidder. Careful examination of eighteenth [21] and nineteenth [22] century maps revealed the location of most of the townships. The majority survived until the end of the eighteenth century. Field work enabled many of the sites to be inspected.

From the early schedules, it appeared that the settlement pattern was not static. From 1488 to 1508 there were twenty-nine holdings listed. In 1513 there were thirty-one, and by 1587 [23] thirty-six townships were recorded. The lists include the Ardveich and Auchraw lands on the north shore of Loch Earn which are now in the parish of Comrie. Apart from lack of positive evidence for



Source: Exchequer Rolls of Scotland;

Fig.11.

settlements in the Baronies of Balquhidder and Strathyre, a process of gradual expansion or colonisation is suggested.

If the territory granted to William and Walter Stewart and the latter's sons is mapped, the areas omitted correlate closely with two subdivisions of Balquhidder attributed to the medieval chiefs of Clan Labhrain. One of these was the Barony of Balquhidder, the postulated "duthchas" of the chiefs. The Forfeited Estates Papers [24] indicate that the second, the Barony of Strathyre, in 1748 included Stank and all the townships on the banks of Loch Lubnaig and the Balvaig within Strathyre itself. Strathyre had been part of the estate of the Earls of Perth, subinfeudated to Buchanan of Arnprior, both landlords having been attainted as a result of the 1745 Jacobite rising. These two major lacunae in the pattern coincide so exactly with the MacLaren (1976) hypothesis that her case becomes as sure as it can be without positive proof of equal weight to the Exchequer Rolls. The transfer of the Ardveich estate en bloc to Comrie parish appears to complete the case for the fourfold subdivision of Balquhidder.

The evidence leads to the conclusion that a territorial pattern consistent with the hypothesis for an early Celtic land division could have existed in 1488. It also proves that an established settlement pattern existed in the major part of the parish. The antiquity of the Kirkton of Balquhidder as an occupied site has been argued in Chapters 2 and 3. The antiquity of Achtow is attested in the MacLaren records for the thirteenth century. The place name of Cuilt signifies a Celtic religious origin. Three of the eight townships of the duthchas can therefore be attested as having ancient origins. It would appear that the case for Balquhidder being an example of an ancient Celtic estate which

became the basis of a late medieval lordship and parish is strong.

A brief digression into the dynastic history of the new Stewart heritors of Balquhidder will demonstrate the founding of a whole structure of post-medieval extended families which was to permeate the ancient territorial system. The ancestry of the fifteenth century Royal Stewart Baillies in Balquhidder demonstrates also how the Crown was attempting to establish its influence in the Highland borders. The old kinship system of the Celtic tradition, as a means of securing political and economic control, was being emulated by the King of Scots. Murdach Stewart, Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland, kinsman of the exiled Scottish king, was executed by James I in 1425 [25]. Two of his sons died with him, but the third son, James, sacked Dumbarton and escaped to Ireland. He had seven illegitimate sons. King James II invited Andrew Stewart, the eldest, to return to Scotland, and he was created Lord Avondale in 1459. The fourth son, Walter, was the grandfather of a later Andrew Stewart, second Lord Avondale in 1501. From him came three sons, Andrew, third Lord Avondale, later Lord Ochiltree; Henry Stewart created Lord Methven in 1528; and James Stewart of Beith, father of James, Lord Doune. Some of these new noble families were later connected with Balquhidder as superiors.

The seventh illegitimate son of James Stewart of Albany was James Beag Stewart, father of Sir William Stewart of Baldorran who received the office of hereditary Royal Baillie of Balquhidder. It was this William, and his son Walter, who held the townships listed in the Exchequer Rolls of 1488. In the portioning of Balquhidder which took place during the sixteenth century the descendents of Sir William Stewart of Baldorran gained hereditary

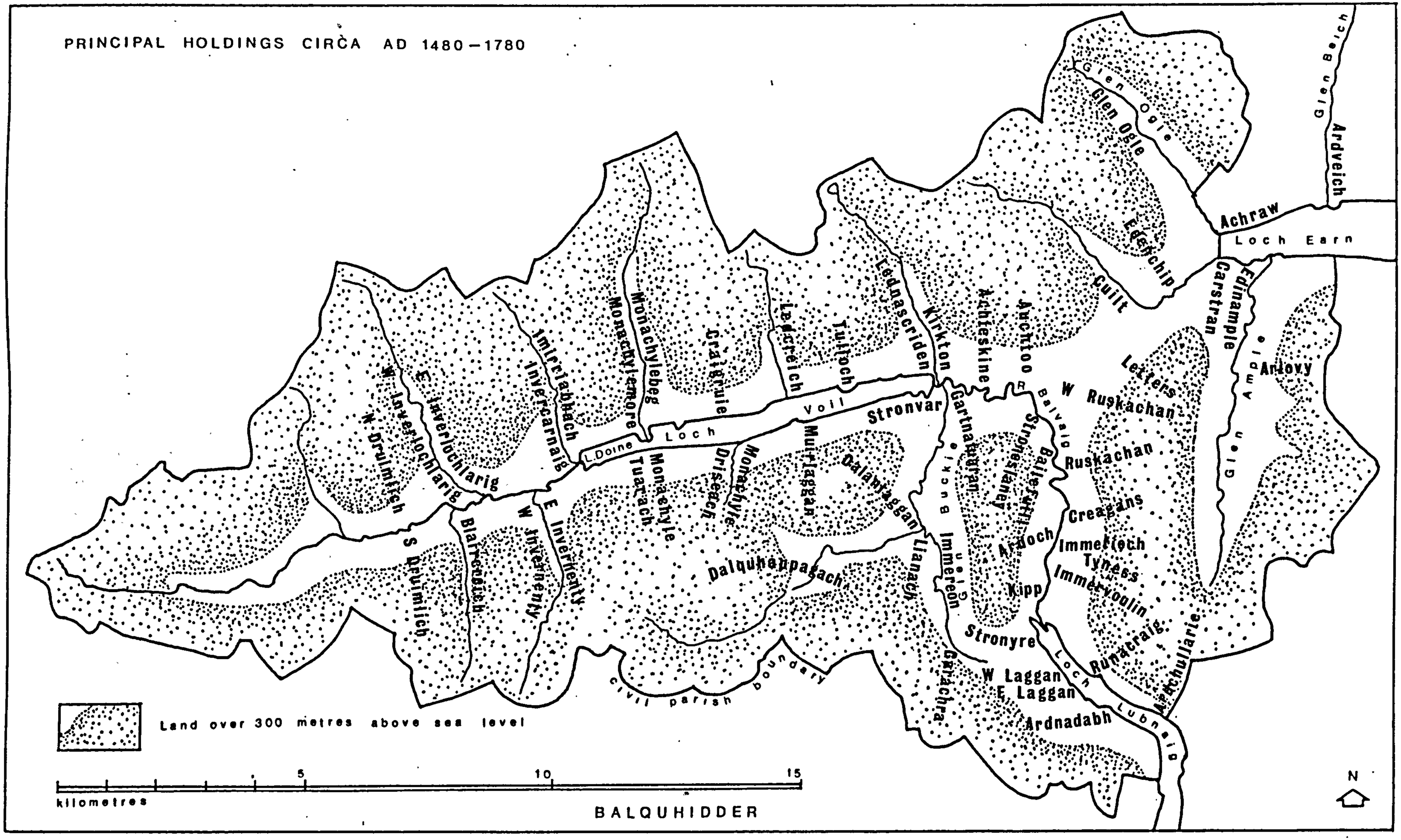

PRINCIPAL HOLDINGS CIRCA AD 1480–1780
Glen Ogle
Glen Ogle
Glen Beich
Ardveich
Achraw
Loch Earn
Edenchip
Cuilt
Edinample
Carstran
Glen Ample
Arlovy
Letters
W Ruskachan
Ruskachan
Creagans
Immerloch
Tyness
Immervoulin
Runacraig
Archullarie
Loch Lubnaig
Auchtoo
Achleskine
Kirkton
Lednascriden
Tulloch
Ledcreich
Craigruie
Monachylebeg
Monachylemore
Imirriabhach
Invercarnaig
E Inverlochlarig
W Inverlochlarig
N Druimlich
S Druimlich
Blairreoich
W Invernenty
E Invernenty
L.Doine
Loch Voil
Stronvar
Gartnafuaran
Stronesianey
Bailefuill
Ardoch
Kipp
Stronyre
W Laggan
E Laggan
Ardnadabh
Garachra
Lianach
Immereon
Buckie
Dalanlaggan
Muirlaggan
Monachyle
Driseach
Monachyle
Tuarach
Dalquhappagach
civil parish boundary
Land over 300 metres above sea level
5
10
15
kilometres
BALQUHIDDER
N

Fig.12.

tacks of land. Walter succeeded as Royal Baillie. His brother John founded the family of Stewarts of Glenbuckie in Balquhidder, who held that estate for almost three centuries. Walter's son James had one natural son, Patrick, who was given the hereditary tack of Lednascriden in the Barony of Balquhidder circa 1533 [26]. James married his cousin, daughter of Patrick Stewart of Glenbuckie, and had two further sons: Alexander Stewart the founder of the house of Ardvorlich, an estate adjoining the eastern boundary of Balquhidder; and John Stewart, progenitor of the Stewarts of Annat. The Stewarts of Ardvorlich still reside on the original estate. Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie married the daughter of MacLaren of Auchleskine, Chief of Clan Labhran, forging a link with the old ruling house. The new dynasty thus established itself in several holdings in the district [27]. In Robert the First Duke of Albany, later Robert II of Scotland, they shared a common ancestor with the king. There is little doubt that they were intended to ensure that the king's writ ran in Balquhidder.

Evidence in support of the hypothesis for survival of ancient parcels of land in Balquhidder in spite of these political and dynastic changes exists in relation to the alleged duthchas of the Chiefs of Clan Labhran. It is in a charter under the great seal dated 16th December 1511, cited by MacLaren (1976) [28]. This granted the lands of Achleskine, Tulloch, Lembar, Lednascridan, the Kirkton of Balquhidder, the three Achtows, Cuilt and Drumness, to John Ross of Craigy. These lands had been resigned by his father, who must therefore have acquired them intact at an earlier date. The charter thus indicates that the lands of the postulated duthchas had been assigned as a parcel some time at the end of the fifteenth century. The settlement pattern of Balquhidder can

therefore be confirmed from records circa AD 1500, apart from certain townships in Strathyre.

The survival of the larger territorial unit or province of Strathearn is indicated in grants and appointments to Lord Drummond and his successors. The Inventory of Drummond Writs records a charter of confirmation of Acts of James IV on 4th May 1491, 25th August 1495, and 16th October 1495, investing Lord Drummond with the Stewartry and Lordship of Strathearn. The charter is dated 29th October 1495 [29]. A further charter dated 9th March 1496 mentions the lands of Cuilt and Achraw, part of the MacLaren lands in Balquhidder [30]. David Lord Drummond (1519 - 1570) was confirmed in the Stewartry and Crownership of Strathearn and Balquhidder [31]. On the 8th January 1558 a charter of confirmation from Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, confirmed a charter by John Ross of Craigie in favour of David Lord Drummond [32]. This was followed by an agreement of sale by John Ross, to David Lord Drummond, and to Dame Lilias Ruthven his spouse, of the lands of Auchleskine, the Kirkton of Balquhidder, Lednascriden with the mill, the three Achtows, Tulloch, and Cuilt, in the Lordship of Balquhidder [33]. The contract was registered at Perth on the 20th May 1558. There is no mention of Lembar nor Drumness, and these settlements may have been deserted or amalgamated with others. The Drummond Earls of Perth retained the Barony of Balquhidder until its forfeiture in 1746 [34]. It may therefore be concluded that the ancient estate of Strathearn, and the lands of the medieval MacLaren chiefs in the Barony of Balquhidder, remained intact into the sixteenth century. They were then stabilised as units of land by the granting of new charters conveying them to the Drummonds of Perth. Late feudal tenurial

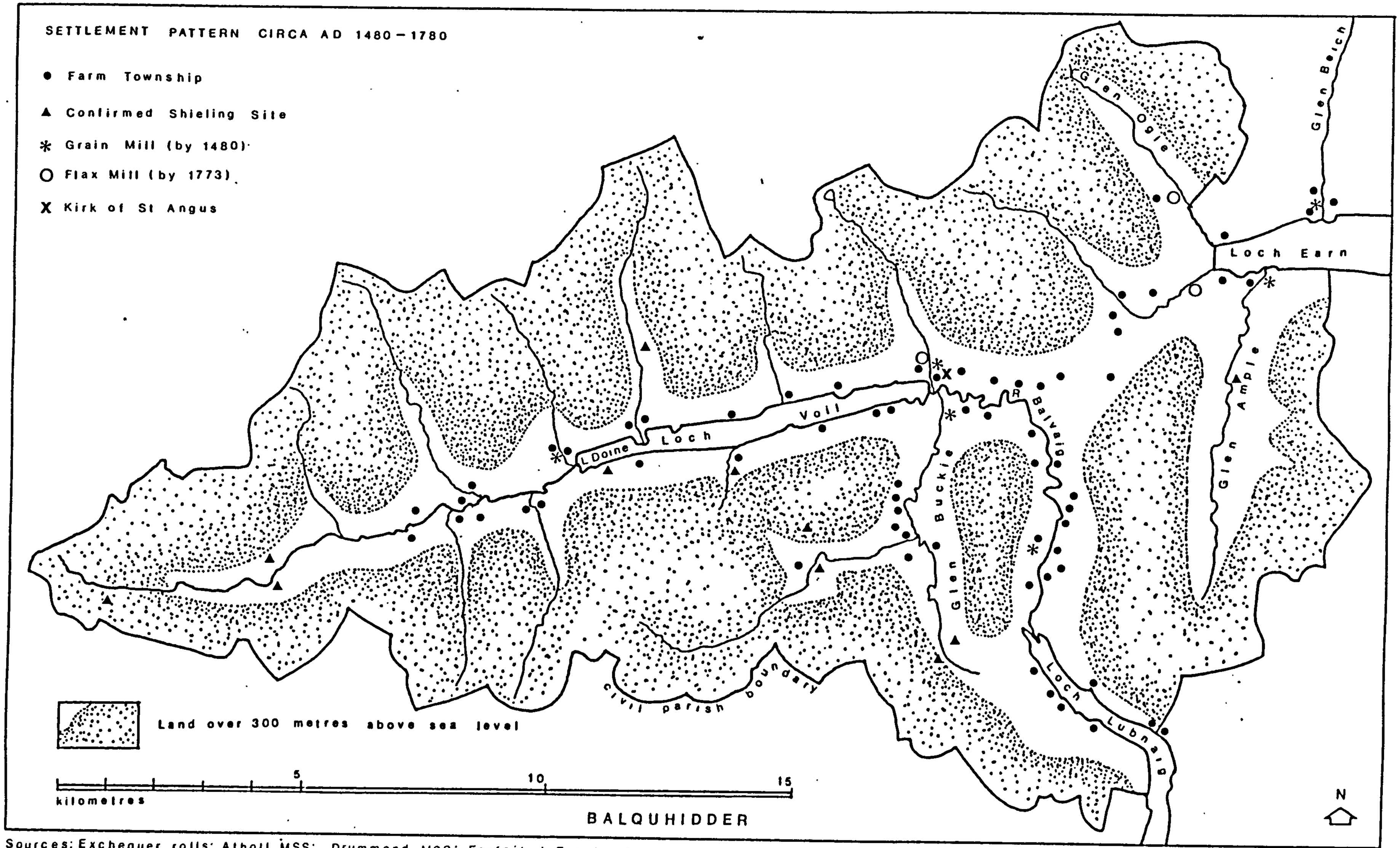
custom had adopted the ancient land divisions and preserved them. This is strong evidence in support of the hypothesis of persistence of territorial patterns.

The Drummond Writs contain a record of rentals for 1733, confirming that they then held also the superiority of the Barony of Strathyre, feued to Buchanan of Arnprior [35]. Unfortunately no earlier record of this holding has yet been traced, but it appears possible that the Perth estates may have acquired two of the principal holdings of the chiefly house of MacLaren, in Balquhidder and Strathyre, if the latter represented the inheritance of Stank. These two holdings adjoin each other, and divide the parish in two. This would fill the lacunae in the Exchequer Rolls cited earlier. It therefore appears that the divisions of land between the Chief of Clan Labhran and his heirs and cadets, creating four principal territories in Balquhidder, were preserved. Two were granted to Walter Stewart, western Balquhidder and Ardveich. Two were eventually granted to the Drummond Earls of Perth, the Barony of Balquhidder and the lands in Strathyre. The postulated medieval tribal subdivisions are thus strongly reflected in those of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

To demonstrate a complete transition from tribal to feudal custom, it should be possible to show that the new superiors could subinfeudate parts of their estates. While the new Stewart baillies obtained leases for their sons, that was not a case of genuine subinfeudation. However, evidence appears with regard to the superiority of Henry Stewart, Lord Methven. In a precept dated 15th March 1547 and sealed with Lord Methven's seal [36], he was styled Superior of the lands of Balquhidder. In it he granted the

lands of Edinample to Colin Campbell, second son of Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll. Colin Campbell was probably the builder of Edinample Castle, considering the date of the precept and the estimated date of the architecture [37]. The researcher was unable to find a charter granting Lord Methven the superiority of Balquhidder. It must be concluded that he had been granted the foreited superiority of Balquhidder before 1547. Lord Methven was following the custom of granting lands under his authority, as a feudal superior. The Campbell interest in the northeastern parts of the parish was to remain until the nineteenth century.

With reasonable certainty, therefore, the main territorial structure of Balquhidder may now be taken as having been laid down not later than the early middle ages, probably during the thirteenth century. It seems highly probable that the foundations for it were established much earlier, within the Celtic multiple estate of Strathearn. The feudal age appears to have stabilised the basic structure, at both the provincial and local levels, in grants of the existing parcels of land to new overlords in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The break with the old lordships must have occurred as a result of the forfeitures in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Subdivisions within the estate of Balquhidder, originally apportioned to the sons of the thanes or chiefs, became feudal baronies. Townships, individually or in groups, were leased by sons of the Stewart Baillies. These founded new families of tacksmen unrelated to the original family, unless by later marriages. In the sixteenth century subinfeudation made land available to exogenous families. Individual units of land therefore became available to tenants from outside Balquhidder. The basis of tenure was therefore changed. The



Sources: Exchequer rolls; Atholl MSS; Drummond MSS; Forfeited Estate Papers; G Stobie (map 1787); & Field survey.

Fig.13.

consequences of this will emerge later. An important one was the freedom to amass personal estates, by acquisition of tacks or leases of neighbouring land. In principle, land became a commodity at the disposal of the superior, not a communal resource owned by an extended family.

The social and economic structure of medieval Balquhidder begins to be discernable through study of the settlement pattern. The lands secured to William Stewart and his sons were occupied by people living in scattered settlements or townships. Field surveys revealed that some common locational characteristics were present. Visible remains of buildings and cultivation are clustered either on alluvial fans along the loch sides, or adjacent to tributary streams near their outfall into the main glens. The physical remains of settlement are unlikely to date from the fifteenth century, but the sites suggest little scope for migration of the actual townships outside the bounds of their holdings.

Another feature of the settlement pattern is the presence of shieling sites in the hills behind the townships. These indicate a system of transhumance. The antiquity of such systems has recently been attested by Bradley (1978) [38] as an aspect of transhumance and nomadism in Britain. In Balquhidder there is evidence for the operation of such a system, which must merit further discussion.

The Exchequer Rolls [39] list four mills, at Invercarnaig in the west (NN 459195); at Stronvar in Glenbuckie (NN 538200); at Edinample (NN 601227); and at Ardveich (NN 617245). The charters for the Barony of Balquhidder cited earlier show a mill at Lednascriden, its site being on the Kirkton side of Kirkton Burn (NN 536209). There was also a mill at Ardoch in Strathyre (NN 559175) [40]. Stobie [41] shows all of these mills on his map of

1787. In addition a farm on the east bank of the Balvaig where it enters Loch Lubnaig, in Strathyre, bears the name Immervoulin (NN 561168), which means the Mill Ridge, but no evidence for an ancient mill exists. There was a water-powered saw mill adjacent, but the place name is found in the rentals of 1748 [42]. The history of these mills as holdings will be followed, but there is only one reference to their technological development. A rental of Balquhidder for 1663 - 1665 states that the mill at Invercarnaig had originally been a "clacke milne" [43]. By 1663 it had been reconstructed. This suggests that before the seventeenth century the mills may have been small horizontal water mills with a direct vertical drive. The site of the mill at Invercarnaig still retains the small mill dam and laid.

Other indications of local industry are the remains of bloomeries, or primitive iron smelting hearths. Sites found during field surveys were in Monachyle Glen (NN 477215); and in Glenbuckie at Druim na Cairdeach (ie: The Smiths' Ridge) (NN 534178). A bed of slag and charcoal was found buried in the clay of the river bank in Glenbuckie near the farm of Immereon (NN 534176). At the head of Monachyle Glen is a rock called Craig na Cairdeach. Cairdeach signifies a craftsman smith in iron or other metals. (Blacksmith is Gobhain). Slag was also found on the shore of Loch Voil. W.G.Aitken (1969/70) [44] excavated examples of these early furnaces in Rannoch, and has reported on them in detail. He suggests dates in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, with a possible date for one at Loch Katrine in the late fifteenth century. He also notes that the techniques were in use in the first century BC. No documentary reference has been found to iron working in Balquhidder. It would probably have

required payment of rentals under feudal law. It is therefore probable that the workings had ceased to operate by 1488. No sites have been investigated. The Gaelic place name references may suggest an early date also.

During periods of annexation the individual townships were leased by the crown directly to the tenants. The royal baillies evidently had rights to grant sub-tenancies, but no powers to subinfeudate lands such as would be enjoyed by a subject superior. An example of individual tenure occurs in a charter by King James IV, given under the great seal, to Walter Buchanan, and Duncan Buchanan his son, on the 6th February 1509 [45]. Buchanan was granted the heritable free tenure of the lands of Lianach of Balquhidder for the yearly sum of twelve pounds Scots, and the lands of Garachra for eight pounds. Double duty was payable at the entry of an heir. A galaxy of illustrious witnesses appended their signatures, including the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Chancellor; the Bishop of Aberdeen, keeper of the privy seal; Archibald, Earl of Argyll, Master of the Household; and others of similar rank.

The attachment of the lands of Garachra to Lianach is significant for the hypothesis of an established system of transhumance. The two holdings remained joined throughout the history of the Glenbuckie estate. Garrachra is the shieling ground for Lianach. Field inspection revealed eighty-two hut bases on the hillside. These varied from small round or oval structures less than two metres across internally, to rectangular ones from four to six metres long by under two metres wide. The hill above Lianach is called Mullach an t'Shamhraidh, which means the summer height. The charter to Walter Buchanan therefore suggests

attachments of shielings to townships in rental contracts at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is therefore suggested that a properly regulated transhumance economy must indeed have existed in medieval Balquhidder. It is probable, therefore, that shieling sites throughout the parish could be of similar antiquity.

Evidence from the sixteenth century charters suggests that Balquhidder had emerged from a medieval tribal economy into a feudal system which had already lost its classic structure, which would normally have been based on grants of land in return for homage and service. An example is found in the further history of the Lianach holding. Lianach changed hands again on the 22nd March 1531. A charter by King James V granted the lands to George Hume of Lundeis and Margaret Erskine, his wife, and the survivor of the two, in life rent [46]. The tenancy was heritable by their son Patrick. This grant included the lands of Coireachrombie (NN 585098) south of Loch Lubnaig. Duncan Buchanan, now styled "of Coireachrombie," had resigned both tenancies. The lands assigned to Hume include Lianach, Garrachra, and Coireachrombie. The annual rentals are all set as money rents, as in the 1509 charter cited previously. The charter is witnessed, as before, by a list of important churchmen and nobles. A portion of the great seal remains attached. The two charters testify to changes of occupancy of lands under the crown. They also suggest that tenants could engross their interests by leasing more than one township. There is no mention of casualties or services as part of the contract. Rent appears in cash. Strictly, therefore, these were not feudal grants, but were charters of lease on a financial basis. The concept of land as a capital asset of the Crown seems to have been well advanced. The transition from the notion of land as an

inalienable communal tribal property, to that of land as transferrable property held in return for money payments, may have been relatively abrupt in Balquhidder.

The period from 1488 to 1531 was, therefore, one of considerable change in Balquhidder. The ancient territorial divisions, and the settlement pattern, appear to have persisted through these changes. What did change radically were the rights to land holding. At the higher level, new superiors such as Ross of Craigy and Lord Drummond were granted the lands once owned by the indigenous Celtic families. The crown, having annexed about two thirds of the Balquhidder estate, had first placed its own Baillies in authority, and then granted the lordship to the Stewarts of Methven. At the level of the smaller townships, the new Baillies obtained hereditary tacks for their sons. The case of Lianach also demonstrates that leases were available to others. The crown lands were being treated as a form of capital by the king. The early use of money rentals indicates a cash economy for certain types of tenure by the sixteenth century. This does not necessarily prove that the agricultural economy was anything other than a subsistence one. None of these early charters provide insights into the life and economy of the sub-tenants. The presence of at least six mills, placed strategically around the parish, suggests something more than a purely self contained system of subsistence farming, however. The terms for tenure of the mills, and regulations for their use, do not appear in records before the seventeenth century. A further indication of some form of organisation of agriculture is the use of shielings. Transhumance normally involves some social organisation, and regulation of seasonal use of land [47]. The leasing of shielings

as an extension of the lease of the parent farm also points to a regulated economy, in which townships were allotted their own summer pastures. From such slender evidence as exists, it appears that a fairly mature medieval upland economy existed by 1488. It was sufficiently stable to form the basis for land grants by charter, without apparent modification. Not only had the major land divisions survived the transitions of the middle ages, but the settlement pattern of clachan townships and their shielings appears to have persisted. Continuity may be argued at the various scales of land division and land use.

Balquhidder had experienced some disturbances during the medieval period. Some of this was the result of national conflicts. The region was involved in the wars of independence against Edward I of England [48]. Towards the end of the middle ages, however, clan warfare affected the peace of the parish, as broken clans sought new lands. During the sixteenth century the settlements around the Kirkton were twice raided by displaced MacGregors from the north [49]. The second raid in 1558 resulted in some of the invaders remaining. The expansionist activities of the Campbells of Argyll [50] and their kinsmen of Breadalbane appear to have been responsible for unsettling Clan Gregor. A bond of manrent was made between Campbell of Breadalbane and the MacLarens of Balquhidder to secure the latter's protection from the Gregarach in 1573 [51]. By the end of the sixteenth century, the extended families of Stewarts descended from the Royal Baillies appear to have been absorbed into the indigenous Highland culture. In 1587 an Act of Parliament was passed requiring the keeping of the peace by disorderly subjects in the Highlands, Islands, and Borders [52]. The Act contains a roll of offending

clans, which includes the MacLarens, Stewarts, and MacGregors of Balquhidder. The Ardvorlich papers [53] record a writ against the Stewarts of Ardvorlich and their allies for a cattle raid into the Lennox in 1595, led by two bagpipers. The penalties appear not to have been exacted. This absorption of the Stewart incomers into Highland society during the sixteenth century suggests that the old Celtic values prevailed in Balquhidder, sufficiently to acculturate the incomers from the south. The Gaelic language also survived. Celtic tradition and custom appears to have continued as the basis for the day to day life of the people. The language of the charters and legal documents was, however, the Old Scottish dialect of English.

A hybrid culture is therefore suggested in Balquhidder by the late middle ages. Any clan system must have have been short lived. The role of the Chiefs of Clan Labhran as medieval captains appears to have operated only from about AD 1200 to the middle of the fourteenth century. Their position in relation to the holding and control of land was supplanted by the crown, and then by exogenous feudal superiors. Their status as upholders of law and order was transferred to the Stewart Baillies in 1488, during the last phase of annexation. It would then pass to Lord Methven. Clan Labhran became a kindred without power, although the chiefly line retained its status within the family. The immigrant members of Clan Gregor were also of a broken clan, without lands. The Stewarts were from a Scottish feudal house. Landholding was no longer a matter of ancestral blood relationship. The system of settlement appears to have a Celtic origin, but rights to possession were no longer based upon membership of a particular family. The conclusion must be that Balquhidder was an instance of

the survival of a Celtic territorial and settlement pattern into a bastard feudal economy, in spite of the fundamental political and dynastic changes outlined in this chapter. The full discipline of feudal control, the proper hierarchy of feudal service and allegiance, and the pure application of feudal tenure, do not appear to have operated. A geographical zone of transition between Lowland and Highland culture, with the latter dominating in everyday life, is suggested. The period from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries also represents a time zone of transition from a Celtic medieval society to one founded on a post-feudal socio-economic system. Nevertheless the fundamental Celtic characteristics appear to have survived those changes.

The situation found in the sixteenth century supports the hypothetical reconstruction of the more remote past. The territorial structure of medieval Strathearn, and of Balquhidder in particular, appears to represent the survival and persistence of very ancient units of estate into the historical period. It is what would be expected from the earlier scenarios. The pattern of settlement is typical of Celtic economies. The apparent absence of villages or hamlets, and the small townships more or less regularly dispersed along valleys and loch sides, with outlying shielings, is typical of upland societies before the development of nucleation. A residual environment from the pre-feudal period appears to have survived through initial social and political changes. Early classical medieval feudalism may have passed Balquhidder by. The digressions into wider aspects of social and political changes have shown that developments postulated for Balquhidder were part of a process of transition which was affecting Scotland, and that the detail evident in Balquhidder is

consistent with findings from broader studies of Celtic history. It is argued that without such tests of context, especially in view of the slender record sources available to support the local scenario, the foundation for developing the thesis for a consistent and continuing process of settlement and social evolution into the modern period would be much less sure.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 5.

1. Barrow.G.W.S. "The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History. Oxford U.P., Oxford 1980. p.158 & note p.71.

2. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens. A History of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh. 1976. p.21.

3. Ibid. p.19.

4. Ibid. p.139.

5. Ibid. Passim.

6. Ibid. pp.15 - 18 & 44.

7. Ibid. pp.130 - 133.

8. Ibid. pp.44, 80, & Forfeited Est. Plan No.85. ill.

9. Ibid. Ch.1.

10. Ibid. pp.10 - 13.

11. Ibid. p.10 note 2. & p.138.

12. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1981. pp.104 - 114. Also Grant.I.F. "Highland Folk Ways." Routledge & Kegan Paul. London. 1961. pp.15 - 24.

13. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. p.19 & Note 5.

14. Ibid. pp.21 - 24.

15. Ibid. p.24.

16. Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. Vol.5. 1437-1454, pp.171, 204, 248, 583, 591, 662; Vol.9. 1480-1487, p.556; Vol.10. 1486-1492, pp.638 & 725; Vol.12. 1502-1507, p.635; Vol.13. 1508-1513, pp.633 & 636.

17. Exch. Rolls. Vol.5. 1437-1454 & Vol.9. 1480-1487, p.556.

18. Exch. Rolls. Vol.10. 1488-1496, pp.638 & 725.

19. Exch. Rolls. Vol.12. 1502-1507, p.635.

20. Exch. Rolls. Vol.13. 1508-1513, pp. 633 & 636.

21. Stobie.G. "Map of Perthshire and Clackmannanshire." RHP.177. S.R.O.

22. Ordnance Survey. Perthshire. 6ins. to lml. First Edition circa 1866. Sheets XCI, XCII, CIII, CIV.

23. Atholl MSS. 3.VIII. 24 & 25.

24. Forfeited Est. Papers. E738/1/4. S.R.O.

25. Burke.B. "Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire." 1883. pp.505-507 for Dukes of Albany. p.506 for descendants of James Stewart.

26. Ardvorlich Papers. Stewart Society Library. Edinburgh. Part I and Appendix. (Bound typescript compiled from documents by John Stewart of Ardvorlich).

27. Stewart.G. "Stewarts in Old Balquhidder." The Stewarts. Vol.XIV. No.2. 1973. pp.72 - 85. (G.Stewart also supplied the genealogical descent of the Stewarts of Lednascriden from James, Fifth High Steward of Scotland, to Patrick of Lednascriden (ie: 1243 - circa 1530), and of the family from 1705 - 1963, for this research.)

28. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. p.44.

29. Inventory of Drummond Writs. Vol.I. p.9. S.R.O.

30. Ibid. p.9. (Charter of Confirmation). S.R.O.

31. Drummond Writs. Bundle 4. GD60/128. S.R.O.

32. Inv. Drummond Writs. Vol 1. pp.80 - 86. 25/1 S.R.O.

33. Ibid. Vol.I. pp.80 - 86. 25/2 S.R.O.

34. Ibid. Vol.III. p.16. S.R.O.

35. Drummond Writs. GD160/221/. 1-12. Box.41. Bundle V. S.R.O. The Forfeited Estates Papers E738/40/2 show Archibauld Maclaren in Cuiranach in 1748. E777/78 show Cuiranach portioned between Dougal and Duncan MacLaren. E738 distinguishes between the Barony of Strathyre, and the Lands of Stank and Cuiranach, as two parcels in the parishes of Balquhidder and Comrie respectively. In 1748 - 1778 Stank had a Stewart tenant. The eighteenth century records support the hypothesis for a MacLaren apportionment at Stank, and

the former extension of the Balquhidder estate southwards. The Drummond Writs GD160/221 show John MacLaren in Ardveich in 1733, suggesting inherited occupancy. The Forfeited Estates Rentals RH.428 for Balquhidder confirm MacLaren tenants in Achtow, Achleskine, Kirkton of Balquhidder, and Lednascriden. The Atholl MSS. 71.II.B4. confirms MacLaren tack of Invernenty and part of the far west. Together these support the postulated territorial structure.

36. Atholl MSS. 3.VIII.8.

37. List of Bldgs. of Arch. & Hist. Importance. Perthshire. Balquhidder. No.21. cites. MacGibbon.D, and Ross.T., "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland." Edinburgh, 1887 - 1892. Vol.IV pp.34 - 36. "Z" plan tower normally circa 1550-1600. (S.D.D. May 1964. Ref. P/BL/5/PK). See also Campbell.D. "Reminiscences and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander." Inverness. 1910. p.276.

38. Bradley.R. "The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain." Routledge & Kegan Paul. London. 1978. pp.55 - 71.

39. Exch. Rolls. Scot. Op.cit. 1488, Vol 10. p.638; & 1502 - 1507, Vol.12. p.635.

40. Forf. Est. Papers. E738/40/2. Rentals.

41. Stobie.G. 1787. Op.cit.

42. Forf. Est. Papers. E738/40/2. Rentals.

43. Atholl MSS. 71.II.8.4. (Stored in 73).

44. Aitken.W.G. "Excavation of Bloomeries in Rannoch, Perthshire, and elsewhere." P.S.A.S. Vol.102. 1969-70. pp.188 - 204.

45. Atholl MSS. 3.VIII.1.

46. Atholl MSS. 3.VIII.4 & 5.

47. Drummond Writs. GD.160/234/8. Rules & Articles by the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates. Article XI. codifies transhumance in Strathyre. See also Gaffney.V. "The Shielings of the Drumochter." Scot.Studies. Vol.11. 1967. pp.91 - 99.

48. Barrow.G.W.S. "Robert Bruce." Eyre & Spottiswoode. London. 1965. p.226.

49. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. pp.46 - 48. (Cites Black Book of Taymouth p.123.)

50. McKerracher.A.C. "The Curse of Breadalbane." Scots Magazine. October 1983. pp.71 - 83. Traces the effect of the rise and fall of the Campbells of Breadalbane on other families, including that of MacGregor. (Abstracted from the Black Book of Taymouth). See Smout.T.C. "A History of the Scottish

People 1560 - 1830." Collins. London 1969. pp.103 - 106. for the outbreak of clan wars in the Highlands in the 16th century.

51. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. pp.48 - 53. Includes transcripts of the Bonds of Manrent & part fascimile.

52. General Index to the Acts of Parliament of Scotland. III. pp,461 - 467. Jacobi VI.c.59. 1587.

CHAPTER 6. THE TULLIBARDINE LORDSHIP AND THE END OF THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD 1587 - 1648

The watershed between the medieval and early modern periods in the West Perthshire Highlands is not easy to define. In terms of material culture, some aspects of medieval conditions continued until the latter years of the eighteenth century (see Part IV). The settlement pattern, and many characteristics of the social and economic systems which supported it, survived until the threshold of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the management of estates, and the forms of contract for land tenure, appear to have become increasingly more sophisticated during the seventeenth century (Chapters 8 & 9). It has been argued in the preceding chapters that the old Celtic territorial patterns, and the settlement patterns which were developing within them, were preserved by their adoption into the medieval tenurial system during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Part of that process included the appointment of several great families, whose ancestral roots were foreign, to high feudal office in Scotland. The heads of several such families became great Highland chiefs themselves by the end of the middle ages [1]. A certain amount of instability was noted, in local and regional patterns of superiority, as Strathearn and Balquhidder passed from tribal government, to forfeiture and annexation by the Crown, and then came under a variety of changing overlords. Nevertheless, these

new superiors were granted lordships of territories whose boundaries were established in earlier times. The basic settlement patterns and units of land appear to have persisted.

In seeking an appropriate period when the medieval age merged into the early modern one, it may be reasonable to look for some indications which point to new trends in the evolution of Balquhidder. The short period from 1587 to 1648 appears to satisfy this criterion. It commenced with the appointment of a new superior, Sir John Murray of Tullibardine. The grant of the Lordship of Balquhidder was made to him by a new monarch, James VI of Scotland, in the second year of his reign. The character of the charter investing Sir John Murray in his new office differed in several respects from the distinctly medieval charters of previous years. The terms of tenure seem to have been designed to ensure continuity of overlordship for the future, as far was as possible within an hereditary system. Nevertheless it will be shown that the settlement pattern established before the fifteenth century, and the principal parcels of land-holding, remained as the foundation for future development. However, certain modifications will be found to have commenced within that pattern. These changes proceeded very slowly, and would scarcely be perceptible without study over a long period of time. An important aspect was the gradual development of effective estate management and social control under the new landlords.

At the national scale also, the period from 1586 to 1603 marked some important changes. The Machiavellian nature of Scottish medieval politics had created periodic instability from the death of Robert III in 1406 until Mary, Queen of Scots, was deposed in favour of her son in 1586 [2]. Mary was executed at

Fotheringay in 1587. Each Stewart monarch after Robert III had died a violent death until James V died naturally in his bed at Falkland Palace in 1542. Mary herself was the centre of distinctly medieval partisan rivalries between groups of her nobles. The events of 1586 and 1587 in Scottish national politics were turning points for the government of the kingdom. Their significance was, however, amplified and surpassed by the accession of James VI to the English throne in 1603, on the death of his cousin Queen Elizabeth Tudor. The necessity for Scotland and England to defend their borders against each other was removed. National government began to focus upon London, with Edinburgh playing a lesser role. The Crown was strengthened, although at the same time it became more remote from the Scottish Highland parts of its dominion. The Scottish Parliament nevertheless continued to sit in Edinburgh for a further century, possibly easing the process of transition from two kingdoms into one. Political stability nationally added to developing local stability in the great estates.

Another reason for suggesting that the second half of the sixteenth century was a transitional period, which drew the true medieval period to a close, was the Scottish Reformation. This culminated in the adoption of Presbyterianism as the national form of church government in 1560. It also ushered in a long political and religious struggle between the supporters of Episcopalianism, which included the Crown, and the Protestant Reformers in both Scotland and England. The conflict reached its peak in the wars between King and Parliament, and the short-lived but important commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell. The execution of Charles I and the exile of Charles II created an hiatus in the monarchial system.

The effect of these national political changes was complex. While generally creating conditions amenable to stability and continuity, the religious wars and cultural clashes between the new Genevan Calvanist movement and the old Episcopalian system introduced a new scale of conflict in Scotland. Ancient tribal rivalries, and confrontations between Celtic and feudal cultures, were subsumed within partisan political and religious strife. The effects were felt in Perthshire, as in other parts of Scotland. Rival Highland houses pursued their desires for aggrandizement under political banners. The opposing forces, for example, under Argyll on the one side and Montrose on the other, consisted largely of clansmen who were already enemies because of older tribal quarrels. McKerracher (1983) [3] comments on the revenge taken upon Breadalbane by Montrose's MacGregors, MacDonalds, and MacNabs. It could be argued that there was a change of scale in Highland politics. During the last decades of the sixteenth century, and the first of the seventeenth, the medieval age gave way to the post-medieval and early modern periods. The local inter-family feuds, and instances of cattle raiding, which had occurred spasmodically in the past, were succeeded by disturbances related to the civil strife which was part of national politics.

In Balquhidder, the transitional nature of the period from 1587 to 1648 is seen in a local context. During that period the foundations of future stability were laid. Evidence for some intention to lay such foundations politically may be suggested by the form of the charter in which King James VI granted the Lordship of Balquhidder to Sir John Murray of Tullibardine, Knight, and to his heirs male, or to his nearest lawful heirs male whatsoever, bearing the surname and arms of Murray. The charter

was granted on the 30th July, 1587, at Falkland Palace [4]. Barrow (1980) [5] gives the ancestor of the Murray (ie: de Moravia) family as the Flemish noble Freskin, affording an example of a European immigrant noble house rising to the effectual status of a Highland chiefly family. The terms of the charter appear to be designed to ensure a stable succession. They permitted inheritance by almost any legitimate male heir of the house, rather than by simple primo-geniture. Up to 1587 Balquhidder had suffered from forfeitures, annexations, and changes due to failure of succession in its ruling families. The Tullibardine Charter appears to have guarded against that situation recurring. The lordship, excluding the Baronies of Balquhidder and Strathyre, remained with the house of Murray until 1801 [6].

The wide degree of latitude permitted for inheritance in the Tullibardine Charter may be seen in the complex way in which the estate passed between various branches of the family between 1587 and 1648, ultimately leading to the amalgamation of the Tullibardine estates with those of Atholl. Various transactions involved three branches of the Murray family, and heirs of the Stewart Earls of Atholl. In 1595 John Stewart, fifth Earl of Atholl, died. His daughter Dorothea Stewart married William Murray, second Earl of Tullibardine, in 1604. Their son, John Murray, Master of Tullibardine, became the first Murray Earl of Atholl in 1629, and died in 1642. His son and successor was invested in the lands of Balquhidder, as second Murray Earl of Atholl, in 1676 [7]. Balquhidder then became part of the Regality of Atholl.

The dynastic changes involved in this process need to be outlined briefly, in order to understand the content of the

various charters affecting Balquhidder, and how the parish became part of the estate of Atholl. To preserve the two earldoms of Atholl and Tullibardine as distinct estates, William Murray, before his death, had petitioned Charles I for the Earldom of Atholl for his son John, to preserve the inheritance of Lady Dorothea Stewart. At the same time William resigned the Earldom of Tullibardine to his brother, Patrick Murray. The two estates were thus kept separate. Balquhidder was part of the Tullibardine estate, administered from Tullibardine Castle in Strathearn. Patrick Murray, of Tullibardine, was succeeded by his son. The estates remained separate until John, second Earl of Atholl, became first Marquess of Tullibardine in 1670, after the death of his cousin James caused the extinction of the Tullibardine branch of the family. A third branch of the family which appeared briefly upon the scene in the person of William Murray's cousin, Mungo Murray, Viscount Stormont, was that of the Earls of Annandale. It would appear that the flexibility offered in the terms of inheritance by the charter of 1587 proved an effective safeguard for continuity of administration.

Throughout these dynastic changes, it is important to note that the integrity of major territorial holdings remained. Strathearn itself seems to have been divided between the Drummonds of Perth and the Murrays of Tullibardine, but remained a separate entity from the principality of Atholl to the north. Balquhidder, likewise divided between the Drummond and Murray families, nevertheless remained as a distinct territory, much in its early medieval form. Within it the old settlement patterns also survived. The records of the Atholl etates retained the distinctions between the Tullibardine and the Atholl estates until

the former were sold in the early nineteenth century. This is strong evidence for the persistence of patterns of land holdings.

The charter of 1587 by James VI to Sir John Murray granted to him the Balquhidder estates of the deceased Henry Stewart, Lord Methven. The latter failing male heirs, the estate had again reverted to the crown. The document contains a full revised list of the townships. The original settlement pattern appears to have gradually expanded. The increase in numbers of settlements from twenty-nine in 1488 to thirty-six in 1587 was noted in chapter five (page 71). This was an increase of twenty-four percent over one hundred years. The inference which follows is that the gross population density was slowly increasing. The charters from 1587 onwards afford improving insights into probable characteristics of settlement expansion.

Part of the increase appears to have been the result of further colonisation. For example, at the western extremity of the parish two new townships appeared, Easter and Wester Druimlich. Field inspection revealed that these lay at the furthest point of feasible habitation, beside the upper tributaries of the Balvaig. Their remains included an area of old plough land. The situation would suggest late colonisation in a country where the favourable sites were already occupied. The altitude is about 180m above ordnance datum. The landscape is barren, bleak, and mountainous. The sites are not far from established shieling grounds, and seem to have taken land originally within the holdings of Invernenty and Inverlochlarig.

Three new settlements were listed at the confluence of Glenveich on the north shore of Loch Earn. The ancient township of Ardveich had accrued those of Glenveich, Dalveich, and Darnlea

(Carnlea in future sources). Four names which have not been located on the ground were included. The list of mills increased by one, the mill of Callour in Glenbuckie. There is a slight enigma about that item, as it appears in addition to the mill of Stronvar, but later documents appear to lose the distinction. Perhaps a new mill was constructed about that time. The inference is that densities were increasing on more favoured sites.

The Tullibardine charter also provides evidence of subdivision of older holdings. Dalanlaggan in Glenbuckie had been subdivided into "Meikle and Littill" Dalanlaggan. It is not clear, because of the lack of early documents, when Achtow in the Barony of Balquhidder was divided into Easter, Mid, and Wester Achtow. The use of English terms for the prefixes suggest a late medieval subdivision. Further evidence of subdivision appears in a summons registered in the Sheriff Court Books of Perth on the 7th November 1592 [8]. It was taken out at Edinburgh on the 23rd June of that year against Duncan McPhatrick McCoulcheir and John McGillichallum his sub-tenant, charging them to remove from the half lands of Invernenty within three days, on pain of imprisonment in the Castle of Inverness. From that date the complicated quarterings of Invernenty appear repeatedly in the records.

It may be concluded, therefore, that colonisation was taking place during the sixteenth century. It may also be concluded that existing townships were beginning to be divided. The Invernenty tenants or squatters may have been immigrants to Balquhidder. Immigration of MacGregor families into Balquhidder will be seen to have played an important part in the western townships of the parish, as well as in the Barony. It is

impossible to quantify population trends from such slender evidence, but some increase must be indicated, partly involving migration and new settlement (See Chapter 16). The evidence also points to the probable survival of the custom of subdivision of lands among heirs, common to Celtic societies. This system appears to have persisted into later tenurial arrangements, when joint leases were granted to portioners not necessarily of the same family. Not only was the physical pattern of settlement surviving, but the ancient tenurial customs which were part of the tribal socio-economic system appear to have been adapted into the post-feudal system of tenure. It may be argued that the survival of the Celtic basis of landholding and inheritance into the post-medieval period was an important mechanism for the conservation of the settlement pattern itself. It also must have been part of the basis for population increase within a given area of land.

The Invernenty summons, cited above, also provides evidence for sub-letting by principal tenants. This is a very important indicator of the detailed structure of tenancies. It allows an hypothetical scenario of principal tacksmen, holding lands by charter from the superior or chief, but sub-letting to working tenant farmers. Such a scenario also increases the problems of analysing probable population figures from simple extrapolation from numbers of holdings. Professor M.M.Postan (1975) [9] met the same problem in his study of medieval economies in England. Flinn (1977) [10] recognised the difficulty of establishing demographic history with any certainty in Scotland before the second half of the eighteenth century. What is important is not absolute statistics, but significant indicators of trends. The occupancy and use of land is one such indicator. The multiplication,

division, and sub-letting of settlements is part of the evidence needed to explain intensification of land use.

Adding the settlements listed in the Tullibardine charter to the probable number of settlements in Strathyre, and the known townships of the Barony of Balquhidder, there were approximately sixty-one holdings in the whole of the ancient Balquhidder estate in the early seventeenth century.

An important influence in the gradual changes following 1587 was the character of the new superiors. Firm and decisive overlords brought to Balquhidder strict, though benevolent, estate management. They appear to have pursued forward looking incremental development policies. The attitude of the Murray overlords is revealed in the action over the unwanted occupants of Invernenty. It is also evident in a summons served upon the powerful Earl of Argyll regarding his lands at Edinample, dated at Edinburgh on the 23rd May 1610 [11]. The impression is given of a superior who would manage the estates without fear or favour.

Sir John Murray of Tullibardine was also interested in education. This is evident in an assedation by John Murray, prebendary of Balquhidder [12], in favour of Sir John Murray of Tullibardine, his heirs and assignees, granting the prebend of Balquhidder for three years from Candlemass 1586, and in three year periods thereafter during the granter's life. The yearly payment for this was sixteen pounds Scots, plus four stones of cheese and one stone of butter. The reason for this contract was sums of money, paid to the granter, which had been used for his and his brothers' upbringing and schooling in

> "literature and virtue, and for the defence of the cause and patrimony of the said prebendery."

Scions of the house were to have appropriate preparation for life. This nascent interest in learning was to be developed as a condition of lease for the Atholl tenants in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 12).

Education had been an important and developing aspect of Scottish culture since the early fifteenth century. Saint Andrew's University had been founded in 1414 by Bishop Kennedy, and Glasgow in 1451 by Bishop Turnbull [13]. In 1496 James IV and Bishop Elphinstone founded the University of Aberdeen. In the same year the King enacted that all barons and freeholders of substance should send their eldest sons to school at the age of eight or nine. They were to remain until proficient in latin and generally competent. They then proceeded to university for three years study in arts and law [14]. There is an indication that a new age was dawning, which would affect Balquhidder. From the reign of James IV (1488 - 1513) the culture of the renaissance began to enter the Scottish court. The development of the arts was fostered. The king had himself visited Balquhidder in the early sixteenth century [15]. The Tullibardine charter of 1587 introduced a superior of Balquhidder who was a renaissance, rather than a medieval, overlord. National and local changes combined to carry Balquhidder out of the middle ages. It is therefore important to address the problem of the wider context of change, in order to avoid a restricted parochial view of the evolution of local patterns. Balquhidder, although culturally and linguistically a Highland parish, was geographically within the influence of Lowland Scotland. Its development would therefore differ from that of the remote northwestern districts. Some digression into discussion of national trends is therefore necessary. The fact that Highland

cultural and territorial patterns survived in spite of such external influences is one witness to the strength of the archaic traditions in Balquhidder.

Between 1587 and 1648 various transactions in land took place in Balquhidder. They provide cumulative, if fragmented, evidence, from which a picture emerges of a period of transition and change in land ownership, but not in the basic pattern of settlement. Two further examples of subdivision and portioning of holdings are illustrated. A charter of 1611 granted the Wester Half of Achraw to John McCarliche in Finlarig [16]. In 1613 John, Earl of Tullibardine, granted James Murray of Strowan the lands of Glenveich and two and a half marklands of Stronvar, dividing thereby the latter township into two [17]. A charter by James VI includes a discharge of reversion by William, Earl of Tullibardine, in favour of David Lord Scone. [18]. On the 15th June 1613 a contract of wadset (ie: a primitive form of mortgage) was made between John, Earl of Tullibardine, and David Lord Scone, for the lands of Balquhidder [19]. Land was being mortgaged and leased, having become a commodity capable of raising revenue or being used as security for capital. The principle of inalienability no longer applied. The Celtic pattern of settlement distribution and tenure survived, but the tribal basis of land holding was extinguished.

The manuscripts indicate the continuing attachment of shielings to holdings. On the 7th December 1632 at Stirling a discharge and renunciation of the lands of Lianach, and its shielings of Garrachra, was granted in favour of Mungo, Viscount Stormont [20]. The estate papers also confirm the continuity of settlement patterns through the period of transition. For example,

in a charter of confirmation under the great seal dated at Holyroodhouse on the 2nd September 1641, Mungo, Viscount Stormont, granted the lands of Balquhidder in liferent to his spouse, Dame Anne Weymes, Lady Stormont [21]. It lists twenty-eight townships and the five mills, still distinguishing the mills of Stronvar and Callour. It also confirms the subdivision of Stronvar into Meikle and Little Stronvars.

The full details of these transactions are not easily reconstructed. Although the persons concerned are identifiable, it is not clear exactly how and when they acquired or relinquished their various interests. The records, for that purpose, are fragmentary. The complications of the three closely related Murray families do not assist. The details of the various documents, however, provide valuable insights into the evolution of settlement in Balquhidder during the closing years of the medieval period.

The Tullibardine charter of 1587 does seem to have marked a turning point in the history of Balquhidder. It is also important in being the first of a series of new manuscript sources, improving in quality and quantity, for research. It becomes possible, for the first time, to begin to discern some of the detailed aspects of settlement and land use patterns in Balquhidder. The documentary evidence for earlier periods is scarce, and of a very general character. The charter of 1587 forms part of the collection of manuscripts in the muniments of the Atholl and Tullibardine Estates. This important collection not only includes more detailed documentary evidence, resulting from the manner in which charters and contracts were drafted, but its careful conservation has preserved a much richer store of

material. The manuscripts in the charter room of Blair Castle are central to the history of rural settlements and society in Balquhidder from 1587 to the end of the eighteenth century. 1587 therefore also marks a change in the nature of the research task, as sources improve both in quality and in quantity.

An adjudication in favour of James, fourth Earl of Tullibardine, as heir to the deceased Mungo, Viscount Stormont, returned Balquhidder to the main Tullibardine line [22]. This culminated in Balquhidder passing to his cousin John, second Murray Earl of Atholl, by a precept of Chancery dated 15th February 1648 [23]. The sasine following was issued the same day [24]. It was registered at Perth on the 24th March 1648, witnessed by David Murray of Kirkhall, Mr Archibald Read the minister of Balquhidder, Duncan McRobert Stewart of Monachyle Beg, and Robert Stewart his son, and James Stewart in Immereach. The document contibutes further indications of developments in Balquhidder.

It carries the first appearance of the name of Monachyle Beg (NN 477199), which may imply the division of the large farm of Monachyle into two holdings about this time. It also indicates a dynasty of Stewarts in Monachyle and Immereach who appear to be sharing that group of holdings on the north shore of Loch Voil. Duncan McRobert Stewart had acquired the Gaelic patronym in addition to his surname. The process of acculturation is to be noted, as it supports the hypothesis that families planted in Balquhidder in the fifteenth century had been absorbed into the Celtic culture over the following period, and were forming into new extended family groups on the model of the old Highland tacksmen. This was to become the basis for creating engrossed territories in the eighteenth century (See, for example, Chapter

13). A extended family structure was emerging. It carried shadows of the old clan system.

The precept of 1648 also demonstrates the change in the standing of witnesses, from the titled nobles and bishops of the early sixteenth century, to people drawn from trustworthy members of the local community. It signifies an important change in the nature of the charters themselves, as legal documents. The witnesses were no longer magnates of the realm, approving the content and terms of the document. The character of estate papers was changing. So, possibly, was the relationship of the superior to his vassals, in that those of respectable standing within the community were accepted as guarantors of the legal status of estate documents. It would appear from the signatures that a reasonable standard of literacy existed. The estate papers of the seventeenth century reveal something about the changes within the community itself, as well as indicating developments in estate management.

The short period of the Tullibardine Lordship was, therefore an important one. It has left on record a series of documents which provide evidence for a countryside which was filling up, both by colonisation of the small number of remaining sites capable of cultivation, and by increasing instances of subdivision of existing holdings. For the first time, some indication of the developing social structure can be deduced. Examples of possible extended families with multiple tenancies can be found. The frequent, and sometimes complicated, subdivision of holdings tends to suggest the survival of the Celtic, rather than the southern customs of tenure. Branches of the Stewart family which entered Balquhidder in the fifteenth century were forming into dynasties

of Highland tacksmen. A composite culture, resulting from the transition from tribalism to bastard feudalism in the fifteenth century (Chapter 5, pp.84 - 86), appears to have reached a fairly advanced stage of development. The documents suggest increasing attention to estate management, and indicate that the character of the new superiors of the seventeenth century was becoming noticeably different from that of their medieval predecessors.

In conclusion, therefore, it is impossible to place a definite date upon the transition from medieval to early modern Balquhidder, but a complex set of changes appears to have occurred across the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was some interaction between national and local trends. The relationship between the lord and his vassals appears to have moved slightly towards a more modern one of landlord and tenant. Landholding had become a matter of a transaction governed by some form of contract, involving exchange of money. The system of tenure had begun to move away, not only from tribal custom, but also from feudalism. Nevertheless, some kind of social structure based upon extended families persisted, and indeed was developing among the descendants of late medieval immigrants. The older foundations of territorial divisions and settlement patterns, although affected by gradual intensification of land use, persisted through all of these changes, to become the basis for the developing estates of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The hypothesis for cultural continuity appears to be strengthened by the demonstration of processes of acculturation of erstwhile alien families into a system which strongly reflected the features of the old tribal society, although deeply modified by socio-economic changes since the thirteenth century. It would,

however, be wrong to exaggerate the changes. The following chapters will demonstrate how a mixture of Highland Celtic, feudal, and increasingly modern sets of relationships between the lord and his vassals, produced a peculiarly composite culture in the eighteenth century. The very gradual progess of change must have been a factor in the survival of old patterns up to the threshold of the nineteenth century. The place of human choice and direction within incremental change also becomes increasingly important. The tendency towards cultural conservatism, leading to the gradual improvement of inherited life-styles and environments, appears to have been a major factor in ensuring continuity.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 6.

1. Barrow.G.W.S. "The Anglo Norman Era in Scottish History." Oxford. 1980. Ch.III.(i). pp.61 - 90. And Appendix B. traces the origins and fortunes of many of the families. See also Smout.T.C. "A History of the Scottish People. 1560 - 1830." Collins. London. 1969. pp.103 - 113. which refers to the territorial ambitions of the Highland houses at the expense of older tribes.

2. Bingham.C. "The Stewart Kingdom of Scotland 1371 - 1603." Weidenfeld & Nicolson. London. 1974. Chs. 3 - 8. pp.36 - 220. gives the history of reigns from James I to Mary Queen of Scots.

3. McKerracher.A.C. "The Curse of Breadalbane." Scots Magazine. October 1983. p.76. The article also portrays in Duncan Campbell of Breadalbane the typical enigmatic figure of a great estatesman who was also implicated in the assassination of the Earl of Moray, and in acts of ruthlessness which belong to the world of Highland tribal warfare. At the same time he maintained his standing at court as a loyal supporter of the crown. He died in 1631. His lands bordered Balquhidder to the north. He represented a house which was half Lowland and half Highland in origin and outlook. Smout (1969) notes that the Campbells of Breadalbane were involved in the last major pitched battle between two clan armies at Altimarlich in Caithness, as late as 1680 (Op.cit. p.222). Duncan Campbell, in "The Lairds of Glenlyon," (1886, reprinted for Clunie Press, Perth, 1984), traces the history of political intrigue, and Machiavellian feuding, surrounding the Campbells of Glenlyon and Breadalbane, from medieval times into modern history. The histories of Argyll and Breadalbane illustrate the great

overlap between the medieval and modern periods in the north and west of Scotland. Balquhidder was on the rim of this Highland theatre until the end of the seventeenth century. Members of the Breadalbane family held Edinample and Edenchip into the modern period.

4. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.24 & 25.

5. Barrow.G.W.S. 1980. Op.cit. p.62.

6. Atholl MSS. Cartulary of Atholl. Vol.V. p.228.

7. Burke's Peerage. Ed.130. London.1963. p.120.

8. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.32.

9. Postan.M.M. "The Medieval Economy and Society." Pelican Books. London.1975. Ch.3. pp.30 - 44. (First pub. 1972).

10. Flinn.M.(Ed.). "Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s." Cambridge University Press. 1977. Preface. p.xv.

11. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.34.

12. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.23.

13. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.49.

14. Bingham.C. 1974. Op.cit. pp.139 - 140. See also following to page 151 for the improving activities of James IV.

15. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens. A History of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh. 1976. p.45. Transcript abstracts from the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts. It is also noted that James IV gave the Lordship of Balquhidder to his mistress, Janet Kennedy, in 1500.

16. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.35.

17. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.36.

18. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.41 - 44.

19. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.37.

20. Atholl MSS. 3.X.56.

21. Atholl MSS. 3.X.57.

22. Atholl MSS. 3.XI.60 - 62.

23. Atholl MSS. 3.XI.63.

24. Atholl MSS. 3.XI.64.

PART III. THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

CHAPTER 7. THE BALQUHIDDER ESTATE FROM 1648 TO 1665

It has been argued that the granting of the Lordship of Balquhidder to John Murray, second Earl of Atholl, in 1648, marked the watershed between the medieval and the early modern period (see Chapter 6.) It has also been admitted that attempts to define the divisions between the main epochs of Highland history are fraught with risks. The years from 1587 to 1648 were ones of transition, between the late middle ages and changes which indicated the beginning of a different era. On the other hand, it is admitted that documentary evidence for the medieval period in Balquhidder consists of scattered charters and a few rental lists. It may be argued that the middle of the seventeenth century is no more than a date from which sources have been more plentifully preserved. It could be suggested that the changes apparent after the middle of the seventeenth century are, therefore, no more than the product of a higher rate of survival of records.

Against such a pessimistic conclusion, it has been shown that the style of estate papers changed between 1580 and 1650. The medieval witnesses to charters, signifying approval of the content as well as the authenticity of the documents, were replaced in 1648 by less prestigious persons (see Chapter 6. pp.104). Following 1648, the number of different kinds of estate papers

preserved was much greater. Detailed rental assessments were taken from time to time. Land transactions were recorded. Documents relating to social order were issued, often through the regality court or the barony courts. These provide a new resource for research. But, collectively, they also suggest a change in the quality of estate administration.

The orderly preservation of estate records in itself may signify improvement. It may also suggest that the earlier phases of government in Balquhidder, with the interruptions caused by forfeitures or changes in the overlords, prevented the evolution of sound estate practice. If this is true, then the need for stability appears as one essential for long term development. The need may occur at national and local levels. Changes in Balquhidder appear to have been related to changes in the medieval power structure of Scotland. The Tullibardine charter of 1587 was remarked upon for the breadth of opportunity for a secure dynastic succession of Murray superiors (see Chapter 6.pp 93-94). One inference is that the policies of James VI may have been different from those of his predecessors. It was hypothesised in chapter one (see pp.13-14), that political changes could influence the processes of settlement evolution. It could be argued that the shift from a medieval towards a modern political attitude during the sixteenth century answers such an hypothesis with regard to subtle changes in Balquhidder.

The accession of James VI to the English throne in 1603 removed the problem of border dispute from politics. This in itself must have eliminated the need to consider the Scottish aristocracy as the providers of a military host to rush to the defence of the borders. It also enabled British, as opposed to

merely English or Scottish, peerages to be granted. It would have been natural for landowners to change their attitudes to their estates in such circumstances.

R.A.Dodgshon (1981) [1] found the date of 1650 significant in a similar way. He remarks on the availability of rentals, and lists of occupants, for Highland townships, which become available. He also found the first indications of overpopulation and associated socio-economic problems which were to emerge between 1650 and 1780. His research was thematic, directed at the relationship between land and society in Scotland as a whole, and some of his conclusions rest upon other studies. It is significant that certain aspects of his findings correlate with parallel independent research experience in Balquhidder. It will be necessary to return to this point from time to time. There are also some minor points of conflict.

What is postulated, therefore, is that the middle of the seventeenth century witnessed the beginnings of significant changes in Balquhidder. These affect the research programme because they involve changes in the source material. The causes are probably a combination of actual change in the development of estate administration, and, related to that, the preservation of greater quantities of documentary material. Underlying these must have been changes in the attitudes and aspirations of landlords, and in the broader world of politics and culture. Through the medium of the richer source material, the impression is gained of increasing importance attaching to administrative decision making, in the evolutionary processes of development. By the early eighteenth century this factor begins to have the appearance of estate policy, leading towards the goals of improvement.

The improved sources provide evidence for the social, economic, and environmental character of the Balquhidder which emerged from the middle ages. The short period between 1648 and 1665 yielded sufficient records to provide a reconstruction of patterns of settlement, and the accompanying social structure. For example, a rental of the County of Perth, made by Act of the Estates of Parliament in Scotland, on the 4th August 1649, is preserved in a printed volume in the charter room at Blair Castle [2]. It provides an analysis of the relative financial interests of the various landowners in Balquhidder. There were six: The Earl of Atholl had 43.2%; the Laird of Buchanan 19.35%; the Earl of Perth 16.03%; Colin Campbell of Edinample 15.8%; Patrick Campbell of Edenchip 4.41%; and Duncan Campbell of Crichane 1.03%. The Earl of Atholl owned nearly half the rental value of Balquhidder, and over twice as much as the next largest landowner. This attaches some significance to the value of the Atholl and Tullibardine Estate records in relation to Balquhidder. In area the Atholl interest covered approximately two thirds of the parish including Ardveich and Glenbeich. It also included the whole country west of Strathyre in which the best field evidence was found. The only small owner was Colin Campbell of Crichane.

An agreement signed at Dunkeld on the 3rd November 1656 [3], between John, Earl of Atholl, and certain of his friends and tenants introduces the seventeenth century tacksman class [4]. It disposed, in wadsets, (a primitive form of mortgage) the six markland of Lianach, and the six markland of Dalanlaggan, in Glenbuckie, to one James Stewart of Branachallie in Stragarth. The Stewarts of Glenbuckie had a house at Brenachoile in Strathgartney in the eighteenth century (NN 480099)[5]. The context suggests the

identity of James Stewart in 1656. Robert Stewart received a wadset of a five pound land in Glenogle, which included the lands of Achintaychyatie (sic) adjacent, and the lands of Ballinluig on the east side of Glenogle Burn. John and Duncan Stewart were given the wadset of the four markland of Dalveich, and one markland of Croftnalekin bounding the former, on the north shore of Loch Earn. The designation of friends and tenants seems to suggest some particular reason for the agreement. James Stewart was almost certainly of the main Glenbuckie line, probably the chief. Dodgshon (1981) [6] suggests that the appointment of tacksmen to holdings which included several smaller tenancies created a class of factors within a chief's estate. The choice of members of a leading family, descendants of the Royal Baillies of Balquhidder, styled as friends of the Earl, is not out of keeping with that suggestion. The use of wadsets in such a context secured the holdings in the hands of the favoured families indefinitely. The primitive mortgage depended upon the wadsetter making available to his superior a substantial monetary loan. There was no fixed term for repayment, and as long as the superior held the money, the wadsetter enjoyed heritable rights to the land. Only repayment could terminate the tenure.

The sasines which follow the wadset agreement were registered in 1657 [7]. Each holding comprised more than one farm. The Glenbuckie tenancy maintained the link between Lianach and Garrachra, but also let Dalanlaggan with the shielings of Dalquhappagach (ie: the meadow of dockans). The latter lands lie in the hills west of Glenbuckie. They consist of an extensive area of flat green meadow in the bottom of an amphitheatre in the mountains, at the meeting of water courses. Remains of plough

ridges, and a small patch of lazy bed from the later cultivation of potatoes, point to a shieling that provided an extension to the farm, as well as a grazing area. There are ruins of ancient huts on the spurs surrounding the meadow. The Dalveich and Croftnalekin holdings were accompanied by the shielings of Tomchaddiltie Badguir. In addition the tenure included half the fishings pertaining to Dalveich on Loch Earn. The share was to Duncan Stewart and his spouse Janet Buchanan, for an advance of five hundred pounds Scots. John and Duncan Stewart were portioners in tenancy of a subdivided holding.

The sasine for Dalveich reveals the relationships of these Stewart tacksmen [8]. The witnesses included James Stewart of Ardvorlich, Alexander Stewart, feuer of Annat, one James Stewart in Bradinchyllis (the same as Branachallie?), and Robert Stewart in Monchyle. All of these were related families of the Balquhidder dynasty. Another was Lawrance MacLaren in Dalveich, who must have been a portioner. His name suggests membership of the MacLaren cadet house of Ardveich.

Tacksmen in Balquhidder not infrequently possessed the tacks of several holdings, some as portioners, and some as sole principal tenants. This indicates tenure of extensive lands, either adjacent or separate. A renunciation by Robert Stewart in Tulloch to John Earl of Atholl, dated at Dunkeld on the 15th June 1644, illustrates this [9]. He was resigning to the Earl the lands of Auchintaychonittie (sic) and Ballinluig, possessed by Robert Stewart and his sub-tenants. Tulloch was within the Earl of Perth's lands. There is little doubt that this is the same Robert Stewart who appeared in the wadset. He therefore not only possessed two distinct holdings, but held one as a tacksman of the

Earl of Atholl, and the other as a tenant of the Earl of Perth. The resignation describes the bounds of the lands sufficiently to enable Robert Stewart's holding to be estimated reasonably accurately today. These define the hill as well as the cultivable parts. The document includes clauses which became standard in following land grants. It named and described the holdings, then covered the scope of tenure by reference to all yards and shielings appertaining to them.

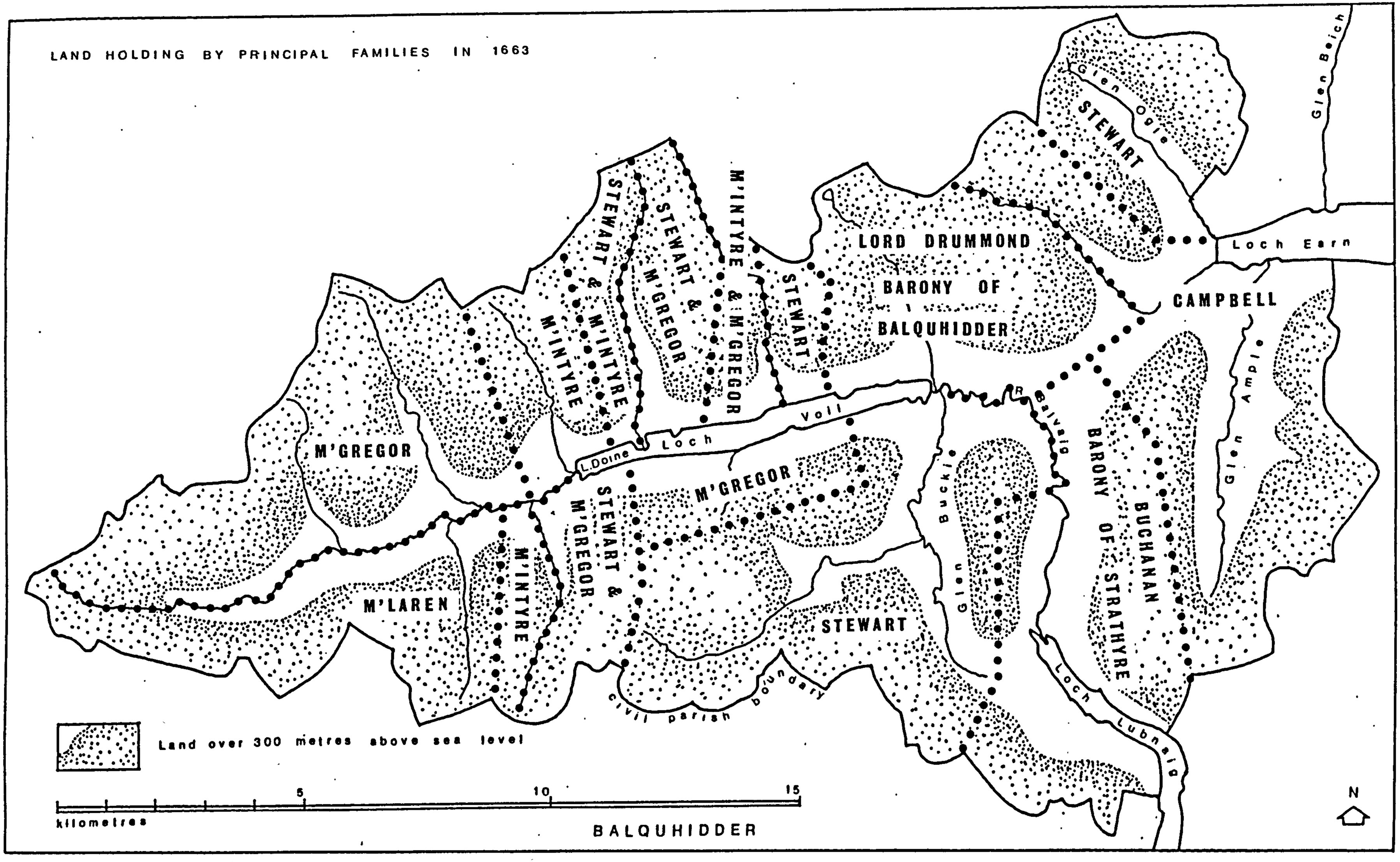
While the seventeenth century documents reveal the role of the tacksmen, references to sub-tenants indicate another potential lacuna in the data. Research in Balquhidder led early to the conclusion that the tacksmen's records frequently concealed the forms of tenure granted by them to the sub-tenantry. Robert Stewart's resignation of land refers to his sub-tenants, but neither identifies not enumerates them. This problem has been noted by other researchers [10]. Taking into account the area of land possessed by him, Robert Stewart in Tulloch could have had a number of tenants.

The definition of boundaries is a new development in the documents. All previous records merely list the names of the holdings. This raises another possible development in land tenure. It may be that by the seventeenth century the hill lands were beginning to be demarcated. The problem of the decline of rights to common hill grazing, and the emergence of carefully defined large hill farm holdings, is another difficult issue. It will be shown later that the last traces of common land rights had disappeared by the final decade of the eighteenth century. When exactly the process of change began is not clear. One hypothesis is that demarcation may have begun when the early Stewart families

obtained lands for their heirs. Later, the Forfeited Estates plans show the lands of Tulloch, Lednascriden, and Kirkton, as discrete tenancies in 1756 [11], while in the eastern part of the Barony of Balquhidder the hill grazings remained common to the townships of Achleskine, the three Achtows, and Cuilt. It may be that when Patrick Stewart was given Lednascriden circa 1530 (see Chapter 5. p.74), it was taken out of the old MacLaren territory en bloc. If this was so, then a gradual erosion of commonty is suggested after circa 1530.

The documents help to suggest the size of holdings. Estimations of the equivalent value of land measurement assist [12]. Taking one markland to be about eight old Scots acres, or ten imperial acres, on such a basis Lianach and Dalanlaggan, in Glenbuckie, were each about sixty acres, or twenty-four hectares, in extent. It must then be remembered that Dalanlaggan was subdivided (see Chapter 6. p.97) into two townships. The area available to each was thus reduced to thirty acres or twelve hectares. According to Lamont (1957 & 1958) [13] one markland was equal to four cowlands, and a thirty shilling land to nine cowlands. The extent of the Glenogle holdings was given in the documents as three thirty shilling lands, which made Robert Stewart's interest six and three quarter marklands. He therefore possessed about sixty-seven and a half acres, or twenty-seven hectares. On this he had subtenants. Two hypotheses arise from these very approximate calculations.

The first probability is that the amount of arable land per family was small. The scenario suggested indicates a potential, if not an actual, land shortage. Taken alongside evidence for subdivision of townships the inference is that land was not



Sources: Atholl & Drummond MSS;

Fig.14.

plentiful. In chapter five the increase in overall numbers of holdings was noted, beginning in the sixteenth century. Pressure on land may have been noticeable by 1650.

The second assumption must be that areas specified by measurement in documents excluded hill and shieling lands. The size of holdings can refer only to cultivated land. If the whole area assigned to Robert Stewart in Glenogle was taken into account, several hundred hectares would have been indicated. The areas suggested, of twelve to twenty-seven hectares, are quite compatible with such evidence as can be traced in the field. A landscape of small farms, worked by an unkown sub-tenantry, portioned between two or more tacksmen, is suggested. Attached to each was an unspecified but extensive area of hill and mountain land. The involvement of possibly four inter-related Stewart dynasties of tacksmen may imply a quasi clan structure of family interests. The general pattern reflects strongly the Highland tradition of tenure [14].

The most important records of Balquhidder from the middle of the seventeenth century are detailed rentals. The first is a record of the rentals of all the Atholl tenancies in Balquhidder dated 1663-1665 [15]. Two stages seem to have been involved in its compilation. With the rent roll is a small supplement showing assessed rentals out of Balquhidder in summary form [16]. It omits numerous tenancies, and includes only the tacks in the main western part of the parish. Some points arise from it. Subdivision appears to have extended to Inverlochlarig which was styled Easter and Wester Inverlochlarig, but in the main rent roll the latter is identified as an alternative title for Druimlich. This tends to complicate the problem of identifying genuine subdivisions.

Glenbuckie was entered as a single tack of eighteen marklands, strengthening the conclusions drawn regarding the masking effect of the senior tacksmen. The summary estimates a rental of three thousand marks from twelve tacks, based on a total sum of two thousand and forty three pounds, nineteen pence, Scots. (Twelve pounds Scots was equal to one pound Sterling). An arithmetical check gives a corrected sum of two thousand one hundred and twelve pounds nineteen pence. Arithmetical inaccuracies appear in many accounts until the late eighteenth century. Administrative order was moving ahead of numerate skill. While documents provide information about the estate, and also about the development of estates accounting, care in interpretation is needed in this early period.

It appears that a full record of tenancies, and of the payments due, was being made between 1663 and 1665. The rentals include several declarations taken from tacksmen and tenants, stating what their payments had been in the past. One entry suggests that no review of rents had been carried out since Balquhidder had passed to Lord John Murray in 1648. It refers to the Mill of Invercarnaig, which in Lord Stormont's rental had paid six bolls of meal when it was a "clack milne." It having been improved since, the assessor states a case for review. Lord Stormont's previous rent from the neighbouring lands of Immereach is also cited. There is reference to arrears. It is reasonable to assume that an important re-assessment of the estate was taking place. This supports the proposition that the increase in record material surviving after 1650 is not merely an accident of history, but reflects changes and improvements in administration.

The conditions of tenure included both money rents and

casualties. The latter appear to have been valued in cash, however, for many of the holdings. For example Dougall McGregor in Muirlaggan was assessed for four pints of butter at three pence per pint, and four kids at three pence per kid, plus a yearly rent of eighty-six pounds, six and eightpence. James Stewart, tacksman of Lianach, was to pay two kids, two quarts of butter, six quarters of cheese, and nine elnes of cloth, with a final sum entered of one hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings. Detailed valuations of casualties are not given in most entries, but the inference is there for commutation.

The 1663 rental is the first document which listed casualties as part of rents. This detail appears in none of the early charters. It may reflect two traditions. One is the obligation of the tacksmen to support the upkeep of the chief (Dodgshon 1981) [17]. If that was the case, then the Celtic tradition was influencing terms of tenure (see Chapter 4. pp.47-48.). The other case is that the rents in kind were a residual aspect of feudalism, but if so, why did the matter of casualties not appear in the earlier records? None of the terms require any form of labour service, however. The situation suggests a basis of tenure with origins in the Celtic model as outlined by Dodgshon rather than the classic feudal model. The principal tenants appear to have stood in relation to the Earls of Atholl, as tacksmen to a chief, even although they were defined as "vassals" in some documents.

To approach a solution to the problem of the figure of the Earl as overlord one must look beyond the rentals. On the 2nd September 1667 the Earl of Atholl issued a summons to his tacksmen to attend him at his hunt in the Forest of Atholl [18]. The

summons, and the roll attached, presents an informative picture. It required the mustering of:

> "...the Fewar, Vassell, woodsetter, and princle. tennent Himself in proper persone with a sufficient able man weell armed out of ilk ffourtie Shilling Land, & that by & attoire ye Baggage men: And that binden ye paines contained in ye Acts of Court made theranent."

The tacksmen to attend were named, with their men according to the size of their holdings, and the roll records absences. A later summons to a deer hunt, on the 8th August 1710, provides more information [19]. The men had to attend in their best arms and apparel, with eight days provisions. They were to bring as many dogs as possible. Standards of conduct were prescribed.

Thomas Pennant (1769) [20] preserved a description of a hunt arranged by the Earl of Atholl for James V. He also recorded an account by John Taylor of the hunt of 1618 [21]. The manner and style of these occasions fits the requirements stipulated in the hunting rolls of 1667 and 1710 very well. Taylor's narration, preserved by Pennant, described a great deer drive, followed by a slaughter of game, and supported by a host of armed attendants. Pennant recognised in the Earls and Dukes of Atholl the style of Highland chiefs.

Records provide further evidence when examined closely. A contract of feu between John the first Duke of Atholl, and John Stewart, Tacksman of Glenbuckie, dated 5th February 1706, provides further insights into the style of the Atholl superiority [22]. The tacksman was obliged to provide victuals for the Duke when he visited Balquhidder. He was also obliged to provide at his own cost fencible men, well armed and apparelled, for the Duke's service within the shires of Perth and Stirling. If the service was required outside those shires the Duke was responsible for

costs. John Stewart was also obliged to attend in person at the Regality Court of Atholl at Blair Castle and Logierate twice yearly.

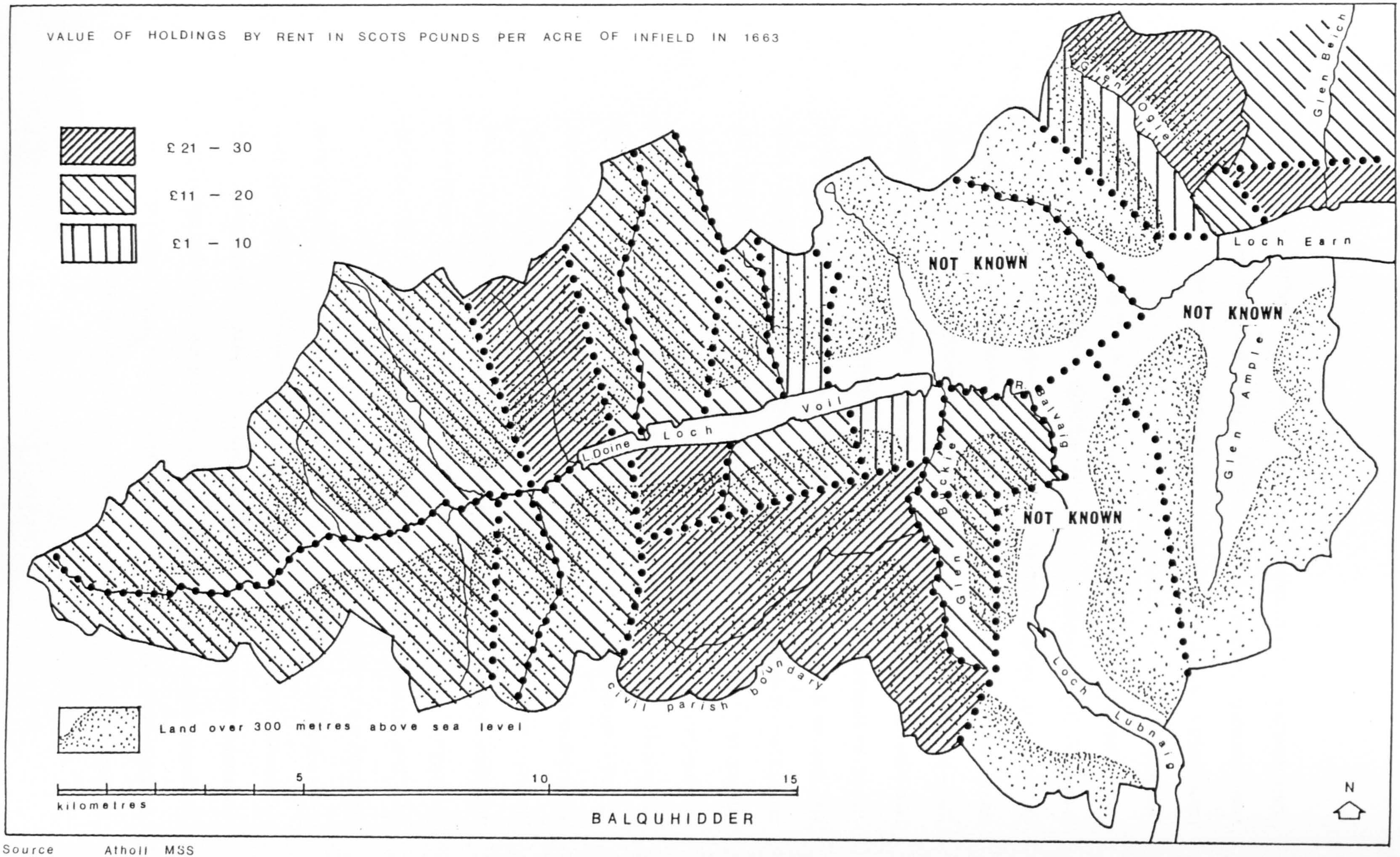
The combined evidence from rentals, hunting rolls, and feu contracts, between 1663 and 1710, suggests some link with the terms which, in earlier times, bound the freemen of the clans to their chiefs (see Chapter 4. pp.47-48.). The contract of 1706 contains the title the high and mighty Prince John, Duke of Atholl. It is possible that the title derives from the status of Regality, which reflects both the Celtic mormaer tradition and the feudal palatinate. On the other hand such a style may have been enjoyed by all of ducal rank. The characters of the Highland chief and the seventeenth century aristocratic landowner seem to meet in the Earls and Dukes of Atholl. Within his own Regality, he appears to have worn the Highland one.

The structure of society in Balquhidder at the middle of the seventeenth century becomes evident in its main outlines. The Earls of Atholl enjoyed regality status within their territory. They granted fairly extensive lands to a class of local tacksmen. It would seem that these frequently held their lands jointly with portioners, who were likely to be related. They could also have the tack of more than one holding, not necessarily adjacent. The obligations met by the tacksmen in return for their lands included the provision of victuals, hospitality, hosting, and expedition, and a sum of money annually, but did not include any form of labour service. Such an arrangement strongly reflected the obligations between freemen and chieftains in the Highland clans, although a feudal origin is also allowed. The actual title to land, however, was by contract of feu, not by right of blood. In

this respect, therefore, the foundation was a feudal one. These two streams appear to have joined to form what may have been a peculiarly Scottish Highland aristocratic system by 1650 in Balquhidder.

Beneath the tacksmen was a stratum of sub-tenants. Their numbers in Balquhidder cannot be defined accurately, but it is certain by inference that each tacksman must have had at least one. Indications appear in the 1663 - 1665 rentals. For example, John MacLaren of Wester Invernentie and Druimlich laboured part of his lands himself, but also received rent from two sub-tenants named as Duncan McFarlane and Duncan McLanre. MacLaren's portioner of Wester Invernentie, Donald McIntyre, also had tenants. This signifies at least six families, two of which were tacksmen. One sub-tenant is also styled labourer. The rentals support an assumption of at least one sub-tenant for each tacksman or principal tenant. They paid rent to the tacksman, and in some cases provided labour service. It may be assumed that the latter was general even if not stated. The estimate of one sub-tenant family for each principal may be a conservative one. Labour service by sub-tenants to tacksmen, but not by tacksmen to the superior, is a further reflection of the status of the gentlemen of the clan being transferred to their successors in the social hierarchy.

Further analysis of the documents reveals a distinctive socio-economic system. The payments in the 1663 - 1665 rentals indicate the economic relationship between sub-tenants and tacksmen. The figures are only as complete as the entries allow. Invernentie was valued at twenty pounds per markland for assessment of the tacksman's rent, but the subtenants paid thirty



Source Atholl MSS

Fig.15.

two pounds. Glenogle, valued at nearly nine pounds per markland, was sublet at sixteen and twenty pounds. Other examples indicate the same high rentals charged by tacksmen. It is not possible to ascertain if they were all paid in money, or in service and casualties. The economy reflected the social hierarchy, with the tacksman probably working part of his own lands, but also forming a junior class of landlord. In cash terms he could have paid his own rent and had plenty to spare. Some authorities have alleged oppression by the tacksman class on such evidence, but the sub-tenants of Balquhidder had all been able to pay their rent [23].

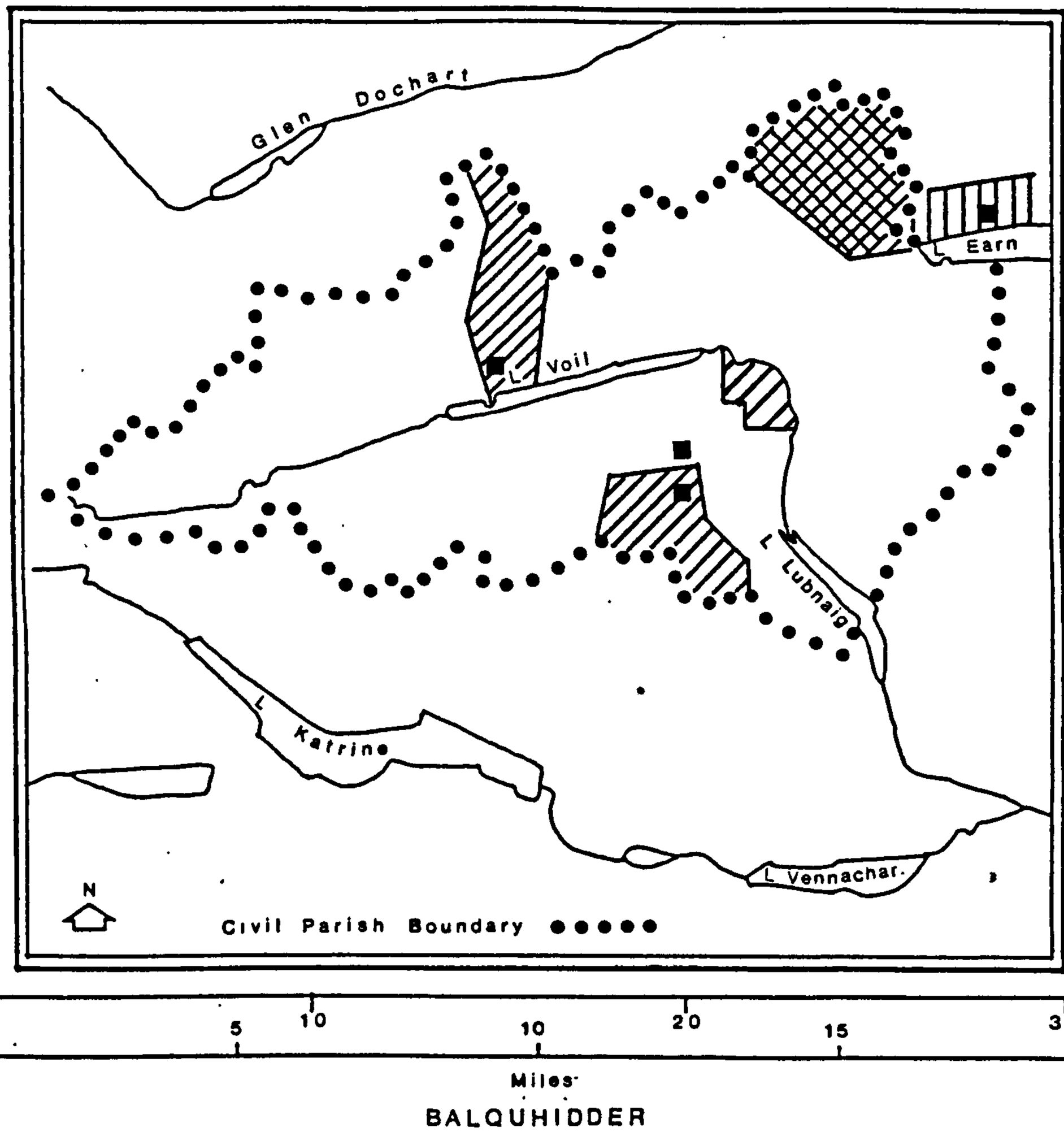
Calculations suggest a total area of cultivable land of about one thousand four hundred imperial acres (567 hectares). This supported seventy four families of principal and sub-tenants actually listed in the rolls, giving each household about nineteen acres (7.7 hectares). If one sub-tenant is allowed for each tenant, the additional numbers reduce the land to about twelve and a half acres of chartered arable land per family. Such an estimate indicates further the possibility of land shortage. On the other hand, gross densities were very low, and hill grazings and shielings were part of the economy. The balance between pastoral and agrarian land use must, nevertheless, have been critical.

Holdings varied in unit value across the parish. Using the rental per markland as an index, the lands of Invercarnaig, Monachyle Tuarach, Dalanlaggan, Glenbuckie, the eastern side of Glenogle, and Ardveich, stand out as high value. They were assessed at between twenty-one and thirty pounds Scots per imperial acre. The small townships of Stronvar were valued least, at under eleven pounds. The greater part of the estate raised from eleven to twenty pounds per imperial acre. It is worth noting that

in Glenbuckie the division between high and medium value lay along the geological division between the limestone, on the west, and the schists on the east. Field inspection suggests that the high value townships also had better areas of infield and outfield, and meadow land. A logical basis for valuation, based upon potential productivity of the land, may be postulated.

The quantities and types of casualties listed in the rentals lend themselves to analysis. The assumption is that rent in kind must reflect what each township could produce, although it might not cover every product in each case. Some appeared to be assessed for large quantities of certain products. For example, Gartnafuaran paid twenty-four pints of butter. That is more than twice as much as the next township so charged. Lianach produced large amounts of cheese and cloth. The Glenogle townships were the only ones assessed for winter beasts, as well as dairy produce. The inference is for some specialisation, probably resulting from local conditions of soil and microclimate. Significant amounts of dairy produce were charged in the rentals of Monachyle Beg, Lianach, Gartnafuaran, and Glenogle. Cloth rentals were charged to Monachyle Beg, Lianach, and Dalanlaggan. Achraw and Ardveich and the associated holdings paid high meal rents. Local inspection revealed extensive areas of old rig land on the south-facing fields above Loch Earn.

The most common commodity used for payment was butter. Only three townships were definitely not assessed for it. The next most common was kids. Cheese formed the third category in order. The mills paid in meal, and in this class the mill of Carnlea, at the mouth of Glenbeich, paid twenty bolls, whereas Callair and Invercarnaig paid only six each. A slender but interesting



Dairy

Dairy and cattle

Grain

Cloth

Early Specialisation, 1663 – 65

Source – Atholl MSS

Fig.16.

indication of the agricultural landscape and economy emerges. The north shore of Loch Earn appears as dominantly corn lands. Behind in Glenogle was cattle country. Dairy herds and sheep, with the possibility of lint growing, would have been found in Glenbuckie and Monachyle. The remaining parts of the Atholl lands in Balquhidder could have supported sheep and goats as well as cattle. Every township produced butter and cheese. The peak of the great Highland cattle-exporting economy was still to come.

The scenario may be supplemented by evidence from the writ against the Stewarts of Ardvorlich for their raiding of the Lennox in 1595 (see Chapter 5. pp.83 - 84). The spoil consisted of three hundred sheep, one hundred and ninety-six cattle, and sixty-six horses [24]. In 1756 the surveyor for the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates recorded an almost identical proportion of animals in the Barony of Balquhidder as a whole [25]. Over fifty per cent of stock was sheep. A mixed animal husbandry with small flocks and herds, working within a pastoral transhumance economy, and providing subsistence with some surplus to pay the rent, is indicated. Commutation of casualties to cash must also infer some marketing. As a unit of estate Balquhidder also produced grain and cloth. Probably each township produced some of each item.

One hypothesis offered at the beginning of this analysis (chapter 1. p.14) was that detailed local studies would reveal distinctive characteristics of particular places. These might well remain concealed within broader studies of a regional or national scale. The tendency to generalise about societies and economies may well lead to a false understanding. Simple divisions of cultures, for example, into "highland" and "lowland" types, or of agrarian economies into "pastoral" and "arable" systems, could not

reveal the complex socio-economic structures such as existed in a parish the size of Balquhidder. Divisions between pastoral and agrarian economies are ones of degree and balance. In Balquhidder the cultivated infields, and occasionally cultivated outfields, must have been an essential part of the total system. Where conditions favoured more extensive grain production it appears to have been grown. A varied animal husbandry was also practised. The hill grazings would favour it, and evidence grows for specified attachment between townships and shielings. Some evidence for local agricultural specialisation exists.

The balance between hill land and arable must have been essential to the survival of the whole economy. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the probable commencement of the erosion of common rights to hill grazings must therefore suggest, albeit tentatively, impending socio-economic changes. The production of cloth as a cottage industry is indicated in the rentals. This suggests home grown and spun wool, or linen, or both, and the existence of some form of market economy enabling such a product to be sold for cash. Such a hypothesis is compatible with a system of money rentals. The small share of land available to the average family must also imply the need for industry in order to survive. The records from 1648 to 1665 indicate a varied landscape and an hierarchical socio-economic system. The social hierarchy itself appears to have evolved from both Celtic and feudal roots, resulting in an amalgam of ancient traditions with the seventeenth century aristocratic order. It may be that the scenario provided by the seventeenth century records had evolved gradually through the medieval period, alongside the developing settlement pattern. It appears highly

probable that a delicate balance between population and local resources in land existed by 1665. If that was the case, then later records should indicate responses to such a situation.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 7.

1. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon. Oxford. 1981. p.276.

2. "Rentall of the County of Perth by Act of the Estates of Parliament of Scotland 4th August 1649 Contrasted with the Valuation of the same County 1st January 1835." Perth 1835. (Small bound volume, Blair Castle Charter Room, book case.)

3. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(i). 175.

4. Grant.I.F. "Highland Folk Ways." Routledge & Kegan Paul. London. 1961. pp. 32, 43 - 44, & 122 - 124. and Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. pp. 100, 144 - 146, & 279 - 285. Also Smout.T.C. "A History of the Scottish People 1560 - 1830." Collins, London. 1969. pp. 138, 337 - 338, 353, & 358 - 359.

5. Information from Major J. Stewart of Ardvorlich and J.W.Stewart Esq; of Comrie. (Source: Ardvorlich MSS.)

6. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. p.144.

7. Atholl MSS. 3.XI.65 - 67.

8. Atholl MSS. 3.XI.65.

9. Atholl MSS. 41.I.(i).125.

10. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. pp.145 - 146.

11. Cockburn.W. Plan of the Barony of Balquhidder. 1756. Forfeited Estates Plan No.85. RHP.3482. S.R.O.

12. Old land measurements in Scotland are complex and varied. The estimates used are based on the author's reading of Dodgshon.R.A. "The Nature and Development of Infield-Outfield in Scotland." Transactions of the I.B.G., No.59. July 1973. pp.1 - 23; and a paper by Lamont.W.D. "Old Land Denominations and Old Extent in Islay." Part I in Scot. Studies. 1. 1957, & Part II in Scot. Studies. 2. 1958. See also McKerral in P.S.A.S. Vol.78. 1943. pp. 29 - 80. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. pp.150 - 151 discusses land divisions in townships. Richardson.J.R. "The Local Historians' Encyclopedia." New Barnett. 1974. p.9.gives the Scots Acre as 6084 sq.yds.

13. Lamont.W.D. 1957-58. Op.cit.

14. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. Ch.8. pp.277 - 319.

15. Atholl MSS. 71.II.B.4.

16. Atholl MSS. 71.II.B.5.

17. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. pp.68 - 78.

18. Atholl MSS. 29.(12).1.

19. Atholl MSS. Cartulary. Vol.I. pp.110 - 113.

20. Pennant.T. "A Tour of Scotland in 1769." Fascimile Ed. Melven Press. Perth. 1979. pp.106 - 108.

21. Pennant.T. 1769. Op.cit. pp. 110 - 113.

22. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.72.

23. Grant.I.F. 1961. Op.cit. p.123 and note 3.

24. Ardvorlich papers. Vol.I. cites writs of Privy Council 1592-93. Stewart Society Library. Edinburgh.

25. Forfeited Estates Papers. Statistics of Forfeited Estates. Estate of Perth: Balquhidder. RH.428. S.R.O.

CHAPTER 8. THE REGALITY ADMINISTRATION. 1665 - 1718.

The period between 1665 and 1718 was one of major political change, and considerable conflict. King James VI and I had died in 1625. He was succeeded by Charles I, who was executed in 1649. The Commonwealth government ruled until the restoration of the monarchy with the accession of Charles II in 1661. The short reign of James II from 1685 - 1688 was followed by the reigns of William and Mary from 1689 to 1694, and William III from 1694 to 1702. Queen Anne followed, from 1702 to 1714, to be succeeded by George I from 1714 to 1727. The period discussed in this chapter therefore follows the Restoration, and concludes with the reign of George I, of the house of Hanover. The first Jacobite rising took place in 1715. The latter part of the seventeenth century, and the first years of the eighteenth, fell between the Cromwellian wars and the abortive attempts to restore the Stewart dynasty in the eighteenth century.

The Murrays of Atholl and Tullibardine were actively involved in the conflicts between the Royalist and Cromwellian parties, and the Scottish campaigns touched Balquhidder (MacLaren 1976) [1]. John Murray, first Earl of Atholl, was a Royalist during the Civil War. Blair Castle was occupied by Cromwell's troops from 1652 until the Restoration. Earl John's son became first Marquis of Atholl, and married Lady Amelia Stanley, daughter

of the seventh Earl of Derby and King of Man. The Marquis became a supporter of William of Orange. His son, John Murray, second Marquis, was created first Duke of Atholl in 1703. He was active in the protest against the massacre of the MacDonalds of Glencoe. In 1683 he had married Lady Catherine Hamilton, who died in 1707. The Duke then married Mary, daughter of the eleventh Lord Ross. Lord James Murray, second Duke of Atholl, succeeded to the sovereignty of Man in 1736 on the death of his Grandfather, the seventh Earl of Derby [2].

The marriage links between the Atholl and Hamilton families pointed towards an alliance between two of the improving and building landlords in seventeenth and eighteenth century Scotland [3]. The alliance with the Stanleys of Derby and Man also demonstrates the expansion of connections. The prominence of the Murray family in the political and dynastic conflicts of the period placed it in the arena of public affairs. At the same time the earldom was being elevated first to a marquisate and then to a dukedom. Correspondence indicates a widening concern by the Murrays for national interests, as well as for the affairs of their own estates [4].

Indications of increasing concern with effective estate management were noted in chapter seven. The growth of such concern, and its significance for the development of Balquhidder, becomes clearer following the rent rolls of 1663 - 1665. An important instrument of government was the Regality Court. Through it the Earls of Atholl exercised their rights of jurisdiction over their vassals. The varied functions of the court may be illustrated. For example, a court convened at Dunkeld on the 13th July 1664 heard a case which demonstrated the complexity of

tenurial issues [5]. Keatrine McLeishe in Immereach was testifying that she had formerly paid rent to Lord Stormont for her land, and had absented herself from a previous court at Struan, because she could not agree that her land had been let to John McGreigor of Cuilt for nineteen years. It would appear that John McGreigor, a tenant of Lord Drummond, had also secured the tack of Immereach, making him Keatrine's landlord. Complicated tenurial disputes had to be heard and settled in the Regality Court. The court record of this hearing also reveals that long tacks or leases were being granted. The yearly payment was fifty marks, one kid, and a pint of butter. The courts sat at various places, often involving long journeys for the litigants.

Study of court records reveals the effect of the civil wars and general unrest in the late seventeenth century. Serious attempts were being made to mitigate the impact of those disturbances. For example, the minutes of a court held at Balquhidder on the 22nd June, 1689, reveal the means taken to alleviate the troubles of the district at that time [6]. The court appointed captains to secure the peace, because of thefts and robberies in the parish. They were allowed forty-eight hours provisions for their watches, or two pecks of meal per week if they had to be on duty longer. The captains were Duncan Stewart of Glenogle, with John McIntyre in Carnlea as his lieutenant, in the eastern division; Alexander Stewart of Gartnafuaran, with Patrick Stewart in Lianach as his lieutenant, in the South; John MacGregor of Monachyletuarach with Duncan MacLaren in Wester Invernenty as his lieutenant in the western division; and Malcolm MacGregor in Craigruie, with Donald McIntyre in Invercarnaig as his lieutenant in the northeastern division. There had been some rising in arms,

reported by Patrick Stewart of Ledcreich to have been instigated by the minister. The use of arms was restricted to warding off thieves and keeping the peace, and a penalty of fifty pounds was set for harbouring thieves. The court was presided over by the Earl of Atholl, with his baillies from Struan, and Colin Campbell was clerk to the court.

The background to the Balquhidder court actions may be pieced together from other documents. Lady Murray wrote to her husband on the 12th November 1684 referring to great stirrings in the west, and rumours of two regiments being raised in Perthshire [7]. In 1685 five to six hundred bolls of meal were sent to the Kirkton of Balquhidder to be collected by Atholl and Breadalbane for the campaign against Argyll [8].A letter from Alexander Stewart of Glenogle dated 9th August 1689 [9] after the court hearing, and following the writer's return from the battle of Killiecrankie, complained about troubles in the country. He particularly noted stealing and driving of goods by the minister's men in little Stronvar. In a discharge of rents of 1690 [10] Little Stronvar was noted as being waste. Muirlaggan and part of Monachyle Mor were also recorded as waste. On the 18th January 1694 Stewart of Ardvorlich wrote to Atholl complaining about the unruly state of the Highlands, and the lack of means of executing the law [11]. He noted that Mr Campbell the minister was not finding favour with his parishioners. Ardvorlich wrote again complaining about depredations in Balquhidder on the 14th July 1696 [12]. Colin Campbell, Atholl's factor, also wrote in the same year, stating that out of a rental of two thousand marks he had only been able to raise nine hundred [13]. He stated that whole families had been struck down by fever, and entered a plea for

delay of payment also for tenants in Glenalmond. Another reference records a sorry harvest in Scotland in 1698, noting distress among the poor [14]. The picture of hardship and accompanying disorder reflects the conclusions of Flinn (1977) [15] that the last decade of the seventeenth century was one of general distress in the north. This was partly attributed to the aftermath of the civil wars which led up to the accession of William of Orange, and partly to poor harvests.

The courts were also used to regulate estate improvements and maintenance. The records not only indicate a system of government, but confirm the interest taken by the Murray superiors in the quality of their lands. An instance may be cited from records of a court held on the 20th March 1690 [16]. It fined Walter and John Stewart in Dalanlaggan for failure to attend. A principal item of business was concerned with estate improvement and maintenance. Donald, John, and Duncan Fergusson were instructed to repair the pailing of the park on pain of a fine of five pounds Scots each. Duncan Stewart, tacksman, was fined twenty pounds Scots for failing to preserve the woods. All the tenants of Glenbuckie were to muster to repair the burn at Dalanlaggan, in fact a substantial river. The tenants were to be divided under overseers to be appointed by the Earl on the following Friday. The tenants in the west were to repair Invernenty burn likewise. In 1686 a charge of three pounds twelve shillings had been entered for creels for the burn at Invernenty, which may indicate the building of the levees which contain it [17]. The overseers were listed, and one man out of each markland had to be sent to the work. Absence entitled the appointed officers to impound the value of fourteen pence per day from the workman. The court finished

business with an injunction reinforcing the decrees for keeping the peace, made at the previous sitting.

On the 10th November 1690 an instruction was issued to the Captains in Balquhidder [18]. Loose men were to be arrested and sent to Huntingtower. News of thefts were to be followed by raising a hue and cry, recovered goods returned to owners, and the thieves apprehended. The Captains were to confer each fortnight and send reports to Blair Atholl. The Acts of Court were to be executed, and the Earl's officer assisted in his duties. One man for each markland was to stand by well armed and on call, with appropriate fines if he did not answer. James Stewart of Glenogle was to receive fines on the Duke's behalf. No man was to rise in arms without his captain's orders.

The court records are supplemented by individual cases which followed during the last decade of the century. On the 28th March 1693 a bond of caution was subscribed by Finlay McLaren on behalf of Duncan Fergusson of Monachyle Beg, that the latter kept the peace [19]. James Stewart in Glenogle had to undertake that his brother John would properly fulfil his duties as an officer under an exemplary penalty of two hundred pounds Scots [20]. On the 15th August 1695 measures were taken against a number of tenants who confessed to illegal cutting of timber, except oak, from the woods [21]. It was stipulated that no timber was to be taken out of the houses on removal without the consent of the "birleymen". These were men ellected as arbitrators in matters concerning land and property. Dwellings were to be left wind and watertight. Regulations were laid down regarding the keeping of middens. No beasts were to be put on neighbours' grazings without consent. The Earl, both as landlord and as chief, was attempting to enforce

order in Balquhidder.

The acts of court and related measures indicate the judicial functions and powers of the Highland aristocracy in the late seventeenth century. The Earl was using his rights as a Highland chief to raise armed police on his estate in Balquhidder. The injunctions against unauthorised use of arms should also be noted. The responsible officers were chosen from principal tenants and tacksmen, usually from leading families. These examples demonstrate the central nature of the regality and barony courts in the organisation of the community and the keeping of the peace. They also indicate concern for maintenance of the estate, in the flood prevention measures required at Invernenty and Dalanlaggan.

Certain general conclusions and hypotheses about Balquhidder in the late seventeenth century may be drawn. The disruptions caused by civil war had affected the estate. It may be remarked in passing that the legendary exploits of Rob Roy MacGregor belong to this period [22]. One of the problems of Highland history is the popularist view of a turbulent warring society. Detailed local research tends to suggest that such an opinion rests upon specific periods of unrest, often separated by long periods of stability which are not remembered in folk tradition. The second half of the sixteenth century had been one such disturbed period (see Chapter 5. p.83), resulting from displacement of older families from their lands. The civil wars of the seventeenth century, and succeeding poor harvests, created another disturbed period. The Jacobite troubles of 1715 and 1745 were other examples. The Atholl manuscripts also indicate, however, that real efforts were made to contain and prevent disturbance. The fact that the troubled state of the country was

remarked upon, and complained of, by local Balquhidder people, would suggest that the condition was not normal. Popular history appears to concentrate upon abnormality in this case. The records indicate that concern centred upon the need for order. These findings emphasise the need for increased research into the detailed development of Highland communities, in order to reveal the normal processes of socio-economic and environmental evolution.

Care of the estate extended to regulation and conservation of woodlands. The measures taken to ensure this, and the penalities inflicted for their neglect or abuse, suggest a mature attitude to assets. The proper maintenance of fences around enclosed areas also suggests an ordered landscape. The training of rivers liable to flood valuable meadow land postulates concern for the state of the haugh lands. The organisation of work for these projects also indicates a form of systematic management.

The prohibition against removal of timbers from houses was a reaction against the custom of the tenant taking his roof tree with him when he moved. The injunction may suggest a shortage of building timber as early as 1690, and the injunction against illegal felling tends to support such an hypothesis. Reference was made in Chapter 5 (p.79 & note 44.) to medieval iron smelting in Balquhidder. Superficial examination of bloomeries during field work revealed large quantities of used charcoal. The depredations of woodlands as a result of iron working were referred to in Acts of Parliament in 1600 [23]. In 1612 one Archibauld Primrose was licensed to make iron within Perthshire [24]. Timber was clearly a controlled and cultivated commodity by the late seventeenth century. The combinations of smelting and building, and the use of

timber for fuel, may have led to shortages.

The regulations concerning houses may also indicate that permanent buildings were normal by 1690. It could be assumed, possibly wrongly, from early itinerants' descriptions [25] that Highland houses were mostly constructed with temporary materials such as turf or wattle. The inference from the Atholl estate documents is that in Balquhidder more substantial materials were used. The churches of the Kirkton indicate that stone construction was known. The small medieval church was replaced by a new building in 1631 [26], the substantial ruins of which still stand. Field evidence of both main settlements and shielings also supports such an hypothesis, but no local archaeological evidence has been adduced before circa 1700. Some degree of permanence and stability in the settlements may have been established by the late seventeenth century. The regulation of middens points to a little awareness of communal amenity, if at a primitve level. The court records and associated documents suggest that even in periods of disturbance Balquhidder retained social cohesion, and that estate management and development were not completely disrupted. Continuity of social and environmental processes seems to have been maintained.

A general account of the Atholl estates at Martinmas 1677 gives some indication of the relative values of various districts [27]. At that date Balquhidder stands among the higher value small estates in terms of returns from rents, producing four thousand pounds Scots per annum. Atholl itself returned nearly eleven thousand pounds. Tullibardine produced a total of about twelve thousand pounds including the value of casualties. Of the smaller estates Huntingtower, at almost four thousand seven hundred, was

the highest in value, and Glenalmond and the Ochills at one thousand three hundred each, the lowest. Balquhidder was reasonably valuable in spite of its isolation and mountainous nature, in 1677. The summary states that the whole of Balquhidder's rents were received in cash. This confirms the commutation of casualties by the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The existence of a cash economy by that time appears to be confirmed.

In a similar, if much earlier context, Professor Postan (1972 & 1975) [28] discusses the process of commutation in the English manorial estates in the late middle ages. There the method of granting land swung between services and money payment as the relative profitability of manors changed. In times of difficulty, due to war or political instability, or factors which made direct management of estates problematic, and acceptance of casualties or service difficult, lords tended to let out lands for money rent. He calls this "bastard feudalism". Balquhidder was very remote from the centre of the Regality at Blair Atholl, and it may be that commutation had taken place much earlier than the late seventeenth century. Indications have been cited from sixteenth century evidence (see Chapter 5, p. 81). Casualties remained on rentals, but cash equivalents were paid. The problem of collecting rent in perishable victuals from Balquhidder must have been insurmountable. It would have been possible when the chief of Clan Labhran was the resident superior, but that situation ceased in the fourteenth century.

Considerable sums were vested in wadsets, or mortgages. Nearly one hundred thousand pounds Scots were invested in Atholl. Thirty nine thousand pounds were invested in Tullibardine.

Eighteen thousand pounds was ascribed to the Gardrum wadsetts. The summary account indicates that the return was about five point eight per cent per annum. The situation revealed in the account must infer a cash economy, with the tenantry underpinned by subsistence produce from their own holdings plus a surplus for sale.

The end of the seventeenth century appears to have been a time of monetary inflation, leading to some changes in the values of land. In 1683 the Marquis of Atholl commissioned a review of his rentals [29]. The account for this lists the old duties, a sum for augmentation, and the new increased amount to be paid. The document, incidentally, again demonstrates the problem that the early accountants had with their arithmetic. The increases were very substantial. They ranged from twenty-five to one hundred per cent, the total rental out of Balquhidder being raised by fifty per cent. A letter from Lord John Murray in October 1693 commented on rising prices in London, with an increase of two pence on the cost of a loaf of bread [30]. Records of the price of wheat in England indicate a sharp rise from 1680 to 1699, followed by a fall between 1700 and 1710 [31]. Peaks occurred in 1649, 1700, and 1720. The increase in rents in Balquhidder was made during the rise in wheat prices between 1680 and 1699. This also coincided with the lean years of the late seventeenth century. The inflation in terms of the English wheat market was thirty seven point five per cent, from forty shillings a quarter to fifty-five shillings.

To provide a measure of the increased value of Balquhidder farms, the rental review priced Glenogle at a hundred and seventy three pounds before 1683, rising to two hundred and sixty-nine pounds, seventeen and sixpence. A smaller farm such as Stronslaney

paid fifty three pounds, six and eightpence, rising to seventy five pounds, eleven and two pence, Scots money. It is necessary to divide by twelve to convert to sterling. The average rent was approximately one hundred and thirty three pounds Scots, or eleven pounds sterling, per annum, based upon the corrected total for twenty one holdings.

It has been inferred that the cash basis of the rentals, and commutation of casulaties, could indicate progress towards a market economy. The increase of rents, coincidental with rising prices for grain in the London market, may strengthen this hypothesis. Balquhidder may have begun to feel the influence of outside economic forces. Further evidence may be found in an act of Parliament in Edinburgh, dated 17th July 1695, for annual fairs to be held in Balquhidder, at Stronvar on the 12th July, and at Glenogle on the 12th November [32]. The act was in favour of Lord John Murray and his successors. The customs and dues were to be taken up on his behalf by his appointed tacksmen collectors and servants. Glenogle lies on the main route to the north, and Stronvar at the beginning of the route to Glasgow and Clydesdale. The act notes the desire by the Crown to foster trade and weekly markets. It states that the town of Stronvar is well sited for trading in all kinds of country produce and merchandise, without specifying commodities. The Stronvar fair may have continued or reinstated the ancient St.Angus fair at Balquhidder (see Chapter 3, p.34).

In spite of evidence for a desire for efficiency, good maintenance, and profitability, in his estates, and for a measure of law and order, the Marquis of Atholl appears to have retained the role of a benevolent patriarchal superior. A record of charges

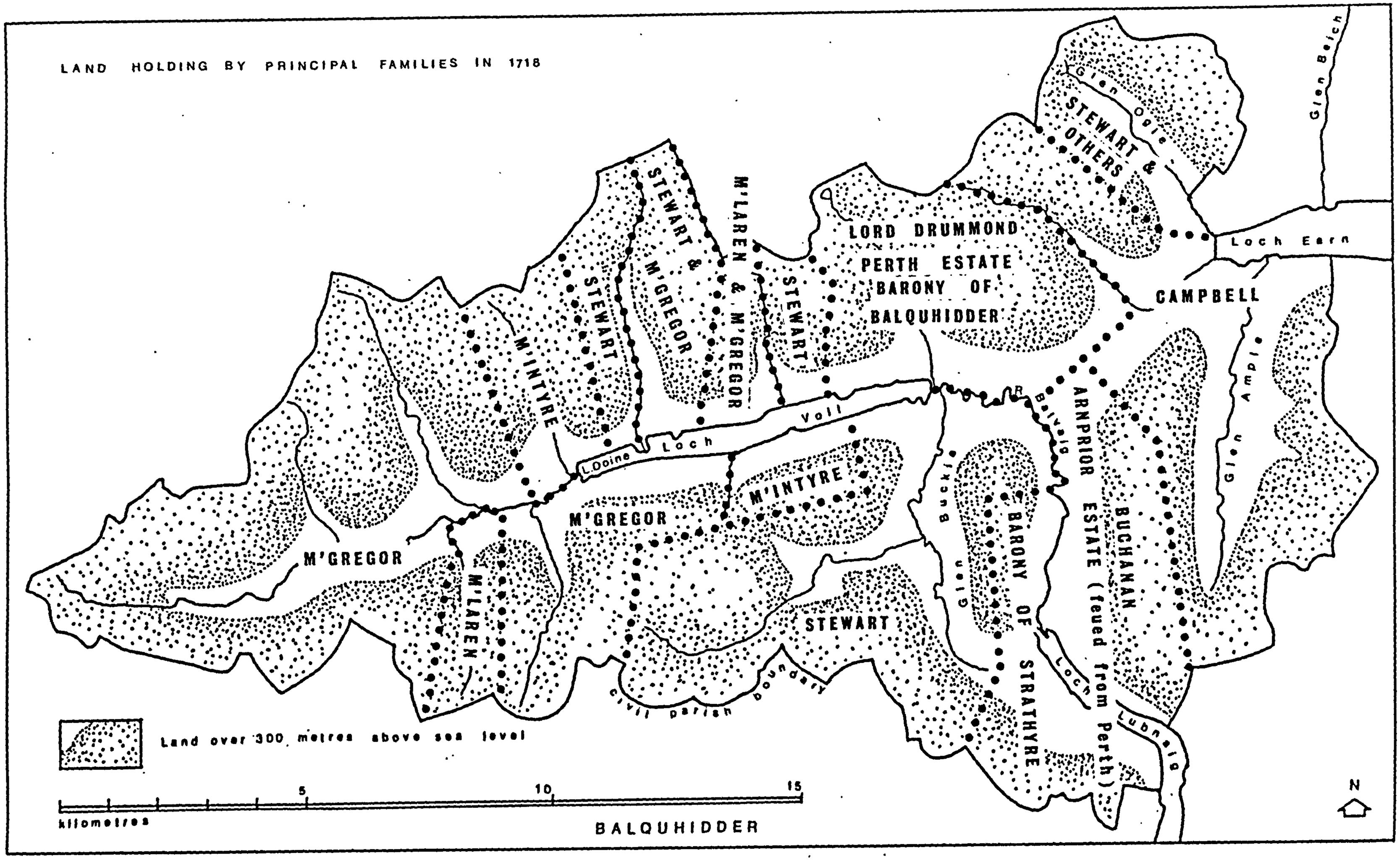
and discharges of rents in Balquhidder in 1689 reveals some details about the Marquis of Atholl's dealings with his tenants [32]. Allowances and deferments were granted in cases of distress. A grant of two pounds for a house for a poor woman in Gartnafuaran was given. The total relief came to thirty eight pounds, one shilling. Also included were sums paid to a man who guarded his Lordship's baggage at the east end of Loch Voil for a night, and to a boy who was sent to assist him. Colin Campbell, the factor, was allowed two rests of rent plus fifty marks for his pains, and a salary of one hundred pounds Scots per annum, for collecting the Balquhidder rents. The increasing efficiency in managing the estate appears to have been tempered with benevolence.

Rental records for Balquhidder after 1665 exist for 1668, 1673, 1683, 1686, 1705, and 1718. They vary in quality as source documents. The 1668 rental has a note at its head, which states that the lands at Balquhidder were set in tack for a period of nineteen years from whitsunday [33]. Apart from Carnlea and its mill, and Dalveich, which were charged meal rents, all casualties were in kids and butter. The 1686 rental [34] shows charges in keeping with the increases set in 1683. Although rents were paid in money, casualties were still listed, and some were revised. Robert Stewart had a tack of the upper half of Stronvar, for which he paid one hundred and eighteen pounds, six and eightpence, two wedders, two quarts of butter, and six sleds of hay. The latter was an innovation in the rental. It may signify development of haymaking for wintering cattle, or may be no more than a change to the composition of the dues. The reference to the sled indicates one form of transport used in Balquhidder [35]. The tack for Stronvar was for nine years, with option to quit each three years.

The Highland tacksmen enjoyed long leases. These ensured stability in the tenure of land, a condition which normally encourages improvement. The terms which they in turn offered to their tenants are not known.

Population appears to have continued to increase. Selecting rental records from 1663 to 1718 enables some changes to be monitored. Several of the townships in 1663-1665 [36] were in joint tenancies with two tacksmen. Some of the original townships were divided, the most complicated division being in Invernenty. It was divided into Easter and Wester, and each half then divided into an Easter and Wester half. In addition each township had sub-tenants, Glenogle having thirteen distributed among its subdivisions. The rolls for 1686 [37] and 1705 [38] are less helpful, the 1686 roll is incomplete, and the 1705 roll shows tacksmen only. In 1718 [39] however, the increase in numbers of families since 1665 was substantial. Allowing for duplication of tacksmen's names where more than one holding was leased, in 1663 there were fifty tacksmen families and twenty-four sub-tenants. In 1718 there were sixty-two tacksmen and thirty tenants. Family names often continued in holdings over the half century. There were cases where inheritance by sons was noted or clearly inferred. There were, however, instances where the family name of the tacksman changed. One new township appeared in Glenogle at Baille a'Chroic (NN 588248), which was deserted by 1862 [40].

The tenurial patterns in 1663 and 1718 reveal the development of dominant interests in tacksmen's estates. This points towards the beginnings of engrossment and amalgamation of holdings by leading families. In 1663 the south west, including the western half of Wester Invernenty and South Druimlich,



Sources; Atholl & Drummond MSS;

Fig.17.

belonged to the MacLarens. North Druimlich and Inverlochlarig belonged to MacGregor families. The latter also possessed half the share of the eastern half of Easter Invernenty, portioned with a Stewart, and all of Monachyle Tuarach and Muirlaggan. The whole of the Glenbuckie estate, Gartnafuaran, and three quarters of the Stronvars, and the township of Ledcreich, belonged to Stewarts. The western portion of Easter Invernenty, all of Invercarnaig, and half the share of Monochyle Mor and Craigruie, belonged to the McIntyres. Monchyle Beg was shared by Stewart and MacGregor families. This territorial pattern in western Balquhidder had changed by 1718. The MacGregor families had gained possession of all of the far west, reducing the MacLaren interest to the western portion of Wester Invernenty. The MacGregor families also retained the lands of Easter Invernenty, the eastern part of Wester Invernenty, and Monachyle Tuarach. The latter, according to the rentals, was in tack to Rob Roy MacGregor. Stewart of Glenbuckie held all of that estate. Muirlaggan had become a McIntyre holding. Ledcreich, the Stronvars, and Gartnanfuaran, all belonged to Stewart families. Two family estates were developing, one of which was to become the estate of Invercarnaig under MacGregor of Invercarnaig, and the other the estate of Stewart of Glenbuckie (see Chapter 13).

Within these large estates, the constituent townships were often held by branches of the principal families. In some cases another family appeared as portioners. The development of the MacGregor estates during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is remarkable, as the clan was outlawed and its name proscribed for much of that period [41]. Most of the members assumed the pseudonym of Murray, by arrangement with the Earl of Atholl, and

were thus permitted to take out tacks of land [42]. Some took the name of Campbell. The Stewart interest had, of course, been established in the fifteenth century (see Chapter 5, pp.70-71). The two immigrant families had established themselves in lands formerly possessed by older ones. The decline of the indigenous MacLaren interest was most marked after 1665.

To some extent a form of engrossment was taking place as tacksmen took up tenure of adjacent holdings in western Balquhidder. Population density was increasing, from a total of seventy-four families in 1663-1665 to ninety-two in 1718, with no sign in the records of more land being brought into production. Taking the revealed numbers of families in the rentals the average cultivated land per family had fallen to sixteen acres [6.48 hectares]. It is probable that the rentals conceal other households. There is no mention at all of cottars. Field investigation revealed traces of cultivation at the shieling of Dalquhappagach, attached to Glenbuckie, and a large shieling settlement in Monachyle Glen (NN 475215) with a complete enclosed field system. A survey by the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland, following the discovery, yielded rig and furrow patterns in most of the fields. Huts and houses of various designs existed. The site has since been planted by the Forestry Commission. One of the medieval bloomeries was within the settlement, so the site may have been in use for several centuries. It is possible that intensive use of shielings as extensions to the farms could date from the population expansion of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The single new settlement in Glenogle was on land already in use. From the rentals it appears that the extra population was accommodated

mainly by further sharing of holdings.

The conclusion that Balquhidder had entered the early phase of a market economy must be strengthened by the circumstances attaching to population increases within a fixed land resource. The threshold of subsistence without external economic support must have been crossed. It may be postulated that the form of engrossment of tacks by certain families could indicate competition for land, weaker families being pushed out.

Through all these changes the medieval settlement pattern remained the basis of land division in Balquhidder. There is no evidence for nucleation, or for any change in the form of settlement. Surprisingly few new townships had emerged since the fifteenth century. The traditions of joint tenure and subdivision continued. None of the improvements in estate management or administration affected the underlying structure. Regulations for the maintenance of buildings may rather have helped to stabilise it. The terms of rentals and leases preserved the ancient boundaries. As long as Highland overlords and chiefs enjoyed regal powers they would be reluctant to take any steps to reduce the number of tenants, which maintained their following and status, and ensured their rental income. Of the two dominant families in 1718, the house of Macgregor was part of a bona fide Highland clan, dispossessed of its original tribal lands elsewhere, and consolidating itself in west Balquhidder. The house of Stewart was not of Highland origin, but would seem to have adopted the indigenous culture, with Stewart of Glenbuckie emerging as the senior tacksman, and his relations providing the cadet branches.

The hypothesis is that Balquhidder entered the eighteenth century with a persistant Highland medieval settlement structure

of dispersed group farms or clachan townships. Socially it was organised also on a Highland basis. Upon this foundation there was developing an improved estates administration, with an heirarchy of delegation. That heirarchy was itself based upon the Highland social structure, with the earl in the role of chief at the summit, then the principal tacksmen, their own cadets, and their sub-tenants and dependent families. These developments appear to have stabilised and preserved the ancient territorial and settlement patterns, rather than to have changed them. The eighteenth century Dukes of Atholl inherited two traditions, that of the improving landowner, and that of the Highland chief.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 8.

1. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens. A History of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh. 1976. p.61.

2. Burke's Peerage. Ed.130. London 1963. p.120. Also Blair Castle Official Guidebook pp.2 - 3. contains a summary of the family history, and p.32. shows the Murray family tree from Lord John Murray. 2nd Marquis & 1st Duke of Atholl 1660 - 1703.

3. Marshall.R.K. "The Days of Duchess Anne." Colins. London. 1973. Passim.

4. Atholl MSS. 29.I.8-10.

5. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

6. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(5).125.

7. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(4).17.

8. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(4).106.

9. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(5).171.

10. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

11. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(7).45.

12. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(8).278.

13. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(8).43.

14. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(10).187.

15. Flinn.M. (Ed.) "Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s." Cambridge. 1977. pp.164 - 186.

16. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(6).6.

17. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

18. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(6).31.

19. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(7).8.

20. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(7).9.

21. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(7).162.

22. Scott. Sir Walter. "Rob Roy." Edinburgh 1818. See Barber.J. "Commonly Called Rob Roy." London 1977. Ch.14. for comment on Scott's creation of the legend. For a modern biography see Murray.W.H., "Rob Roy MacGregor: A Biography." R.Drew. Glasgow. 1982.

23. General Index to the Acts of Parliament of Scotland. H.M.Register House, Edinburgh. 1875. p.681. (1600. IV.408.b.)

24. Ibid. p.681. (1612. c.59.IV.515.)

25. Brown.H. "Early Travellers in Scotland." James Thin. Edinburgh. 1978. pp.260 & 275. for accounts by Thomas Kirke 1679, and Thomas Morar 1715. See also Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland (London 1754) Vol.II. Letter XVI. pp.59 - 60. Also Grant I.F."Highland Folk Ways." Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1961. Ch. VII. pp.141 - 166.

26. Groome.F.H. "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland." New Edn. William MacKenzie. London. 1903. Vol.1. p.119.

27. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(3).60.

28. Postan.M.M. "The Medieval Economy and Society." Pelican. London 1975. (First published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1972). Ch.6. pp.97 - 121.

29. Atholl MSS. 71.II.B5.

30. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(7).35.

31. Stratton.J.M. & Brown.J.H. "Agricultural Records. AD.220 - 1977." London 1969 & 1978. Appendix.

32. Atholl MSS. 3.XI.71.

33. Atholl MSS. 42.II.(1).3.

34. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

35. Fenton.A. "Scottish Country Life." John Donald. Edinburgh 1976. pp.200 - 205. Also Grannt.I.F. 1961. Op.cit. pp.281 - 283.

36. Atholl MSS. 71.II.B4.

37. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

38. Atholl MSS. 43.IIIA.26.

39 Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

40. Ordnance Survey. Perthshire. First Edition 1867. 6ins. to 1ml. Sheet.XCII. (Surveyed 1862).

41. MacGregor of MacGregor (Edenchip) MSS. PD60/13. (Central Region Archives, Stirling). Copies of Acts of Parliament of James VI & I. Stirling, 31.Jan.1611, Edinburgh, 19.Feb.1611 and 24.May.1611. Commission of fire & sword against Clan Gregor. Women & children to be taken to Argyll & branded. Penitents to be banished south of the Forth. Further Acts of 28.Jun.1633 & 15.Jun.1693. outlawed Macgregors & proscribed the name. Copy of humble address by Gregor MacGregor alias Drummond to George III, London, 25th July 1775, for restitution of name, followed by Act of Parliament Anno Regni Georgi III. Decimus Quinto. 1775, repealing acts of 1633 & 1693 (PD60/48).

42. MacGregor of MacGregor (Edenchip) MSS. PD60/111. & see MacGregor.A.G.M. "History of Clan Gregor." Edinburgh 1898. Vol.I. p.348.

CHAPTER 9. LAND AND SOCIETY IN BALQUHIDDER IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The broad pattern of development in Balquhidder in the context of the Atholl and Tullibardine estates has been outlined in Chapter 8. Rentals and field evidence indicated that the founding of new townships had more or less ceased, but that population density was increasing. The number of families actually given in the sources indicated an increase of twenty-four per cent between 1663 and 1718. A hypothesis was that the subsistence economy was at least heavily supplemented by a growing market economy in the second half of the seventeenth century, if not earlier. In the eighteenth century additional sources become available to supplement the Atholl estate papers. These enable a more refined picture of life in Balquhidder to be drawn. The purpose of this chapter is to fill in some of the details which are not easily deduced or confirmed from the rentals or court records by themselves, and to examine further the hypotheses and conclusions reached thus far.

The problems for the researcher are different after the close of the seventeenth century. Before 1700 the form, quantity, and frequency of records made it difficult to present detailed scenarios with certainty. Slight references in charters and rentals had to suffice as foundations for hypotheses. During the eighteenth century more sources become available. Balquhidder Parish Registers provide consistent demographic records from 1718.

The Kirk Sessions Books, although of limited use, help to demonstrate the role of the church in society. Some material from the MacGregor manuscripts is important to an understanding of the period between 1720 and 1746. The Atholl manuscripts provide a wider and more varied collection of documents. The Drummond manuscripts, and the papers of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, become central to research in the middle and later years of the century. The records of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge combine with references in the other sources to demonstrate the development and purpose of education. The first map of part of Balquhidder was drawn for the Duke of Atholl in 1718, and other partial surveys by the surveyors to the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates followed in 1756 and 1773-6. From problems of scarcity, the researcher moves to an embarrassment of riches. This will become evident to the reader by a further change in the scope and pace of the narrative.

The short period between 1700 and 1720 forms a prelude to the study of eighteenth century Balquhidder. It is postulated that the details which become available from improved sources must reflect the developments of previous periods. They also provide the foundation for understanding the social and physical evolution of Balquhidder through the eighteenth century, and into the early years of the nineteenth. During the first two decades of the eighteenth century Balquhidder emerged from the post-medieval and early modern phases of development into the modern period.

One important indicator of further developments in estate administration was a change from charters, to contracts of feu, by the eighteenth century. Several such contracts are preserved in Blair Castle charter room. One dated 5th February 1706 is a

contract between John, first Duke of Atholl, and John Stewart, tacksman of Glenbuckie [1]. Reference was made to it in Chapter 7 (see p.119) to illustrate the regal style of overlordship enjoyed by the Duke of Atholl. The document is a long one, running to sixteen pages, and provides other insights. John Stewart of Glenbuckie was contracting for easter and wester Dalanlaggan, easter and wester Lianach, and Immereon. These were possessed by himself, by Walter and Donald Stewart, and their subtenants and cottars. The settlement and tenurial pattern of the Glenbuckie estate therefore becomes clear. The best two holdings, on limestone and alluvial soils, were subdivided, and Immereon, on the schists, remained whole. John Stewart and his fellow tacksmen were given powers to hold courts within the estate of Glenbuckie, and to appoint a baillie, clerk, and officers, for making the rents effective. The Duke reserved all mineral rights, and the right to win minerals and to build houses for workers on the estate. He also reserved the right to haul away the winnings. He bound himself to make good any damages caused thereby to John Stewart. The estate was thirled to the mill of Callair, to which the tacksmen and tenants must take their corn. John Stewart was also bound to relieve the Duke of payments for the reader's, minister's, and schoolmaster's stipends and salaries, cess and taxations, and public burdens, imposed on the lands. The inclusion of pertinents was covered by a standard clause, referring to houses, buildings, yards, mosses, moors, marshes, meadows, pasturages, shielings, woods, fishings, and oak woods and salmon fishings, with all crofts, tofts, and pendicles appertaining to the land. It also listed insets and outsets, probably referring to field intakes.

Similar contracts were drawn up for other townships. There was one between the Duke of Atholl and Malcolm Murray, eldest son of John Campbell, late Macgregor, for Monachylebeg, possessed at that time by Duncan Roy and Duncan Fergusson [2]. The contract was dated 11th February 1706. Also included were the lands of Wester Invernenty, possessed by John Murray, Dugall Graeme, and Patrick McInish. . This contract appears to be another between the Duke and a senior tacksman. The names of Murray and Campbell almost certainly conceal MacGregor cadets.

A contract dated 12th February 1706 is of interest [3]. It was with Robert Roy Campbell of Inversnaid, formerly surnamed MacGregor. He was to take possession of the lands of Monachyle Tuarach as tutor of law to Donald Murray, son of the late John MacGregor of Glengyle, and the lawful possessor of Monachyle Tuarach on the south shore of Loch Voil. The contract was for the duration of Donald Murray's minority, to be taken up by him when of age. In fact, the contract was not registered until the 20th March 1776. The lands were thirled to the mill of Invercarnaig. The role of Rob Roy as tutor to his chieftain's son reflects the custom of placing the sons of chiefs in the care of members of the clan. It tends to highlight the Celtic origin of the MacGregor tacksmen of western Balquhidder.

The relationship between land and society revealed in these contracts confirms earlier hypotheses. Senior tacksmen appear to have had control of extensive lands, with others, often related, having the principal tenancies of the constituent townships. Each had not only subtenants, but also cottars, pendicle holders, or crofters. The buildings on the land were for the first time specified within the list of pertinents. The contracts also

introduced mineral rights for the first time. The setting aside of salmon fishings and oak woods for separate mention drew a distinction between lesser and higher qualities of assets. The format of the charters of the seventeenth century was replaced with legal contracts. Examination of a large sample indicated a standard framework and phraseology which must have been drafted by a lawyer. The traditional hierarchical divisions of society, and of lands, were being clothed with eighteenth century legal formalities. The documents would not be unfamiliar to a modern conveyancing solicitor. Cross reference between the contracts and the rentals indicates that tacksmen could inherit their tacks within families, although lands could also change hands by purchase of the feu. Each holding was thirled or bound to a barony mill, by the terms of the contracts.

The contracts confirm the emergence of two major estates, owned by the chieftains of Clan Gregor in the west, and Stewart of Glenbuckie in the south. A contract dated 14th February 1719 was drawn up between the Duke and Donald Murray for Wester Inverlochlarig and half of Craigruie [4]. On the 21st February 1719 John Campbell of Inverlochlarig obtained a contract for Inverlochlarig and the mill thereof (sic), Inverlochlarig Mor, half of Immereach, Craigruie, and Invercarnaig and its mill [5]. This is the only mention of a mill at Inverlochlarig, which may be an error. The contract confirms the beginning of a large MacGregor estate centred on Invercarnaig. John Campbell was empowered to hold barony courts similar to those granted to Glenbuckie. The MacGregors of Invercarnaig were of the main chiefly line of Clan Gregor [6]. A neo-tribal situation dominated the west until after 1745.

Contracts attaching to the Glenbuckie family also support the deductions drawn from the rentals, that an estate pattern was developing. A minute of an agreement dated 31st October 1718 between the Duke, and Alexander Stewart in Gartnafuaran, vested the latter in his own holding and in a half share of the mill of Callair. [7] The agreement contains right of entry for heirs on payment of double duty upon inheritance. There is one interesting endorsement, which follows the specification of payments and duties. It excepts personal service taken away by Act of Parliament. Another contract was between the Duke, and Helen Murray, widow of the late James Stewart of Glenbuckie, for the whole of Meikle and Little Stronvar, and half of the mill of Callair [8]. Robert Stewart and Malcolm McIntyre are cited as cottars at the mill, where there was a mill croft. Fishing in Loch Voil and the River Balvaig were included. On the 13th March 1724 Alexander Stewart, son of John Stewart of Glenbuckie, was given a contract of feu for the wester half of Easter Invernenty [9]. Muirlaggan was feued to a family of McIntyres on the 9th June 1719 [10].

In the north and east similar transactions were taking place. Robert Stewart in Glenogle contracted for lands in Monachyle Beg and Immereach on the 16th April 1719 [11]. In May 1719 the Duke contracted with Robert Stewart in Monachyle Mor for that holding [12]. It could be the same person. On the 2 April 1719 a contract of alienation was drawn up between the Duke of Atholl and Colonel Alexander Campbell of Fonab for the lands of Glenogle, Glenbeich, Carnlea and the mill, Dalveich, Croftnalekin, and Easter and Wester Achraw [13]. Not only was the hierarchical structure of landlordship being accentuated, but the outlines of

principal local estates were being shaped. It is important to the argument for continuity to note that these emerging groups of holdings were created by the acquisition of old medieval land units and their settlements. Croftnalekin was inhabited by the ground officer, responsible for aspects of estate management, and was known as the Officer's Croft.

The provision for church and school, and for public burdens, within the feu duties and rents, points to a basic framework for public services. On the 26th May 1707 a meeting of trustees for Highland schools was convened [14]. Among those present were the Earl of Tullibardine, Secretary of State; and Robert Stewart the younger of Ardvorlich. The trustees had been nominated by King William III. They had to consider disbursing funds made available by the government in 1696 for building schools and schoolmasters' houses, and providing salaries, in the Highlands. One hundred marks per building was set aside for constructing schoolhouses at strategic points in rural parishes. One hundred marks per annum was agreed for the schoolmasters' salaries. Each parish was to be responsible for paying the schoolmaster. Provision was made for a schoolhouse at Balquhidder. Existing schoolmasters were awarded an increase of twenty marks in their salaries out of the funds. The responsibility for providing these salaries was therefore distributed among the tacksmen and heritors of the parish, and added as a tax to their feu duties or rents. There was, however, a schoolmaster in Balquhidder in 1694, as he received a salary of thirty three pounds, six and eightpence for that year [15]. A petition from him, Patrick Mullion, to the Duke of Atholl, regarding arrears of salary, was addressed from the School of Invercarnaig, on the 4th June 1705 [16]. For comparison, the

minister received two hundred and sixty six pounds, eight shillings, for the same year [17].

The relatively high income enjoyed by the minister was not entirely personal to himself. It was part of the system whereby estate works were financed. Public works were met out of the minister's stipend. For example, the Reverend William Campbell, minister of Balquhidder, was charged with building a bridge over the burn at Cuilt in 1706 [18], and across the burn at the Kirkton of Balquhidder in 1707 [19]. The cost of each was to be one hundred pounds. He was also charged with repairing the church and manse, and the churchyard wall. His largest project was the building of a multispan bridge across the Balvaig between the Kirkton and Stronvar, at Tomnadrochit, in 1705 - 1706 [20], for four hundred and thirty six pounds, nineteen and sixpence. The minister's stipend for the two years 1700 to 1702 was five hundred and thirty two pounds, sixteen and eightpence. The living of Balquhidder was in the gift of the Duke of Atholl. The charges for the minister's and schoolmaster's incomes therefore went from the tacksmen, via the Duke, to the recipients. The Duke then instructed the minister regarding expenditure on public works through his factor.

The building of the bridge at Tomnadrochit, connecting the Kirkton with Stronvar, was undertaken by contractors [21]. Robert Strang, mason of Arnhall, was in charge. Lime and stone were used for piers, and timber was brought from Ardvorlich for the superstructure. One thousand four hundred nails were brought to Balquhidder. Charges were made for constructing barrows and a water tub. Patrick Morisson, mason in Doune, was paid to survey the work. Charges were made for carriage, and for two gallons of

ale for the men who brought in eight chaulders of lime from Glenogle. There was also a charge for a man working at Ardvorlich, squaring the trees in the woods. No seasoning of the timber appears to have been allowed for. When the work was completed, Robert Strang signed a discharge and receipt which was witnessed by Patrick Stewart of Gartnafuaran, and Patrick Mullian the schoolmaster [22]. This is the first documentary evidence for specialist contracted work in Balquhidder. The architecture of the seventeenth century church, however, suggests that the Balvaig Bridge was not the first example. Edinample Castle must also have been built by professional masons not later than 1600. A subsistence society was not necessarily a self sufficient one. Specialisation, particularly in the major crafts, exists in most socio-economic systems.

The accounts for the bridge distinguish between three grades of timber, both by description and by price. The great timber being brought across country from Ardvorlich suggests that high quality material was not ubiquitously available. An instruction dated 3rd July 1714 ordered that special care be taken of the woods growing in Balquhidder [23]. Each feuer or tacksman with woodland was to be responsible for its conservation, and was appointed a forester within the estate of Atholl for the purpose. He was empowered to confiscate axes or dirks from any found cutting or felling trees illegally. Such persons would be fined by the baillies, and the money used for fencing the woods. In passing, the instruction reveals one use of the Highland dirk.

The manner of contracting the cropping of woodlands is revealed in an agreement between the Duke of Atholl and Alexander Stewart in Gartnafuaran, dated 31st March, 1710 [24]. The Duke

sold the oak and birchwoods of Stronslaney, with the bark and bough, to be cut within two years of the contract, to Alexander Stewart for five hundred marks. Stewart was to organise the tenants of Balquhidder to take six stone weight of bark to the manor of Stirling in the first summer, and three stone the following summer, by horse loads. He was to leave two hundred reserve trees of the straightest oak, and three hundred of the birch, to the satisfaction of the Duke's factor in Balquhidder. These better trees would thus mature, and also regenerate the woodland. There was a similar contract relating to woodlands in Logierait in 1722 [25]. There also reserve timber was to be left, but in addition the stools left in the ground were not to be damaged. The cutters were to work straight forward, not returning over the cleared areas or young growth. They were to have the privilege of the grass before the axe, which means that cattle might be grazed in the woods ahead of felling. What is indicated is carefully controlled coppicing of the woodlands, leaving large timber to grow above the poles and young saplings.

Writers commenting upon the Scottish landscape from the middle ages onwards, remarked upon the shortage of trees [26]. The treeless nature of the landscape continued to be remarked upon into the early nineteenth century [27]. The Atholl estate records provide the first clear evidence for woodland management in Balquhidder. This confirms conclusions drawn from earlier references, which expressed concern about the conditions of woodlands in the parish (see Chapter 8. p.133).

A lighter aspect of life in Balquhidder appears in an account of 1699 [28]. The accountant requested allowances of four pounds Scots for a bonnet, tartan, a horse, shoes, and other items

given as prizes for the horse and foot races run at Glenogle on the 12th November 1699. A petition by Donald MacLaren, Duke's piper in Balquhidder, dated 11th December 1713, asked for payment of salary, and replacement of accoutrements which had been stolen [29]. He stated that he was bereft of His Grace's flag and other ornaments. Donald had been three times to Edinburgh to arrange for a new flag, and was burdened with the cost. The Duke paid him forty pounds Scots. These fragments provide a little rare insight into the more colourful aspects of life at the turn of the eighteenth century. The games at Glenogle are interesting, because Highland games are still held at Lochearnhead in the twentieth century.

The Kirk Session books for Balquhidder are extant from 1710 to 1736 [30]. The importance of the church in the local community is illustrated in the entries. Much of their contents are taken up with moral censure for fornication and illegitimacy, and the elders formed a strong force for social conformity and acceptable standards of behaviour. Another important aspect of the the records is the evidence they provide for the kirk's role in poor relief. For example, on Monday the 14th July 1729 the poor of Balquhidder were listed. They were Janet MacLaren of Wester Achtow, a woman named as N'Cinlay in Gartnafuaran, Patrick McIntyre in Inverlochlarig Mor, Mary N'Innyer in Stronvar, a blind woman in Glenbuckie, Mary Glass in Ardoch in Strathyre, Janet Ferguson in Ardoch, a couple from Breadalbane, and a Stewart one time in Glenbuckie. The list is remarkably short from a rural parish of some ninety families. On the 17th June 1734 the collection was given to the Grigorach gorach (literally the "foolish MacGregors," probably in the sense of members of the

family who were impoverished and improvident.) On the 22nd August 1736 a donation was made to a family in Wester Achtow travelling from the lowlands to Mull. Church collections varied from ten shillings to one pound, occasionally reaching two pounds.

Other items in the Session records illustrate aspects of administration. On the 27th June 1731 the minister preached in Edinample Castle. On the 15th August 1731 he celebrated sacrament at Kenmore, and on the 15th April 1734 was at Newkirk in Menteith. Travel was part of his work. In 1731 money was needed for new spades for grave digging. The Session also appointed church officers, and elected presbyters to attend at Dunblane. On the 2nd September 1726 it heard and ratified pleas for assistance to the Duke of Atholl from Alexander Stewart of Gartnafuaran, who lost his house and his charter papers in a fire. Although the records for Balquhidder are brief, they suggest that the Kirk was a central institution in the community, in both civil and religious matters. The officers were elected from families in the parish, enabling individuals to take part in affairs. The minutes record the induction of a new minister, the Reverend Finlay Ferguson, on the 15th September 1727, when the minister of Kilmadock preached.

Both church and state were behind the drive to educate and change the Highlanders. The Act of Parliament of 1695 which provided a system for funding schools from the rents of the bishoprics had as one aim the rooting out of the "Irish" language [31]. The schools were to teach English only. The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, at its meeting on the 3rd April 1714, set aside money for founding its own schools in Balquhidder at Lochearnhead, Strathyre, and the Braes of Balquhidder [32]. James MacCallum was to be master at the Braes,

and John Buchanan at Strathyre, with salaries of one hundred marks. Books provided were nine Bibles, four dozen catechisms, two dozen Proverbs, three Vincent Catechisms and three arithmetic books. Three quires of paper were supplied. By 1716 the schools at Balquhidder and Strathyre had each twenty four scholars. An undated memorandum declares the Society's aims of stamping out Popish practices, turning the people away from their rebellious chiefs, and civilising the Highlands [33]. Minutes of meetings and sundry letters between 1707 and 1741 refer to the Highlanders as disaffected and useless people, inconsistent with the safety of the government, traitors and rebels. They stood in need of the English language and the protestant religion. They were accused of being idle, with an aversion either to industry or to military service, unable to communicate with others [34]. It is difficult to reconcile these extreme views with the community in Balquhidder as seen through the documentary evidence. The cultural division between the Gaelic and English communities is nowhere so sharply seen as in official pronouncements of this kind. The antipathy expressed by John of Fordun in 1380 had matured, and become a central element of policy towards the Highlands (see Chapter 4.p.51).

In 1718 the Duke of Atholl sent Mr Mitchell, a surveyor, into Balquhidder, to prospect for minerals. He also was to investigate the possibility of lowering the level of the lochs to increase the useful meadow land, and curtail flooding. Mitchell drew a map of Balquhidder glen, with notes of his conclusions [35]. He did find some lead ore in the hills above the north shore of Loch Voil. He also concluded that with considerable expense the lochs could be lowered, but that the return would be unprofitable.

His map is of interest in its depiction of the topography. It shows the location of the "towns", or clachans. It also shows a track around the lochs linking them. There were bridges across the tributary streams at the Kirkton, Ledcreich, Monachyle Mor, Invercarnaig, Inverlochlarig, Wester and Easter Invernenty, and Stronvar. The plan clarifies the complex subdivisions of Invernenty and Inverlochlarig, and for the first time shows the township of Marchfield or Blair Creich between Easter and Wester Invernenty. Driseach, between Muirlagan and Monachyletuarach, is shown as a shieling. The detailed plans of the "towns" or clachans are not revealed. These remain an enigma in the early eighteenth century, and must be reconstructed from field evidence and later sources.

One aspect of Scottish rural society, in lowland and in Highland districts, which struck and puzzled visitors, was the apparent disregard for material possessions [36]. The poverty of the dwellings was most remarked upon. In the Highlands, this was reinforced by the generally primitive state of agriculture, and the strange systems of inheritance and land sharing. The strangeness of the Highlands was emphasised to the traveller by the distinctive dress and language of the people. Visitors from the lowlands, or England, or from France, have left on record their astonishment at the total lack of servility which accompanied the poverty of the Scottish peasantry and the Highland clansmen [37]. Descriptions of medieval houses in rural Scotland differ little, if at all, from the houses used by Highlanders in the early nineteenth century. Froissart reported in 1385 that the Scots were strangely unconcerned about the burning of their homes by the English, as they said that they could rebuild them in three

days, as long as they had some timber for the roof [38]. The construction of the buildings was described, some being of dry stone walling, some of clay, and some of turf, in both Highland and Lowland rural districts, as late as 1679 [39].

The references to the accoutrements of the Duke's piper tends to suggest that Balquhidder people dressed in the Highland fashion. So do the items required for the games at Glenogle, where tartan is specifically mentioned. Taylor the Water Poet (1618) described the Highland dress of his day, and noted that at the great hunts, such as were organised by the Duke of Atholl, (see Chapter 7. pp.118-119), the nobility wore it, and that unless they did the tacksmen and attendants would have little regard for them [40].

Analysis of entries in the Register of Testaments at Dunblane yielded forty nine different family names in the parish [41]. Not all were Highland names, although the majority were. The registrations of wills between 1539 and 1800 show that the larger families, in descending order, were Fergussons, Stewarts, MacLarens, MacGregors, and MacIntyres. Campbells and Fishers headed the smaller groups. Although such an analysis can only be approximate, it demonstrates that Balquhidder was not a district dominated by one family or clan after 1539.

Wills are useful indicators of the material wealth of the people. The testament of Patrick Mor MacLaren, in 1544, gives an inventory of his goods [42]. He left four cows, two young cows, three steers, two mares, two horses, eight sheep, two hoggs, six goats, and two kids. He left in crops four bolls of oats yielding three fold, and three firlots of bere. His household goods were valued at six shillings and eight pence, and the total value of

his possessions including stock and crops was twenty six pounds, and twelve pence. Patrick was a chief of Clan Labhran.

Rob Roy MacGregor died in December 1734 at Inverlochlarig Beg in Balquhidder [43]. He left eight cows and one stirk, three queys or young cattle, thirteen ewes, one ram, seven hoggs, fourteen goats and a buck, eight "minchaks," one old mare with a filly, two horses, one blind horse, two bolls of gray corn with the straw, hay, a saddle and arms, with a bridle. His clothes and household goods were estimated at a value of eighty four pounds six and eightpence. There was little change in the pattern of personal possessions over two centuries, from the will of the chief of Clan Labhran to that of the chieftain of Glengyle. Their houses, buildings, and land, were leased from their superiors.

Drawing together the evidence from these diverse sources, the landscape of Balquhidder was subject to fairly strict landlord control by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Woods and watercourses in particular received the attention of the superior. Individual tacksmen were subject to detailed contractual agreements for their lands and buildings. Basic education was evidently available in the seventeenth century, but the facilities were improved by the addition of a new parish schoolhouse and three S.S.P.C.K. schools. The church exercised moral discipline and took part in civil affairs. It provided a means for parishioners to fulfil a role in the community and in the presbytery by being elected as church officers. The minister was charged with funding and supervising public works, and bridges were being built to improve communications.

The community was one of mixed families, but five dominant houses provided the senior tacksmen and principal tenantry. The

Stewart and MacGregor families were building up an extended pattern of estates. A hierarchical system of land ownership existed, with a principal tacksman or chieftain holding the feu of several townships, these being tenanted by a second strata of tacksmen, often related to the principal. The existence of numerous subtenants and cottar families becomes clear by 1718. Occupancy rates must have been high, and subdivision was ubiquitous. Small herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats, formed the principal assets of the tacksmen. Farming was a small scale business, which had not changed appreciably since the sixteenth century.

In addition to the fairs and the church, competitive games relieved the year. Highland dress appears to have been normal. A reasonably well ordered society had emerged after the troubled years of the seventeenth century. To the lowland Scot or the English visitor, however, it remained an alien one. Standards of material living were low, although it is arguable that they may have been no lower than in some highland areas in England. The social status of the various families appears to have been somewhat higher than peasant villagers in England or France [45]. The combination of pride and poverty was enigmatic to the outsider. It may be argued that this was not a true peasant society of farming smallholders, but a residual tribal society modified by late contact with bastard feudalism. The persistence of the archaic Celtic social structure and customs of land holding must be acknowledged. So also must the continuity of the settlement pattern in Balquhidder.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 9.

1. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.72.

2. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.73.

3. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.74.

4. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.78.

5. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.79. Also MacGregor.A.G.M. "History of Clan Gregor." Edinburgh 1898. Vol.II. p.267.

6. Burke's Peerage. Edn.130. London 1930. pp.1552 - 1555.

7. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.76.

8. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.77.

9. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.85.

10. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.83.

11. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.81.

12. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.82.

13. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.80.

14. Atholl MSS. Cartulary.Vol.I. p.12.

15. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

16. Atholl MSS. 62.V.(1).116.

17. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

18. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

19. Atholl MSS. Cartulary.Vol.I. p.36.

20. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

21. Atholl MSS. 3.XV. See Stewart J.H. "Insights into the Building Industry in Eighteenth Century Perthshire." S.V.B.W.G. Vernacular Building 8. 1983-1984. pp.49 - 61.

22. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

23. Atholl MSS. Cartulary.Vol.I. p.218.

24. Atholl MSS. Cartulary.Vol.I. p.103.

25. Atholl MSS. Cartulary. Vol.I. p.79/2.

26. Brown.H. "Early Travellers in Scotland." James Thin. Edinburgh 1978. (Fascimile reprint of 1891 Edition). pp. 13

& note; 26; 97 - 98; 223. Transcripts of accounts of travels from 1385 - 1679.

27. Hogg.J. "A Tour in the Highlands in 1803." Ed. Laughlan.W.F. Byway Books. Hawick 1981. pp.51 - 52. & Wordsworth.D. "A Tour in Scotland in 1803." James Thin. Edinburgh 1974. (Fascimile reprint of 1894 Edition). p.236.

28. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

29. Atholl MSS. 45.II.56.

30. Balquhidder Kirk Sessions Books. Central Region Archives, Stirling. CH2. 469.

31. General Index to the Acts of Parliament of Scotland. p,1090f. c.14.X.58.

32. S.S.P.C.K. Register of the Society's Schools. 13th March 1710 - 7th May 1761. GD.95.9.1. S.R.O. p.215.

33. S.S.P.C.K. Records. Letter & Minutes. 1707 - 1741. GD.95.10.57. S.R.O.

34. Ibid.

35. Atholl MSS. 43.VI.49.

36. Brown.H. 1891 & 1978. Op.cit. pp. 10; 26 - 27; 190; 260; 274 - 275.

37. Ibid. p.13 & note 1.

38. Ibid. p.10.

39. Ibid. p.260.

40. Ibid. pp.120 - 121.

41. Commisariot Records of Dunblane. Register if Testaments, 1539 - 1800. See also Stewart.J.H. "The Lands of Balquhidder." The Stewarts. VolXV. No.4. 1979. pp.256 - 276.

42. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens. A History of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh 1976. Appendix 1. pp.139 - 140 for a Latin transcript and translation. (Dunblane Testaments. Vol.1. fol.88v.).

43. Fraser. (Ed.). "Red Book of Menteith." Edinburgh 1880. Vol.II. p.449.

PART IV. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER 10. THE BALQUHIDDER SETTLEMENTS.

The distribution of settlement, and patterns of landholding, have been reconstructed with reasonable certainty for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Two kinds of settlement have been detected. One was the farm township, with some form of joint tenancy. The other was the shieling, signifying a transhumance system. From evidence available in records appertaining to Balquhidder, particular shielings were attached to each township by name. Examples of such attachment have been noted in the late medieval period. No evidence of nucleation in the form of villages has been found for the medieval or early modern eras.

The lack of archaeological evidence for the type of dwelling, and the general morphology of settlements, in Balquhidder, indicated a need for two kinds of investigation. The first was a field survey of surviving sites where remains of buildings could provide indications of the form of the historic settlements, and of their later development. The second was the excavation of the interior of a selected building, to provide a plan and some indication of standards of living. Although the antiquity of the named townships was known from record sources, the age of visible remains in the field was unknown.

Because of accessibility, and a high rate of survival of

field material, the survey was undertaken in the western half of Balquhidder parish. The country around Loch Voil and Loch Doine was the ancient heartland of Balquhidder. Within that area the Atholl manuscripts provided good documentation. Glenbuckie, the whole of the south side of Loch Voil, Monachyle, Invercarnaig, and the western glen almost to the watershed, were explored on foot. Known sites were visited. Sites not specifically identifiable from record sources were plotted. Most of the latter were shieling sites, some discovered as the result of intelligence from farmers and the Forestry Commission.

The result of the field work was, first, a general morphology of settlements in Balquhidder. Secondly, detailed plans of field remains at Invernenty, Blair Creich, and Glenbuckie, were made. Thirdly, a complete plan of a longhouse in one of the groups at Lianach in Glenbuckie was reconstructed by excavation. Fourthly, studies of the type of house which replaced the older longhouses at Lianach and at Invernenty were undertaken. Fifthly, sketch plans and photographs of samples of shieling huts and sites were obtained. The documentary evidence suggested a hypothesis that most of the field remains, with the exception of the later replacement houses, would not be more recent than the eighteenth century. On the other hand, although the locations bore names recorded in the medieval records, there was no evidence that the physical remains of settlement belonged to so early a period.

The principal townships consisted normally of several buildings, arranged in groups in a random manner. There was at least one enclosed yard or garden for each group of buildings. The smallest sites appeared to have not less than three buildings and one enclosure. Each township had at least one corn drying kiln,

usually built into a slope or a glacial moraine. Traces of cultivation were visible at several sites, in the form of rig and furrow associated with early ploughing.

The choice of sites indicated some basic characteristics. At Druimlich (NN 431177) the surviving house ruins related to the location shown on early maps as West or South Druimlich [1]. They are widely spaced along the south side of the upper Balvaig, where the steep mountainside meets an open flat area of the valley floor. The land along the river shows clear evidence of plough cultivation. East or North Druimlich has been destroyed by later development of the land for sheep farming. Riverside locations of this kind form one class of township site. The probability that Druimlich was a late medieval colonisation has been discussed (See Chapter 6. p.96). Earlier examples of riverside locations were the townships lining the river Balvaig between Loch Voil and Loch Lubnaig. Gartnafuaran (NN 542203) on the south bank, and Achleskine (NN 550210) stand on the rising land above the meadows, at the foot of their hills. Normally also there was a tributary stream running beside the township, providing water. At Invercarnaig (NN 460192) and the Kirkton of Balquhidder (NN 536209) these tributaries provided power for the mills. Examination of the mill site at Invercarnaig, and evidence from a detailed plan by Stobie [2], showed that a leat and tailrace served the mill with water from the stream, through a small mill pond.

Lochside locations shared some of the characteristics of the riverside sites. The buildings stood back from the waterside, on rising ground within or at the head of their cultivated lands. Usually there was also a tributary stream, and the confluence at

the foot of a hanging valley appears to have been favoured. A further limitation of lochside locations was the varying steepness of the hillsides as they entered the water. The arable land was limited to alluvial fans and strips of more level land, separated by uncultivable hill slopes. Typical examples of such locations were observed at Muirlaggan (NN 513199) and Monachyle Tuarach (NN 476190). Some evidence was found on the south shore of Loch Doine, for the use of alluvial fans insufficiently large for habitation, as hay shielings. Small stack bases were discovered at NN 470189, in an area of grassland. No signs of houses were found.

Aspect and micro-climate may have influenced some locational choices, but the evidence was inconclusive. The prime area for settlement at the foot of the south facing hills in the Barony of Balquhidder appears to have fostered relatively dense occupation from an early date, evolving into smaller farms and crofts. Settlement remains are more sparsely distributed along the south shore of the lochs. There the steep northfacing slopes behind the townships shorten the period of sunlight. The owner of Muirlaggan farm informed the author that no sun reached it between November and March. Monachyle Tuarach is a place name meaning the northfacing moor wood. It and Invernenty, however, are better located than Muirlaggan. The hills break back behind the former, and Invernenty receives summer sun down the glen behind the settlement.

Field evidence from Glenbuckie, a broad glen on a north to south axis, suggests a high density of settlement at its peak period. There also the occupied sites tended to relate to water courses, some quite small but constant. House clusters were built on suitable platforms of approximately level ground clear of the

valley floor, some artificial levelling may have been carried out. The topography and orientation of Glenbuckie ensures maximum insolation.

The system of communication related to the old settlement pattern. It was simple and logical. Tracks followed the contours along each side of the glens and lochs. This system may be traced on the ground from the southern end of Loch Lubnaig, through Strathyre, and right to the western extremity of Balquhidder Glen. The record of the western sections in Mitchell's survey of 1718 has already been referred to (See Chapter 9. pp.160-161). It linked the settlements like beads on a string. The vestiges of such a trackway were traced through Lianach in Glenbuckie. Radial routes out of the glen through the hill passes followed the tributary hanging valleys. Field work in Monachyle Glen revealed the remains of a small bridge abutment along such a route. Each township therefore tended to lie at or near the junction of the internal valley system with one of the routes out. In Glenbuckie, and at Monochyle and Muirlaggan, these routes also gave access to the shielings. The western shielings lay adjacent to the hill routes into Glen Gyle and Glen Falloch. The more important exits are evident in the survival of the name Bealach (eg: Bealach Driseach) which means a pass. The settlements developed not only at points which favoured cultivation and building, but also at nodal points in the communication system which must have been largely dictated by topography.

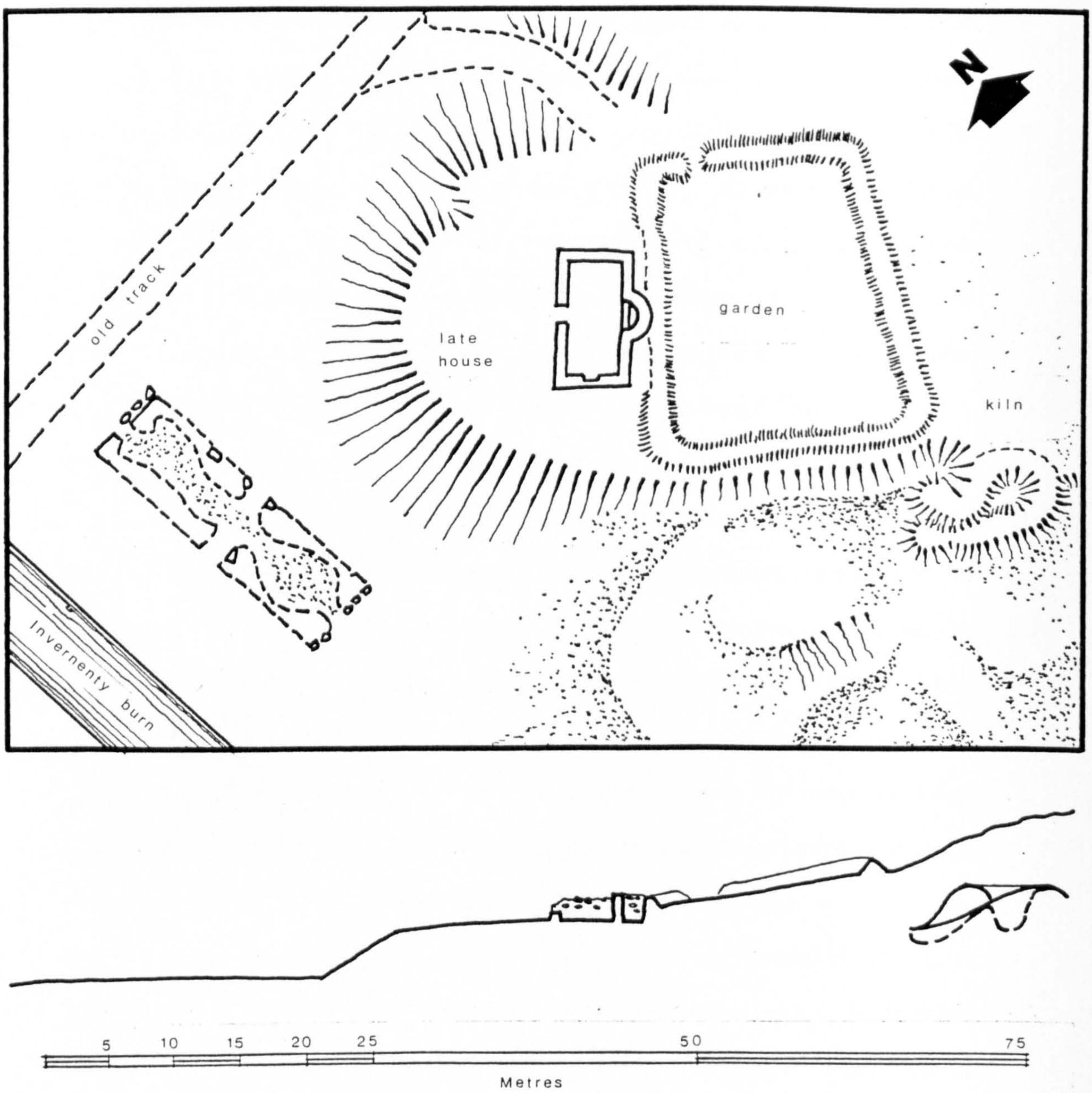
Topographical characteristics of settlements appear frequently in their names. The prefix "Inver," signifying confluence, occurs at Inverlochlarig (The confluence of the dark pass), Invernenty (The confluence of the nettles), and

Invercarnaig (Usually given as the confluence of the heroes or warriors). Druimlich is the ridge or spur of flag stones. Monachyle is the moor wood. Tulloch means the hillock. Driseach is the thorny place, and Bealach Driseach the thorny pass. Gartnafuaran is the field of cold springs. Muirlaggan is the bay or bend in the loch, and Dalanlaggan is the meadow in the bend of the river. Lianach is the lawn. Immereon is the ridge of birds [3]. These selected examples suggest awareness by the early settlers of topographical characteristics of sites.

The relationship of townships to their lands was of two main kinds. Some, such as Monachyle Tuarach and Muirlaggan, were situated centrally within their arable acres, not very far from the lochside. The majority were located above the arable, between it and the hill grazings or between the infield and outfield. This probably left the maximum area of arable available. Traces of the ancient head dykes, separating infield from outfield, and outfield from hill in many cases, witnessed to the standard Highland pattern of field organisation [4]. In some examples, the old head dykes were on the same alignment as later walls, such as at Immereon in Glenbuckie. In others, there had been changes in the area of intakes, the more modern walls usually standing above the older ones. A classic example was the township of Lednascriden (NN 534209). The head dyke was traced with difficulty in the forest well above the settlement itself. The buildings were sited at the head of the infield and meadow land, near the Kirkton Burn. The head dyke was constructed of massive boulders, quite unlike the later drystone walls. The line of some ancient dykes is marked out by remains of foundations. Some are sunk deep in peat deposits, suggesting considerable antiquity.

The tracks or bridle roads appear to have run between meadows and higher fields through the Barony of Balquhidder, and possibly along the old infield boundary in Lianach and parts of Glenbuckie. On the south side of Loch Voil and Loch Doine the track ran along the lochside for much of its route, parts having fallen into the loch. There, it ran through the clachan of Muirlaggan, but otherwise passed between the farms and the water edge. Early bridges on this system have left remains. They consisted of masonry abutments, dry built, with timber decks spanning the streams. Examples may be seen at the Kirkton of Balquhidder above the church, at Invernenty, and in Monachyle Glen at the north boundary of the shieling lands. From Mitchell's map of 1718 [5] combined with field inspection, many streams must have been forded, with bridges over deep or difficult torrents only. At Invercarnaig the road has been completely realigned, from a fording point in the meadow lands, to a much higher position which uses a masonry arch bridge, since Stobie's map was drawn in 1787.

Every site examined had evidence for the use of stone as a building material. Two kinds of evidence were found. All foundations were of stone, sometimes overgrown with vegetation. In every case where the walls of buildings remained standing above foundation level, they were of stone, usually with accompanying rubble from fallen wall heads. Two kinds of building are possible. One could have been of a less permanent material upon lower courses of rubble masonry. The other, not in doubt, was a complete rubble masonry construction to eaves and gable levels. Bearing in mind indications of shortage of timber noticed already, (See Chapter 8, p.133. & Chapter 9, pp.155 - 157) and the abundance of loose moor stone and riverine boulders, it is not unreasonable to



CONTINUITY OF OCCUPATION AT INVERNENTY

PART OF A POST-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT REOCCUPIED AFTER SACKING IN 1746. WITH A LATER SMALL HOUSE OF EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY TYPE. THE SITE WAS DESERTED BEFORE THE 1841 CENSUS

Source – Author's field survey; Stobie 1787; Census ED returns 1841; MacLaren 1976;

Fig.18.

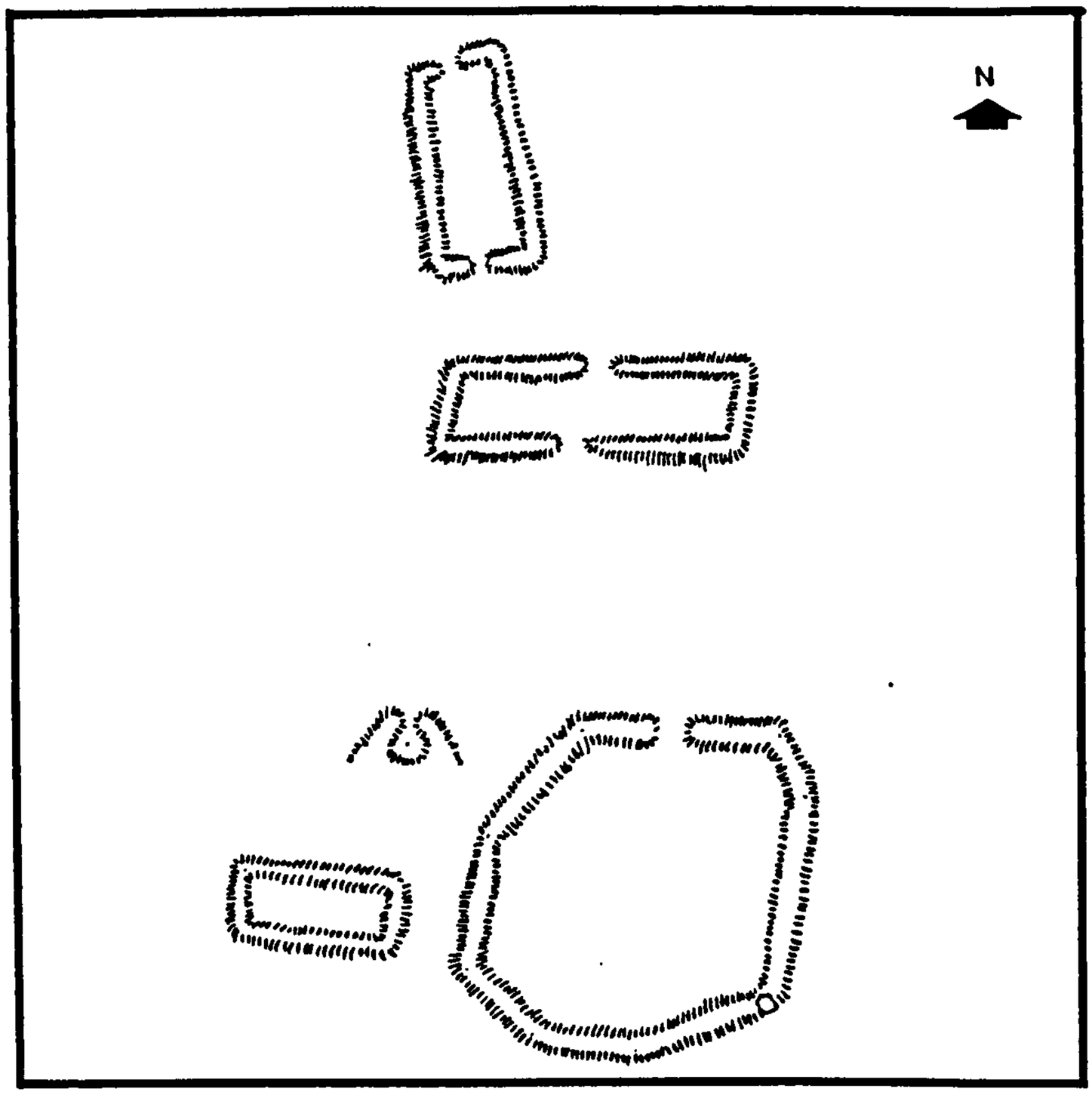
suggest the use of stone for principal buildings since the early seventeenth century in Balquhidder. It is also possible that lesser structures may have used flimsier materials. There is no logical reason for assuming that every building within a township would use identical structural systems. Some smaller buildings have little superficial evidence of large amounts of fallen rubble, even in sites which cannot have been robbed for later building work.

The robbing of sites for masonry presents a problem. Where later dry stone walls and sheep folds have been constructed, the older buildings have no loose stone or standing walls left. In parts of the parish where extensive building has been carried out in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the sites of the original settlements are difficult to find without detailed field inspection or local advice. This situation is being complicated in the late twentieth century with the removal of eighteenth and nineteenth century material also, and with extensive afforestation.

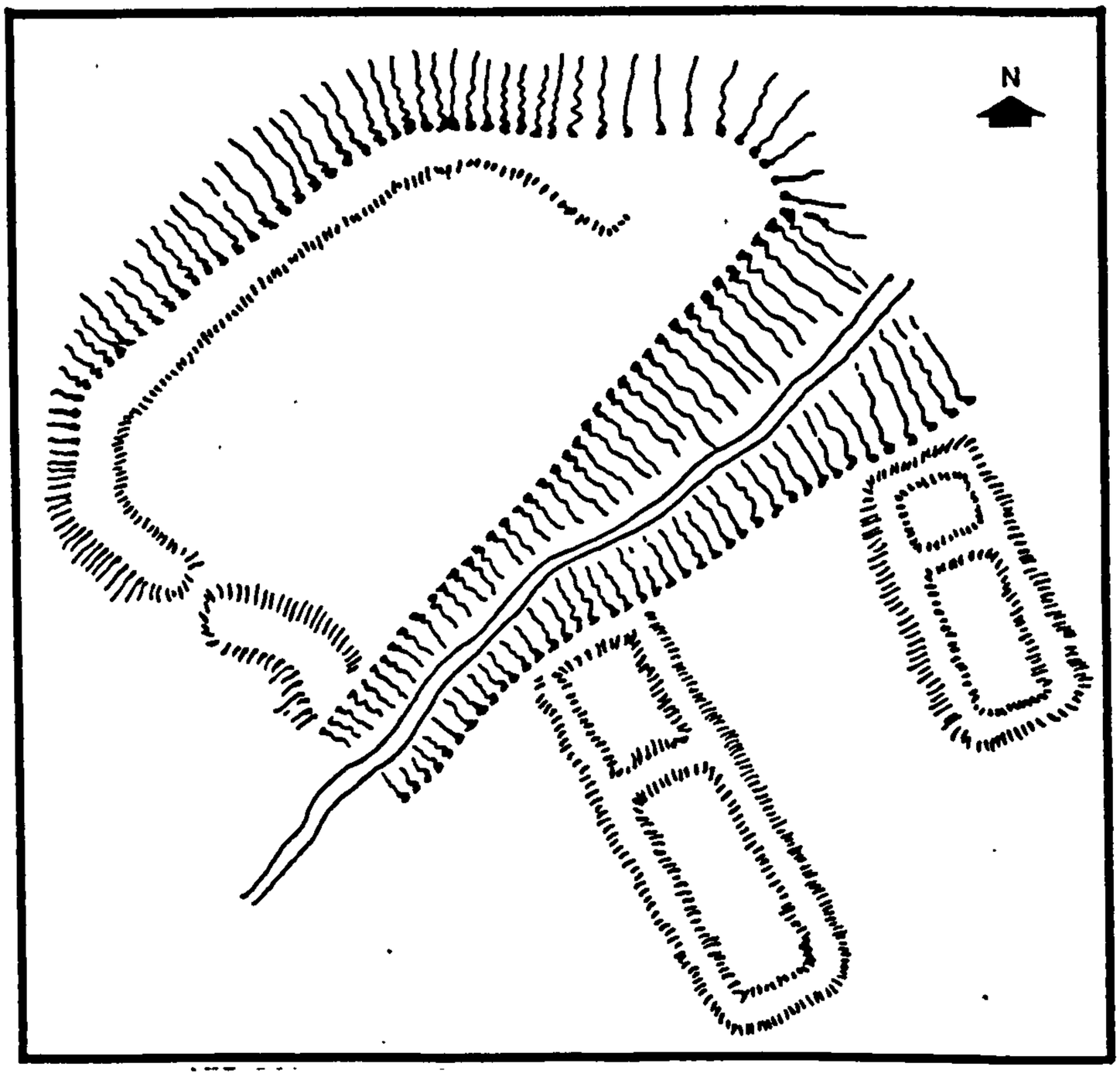
Three sites were studied in detail. Invernenty is typical of a site with evidence of earlier settlement and the addition of a later house. (NN 455180). The house sits on a platform which could have been partly levelled by human agency. This forms an embanked forecourt with the house occupying the rear part, the front of the platform falling steeply to the lowlying swampy meadow land above Loch Doine. Behind the house is a small enclosed garden, and at the southwest corner of the garden wall is a small corn drying kiln. The whole complex occupies a sheltered spur of land on the east bank of Invernenty burn. A water fall and the deep gorge of Invernenty Glen are immediately behind the house. Below the

platform on the banks of the burn is the foundation of a long stone building, which may have been a barn, or part of an earlier settlement. Stobie records that Invernenty was burnt in 1746 [6], an assertion which is in keeping with evidence in the MacGregor papers [7]. The ruined cottage has a fire place and flue in the southwest gable, and it is suggested that it cannot be earlier than the end of the eighteenth century in date. This argument will be returned to later. The platform upon which Invernenty is built overlooks the trackway around the lochs, and the remains of a bridge across Invernenty Burn is adjacent. An access road from the north end of the house is cut down the bank to join the trackway. Ruins of other buildings lie on the other side of Invernenty Burn. The hillside above them has signs of rig and furrow cultivations, and a hill track ascends into the glen above.

The building of improved houses on or beside the site of older ones was common. At Inverlochlarig the shepherd's house, from its architecture probably an early nineteenth century farm house, is built partly on the foundations of an older one. Blaircreich, in Easter Invernenty, shows evidence of similar development in its east corner wall footings. The nineteenth century houses at Monachyle Tuarach and Muirlaggan sit alongside their predecessors. The modern farmhouse at Immereon in Glenbuckie incorporates the original longhouse, which was built into the nineteenth century farmhouse. The nineteenth century house at Lianach rests among, and replaces, older longhouses. The evidence points to little mobility of the sites of the original townships. The topography does not favour much choice of alternative sites. One hypothesis which arises is that the sites visible in the field may be the original medieval locations, or may be very close to



Settlement in Wester Invernenty



Settlement in Lianach with spring erosion

Fig.19. TWO DESERTED SITES (not later than early 18th century origin)

5 10 15 20 25 50 75

Metres

Source – Author's field survey;

them. Such an hypothesis is important for future archaeological investigation of Highland townships. Invernenty is marked as a ruin on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey [8]. According to MacLaren (1976) [9] the MacLarens of Invernenty migrated as a group to America in 1803. Their names are given by J.M.Bumstead (1982) among the emigrants from Perthshire shipped aboard the "Commerce", on the 10th August 1803, for Pictou, Nova Scotia [10]. It is probable that Invernenty was deserted about that time by many of its inhabitants.

Another small site measured lies in the grounds of Blaircreich farm (NN 443178). The provenance of the group is unknown, but it must have formed part of the Invernenty complex. A small corral lies at the foot of the hill, and adjacent are the foundations of a small rectangular hut, a larger building with doorways opposite each other in each wall half way along its length, which could be a primitive barn, and a rectangular building with entrances at each end, which could be a byre. The late Alistair Fergusson of the Muirlaggan family told the author that a Highland brogue had been dug up at the site. There is a very small kiln. If this was a permanent site, it must represent a very poor standard of living. Such an hypothesis is compatible with the multiple subdivisions of Invernenty from the late middle ages onwards.

During the field work which produced these results, a commercial forestry undertaking acquired the hill lands of Muirlaggan, all of Monachyle Tuarach, and the western portion of Invernenty. The whole of the hill ground, and the old Invernenty infields, were planted. In 1985, negotiations were advanced with another company for afforestation at Blaircreich and the remaining

parts of Invernenty must be threatened. Field observation in 1985 showed that the new trees were growing twice as fast within the infield land at Invernenty as elsewhere. This, while demonstrating the residual fertility of the old infield areas, destroys any archaeological material, and makes further field survey work in those areas unprofitable. Up to 1985, however, individual buildings were preserved.

The form of settlements in the second half of the eighteenth century has been recorded in plans for the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates. The first was a plan by William Cockburn in 1756 [11]. The second was an updated survey of the same area by John Leslie in 1773 [12]. Both are of the Earl of Perth's Barony of Balquhidder. Leslie's plan was supplemented by detailed plans of each township in the Barony, prepared as part of a valuation for proposed improvements. In 1756 Tulloch, Lednascriden, and Balquhidder were shown with demarcated hill lands. Achleskine, each of the three Achtows, and the two Cuilts, were shown with demarcated infield and outfield areas, but with the hill in common. In 1773 Achleskine had taken in its share of hill, leaving the Achtows and the Cuilts sharing common hill. The townships were indicated by small rectangular marks representing buildings, and show the random groupings found elsewhere in field survey. General Roy's map of Balquhidder shows a similar type of layout [13]. So does George Stobie's map of 1787 [14]. The reduction of common land between 1756 and 1773 confirms a statement in the Old Statistical Account of circa 1791 that no land in the parish was then held in common [15]. During the eighteenth century demarcation of holdings, both hill and arable, appears to have been completed. John Leslie's report on the

improvements of Balquhidder indicates that part of his work was attempting to get proper march dykes built between holdings. What may be deduced is that early settlement in Balquhidder consisted of demarcated valley townships, with commonty of the hills, within which were allocated the shielings. This pattern was dying out by the second part of the eighteenth century.

John Leslie's detailed plans of the townships are valuable records. The painstaking nature of his drawings, carefully coloured and annotated, and his critical comments on the work of his predecessor William Cockburn, indicate a proper measured survey. From the author's own field surveys in Glenbuckie, George Stobie's maps are approximations only. Leslie's plans show clusters of buildings, often in roughly rectangular layouts, with small fenced yards, alongside or near to the road through the Barony. They were sited approximately midway between the river and the head dyke. Tulloch possessed no buildings, and Leslie's notes indicate that these had been fired after 1745, and the compensation awarded had not been paid. Cuilt possessed an oak wood which was coppiced at intervals. One or two details are relevant to the morphology of settlements. Achleskine had a separate cottage, shown as McLechond's house, probably a cottar housed at a little distance form the main settlement. Middle Achtow overlooked floodable meadows which were held in common and had been used for peat. In the Kirkton, the manse stood within a glebe taken out of the farm. The corn mill was sited on the east bank of the Kirkton Burn below the church. On the west bank in 1773 was a new lint mill for the dressing of flax. The details regarding improvements will be returned to later, in association with related material. The Forfeited Estates plans are valuable

evidence for reconstructing a scenario of pre-improvement settlements in Balquhidder. They confirm conclusions deduced from field survey.

It is possible to classify Balquhidder within the context of other areas of Scottish settlement. A study of deserted settlements in Glen Lednock, by the Strathearn Archaeological Society, directed by Elizabeth Bain, is deposited in Perth Museum. A tabulated guide reveals a similar pattern to that of eighteenth century Balquhidder [16]. Most of the townships had groups of buildings, and corn kilns. The majority had garden enclosures. Fields were detectable in a few, and some had remaining dykes. Settlements were distributed along the valley. A similar pattern was demonstrated in Strathnaver in the nineteenth century by Fairhurst (1968) [17]. Field inspection revealed strong similarities in the remains of settlements to those in Balquhidder. I.F.Grant (1961) [18] deduced a similar model for Highland settlements. Burt (1754) [19] described his typical Highland "town" as consisting of a few huts for dwellings, with barns and stables, the dwellings being the larger buildings. These he found in the glens and straths, near rivers and streams, and beside lakes. He included a drawing of one.

There is sufficient evidence to classify the Balquhidder settlements in the eighteenth century with such Highland types. The examples from Balquhidder, and from Glen Lednock in East Perthshire, thus classified, demonstrate the existence of this type of settlement up to the southern Highland boundary. Glen Lednock is a tributary valley to Strathearn, joining the latter at Comrie, the threshold between Highland and lowland Perthshire. The town of Perth is thirty kilometres east of Comrie. The equivalent

situation in relation to Balquhidder exists in the way in which the Pass of Leny opens into the environs of Callander, only twenty-five kilometres from Stirling. A very narrow zone of transition is therefore suggested, between Highland and lowland cultures in Scotland. This hypothesis must be examined later.

A problem arises with attempts to classify settlements as Highland or Lowland, or even to postulate a sharp division between Scottish and English or Welsh patterns. I.D.Whyte (1983) [20] recognises one such problem in the acceptance of the "ferm toun" as the typical unit of Scottish rural settlement. The difficulty with that definition is the particular development of the ferm toun into the nineteenth century, especially in the northeast lowlands [21]. The basic model for the ferm toun is a group farm held by portioners who shared the tenure and the assets of the holding. But, as Whyte points out, this was by no means an ubiquitous characteristic of Scottish rural settlement in the eighteenth century. Single tenure was not uncommon. The ferm toun as it developed in the Lowlands was a system of peasant tenure under the lairds. It can be argued that the socio-economic structure of chiefs or aristocrats, kindred tacksmen of principal and secondary status enjoying long leases and heriditary tacks, and subtenants, differed from the lowland ferm toun system sociologically and to some extent economically. It will be argued later that the lowland and highland patterns evolved differently into the nineteenth century also. It is interesting to consider how closely the distinctions follow the linguistic division in Perthshire demonstrated by Withers [22]. Although differences may not be easy to define, it is suggested that they existed in eighteenth century Scotland. The jointly tenanted group farm which

at first sight appears to offer a general classification, may well conceal important local distinctions.

The second difficulty is the extent to which Scottish Highland settlement can be regarded as unique. The paucity of comparative studies relating one highland region to another in Britain may reflect national introspection rather than academic opportunities. For example, studies in Northumberland by Ramm, McDowall, and Mercer (1970) [23] produced plans of settlements which reflect very closely the so-called Scottish Highland type. The similarities extend to shieling and house plans, primitive corn kilns, and general siting characteristics. These studies also extended into parts of Cumbria. They seem to suggest a similar distinction between upland and lowland patterns within relatively short distances. Grant (1961) [24] touches upon what may be a key issue, in the scarcity and scattered nature of arable land in such environments. The social structure of the upland areas of southern Scotland and Northern England also reflects the central position of the family or kindred group, dominating small territories [25]. Studies already cited in Wales point to similar situations [26]. Differences emerge in the rate and timing of changes to these various systems, and these have resulted in different evolutionary paths and modern results. It is suggested, however, that similarities exist, or have existed, which it may be fruitful to examine elsewhere. It is also essential to distinguish between similarities which may arise from common environmental problems, and differences which may result from cultural distinctions and socio-economic organisation. For the purpose of this study, therefore, the author has deliberately avoided using the term "ferm toun" and has used that which appears regularly in the

source documents, the town or township. The term "clachan" would appear to fit the Balquhidder settlements well, with regard to social structure and to the physical structure of the buildings.

It is postulated, therefore, that the Balquhidder townships as found in the eighteenth century, belonged to a broad class of British upland rural settlements. Within such a broad classification they appear to fit the Scottish Highland sub-type found, with variants, within the Gaidhealtachd (ie. The territory of the Gaelic community in Scotland). These are distinguished by absence of nucleation, by scattered clusters of houses and agricultural buildings, and by a system of tenure the origins of which were based on groupings of kindred shareholders. Although such a tenurial system in eighteenth century Balquhidder was very deeply modified by the course of history, its influence was still discernable in familial affiliations, within emerging groupings of tacksmen's estates. The settlement historian therefore discerns a settlement pattern which had not yet reached the stage of nucleation, and a tenurial pattern in which the family was still an important unit.

Taylor (1983) [27] postulates a similar stage in English settlement evolution at the beginning of the medieval period. In the Welsh context it may be that the earlier decline of the tribal system of land tenure led to the emergence of large numbers of small freeholders, resulting in a landscape of clustered homesteads rather than villages or towns [28]. Such conclusions lead to an hypothesis that the eighteenth century Scottish Highland settlements represented the late survival of a pattern which had already become redundant elsewhere in Britain. Such an hypothesis is indicative of their historical importance in the

field of rural settlement studies, as suggested by the Medieval Village Research Group in 1969 [28]. A quasi-medieval system was present, and survived through what is generally regarded as the age of improvement. This hypothesis will be taken up in following chapters as an important issue.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 10.

1. Stobie.G. "Map of Perthshire and Clackmannanshire." 1787. RHP.177. S.R.O.

2. Stobie.G. "Map of Inverlochlarig and Invercarnaig." circa 1787. MSS. Inverlochlarig papers.

3. For Gaelic place names see Watson.W.J. "The History of the Celtic Place Names of Scotland." Edinburgh and London 1926. And Nicolaissen.W.F.H. "Scottish Place Names." Batsford. London 1976. Ch.7. pp.121 - 148. The author is also indebted to Iain MacVicar Esq; lately of Immereon; A.K.Smith Esq; of the Scottish Forestry Commission; D.C.Fergusson Esq; of Edinburgh and the Fergussons of Muirlaggan; and Dr. A.MacGregor Hutcheson of Aberdeen (See his article "De Tha ann Ainm?" parts 1 and 2; Clan Gregor Society Newsletter 1978 & 1979.) for information on local place names.

4. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon. Oxford 1981. pp.157 - 173. and Coull.J.R. "Patterns of Rural Settlement from Medieval Times to 1700." in "Scotland, A New Study." edited by Clapperton.M.C. David & Charles, London 1983. Ch.5. pp.116 - 127.

5. Atholl MSS. 43.VI.49.

6. Stobie.G. 1787. Op.cit.

7. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49.9.

8. Ordnance Survey. Perthshire. First Edition. 1866. 6ins. to lml. Sheet CIII.

9. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens. A history of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh 1976. pp.105 - 106.

10. Bumstead.J.M. "The People's Clearances." Edinburgh University Press. 1982. Appendix B. p.260.

11. Cockburn.W. Plan of the Barony of Balquhidder. Forfeited Estates Plan No. 85. RHP.3482. S.R.O.

12. Leslie.J. "Value and Estimates. The Improvements of Balquhidder." 1773 - 1776. Forfeited Estates papers. MSS folio of plans and reports. Achleskine papers.

13. Roy. General William. Maps of the Highlands of Scotland. 1750. Copy. Nat. Mons. Records. Edinburgh.

14. Stobie.G. 1787. Op.cit.

15. Old Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791 - 1799. Edited by Withrington.D.J. and Grant.I.R. Wakefield, 1977. Vol.XII. p.42.

16. Bain.E.C. "A Short Guide to Deserted Settlements in Glen Lednock." Perth (Undated, circa 1970).

17. Fairhurst.H. "Rosal: A Deserted Township in Strathnaver, Sutherland." P.S.A.S. Vol.100. 1967-68. pp. 135 - 169.

18. Grant.I.F. "Highland Folkways." Routledge and Kegan Paul. London. 1961. Ch.III. pp. 35 - 64. & Fig.1. p.45.

19. Burt. "Letters from the North of Scotland." 1754. Vol.II. Letter XX. p.130.

20. Whyte.I.D. & Whittington.G. (Ed.) "A Historical Geography of Scotland." Academic Press. London. 1983. pp.124 - 125.

21. Cameron.D.K. "The Cornkister Days: A Portrait of a Land and its Rituals." Gollancz. London 1984. (Passim). gives a picture of life in the ferm touns of the northeast lowlands of Scotland in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

22. Withers.W.J.C. "A Geography of Language: Gaelic-speaking in Perthshire. 1698 - 1879." Inst. of British Geographers. Transactions, New Series. Vol.8. No.2. 1983. pp.125 - 142.

23. Ramm.H.G., McDowell.R.W., and Mercer.E. "Shielings and Bastles." R.C.H.M., H.M.S.O. 1970.

24. Grant.I.F. 1961. Op.cit. p.41.

25. Probably the most comprehensive collection of Border traditions, aspects of which indicate the central position of the family or kindred group, is "Wilson's Tales of the Borders." (revised and edited by Alexander Leighton, & published by the Walter Scott Publishing Company Ltd., London and Felling on Tyne, circa 1920). See for example "The Lord of Hermitage." Vol.19.pp. 155 - 164, and "The Laird of Darnick Tower." Vol.7. pp.211 - 225. for tales of the war lord tradition among Border families.

26. Davies.W. "Wales in the Early Middle Ages." Leicester University Press. 1982. pp.71 - 81.

27. Taylor.C. "Village and Farmstead. A History of Rural Settlement in England." George Philip. London. 1983. Ch.7. pp. 109 - 124. & Ch.8. pp. 125 - 150.

28. Jenkins.J.G. "Life and Tradition in Rural Wales." J.M.Dent. London. 1976. pp.13 - 17.

CHAPTER 11. THE BALQUHIDDER SHIELINGS.

In a mature transhumance economy the shielings should form an integral part of the settlement and land use system. In Balquhidder, the principle of attaching specified shieling or hill grazing grounds to each township has been demonstrated. Evidence has been cited indicating that this was the case at least as early as the sixteenth century (See Chapter 5. pp. 78 & 80). Reference to the demise of commonty was made in Chapter 10 (p.177). The use of the shieling grounds, and possible reasons for their decline, poses a further question.

Evidence of the customs attaching to shielings in Balquhidder is scattered. A scenario must therefore be constructed partly by inference, and partly by direct references and field observation. The Atholl estates appear to have rented shielings to specified tenants, according to a rental of 1687 [1]. In the Forest of Atholl rents varied from as little as two pounds plus casualties, to twenty-five pounds per annum. The creation of a shieling without leave was not permitted, and one of Atholl's foresters was called to account for such an offence in 1703 [2]. The document reveals the great reduction in deer using the locality since the illegal shieling had been formed. In 1706 special instructions were issued to the Duke's foresters, including the regulation of shielings [3]. A tolerance granted by the Duke on the 25th August 1709 to one Aneas MacPherson in Kyllihursley for the use of a grass shieling in Glenbruar was

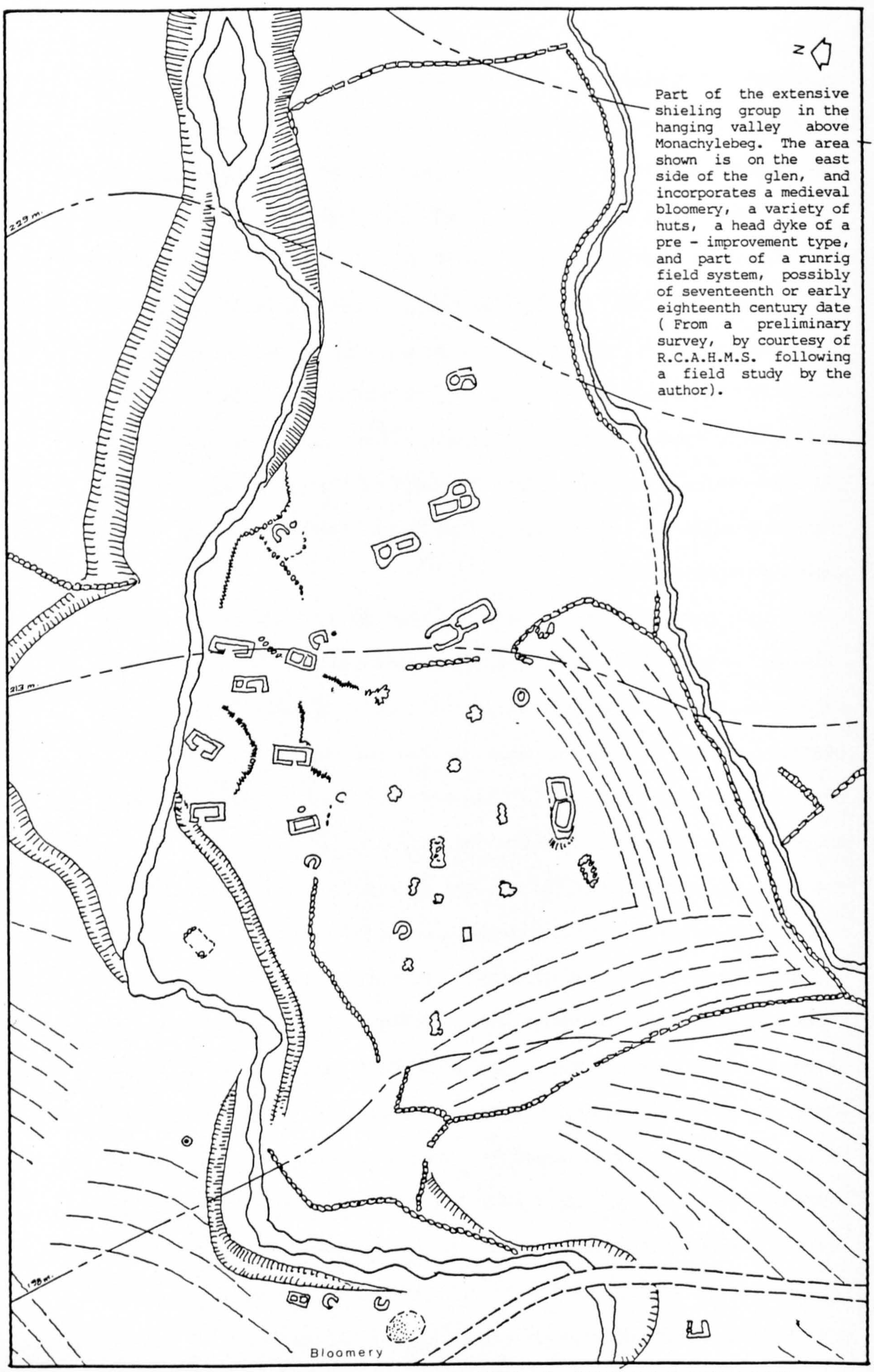
quite specific in its terms. It permitted MacPherson the use of the grass in the month of July 1710 [4]. It also included an agreement that only specified servants would be kept on the shieling. A parallel control of use of hill land was in the cutting of peats. An agreement drawn up on the 1st July 1675 regulated peat cutting by the tenants of Aberfeldie [5]. It may be concluded that the tenure and use of hill land was controlled within the Atholl estates.

It having been shown that tenancies in Balquhidder frequently included specified shieling grounds, it is reasonable to assume that such control was normal. The terms of the tacks on the estate of Arnprior, issued to tenants in Strathyre in 1739, include conditions for moving to and from shielings [6]. The Rules and Articles drawn up by the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates in the Highland division in 1773 and 1774 placed the regulation of movement to and from shielings in the control of the factor [7]. This, with the carefully specified month of use in the Atholl agreement cited earlier, signifies not only control of land use, but also of the duration of use of the summer grazings.

No reference to shielings was found in any of the later eighteenth century sources in Balquhidder, apart from the general Rules and Articles set out for all the Highland estates by the Commissioners. Some evidence was found which suggested an early decline in the traditional transhumance economy. Papers relating to the estate of Invercarnaig account for the attachment and the use of the shielings of Lechroine (NN 400170) in 1735 [8]. These shielings appertained to the township of Inverlochlarigmore, although the sixteenth century settlement of Druimlich lies between them. One inference is that the attachment predated the

founding of Druimlich, as Inverlochlarig was in existence in the fifteenth century [9]. If that was the case, then the shielings of Lechroine are at least of medieval origin. In 1735 they were let to drovers from Inveruglas on the west bank of Loch Lomond, Ardkinglas on Loch Fyne, and Glen Fyne, for thirteen years. In 1751 the grazings of Corrie Dubh, the lowland grass of Inverlochlarigbeg, and the far western shieling areas of Corrie Chuilinn and Parlan, were let for the wintering of four hundred and forty young cattle. Tenants included Evan Murray of Blaircreich in Invernenty, John Campbell of Claychrombie (probably Correachrombie at the south end of Loch Lubnaig), and sundry unnamed holders [10].

The inference to be drawn is that by 1735 the economy had changed from small scale subsistence pastoralism, to commercial cattle trading. There is a direct hill route through Balquhidder, via the western shieling grounds and the pass under Ben Parlan, to Loch Lomond and thence via Glen Croe and Glen Kinglas to West Argyll. The cattle men renting the shielings in 1735 lived along this route. From Balquhidder, the cattle could travel either to the mart at Crieff, via Lochearnhead, or to Stirling and Falkirk via Strathyre. The number of beasts grazed appears larger than the herds of local families would have provided. If the shielings were being rented by outsiders, and by certain local farmers, for wintering cattle, this must infer a departure from the old system of permitting township tenants to use them for the midsummer months only. The pass at the head of the watershed is known as Bealach nam Bo, the cattle pass. It is therefore postulated that the droving interest, serving the lowland markets, was supplanting the indigenous transhumance system in Balquhidder in the early



Part of the extensive shieling group in the hanging valley above Monachylebeg. The area shown is on the east side of the glen, and incorporates a medieval bloomery, a variety of huts, a head dyke of a pre - improvement type, and part of a runrig field system, possibly of seventeenth or early eighteenth century date (From a preliminary survey, by courtesy of R.C.A.H.M.S. following a field study by the author).

Fig.20. MONACHYLE GLEN SHIELINGS - CIRCA 15TH TO EARLY 18TH CENTURIES.

0 50m

eighteenth century. Failure to find any reference to local shielings after the middle of the century, combined with the extinction of commonty by circa 1790, (See Chapter 10, p.177), strengthens the hypothesis that some shielings had passed out of their original use by circa 1750. Their new use was for the wintering of cattle, some collected from the west, in preparation for the journey to the southern markets.

Another change of use of shieling lands may be postulated from field evidence. An extensive settlement in Monachyle Glen (NN 477215) contained small huts on a ridge of hillside alongside a stream which were typical shieling bothies. They included round and rectangular cabins. Some were rebuilt upon the sites of older ones. The adjoining land had been enclosed, creating six large fields subdivided by streams. The author's preliminary survey was followed by a detailed study by the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland, which revealed rig and furrow in each field. Several larger house remains were associated with the field system. The hypothesis is that the site was originally a shieling, probably attached to Monachyle More and Monachyle Beg. At some time the shieling had been enclosed for crops, and may have been permanently inhabited for a period. The Forestry Commission co-operated in conservation measures, and also reported smaller shielings higher in the glen. This suggests a staged system, with summer shielings in the more distant areas, and semi-permanent hill settlements nearer to the valley townships.

The Monachyle site poses some questions. One relates to the probable period of expansion from a shieling to a cultivated settlement. The superimposition of later huts upon earlier ones

suggests some antiquity. The site was also associated with medieval iron working. The probable evolution from small circular huts, to small rectangular ones, then to larger houses not much different in scale from some in the main townships, provides some indication of development. The larger houses appeared to be associated quite clearly with the enclosures. Their construction was similar to the ones in the main farms. An hypothesis is therefore offered for expansion when population pressures and land shortage were becoming a problem in Balquhidder. Such a situation has already been inferred in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, circa 1680 - 1720 (See Chapter 8, p. 141 & Chapter 9, p.148). It is probable that cultivation of shielings, and permanent or semi-permanent habitation, would accompany increasing shortages of ordinary infield and outfield land.

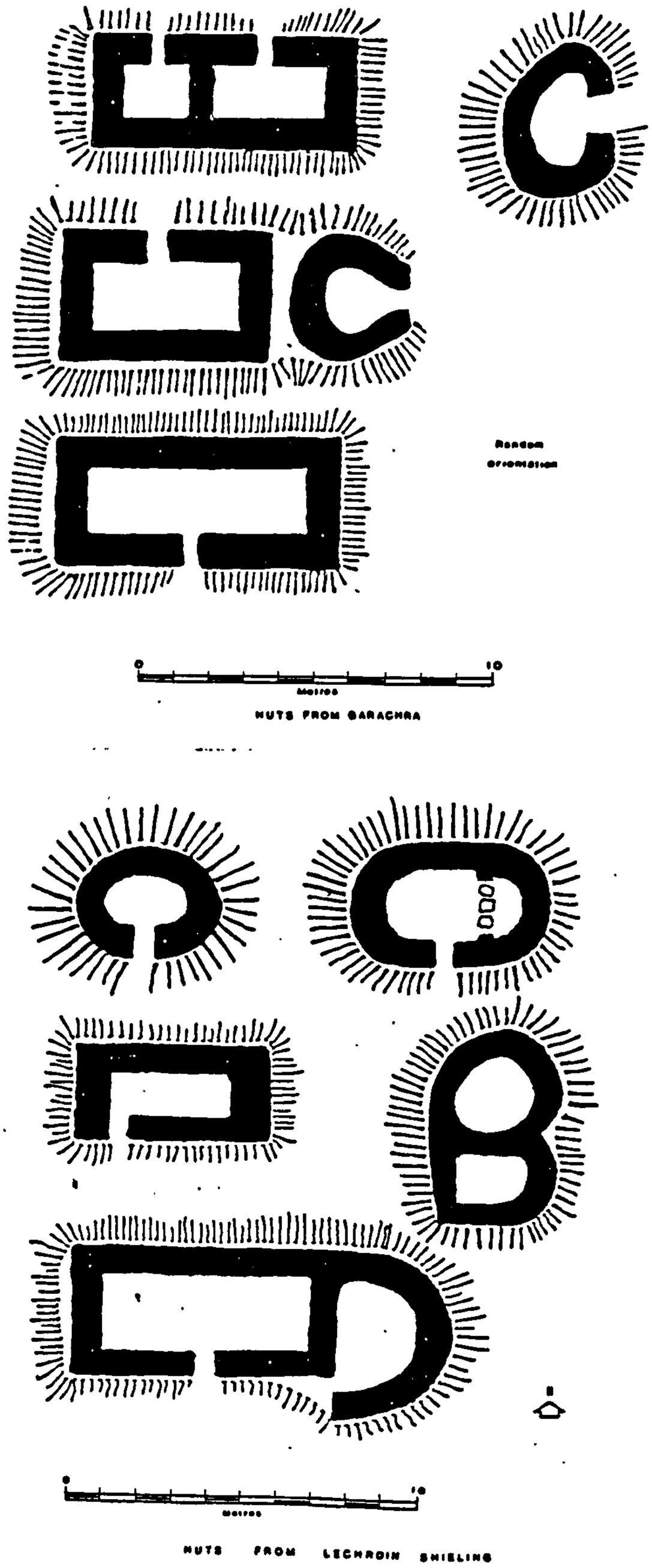
The hypothesis for cultivation of shieling sites in late seventeenth century Balquhidder supports a more general finding by Dodgshon (1981) [11]. He notes that this became common practice by the end of the century in the Highlands, as pressure on land increased. He also notes the fertile nature of such sites from centuries of grazing by stock, their chief disadvantage being isolation from the parent township. Sometimes, therefore, they became separate new townships in their own right. The site at Monachyle is relatively accessible, straddling an old route through the glen. It occupies an open basin in its valley, with a sunny aspect and good shelter among the high hills. There is no indication in any rentals of its being separated from the main townships, and it may therefore have been an extension settlement. A further reason for intensification of use of hill land suggested by Dodgshon, drawing upon evidence from the Southern Uplands, was

THE SHIELINGS OF "LECHROINE," A well preserved series of Shiel Bases, on the banks of Allt a' Chroin, in the western Braes of Balquhidder.

the need for extension of cultivation to support the population, and the consequent loss of old pastures [12]. He detects wide evidence for land shortage in Highland farming between 1650 and 1780 [13]. His general conclusions are not at variance with local evidence in Balquhidder.

Thomas Pennant (1769) [14] described briefly the life of the shielings. He was refreshed at one in Atholl with goat's whey, at a turf cottage. The furnishings consisted of a few horn spoons, milking utensils, a sod couch, and a rug for a night covering. The inhabitants fed on oat cakes, butter or cheese, and the coagulated blood of their beasts. They drank milk, whey, and occasionally whisky. Gaffney (1960) [15] presents a similar picture. Cattle were left to graze fairly freely during the day, watched by herd boys, and folded at night. The folding must infer a relatively small number of beasts, not the large herds cited on the Inverlochlarig lands in 1735.

The shielings of Lechroine are probably the most classic remains of their kind in Balquhidder. They consist of a row of huts, many of the small round or oval type, with a few rectangular ones, on the crest of a ridge above the torrent of Alt a Chroine. The huts each stand upon a small mound, which must contain the rubble of earlier structures. The track from Inverlochlarig passes through the lower end of the site. The small huts have internal dimensions of one and a half to two and a half metres. The long huts are in the order of six by two metres, to seven and a half by three and three quarter metres, internally. Wall bases are about three quarters of a metre thick. Some of the long huts have apsidal ends, and some are square gabled. Variants are subdivided figure eight plans, or huts with separate small extensions built



SHIEL BASES

Fig.21.

against one gable. The huts are surrounded by short fine green grass, in a landscape of heather, coarse bog grasses and rushes. The verdant nature of shieling sites in the rough hill landscapes is a common feature, revealing the effect of centuries of grazing and human occupation. Lechroine is compact in plan, the huts being arranged in a line, a few metres apart, with only one or two outliers found on the ground.

The shielings of Garrachra, at Lianach, contain a similar range of buildings, but are scattered over a wide area of hillside. The shieling of Mieldach in Glen Dubh, west of Glenbuckie, recorded by MacEwen in 1808 [16], was also found to consist of scattered huts on the hillside. (Mieldach means "of one mile.") The limestone subsoil of the Glenbuckie area produces grass of good quality in the rough grazings compared with the schists of the west, which tend towards bog and heath. The layout of shielings appears to have varied with the topography and geology of each locality. All sites have remains of huts varying from small round structures to larger rectangular ones, although none of them is very large. If this variation, combined with the circumstances of the site at Monachyle, indicates the evolution of types of shelter, then the sites could be of great antiquity. There is no clear evidence to support or refute such an hypothesis apart from the early records of the Garrachra shielings.

Dorothy Wordsworth in her journal of 1803 [17] recorded her walk through Balquhidder. In the journey across the mountains from Loch Katrine to the head of Balquhidder Glen, she noted the following:

> "Came to several deserted mountain huts or shiels, rested beside one of them, upon a hillock of its green plot of monumental herbage....The spot of ground where we sate was

> even beautiful, the grass being uncommonly verdant, and of a remarkably soft and silky texture."

The inference is that in 1803 the western shielings were already considered remains of a distant past. She refers to them herself as relics of a lost human society. Her brief description of them is as appropriate in the twentieth century as it was in 1803.

The lack of comprehensive documentary evidence necessitates drawing a hypothetical scenario for the evolution and decline of the transhumance settlements in Balquhidder. The first suggestion is that the shielings probably originated no later then the fifteenth century. They may be older. The second hypothesis is that the distribution of hut types indicates a gradual evolution from very small primitive shelters to more substantial single roomed cottages. This pattern is common to all sites studied in the field. The third point, substantiated by the evidence of the Invercarnaig papers, is that the development of the cattle droving and grazing business changed the economy and use of the shieling grounds by the early eighteenth century. The fourth factor, based upon the evidence in the field and parallel findings elsewhere, is that population pressure on land induced the use of favoured shielings for cultivation, and probably for more permanent settlement. The lack of evidence for shielings in rentals after the middle of the eighteenth century suggests that the transhumance system in Balquhidder had most probably ceased by that time. Such an hypothesis indicates that the first stages of transformation in Highland land use in Balquhidder were not introduced by sheep farming, but by the raising of cattle from a small subsistence role to a commercial one in the economy, and by local needs for increased arable.

These changes appear to have been part of a long process of

evolution in the north of England and in Scotland. Dodgshon (1981) suggests that shieling systems in the Lammermuirs and Cheviots may have begun to decline, as an extensive system, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries [18]. He suggests that the intensification of land use changed the balance of arable and grazing land, and the relative roles of shielings and common grazings. This points to an evolving, rather than a static, economy. He also postulates that particular allocation of demarcated shieling grounds to townships may have occurred at a phase when use of hill land was becoming critical and in need of careful regulation. If he is correct, then the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Balquhidder, when mention of shielings attached to tenancies increases, could have been such a phase.

Ramm, McDowell, and Mercer (1970) [19] argue for a very similar process in Northumberland and Cumbria. They make the case for a medieval and post-medieval period of transhumance. This was replaced with systems of summer grazing which did not involve human migration, towards the end of the seventeenth century. The upland grasslands were thus still utilized, but on a different basis within an economy which had become able to winter cattle. The cattle industry thus developed from a subsistence to a commercial stage. They then argue that in England, many hill grazing or shieling grounds became farmsteads, as pressure on marginal land increased. This produced a further stage of dispersed settlements grafted onto the older pattern. The latter phase did not develop in Balquhidder beyond the possible permanent habitation of some shieling grounds for a short period. Otherwise, their argument provides an exactly parallel case. Watson (1914) [20] points out that Rob Roy MacGregor, whose life spanned the

turn of the eighteenth century, traded in cattle as far south as the north of England, one of the great trysts having been Stagshaw Bank, near Hexham, in Northumberland.

Evidence for changes in the shieling system may also be traced in the Atholl papers. In 1701 there is a record noting that shielings formerly allotted to various named places had been part of the grass of Comrie since the Marquis had got the lands [21]. This would seem to indicate shielings becoming town commonty. Another note regarding the estate of Falkland in 1720 records that the Lomond Hills were the best pasture for sheep in the kingdom, producing fine wool [22]. In Balquhidder, commonty appears to have survived the shieling system by about forty years [23]. There appears a possible process whereby the development of a market economy in animal husbandry led first to a change of use of the shielings, then to the development of extensive common grazing, and very quickly to the demarcation of all hill land. This culminated in the demise of common grazing as a major system of land use.

The new cattle trade was quite different from the keeping of small local herds by tacksmen and tenants for their own use and for occasional sale. It involved the collection of large numbers of cattle by professional drovers, and their movement across country to market centres [24]. Under such a system, demands on land must change. Extensive grazings would be required where herds could be assembled and fed in preparation for their journey. During the journey, stances and grass for overnight rests would be needed. Large numbers of cattle on the move would create different demands on land, and new opportunities for land owners with grass to let. It is suggested that this underlay the changes in

Balquhidder.

This scenario for substantial change in the economy is supported by the entry for Crieff, in the Old Statistical Account of Scotland [25]. It records that up to the middle of the eighteenth century Crieff had been the major market for English cattle dealers seeking Highland cattle for purchase. Thirty thousand head of black cattle had been spread over the adjacent countryside for several miles around the town. Since the middle of the century the market had moved to Falkirk, only ten thousand passing through Crieff on their way there. The entry places the peak of the Perthshire cattle trade, centred on Crieff, in the same period as the postulated changes in Balquhidder. The most direct route from Loch Lomondside and south-west Argyll to Crieff was across the passes west of Inverlochlarig and along the side of Loch Earn. The logic of drovers and graziers renting land in Balquhidder in the early eighteenth century is inescapable. The scale of the Crieff cattle mart must indicate the scale of movement through the surrounding districts. The wintering of four hundred head in West Balquhidder also becomes an acceptable part of the pattern.

Care must be taken not to represent Balquhidder, or any small locality, as typical of the situation throughout Scotland. Captain Burt, writing from the North of Scotland in 1754, records the existence of genuine transhumance [26]. The reference cited from Pennant shows that the shieling system survived in Atholl in 1769. A brief reference by John Knox in 1786 shows that transhumance was practised in the Hebrides at that time [27]. Fenton (1976) [28] traces parallel histories for changes to the transhumance system. Although shielling huts were used and

constructed in part of Lewis into the twentieth century, he notes the early influence of cattle trading. Fenton notes the establishment of a cattle fair at Portree in 1580, and the increase of the trade generally through the seventeenth century. As a result, shieling grounds supported common grazing, with transhumance intermingled with it. He also notes that the Dunblane market, in Perthshire, was prominent in 1663. It may be that the establishment of fairs in Balquhidder in 1695 (See Chapter 8. p. 139) was in some way connected with the cattle trade, but the records provide no evidence. The full demise of transhumance appears to have taken place very gradually across Scotland. Combinations of genuine transhumance with extensive common grazing systems seem to have existed. The gradual increase of the cattle trade as a market economy, according to most accounts, resulted in the old shieling grounds being taken over. It appears probable that the changes took place gradually after the end of the sixteenth century. In Balquhidder the final stages of transition appear in the Glencarnaig rentals in 1735.

The resulting scenario for Balquhidder may therefore be as follows. A system of genuine transhumance within a subsistence economy probably existed in the medieval period, until the end of the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century the value of cattle as a marketable product increased, and by the latter decades of the century the droving trade had become important. The effect upon transhumance was probably to produce a bastard system, with subsistence husbandry alongside commercial cattle grazing. This hypothetical stage would provide the transition into the situation revealed in the early eighteenth century, when commercial letting of shielings and grazing must have finally

eclipsed the transhumance system. Some time in the late seventeenth century the Monachyle shieling was probably converted to cultivation by enclosure. In the middle years of the eighteenth century a system where the old, largely unchanged, townships held common grazings in the adjacent hills, seems to have developed. Between about 1750 and 1790 these commonties were divided, and each township had its own demarcated hill lands. This provides a scenario which is only partially supported by direct evidence. Field evidence adds to the probability that some such process occurred. It is, however, strongly supported in its congruence with similar processes elsewhere in Scotland and the north of England during the same period. Sudden change is an unlikely part of the pattern, but a long drawn out evolution over at least two centuries is suggested. The only possible solution to the enigmas and lacunae in the history of the Balquhidder shielings is an archaeological one. The value of conserving at least one important site in its entirety is therefore underlined.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 11.

1. Atholl MSS. 42.II.(1).4.
2. Atholl MSS. 43.IV.A.19.
3. Atholl MSS. 43.IV.A.22.
4. Atholl MSS. 43.IV.A.31.
5. Atholl MSS. 43.IV.A.16.
6. Forfeited Estates Papers E738/50/1. (1739). S.R.O.
7. Forfeited Estates Papers GD160/234/9.
8. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49. (1735).
9. Exchequer Rolls of Scotland Vol.10. 1488 - 1495.

10. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49. (1751).

11. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon, Oxford 1981. pp.294 - 295.

12. Ibid. pp.163 - 164.

13. Ibid. pp.298 - 299.

14. Pennant.T. "A Tour in Scotland in 1769." Reprint by Melven Press, Perth. 1979. pp.108 - 109.

15. Gaffney.V. "Shielings of the Drumochter." Scottish Studies Vol.11. 1967. p.91. and "The Lordship of Strathaven: Tomintoul under the Gordons." Third Spalding Club. Aberdeen. 1960. Chapter I. The author is also indebted to G.A.Dixon Esq., of Stirling, Archivist to Scottish Central Region, for sight of a further unpublished MSS by Gaffney entitled "Summer Shielings and Rural Settlement in the Braes of Abernethy." Sept. 1977.

16. MacEwen.G. "Estate of Glenbuckie." Callander 1808. RHP.3369/11. S.R.O.

17. Wordsworth.D. "A Tour in Scotland in 1803." Reprint by James Thin, Edinburgh 1974. p.236.

18. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. p.163.

19. Ramm.H.G., McDowell.R.W., and Mercer.E. "Shielings and Bastles. R.C.A.M., H.M.S.O. 1970. pp.3 - 6.

20. Watson.F. "The Braes of Balquhidder." William Hodge, London 1914. pp.34 - 35.

21. Atholl MSS. Sundry MSS & Correspondence. Bundle 287.

22. Ibid.

23. Old Statistical Account of Scotland. Ed. Withrington.D.J. and Grant.I.R. Wakefield 1977. Vol.XII. p.42.

24. Haldane.A.R.B. "The Drove Roads of Scotland." David & Charles. Newton Abbot. 1973. Passim, for an account of the development of the droving industry.

25. O.S.A., Withrington.D.J. & Grant.I.R. 1977. Op.cit. Vol.XII. pp.291 - 293.

26. Burt."Letters from the North of Scotland." 1754. Vol.II. Letter XX. pp.132 - 133.

27. Knox.J. "A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786." Reprint by James Thin, Edinburgh. 1975. p.94.

28. Fenton.A. "Scottish Country Life." John Donald, Edinburgh. 1976. pp.132 - 134.

CHAPTER 12. THE ATHOLL ESTATES IN BALQUHIDDER.

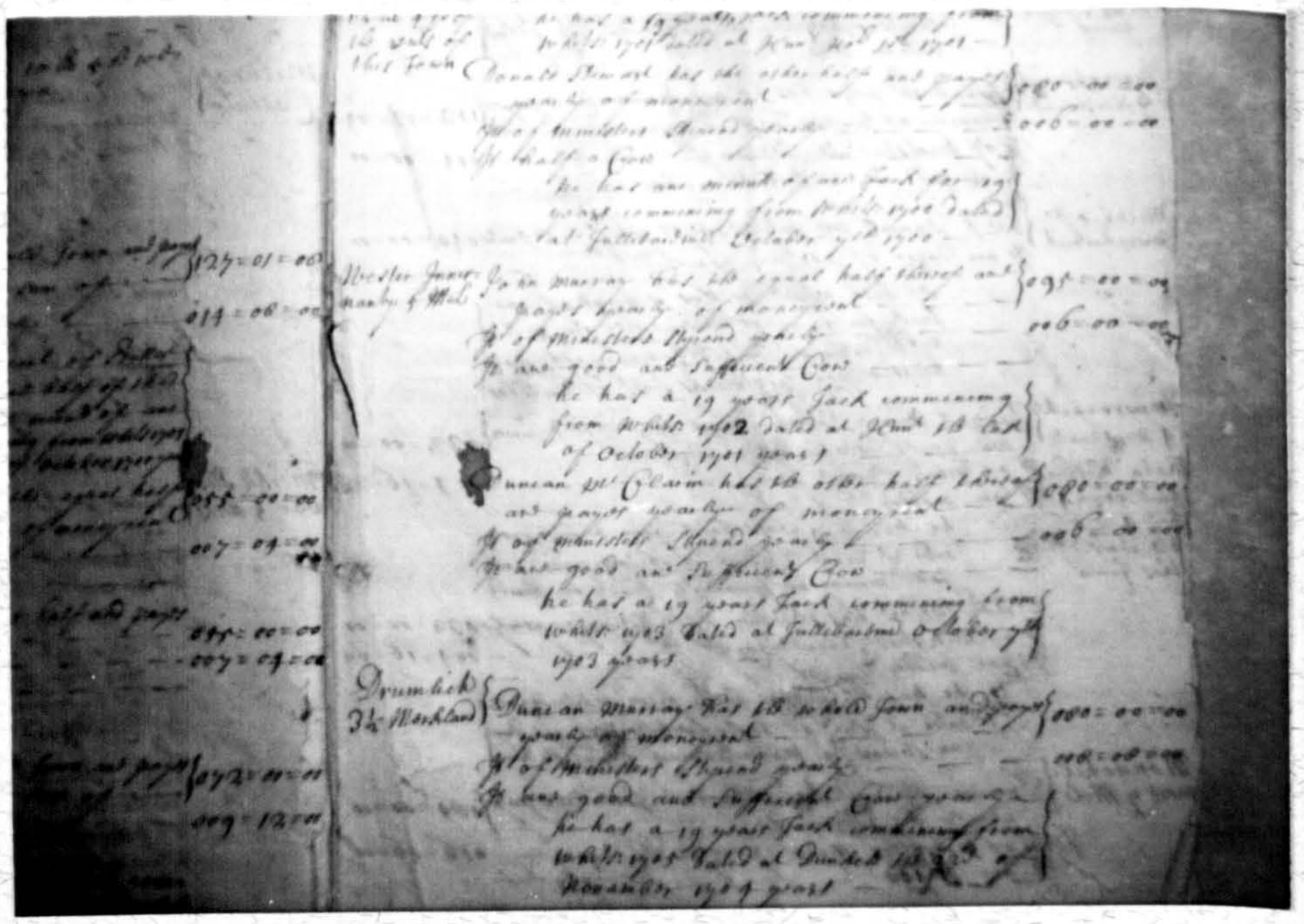
1718 TO 1801.

The choice of distinctive periods in the local history of Balquhidder becomes demonstrably more difficult as the complexities of local history are exposed. In Part III (pp.108 - 166) an early modern period was suggested, from about 1648 to 1718. This was based upon changes in the general character of estates administration and development, as far as could be judged from documentary sources. The last three decades of that period ushered in a number of new features, such as the institution of parish schools supported by government grant aid, charity schools operated by the S.S.P.C.K., the undertaking of public works by contract, and indications of standardisation of feu contracts with clauses imposing new responsibilities for the care of property. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth century rentals suggested that senior tacksmen may have been manoeuvering for positions of local superiority as estatesmen (See pp.142 - 143). Some historians might therefore quite justifiably suggest the last decades of the seventeenth century as the beginning of the modern period.

On the other hand, the structure which underpinned the success of the Stewarts of Glenbuckie and the MacGregors of the west was still the extended family. Sons, brothers, and cousins, had tacks of adjacent holdings, or were principal tenants within the senior tacksmen's domains. The structure of society and the

tenurial system was still strongly influenced by old Celtic custom. Gradual "modernisation" of estate administration was taking place around a highly traditional framework. A great deer hunt was called on the 8th August 1710, with all the trappings of medieval Highland tradition [1]. MacLaren (1976) [2] records a confrontation between Clan Labhran and Clan Gregor at Balquhidder in 1734, where the Stewarts of Appin sided with the MacLarens in what threatened to become a pitched battle. The dispute was over the right to a tack of Invernenty held by John MacLaren Baron Stob Chon, to which the MacGregors laid claim. The matter was settled by a duel between two champions, Stewart of Invernahyle and Rob Roy MacGregor. Stewart won the duel, and Rob Roy died a year later. Rob Roy's sons murdered John MacLaren in cold blood, when he was ploughing, on the 4th March 1736, and wasted his house [3]. The feuding spirit of the Highland clans was not completely extinguished, even in Balquhidder. This rare late outbreak of settlement of dispute by combat was, significantly, over a legal right to land, in a community which appears to have been pressed for that commodity by the second half of the seventeenth century. The persistence of archaic characteristics of society, land holding, and settlement, into the modern period, makes it impossible to define a clear threshold between medieval and modern cultures in Balquhidder.

This chapter, therefore, traces the continuing development of the Atholl estates through the eighteenth century, until their sale in 1801. For this purpose, the starting point will be the eventual standardisation of contracts of feu, the central document in land transaction. The questions surrounding the development of social structures and land holding will be examined through



THE ATHOLL RENT BOOK OF 1705,
showing entries for Wester
Invernenty and Druimlich.

PART OF GEORGE STOBIE'S MAP OF PERTHSHIRE,
showing Balquhidder and the Trossachs in 1787.

rentals and other records. The Atholl sources do not provide the full picture of eighteenth century Balquhidder, however. In restricting attention to them, it is essential to be aware of parallel material. The most important of such are the records of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, which enable a detailed study of the Baronies of Balquhidder and Strathyre to be presented for the second half of the century. Also, by abstracting specific material from the Atholl manuscripts, the MacGregor papers, and early maps, the development of the two tacksmen's estates of Glenbuckie and Invercarnaig can be reconstructed.

To attempt all of these in one chapter would lead to confusion. This chapter will therefore present evidence for the general development of estate administration, and patterns of land holding. Later chapters will deal with the details available from other sources, or from different analysis of the Atholl records. The presupposition is that the period from about 1680 to 1718 witnessed the laying of the foundations upon which the developments of the eighteenth century were built. The process also involved consolidating aspects of the archaic social structure of Balquhidder and ensuring its survival into the early nineteenth century, albeit in a much modified form. It will be shown that the settlement structure persisted as long as the cultural and economic bases of society continued to evolve slowly and relatively continuously, adapting to changing economic situations without trauma.

In 1722 the Duke of Atholl had a standard form of tack designed for his tenants [4]. Although it appears to refer specifically to tenants in Atholl, it closely resembles the form of words used in Balquhidder. The document contained underlined

blank spaces for inserting the names of parties, the dates, and the names of the lands conveyed. Space was also left for the parish name, the period of the tack or lease, and the rents and duties. It still contained quantities of casualties, with spaces to enter amounts. Therefore, although commutation must have been general, the rights to payment in kind were preserved (See Chapter 8, pp.136-138). The date for entry to the houses and grass of farms was Whitsunday, and entry to the arable land was at the time of separation of the crop from the ground. Transfer of tenure therefore protected the outgoing tenant's right to his crop, and ensured a full farming year. Silver duty was payable at Martinmas, and casualties at Candlemas. The preamble included a clause which covered all possible pertinents of the holding. The tenant was to indemnify the Duke from all cesses, taxations, and ministers' and schoolmasters' stipends and salaries, and any other public burdens attaching to the lands. In addition the tenant was bound to perform services of hosting, hunting, watching and warding, and carriages, in accordance with normal usage, as required. The contract was an amalgam of eighteenth century leasehold and feudal obligation.

Following clauses in the contract reveal a new trend in the administration of the estates. Clause three obliged the tenant to enclose his lands with stone dykes or ditches and hedges within a specified number of years from his date of entry. The lands were to be divided into three, and two divisions kept under corn and one under grass. The form left blanks for filling in names and quantities. Clause four obliged the tenant to sow a minimum quantity of seed in the hill land or moor adjacent to the town, clear the same of stones, and use the stones to enclose the

intake. This is the first evidence for a policy of improvement being imposed upon tenants as part of their feu contracts. It suggests that the eighteenth century was a period in which the nascent processes of improvement, detected earlier, were to come to fruition.

The next clauses relate to planting policies. Clause five required the tenant to sow specified quantities of pease, potatoes, and turnips, each year. Once again the form left a blank space for the quantity to be filled in. Clause six required the planting of trees, which would be supplied on demand by the Duke's gardeners or foresters at the proper season for planting. Tree planting was to be carried out annually, with the quantity entered on the form. The Duke must therefore have been attempting to diversify crops, as well as requiring a form of three field rotation. It is interesting to note that turnips and potatoes were included in the lists as early as 1722. Turnips facilitated the wintering of stock, and potatoes provided a staple less adversely affected by the wet climate.

Clause seven required the tenant to water part of his ley land each year. This must have seemed a strange requirement in a country where excess of water was a major problem, but it signals attention to water meadows, possibly to stimulate early grass. The second part of the clause required all the houses and lofts to be thatched with heather, and a stone or clay chimney to be built in the living quarters of the house. The house, dykes and enclosures, had to be left in sufficient repair at the end of the tack. The Duke undertook always to furnish the great timber for the buildings. Such a clause confirms the importance attaching to permanent buildings in the early eighteenth century. Estate policy

was one for improvement of agricultural practice, of crops, and of buildings, through the action of the tacksmen under the terms of their contracts.

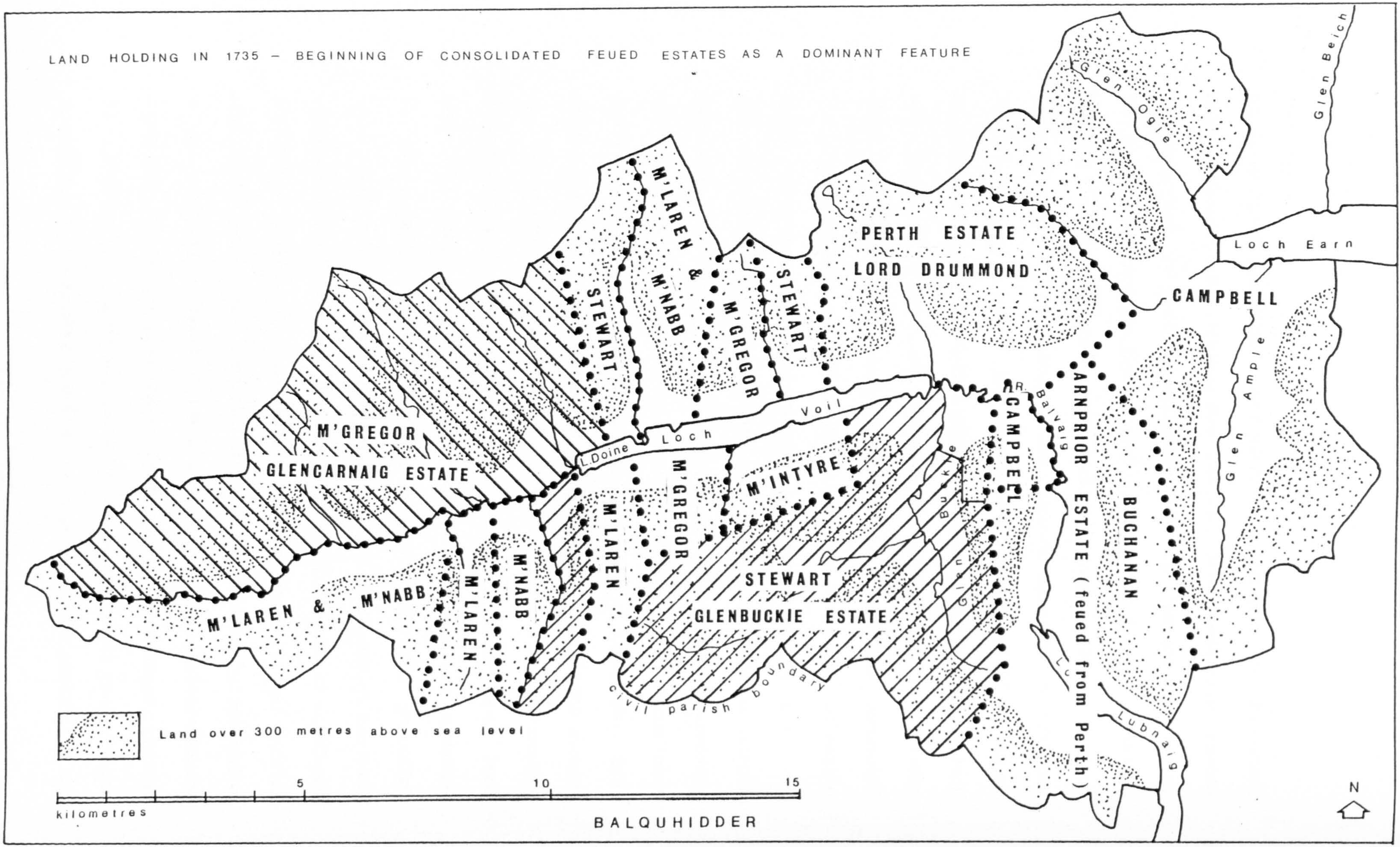
The document laid other obligations upon the contracting party. Clause eight required the tenant to ensure that neither he, nor his subtenants and cottars, committed any thefts, or harboured thieves or stolen goods. In default, the Duke was released from his obligations in the contract, and the tenants were liable for restitution of all damages. Clause nine required the tacksman to keep his own children at school, until they had perfected their speaking, reading, and writing of English, and their arithmetic. The contract was also an instrument of social improvement and discipline.

Clause ten contains penalties and benefits attaching to the requirements of the contract. Failure to pay the annual tack duty within fourteen days of the due date, or failure to carry out enclosure and planting, deprived the tenant of his contract. The case would be heard in the Regality Court, and the tenant could be fined forty pints of liquid ale. To encourage fulfilment of the terms, however, the Duke bound himself and his successors to make the first offer of the succeeding lease to the tenant, or his heirs or successors, if the requirements of the lease were satisfactorily completed. Good tacksmen tenants were thus more or less assured of hereditary tenure, and the enjoyment of the benefits of their improvements.

A further form of contract which follows in the minute book added another requirement. Tenants were to plough and prepare their grounds each year for spring sowing. They were to spread marl, clay, or lime on part of their land wherever these could be

found within five miles of their town. Otherwise they were to manure with new ground that had been rested (sic), which appears to refer to topsoiling. Some primitive attempts at fertilisation appear to have been imposed. This second version of the form of contract omits shielings from the preamble, which may be significant in view of conclusions reached in Chapter 11 (See pp.196 - 197). There is a note in the margin, however, which states that if there was a shieling attached to the lands set in tack, then it must be used only at the Duke's pleasure. The inference must be that attachment of shielings was becoming less common by the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

The standard form of contract infers the emergence of a formal leasing policy for the Atholl estates. Whether it was implemented fully in Balquhidder or not is unclear, but the conclusions to be drawn are relevant. The date of the document in 1722 places it in the reign of John Murray, Marquess and First Duke of Atholl, who according to the family tree died in 1724 [5]. Evaluation of the new form of tack must therefore give credit to Lord John Murray, First Duke of Atholl, for initiating the improving polices so successfully followed by the family over the following century. Lord James, the Second Duke (1690 - 1764) is credited in the Blair Castle guide with introducing the larch from the Tyrol to Dunkeld in 1737. Lord John Murray, the Fourth Duke, (1755 - 1830), became a great planter and a pioneer of coniferous afforestation in Scotland [6]. At the same time, Blair Castle was progressively converted from a Highland chief's fortress to a stately eighteenth century ducal residence [7]. It is therefore argued that the emergence of an overt policy of improvement, in the full sense of the term, can be documented from 1722. Although



Sources – Atholl; Drummond; & McGregor MSS

Fig.22.

the problems surrounding the fixing of a watershed between early and modern periods in Balquhidder cannot be fully solved, it seems rational to suggest that significant changes took place around the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century.

Records also indicate increasing fluidity in tenurial patterns. Some new principal tenants were appearing who were not natives of Balquhidder. Some of the indigenous families were expanding their estates. Aspects of this process may be deduced from court minutes. A court was held in the Kirk of Balquhidder on the 30th July 1735 [8]. It was presided over by Robert Murray (MacGregor) of Glencarnaig, the Duke of Atholl's Baillie. The purpose of the court was to take up the feu duties of the estate of Balquhidder, and to record the rentals. The record lists and accounts for the holdings of all of the Balquhidder tacksmen who were vassals of the Duke of Atholl. It did not record subtenants or cottars, and therefore no complete assessment of the population structure can be made from it. The pattern of tenure had, however, changed in some townships since 1718 (See Chapter 8, pp.140 - 145). The most marked difference was in the west, where James McNabb of Blaircreich had obtained a half share of Wester Druimlich as well as the Easter half of Wester Invernenty. This appears to be the first time a McNabb tacksman was registered in Balquhidder. Later papers from the MacGregor of Edenchip manuscripts show McNabbs renting grazings in the west in 1752 [9]. Four McIntyre tacksmen possessed Muirlagan. They demonstrate the development of complex kindred groups. John McIntyre had inherited his share from his deceased father, also a John McIntyre. His co-tacksmen were another John, son of Donald McIntyre, a third John son of Patrick McIntyre, and Donald McIntyre himself. The

shareholders appear to have consisted of a father and son, and two cousins. The MacGregor kindred appear to have lost the Druimlich lands by 1735. The township of Stronslaney had been acquired by James Campbell, noted as an Ensign in Carrick's Company. In 1718 it was in tack to Alexander Stewart, with Donald Fergusson as his subtenant. The whole sixteen marklands of Glenbuckie were feued to Alexander Stewart of Glenbuckie, and the junior tacksmen were not entered in the returns. He also retained the western half of Easter Invernenty. His total holding was eighteen and a half marklands plus, of course, the very extensive hill grazings. Invercarnaig, Easter Inverlochlarig, half of Immereach, half of Craigruie, and the mill of Invercarnaig, were feued to Robert Murray of Invercarnaig. His total tack amounted to seventeen marklands plus the hill pastures. The other large estate belonged to the minor heir of Colonel Campbell of Fonab, comprising Glenogle, Auchraw, Dalveich, Carnlea, Glenbeich, and the mill of Carnlea, the whole being thirty marklands plus the hill.

Not only the large tacksmen were in possession of multiple holdings. Robert Stewart of Monachylebeg had half of that township and half of Immereach. Duncan MacLaren, portioner of Wester Invernenty, had also half of Wester Druimlich, obviously portioned with James McNabb. John Stewart of Hindfield presented himself on behalf of his mother Helen Murray for the two Stronvars and half of the Mill of Callair with half of the mill croft, which latter she still shared with the tacksman of Gartnafuaran, James Stewart, son of the deceased Alexander Stewart of Gartnafuaran. Land tenure was still extremely complex, and still heritable. Nevertheless the townships of Monachyle More, Ledcreich, Easter Druimlich, and Wester Inverlochlarig Beg, seem to have been sole tenancies.

The tacksmen must have appeared at the court in person or been represented. The entries in the record are signed by the tacksmen concerned. They produced their charters or contracts, some proving inheritance. It would appear that payment was made to the baillie at the time. They could all sign their names by this date if not earlier.

While the majority of tacksmen were hereditary, and usually members of extended kindred groups, the examples of James McNabb and Ensign Campbell show that outsiders were able to take up leases. Land could change hands. Portioners might be members of closely related extended family groups such as the McIntyres of Muirlaggan, or the proscribed Macgregors under their several aliases, or the Glenbuckie Stewarts who appear only in the persons of the senior tacksmen. On the other hand they might not be so connected, a case of which was the sharing of Wester Druimlich by the indigenous Duncan MacLaren, and James McNabb. The rental tends to suggest the beginning of a transition from the old system of portioning between native extended families, towards a situation where leases would become available to any willing feuer. This changing situation may have been the cause of the land disputes between the MacLaren and MacGregor familes, as it also permitted changes within the indigenous structure. Land was beginning to become a commodity in the market place, but only to a small degree. The majority of tacks remained in the hands of older families. Hereditary tenure was still more or less guaranteed. The new standard form of tack of 1722 appears to fit closely the tenurial system revealed by the later Balquhidder rentals in 1735.

Sundry documents provide insights into life in Balquhidder in the first half of the eighteenth century. They further reveal

the character of the Duke of Atholl as a landlord. In 1721 an act of the Regality Court prohibited the export of wool or yarn out of the estates, unless it was made up into plaiding, tartan, or other cloth, to preserve employment for the people [10]. The Duke's concern was not restricted to the agricultural economy. The reaction of the Duke to distress is revealed when Alexander Stewart of Gartnafuaran lost his house by fire. On the 25th October 1726 the commissioner of the Atholl estates was recommended to draw up new documents for him, and to render such assistance as was in his Grace's power [11]. On the 10th February 1727 it was recorded that a tack had been granted to Alexander Stewart of Gartnafuaran for a period of fifteen years, although his lost contract had been for thirteen years commencing at Whitsunday 1724. His duty was fixed at eighty pounds, and no entry fee was charged. The record states that these concessions were on account of his losses, and especially for his encouragement [12]. Although the terms of tacks were strict, the Duke was a benevolent landlord. He also granted an increase of salary to his officer in Balquhidder, Duncan MacFarlane, because the lands lay at a distance from Atholl, necessitating long journeys to attend court or to report to Blair as his office required.

A letter from Alexander Murray to Donald Stewart, factor, in Balquhidder, provides another vignette [13]. The Duke sent orders that a gun possessed by Duncan Stewart was to be returned, because it was issued as part of the King's arms. It was not permitted for Duncan to keep it. Duncan's duties included rounding up stray cattle, and the letter instructs him to place these in the park of Letters. It also agrees with his proposal to make Malcolm McIntyre post, or messenger, for a salary of twelve pounds Scots plus one

pound each time he travelled to Atholl in the seed time or harvest. He was to be sent once each fortnight. These random instructions by letter reveal the organisation by which the distant Balquhidder estates were administered from Blair Castle. The popular picture of Highland society as idle and anarchic, encapsulated in the minutes of the S.S.P.C.K. (See chapter 9, pp.186-187), becomes increasingly difficult to accept. It was, however, firmly believed in Edinburgh and London.

The full text of a document commissioning Robert Murray of Invercarnaig as a baillie of the Regality of Atholl is preserved in the MacGregor of Edenchip papers [14]. His commission was justified on account of the remoteness of Balquhidder, and the consequent inconvenience to vassals and tenants of attending court at Logierait. Robert Murray the Younger of Invercarnaig was empowered to hold courts of regality in Balquhidder for hearing criminal and civil cases. He might appoint clerks, fiscal officers, dempsters, and other members of the court as necessary. The proceeds of the court fees and fines were assigned to him, out of which he was to meet the costs of the courts and defray the charges of its officers and members. Any fines or confiscations in excess of fifty pounds Scots were, however, reserved for the Duke. The commission was written on stamped paper and entered in the books of council, duly witnessed by other regality officers. It was dated at Dunkeld on the 6th January 1731. This commission must have been the authorization under which Murray held the court at the Kirk of Balquhidder in 1735, for the review of feus and rents.

The Atholl manuscripts give little indication of the effect of the early Jacobite adventures in 1715 upon Balquhidder. It has been said that Rob Roy MacGregor was the centre of a drama not of

his own making during that period [15]. Born in Callander parish on the 7th March 1671, baptised in Buchanan, he died in Balquhidder in 1735. The record of the auction of his forfeited estate of Craigroyston, or Inversnaid, Loch Lomondside, by the Commissioners on the 16th September 1720, is preserved in the Macgregor of Edenchip papers [16]. It was sold to one Halket, enigmatically identified as the Commissioner for York Buildings, for eight hundred and twenty pounds sterling. The disturbances appear not to have interrupted affected estates in Balquhidder, however.

The same cannot be said of the Jacobite wars of 1745 - 1746. MacLaren (1976) [17] gives a good summary of the activities of Balquhidder families in the campaign. The MacGregors and MacLarens, with the Stewarts of Appin, enrolled in the Stewart cause, and shared in the defeat at Culloden. Stewart of Glenbuckie mustered also, but was found shot on the following night. His men returned to Glenbuckie, but remained Jacobite sympathisers. As a result of the participation of Balquhidder people in the Jacobite cause, retribution was exacted. The whole estate of Invercarnaig was fired and laid waste during the punitive campaign which followed Culloden [18]. Fraser (1867) states that houses were burned in the glen [19], and asserts that the first great depopulation of the parish followed, mainly by emigration to Georgia in America, still a Gaelic colony in the mid nineteenth century. Houses in the Barony of Balquhidder were fired by disorderly troopers [20]. One local result was the bankruptcy of the Invercarnaig estate [21]. There must have been repercussions from the Act of Parliament for Disarming the Highlands, in 1746 [22]. Another event affecting the general administration of the

Atholl estates, must have been the removal of powers of heritable jurisdiction from the Scottish chiefs and aristocrats in 1748 [23].

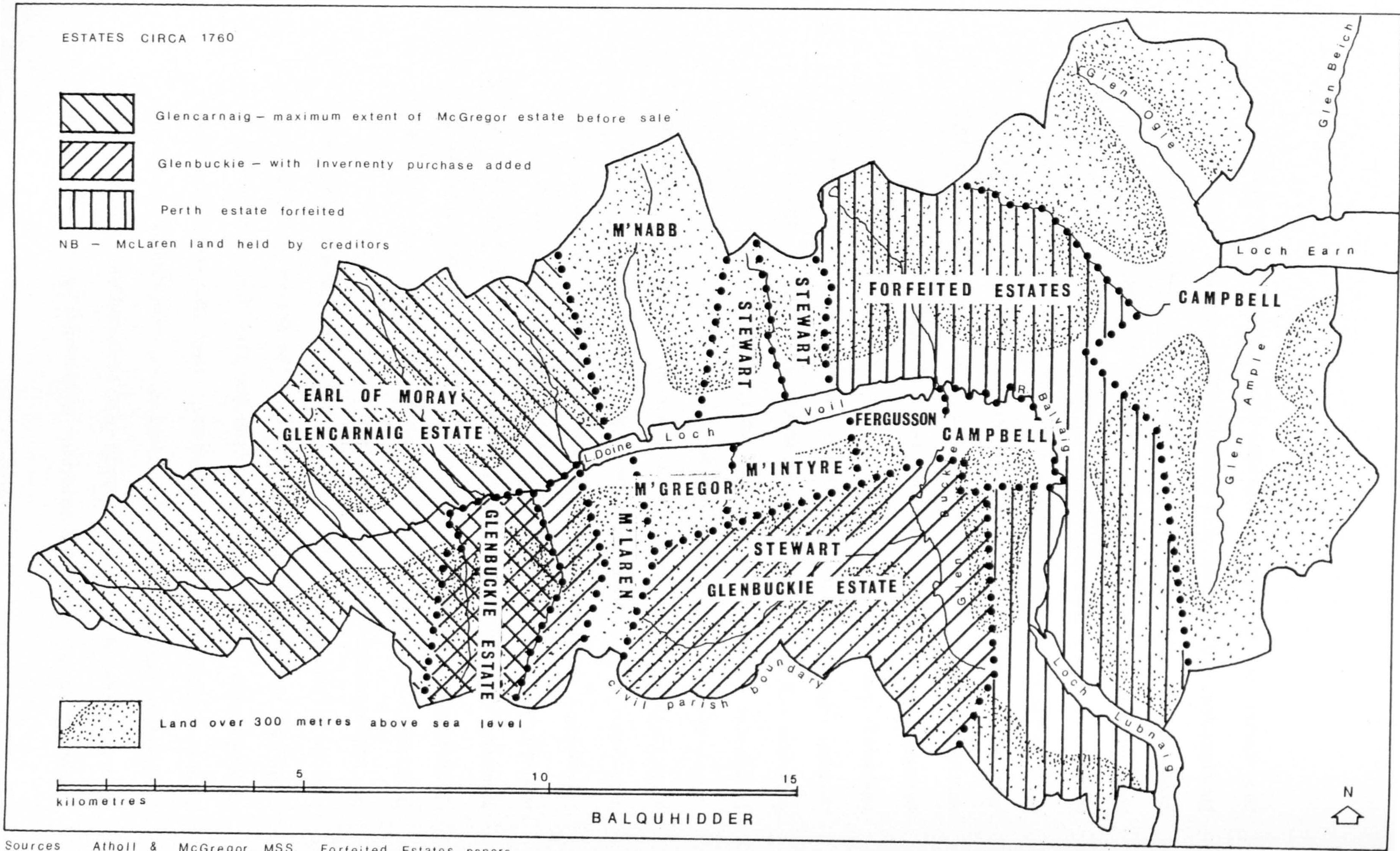
The enactments of 1746 and 1748 were draconian. The use of Highland dress, and the wearing or manufacture of tartan in the Highlands, were prohibited. No person in the shires north of the Forth might own or carry weapons of any kind. All teachers in schools and universities had to be specially licensed, take an oath of loyalty to King George, and pray for His Majesty by name. Penalties for breach of the act were six months imprisonment for the first offence, and transportation to His Majesty's plantations in America for life for a second offence. Lords Lieutenant were empowered to receive all arms, and to search houses. Any weapon discovered on a property was automatically attributed to the tenant, man or woman. Penalties against the laws affecting weapons or dress were the same, a fine of fifteen pounds sterling, or compulsory service in the American wars, or if unfit for service six months in prison with security for good behaviour. A second offence carried the penalty of transportation into slavery on the plantations. Justices of the peace were empowered to search premises day or night, in the presence of a constable if opposition was offered, and to call out troops. For the purpose of the act the Highland bagpipe was classed as a weapon of war.

The justice of the acts is controversial. The government had suffered minor Jacobite alarms, and two major risings, since the exile of James II. The 1745 campaign reached the English midlands and apparently threatened London. There can be little doubt that the raising of the Highland army was in part facilitated by the powers of Highland chiefs and aristocrats to call out their hosts.

The terms of the Atholl contracts of feu have been shown to incorporate obligations of a quasi military nature. The punitive measures exacted without discrimination across Scotland, and in the counties north of the Forth in particular, assumed a general pattern of militarism and rebellion which must, however, have been a distortion of the true state of affairs. The removal of heritable jurisdiction also destroyed the role of the regality courts as instruments of adjudication in the remote regions. The hierarchy of local officers, baillies, and factors, must have been weakened, with some disadvantage. The attempt to extinguish all outward symbols of Gaelic culture, extending even to weavers' patterns and indigenous musical traditions, must be seen as added to earlier determination to stamp out the Gaelic language.

The policy of fire and sword carried out by the Duke of Cumberland not only stamped out any last vestiges of rebellion, but, as in the Invercarnaig estate, it destroyed an already improving Highland infrastructure. From the perspective of history, it can be seen that Prince Charles Edward Stuart was received with some reluctance in Morven in 1745 even by his sympathisers. But the aftermath of the rebellion was coloured by political panic in London, and by the perception of Highland society apparent in documents already discussed.

The effects of these political changes must have been deep, and the society which emerged from the period of restriction at the repeal of the disarming act on the 17th June 1782 must have been modified in many respects. Nevertheless there are indications that the general directions of evolution were guided more by patterns of change already well advanced before 1745. One important factor which may have been encouraged by the reprisals,



Sources Atholl & McGregor MSS. Forfeited Estates papers.

Fig.23.

however, was emigration. In the context of local settlement and social history the hiatus of the 1745 rising, and the actions taken in its aftermath, provide some opportunity to assess the effect of changes imposed by political fiat and armed force upon a long established community.

The latest major document in the Atholl collection relating to Balquhidder is a rental of 1760 [24]. It indicates further local changes in patterns of land holding. Also, the sums charged were all in sterling, and the use of Scots money appears to have ceased. Entry to tacks was still regulated by the agricultural year. The rental was taken entirely through the senior tacksmen, and no information is available as to junior portioners or sub-tenants in the majority of cases. The entries refer to the charters or contracts held by each feuer.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, financial resources gained elsewhere were being introduced into the economy of the Balquhidder estates. Some tacksmen were no longer dependent on the product of their lands for their livelihood. Examples may be cited. James Campbell, now a captain, held Stronslaney and the lands of Gartnafuaran and half the mill of Callair. He was registered as a singular successor unentered in respect of Gartnafuaran and the mill, for which he produced the contract of feu dated 7th October 1719. In 1726 and 1727 these lands were held by Alexander Stewart. Campbell had been buying into the tacks. In 1773 the lands of Stronslaney and Gartnafuaran were granted to Roderick McLeod, Writer to the Signet [25]. His charter includes references to rights to peat, turf, coals, coalheughs, and quarries of stone and chalk. The Duke of Atholl had colliery interests in Fife by that time [26], and new items were being

added to the categories of standard provisions in the charters. Roderick McLeod's daughter, Ann, married Colonel John Murray of Lanrick, and inherited her father's Balquhidder estate. Murray was Military Auditor General to the East India Company, and a descendant of the Murray or MacGregor chiefs of Invercarnaig. On the 7th March 1801 Lord John Murray, fourth Duke of Atholl (1785 - 1805) sold the superiority of Balquhidder to Sir John MacGregor Murray of Lanrick, Baronet [27]. Wealth and position acquired away from Balquhidder was returning. The late Major John Stewart of Ardvorlich, when asked by the author how the family were able to build a substantial house to replace the old buildings of Ardvorlich, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, suggested increased income from a member of the family holding a position as commissioner on another large estate in Scotland. New sources of income supplemented the local economy, and made possible the purchase of feus and various improvements.

The townships of Monachylemore, Monachylebeg, and Immereach, were feued to Archibald McNabb of Newtown, according to the 1760 rentals. The name Newtown appears at this location for the first time, and was confirmed on Stobie's map [28]. It suggests some rebuilding but the details have not been discovered. A charter of clare constat, confirming an estate to an heir, dated 17th August 1793, assigned the lands to John McNabb as successor to his father. John McNabb was a Writer to the Signet. The two Stronvars were feued to Mr Finlay Ferguson, minister of Balquhidder. On the 5th April 1786 his son, Lieutenant Robert Ferguson of Stronvar, succeeded him in the lands of Meikle and Little Stronvar, half of the mill of Callair, and half of the mill croft [29]. Robert Ferguson was also a lawyer. A new class of landholding

professionals, not wholly dependent on their estates, with University education, was emerging in Balquhidder. Underlying this development, however, the old townships were still divided and portioned. The charters themselves seem to have perpetuated the settlement structure in each conveyance.

Alongside these changes, Muirlaggan remained portioned among the members of the indigenous McIntyre family. The exact number of portioners is not revealed, but the rental states that Donald McIntyre produced a charter dated 1st April 1760 for half of the tenancy. The other half was divided between the heirs of John McIntyre, amounting to two marklands. That was a very small share among several families. The present owner of Muirlaggan told the author that five McIntyre lairds once shared the township, and Langlands indicated five houses on the lands in 1814 [30]. Invernenty remained subdivided, but John Stewart of Glenbuckie had purchased from Glencarnaig the lands of Blaircreich or the Easter half of Wester Invernenty. He was registered as a singular successor unentered. Monachyletuarach remained in the MacGregor, alias Murray, succession. Walter Murray produced a precept of clare constat for the farm as heir to his father, dated 17th November 1757. In 1776, however, Monachyletuarach passed to Katherine and Janet Stewart and their heirs and successors, daughters of Elizabeth Murray, wife of John Stewart in Monachyletuarach and sister german to the deceased Donald Murray [31]. Devious descent through cousinage and marriage in local families, and in the female line, in the old Celtic tradition, was still in operation as a means of inheritence. Subdivision was still widely practised.

The larger estates or groupings of townships persisted in

1760, often preserved through processes of sale and transfer. The Earl of Moray purchased the bankrupt Invercarnaig estate from its trustees, and held the lands of Invercarnaig, Inverlochlarig, and Druimlich, and the grazings of Lechroine. He was another exogenous landlord. The boundaries of his new territory reflect the great MacGregor estate of 1718 (see chapter 9, p.152). Although the lands had changed hands, and the tenants of the various townships had a new overlord, the estate remained intact. Glenbuckie continued in his ancestral holdings, but also possessed half of Wester Invernenty, and the western half of Easter Invernenty, as well as Marchfield or Blaircreich. Glenogle and the north eastern townships of Balquhidder still belonged to the Campbells of Fonab. The estatesman still actively expanding was Stewart of Glenbuckie.

The failing fortunes of the MacLarens of Invernenty provide another facet to the gradually changing scenario in Balquhidder. The details are explained by MacLaren (1976) [32], but briefly Donald MacLaren had got into debt. A drover by trade, his involvement in the 1745 rising, and subsequent imprisonment and escape, led to a fugitive existence which ruined his business. His friend Dugald Stewart of Appin advanced him money on the security of the Invernenty property. A lawsuit followed, MacLaren's creditors claiming that he could not offer his property as security while indebted to them. Donald MacLaren's son James eventually obtained sasine of the property on the 23rd November 1801. Sir Walter Scott described the sequel in his introduction to Rob Roy [33]. Stewart of Appin, MacLaren's benefactor and creditor, was also in debt. Scott was sent as a young lawyer to Invernenty with a writ for the settlement of the debts out of the proceeds of Invernenty. James MacLaren sold Invernenty for five

hundred pounds, cleared his account, and emigrated. The smallness of the holding combined with the financial effects of the 1745 on his father's affairs finally ended the MacLaren presence in Invernenty, uninterrupted since the middle ages.

In summary, Balquhidder was undergoing some important changes in the period from about 1760 to the end of the century. New tacksmen not fully dependent upon their tacks for income were buying into the parish. Some may not have been permanently resident. The destruction of the fortunes of the Murray MacGregors of Glencarnaig following 1745 had bankrupted the family, but had not rendered the estate itself inviable, nor resulted in its dismembering, but had necessitated a change of ownership. The records must infer a need for considerable rebuilding of houses and steadings. The situation of the Earl of Moray replacing the MacGregor tacksman as a vassal of the Duke of Atholl is curious. All three major estates in Balquhidder remained intact. The appearance of professional men with education as tacksmen is also a mark of changing times. Underlying, and alongside these changes, the inference is that the clachan or multiple tenancy township still formed the basic settlement system. Subdivision, partible inheritance, and the importance of the extended family, were still features of Balquhidder landholding and society. The failing fortunes of Invernenty demonstrate the real repercussions of the Jacobite adventure, leading to the financial ruin of some old tacksman families, often some years after the event. The viability of very small shared holdings without another source of income appears to have been coming to an end.

An important aspect of eighteenth century society was the central role of the tacksmen as a class. From 1735 onwards they

represented the tenant class at the regality courts, paid the duties and rents, and provided the baillies and officers. While the researcher may be disadvantaged by the disappearance of lesser tenants from rentals, the tacksmen can be seen as a middle class of landholders through whom estate transactions were undertaken. They were also the means by which the Duke enforced agricultural, domestic, and educational improvement, through their contracts. They appear to have been a competitive group, willing and anxious to retain or increase their own holdings. After 1745 they were enhanced by entry to the professions and to military commands. The makings of an educated class of principal tenants with entrepreneurial potential were clearly visible. The Duke of Atholl was obviously confident of their trustworthiness. The direction of social evolution in Balquhidder pointed to a society of smallholding subtenants under gentlemen tacksmen, who could supplement their estates income from professional salaried employment. At the head was an aristocratic landlord whose rule was tempered by traditional patriarchism. The material standards of living were still primitive, however, and the clachan township was the common lot of most, if not all, members of society. The new educated and travelled tacksmen class must, nevertheless, have experienced other value systems in the wider world outside. What cannot be overlooked in this scenario, however, is the spectre of increasing overcrowding whose presence is implied in the early rentals and the ubiquitous partitioning of small holdings among several families.

The sale of the superiority of Balquhidder in 1801 already alluded to reflects two factors. The remoteness of the Balquhidder estates from Blair Atholl has been noted as a reason for

appointing a local regality baillie. Management of the estate at a distance must have become an increasing burden, as the importance of profitability became a greater issue towards the beginning of the nineteenth century. A summary valuation of the Duke of Atholl's estate, made on the 21st June 1765, showed that Balquhidder had become the least valuable of his lands [34]. It had been part of the old Tullibardine estate, detached from Atholl. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed a rationalisation of the Atholl estates during which the remote Tullibardine lands were sold.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 12.

1. Atholl MSS. Cartulary of Atholl. Vol.I. p.123. Entries for 1710.

2. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens. A History of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh. 1976. p.68.

3. Ibid. pp.68 - 71. Cites in full Stewart of Invernahyle's report to the Duke of Atholl, and an advertisement in the "Caledonian Mercury" of the 15th March 1736, concerning the murder. It is of note that the facility of newspapers was now available.

4. Atholl MSS. Duke of Atholl's Minute Book, Vol.2. p.13. Entries for 1722.

5. Murray Dukes of Atholl. Family Pedigree. Blair Castle. Official Guide p.32.

6. Blair Castle Official Guide. p.31.

7. Ibid. pp.3 - 31.

8. Atholl MSS. Rent Books. 7/420.

9. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49.5.

10. Atholl MSS. Duke of Atholl's Minute Book, Vol.2. Entries for 1721.

11. Atholl MSS. Cartulary. Vol.II. Oct.25.1726.

12. Ibid. 10th.Feb. 1727.

13. Atholl MSS. 44.IV.461.

14. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49.11.

15. Watson.F. "The Braes of Balquhidder." William Hodge & Co. London & Edinburgh. 1914. pp.33 - 34.

16. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/741.

17. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. pp.71 - 80.

18. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49.9.

19. Fraser.W. "History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, and of their Kindred." Edinburgh, 1867. Vol.II, p.339.

20. Forfeited Estates Papers. Leslie.J. "Value and Estimates. The Improvements of Balquhidder." Achleskine papers. 1773 - 1776. Refers to burning of Tulloch etc.

21. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49.9 with Atholl MSS. Rent Book. 7/417 (1760) indicates the disposal of the Invercarnaig estate via trustees after 1756, following the losses sustained in 1746.

22. Act of Parliament for Disarming the Highlands. XIX Georgi II. Regis. 1746.

23. Act for the Abolition of Heritable Jurisdiction in Scotland. XXI Georgi II Regis. 1748.

24. Atholl MSS. Rent Book. 7/417.

25. Atholl MSS. Cartulary of Atholl. Vol IV. Entries for 1773.

26. Atholl MSS. Legal & Estate Papers. Bundle 851. and Atholl MSS. 72.II.A.1.

27. Atholl MSS. Cartulary of Atholl. Vol.V. p.228. Entries for 1801.

28. Stobie.G. "Map of Perthshire and Clackmannanshire." 1787. RHP.177. S.R.O.

29. Atholl MSS. Cartullary of Atholl. Vol.IV. p.231. Entries for 1786.

30. Langlands.A. "Lands of Duncan Stewart Esq." 1814. RHP. 3654.

31. Atholl MSS. Cartulary of Atholl. Vol.IV. Entries for 1776.

32. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. pp.102 - 106.

33. Scott. Sir Walter. "Rob Roy." Edinburgh 1818. Introduction. (Cited in MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. p.104.)

34. Atholl MSS. Legal & Estate papers. 856.11.

CHAPTER 13. TWO TACKSMEN'S ESTATES.

INVERCARNAIG AND GLENBUCKIE.

The records of the two Balquhidder estates of Invercarnaig and Glenbuckie have already provided material for the general history of the Atholl estates in Balquhidder. More detailed reconstruction of the progress of the MacGregor and Stewart tacksmen families affords a useful insight into the development of two major holdings. The Glenbuckie estate in particular permits some further hypotheses about the role of principal tacksmen as agents of improvement in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The records of the Invercarnaig estate include the only example of a tacksman's rental of his holdings [1]. The schedule was drawn up on the 22nd April 1752. It indicates that the townships of the estate were tenanted for rents which included both casualties and money payments. The six marklands of Invercarnaig itself were let to James Stewart the elder, and James Stewart the younger. Alexander and John McNabb rented the seven marklands of Inverlochlarigmore. The mill and mill lands of Glencarnaig were let to A.P.Stirling, and John, Duncan, and Murdoch McIntyre. Patrick Campbell held Wester Druimlich. Peter, Evan, and John Drummond had the one and a quarter marklands of Marchfield not yet in tack. The latter was part of the much subdivided Invernenty township. Finally, the rental closes with the entry signifying that the seven marklands of

Inverlochlarigbeg, and North Druilmich, were retained in the hands of MacGregor of Invercarnaig himself.

This small but valuable document shows that the principal tacksman and chieftain of Clan Gregor held substantial lands. The tenants of the constituent townships held tacks of their holdings under Invercarnaig, for periods of twelve and thirteen years. It is probable that the surnames Campbell, and Drummond, were Macgregor aliases, but some tenants were of different families. A footnote calculates that by commutation, the estate was worth two hundred and ninety-six pounds, fourteen shillings and sixpence, sterling. It may therefore be assumed that the casualties were not actually paid to the chief tacksman, but the equivalent money value was taken. The inference is that commutation not only applied to the Atholl tacks, but also to the sub tacks, by 1752. Unfortunately no such late evidence has been found for the detailed tenurial pattern of the Glenbuckie estate, but the hypothesis that conditions were similar must be examined.

Reference to the letting of grazings and shielings to graziers and drovers has already been made (See Chapter 11, p.187). The valuation of the losses incurred in the punitive destruction of the estate in 1746 gives some further insight into the effect of that action. The inventory is dated 15th January 1756 [2]. It presents the account for the burning of the estate of Glencarnaig, and the carrying away of the cattle and furniture. MacGregor's own mansion house and furniture were destroyed. His own cattle were taken. The mill and all the other houses and barns on the estate were burnt, amounting to three hundred and sixty-four couples, or pairs of roof crucks. The crops of Inverlochlarigmore and Inverlochlarigbeg were destroyed, seventy

bolls of corn and six of barley sown in the best land being lost. Invercarnaig's brother Duncan's cattle and plenishings were destroyed. The destruction appears to have been total, not merely the burning of the ringleader's homestead.

The rentals of the estate from Martinmas 1744 to Martinmas 1750 were written off as lost. MacGregor had spent four hundred pounds sterling of his own money before his surrender on the 17th September 1746, and four hundred and fifty pounds while in prison until the 11th October 1749. His family had used one hundred and fifty pounds during his imprisonment. Financial losses amounted to five thousand and sixty pounds including lost interest on rents. His tenants' losses of cattle, crops, and household furniture were estimated at one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The account indicates the state of affairs when the Earl of Moray purchased the estate from the trustees (See Chapter 12, p.216-217).

The estate records include an account for building a boat for use on Loch Voil [3]. The craft was built at the joint expense of John Campbell of Glencarnock and Stewart of Glenbuckie. These tacksmen were riparian owners of much of the shore line of the lochs. The project was undertaken in 1736, and indicates that tacksmen in adjacent estates could co-operate quite successfully to their mutual advantage. It also proves the use of the lochs for transport. The vessel was built by paid carpenters and sawyers on a day wage basis. Horses were hired to bring tar from Dumbarton and Alloa, the most convenient ports. Nails of different specifications, and seaming rivets, were purchased. A properly constructed boat, straked, and possibly carvel built, tarred and caulked, appears to be indicated.

Field inspection of the sites at Invercarnaig revealed the foundation of several buildings on the hillside, and some large ones on the meadow land, in addition to the remains of the mill pond. The large buildings in the lower meadow land rest adjacent to the fording point of the old road, along the north side of Balquhidder Glen. A walled burial ground, founded by the MacGregors of Invercarnaig in the early eighteenth century, remains overgrown but whole [4]. The reference to the number of roof couples burnt in 1746 would suggest about forty houses destroyed in the estate as a whole. After 1760 the details of the estate become obscure, as the Earl of Moray was entered in the rentals for the whole holding. There remains a lacuna until the appearance of modern farms in the nineteenth century.

A marriage contract dated 21st June 1732 between Robert Murray of Glancarnaig and Mistress Robinia Cameron, daughter of the deceased Major Donald Cameron of Lochiel, indicates the social connections of the upper stratum of the tacksman class [5]. Robert Murray undertook to enfeoff his spouse in life rent in the lands of Invercarnaig and the mill, the lands of Inverlochlarigmore, and Craigruie. He also settled upon her an annuity of three hundred marks Scots if she survived him, to be taken out of these lands. A.G.M.MacGregor (1898) [6] notes that John MacGregor of Glencarnaig, who died on the 18th September 1744 aged seventy-six, was married to Catherine Campbell of Lix. The senior tacksmen were in the ranks of landed gentlemen, their families intermarrying, with the financial security of the rentals from their estates. It is against such a background that the appointment of Robert Murray of Invercarnaig as a regality baillie must be seen (See Chapter 12, p.210). In terms of material status, however, nothing on the

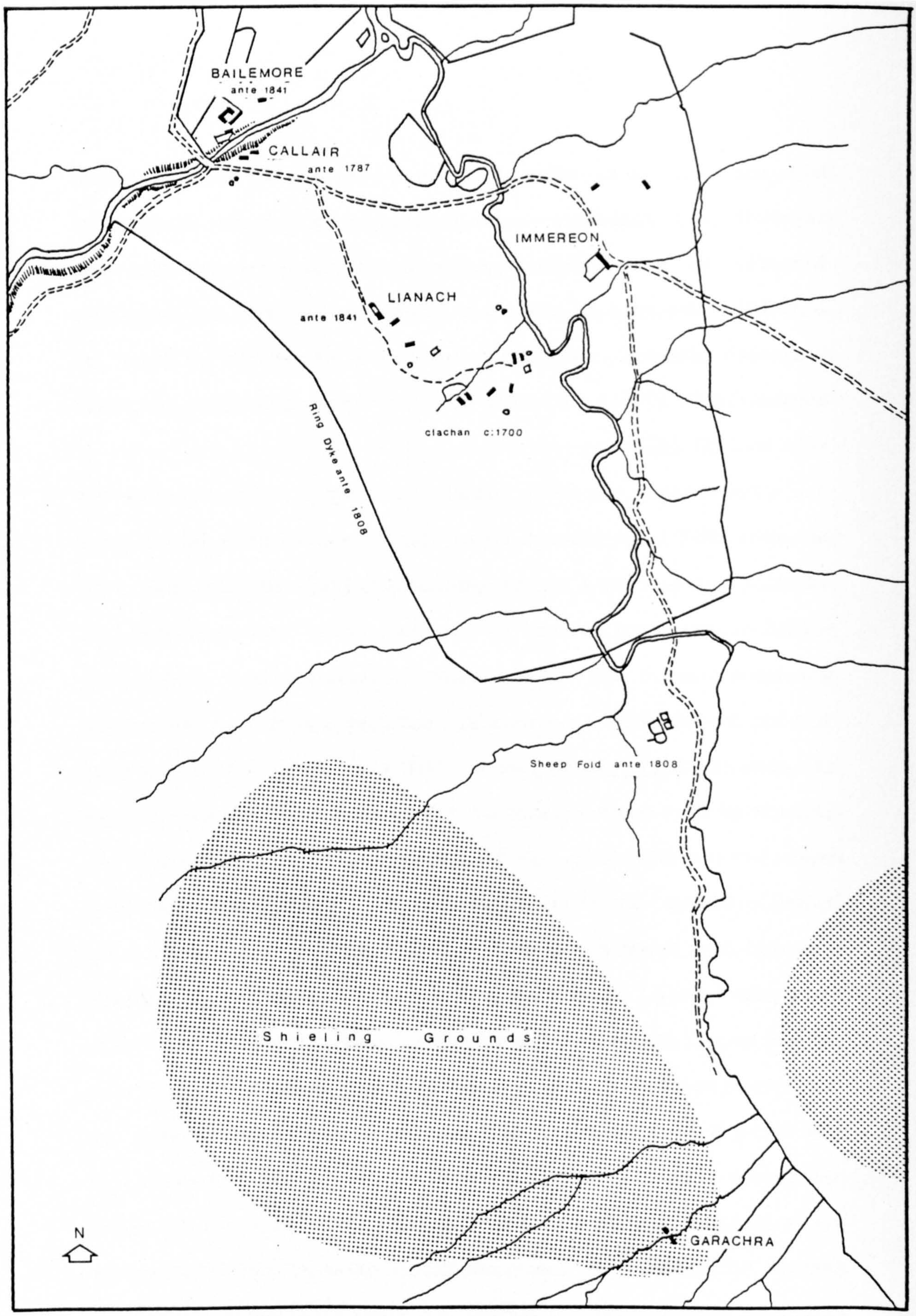
site of Invercarnaig suggests that they lived in anything better than large Highland longhouses. The township was never rebuilt, and is undisturbed except for a small modern bungalow and the early twentieth century house of Ardcarnaig. Field evidence also suggests that the barony mill, to which all the lands along the western half of Loch Voil, and the whole Invercarnaig estate, were thirled, was a very small structure. John MacNaughton, Esquire, of Inverlochlarig, reported partly cut mill stones in the glen. The author visited a site west of Glenbuckie where a mill stone is visible partly cut into the rock. In spite of the apparent status of these tacksmen, the morphology and material standards of their townships must have changed little if at all since the middle ages.

The Glenbuckie estate survived the 1745 rising, and continued into the middle of the nineteenth century. The direct line of the Stewarts of Glenbuckie died out in the nineteenth century. The estate had been sold to a another Stewart family, distantly related by marriage, in the late eighteenth century. The succession to the estate thereafter was complicated. Following the death of Elizabeth Stewart of Glenbuckie the estate was placed in trusteeship. The trustees were Captain Duncan Stewart of Benmore in Argyll; William Stewart of Ardvorlich; Robert McNabb, manufacturer in Glasgow; and Duncan McIntyre, agent for the Leith Bank in Callander [7]. Captain Duncan Stewart of Benmore sold his Argyll estate, relinquished his trusteeship, and bought Glenbuckie. According to a note in the possession of Alexander Christie Esq. of Kirkton he was married to a Stewart lady of the Glenbuckie family. His sister in law, the deceased Elizabeth Stewart, Lady Glenbuckie, had married a Stewart of Craigruie, and

had one son John, who was the ward of the trustees. John's interest was therefore sold to his uncle Duncan Stewart of Benmore. He was succeeded by John Lorne Stewart on the 22nd June 1838 [8]. The role of these two later tacksmen will be examined. Elizabeth Stewart appears in feu records as entered as feuer of Glenbuckie in 1768, following upon one James Stewart, factor from 1764 to 1767 [9].

Summarising the early tenurial history of Glenbuckie, on the 1st June 1657 James Stewart feued Lianach and Dalanlaggan with the shielings of Garrachra and Dalquhappagach [10]. The rental of 1663 - 1665 entered John Stewart in Immereon, James Stewart in Lianach, and James Stewart and Duncan Stewart in Dalanlaggan, as tacksmen. It also showed six sub-tenants, and revealed an unstated number of cottars [11]. At Whitsunday 1668 the Atholl rentals showed Lianach in tack to three Stewart families, and Dalanlaggan divided into two portions [12]. In 1683 Lianach was subdivided into two halves, Easter and Wester Lianach [13]. The rental for 1705 revealed John Stewart as Tacksman of Lianach, with six tenants and one servant [14]. On the 5th February 1706 a contract of feu gave John Stewart, Tacksman of Glenbuckie, Easter and Wester Lianach, Easter and Wester Dalanlaggan, and Immereon [15]. Firm evidence of the early Stewart interest in the Glenbuckie estate dates from an instrument of resignation of the 15th October 1552, drawn up at Perth by Patrick Stewart of Glenbuckie and his wife Margaret Lekky, in favour of their son Robert Stewart and his spouse Katherine Kennedy [16]. A dynasty of Stewart tacksmen had existed in Glenbuckie for nearly two centuries by 1700.

The documents suggest three townships in the estate throughout its known history. Two were subdivided into two halves



LIANACH IN GLENBUCKIE

0 500 1000 1500
metres

Sources – Maps: Stobie 1787 MacEwan 1808 OS 1866 & Field survey

Fig.24.

by the end of the seventeenth century. After 1718 the estate was always recorded as feued in its entirety to the senior tacksman. Unlike the Invercarnaig estates, therefore, there is no first hand evidence for multiple tenancy through the eighteenth century. Field evidence, however, suggests that the structure of the townships did not change significantly.

The gradual acquisition of lands by Glenbuckie has already been noted (See Chapter 9, p.153). It is possible to reconstruct the outline of the estate as it was in 1718, when the lands were limited to the three townships of Lianach, Dalanlaggan, and Immereon; in 1760 after the acquisition of interests in Invernenty; and at the sale of the estate by John Lorne Stewart in 1849 [17]. The conclusion must be that Duncan Stewart and his successor John Lorne Stewart had built up a very considerable estate during the early nineteenth century. The lands surveyed by MacEwen in 1808 [18] for Duncan Stewart consisted of the original three townships and their shielings. Langlands in 1814 included Stronvar and Muirlaggan. The period of expansion seems to have commenced circa 1760 with acquisition of part of Invernenty, and to have been completed some time after 1814.

Stobie recorded the townships in Glenbuckie in 1787 [19]. They included Lianach and Immereon on their present sites, and Dalanlaggan a short distance north of its replacement farm of Bailliemore. The site of the latter farm was occupied by a group called Callair, which does not appear in any of the rentals or charters. North of Dalanlaggan was a settlement called Clachglas which also is missing from records. There are remains of buildings at all of these sites.

Gilbert MacEwen's survey in 1808 omitted the site of

Dalanlaggan as shown by Stobie, and attributed the name Dalanlaggan to the farm now occupied by Bailliemore. The name of Callair was also omitted. His plan also included a great ring dyke enclosing the lands of Lianach and Dalanlaggan. Two multi-cell sheep folds were shown outside the dyke to the south. Field survey proved two stages of dyke building around the infield, outfield, and lower hill lands. There is a trace of an older head dyke which follows approximately the line of a later eighteenth or nineteenth century dry stone dyke along the boundaries of Immereon farm. The last remains of the sheep folds stood on the site indicated until 1983. In 1808 the lands to the north were shown as belonging to Mr Ferguson of Stronvar, proving that the final expansion of the Glenbuckie estate did not occur until some time later.

Langlands' plan of 1814 [20] shows the lands of Stronvar and Muirlaggan as well as Glenbuckie belonging to Duncan Stewart. This narrows the probable date of expansion to between 1808 and 1814. Muirlaggan is shown as a group of five longhouses, remains of which still stand on the site adjacent to the nineteenth century steading. Unfortunately the plan of Lianach is torn out of the manuscript in the Scottish Record Office.

The final evidence for the development of Glenbuckie estate is the Ordnance survey of 1862 [21]. It showed Clachglas with one complete building and four neighbouring ruins. A small ruined settlement given as Bailemeanoch was recorded within the enclosed lands of Dalanlaggan. On the west side of the Callair Burn a new house called Dalreach was complete, and the ruins of this building suggest a nineteenth century plan. The farm of Bailliemore had replaced Callair, and was planned around an enclosed courtyard. One occupied house at Lianach stood adjacent to clusters of ruined

longhouses and similar buildings. The farm of Immereon stood on its present site as a long range with attached garden.

These cartographic records pose several problems. While the records of the early eighteenth century indicated three townships, two of which were subdivided, Stobie records more sites in 1787. MacEwen in 1808 confirms Stobie's plans of Lianach, Immereon, and Clachglas. Indications of buildings at Callair show that Balliemore farm was not built by 1808, but three longhouses survived on the site, the name having probably been transferred from the old Dalanlaggan site not shown by MacEwen. MacEwen also shows two buildings at Dalreach, unnamed. By 1862 Lianach and Balliemore had been redeveloped as nineteenth century farms. By 1787 some new settlements may have been founded, or some earlier cottars' settlements may have been consolidated and given names. The maps tend to suggest that Clachglas was a small holding within the Dalanlaggan lands. By 1808 some contraction may have occurred, but the settlement of Bailemeanoch shown in 1862 was not recorded. By 1862 most of the small clachans were deserted, and new farmsteads and houses were built. The detailed evolution and decline of the Glenbuckie clachans remains uncertain, but several changes to the pattern of named settlements were clearly in progress between 1780 and 1860.

Field inspection revealed further anomalies. There were considerably more ruins on the sites of Lianach and Immereon that the 1862 Ordnance survey suggested. The situations of groups shown by Stobie were more or less accurate, but the detailed plans of each site were different from those shown on his map. The field material suggested that Glenbuckie had been quite densely developed at some time in its history, but the actual period of

occupation of the ruined houses remained unknown. The ruins gave no indication of the standard of living or plan of the buildings. None of the available maps was completely dependable.

The undisturbed nature of the settlement of Lianach coupled with the documentary and cartographic information available resulted in a decision to excavate one of the ruined buildings. A survey of the various groups was made, to record those structures omitted from the Ordnance survey. Some houses had been destroyed with the development of the nineteenth century farm and later access roads, but the approximate locations were traced. There were two main groups of clachans, one on the spring line at the upper western edge of the site, and another beside Immereon Burn at the eastern boundary. One relatively isolated large house lay between them. It is possible that this arrangement relates to the division of the township into East and West Lianach, but that must remain an hypothesis. The remains of two of the houses of Callair were also found.

Excluding houses lost as a result of later developments, the remains of at least twelve buildings at Lianach were found, although they may not have been contemporary. The remains of seven kilns were located, and a small area of rig and furrow traced south of the occupation area. The upper or western group were linked by the remains of a trackway, and traces of an old dyke were found immediately above it. It may therefore be that enclosure of further land had taken place when the head dyke shown by MacEwen was constructed, or alternatively that the area surrounding the settlements had once been enclosed as infield, later amalgamated with the outfield area. The latter hypothesis is more in keeping with site evidence.

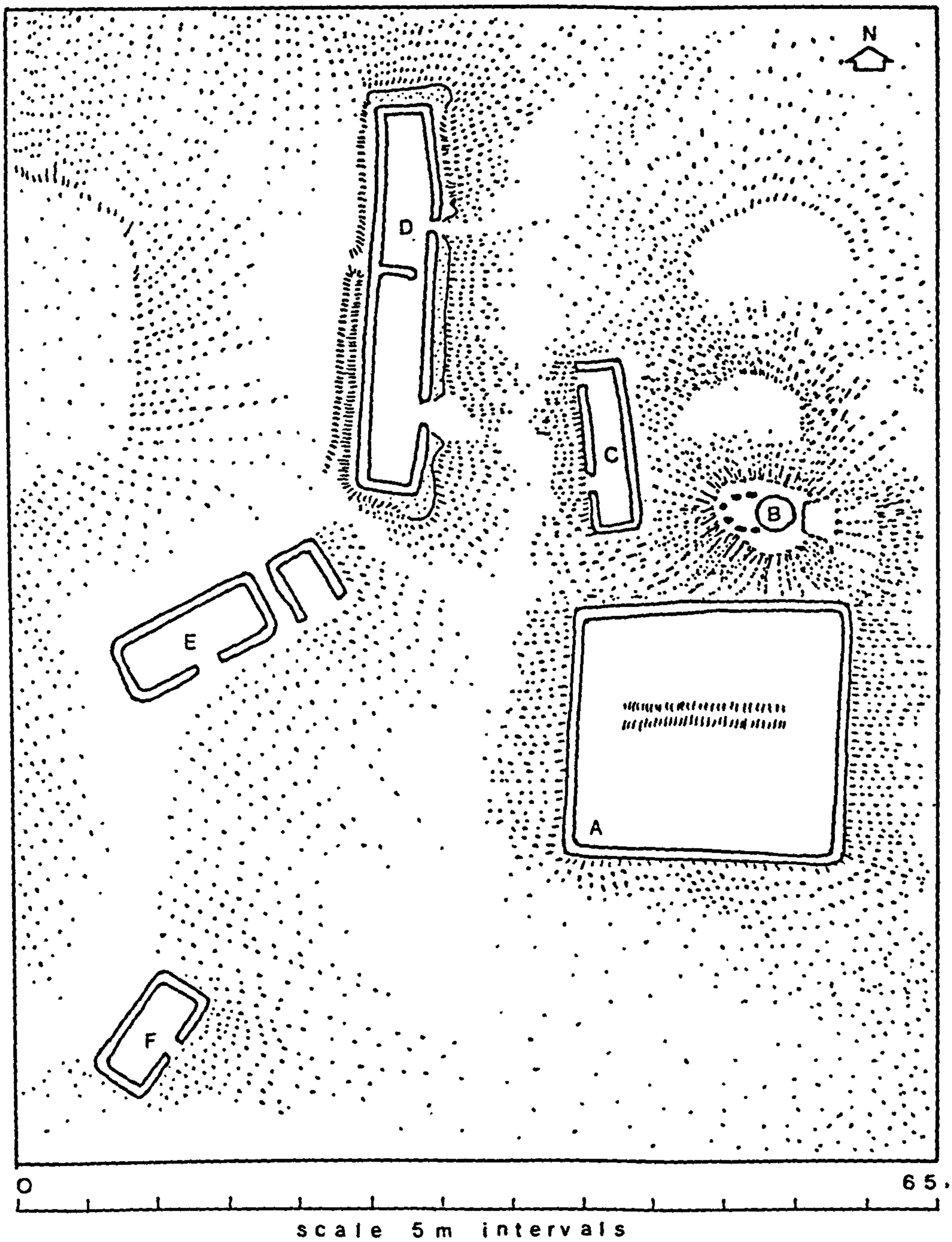


Fig.25. LIANACH – EAST CLACHAN GROUP jhs

A – Garden B – Kiln C – F – Buildings D – Longhouse excavated

One of the larger buildings of the eastern group was selected for excavation. The external walls were of a height which clearly defined the building without risk of collapse during excavation. The building yielded shards and minor artefacts, a pair of sickles, a share from a breast plough, a byre grape or fork, several hones, and sundry remains of old bottles. These were sent to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland for analysis, and suggested occupation of the building throughout the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century [22]. The plan of the building revealed a typical Highland longhouse, with a large byre at the south end, divided from a house at the north. The byre had a separate entrance, and a central drain. In the house there was a central hearth, with remains of peat ash, near the door. Behind the hearth in the division wall was a bed platform. The north end of the house appeared to have been partitioned, and beads and fragments of glass and clothing suggested a female dominated zone, while the remains of the sickles, plough, and hones, were found against the wall opposite the door in the hearth house. A fairly typical butt and ben arrangement was suggested. The house had an earth floor about fifty millimetres thick laid on the natural gravel of the moraine on which the house was built. Post holes along the inner face of the walls suggested internal earth set crucks, with gable walls at each end supporting the purlins. The disposition of fallen masonry supported the hypothesis for a gabled house. Charred remains of posts in the post holes, crystals of charred material in the floor, a large area of burnt earth and wood where the division between the inner and outer house had been, and a thin layer of ash-like material overlying the whole interior, led

THE EAST CLACHAN GROUP AT LIANACH IN GLENBUCKIE. The ranging poles mark the Longhouse excavated. The kiln is in the centre of the photograph, and part of the garden enclosure to the right. The farm of Immereon appears in the trees beyond.

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY LIANACH FARMHOUSE. The shell of the house, and remaining flagstone thresholds, enabled a measured reconstruction of the external appearance to be made.

to the conclusion that the structure had been destroyed by fire.

The outer walls of the house rested on a platform foundation of large stones forming a base around it. The walls averaged ninety centimetres thick at the base, and were built in two leaves of large random rubble with a core of smaller material. The leaves inclined inwards upon themselves, so that the walls tapered as they rose. The stones had been set in a dense clay mortar. Some were roughly squared on the face, probably by splitting. The origins appeared to be boulders from the river or from glacial deposits, both of which were plentiful. Fragments of glass and traces in the floor, combined with some long flat stones, suggested a very small window in the inner house on the same side as the entrance door. Evidence for windows in late eighteenth century longhouses exists in records for Strathyre [23].

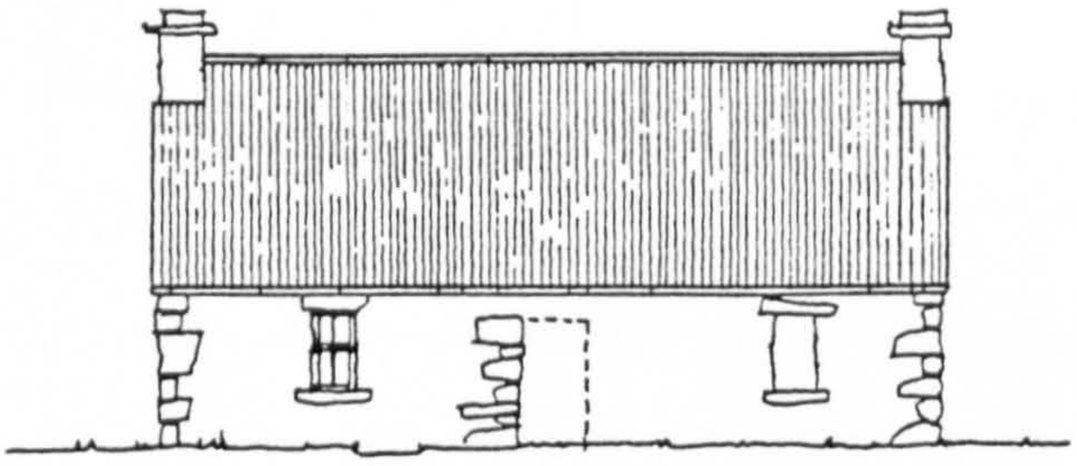
The gabled type of building is found elsewhere in Balquhidder. One was visited at Muirlaggan, and at Immereon there is a barn with gable ends and the remains of wall set crucks. Grant (1961) [24] classifies the houses of Kintyre, Knapdale, the Argyll coasts and inner islands, and the country inland to the Trossachs, as square ended gabled types. She styles it the southwestern type of house, and notes that its distribution coincides closely with the old territory of Dalriada. Her description of the internal plans also relates closely to the Balquhidder house. The large amount of rubble at the ends of many of the ruined house bases throughout Balquhidder supports a hypothesis that houses in the parish belonged to this class. References indicate that the principal thatching material in Balquhidder was bracken, laid with the root end of the stalks outwards [25].

Fig.26. LONG HOUSE; LIANACH; BALQUHIDDER JHS; 1984

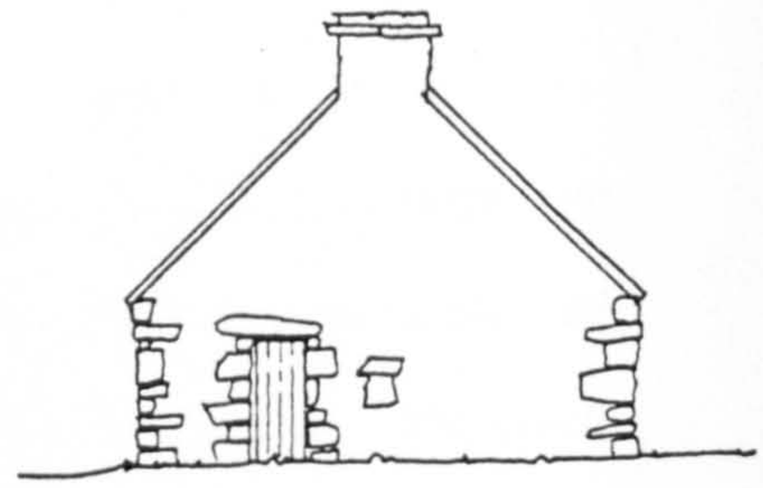
The longhouse at Lianach was occupied after the time when the township divided into east and west parts. The group to which it belongs was not recorded by Stobie or by MacEwen, but the analysis of artefacts suggests desertion some time in the early nineteenth century. Superficially found shards from the site of another house near the later Lianach farmhouse also suggest that the old clachans were occupied after 1800. The enigma of cartographic evidence remains. The size of the byre suggests a householder of some standing, but again no evidence exists to support any hypotheses about tenure of particular buildings. The standard of living was materially primitive, and reflects accounts by Johnson [26] of houses which he visited on his travels in 1773.

Alongside the primitive domesticity of the clachans must be set evidence for early changes in agriculture. MacEwen's survey indicates enclosure of a large area of land in 1808. The enclosing head dyke is over one and a half miles long. The existing wall follows closely the line shown by MacEwen, and stands about one and a half metres high, with a turf coping course. Comparison of field evidence with the 1862 Ordnance survey suggests that the final length behind Immereon farm northwards may still have been under construction. The presence of two large sheep folds with subdivisions and traps in 1808 must indicate large scale sheep farming. They are sited close to the south gate in the ring dyke, and witness to changes from primitive agriculture.

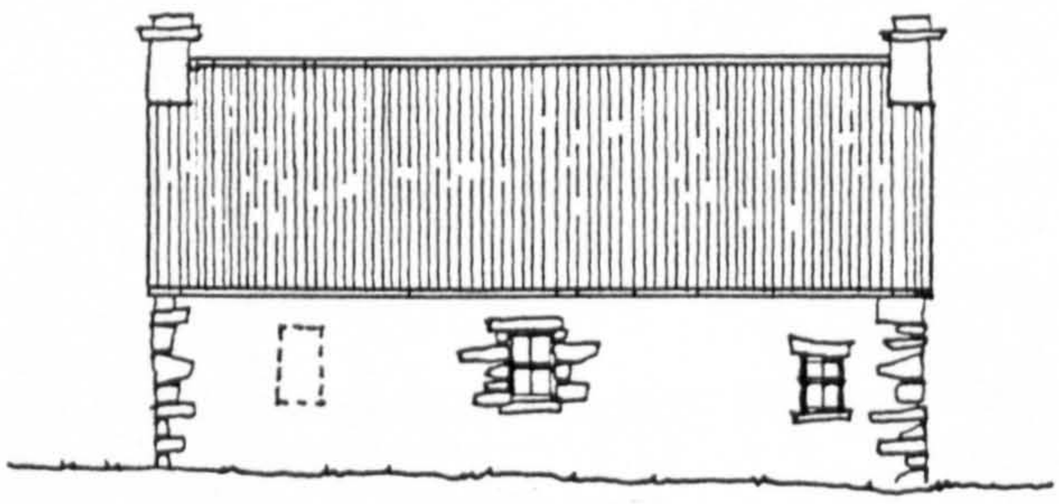
The house at Lianach which replaced the clachans was measured and recorded. The interior was stripped out some time ago to make a shearing shed, but the shell is that of a typical early Highland farm house. There are three fire places on the ground floor, and one in the roof space, with well constructed chimney



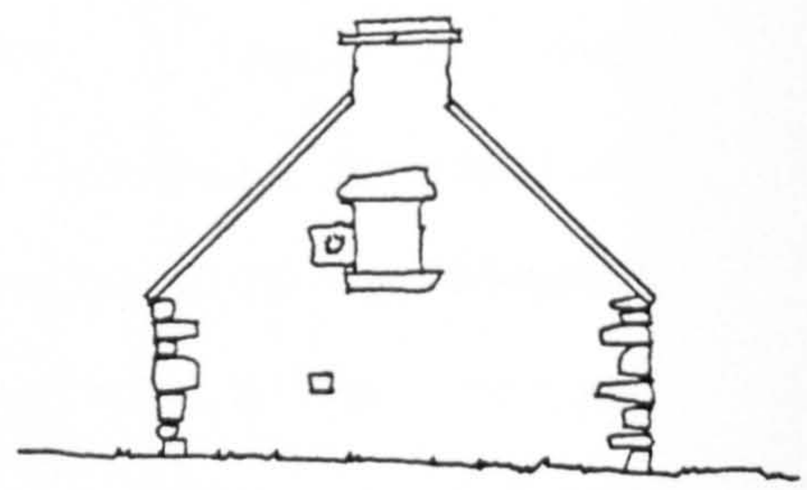
WEST ELEVATION



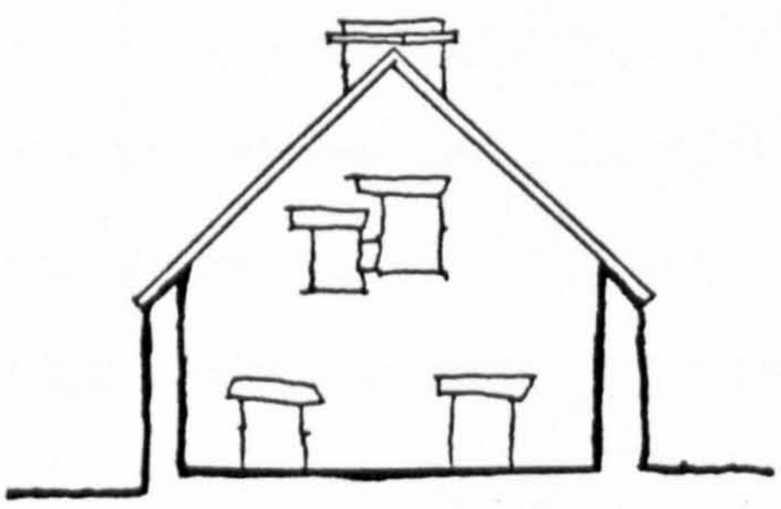
NORTH GABLE



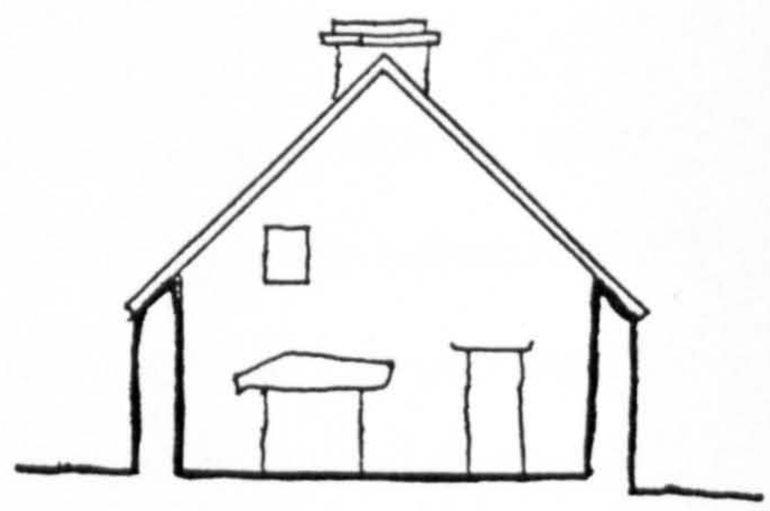
EAST ELEVATION



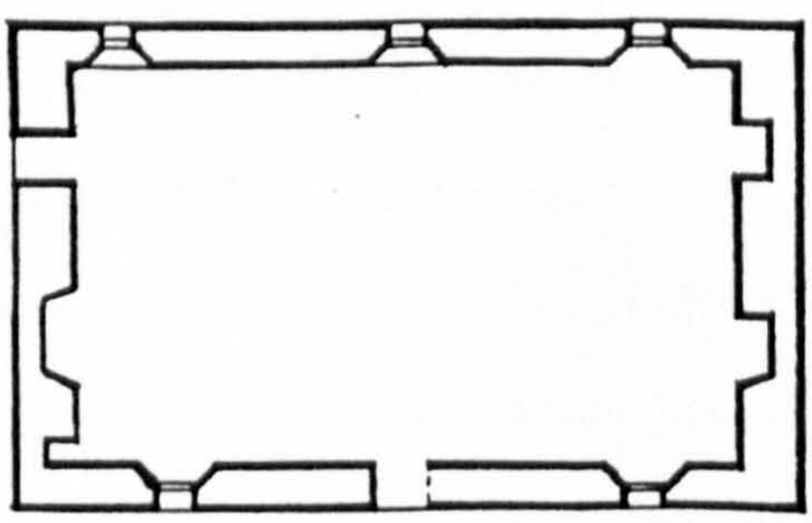
SOUTH GABLE

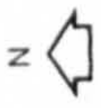


SOUTH GABLE INTERIOR

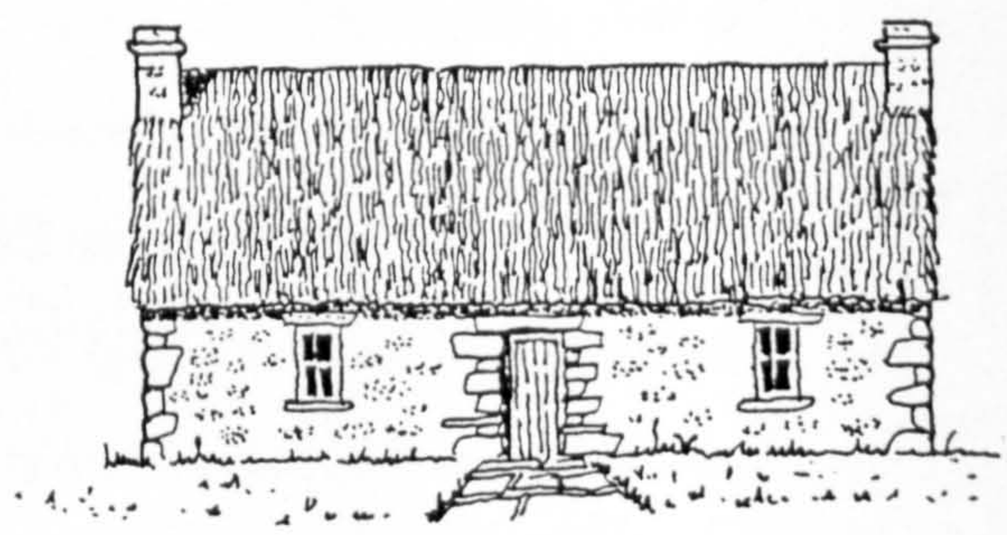


NORTH GABLE INTERIOR





PLAN



LIANACH – EARLY 19th CENTURY HOUSE

Source: author's survey

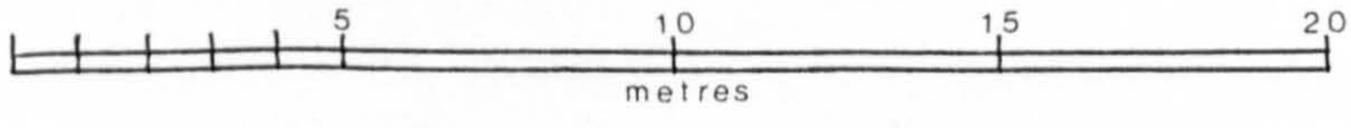


Fig.27.

stacks above. The design is symmetrical, with a central doorway and windows on each side. The construction is in random rubble and lime mortar, and the whole building has been set out square on plan. A relic of old Glenbuckie has been built into the south gable, in the form of a redundant quern, suggesting that thirlage was not always strictly observed. The building represents a very marked advance on the living conditions which immediately preceded it. Further evidence for change may be found in the census of Scotland for 1841 [27]. Lianach was then inhabited by a farmer in his fifties and a total of thirteen people. Only one dwelling appears on the schedule, which was most probably the later farmhouse. In 1851 Lianach was inhabited by Duncan Stewart, farm manager, with his sister Catherine and a servant, Dugald Macgregor, born in Aberfoyle [28]. Bailliemore farm also appears for the first time in the census in 1841. Other occupied houses in Glenbuckie in 1841 were Ballemeanoch, Dalreach, and Immereon. Bailliemore had two dwellings, one for a labourer, and the farmhouse itself. The labourer's bothie still exists. Clachglas was not recorded in either census, and therefore may have ceased to be used as a dwelling by the time it appears, still as a roofed building, in the 1862 Ordnance survey.

The conclusion must be that the change to commercial sheep farming in Glenbuckie was probably completed by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The primitive domestic arrangements of the old longhouses continued through that stage of agricultural change. Tile drains found in Glenbuckie in the wet lands above the enclosed areas also point to nineteenth century land improvement. There are signs that suggest straightening of water courses, and deep drainage channels have been cut to feed into them. Most of

these improvements must have been undertaken by Duncan Stewart. It was he who commissioned both MacEwen and Langlands to map his estate. John Lorne Stewart succeeded to the estate in 1838, and sold it to David Carnegie, a cadet of the Carnegies of Southesk, in 1849 [29].

Further evidence for the improving activities of the last two Stewart Tacksmen of Glenbuckie may be deduced from other sources. Fraser (1867) [30] states that Stewart of Glenbuckie moved his residence to Stronvar, which he rebuilt and named Glenbuckie House. In the Second Statistical Account of Scotland the entry for Balquhidder in October 1837 states that Glenbuckie House was built about ten years previously [31], which places it at about 1827. The only other "mansion house" recorded in the Account was Edinample Castle. This leads to the conclusion that Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie was responsible for the first of the nineteenth century tacksman's houses in Balquhidder. Bearing in mind that Lianach and Baillemore were evidently redeveloped by 1841, and that John Lorne Stewart did not succeed to the estate until 1838, it is highly probable that Duncan was responsible for the improvement and modernisation of the estate of Glenbuckie, from the development of sheep farming to the rebuilding of farms as single tenure units. John Lorne Stewart must have continued the work. By the time of the sale to David Carnegie the records show that the estate included all the lands on the south shores of Loch Voil and Loch Doine, as far west as Invernenty, with the possible exception of Monachyletuarach [32].

Some conclusions may now be drawn from the history of the two estates of Invercarnaig and Glenbuckie. The importance of the senior tacksmen within the system of landholding is clear. The

Invercarnaig records confirm the role which they played as a form of upper middle class in the community. The effect of the punitive measures after 1745 was not merely the exacting of justice from the offending tacksman, but the interruption of the development of the estate and its economy. The conduct of both the estates tends to reinforce the view that the Highland economy in Balquhidder was advancing towards improvement well before the Jacobite rising. The Glenbuckie estate, in so far as its history can be pieced together from records, maps, and field evidence, shows that the eighteenth and early nineteenth century tacksmen were enterprising improvers. Changes in the agricultural economy appear to have preceded changes in standards of living, possibly the latter being made more feasible by the returns from the former. However, the archaeological evidence strongly supports a view that the clachan townships, and the joint tenurial system, persisted well into the nineteenth century, ending quite abruptly in the short period between about 1814 and 1841. It is quite probable that the building of Glenbuckie House at Stronvar in 1827 was contemporary with the building of the new farmsteads in Glenbuckie. Some authors have suggested that the great migrations from the Highlands in the years following 1745, and during the later nineteenth century depopulation, removed the tacksmen as a class from Highland society [33]. It is argued that this left the north without a middle class, and bereft of its entrepreneurial members of the community. The result was a direct, and less successful juxtaposition of the lesser tenantry and the great landowners. The role of the senior tacksmen as the agents of local improvement was lost. Such may well have been the case in parts of Scotland, but further evidence must yet be called to reveal the situation in

Balquhidder. The hypothesis which remains is for a period of improvement commencing in the seventeenth century, and accelerating in the eighteenth century, culminating in the short but intensive period of rebuilding in the early nineteenth century. Cumulatively, these processes were to result in the modern landscape. The foundations for reorganisation and rebuilding in Balquhidder were the ancient estates and their townships. The patterns of the medieval landscape, although consolidated and modified through various phases of improvement, would seem to have influenced the modern one.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 13.

1. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49.5.

2. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49.9.

3. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/49.10.

4. MacGregor.A.G.M. "History of the Clan Gregor." Edinburgh. 1898. Vol.II. p.267.

5. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/45.

6. MacGregor.A.G.M. 1898. Op.cit. Vol.II. p.267.

7. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/777.2.

8. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/777.2. and MSS note in possession of A.Christie Esq. of Kirkton.

9. Atholl MSS. Rent Books. 7/508.

10. Atholl MSS. 3.XI.66.

11. Atholl MSS. 71.2.B.4.

12. Atholl MSS. 42.2.(1).

13. Atholl MSS. 71.2.B.5.

14. Atholl MSS. 43.III.A.

15. Atholl MSS. 3.XII.72.

16. Atholl MSS. 3.VIII.10.

17. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/777/Footnote. See also Campbell D. "Reminiscences and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander." Inverness. 1910. pp.304 - 305.

18. MacEwen.G. "Estate of Glenbuckie." Callander 1808. RHP.3369/11. S.R.O.

19. Stobie.G. "Map of Perthshire and Clackmannanshire." 1787. RHP.177. S.R.O.

20. Langlands.A. "Lands of Duncan Stewart Esq." 1814. RHP.3654. S.R.O.

21. Ordnance Survey. Perthshire. 6ins to 1ml. 1866. (Surveyed 1862). Sheet CIV.

22. Stewart.J.H. & M.B., Caldwell.D., and Wingrove.S., "A Highland Longhouse, Lianach, Balquhidder." P.S.A.S., Vol.116. 1986. (Forthcoming), for a full archaeological report.

23. Forfeited Estates Papers E738/50.1. S.R.O.

24. Grant.I.F. "Highland Folk Ways." Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1961. p.151.

25. Campbell.D. 1910. Op.cit. pp.311 - 317. Also the author had supporting information from Major D.C.Fergusson of Muirlaggan and Edinburgh, the Muirlaggan farm house having been thatched originally with bracken.

26. Johnson's Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland in 1773. Ed. Chapman.R.W., Oxford University Press 1979. p.91.

27. Census of Scotland, 1841. Perthshire, Balquhidder. Enumerator's returns. Registrar General's Office, Edinburgh.

28. Census of Scotland, 1851. Perthshire, Balquhidder. Enumerator's returns. Registrar General's Office, Edinburgh.

29. Campbell.D. 1910. Op.cit. pp.311 - 317. Also recounted by Fraser.W. in his "History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, and their Kindred." Edinburgh, 1867. Vol.II. p.330, where he notes that Carnegie purchased the Estate of Glenbuckie from John Lorne Stewart for L.37,500 in 1849. John Lorne Stewart was said to have sold up because of the repeal of the corn laws, and fears of an agricultural recession.

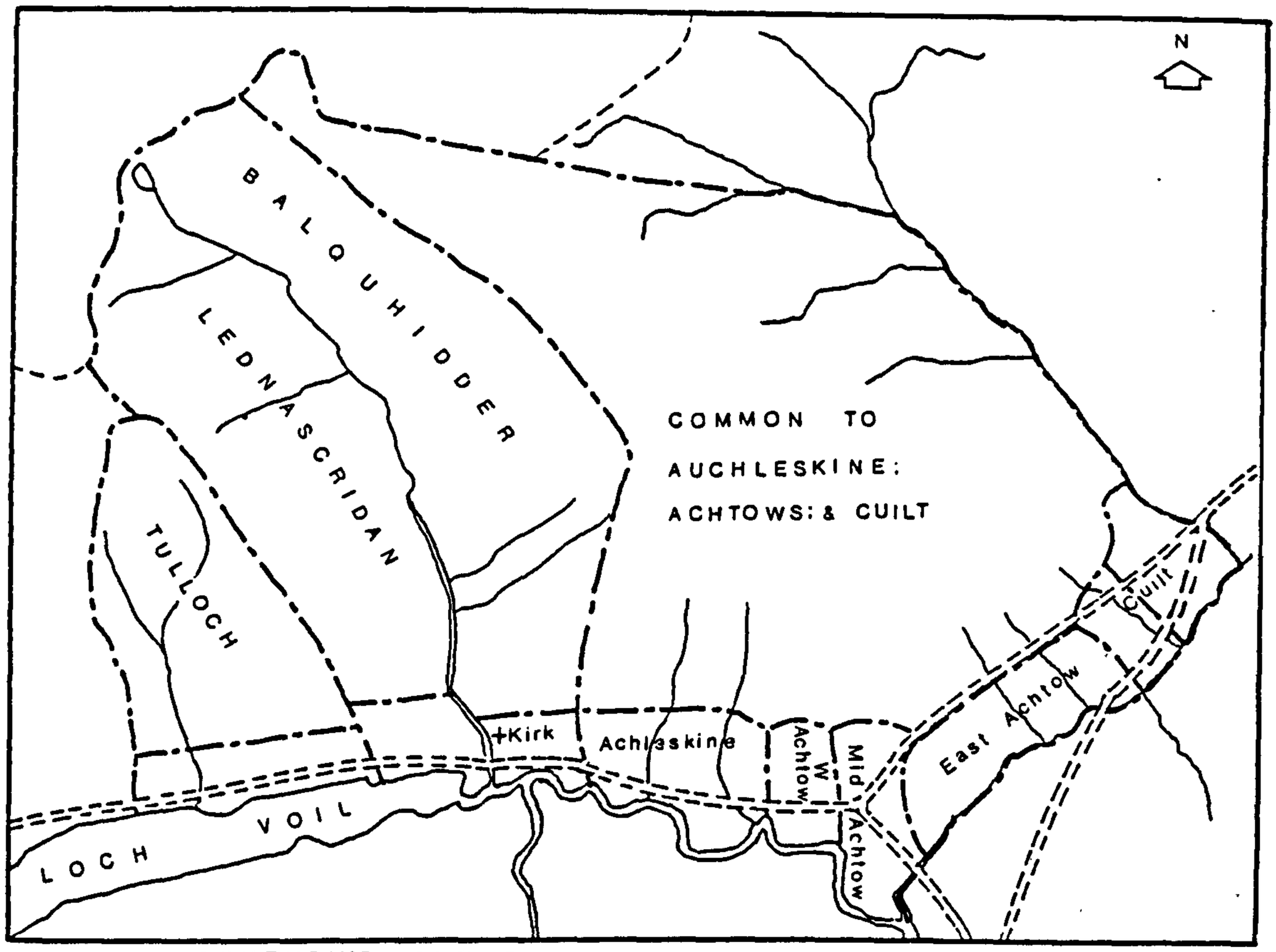
30. Fraser.W. 1867. Op.cit. p.330.

31. New Statistical Account of Scotland. Perthshire. Balquhidder, p.347.

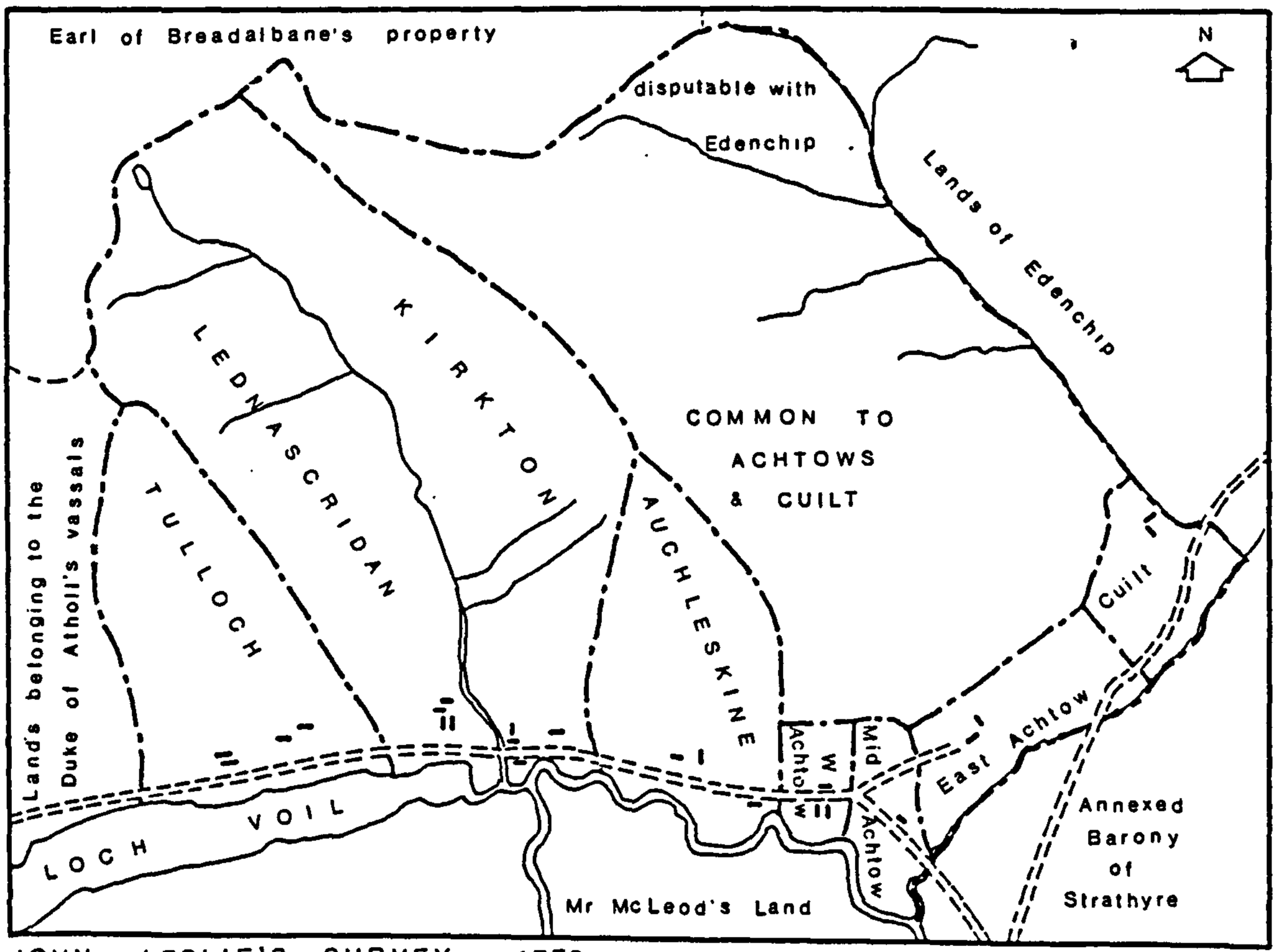
32. MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD60/777. See also Fraser.W. 1867. Op.cit. Vol.II. p.330. Fraser listed Glenbuckie, Glendhu, Stronvar, Muirlaggan, and Invernenty, as comprising

the Glenbuckie Estate at time of sale. He noted that Carnegie restored the name of Stronvar to Glenbuckie House, and in 1850 had the building extended and remodelled by the architect David Bryce. Bryce also designed Eastbury Manor for Carnegie. Duncan Stewart's house appears to have been encased within the later Stronvar House.

33. See for example, Grant.I.F. 1961, Op.cit. pp.43 - 44 & 122 - 124; Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon, Oxford 1981. pp.279 - 287, but especially 283 - 285; and Smout.T.C. "A History of the Scottish People, 1560 - 1800." Collins, London 1969. pp.358 - 359. Two points of view emerge: One, that tacksmen were rack renters and oppressors of the lesser tenantry, instruments of the chiefs' authority; the other that they were the only effective intermediaries between the lesser tenants and the superiors, and the principal sources of initiative, whose eventual demise was a serious loss to Highland economy and society.



WILLIAM COCKBURN'S SURVEY – 1756 Source – Forf Est Plan 85 RH 3482



JOHN LESLIE'S, SURVEY – 1773 Source – Achleskine Papers

THE BARONY OF BALQUHIDDER UNDER FORFEITED ESTATES CONTROL

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

kilometres

Fig.28.

CHAPTER 14. THE FORFEITED ESTATES: 1756 - 1776.

The influence of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates in Scotland upon the progress of improvement during the second half of the eighteenth century was important. The confiscated estates of Jacobite landlords were managed by the Commissioners until 1784. The general history of their work has been comprehensively presented by Annette M. Smith (1982) [1]. In Balquhidder they were responsible for the management of the Barony of Balquhidder, which belonged to the Drummond Earls of Perth, and the Barony of Strathyre, part of the estate of Buchanan of Arnprior.

The Commissioners were not the initiators of improvement in the Highlands. The Earl of Perth had already attempted to introduce the liming of land at Balquhidder, before the 1745 rising [2]. In the west the Duke of Argyll had plans drawn for new policies in 1722, and his architect, Roger Morris, commenced work on Inveraray Castle in 1744. The Duke of Atholl also employed Roger Morris, and there were connections between the work at Inveraray and Blair Castle [3]. There was also a growing web of connections between leading families of improving landowners in Scotland and England. For example, Caroline Campbell (1717 - 1794), a daughter of the Duke of Argyll, was married first to the Earl of Dalkeith, and then to the Honourable Charles Townshend. The early connection between the Murrays of Atholl and the Hamiltons and Stanleys have already been referred to (See Chapter 8, pp.128-129). Smith (1982) points out, however, that in spite of

the known improving policies and government sympathies of men like the Duke of Argyll, their membership of the Board of Commissioners was resisted because they were Highlanders [4]. The Duke was eventually accepted, with some others, but attended no meetings. The Duke of Newcastle wanted an English board. The membership ultimately included prominent landlords already reputed for improvements on their own estates. Evidence for early policies of improvement on the Atholl estates was presented in Chapter 12 (See pp.201 - 205). The role of the tacksmen as agents of improvement has been discussed in chapter thirteen. It must therefore be argued that the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates took up their tasks in the Highlands, and in Balquhidder in particular, at a time when improvement was at least an important objective of many established landlords. In Balquhidder and Strathyre can be seen their strenuous attempts to implement such objectives.

William Cockburn's survey and report of the Barony of Balquhidder in 1755 and 1756 provides a detailed picture of that part of the parish [5]. His map shows that the various townships consisted of dense clusters of longhouses and other buildings, confined to a corner of infield land along the foot of the hill, and above the lower meadows. The Kirkton of Balquhidder was particularly densely developed, including the church and glebe lands as well as the clachan and mill. Above the clachans a larger infield was enclosed from the open hill by a head dyke which ran more or less continuously above the townships from Tulloch in the west to Cuilt in the east.

Cockburn's report confirms that the parish school was at Kirkton. The schoolmaster, Mr Balfour, was twenty years of age. The minister, Mr Finlay Ferguson, was over sixty years of age,

preached mostly in "Irish," and received a stipend of seven pounds ten shillings sterling per annum. Only one hundred and thirty four people in the barony spoke English. Whisky malting and distilling was carried out in Kirkton by Ronald Drummond (a son of Rob Roy MacGregor and tenant of Kirkton Farm), and by James Stewart in Cuilt. Both operated public houses. Ronald Drummond already limed his ground, the only tenant to do so in 1756, and had fine crops from his land. A few black cattle and horses were sold. Cockburn thought that the soil below the head dykes was quite good, producing corn, potatoes, and flax. The main corn grown was bere and oats. The Kirkton mill was sufficient for the barony. A small lead mine had operated about 1736, but proved unprofitable. Limestone and peat were both available within the barony.

Cockburn suggested the need for a bridge to connect Balquhidder to the main Fort William road. He described the bridge across the Balvaig as consisting of drystone pillars, with timber laid across, and in disrepair. This must have been the bridge constructed under the Duke of Atholl's direction in 1706 (See Chapter 9, p.155). The houses were all built with stone, and considering the smallness of the farms and general poverty of the inhabitants were deemed to be pretty good. New head dykes were built at Achleskine, Middle and Easter Achtow, and Cuilt. New houses were built at Achleskine. Cockburn adds an interesting note, that the tenants of Easter Achtow had built eighty roods of dyking, the first in that country, and deserved encouragement on account of their industry. His general comment was that the tenants were industrious, an opinion again at variance with normal lowland perceptions of the Highlanders.

The farm at Stank, on Loch Lubnaig, in the neighbouring

Barony of Strathyre, received mention. It was noted for a neat dwelling house, with brick (sic) partitions, glass windows, floors of deal, sufficient outhouses, and enclosed lands with a good dyke. The tenant had built a boat to transport limestone from Laggan. A prophetic comment by Cockburn was that the hills around Balquhidder seemed as if they would make good sheep pasture.

The statistics of the forfeited estate of Balquhidder show a population of two hundred and fifty seven people distributed among eight townships. Some clachans must have been extremely crowded, most were overpopulated. The Kirkton supported thirteen families, of which ten were cottars, and a total of forty-eight individuals. The farm had sown six pecks of flax and thirty-two of potatoes. The barony as a whole had sown two hundred and seven pecks of potatoes, and Cockburn noted that no land was under tillage or hay at the time of his census. There is some conflict between this fact and his earlier comments on the productivity of the arable land. Of the total number of families, forty-five were cottars and twenty-three were tenants. All the townships were in multiple tenancy except Middle Achtow, but there Neil MacLaren had six sub-tenants and cottars. The combination of crowded lands and obviously high dependence upon potatoes must reinforce Cockburn's comment upon the small farms and general poverty. The scenario suggests that the case for land shortage in Balquhidder, based upon evidence of subdivision of holdings from the late seventeenth century onwards, is not an unreasonable one.

The economy portrayed in the statistics, apart from the importance of flax and potatoes, included small scale animal husbandry. The barony had one hundred and twenty horse, four hundred and ten black cattle, and six hundred and fifty-six sheep.

The largest herd of cattle was sixty-eight head at Tulloch, shared between four tenants and three cottar families. The smallest was fourteen head at East Achtow. Cockburn's reference to cattle and horses as a source of cash income was overshadowed by his reference to flax spinning. There were one hundred and six spinners in the barony. Warden (1867) [6] stated that flax was the crop which paid the rent, providing also for luxuries otherwise beyond the reach of Highland families.

In Strathyre the returns to the Commissioners showed fourteen townships in 1748 [7]. Some of these were subdivided, and some under joint tenancy. In the documents examined there were no records of sub-tenants or cottars. Eight of the townships in Strathyre were in single tenancy, three were shared between three tenants, and one between four. In one case a single tenant, Robert Buchanan, held Immeriach and Tighness on the east bank of the Balvaig, and probably Runiecraig on Loch Lubnaig, at the same time. Tenancy in Strathyre in 1748 was therefore unequally distributed. It may be postulated therefore that poverty was unequally experienced. Comparison of successive rentals shows twenty-two tenants in 1748, twenty-one in 1755 [8], and forty-seven in 1778 [9]. The large increase will be considered later. There was little change between 1748 and 1755.

In the Barony of Balquhidder the average amount of arable land per family, including cottars, was seven and a quarter acres [10]. The amount per person was just under two acres. It would appear that land poverty in the Barony of Balquhidder was becoming serious by 1755. Dodgshon (1981) [11] concludes that Strathyre had seven acres of arable per family in 1755, and was not among the poorest Highland estates in the eighteenth century.

His argument is based upon analysis of arable acres per township, per tenant family, and per person. He asserts that Strathyre was much better off than areas such as Sunart and Ardnamurchan with three acres per family. Nevertheless the baronies of Strathyre and Balquhidder both appear poor relative to the Atholl estates in Balquhidder in 1665 (See Chapter 7, p.122), when the average family had about twelve and a half acres. In Glenbuckie ten families shared one hundred and sixty acres in 1665, much of it relatively good land. That proportion probably changed only a little in later years. Strathyre's chartered lands must also be seen on the ground before any conclusion as to the relative prosperity of its tenants may be reached. It is unsafe to assume that chartered lands may be equated with genuine arable acres. Apart from Laggan and Tayness, most farms were on steep rocky ground which descended precipitously into bog or water. By 1778, the population had doubled, and Strathyre must have been as poorly off as Ardnamurchan.

Close study of letters and documents leaves an unavoidable impression of considerable poverty and some actual distress. Poverty is not only a relative aspect of society, it is also a dynamic element. Dodgshon's conclusions must be accepted critically, as they do not reflect the true state of the ground, nor the forces operating over the whole period of the Forfeited Estates' administration. Neither do they reveal the certain poverty of the four families in the farm of Kipp, with very little good land at all, nor the three in Wester Rusgachan with much of their lower land subject to frequent flooding. In essence seven of the twenty-two families in Strathyre in 1748 were almost certainly very poorly off, and could be compared to any in Ardnamurchan. The

good farm of Laggan, one of the best in Strathyre, supported three tenant families, so that their lot must have been average. Robert Buchanan of Tighness, however, had the benefit of two, or possibly three farms.

Where one tenant owned two or three holdings, it is very probable that he had sub-tenants or cottar labour. Throughout the research in Balquhidder the concealing of sub-tenancies or cottar holdings, in rentals which listed only the tenants paying rent direct to the landlord, has been a problem. Dodgshon assumes that there were no sub-tenants in Strathyre [12], and that the number of possessors and families tallied exactly. This is true if the rentals are accepted at face value, but all other rentals studied in Balquhidder have been found to conceal sub-tenancies, which are only occasionally admitted. It is safer to assume that the families listed in the rentals represent the minimum population. That said, even if Dodgshon's analysis is accepted at face value, the average amount of arable per family was more or less the same in the two baronies in 1755. In Strathyre the amount per individual was calculated by Dodgshon at just under one and three quarter acres, without allowing for cottars. This was less than each person had in Balquhidder, including cottars. It is quite clear that the Commissioners rated Balquhidder as an estate suffering from poverty and overcrowding, and comparative statistics show that Strathyre was worse. Field evidence proves beyond doubt that the quality of land in Strathyre was much worse. It must be concluded that the situation was becoming critical.

The statistical returns for Balquhidder reveal the persistence of kinship structures in 1755. Tulloch was tenanted by four Stewart portioners. Lednascriden had one Stewart and two

MacLaren tenants. Kirkton had a Stewart, a MacGregor, and a MacLaren. Achleskine was possessed by four Maclarens. West Achtow was tenanted by one Stewart, a MacLaren, and a McIntyre, and Mid Achtow by a MacLaren. East Achtow was tenanted by three Drummonds, probably MacGregors. Two Stewarts held Cuilt. The extended family or kindred group was still a prominent feature of landholding. In Strathyre the 1748 rentals indicate a similar dominance of Ferguson and Buchanan families, with one Stewart, one MacLaren, one Wright (ie: McIntyre), one Fisher, one Campbell, and one Macgregor under a Buchanan alias. In the Barony of Balquhidder the statistics were recorded in sufficient detail to reveal an average family of just under four persons.

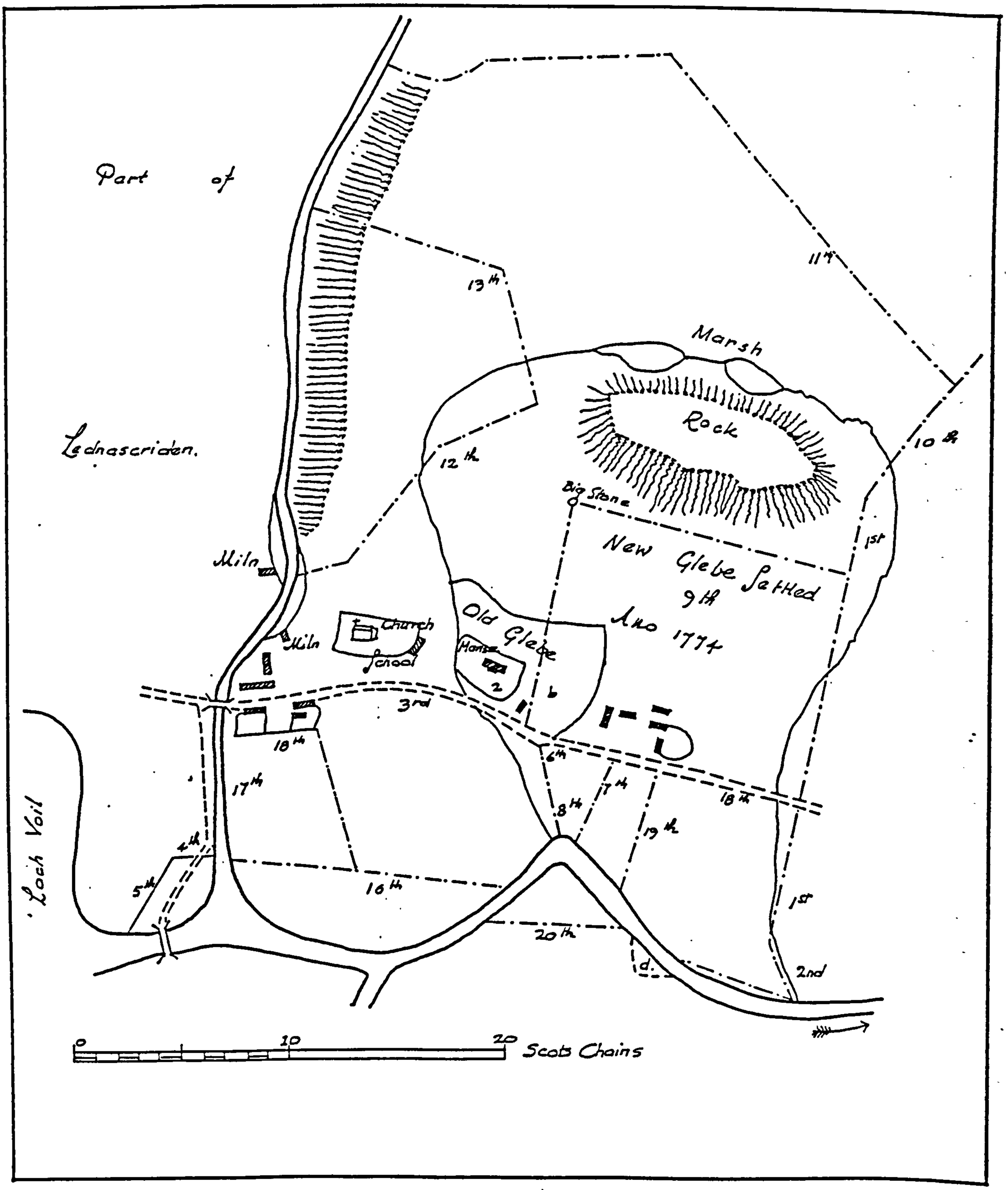
Rentals for the Barony of Balquhidder exist for 1733, 1746 [13], 1756, and 1773 [14]. Like those for Strathyre they do not include sub-tenants nor cottars, with the exception of the 1756 returns. In 1733 there were twenty-three tenants. In 1746 no returns were recorded for Achleskine or East Achtow, but the other townships retained the same number. Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie had a share in Kirkton, probably as an absentee. In 1756 there were still twenty-three tenants. In 1773 there were twenty-five, but Kirkton was in the sole possession of Ronald Drummond (MacGregor), with a flock of two hundred sheep. Tenants at Mid Achtow had increased from one to three, and at Lednascriden from three to four. The family kindred groups continued throughout the period. References to senior and junior members of tenant families suggest inheritance.

Rents increased slightly from 1733 to 1773. Tulloch paid ten pounds, fifteen shillings and five pence sterling in 1733, and twelve pounds four and ten pence in 1773. The smaller holdings had

increases of one pound. The rents for Lednascriden and Kirkton included the mill, portioned between tenants. During the whole of this period the townships remained tied to the mill at Kirkton by thirlage. In 1773, however, thirlage was abolished. The rental of Balquhidder was increased by sixty-seven per cent [15]. Rents in Strathyre were increased by twenty-six per cent in 1778 [16]. Thirlage to the mill at Ardoch was also abolished. The Commissioners, towards the end of their period of jurisdiction, began to change the tenurial system. The rent increases were considerably greater in Balquhidder than in Strathyre. This reflects the activities and policies of the Commissioners in the two baronies during the 1770s.

The surveyor to the Commissioners responsible for Balquhidder and Strathyre between 1773 and 1778 was John Leslie. His activities can be reconstructed from three main sources. The Achleskine papers in Balquhidder in 1981 included a folio of Forfeited Estates papers for the years 1773 to 1777 [17]. The Scottish Record Office collection includes the Forfeited Estates Papers for Strathyre [18], some material from the Drummond papers [19], and some of John Leslie's letters [20]. In addition some material exists in the Stewart papers from Lednascriden [21]. According to Smith (1982) [22] John Leslie and Peter May carried out most of the scientific surveys for the Commissioners, although William Cockburn, Francis Grant, and William Morrison were also employed. She notes that relationships between the surveyors and their rather complacent employers in Edinburgh were not always good. John Leslie's letters confirm such a conclusion.

Leslie produced detailed plans, with costs and estimates, for improving the farms in the Barony of Balquhidder, between 1773



FACSIMILE OF JOHN LESLIE'S PLAN FOR IMPROVEMENTS AT KIRKTON

1773 – 76

Fig.29.

Source – Achleskine papers

and 1777 [23]. The head dykes were being straightened and more of the hill land taken in to the holdings. Cottar families were being moved to smallholdings taken out of farms in Strathyre, subdivided for that purpose. No attempt was made to reduce the number of joint tenancies or change the group farm system. Improvement was to be built upon the existing structure.

Leslie described the state of the holdings as he found them in 1773. His account disagrees with that of Cockburn, and he overtly criticised the accuracy of the latter's work. The arable land, apart from the low grounds of Kirkton, Achleskine, and the two westermost Achtows, he found high and stoney. The pastures were high, and equally good for cattle and sheep. He noted abundance of limestone in the hills, and commented that the Earl of Perth had with difficulty persuaded his tenants to use it for their land. It would appear that it was being used more in 1773.

The state of agriculture was still primitive. Leslie noted that it was similar to the Highland runrig farms, especially in the estate of Perth. Four tenants commonly possessed one plough gang between them. Each sent one man and one horse to the ploughing in the spring. The four horses were yoked to the broad plough. One man held the horses, one drove them, one held the plough, and the fourth dug with a spade among the rocky places where the plough could not go. The land was then divided into small parcels eighteen or twenty feet square (six metres square) for which the tenants cast lots. They then put their marks upon hazel or willow rods and set these to distinguish the boundaries of their lots. Each then sowed his seed in the lot, and covered them with harrows and rakes. He commented that they spent the rest of the year until harvest feuding about these boundaries. The

picture is one of a system more primitive than proper runrig farming, with small patchwork shares of land between the numerous families. In general it reflects other accounts and descriptions of Highland practice [24].

The returns for the labour were poor. Leslie states that on many of the farms one boll of seed yielded little more than fourteen pecks above what was sown. He calculated that as a result, the tenant could not produce a boll of his own meal for the mill for less than two guineas. When the rent for a small farm was between six and seven pounds this figure appears uneconomic indeed. The wet climate prevented winter ploughing and summer fallowings. The grounds produced better crops of grass during the second and third year of ley, without labour, than they did of corn. Leslie therefore concluded that less ploughing, and more enclosed pasture, was advised. The fields were very stoney, and he recommended using clearance stones for building enclosing dykes, rather than ditches or hedges.

The haugh or meadow land suffered from inundations which during spring and harvest occasioned considerable loss of crops. Leslie noted that the problem was water backing up from Strathyre. He suggested removing the old mill leat at Tombae, by the outfall of Loch Lubnaig. Stobie showed several mills at that point in 1787 [25]. The hope was that the outfall would be improved. He also recommended training the Kirkton burn across the meadows to its confluence with the Balvaig, and changing its relationship to the Callair Burn from Glenbuckie, which enters almost opposite. The old pier and trestle bridge was recommended for replacement with a stone arched bridge to cause less impediment to the outfall of Loch Voil.

The improvement of the farms was based upon enclosure and subdivision of the infields. His plans show proposed runs of new dykes, dividing each farm into small fields, which would then be permanently allocated to each of the portioners. The old system where portioners held shares in the whole holding would thus have been replaced with a system where each had an allotted area. This would have abolished the primitive system of division by gavels, while preserving the group farm structure as a tenurial and social unit. The removal of the cottar population must have been a prerequisite for such a scheme.

While stone dykes were recommended for most farms, quickthorn hedges and ditches were recommended for the lower land. Leslie noted the treeless nature of the landscape, and recommended planting sycamores along the boundaries of holdings. This was carried out at Achleskine, where some of the trees remain. The trees were available from the Commissioners' nurseries. Leslie ordered hawthorn berries from the Lothians for the Commissioners' nurseries at Drummond and Auchterarder. [26]. He also requested seed for oak, spruce, silver fir, and larch. The object was first to ornament what he considered a bare and inhospitable landscape, secondly to provide some shelter, and thirdly, in some estates, to provide useful timber.

The value of the improvements was added to the rents for the Balquhidder farms [27]. The addition varied from four pounds nine shillings for the smallest to over fourteen pounds per annum for the largest holding. The considerable difference in the increase of rents in the Barony of Balquhidder, compared with Strathyre, is partly explained by the valuation of these improvements. The schedule of estimates allowed for seven thousand

The Commissioners & Trustees appointed by his Majesty for Managing the
forfeited Estates in Scotland Annexed to the Crown on the one part And
John M'Laren Senior & John M'Laren Junior Patrick Stewart & Robert Stewart in
Lednascriden On the other have Contracted as follows Whereas the said
Commissioners are Authorised to grant Leases of the said Estates or any part thereof
for any term not exceeding Forty one Years of the Lesser Sort Entering into such
Covenants to Warrant unto the Incumbents a Sum at least equal to Five
Years Rent in building & other Improvements within the space of twenty years
from the date of such Lease And Whereas it has been represented to
the said Commissioners that the said John M'Laren Senior & John M'Laren Junior
& Patrick Stewart & Robert Stewart have already expended towards the
five Years Rent in buildings & other Improvements on the Lands & Tenement
herein Therefore the said Commissioners do hereby sell in Feu to the said
John M'Laren Senr & John M'Laren Junior & Patrick & Robert Stewart equally
between them & to their respective heirs the Eldest or other Heir Female whom
the Father Shall Nominate succeeding without division the Lands
Assignees Legatees or Voluntary & Substituents Will & Testament the said Farm &
Lands of Lednascriden as presently possessed by them & delineated in a
plan thereof drawn by John Leslie Land Surveyor signed by William Barclay
Secretary to the said Commissioners and by the said John M'Laren Senr &
John M'Laren Junior & Patrick & Robert Stewarts & the respective Tenants
the Parties signing these presents as relative hereto lying part of the Annexed
Estate of Perth lying within the Parish of Balquhidder & County of Perth for
the term of Forty one Years from their Entry in Terms of the Lease which
is hereby declared to have been as to the Houses Yards & Grass at Whit-
sunday Seventeen hundred & Seventy five & to have commenced as to the
Arable land at the Separation of Crop Seventeen hundred & Seventy five from
the ground Reserving always to the said Commissioners & excepting from
this Lease that part of the said Farm Lately taken off for the Accomodation
of the Schoolmaster of Balquhidder And Reserving also full power & liberty
to alter the course of the Burn of Balquhidder when paying such damage as
may thereby be done to the Lands hereby sell Reserving always a Road
thro the Lands hereby sell from the public road to Crieff with the privi-
lege of Carting Peats And for Encouraging the said John M'Laren Senr
John M'Laren Junr & Patrick & Robert Stewarts and their foresaids to the
Industrious & to keep their Inclosures & Grounds in good Order the said Com-
missioners do hereby become bound to lay out Annually during the first
Twenty one Years of this Lease the sum of Six Pounds Sterling towards
fencing

John M'Laren. Dougl[illegible]
John M'Laren [illegible]
Patrick Stewart J. Campbell
Robert Stewart George Clerk Maxwell
R. Oliphant

Fig.30. THE FIRST PAGE OF THE FORFEITED ESTATES COMMISSIONERS' LEASE OF LEDNASCRIDEN, SIGNED BY THE PORTIONERS AND THE COMMISSIONERS' REPRESENTATIVES, ON THE 4TH MARCH 1776.

(Stewart-Adams family papers)

eight hundred and ninety-five roods of dykes, and one thousand three hundred and seventy three roods of hedges and ditches.

Leslie's proposals were not easily accepted by the tenants. At Tulloch the holding was quartered between the four tenants, but extra time had to be allowed for them to agree upon their portions. At Achleskine there was considerable difficulty in obtaining tenants' agreement over subdivision, and it appears that previous agents had also tried to implement a policy of enclosure without success. In East Achtow, however, work was already advanced and the tenants keen to improve and enclose their land. At Middle Achtow the cutting of peats in the low meadows was a problem, leading to pits in which cattle drowned. Willows had also to be cleared from the low land. Each township had different problems.

The implementation of the Commissioners' policy was through improving leases. A manuscript of the lease for Lednascriden in 1776 [28] shows that the portioners, John MacLaren Senior, John MacLaren Junior, Patrick Stewart, and Robert Stewart, contracted jointly with the Commissioners for the lease of the township. The conditions included their investing a sum at least equal to five years rent, over the first seven years of the lease, in building and other improvements. At Lednascriden such a sum had already been spent, which infers that the portioners had expended about forty seven pounds sterling on imporovements. The lease was for twenty-one years, and the Commissioners undertook on their part to lay out six pounds sterling annually on inclosure and improvement, over twenty-one years. This was a promise of one hundred and twenty six pounds in the form of a grant. The lands could be inherited by heirs male or nominated heirs female, but without

subdivision. This must have been an attempt to terminate the continual reduction in shares of already small holdings through partible inheritance. Certain obligations were included, such as contributing to the building of the new manse, and maintenance of it and the kirk and kirkyard walls, by carting materials. They also were bound to cart forty-eight stone of bark when the woods were cutting, or to pay an equivalent sum. Failure to fulfil the terms of the lease would result in a fine of twenty pounds.

The lease was matched with an entry in Leslie's folio of valuations of improvements. The valuations set out the work to be done and its costs. A summary of the condition of the holding showed that the ground was stoney, and that any work on the Kirkton Burn would affect the farm, as it formed its east boundary. Access had to be maintained to Loch Voil for a boat landing. The portioners had also to sign the entry in the folio as a contract related to the lease, and copies of the plans were given to them. The leases of the individual farms therefore combined with the Commissioners' records to form a detailed contract of improvement.

The processing of the documents was fairly complicated. In 1773 John Leslie carried out his survey of the farms and prepared his estimates. He worked from Balquhidder and Callander for this. In 1775 the lease for Lednascriden was drafted by Colin Campbell, the Commissioners' clerk, in Edinburgh. The valuation of improvements was signed by William Barclay, secretary to the Commissioners, in Edinburgh, on the 17th November 1775. The lease was signed on the same day by Barclay and one other. On the 1st February 1776 the valuations and estimates were signed at Callander by the lessees and their witnesses. The lease was

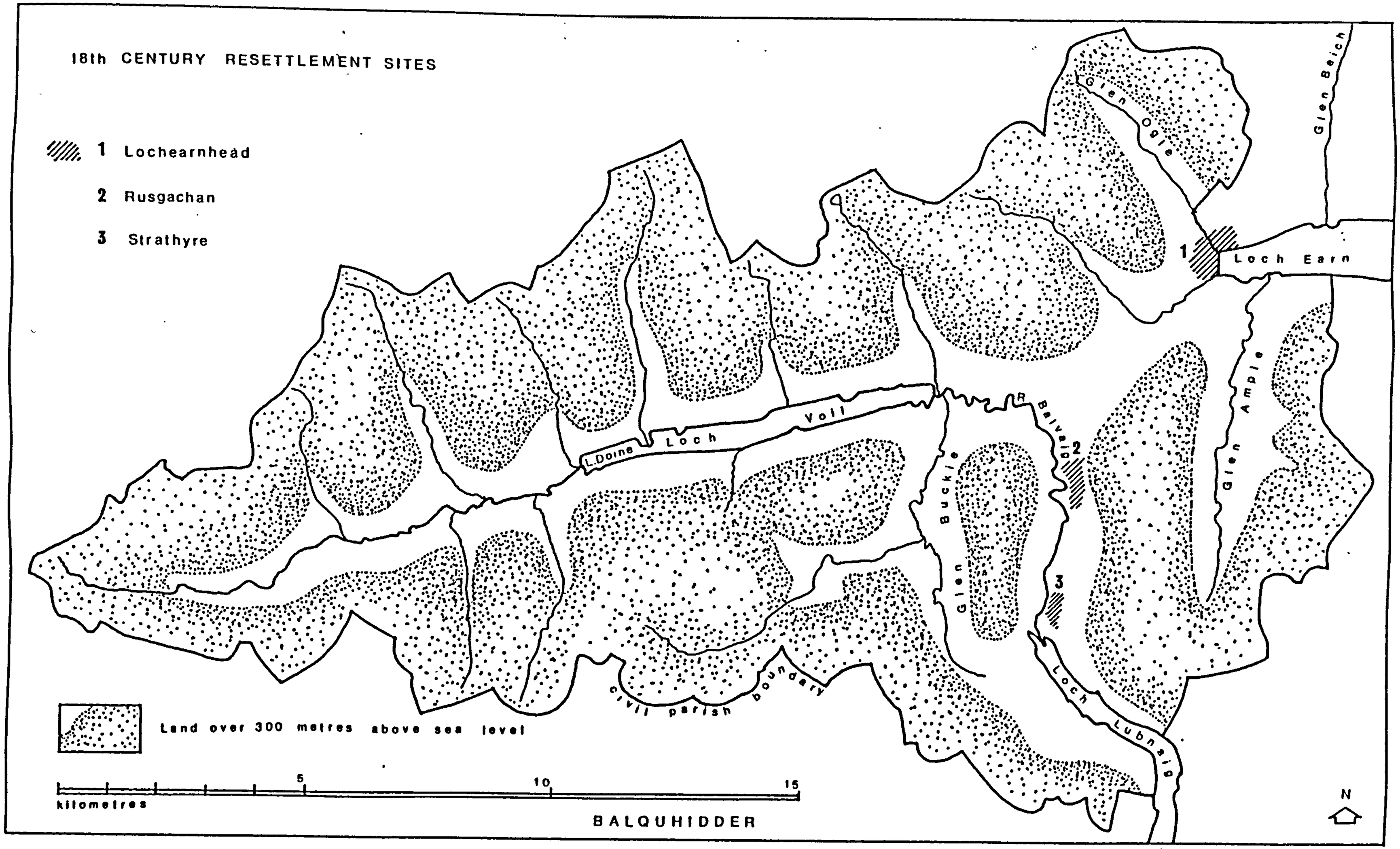

18th CENTURY RESETTLEMENT SITES
1 Lochearnhead
2 Rusgachan
3 Strathyre
Glen Ogle
Glen Beich
Loch Earn
Loch Voil
L.Doine
R. Balvaig
Glen Buckie
Glen Ample
Loch Lubnaig
civil parish boundary
Land over 300 metres above sea level
5
10
15
kilometres
N
BALQUHIDDER

Fig.31.

revised and signed at Edinburgh by the Commissioners' lawyer and clerk, and then by the Commissioners themselves in quorum. It was then taken to the Kirkton of Balquhidder and signed by the four portioners and their witnesses. The process took four months to complete, and illustrates the procedures used in the letting of farms and implementation of impovements. References in Leslie's estimates indicate that each holding was subject to a similar contract, as each lease was referred to in the notes. The Lednascriden manuscript is the only one which has been found.

One element in the policies of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates linked the fortunes of Balquhidder and Strathyre. That was the problem of resettling the large number of cottar families. The effect of breaking up farms in Strathyre to create smallholdings is seen in the rentals for 1778 - 1779 [29]. The two townships of Easter and Wester Rusgachan were divided between fifteen tenants. The later census of Scotland refers to this area as Rusgachan hamlets [30]. In 1755 Easter Rusgachan was tenanted by Mary Stewart, and Wester Rusgachan by four portioners, one Buchanan and three Fergusons. Strathyre therefore suffered a population increase in order to relieve Balquhidder.

One of the new Easter Rusgachan tenures was, however, of a different origin. On the 1st March 1779 a lengthy petition was presented to the Commissioners' factor by Patrick MacEwen, John Robertson, and Collin Robertson, on behalf of the cattle drovers [31]. They requested the fencing of a cattle park on the hill of Rusgachan, and the building of a Kingshouse at the junction of the roads leading from Crieff and Lochearnhead, and from the country of Balquhidder, to Callander and Stirling. They calculated the cost of the house at forty pounds sterling, half of which they

would pay themselves. John Campbell, the factor, supported their request. The signatories to the factor's note show origins in the north of Perthshire. The petition is interesting in two respects. It shows that companies of drovers were acting together, through representatives and guarantors, for their mutual benefit as itinerant dealers. They were willing and able to arrange joint tenancy of stances. It also proves the origin of Kingshouse in Strathyre, which in turn shows that the proposal was implemented. The granting of the hill park to these petitioners would also dispose of part of the Rusgachan holding, leaving the lower land for smallholdings.

The resettlement policy was referred to in greater detail in John Leslie's letters to the Commissioners [32]. He recommended Rusgachan in Strathyre because it was near the slate quarries, and on the military road. It was also accessible to Strathyre, Balquhidder, Glenogle, Glenample, and both sides of Loch Earn. Each tenant had a cottage, some land in excess of one acre, and grass for a cow. The holdings were, however, small enough to make other employment essential. Leslie was creating similar settlements elsewhere. At Muthill, in East Perthshire, he recommended small holdings of one and a quarter acres plus a cow's grass, on the basis that more would be hurtful to a cottar or tradseman and a loss to the neighbourhood [33]. At Struthill he wrote that all the cottaries or villages were near to moss and water, and considerably distant from each other. A series of separated hamlets self sufficient in peat fuel from the mosses, and in water supply, appears to have been in Leslie's mind. The Commissioners were not, however, the intiators of policies for removing cottars. Leslie writes of Kinbuck that he found no

cottars except for four at the mill. The day labourers and trades people had been removed by the late proprietor about 1740. The result at Kinbuck was a shortage of labour and of tradesmen, which Leslie condemned as injurious to agriculture and tending to depopulation [34]. Leslie's notes provide further evidence of changes undertaken by the superiors in Scottish estates before 1745. The Commissioners were therefore moving with developments already substantially initiated in Perthshire.

The social objectives of the Commissioners may therefore be deduced. Agricultural and material improvement was a clear goal. The improved townships were to remain in long leases to the existing principal tenant families, thus preserving the indigenous community structure. Leases were to be hereditary, but without further subdivision of holdings. The dependent and insecure cottar tenants were to be removed from the farms, and settled in "villages," better called crofting townships, on land taken out of selected larger holdings. A class of smallholders was to be created, which would have security of tenure, but would rely upon wages from labour or trades for much of their income. These hamlets of smallholders must have introduced the process of nucleation into the settlement pattern. They were sited conveniently to the new road system, and at Rusgachan the nodality of the location appears to have been an important consideration. It may be inferred that this settlement was to provide labour for the programme of road construction. Depopulation was not envisaged, and seems to have been anathema to Leslie. Reorganisation of the existing patterns and the socio-economic framework appears to have been the foundation of the Commissioners' programme.

The rules and articles for management of estates in the Highland division reveal further the Commlssioners' policies [35]. They were printed in Edinburgh in two editions, the first in 1764, and the second in 1774. They were directed to all tenants with long leases. The first edition was a short document of eight clauses. Tenants with runrig or gavels were to apply to the factor for these to be divided. Crooked or uneven marches were to be straightened and adjusted with neighbours. Grounds were to be drained. Cattle were to be kept over winter. Arable, where extensive, was to be fallowed over the summer. Grass was to be sown on the infields, and a large portion of them kept in grass. Arable outfields were to be managed on the same basis as the infields. Turnips, potatoes, and green crops were to be sown.

The 1774 articles were more elaborate. Thirlage was to continue where it existed (although this was soon to be abolished). The straightening of marches was to include exchange of lands and adjustments of rents. The Commissioners reserved quarrying and mineral rights, but were liable for damages to tenants if they exploited them. Houses were to be maintained or replaced on the farms, and fences and gates kept in repair. Hedges were to be weeded and ditches properly drained. At the expiration of leases tenants were entitled to the value of all trees planted and preserved by them, but the Commissioners could thin plantings, the thinnings belonging to the tenants. All enclosed arable was to be sown with clover and grass, along with barley, oats, or flax, indicating the introduction of undersowing with hay. Barley land was to have at least three ploughings. Meadows might not be ploughed up without the factor's permission. Tenants leaving were to leave half of the crop for the incoming tenant, who was to pay

for it. Goats and sheep were not to be allowed in enclosed lands or young plantations. Tenants with hill grounds were to enter and remove from their shielings at the same time, as directed by the factor. Hill grazings were to be divided wherever possible, otherwise soumed to regulate the number of beasts on the ground. All horses, black cattle, sheep, and other beasts were to be herded. Moorland might not be fired without the factor's permission, and a fine was to be levied for default. Tenants were to provide a portion each of the wages of public herdsmen, ground officers, fox hunters, and pest controllers. The rules and articles indicate a desire to bring Highland farming up to a high standard of improvement. The improving leases of Balquhidder would have been drawn up in the light of these requirements. Conservation of the soil, and of hill grazings, was an important principle. The general character of the Rules and Articles reflects that of the duke of Atholl's improving leases of 1722. Once again, historical precedent may be found for the activities of the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates.

A report from Leslie to the Commissioners on the 14th January 1768 [36] set out his policies for woodland management. He proposed dividing woodlands into twenty or twenty-four lots, and enclosing them with stone dykes. Each division would be cut on a twenty or twenty-four year rotation. For the first ten years after cutting no grazing animals would be admitted. He notes that under the traditional system timber was reserved out of each cutting for a temporary fence around the wood. These decayed, and animals grazed the woods before the next crop of coppice was mature. This reduced the profitability of the woodlands. The loss at the woods in Strathgartney was three hundred pounds sterling. Leslie also

remarked that ensuring an annual crop, and controlled access, would discourage tenants from raiding the woods for timber at random times.

Insights into conditions in Strathyre are chiefly provided by tenants' petitions. The lot of the schoolmaster appointed by the S.S.P.C.K. supports the hypothesis for poverty. He had to teach for three year periods in rotation at Strathyre, Invercarnaig, and Lochearnhead. The tenants found this unsatisfactory and requested a permanent schoolmaster at Immereach [37]. The schoolmaster himself, however, was petitioning the Commissioners, in a letter dated the 8th July 1779 [38]. He was lodged in a pendicle or smallholding taken out of the township of Kipp, which lies at the foot of Beinn an t'Sithein on steep land. He was in some distress because of his very small salary, and the sullen attitude of the tenants of Kipp who were resisting his right to graze two cows. He had a family to support. His request was for some pasture of his own for his few beasts, adjacent to his small plot of arable. The factor supported his case. It indicates the poverty of Kipp, as well as the problems of living off a smallholding, in such rough terrain.

Another petition was from the innkeeper in Strathyre [39]. He stated that his grandfather had obtained entry to the tenancy in 1718, and that his predecessors had also tenancy of a quarter to one half of the adjacent farm of Immereach. This had been taken away in 1762. The victualling of the inn depended upon the produce of the farm, and James Buchanan, the innkeeper in 1768, was putting his case that his business was suffering. There are various letters petitioning for tacks of farms. It does not appear that the policies followed in the Barony of Balquhidder were

applied in Strathyre.

Robert Stewart in Ard nan Dabh, and Jean MacNabb in Bailefuil, had their farms rebuilt in 1762 and 1777, respectively, after fires. Simple bills of quantities show the nature of the houses and the procedures for building. Robert Stewarts's house was a simple longhouse, with byre and living quarters under the same roof [40]. It was built of dry stone sealed with turf, with a cruck roof finished with turf and thatch. Costings were for either straw or bracken thatch. The bill included two doors and three windows. The cost was twelve pounds, two shillings and two pence sterling.

Jean MacNabb's house was more elaborate [41]. The bills for the house and byre were listed separately, which may indicate two buildings. The construction appears to have been of the traditional cruck system with stone walling, but there was an estimate for lime and sand. There was a loft over the kitchen, and the latter had a "Lothian brase" or hooded fire place and hanging flue. There were four glazed windows, and outer and inner doors. The bills include accounts for quarrying and leading stone, and for timber. Both indicate that housebuilding was undertaken by hired masons and carpenters. Minor improvements to the basic longhouse were evident at Ard nan Dabh, but Jean MacNabb's house appears to have advanced to a stage of design which lay between the longhouse and the later cottage, with joisted floors and walls set in mortar.

Important changes were taking place in the Baronies of Balquhidder and Strathyre between 1755 and 1778. These may be summarised. Agricultural use of land was becoming regulated in accordance with the principles of improvement. Infields were being

divided into fenced portions and gavels being abolished. Varieties of crops were being introduced and basic rotation enforced, which included grass and clover. Rotational managament of woodland was projected. Primitive longhouses were being gradually replaced or improved to something approaching the style of the early nineteenth century cottage, but still using traditional structural solutions. Cottars were being resettled in nucleated hamlets or cottar towns as labouring or tradesmen smallholders. The principal instrument of improvement appears to have been the improving lease, coupled with a costed contract, the tenant undertaking to invest about one third of the cost and the Commissioners two thirds. It has been noted, however, that such policies were not innovatory, but had roots earlier in the eighteenth century (See Chapter 12, pp.201 - 205). Nevertheless the Commissioners' officers pursued them with a degree of objectivity not evident from other evidence in the parish. They had behind them the detached interest of a government board, with access to funds. The landscape of the Barony of Balquhidder, with its stone dykes and thorn hedges, must owe something to their work. The programme had one objective which did not endure long into the nineteenth century, the retention of the group farm structure, and the prevention of serious depopulation.

The impetus behind the programme must have been the growing crisis of land shortage. In the climatic and geological conditions of Balquhidder, less than two acres of arable per person must have offered very minimal sustenance. The small returns of grain could not have sustained the population without the supplement provided by potatoes, widely used by 1755. It could be inferred that the Commissioners' officers saw Balquhidder as a stock rearing country

rather than one suitable for arable farming. The linen trade clearly provided an essential income to allow tenants to pay their rents and probably to purchase supplies which they could no longer provide for themselves. The old settlement pattern had outlived its economic viability in the face of increasing population. The Commissioners for Forfeited Estates appear as agents working within a process of change in Balquhidder, which was largely generated from within the indigenous socio-economic system. They brought solutions which bore the imprint of the planned improvement programmes of the south, which they attempted to adapt to the Highland situation. It is probable that the conditions in the Baronies of Balquhidder and Strathyre between 1756 and 1787 were similar to those in the rest of the parish, where direct evidence is lacking.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 14.

1. Smith.A.M. "Jacobite Estates of the Forty-five." John Donald. Edinburgh. 1982. Passim.

2. Forfeited Estates Papers. Leslie.J. "Value and Estimates. The Improvements of Balquhidder." Achleskine Papers. 1773 - 1776.

3. Lindsay.I.G. and Cosh.M. "Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll." Edinburgh University Press. 1973. pp.17, and 26 - 29.

4. Smith.A.M. 1982. Op.cit. p.38.

5. Cockburn.W. Plan of the Barony of Balquhidder. Forfeited Estates Plan No.85. RHP.3482. S.R.O. and Reports of the Annexed Estates, with Statistics, 1755 - 1756. R.H.428. S.R.O.

6. Warden.A.J. "The Linen Trade, Ancient and Modern." Longmans, London 1867. p.480.

7. Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/1/4. S.R.O.

8. Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/40/2. S.R.O.

9. Forfeited Estates Papers. E777/78. S.R.O.

10. Forfeited Estates Papers. Leslie.J. 1773 - 76. Op.cit. Abstracts.

11. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1981. pp.280 and 288 - 290.

12. Ibid. p.280.

13. Rental of the Perth Estates. 1733 and 1746. GD160/22. S.R.O. also transcribed by Stewart.G. "Stewarts in Old Balquhidder." in The Stewarts. Vol.XIV. No.2. 1973. pp. 78 - 79. (NB. Scots values converted to sterling for this research).

14. Reports on the Annexed Estates 1755 - 1756. RH.428, and Achleskine Papers, Leslie.J. 1773 - 1776. Op.cit.

15. Forfeited Estates Papers. Achleskine Papers, Leslie.J. 1773 - 1776. Op.cit. Abstracts.

16. Forfeited Estates Papers. E777/78.

17. Forfeited Estates papers. Achleskine Papers, Leslie.J. 1773 - 1776. Op.cit.

18. Forfeited Estates Papers. Estate of Arnprior, feued from Perth. E738. S.R.O.

19. Drummond MSS. series GD160. S.R.O.

20. Forfeited Estates Papers. series E777. S.R.O.

21. Stewart-Adams papers, Bridge of Allan. Private collection.

22. Smith.A.M. 1982. Op.cit. pp.56 & 81.

23. Forfeited Estates Papers. Achleskine Papers, Leslie.J. 1773 - 1776. Op.cit.

24. Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland. London 1754. Vol.II. Letter XX. pp.144 - 145. and O.S.A. (Edited by Withrington.D.J. and Grant.I.R., Wakefield. 1977) Vol.XII. pp.164 & 755.

25. Stobie.G. Map of Perthshire and Clackmannanshire. 1787. RHP.177.S.R.O.

26. Forfeited Estates Papers. E777/94/(24). 1st.Nov. 1762 & 15th Nov. 1763.

27. Forfeited Estates Papers. Achleskine Papers, Leslie.J. 1773 - 1776. Op.cit.

28. Stewart-Adams Papers. Op.cit.

29. Forfeited Estates Papers. E777/78.

30. Census of Scotland. Perthshire. Balquhidder. 1891. Enumerator's returns. Registrar General's Office, Edinburgh, uses the name Rusgachan Hamlet. The returns for 1841 and 1851 indicate numerous smallholdings at Rusgachan.

31. Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/51/1 and small sketch plan E738/65/1.

32. Forfeited Estates Papers. E777/94(24) 7th March 1772.

33. Ibid.

34. Forfeited Estates Papers. E777/94(24) 8th Jan. 1763.

35. Drummond MSS. GD160/234/8 & 9.

36. Forfeited Estates Papers. E777/94(24) 16th.Jan. 1768.

37. Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/50/1. 22nd June. 1765.

38. Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/55/2.

39. Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/50/1. 25th July 1768.

40. Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/50/1. 22nd June 1762.

41. Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/50/44(1). 21st June 1771.

PART V. DISSOLUTION AND SYNTHESIS

CHAPTER 15. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE OLD SETTLEMENT SYSTEM

Chapter fourteen finished with an hypothesis that the old settlement pattern in Balquhidder had outlived its economic viability by the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The forces which were to lead to its dissolution were inherent within the system of which it formed a part. The history of Balquhidder suggests that those forces were operating over a long period of time. They fell into two categories; negative forces which gradually rendered the old system unstable; and positive forces which tended towards constructive changes. Ultimately this led to the synthesis of a new pattern of settlement and land use in the nineteenth century. The end of the eighteenth century is an appropriate point for reviewing certain trends in the evolution of settlement and land use which can be synthesised from earlier chapters.

Increasing pressure on land must have been one of the principal internal forces operating negatively upon the system. This is, of course, a well known factor in the history of the Scottish Highlands [1]. The evidence from Balquhidder suggests that it may be detected very early. For example, the period from 1488 to 1587 saw an increase of holdings in the order of twenty-five per cent (Chapter 5, pp. 71 - 72). Even allowing for possible errors and omissions in the rent rolls, some significant increase

must have occurred. The founding of new holdings appears to have given way to the subdivision of existing ones not later than 1663 (Chapter 8, pp.141f.). The number of families was increasing between 1663 and 1718. By the second half of the seventeenth century each family may have had little more than twelve acres of arable land (Chapter 7, pp.110, 115, & 122). It is probable that cultivation of some shieling grounds may have commenced before 1700 (Chapter 11, pp.192 - 193). By 1755 families in the Baronies of Balquhidder and Strathyre had just over seven acres of arable land each (Chapter 14, pp.245 - 247).

Added to the problem of land shortage was the primitive state of agriculture (Chapter 14, p.250) and the poor quality of much infield land. Leslie's observation indicates a yield which could have been as low as fifty percent over grain sown. Postan (1972) found that on the medieval estates of the Bishop of Winchester a three to four hundred percent yield was expected at the beginning of the thirteenth century [2]. Such a comparison indicates the agricultural poverty of late eighteenth century Balquhidder. It is probable that the inadequacy of holdings was exacerbated by advanced soil exhaustion.

Potatoes were recommended as a crop in the Duke of Atholl's contract of tack in 1722 (See Chapter 12, p.203). Flinn (1977) [3] found that potatoes spread gradually as a crop from 1740 onwards. The general use of this staple in Balquhidder by 1756 (See Chapter 14, p.244) is significant. Flinn (1977) [4] notes that potatoes would grow on poor land, and could support a family on a much smaller acreage than other crops. Chambers and Mingay (1966) [5] made a similar point with regard to rural change in England between 1750 and 1846. They noted that a quarter of an acre of

good land would yield twenty hundredweight, sufficient for a labourer's family and for a few pigs. Flinn's hypothesis is that potatoes actually assisted subdivision. The multiplication of the poorest classes, cottars, crofters, and subtenants, was made the more possible. He cites Alison (1847), who alleged that a population living chiefly on potatoes, without the wherewithal to purchase other food if the potato crop failed, was economically redundant [6]. Alison wrote following the potato famines of 1845 and 1846. Balquhidder had not reached such a stage of decline. The signs, however, are there to see in the records.

Flinn (1977) [7] also suggests that the cattle trade may have been partly a response to land poverty. Beasts could be raised on poor land, and would offer promise of cash in the market place. He notes that some landlords between 1755 and 1801 evicted tenants to make room for cattle, as they required little labour. There is no evidence for such evictions in Balquhidder, but the use of old shielings and hill grazings for cattle in the early eighteenth century does indicate changes in the economy (See Chapter 11 p.186.f.). The probability that Balquhidder's viability depended on a cash income from some cattle sales, and from linen, before the middle of the eighteenth century, is high (See Chapter 14, p.245). The changes in the economy enabled population increase to be sustained, and shares of land per family to be reduced. Analysis of the demographic history of Balquhidder supports such an hypothesis (See Chapter 16).

It is very difficult to separate negative from positive forces of change.. General improvement in estate management after 1650 may have been the precursor of other forms of improvement (See Chapter 7, p.110 - 111). The apparent increasing importance

after 1650 of a money economy may have had considerable influence on the use of land (See Chapter 8, pp.137 & 138 - 139). It is significant that the growth of a market economy, the appearance of firm evidence for commutation of rents and duties, and evidence for the onset of land shortage, all tended to coincide in the last half of the seventeenth century. At the same time, the records of the Atholl and Tullibardine estates in Balquhidder began to contain proper folio rent books. The first similar rent book found in the Drummond manuscripts during the research was dated 1733. In 1686 and 1690 the Duke of Atholl was acting to ensure flood prevention, through the barony court and local labour (See Chapter 8, pp. 130 - 131). By 1706 he was rebuilding the bridges by contract, using hired craftsmen and labourers. In 1722 his new form of contract for tacks of land imposed conditions for agricultural and building improvements as stringent as those required by the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates in 1774 (cf. Chapter 12, pp.201 - 204 with Chapter 14, pp.252 - 255, & 257 - 259). Smith (1982) [8] notes that the Earl of Perth had been an interested improving landlord before he became involved in the 1745 rising.

There were certain common factors in all the improving policies: Enclosure; proper land management; new crops which would sustain a higher population density, and facilitate the wintering of cattle; care and conservation of commercial woodlands; maintenance and improvement of buildings; and in some cases the resettlement of cottars and poor tenants to create wage earning smallholders and relieve holdings of the excess population. On the positive side, these measures would ensure environmental improvement and conservation, and progress towards an economy

which could sustain a larger population. On the negative side, they would also support population growth on diminishing areas of land, tending towards further overcrowding. Positive and negative aspects of change were inextricably interwoven.

One solution to which John Leslie was opposed was depopulation (See Chapter 14, p.256). This was a matter of more general concern (Bumstead.J.M. 1982) [9]. The retention of population to provide wage labour was seen as an important matter of policy in the Highlands in the eighteenth century. The Duke of Atholl retained chiefly regard for his tenants in 1772, and refrained from maximising the potential returns from his estates at the cost of his people's discomfiture [10]. He recognised them as the source of his own wealth and position. The ancient clan loyalties still regulated the improvement policies of the Duke of Argyll, and the Earls of Seaforth and Sutherland [11]. Improvement and resettlement were seen as the way forward. One essentially positive result of such policies was the creation of nucleated settlements. In Balquhidder, the creation of the cottar town of Rusgachan between 1756 and 1773 was the beginning of a new phase of evolution in the Highland settlement pattern (See Chapter 14, pp.254 - 256). It introduced an elementary but significant development of deliberate settlement planning into the process.

A broad pattern of evolution may be traced. The late medieval and early modern period was one of colonisation. At some point in the seventeenth century this was succeeded by a period of subdivision of townships, when available land for colonisation became scarce. When the share of land per family had fallen to about twelve acres, it is hypothesised that a money earning economy became essential to provide a minimal standard of living.

Payment of at least some rents and duties in cash seems to have existed as early as the sixteenth century (See Chapter 5, pp.81-83). Therefore, some products must have been sold to provide money for such payments. By the second half of the seventeenth century, at the latest, the market economy must have become of more primary importance. The point where the presence of large numbers of cottars and poor tenants became critical is not clear. What is clear was the stage reached by the mid eighteenth century. A state of threatened overcrowding and poverty was evident by 1756. Agricultural improvements and more efficient estate control both ameliorated the lot of the community and encouraged further overpopulation.

At a sub-critical point in this process, a final response was initiation of resettlement. Principal tenants remained in their tacks, but a class of wage earning labourers replaced some cottar labour, which had earlier been given in return for a form of tenancy at will. Until the second half of the eighteenth century the medieval settlement pattern had remained basically unchanged. From the investigation of the Glenbuckie Estate it is evident that medieval standards of living also persisted, and continued into the nineteenth century in some places (See Chapter 13, pp.232 - 234). Nevertheless, examples of new standards of housing were to be seen in the parish by 1756 (See Chapter 14, p. 261).

Important aspects of the old economy persisted through all the changes until the nineteenth century. The portioning of townships, usually between kindred families, changed only slowly. The morphology of the settlements continued as groups of simple longhouses and associated outbuildings. The role of the tacksman

was not only preserved, but increased in importance where men such as Glenbuckie became themselves agents of improvement (See Chapter 13.). On the other hand, evidence suggested that improvements imposed by the Commissioners were not readily accepted (See Chapter 14, p.253). This resistence to change was also noted by Smith (1982) on the Perth estates, not only directed towards the Commissioners, but earlier towards the old superior. Old cultural attitudes were slow to change even in the face of critical poverty. Gaelic remained the common language of the people [12]. Even so close to the Highland boundary the northern patterns persisted in Balquhidder.

The Old Statistical Account of Scotland (1791 - 1799) [13] illustrates the increasing tempo of change in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The report for Balquhidder notes that two villages were developing. One near the head of Loch Lubnaig (now known as Strathyre Village), and one at the head of Loch Earn. Both were on the military road from Stirling to Fort William, and Lochearnhead was extending rapidly. Its houses were built with stone and lime, along the side of the road. Each householder had a few acres of land, part arable and part uncultivated, but all capable of cultivation. The possessors were industriously improving their plots by draining, blasting, and removing stones. These latter were used to build enclosing dykes.

It would appear that the process of resettlement in villages, commenced in Balquhidder by the Commissioners, was being followed by others. The Accounts for Callander and Crieff indicate that the Drummonds of Perth were creating village feus at the same time in those places [14]. The plantation of villages seems to have been a feature of late eighteenth century Perthshire. Heron

(1799) reported about one thousand inhabitants in Callander when he visited it. He found two thousand in Crieff, and over four hundred in the village of Muthill [15]. This process of nucleation in West Perthshire indicates an important phase in settlement evolution which supports some of Taylor's (1983) [16] hypotheses about early medieval nucleated settlements in England. One conclusion is that when a certain stage in population density is reached, the viability of small self sufficient autonomous groups is threatened. One reaction may be to reorganise the distribution of land through regrouping. A form of regrouping could be the creation of village settlements, either as the principal centres from which cultivation would be managed, or as relief settlements which would develop as centres of trade and service. Whatever course was followed, the unburdening of the land enabled the agricultural economy to change.

The Old Statistical Account provides evidence that the agricultural economy in Balquhidder had indeed changed by 1791. No part of the parish remained in commonty. The marches of each proprietor were defined and known. Farms were enclosed, and some subdivided, by stone walls. Farms were soumed to regulate the number of animals grazed. The yield of crops seems to have improved, oats being the poorest at three to four fold. Potatoes provided the staple food for breakfast and supper for at least six months of each year, eaten with milk, beef, and mutton. No green crops were raised except at Edinample. The reporter notes that the crops raised in the parish could not feed the inhabitants, however, about one fifth of the oat meal consumed being imported. Prices of provisions were controlled by the Stirling market, plus costs of carriage.

The Account recorded that exports from the parish were sheep to the Glasgow and Edinburgh markets and to England. For some years previously there was a great demand for sheep, hoggs, and lambs, for stocking the western and northern Highlands. By the 1790s these areas were breeding their own stock and the market had declined. As a consequence, lamb prices in Balquhidder were falling, and the value of breeding ewes was expected to follow. The returns from a flock of wedders could no longer ensure the payment of the rents for which the farms were let. A few black cattle were sold for winterers, and a considerable quantity of wool, washed and unwashed, was exported.

The Account stated that eighteen thousand sheep, mostly blackfaced, were kept in the parish. About one hundred and seventy horses, and eight hundred black cattle, were kept. The reports suggest that the peak of Balquhidder's sheep economy had been reached and passed before 1790. The use of Balquhidder as a breeding centre for stocking other parts of the Highlands was certainly in decline. In 1773 Ronald Drummond MacGregor of Kirkton had become sole tenant of Kirkton Farm, with a flock of two hundred sheep [17]. Signs of the development of sheep farming in Glenbuckie have been noted (See Chapter 13, pp.229, & 234 - 236). Other evidence supports the theory that the peak of the sheep farming period was in the late eighteenth century, and that its profitability declined thereafter (See Chapter 17).

Population had declined between 1755 and 1790, from one thousand five hundred and ninety-two to about one thousand three hundred people. The Account noted fourteen heritors or landlords, of whom six were resident. The parish had sixty ploughgates, sixteen of which were let as sheep walks to eight tacksmen. These

had formerly been occupied by fifty tenants. The remaining forty-six ploughgates were divided between small tenants, three or four to a plough. This indicates that a proportion of group farm townships still survived alongside larger sheep farms. On each farm the writer noted one or two cottagers, employed in weaving, tailoring, and dyke building. He reported also old women on the farms employed as spinsters, and general servants. There were four flax dressing mills in the parish.

The inhabitants were reported to be generally lively and intelligent, fond of news, and hospitable to strangers. Few were rich, but there were not many poor. The writer attributed their civilised state to the results of the civil war in 1745, possibly a comment he felt expected to make, as the indications are that this was untrue except in one respect. That, as he noted, was the removal of the last burdens of "feudalism." They had not, however, escaped from the economic control of large landlords, which was to become crucial in the nineteenth century (See Chapter 17).

The scenario suggests that important changes took place between 1776 and 1791. The old economy was rapidly retreating before commercial sheep farming, but three quarters of the parish was still feued to small farmers in joint tenancies. Cottars still provided about half of the farm population, in spite of the growth of new village settlements or cottar towns. Balquhidder's role in stocking the Highlands with sheep had been completed before this period of transition was ended. The day of the large proprietor, some absentees, was dawning, but there was no sign of rebuilding. The clachan type of settlement, and the longhouse, with the exception of one or two examples of modest modernisation, still

formed the physical infrastructure of settlement. In the new villages, however, small better constructed cottages were being built. Dependence upon outside markets had become essential, and the fortunes of Balquhidder were no longer within its own control.

By the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, the dissolution of the old settlement pattern and socio-economic system was assured, although not complete. The synthesis of a new system was also well advanced. The forces which were producing the new patterns were, it would appear, largely inherent in changes in land use and agriculture. Demographic change was of two kinds. One was the trend towards concentration in Strathyre and Lochearnhead, and reductions in density in the areas given over to sheep farming. The centrality of the parish may have been moving away from the old Kirkton of Balquhidder towards the new military road from Stirling. The other was the first stage of general population decline. These trends were important indicators of the demographic patterns to emerge in the nineteenth century, not only in Balquhidder, but in most of Highland Perthshire (See Chapter 16).

Only secondary mentions of the programme of road construction in the Highlands has appeared in the records. The construction of the trunk route through Strathyre and Lochearnhead appears to have been supervised by Harry Gordon in 1750 [18]. The road must have shifted the pattern of communication away from the hill bridle tracks through Balquhidder towards the eastern part of the parish. It is clear that the development of new settlements was closely related to it. It must also have created easier links with Stirling and the lowland markets. New highways not only provide access to old isolated places, they also provide a route of escape. Traffic, in the strict sense of the word, was

increased.

The Old Statistical Account also relates the road programme to changes in the droving trade [19]. Before the creation of the new highways cattle were taken to Crieff through the open hill country. The enclosure of land gradually made this difficult, and also removed free overnight grazing. The new highways were controlled by tolls, but became the only available routes for moving cattle in the second half of the eighteenth century. The problem was then to get the herds as quickly as possible to a southern market at minimum cost. Falkirk, a focal point in the Scottish road system for north and south, became the most accessible centre for the whole of Scotland north of the Forth, and for much of the central lowlands. The Fort William to Stirling highway therefore become a major cattle route. Hence the request for a stance and Kingshouse at Balquhidder (See Chapter 14, pp.255-256). It is possible that land let to drovers and graziers in western Balquhidder in the 1730s would be released for sheep farming by the late eighteenth century (See Chapter 11, pp.187-188).

The process of dissolution and synthesis was therefore extremely complex. Very local systems were responding to regional and national changes. Natural forces were being responded to by human decisions, which in turn modified the natural processes of change. There seems to have been an increasing amount of deliberate if elementary planning, or at least decision making, to accommodate change. This was first noted in the landowning classes, almost certainly followed by the tacksmen. Under the Commissioners the decisions became elements of wider policy. The nature of their responses was, however, the same as the earlier

landlords' measures. As far as the records permit, it is assumed that no major crisis point was reached, probably because responses to change were incremental, spread over a period of time in the order of one hundred and fifty years. Few relatively primitive cultures have survived into modern times, so well documented, as to reveal some characteristics of the processes of transition so clearly. Even so, the systemic complexities of change defy absolute analysis.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 15.

1. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1981. pp.289 - 292; and Smout.T.C. "A History of the Scottish People, 1560 - 1830." Collins, London 1969. pp.343 - 360.

2. Postan.M.M. "The Medieval Economy and Society." Penguin Books Edn. 1975. p.139.

3. Flinn.M.(Ed.). "Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s." Cambridge University Press. 1977. p.32.

4. Ibid. p.33.

5. Chambers.J.D. and Mingay.G.E. "The Agricultural Revolution, 1750 - 1880." Batsford. London. 1966. p.134.

6. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. p.33, citation.

7. Ibid. p.32.

8. Smith.A.M. "Jacobite Estates of the Forty-five." John Donald, Edinburgh. 1982. p.58.

9. Bumstead.J.M. "The People's Clearance. 1770 - 1815." Edinburgh University Press, 1982. p.18.

10. Smout.T.C. 1969. Op.cit. p.357 and Bumstead.J.M. 1982. Op.cit. p.7.

11. Bumstead.J.M. 1982. Op.cit. p.32.

12. Old Statistical Account of Scotland 1791 - 1799. Edited by Withrington.D.J. and Grant.I.R. Wakefield 1977. Vol.XII. p.44.

13. Ibid. Vol.XII. pp.37 - 46. Contains the complete Balquhidder entry from which the ensuing conclusions are drawn.

14. Ibid. pp.157 - 158 & 286 - 288.

15. Heron.R. "Scotland Delineated. 1799." Reprinted by James Thin, Edinburgh 1975. pp.155 & 158.

16. Taylor.C.T. "Village and Farmstead. A History of Rural Settlement in England." George Philip, London. 1983. Chs. 7 & 8.

17. Forfeited Estates Papers. Achleskine Papers. Leslie.J. Values and Estimates. The Improvements of Balquhidder. 1773 - 1776.

18. Gordon.H. "Alongside Loch Lubnaig and the Leny River: part of The New Road from Stirling to Fort William." 1750. Plans to scale of 200yds. to lins. PRO. 4085-2.

19. O.S.A. Op.cit. Vol XII. pp.291 - 295.

CHAPTER 16. POPULATION CHANGE - 1700 TO 1851.

The gradual, but constant, long term trends of population increase from the late medieval period to the second half of the eighteenth century, suggested that a major force for change in Balquhidder was the erosion of the subsistance economy through growing shortage of land (Chapter 15, pp. 266-267). Colonisation, subdivision, and diminution of holdings, was one aspect of settlement evolution (Chapter 15, pp.270-271). This was followed by the early stages of nucleation (Chapter 15, pp.271-273), not only in Balquhidder, but elsewhere in Perthshire and Argyll. The ancient patterns of tenure, and the old morphological characteristics of settlements, persisted through these changes into the last decade of the eighteenth century, and probably to some extent until the 1830s (Chapter 13, pp.234-236, and Chapter 15, pp.274-276). Nevertheless, the new patterns of settlement were emerging alongside the old declining ones.

Demographic change may be considered in several ways. It has been deduced thus far that total numbers of families, and probably of individuals, were increasing until the middle years of the eighteenth century. The new cottar townships or villages at Rusgachan, Strathyre, and Lochearnhead, suggest changes in concentration of population. They also infer the emergence of new socio-economic groups; principal farming tenants on the one hand, headed by the increasingly capitalistic tacksman class; and rural smallholding labourers and craftsmen on the other, with only

limited access to land. (Tabulated demographic data will be found in Appendix I, Tables 7-33).

Change appears to have been motivated not so much by simple cause and effect relationships between population increase and land supply, as by a complex interactive process between the community, its shifting economic base, and an environment of which the potential to support the community was steadily being diminished. One powerful and dynamic element was the range of solutions to the developing socio-economic problems adopted from time to time by the community or its governors. Examples were the improving measures of the early eighteenth century Atholl contracts of feu (Chapter 12, pp.201 - 206); the improvements of Balquhidder undertaken by the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, which included movement of excess population (Chapter 14, passim); and the adoption of extensive sheep farming (Chapter 13, pp.234 - 238, and Chapter 15, pp.272-274). These were responses to evolving situations within Balquhidder and in the outside markets, and at the same time were important determinants in the process of change itself.

Estimating numbers of families or individuals in Scotland before the eighteenth century, especially in the Highland zones, is extremely difficult, if not impossible (Flinn.M. 1977) [1]. English demographers have better early sources available, but even there the limitations upon accuracy are severe before the middle of the seventeenth century (Tranter.N. 1973) [2]. Postan (1972 & 1975) [3] concludes that estimates of medieval populations are so approximate as to be statistically of very dubious worth, but that the essential broad trends may be perceived through estate and manorial records. These he suggests are important factors when

analysed in relation to socio-economic phenomena and intensity of land use. In Balquhidder the first statistical base of any kind is the Old Parish Registers [4]. These exist in fragmentary form from 1696, and become consistent from 1728. Entries after 1718 are usable. They record only baptisms and marriages, and there are no burial records. Before 1718, therefore, population trends may be deduced only from estate records in terms of tenanted holdings.

In 1755 the first attempted census of Scotland was undertaken by Dr. Webster. This was based on returns of examinables from parish ministers, from which estimates of population were made. Flinn (1977) [5] offers a useful critique of Webster's methods. The next general source is the parish returns for the first Statistical Account of Scotland written between 1791 and 1799 [6]. These contain parish ministers' estimates of population, usually enlivened with narrative and descriptive material. In the barony of Balquhidder the statistics and rentals records of the Forfeited Estates provide sources for the second half of the eighteenth century [7]. From 1801 to 1831 the early official census of Scotland provides decennial statistics of parish populations [8]. In 1841 and 1851 the census was produced in a more modern format, and detailed returns were made by enumerators which offer reliable sources for reconstructing demographic and socio-economic patterns [9]. These are supplemented by the New Statistical Account of Scotland of 1844 [10].

The trends for the period 1508 to 1718 may be deduced from rentals for the parts of Balquhidder included in the Exchequer Rolls and the Atholl and Tullibardine estates. This provides an indicator for not more than three quarters of the parish. The

results of such an analysis are as follows:

DATE.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS.	
1508.	29 Holdings.	[11].
1513.	31 Holdings.	[12].
1587.	36 Holdings.	[13].
1641.	28 Holdings.	[14].
1663.	36 Holdings.	[15].
1668.	46 Holdings.	[16].

The consistent increase was broken only in 1641. There are two main possible reasons for that break. One is that the rent roll for 1641 was incomplete. Another is that some holdings were vacant at the time. Vacancy could have been connected with a fall in population in the middle of the seventeenth century. Flinn (1977) [17] suggests that populations in the seventeenth century were subject to fluctuations due to vulnerability to famines, lack of organised relief, epidemics, and political instabilities often leading to armed conflict. He found that the 1630s were unhealthy years, and that bubonic plague, probably carried by General Leslie's armies, hit rural Perthshire in the 1640s. Death rates were high between 1644 and 1649. There is no means of determining this problem satisfactorily. What the figures prove is that over the period from 1508 to 1688 the number of tenancies increased.

Two other sets of figures support the conclusion for population increase, especially in the latter half of the seventeenth century. These relate to the number of tacksmen and sub-tenants accounted for in the Atholl estate rentals:

DATE.	NO. OF FAMILIES.	
1665.	74.	[18].
1718.	92.	[19].

The evidence for sustained population increase, with some

possibility of minor fluctuations, from 1508 to 1718, is strong. Earlier chapters have already related this to contemporary evidence for subdivision as a means of accommodating more people on a fixed area of land. The only indication of possible decrease is in 1641, but the trend is so consistent that the hypothesis for an inaccurate or incomplete return is at least as tenable as one for a change in the trend. 1718 is a useful date when these early estimates may be connected to the increasingly more reliable data from the eighteenth century sources. It is the date from which the parish registers become usefully consistent.

Taking the number of tenant families as equal to the number of tenants listed in the 1665 and 1718 Atholl rentals, and allowing a family size of five people [20], a basis for an approximate estimate of population may be laid. It is reasonable to add one cottar or sub-tenant family for each principal tenant (See Chapter 7, pp.113-114, & 121-122; Chapter 9, pp.163-164; & Chapter 14, p.244). Finally, an allowance must be made for the Atholl estates records covering only two thirds of the parish. Taking all of these factors into consideration, a conservative estimate emerges for a population of about one thousand in 1663, increasing to about 1200 in 1718.

The approximate estimate reached through analysis of tenancies may be compared with results of calculations based upon the baptismal records in the parish registers. Flinn (1977) [21] found a relationship between population and baptismal rates which varied in different regions of Scotland from twenty to forty baptisms per thousand. He was, however, able to classify these by region. His results provide a useful basis for postulating ranges of population from parish registers. They were as follows [22]:

REGION.	B.R. per 1000
Highlands and Hebrides.	40.31
Northeast Scotland.	28.24
Western Lowlands, division A.	36.98
Western Lowlands, division B.	37.73
Eastern Lowlands.	35.10
All Scotland excluding Northeast.	35.12

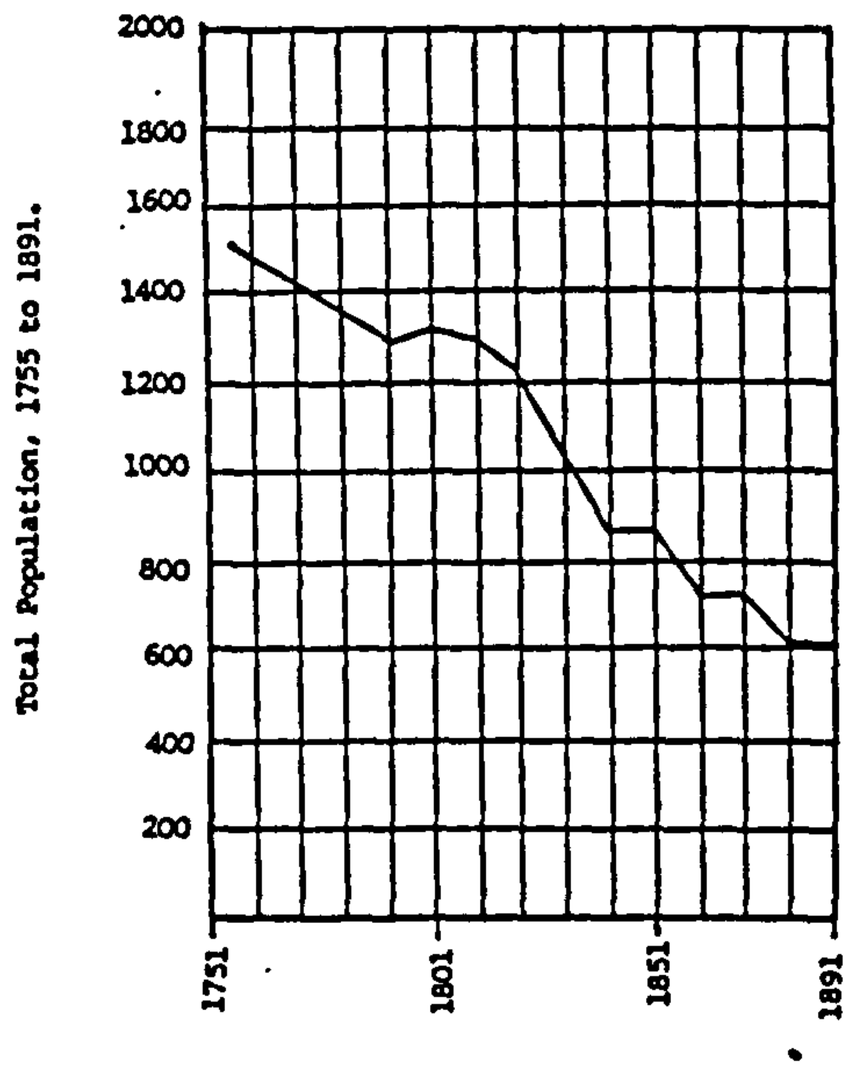
Flinn excluded Northeast Scotland from his national average because he found it significantly different from the rest of the country. Balquhidder lies at the meeting point of three of his regional divisions. The Highland and Islands division abuts the parish on the north, and the Eastern and Western Lowlands divisions meet at its southern boundary [23].

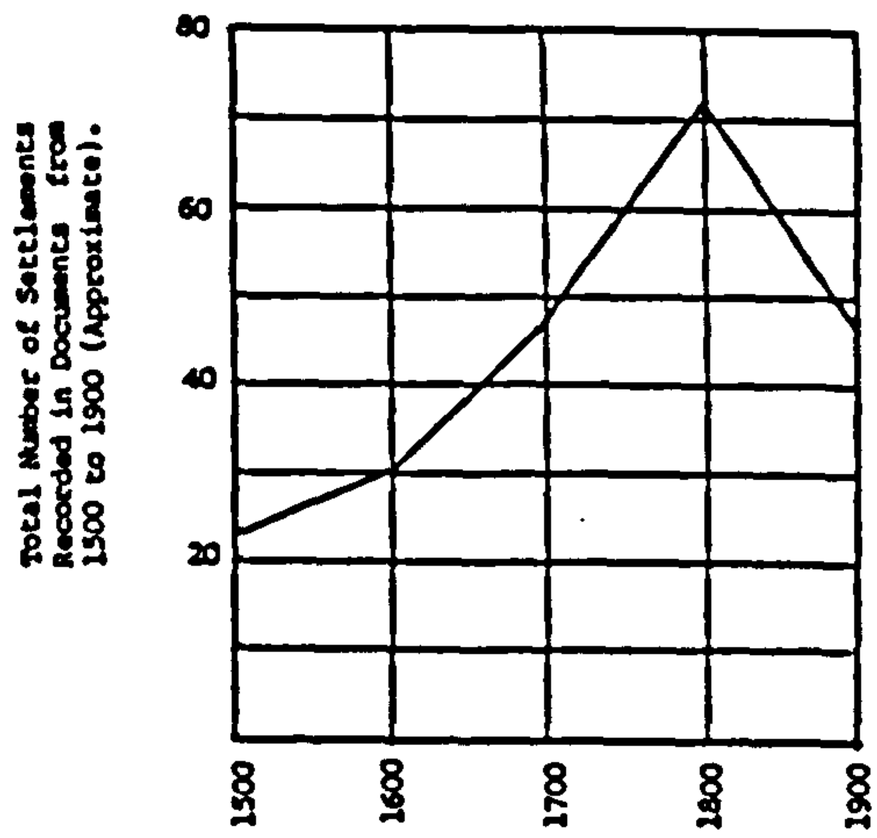
He also found that seventeenth century population growth was controlled mainly by famine and plague [24]. These occurred in cycles, and could reduce numbers by as much as ten per cent at a stroke. The insanitary nature of military camps could bring about a plague and famine cycle in the path of campaigns. However, he concluded that death rates which exceeded the norm by fifty per cent usually gave rise to written comment in records [25]. In Balquhidder, the only extant comments related to disorder following the civil wars of the seventeenth century [26], and a request for relief of rents following a fever epidemic and poor harvest in 1696 [27]. The entry in the Old Statistical Acccount in the 1790s records a good state of health in the parish [28]. Scottish harvests were poor in the last decades of the seventeenth century [29], which may have led to some debility in local populations. There is no evidence in any extant records, however, that Balquhidder suffered significantly from disasters which could have seriously inhibited population growth. Nevertheless, Flinn draws a conclusion that epidemics and poor harvests led to a

reduction in prosperity, which could lead to late marriages and reductions in the birth rate. Renewed prosperity could reverse this trend. The result would be a cyclical variation in birth rates related to changes in the economy and in public health.

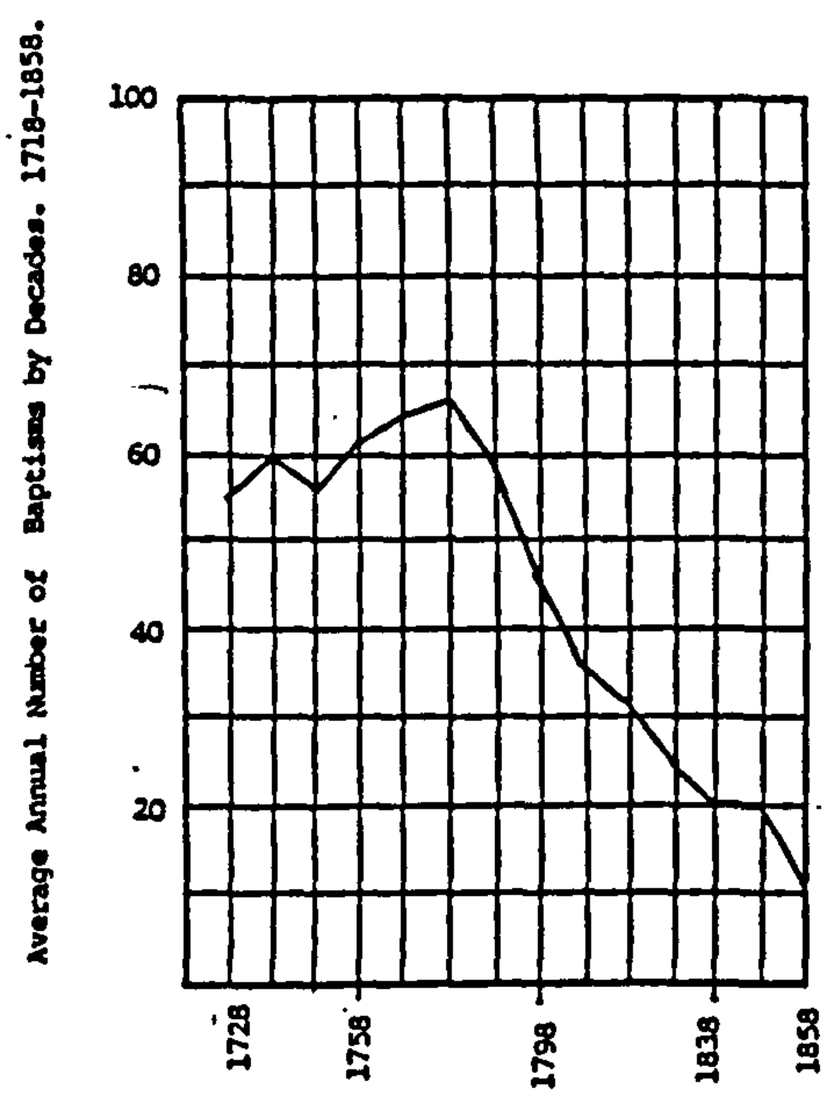
Balquhidder was isolated from towns and ports, frequently the generators of epidemics. Stirling and Perth were forty miles away, or two days journey by the poor roads of the region. Taking account of this, in addition to the findings from Flinn's work, a baptismal rate of between thirty-five and forty per thousand appears reasonable. The relationship between baptisms and births in Balquhidder was probably high. There were no dissenters in the parish, and no sectarian divisions [30]. Careful examination of the parish registers showed, however, that infants might not be brought for baptism until some time after birth. The annual baptismal rates may not reflect the actual birth rate for a particular year. The registers nevertheless must provide a reasonably accurate picture of totals and trends.

Analysis of the parish registers produced a pattern of baptisms per annum from 1718 to 1856, characterised by large short term fluctuations, but clear long term trends. Peaks occurred in 1727, 1748, 1758, and 1778. The last two were the highest of the whole period. The peaks followed or preceded troughs which were also of more than average significance. The pattern after 1778 still displayed peaks and troughs among smaller annual fluctuations, but these became progressively weaker. The number of baptisms also steadily declined from 1778 to 1856. The peak in 1748 could have been a post-war increase following the Jacobite campaign of 1745-1746, and the ensuing punitive measures, which must have resulted in some postponed marriages, or absentee males.





Sources: Atholl MSS.
Porf: Est: Papers.
Stobie G. 1781. RHP.
177. O.S.1866/1901.



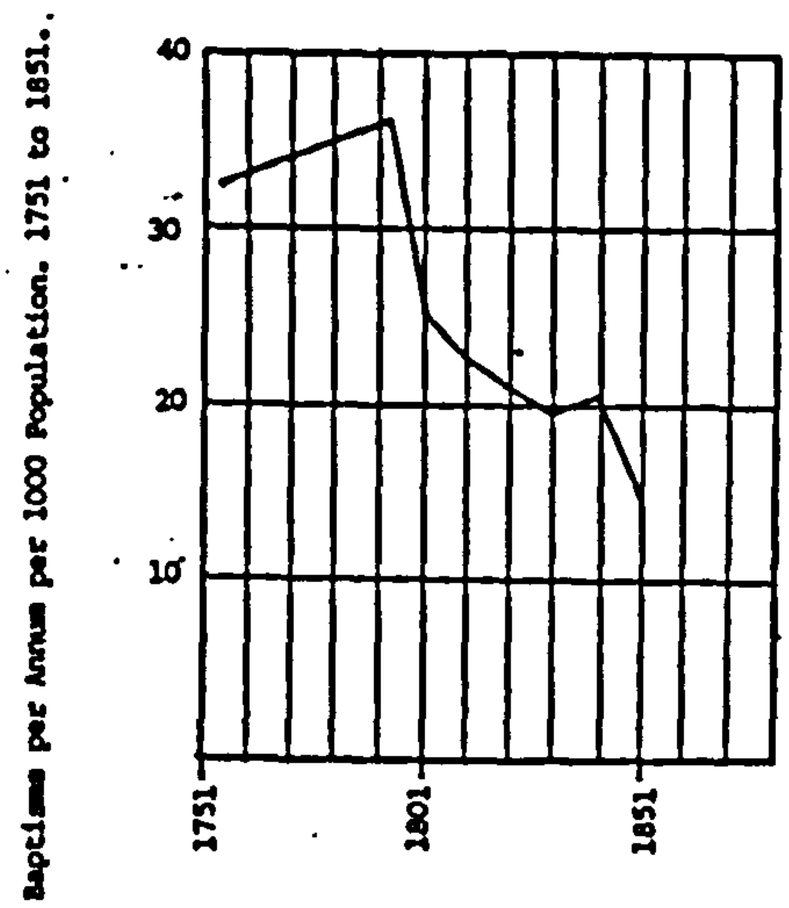


Fig.32. DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN BALQUHIDDER BETWEEN 1751 AND 1891. (1)

Source: Balquhidder Old Parish Registers & Census of Scotland.

Webster 1755; O.S.A. 1791;

The period from 1748 to 1778, marked by peaks at its onset and termination, coincides with the attempts by the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates to mitigate the overcrowding of the farms by developing smallholdings, and with the beginnings of the new villages at Strathyre and Lochearnhead (Chapter 14, pp.255-257, & Chapter 15, pp.272-273).

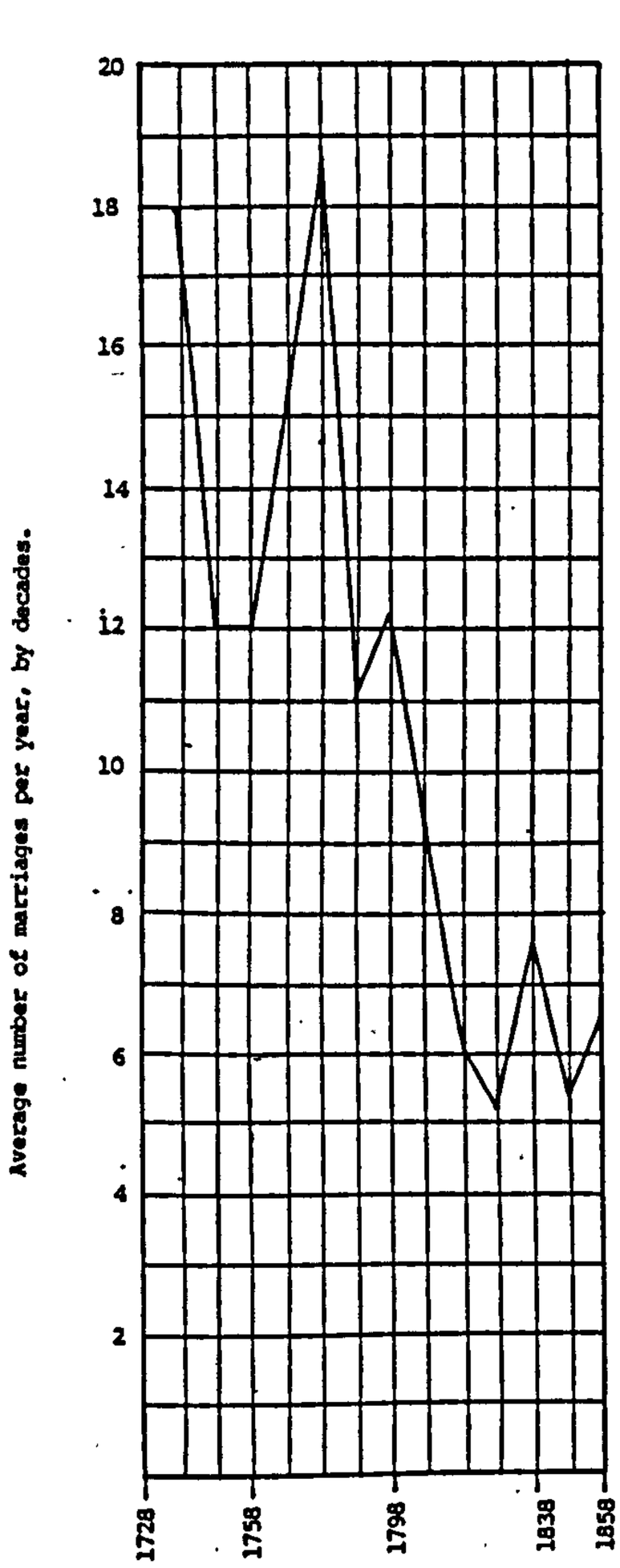
To reduce the fluctuations in the baptismal rates to a general trend, the average annual rate for each decade following 1718 was calculated. The result confirmed that the highest average rate occcurred in the decade 1768 - 1777, followed closely by the decade 1778 - 1787. These periods were preceded by a rising rate from 1738 to 1767. There was a distinct trough between 1738 amd 1747, which included the Jacobite war. From 1787 the numbers declined rapidly from averages of over sixty to just over eleven baptisms per annum after 1848.

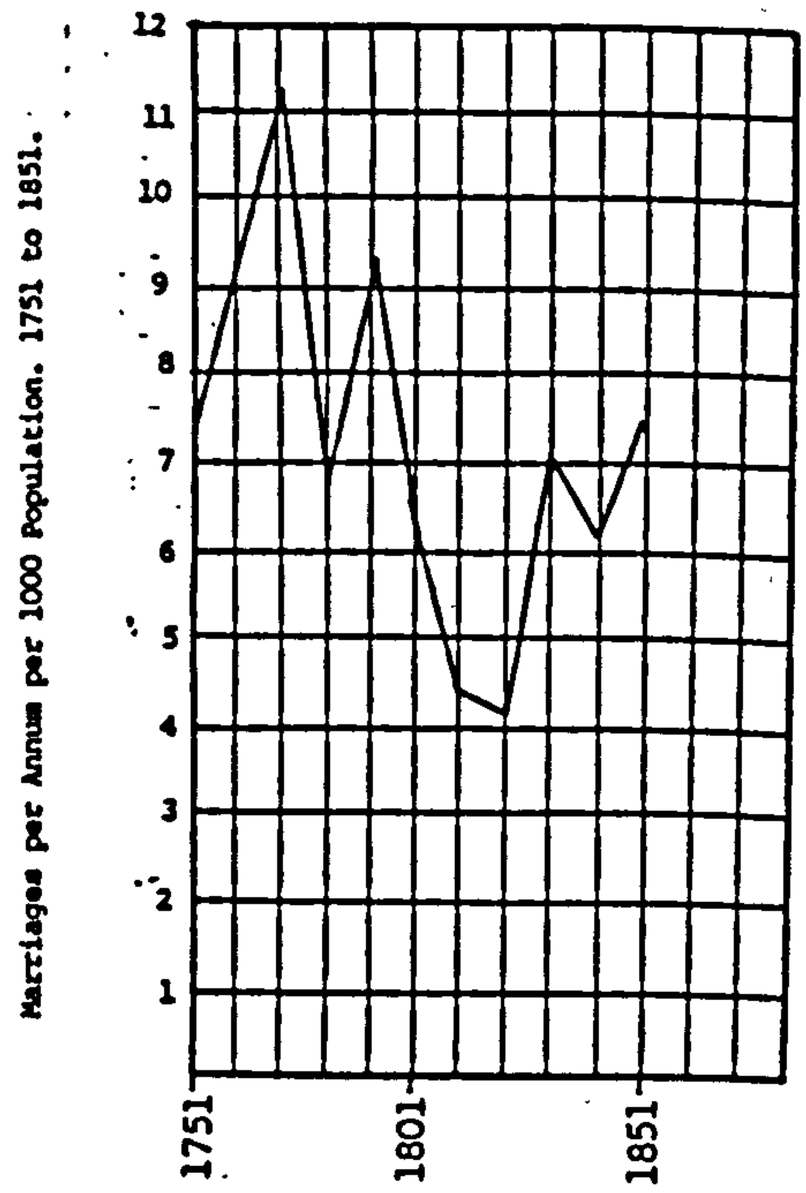
The indications suggest averages of between fifty- five and sixty births per annum between 1718 and 1737; a reduction to under fifty between 1738 and 1747; then a period from 1748 to 1787 when the average remained in excess of sixty. Between 1788 and 1797 this fell to the middle forties, and decline thereafter was rapid.

Applying appropriate baptismal rates per thousand population to the decennial averages deduced from the parish registers enables an estimate of population to be made. Because Balquhidder lay on the boundary of the lowland and highland zones, a range of possible population numbers was calculated. Webster's census of 1755 gave a reference point to test the general validity of the estimates. The Old Statistical Account likewise provided a comparison for the last decade of the eighteenth century. The census of Scotland completed the pattern from 1801 to 1851.

The result of such a calculation showed a population ranging between 1,378 and 1,574 for the decade 1718 to 1727. This compares with the approximation of 1,200 in 1718 deduced from the Atholl rentals. Following a slight increase between 1728 and 1737, the decade from 1738 to 1747 registered a decline to between 1,210 and 1,383. In 1755 Webster's census returned a total of 1,592 [31]. This suggests a considerable increase leading up to a marked peak in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Reverting to estimates from the baptismal records for the decade 1758 to 1767, a range of total population between 1,625 and 1,843 was obtained. A maximum appeared between 1778 and 1787, within a range of 1,658 to 1,914. The Old Statistical Account returned a total of about 1,300 in the last decade of the eighteenth century, which compared with the return of 1,377 in the census of Scotland in 1801. The Old Statistical Account may have been slightly low in its estimate. The text of the Balquhidder entry makes it clear that significant emigration from the parish had ocurred very recently [32]. Successive census returns show a steady decline, the total population falling to 874 in 1851.

Use of baptismal rates to calculate population is open to one major criticism. While decreasing population numbers would utlimately result in a decrease of births, so also would a fall in fertility rates. These might result from an increase in late marriages, or from general ageing of the population. If emigration was an important factor in demographic change, it could be argued that the emigrants might well be the young, leaving an aged residual population behind. These mechanisms could yield a falling birth rate not exactly correlated with a population decrease. There are, therefore, possible flaws in a methodolgy adopted from





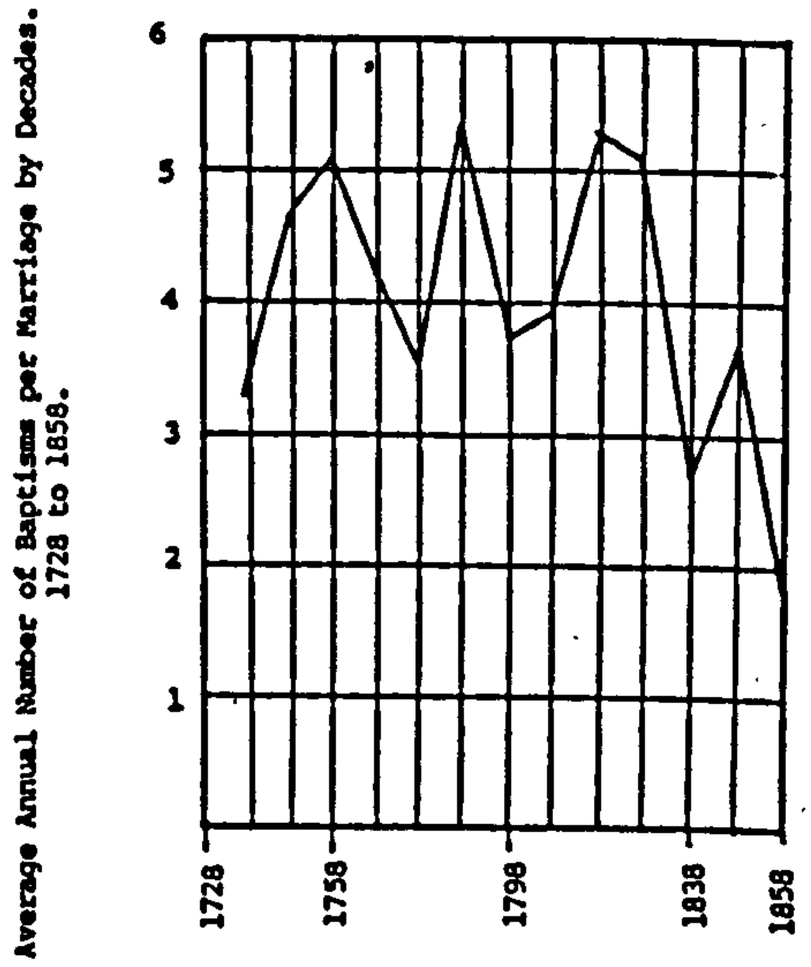


Fig.33. DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN BALQUHIDDER BETWEEN 1751 AND 1891. (2)

Source: Balquhidder Old Parish Registers & Census of Scotland.

Flinn's research. The value of external evidence is very important as a means of responding to such a criticism in the case of Balquhidder.

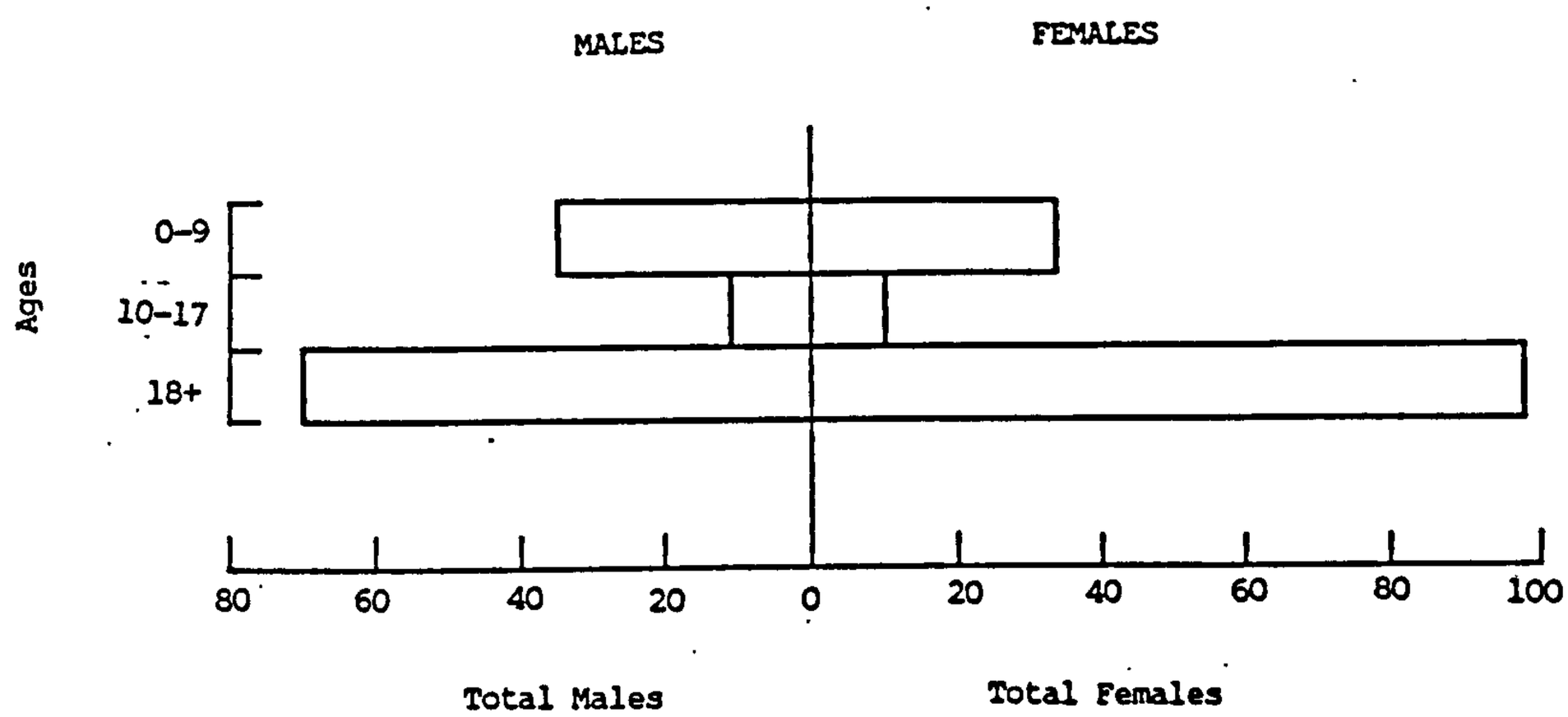
The census returns of the nineteenth century leave no possible doubt that severe and rapid depopulation was occurring between 1801 and 1851. Comparison with Webster's estimate in 1755, even allowing for error, shows that there was decline over the period as a whole from 1755 to 1851. The decline in baptisms was parallel to the decline in total population over the same period. The suggested high plateau in population numbers between 1755 and 1787, with a summit between 1768 and 1777, deduced from baptisms, is supported by the evident concern of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates for poverty and overcrowding in their Balquhidder territories during the same period. The Commissioners' own survey of the Barony of Balquhidder in 1755 - 1756 reflects very high population densities.

Some refinement of the demographic pattern is possible. Using the same decennial base, the parish registers were analysed to ascertain the marriage rate in terms of average numbers of marriages per thousand population. Two peaks appeared. Between 1728 and 1737 there was an annual average of thirteen marriages per thousand population. Between 1768 and 1777 there were eleven. For all other years the average was less than ten marriages per thousand population, the highest outside the two peaks being for the years 1758 to 1767, and 1788 to 1797, when the average exceeded nine. The lowest rate of less than five per thousand occurred over the twenty years between 1808 and 1827. The marriage rate recovered from 1828 to 1856, but in the context of a total population reduced to half the numbers present in Balquhidder in

the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It is therefore probable that the trough in marriage rates between 1808 and 1827 could reflect a reduction in young people, and an aged population. Some indication of a structural change appears.

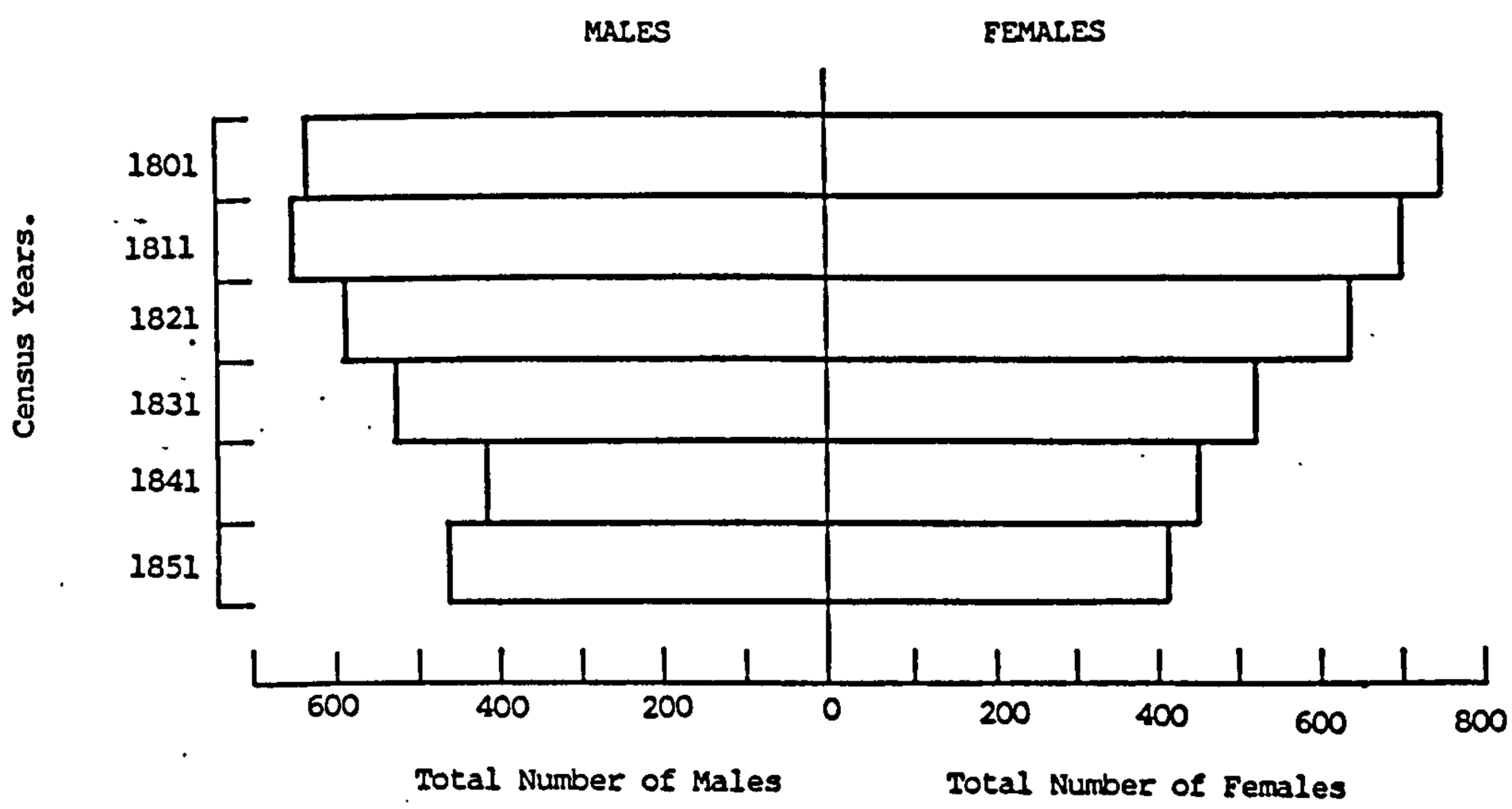
The parish registers yielded some indication of the fertility of marriages. This analysis compared the average number of baptisms per annum with the average number of marriages, for the same decennial periods as the other data. The mean for the whole period from 1728 to 1857 was 4.05 baptisms per marriage registered. The lowest averages occurred between 1827 and 1837, at a rate of 2.74, and between 1848 and 1857 at a rate of 1.55. The highest rate was 5.44 baptisms per marriage registered between 1778 and 1787. Other decades with an annual average of more than five were 1748-1757, the period following the Jacobite rising; 1808 to 1817, and 1818 to 1827, overlapping the fall in the marriage rate. The pattern shows a knock-on effect consistent with other demographic factors. The reduction in fertility of marriages between 1848 and 1857 appears to suggest that late marriages may have been part of the change. If so, two reasons may be suggested. One would be a possible fall in economic prosperity in the second quarter of the nineteenth century for many families. Another would be an ageing population within which the remaining marriages were taking place. Evidence for some important changes following 1800 is strengthened.

The statistics, crude as they must be, suggest a family size ranging from five to seven persons. Calculation of population based upon numbers of tenancies before 1718 assumed an average family of five people. From what is known of eighteenth and nineteenth century genealogies in Balquhidder, these are



POPULATION STRUCTURE BY AGE AND SEX IN THE BARONY OF BALQUHIDDER IN 1755-56

Fig.34. Source: Statistics of the Forfeited Estates.



PROPORTION OF MALES AND FEMALES IN BALQUHIDDER. 1801 TO 1851.

Fig.35. Source: Census of Scotland.

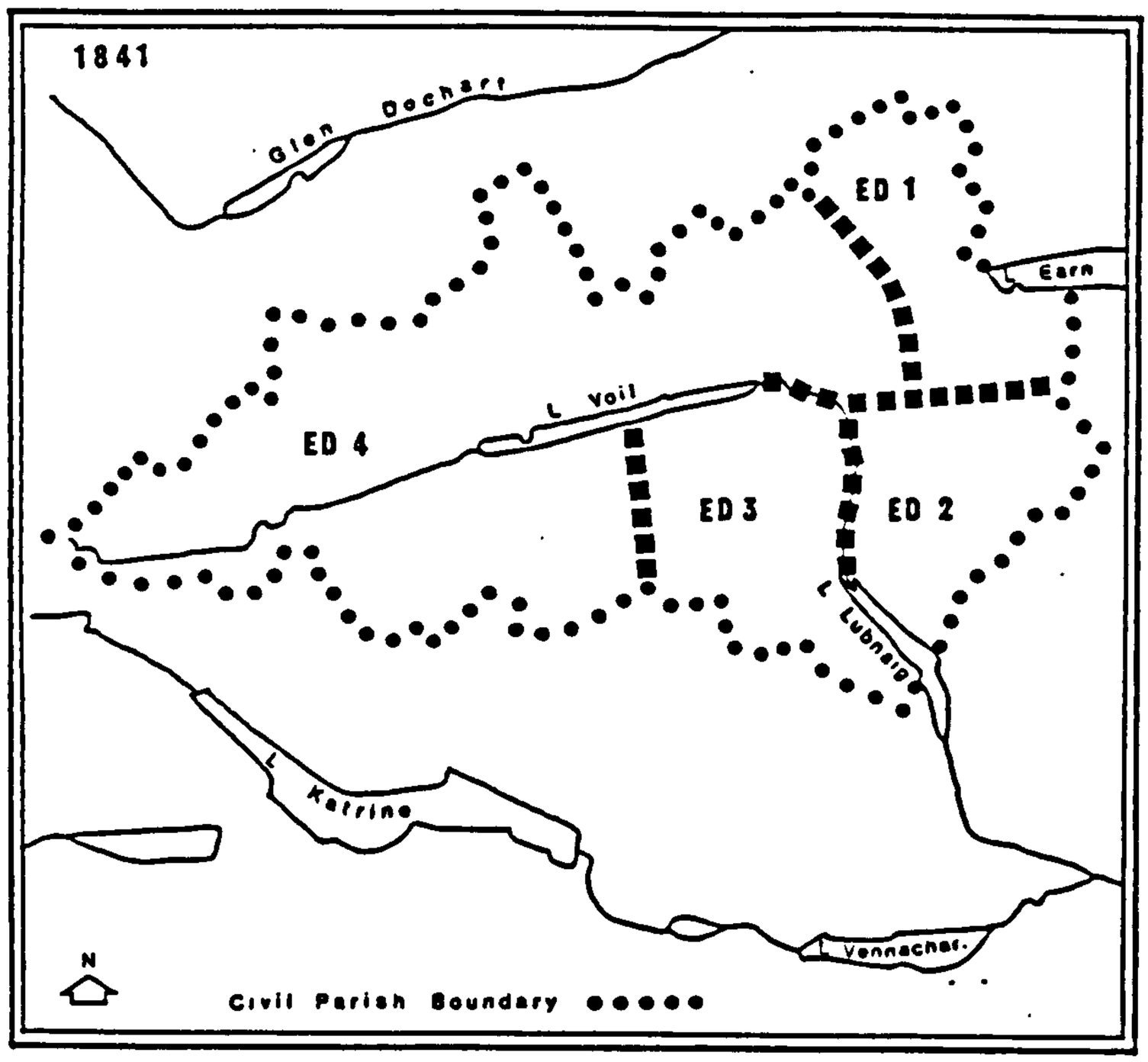
conservative estimates. Robert and Christian Stewart of Lednascriden married in 1728, and had seven children between 1729 and 1744. Duncan Stewart married Katherine MacLaren in 1765, and they had eight children between 1766 and 1782. Patrick Stewart of Lednascriden and Christian Stewart of Callander had five children between 1761 and 1776 [33]. Families must therefore have varied in size. Not all children survived into adulthood. It does not appear that the calculations based upon the parish registers have produced high estimates. They would appear to rest around a mean.

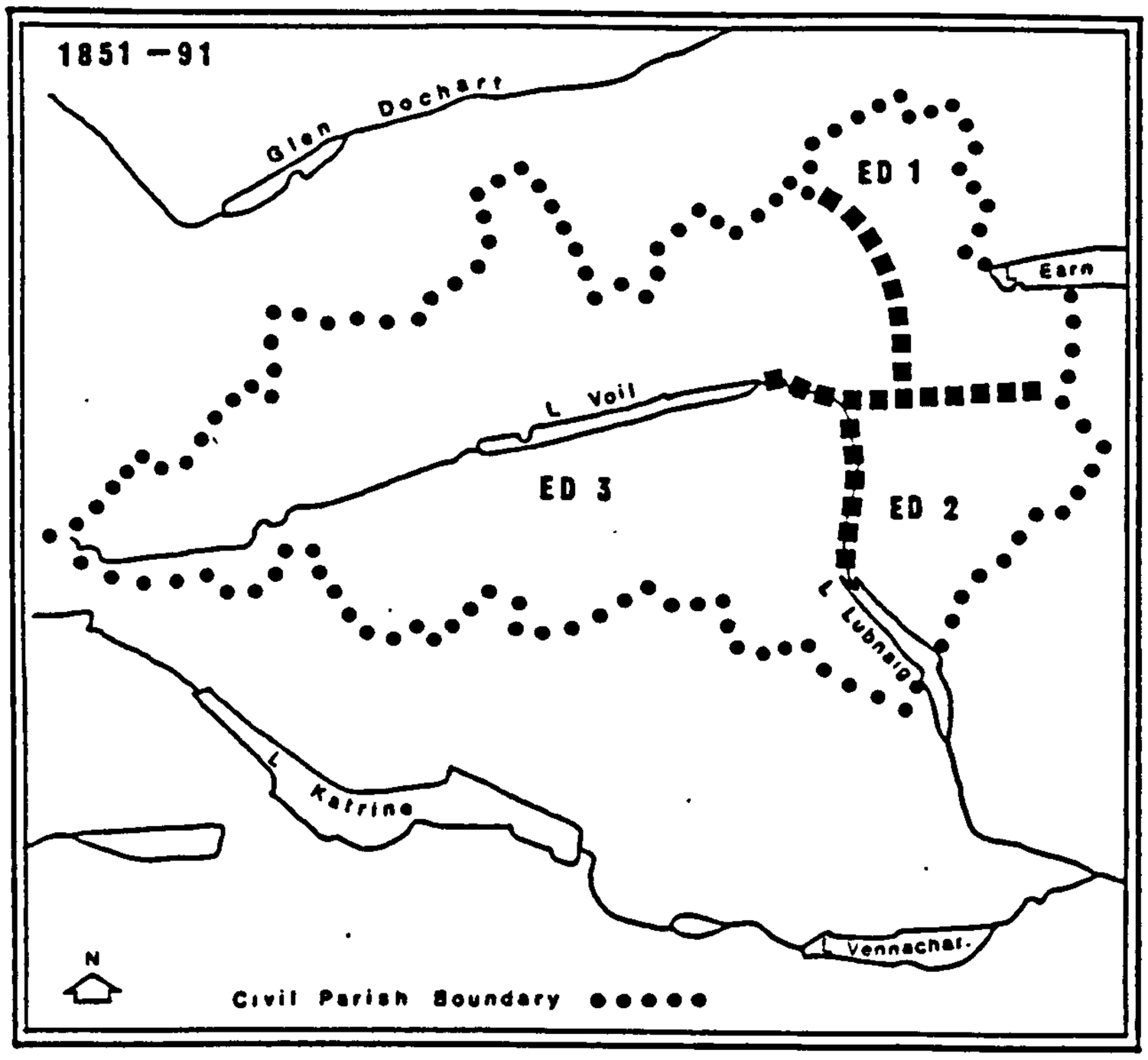
Only one source is available from which the age and sex structure of the eighteenth century population may be deduced. The statistics of the Forfeited Estates barony of Balquhidder provided a crude indication. Out of a total population of two hundred and fifty-seven, there were one hundred and sixteen males and one hundred and forty-one females. There were sixty-eight children under ten years of age, forming twenty-six point five per cent of the total population. Thirty five were males, and thirty three females. Young people between the age of ten and seventeen numbered only twenty one, or eight point two per cent of the total. Eleven were males, and ten were females. The adults are grouped together in the statistical record, numbering one hundred and sixty-eight, of which seventy were males, and ninety-eight females. Sixty five point four per cent of the population was aged eighteen and over, and fifty eight point three per cent of that group were women [34].

The dominance of adult females in Highland populations in the eighteenth century was remarked upon by contemporary writers [35]. The reason commonly given was a custom of temporary male migration into the lowland regions for employment, either on a

seasonal basis in agriculture, or periodically in industry. Male absenteeism left an unbalanced social structure in the Highland settlements. It also could cause late or less productive marriages, affecting the fertility rates, especially in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. Another reason must have been the reliance of the government on Highland populations for military recruitment after 1746 [36].

The large proportion of children under ten years of age, compared with the small number of teenagers, must suggest high infant mortality. The absence of burial records is a barrier to the confirmation of such an hypothesis. Mitchell and Mitchell (1974) [37] undertook a survey of monumental inscriptions in Perthshire churchyards, for the period up to 1855. The results from Balquhidder were fragmentary, but the dated inscriptions decipherable between 1700 and 1855 indicate peak death rates in the first nine years of life, and between the ages of seventy and seventy-nine. Contemporary references suggest that about half of the children born died before attaining ten years of age [38]. Smallpox became the main killer after the cyclical epidemics of plague ceased in the 1640s (Flinn, 1977) [39]. By the time that ministers were sending returns for the Old Statistical Account in the 1790s inoculation, followed by vaccination, was beginning to reduce smallpox fatalities, especially among the young [40]. Those who attained adulthood appear to have had a good expectation of life. The population structure seems to have been skewed towards a majority of females and young children. Fifty four per cent of the population was female in 1801 [41]. A trend towards a balance followed, until a marginal excess of males in 1831. A marked male majority appeared in 1851.





BALQUHIDDER

Fig.36. CENSUS ENUMERATION DISTRICTS: BALQUHIDDER PARISH; 1841 & 1851.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, therefore, population was decreasing rapidly. Fertility was reduced during the second and third decades of the period, but recovered by 1851. The sex structure was at the same time moving towards a balance, possibly indicating fewer male absentees. This probably reflected changes in the economy concurrent with population decrease, the smaller number being able to find local employment.

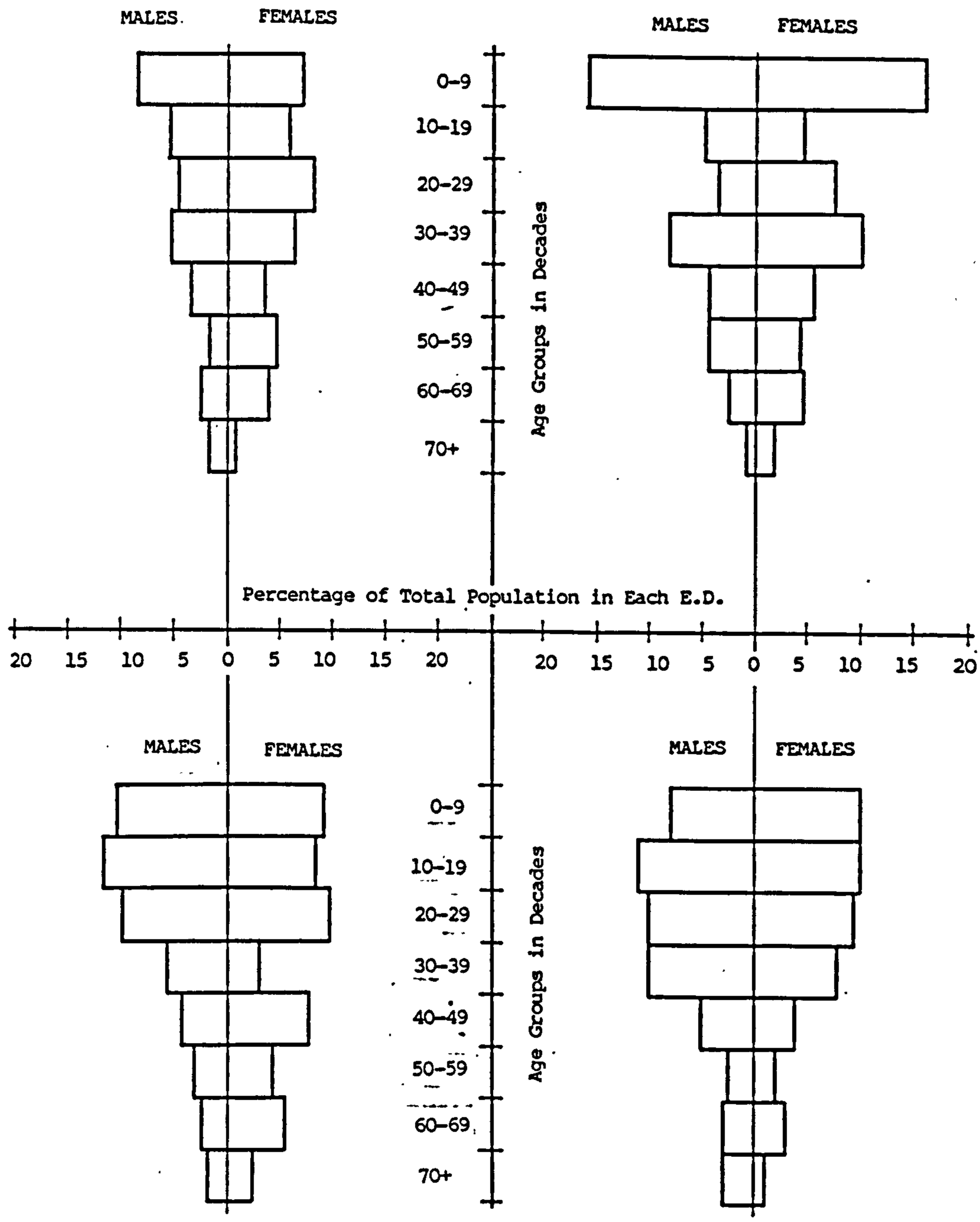
Trends in the settlement pattern suggested that population distribution in Balquhidder was changing from a more or less even distribution to one where a majority might be concentrated in the eastern part of the parish (Chapter 15, pp.272-273). The effect of this may be seen in the enumerators' returns for the census in 1841 and 1851 [42]. In 1841 the parish was divided into four enumeration districts, three smaller ones in the east and south, including Lochearnhead, Strathyre, and Glenbuckie; and one large one in the west. The western area embraced approximately sixty-two square kilometres of country, compared with fifteen to eighteen in the other districts. It extended from the east end of Loch Voil to the watershed, and contained two hundred people. This included the Kirkton and adjacent hamlets of the Barony of Balquhidder. The Lochearnhead district had a population of two hundred and eighty-two. Strathyre had two hundred and twenty-one on the east side of the Balvaig. West Strathyre and Glenbuckie between them had one hundred and sixty-eight people.

Gross densities have small significance in mountainous country, but in the western sector the density was four point six per square kilometre. Around Lochearnhead the density was eighteen point eight; and in east Strathyre thirteen point eight. West Strathyre and Glenbuckie had a density of three point two persons

per square kilometre. The figures for Lochearnhead and east Strathyre reflect the presence of the two villages and the Rusgachan smallholdings. West of the Balvaig was the better, more open, hill farming country, and if the western and southern enumeration districts are combined, the resulting gross density was four point six persons per square kilometre.

In 1851 the pattern persisted. The census divided Balquhidder into three areas, combining the districts of the west and south. Lochearnhead and Strathyre had population densities of between fifteen and sixteen persons per square kilometre. West of the Balvaig, and including the Barony of Balquhidder with the Kirkton, the gross density was under five persons per square kilometre. The scenario suggested is one in which depopulation of the western half of the parish was well advanced. If the numbers capable of being accommodated in the Kirkton and Achtow area are allowed for, then the population west of the outfall of Loch Voil was very small by 1841. Concentration in Lochearnhead and Strathyre was clearly reflected in the census.

Detailed analysis of population structure in the four enumeration districts of 1841 provides some contrasts. In Strathyre the profile reveals a large number of infants and juveniles under ten years of age, and a very marked decrease in numbers in all the following age groups. The next largest group was aged thirty to thirty-nine. In Lochearnhead, the infants and juveniles formed the largest group, but their dominance was marginal. The profile shows a gradual reduction as the population aged. This suggests a healthier community in Lochearnhead, and high infant mortality in Strathyre. Conditions in the two villages appear to have differed. There was, however, a marked difference



POPULATION STRUCTURE BY AGE AND SEX IN THE FOUR ENUMERATION DISTRICTS OF BALQUHIDDER IN 1841

Fig.37.

Source: Census of Scotland.

in the profiles in the farming districts of the west and south. The southern district included west Strathyre, where farms were poorly situated on steep north-facing land, but even there the age groups from birth to twenty-nine show no marked reductions. There was a marked reduction at age thirty. In the west, however, the numbers of infants and juveniles were fewer than those in each of the following age groups until age forty. There was a considerable reduction in numbers after that age. The sex structure of all four populations was roughly balanced, male and female majorities varying in different age groups.

The hypothesis emerges for an increasingly healthy population in the Kirkton, Glenbuckie, and the west. Depopulation would leave larger farms for the remaining families, with a concomitant increase in economic prosperity. Household standards of living should have improved considerably as the shift to extensive specialised hill farming took place. This trend had begun by the 1790s [43]. A reason must be sought, however, for the clear discrepancy in the Strathyre district, where the profile reflects that of the middle of the eighteenth century, rather than the rest of the parish in 1841.

A possible indicator of living conditions is the occupancy ratio of dwellings, combined with the type of dwelling common in each district. The census of 1851 indicates that occupancy rates of dwellings was generally high. The rates were:

LOCHEARNHEAD.	STRATHYRE.	BALQUHIDDER & WEST.
5.5 persons.	4.3 persons.	6.8 persons per.dwg.

Clearly, occupancy of dwellings was no indicator of health standards by itself. The census indicates that although the

STRATHYRE VILLAGE FROM THE SUMMIT OF BEINN AN T'SITHEIN. The open ground of the old village feus lies behind the modern settlement. The old farm townships lie under the forestry plantations. Rusgachan lay to the far left of the photograph, settled by the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates in the late eighteenth century.

A SURVIVING OLD FEU COTTAGE IN STRATHYRE. Alongside is a Victorian villa, bearing the name of the extinct farm of Tyness.

western farms were in single tenure, they accommodated large households, including children and servants. They were, however, situated in open country, without crowding from neighbours. The census of 1861 gives some indication of occupancy rates of habitable rooms, listing the number of rooms with windows in each area. In Strathyre the houses had two ventilated rooms. In Lochearnhead dwellings had just under four ventilated rooms per dwelling. In the western farming district the average was four and a half habitable rooms per dwelling. What emerges is overcrowding of dwellings in Strathyre, with families and lodgers sharing small two-roomed cottages. Calculations from the censuses suggest that four to six people shared one dwelling, with some cases where there were twelve occupants.

Socio-economic changes accompanied the demographic ones. In 1841 twenty-four per cent of the population was directly engaged in agriculture. In 1851 the proportion had fallen to sixteen per cent [44]. In 1841 in the northeast sector of the parish, around Lochearnhead, of those engaged in agriculture only eight per cent were farmers, ninety-two per cent being labourers. In east Strathyre and Rusgachan seven per cent were farmers, ninety per cent labourers, and there was one crofter who returned himself as such. In west Strathyre and Glenbuckie twenty five per cent were farmers, and seventy five per cent labourers. The proportion in the west was almost the same. A concentration of labourers existed in the eastern parts of the parish, largely in the new settlements. But a substantial labouring and farm servant population remained in the west, many living on the farms.

Changes in the proportion of people employed in non-agricultural occupations provide a further insight into the

economy. In 1841 the Lochearnhead district had twenty per cent of its working population so engaged. The Strathyre and Rusgachan area had nearly eighteen per cent employed in non-agricultural work. In west Strathyre and Glenbuckie the proportion was twenty-six per cent. In the western districts and the Barony of Balquhidder almost a quarter of the population had work outside agriculture. The dominant group in all districts was female servants, followed by people of independent means, usually retired, then by shoemakers, and by weavers. All other trades had less than ten employed in the parish, but the pattern was highly diverse.

By 1851 the numbers employed outside agriculture had greatly increased. Forty-eight per cent of the population around Lochearnhead were employed in trades and services. In the Strathyre district the proportion was nearly thirty-five per cent. In the west it was as high as fifty-six percent, many of whom were employed in building work connected with estates improvements. This latter indicates the extent to which improvements afforded temporary employment. Analysis of the census in 1851 shows that many of those employed were not natives of Balquhidder. Dominant groups were female servants, general labourers, masons, and scholars. The growth of domestic and estate servants was a feature of the census returns. There were ten paupers, and twenty-five retired people, in the parish in 1851 [45]. The number in work not directly connected with agriculture had about doubled between 1841 and 1851. The population remained stable through that decade, actually increasing by seven persons, so that the proportion employed reflects an actual increase of jobs. Most served the agricultural or marketing economy in some way, by providing

building services, domestic employees, merchanting, and specialist trades such as that of blacksmith. Some processed material from the country, such as the shoemakers and weavers. Although the economy had changed, it was still diverse.

The conclusion must be that part of the social and economic changes which affected Balquhidder from 1750 onwards was the pattern of employment. A relatively small proportion of farmers provided direct employment for a large agricultural labour force. They also provided custom for a selection of other trades and services. Probably three quarters of the population had access only to small areas of land, forming a substantial proportion whose livelihood depended upon wage earning supplemented by smallholdings. Demographic change consisted of general population decrease, locational shifts, and the replacement of tacksman and subtenant relationships by those of the employer and employee.

If the baptismal or approximate birth rate per thousand population showed no significant decline except for two decades in the early nineteenth century, then the reason for overall population decrease cannot be reduced fertility. There is no foundation for assuming a great increase in death rates, as the extant references witness to a healthy population with good adult life expectancy [46]. Apart from the village of Strathyre, it would appear that infant mortality rates decreased in the nineteenth century. The hypothesis therefore arises that population decrease was principally caused my emigration from the parish. Flinn (1977) [47] found a positive balance of births over deaths in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Scotland, which led to a natural increase. This was negated by massive emigration. He noted that the rate of depopulation in the

eighteenth century caused sufficient concern to arouse government discouragement [48]. Not until after the Napoleonic wars did continuing population increase and overcrowding change government attitudes from resistance to encouragement of emigration. It was in this later period that the active clearances of parts of the Highlands by certain landlords occurred. Bumstead (1982) [49] has shown that emigration between 1770 and 1815 was almost entirely voluntary. The causes were increasing hardship as land shortage increased in the north, and rising expectations of the possibilities offered by opportunities overseas, particularly in America and Canada.

Fraser (1867) [50] stated that the first great depopulation of Balquhidder occurred after 1746, when many townships were fired by government troops. He noted that a large section of the community emigrated en bloc to Georgia, then still a British colony. It remained a Gaelic speaking community in Fraser's day. MacLaren (1977) [51] traced the MacLarens of Invernenty to Pictou and Prince Edward Island in 1803, and their names appear in the shipping records (Bumstead 1982) [52]. Campbell (1910) stated that a number of the descendents of Rob Roy MacGregor emigrated to the West Indies in 1754 [53], and a large swarm of emigrants from Breadalbane, Lochearnhead, and Balquhidder, left for Nova Scotia in 1828, with Gaelic ministers to follow them [54].

Campbell defined two critical periods in the nineteenth century for emigration [55]. The first followed the Napoleonic wars, when inflated prices for produce fell. The second was in 1826 when the corn harvest failed. He recorded the effects of the latter disaster in Balquhidder [56]. The minister, the Reverend Alexander MacGregor, foresaw problems early in the nineteenth

century. He was especially concerned for the overcrowded populations of the villages of Strathyre and Lochearnhead. These were already suffering from the shrinking returns from flax and wool spinning, as the textile processing industry moved to the large mills. Campbell states that his predictions, ignored by the heritors, were exceeded by the great distress of 1826, which was relieved only by substantial emigration to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. Each of these sources indicate periodic mass emigration by complete family or community groups.

Three sets of circumstances emerge as push factors which induced migration. The first was the effect of the rebellion of 1745 and its aftermath, which may have been the final blow to communities already struggling to wrest a living out of overcrowded holdings, exacerbated by post-war destruction (See Chapter 13, pp.223-224). The second was the falling profitability of subdivided holdings such as Invernenty, resulting in debts and financial difficulties redeemed only by selling out tacks and removing from farms [57]. The third was the erosion of once profitable and critical rural cottage industries by the diversion of manufacturing to the new mills of the Highland margin. This reduced the smallholding economy to a point where the dual income system could not provide for crises.

Campbell [58] makes the point that these mass migrations were of people with generations of experience in cattle breeding, and a level of basic technology already geared to wresting a living out of difficult terrain with primitive resources. The life style needed for pioneering in America and Canada was little different to that to which they were accustomed. This points to the importance of the timing of certain aspects of the Scottish

emigrations. The prospect of plentiful land, even if in a rough state, and the possibility of retaining the old family and community structure, in the American continent, was the attraction factor. By the 1830s a further incentive appeared with the positive promotion of Australia as a place for settlement. The "Stirling Observer" on the 12th April 1838 published an advertisement for emigrants of good character, between fifteen and thirty years of age, to appply for passages to Australia. The demand was for sheep farmers, and one agent was the firm of Smith and Graham, wool spinners, of Stirling [59].

A second important class of emigrant existed. These were individuals or single small families who decided to seek their fortunes elsewhere (Campbell 1910) [60]. Flinn (1977) [61] noted some unquantified distress migration following seventeenth century famines or epidemics, mainly to Ulster, Scandinavia, and Poland. He also noted recruitment into the army after 1793, and an unmeasured drift into England [62]. Soldiers serving in Canada frequently settled there, and Campbell (1910) [63] described a process whereby the military settlers provided an agency for reception of their own families, and later followers. Individual migrants, however, frequently went to the lowland and English cities, attracted by the entrepreneurial prospects in the professions, the new industries, and business.

The scenario of positive out migration from the rural areas, either to the colonies or the cities, is too simple. It is the normal model which emerges from gross statistics, but research into the underlying mechanisms of demographic change revealed a highly complex pattern of population movement. Apart from the examples of direct emigration overseas, an intricate internal

At Renfrew the twenty ninth day of June — seventeen hundred and ninety five years. It is agreed and finally ended betwixt John Brown Weaver in Renfrew on the one part and Duncan Stewart lawful son of Duncan Stewart now deceased Grazier in Balquhidder in the Parish of Balquhidder with consent of Peter Stewart Farmer in Lochtraghi Uncle who hereby becomes Cautioner for them on the other part in manner following — That is to say the said Duncan Stewart with consent aforesaid has become and obliged and hereby binds and obliges himself as an apprentice and servant to the said John Brown in the Art and Trade of a Weaver and in all other his lawful affairs during the space and that for the space of Two years compleat commencing at the date above mentioned during which space of his Apprenticeship the said Duncan Stewart as Principal and the said Peter Stewart as Cautioner for him bind and obliges themselves jointly and severally, that the said Apprentice shall faithfully, dutifully and assiduously serve and obey the said John Brown his Master in his Art and Trade aforesaid and shall at no time during the space above mentioned absent or desert himself from his said Master's service without leave of his Master asked and granted and for each absent day to pay to his said Master the sum of Eight Shillings and Eight pennies Scots money or otherwise in the Master's option; and then that the said Apprentice shall serve two days for each of the days absent at the expiration of the Indentures — Further they bind and oblige themselves jointly and severally that the said Apprentice shall not be necessary or know and conceal his said Master's hurt or ahaith in any kind; but shall timeously reveal and discover the same and to the utmost of his power endeavour to prevent the same. — And further the said Apprentice and Cautioner bind and oblige themselves jointly and severally to pay to the said John Brown his Master the sum of Ten Pounds Sterling money, as his Apprentice fee

John Brown
Duncan Stewart
John Gray
Peter Stewart

THE FIRST PAGE OF THE INDENTURES FOR THE APPRENTICESHIP OF DUNCAN STEWART, THE AUTHOR'S GREAT GRAND UNCLE, AS A WEAVER ON HIS ARRIVAL IN RENFREW. DUNCAN WAS BORN AT INVERNENTY IN BALQUHIDDER IN 1780.

Fig.38.

migratory process was taking place. Jones (1983) [64] recognised the regional patterns which emerged after 1600, relying on material from Flinn (1977) and Osborne (1958). Families and individuals could move more than once within a lifetime, and successive movements by generations of the same original family occurred. It might therefore take two or three moves for members of a family to reach a permanent destination in, for example, a major industrial city.

An example of staged migration was that of Duncan Stewart of Lednascriden [65]. Marrying Katherine MacLaren in Callander, he moved to Invernenty as a cattle man, then to Invercarnaig as a miller. In 1795 he was in Argaty near Doune, on the edge of the central lowlands, as a grazier. His youngest son in 1795 migrated to Renfrew, and was apprenticed to a weaver named John Brown. He completed his two year indentureship on the 29th June 1797. He was followed to Renfrew by his elder brother David Stewart, who also entered the weaving trade. The two brothers eventually moved to Glasgow and set up in business on their own account as manufacturers. Duncan died in Glasgow some time between 1851 and 1855. His son Gavin Stewart followed in the business in Glasgow. Another branch of the family left Lednascriden in the early nineteenth century for a farm further east in Perthshire [66].

While some were leaving Balquhidder, others were migrating into the parish from other parts of Scotland. The 1851 population census provides a basis for analysing places of origin of residents [67]. Three hundred and sixty-one people were born outside the parish, and five hundred and six were native. Only fifty-nine percent of residents were born in Balquhidder. Of the immigrants, seventy-six came from Killin parish, twenty-nine from

Kenmore, twenty-eight from Ireland, and twenty-four from Callander. Forty-six came from more remote northern and western Highland areas. Some came from the south. The distribution was as follows:

From other Highland Parishes:	253 immigrants.
From Lowlands & England:	80 immigrants.
From Ireland:	28 immigrants.

Balquhidder was receiving twenty-two per cent of its immigrants from lowland English speaking districts, and seventy per cent from Highland, Gaelic speaking districts. It cannot be assumed that the Highland migrations were caused by the nineteenth century clearances, as there is no clustering to support this. There appears to have been a partial replacement of emigrants by a general drift from the north and west, and some movement from the south. Examination of family names indicates a predominance of Highland families, who were almost certainly indigenous to the places of origin. One hundred and six of these immigrants were employed as farm servants, shepherds, estate workers and gamekeepers. Many of the Irish were employed in building work connected with estate improvement.

The conclusion from the pattern of immigration is that the early nineteenth century estate improvements in Balquhidder, and the new farming and gamekeeping regimes, were providing employment opportunity. A significant proportion of the jobs provided was being taken up by outsiders. The village of Lochearnhead in particular accommodated numbers of immigrant tenants, while Rusgachan and Strathyre remained dominated by local names. Native farming tenants were moving out to seek their fortunes elsewhere,

thus preserving their independence, and leaving room for those who remained to take up single tenancies of the farms. In the west, some holdings were being taken over by incomers.

Immigration for marriage was another source of population renewal. Nearly seventeen per cent of spouses married in Balquhidder between 1848 and 1853 were from other parishes [68]. This however, represents only a small number of people. The conclusion still stands that a significant number of people took residence in Balquhidder for other reasons. The real complexity of rural population change begins to be revealed. Emigration rates were sufficiently high to negate natural increase. They must also have been high enough to counter the balancing effect of a substantial migration into the parish from elsewhere. Overall population decline, which was very rapid, concealed changes in the composition of the population. Resettlement villages were not only accommodating people from the surrounding countryside, but certainly in the case of Lochearnhead were receiving numbers from afar. This shifting population appears to have been connected with changes towards an economy based upon a smaller number of landowners employing a large paid labour force. Flinn (1977) [69] noted that Scottish population decline in the 1840s was partly countered by Irish immigration. Some of the estate building work in Balquhidder offered temporary employment to the Irish.

The extent of social contact with other parishes may be partly deduced from analysis of marriages in the parish registers [70]. From 1727 to 1853 an average per decade of nearly nineteen per cent of spouses were immigrants. The highest number came from Callander parish, south of Balquhidder, which contained the local service centre of Callander village. The next highest source of

spouses was Comrie to the east, on the route to the Crieff cattle mart. The number of marriages with spouses from these parishes was highest before 1779, peaking in the decade 1757 - 1767. Killin provided the next favoured source. Marriage contacts were therefore concentrated in the neighbouring parishes. After 1778 the parish of Kincardine supplied a number of spouses, probably because some Balquhidder families were engaged in reclamation work on Kincardine Moss [71]. The number of parishes supplying spouses in 1728 - 1737 was ten. This fell to six in 1754 - 1767, an incomplete period for records. Eighteen parishes supplied spouses from 1788 - 1797. This number fell to thirteen, and remained at that figure until 1847, after which the number was reduced to ten. Glasgow supplied only three, all between 1768 and 1817. Edinburgh supplied three between 1808 and 1853. Marital exchange with the major cities was slight. Even Stirling supplied only two spouses, and only one came from Perth. The conclusion is that social contact sufficient to form marriage bonds was maintained almost exlcusively with other rural communities. The three adjacent parishes were the main areas of contact, but random alliances with families further afield were made, largely within Perthshire and Highland districts. Matches within Gaeldom were dominant, and perusal of origins suggest that many spouses came from locations along the cattle routes in the eighteenth century.

Local demographic analysis therefore confirms deductions from changes in the patterns of settlement and land use. Movement within the parish was tending towards concentration in the east, and lower densities in the west. Following a plateau of high population figures between 1750 and 1780, emigration caused a steady and steep decline, in spite of high birth rates. Movement

within the parish, and out of the parish, was complicated by movement into the parish in the nineteenth century. The population continued, nevertheless, to decline. The solutions implemented by the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates to relieve overcrowding while retaining population led to nineteenth century problems in Strathyre, and further distress migration. Their retention of joint tenancies also appears to have been futile, in the face of the development of hill sheep farming, which they themselves encouraged. The economy gradually shifted from one of numerous independent group farm tenants, to one where a quarter of the population appear to have provided employment for the remaining three quarters. An important influence for decline in the community came also from the industrial revolution taking place in the south and east, which undermined the cottage textile industry that had supplemented the agricultural economy since the early eighteenth century. The dual economy of smallholdings and rural crafts which underpinned early improving policies was severely reduced in viability. In spite of the enforced population movement, however, Balquhidder seems to have remained a socially isolated Highland parish.

The hypothesis arises that notwithstanding social isolation, Balquhidder was engulfed in a process of change which was at least regional, and in many respects national. Internal changes were bringing about conditions for the emergence of the late nineteenth and twentieth century settlement patterns. Human decisions played a central part in this process. The complex demographic movements must, however, have been connected to other patterns outside Balquhidder. The possibility arises that Balquhidder was not necessarily a typical case. It was postulated in Chapter 1 (pp.14-

15.) that the complexity of local situations would produce characteristics which would be atypical. The process of dissolution and synthesis which produced the modern settlement and demographic patterns remains to be examined further, in terms of nineteenth century changes in land use and tenure, and in relation to developments in Perthshire as a whole between 1755 and 1851.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 16.

1. Flinn.M. (Ed). "Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s." Cambridge University Press, 1977. Preface, p.xv.

2. Tranter.N. "Population since the Industrial Revolution: The Case of England and Wales." Croom Helm, London, 1973. Ch.I. Sources & Methods.

3. Postan.M. "The Medieval Economy and Society." Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972; & Penguin Books, London, 1975, p.34.

4. Old Parish Registers (O.P.R.), Balquhidder. Registrar General's Office, Edinburgh.

5. Webster.A. Census of Scotland in 1755. Scottish Population Statistics, Third Series, 44. Webster's Census. Scottish Historical Society; and Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. pp.58 - 64, & 77 - 80.

6. Old Statistical Account of Scotland (O.S.A.) 1791 - 1799. Fascimile reprint, edited by Withrington D.J. and Grant.I.R. E.P.Publishing, Wakefield, 1977. Vol.XI, South and East Perthshire; and Vol.XII, North and West Perthshire; has been used in all references.

7. Forfeited Estates Papers. Reports and Statistics of the Annexed Estates. 1755-56. RH.428. S.R.O.

8. Census of Scotland. 1801 - 1851. Perthshire. Nat.Lib.Scotland. Edinburgh.

9. Census of Scotland. Perthshire, Balquhidder. 1841 and 1851. Enumerator's returns. Registrar General's Office, Edinburgh.

10. New Statistical Account of Scotland. (N.S.A.). Perthshire. William Blackwood & Sons. Edinburgh & London, 1844.

11. Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. Vol.13. 1508 - 1513. p.633.

12. Ibid. p.636.

13. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.(24) & (25).

14. Atholl MSS. 3.IX.57.

15. Atholl MSS. 71.II.B4.

16. Atholl MSS. 42.II.(i).3.

17. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. pp.4 - 5.

18. Atholl MSS. 71.II.B4.

19. Atholl MSS. 3.XV.

20. The estimate of five persons per family represents a minimum based upon study of family genealogies of the Stewarts of Baldorran and Ardvorlich, the Stewarts of Glenfinglas, the MacNaughtons of Inverlochlarig, and the Stewarts of Lednascriden. Total numbers of children per family range from six to eight, but deaths in infancy generally occurred. The population estimates deduced from these sources must represent a minimum.

21. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. p.180.

22. Ibid. p.270, tables.

23. Ibid. p.xxii. Map.2.

24. Ibid. p.4.

25. Ibid. p.5.

26. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(8).278.

27. Atholl MSS. 29.I.(8).43.

28. O.S.A. 1791 - 99. (Op.cit). Vol.XII. pp.39 - 40.

29. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. pp. 7 & 164.

30. O.S.A. 1791 - 99. (Op.cit) Vol.XII. p.43. & N.S.A. 1844. Perthshire. p.348.

31. Webster.A. Census of Scotland. 1755.

32. O.S.A. 1791 - 99. (Op.cit). Vol.XII. p.41.

33. Stewart family papers.

34. Forfeited Estates Papers. Statistics of the Forfeited Estates. 1755 - 56. RH.428. S.R.O.

35. For example, see O.S.A. 1971 - 99 (Op.cit) Vol XII. p.287.

36. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. p.xii.

37. Mitchell.J.F. & Mitchell.S. "Monumental Inscriptions pre 1855 in South Perthshire." (Balquhidder churchyard). Scottish Genealogical Society. Edinburgh. 1974.

38. O.S.A. 1791 - 99. (Op.cit). Vol.XII. p.41. records an outbreak of smallpox in Balquhidder in 1786 - 1787 which caused infant mortalities. The introduction of inoculation is frequently referred to. Eg. pp. 87, 99. 121.

39. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. pp.8 - 9.

40. Ibid. p.15.

41. Census of Scotland, 1801. Perthshire. Balquhidder.

42. Census of Scotland, 1841. Perthshire, Balquhidder. Enumerator's returns. Registrar General's Office. Edinburgh.

43. O.S.A. 1791 - 99. (Op.cit). Vol.XII. p.41.

44. Census of Scotland, 1851. Perthshire, Balquhidder. Enumerator's returns. Registrar General's Office. Edinburgh.

45. Ibid.

46. O.S.A. 1791 - 99. (Op.cit). Vol.XII. p.46.

47. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. p.21.

48. Ibid. pp. 30 - 36.

49. Bumstead.J.M. "The People's Clearance 1770 - 1815." Edinburgh University Press. 1982. Introduction and Chapter 1. (pp. ix - xvi, & 1 - 23).

50. Fraser.W. "History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, and of their Kindred." Edinburgh 1867. Vol.II. p.340.

51. MacLaren.M. "The MacLarens, A history of Clan Labhran." Edinburgh. 1976. pp.104 - 106.

52. Bumstead.J.M. 1982. Op.cit. p.260.

53. Campbell.D. "Reminiscenses and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander." Inverness, 1910. p.279.

54. Ibid. p.119.

55. Ibid. p.120.

56. Ibid. p.294.

57. MacLaren.M. 1976. Op.cit. pp.102 - 104.

58. Campbell.D. 1910. Op.cit. p.197.

59. Stirling Observer. 22nd. February; 22nd. March; & 12th.

April; 1838. Central Region Archives. Stirling.

60. Campbell.D. 1910. Op.cit. p.196.

61. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. p.7.

62. Ibid. p.14.

63. Campbell.D. 1910. Op.cit. p.198.

64. Jones.H. "Population Patterns and Processes from c.1600." in Whittington.G. and Whyte.I.D. (Eds.) "A Historical Geography of Scotland." Academic Press, London, 1983. pp.93 - 118. & Fig.5.4., p.108.

65. Stewart.G. "Stewarts in Old Balquhidder." in "The Stewarts." Vol.XIV. No.2. 1973. pp. 81 - 84. and Stewart family papers.

66. Stewart-Adams family papers.

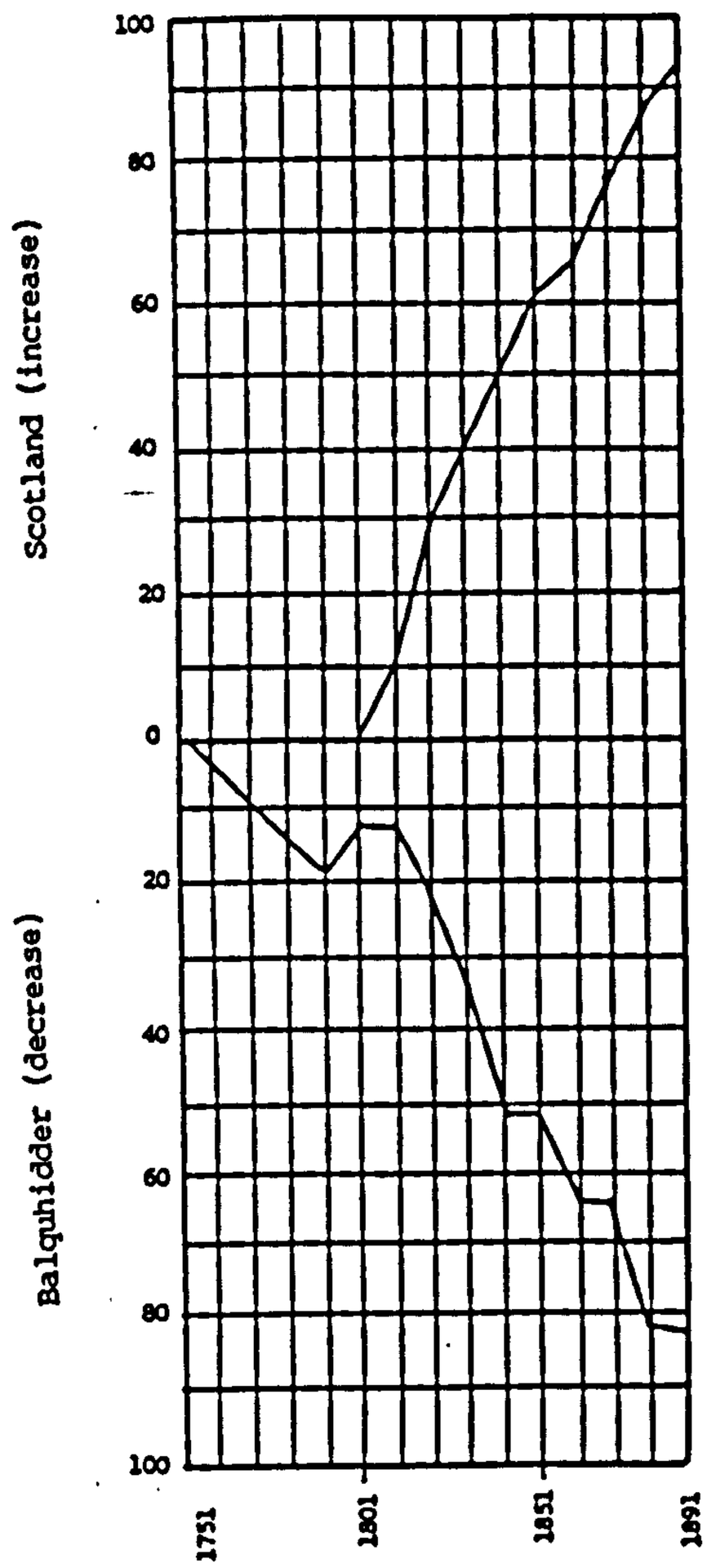
67. Census of Scotland 1851. Perthshire, Balquhidder. Enumerator's returns. Registrar General's Office, Edinburgh.

68. O.P.R. Balquhidder. Registrar General's Office, Edinburgh.

69. Flinn.M. 1977. Op.cit. p.17.

70. O.P.R. Balquhidder. Registrar General's Office, Edinburgh.

71. O.S.A. 1791 - 99. (Op.cit.). Vol.XII. pp.574 - 604, gives a detailed account of the reclamation of Kincardine Moss. Balquhidder tenants are metioned among Highland immigrants on p.596.



PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION IN SCOTLAND AND BALQUHIDDER 1751-1891

Fig.39. Sources: Webster 1755; O.S.A. 1791; Census of Scotland 1801-1891.

CHAPTER 17. CHANGING REGIONAL PATTERNS

Examination of the Old Statistical Account of Scotland reveals a complex process of change across the county of Perthshire in the late eighteenth century. The local regrouping of population and settlement within Balquhidder was part of a pattern of change taking place throughout the county. Perthshire contains fifty-one parishes. The southeast has a large number, all small and compact. Diagonally across the county from Aberfoyle in the southwest to Kirkmichael in the northeast there is a band of fairly large parishes, varying in size from twenty thousand to thirty thousand hectares. Balquhidder is within this group. The north and west contains only three vast Highland parishes, Killin with over forty thousand hectares, and Fortingall and Blair Atholl each with over sixty thousand hectares. This gradation from southeast to northwest correlates with variations in the topography from lowland fertile country to the harsh terrain of the Breadalbane and Grampian mountains. The division between the more dense clusters of the southeast and the band of larger parishes across the centre of Perthshire lies more or less along the Highland boundary fault. Withers (1983) [1] has demonstrated that the linguistic division between Gaelic and English speaking communities also lay along this boundary.

Topographically Perthshire has a fairly clear structure. The northern highland zone is very remote and mountainous, containing the Ben Lawers massif and much of the Grampian system including

the great Forest of Atholl. It is traversed only by the modern rail and road routes across the Pass of Druimuachder, a very ancient way through the mountains (Chapter 3. p.29), and by the highway from Perth to Braemar and Aberdeenshire through Glen Clunie. The Ben Lomond ranges form the western termination of this especially remote and mountainous band. It forms a great crescent shaped wall enclosing Perthshire in the north and west.

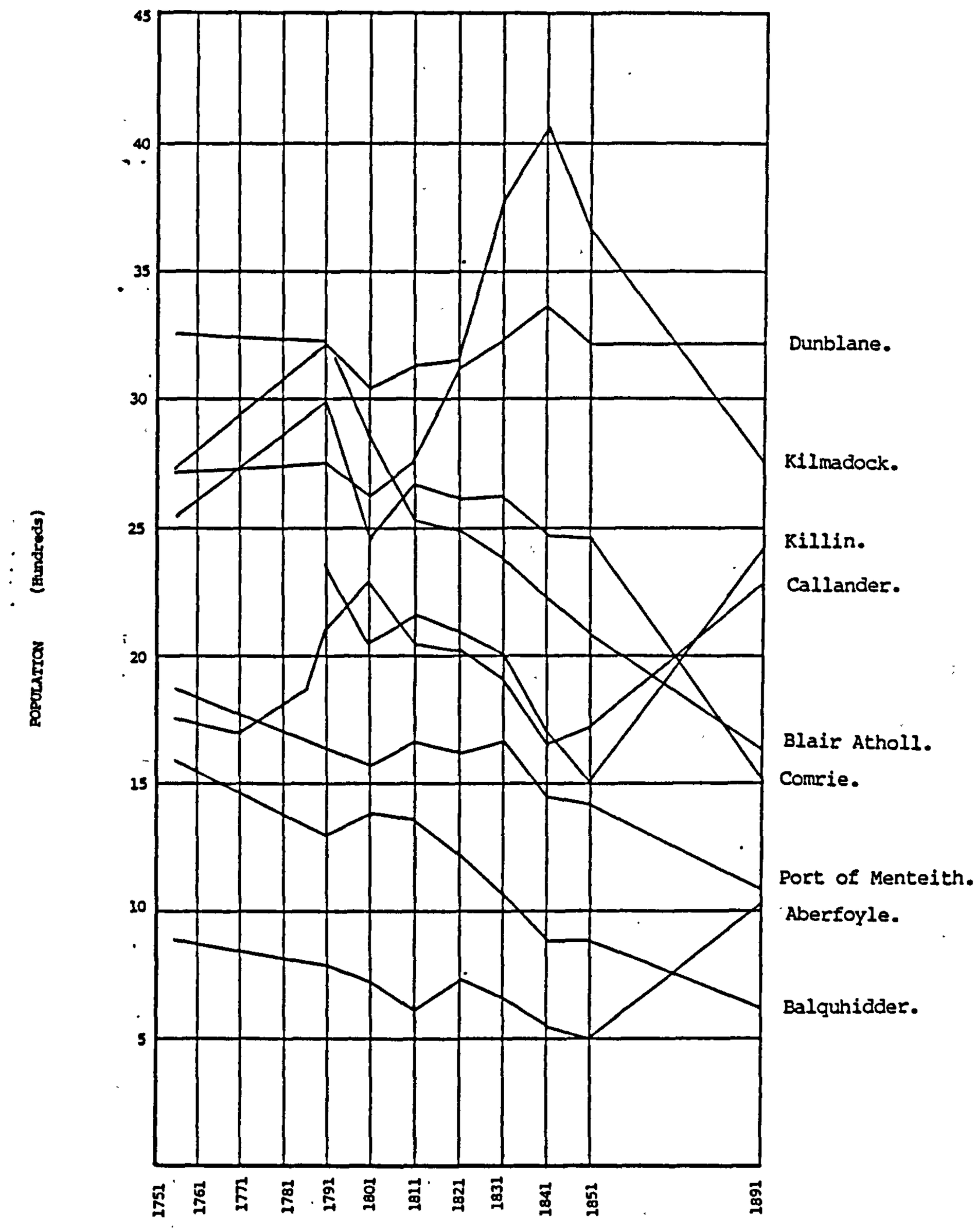
The deep fault forming the valleys of Glendochart and the upper Tay, partly filled by Loch Tay itself, divides the northern massifs from the central ranges, which extend from the Trossachs and Balquhidder Highlands in the southwest, through the Benvorlich massif of central Perthshire and the eastern Breadalbane mountains to Dunkeld, north of the city of Perth. These central Perthshire mountains rise to between eight hundred and over one thousand metres, but are dissected by the headwaters of the Tay, Earn, and Forth river systems. The straths and glens which carry these waters are softened by lochs, often with wooded margins, and by cultivation, producing a more varied and human landscape than that north of the Tay-Dochart fault line. The central Perthshire mountains, bleak and rugged though they are, rise out of this softer country.

The southeast is occupied by the undulating rich lowlands around the city of Perth and the Tay estuary. These form a basin enclosed by the mountains to the north and west, into which fingers of lowland country intrude along the rivers, and by the lower range of the Ochill Hills southwards. The same configuration obtains in the south, where the county abuts the central Scottish Lowlands and the Carse of Stirling, with the valleys of the Forth, Teith, and Allen breaking into the Highland wall. The general

morphology might be represented by a segment of a saucer, with the city of Perth at the centre, and the ranges from the Ben Lomond massif to the Forest of Atholl around the rim, forming a partial amphitheatre facing southeast.

The morphology is important in relation to land use and settlement. The arable lands of the south and east intrude along the straths into the central highland zone. The centre, west, and north then become progressively poorer, hill grazings and sheep farming giving way gradually to high wet desert. Along the highland boundary from the Trossachs, through Callander, Dunblane, Crieff, Dunkeld, and Blairgowrie, powerful and constant rivers and streams spill into the lowlands. These provided on the one hand, sources of water power, and on the other serious problems of flooding and the development of waterlogged mosses, especially in the upper Forth west of Stirling. The cities of Stirling and Perth are the only ancient burghs in the region, ports and centres of government on the Forth and Tay respectively, since medieval times [2]. The modern settlement pattern consists of these two cities, with villages or small towns to the west and north in the more lowland areas, giving way to scattered farmsteads in the mountains. The settlement pattern of medieval and post-medieval Balquhidder provides an example of the system found in the highland zones and the upper reaches of the valleys before the modern age.

Ancient nuclei which existed in addition to the burghs of Perth and Stirling were the cathedral centres of Dunblane and Dunkeld, the Royal Palace of Scone, and the small but important castle towns of Doune and Blair Atholl. The Campbells of Breadalbane had castles at Killin and Taymouth, previously called



POPULATION IN SAMPLE PARISHES IN PERTHSHIRE. 1755 TO 1891.

Sources: Webster 1755; O.S.A. 1791; Census of Scotland 1801-1891.

Fig.40.

Balloch, and cadet houses had the castle of Edinample near Lochearnhead. Some of the nodal points at portals through the Highland boundary appear to have developed service and market centres, such as Crieff and Callander.

The hypothesis that the changes evident in Balquhidder must have been taking place elsewhere in the region, and that a pattern of varied but interactive processes must have existed, led to a brief examination of other parishes. A selection was made within the western and northern zones of Perthshire: Aberfoyle in the extreme southwest, Balquhidder itself, Blair Atholl and Killin in the north and northwest mountain zone; and Comrie, Callander, Dunblane, Kilmadock, and Port of Menteith, from the centre and south. The latter group forms a ring around Balquhidder, in which the country merges from the highland to the lowland landscape. It also contains, with Killin, those parishes with which social contact appears to have been highest (Chapter 16, pp.304-305), forming a probable zone of interaction. The sample provides a transect of lowland, intermediate highland, and remote highland areas.

Examination of contemporary accounts indicated three principal aspects of regional change in the second half of the eighteenth century. These were changes in agriculture, in manufacturing, and in population. Each was interacting with the other. In Aberfoyle the process was similar to Balquhidder, the upland parts of the parish being converted to extensive sheep farming [3]. A new planned village was founded at Balfron and was receiving cottar families, but unlike Strathyre and Lochearnhead, the settlement was built to support a cotton manufactury. The account for Aberfoyle records that half of the children died

before attaining ten years of age, but that those surviving into adulthood enjoyed long life and reasonable health.

In Callander parish the population in the late eighteenth century was increasing [4]. Underlying a general increase, however, the rural agricultural population was decreasing. This trend was attributed to the planned development of Callander itself. The Drummonds of Perth were responsible for this as part of the modernisation of their estates. Reduction of population in agricultural areas was attributed to a change in the attitude of landlords following the abolition of rights of heritable jurisdiction. Large numbers of tenants were no longer desired. Attention shifted to the potential of increased revenues from their estates. Consequently, the successive subdivision of farms between heirs in the Celtic manner was no longer permitted, and good sole tenants were sought for each farm. Sub-tenants and cottars had therefore to fend for themselves, or become labourers. In general, therefore, the creation of single tenancy farms and a supporting labour force of employees was developing. This pattern of change in Callander varied across the parish, however, according to local agricultural practice. Wherever sheep farming was introduced the need for employees was greatly reduced. In arable areas there remained a need for labour. Population change therefore varied according to land use. Most farms remained moderate in size, and the disruption of the farming structure does not appear to have been severe. The minister of Callander in his report suggested that some legislation was needed to regulate stock and agriculture, and to require landlords to erect well ordered villages on their estates to curb depopulation. This concern reflected the thinking of David Dale and Robert Owen, who

would be his contemporaries, and who were responsible for new industrial villages at New Lanark and Spinningdale [5].

In Comrie union of farms had taken place under the direction of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates [6]. The village of Comrie itself had increased in size, and the parish experienced an increase in population of about fifteen per cent between 1755 and 1791. In his report the minister noted that the extent of arable farming, the infant state of trade and manufacture, and the scarcity and high cost of fuel, was more or less in balance with population. He foresaw problems, however, if further increase was not matched by parallel economic development.

Population appears to have been increasing even more in the eastern lowlands. In Crieff, adjoining Comrie's eastern boundary, there had been an increase of thirty-three per cent in the few years between 1776 and 1791 [7]. Even in the rural farming areas growth had been twenty-seven per cent, and in the expanding town of Crieff itself it was thirty-five per cent. By 1792 seventy-eight per cent of the parish population lived in the town. Culturally Crieff lay on the Highland margin, Gaelic being spoken only in the western part. Until 1774 the old agricultural system of crofts with infield and outfield had been common, so that agricultural improvement had taken place generally during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Most of the parish is arable. The general tenor of the account in the 1790s seems to indicate a district where the economy, combined with the current state of technological development, and building, was supporting an optimum population, but that growth was continuing.

The great parishes of the mountainous northern district illustrate further the variety of change in the region. The

returns to the Old Statistical Account for Killin are not very explicit. No estimate of total population from Webster's census of 1755 has been traced [8]. All that can be ascertained is that population was decreasing in the hill districts, and increasing in what the minister called the lowland areas, being the district around Loch Tayside including the new village of Killin itself. The general trend was therefore almost identical to that in neighbouring Balquhidder, with some local nucleation.

In Fortingal an increase in population between 1755 and 1791 was reported [9]. Parts of the parish had, however, been greatly depopulated. One hundred and five tenants had actually been removed, along with sixty to seventy cottars. Commencent of evictions was attributed to the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, so that extensive farms could be let. Their example was followed by others. Duncan Campbell [10] records clearances in Glenlyon and Breadalbane, two rare events in Perthshire to have earned such a title. The quality of housing and diet was said to be very poor before the mid eighteenth century. The people bled their cattle, and lived on blood and oatmeal, a very ancient custom in the northern and western highlands. Health had improved when potatoes became the staple. People married young, and had large families, large swarms migrating to the south country. The establishment of sheep walks was reducing employment. In Fortingal there was an early instance of overpopulation, poverty, rapid natural increase relieved by substantial emigration, and ultimately by compulsory evictions and clearance.

In Blair Atholl change was attributed to the effects of absentee superiors; landlords expecting higher standards of living with consequent increased personal costs to be met from

income; the development of sheep farming; sales of estates; and enlargement of farms [11]. Some tenants had become cottars without land. Some had migrated to the towns. Only a few in the eighteenth century had emigrated to America. The Duke of Atholl, however, possessed half of the parish, and was an enthusiastic improver and planter, usually resident. The New Statistical Account (1838) [12] records that the higher ground was formerly occupied by numerous tenants. Their holdings were small, grain production poor, and they had no potatoes, relying mostly on animal produce for food. These were the parts converted to sheepwalks, from which the population migrated southwards or emigrated to improve their prospects. In the straths there had been some concentration, and the population there had actually increased. The writer in 1838 could point to no town or village development. This northernmost parish appears to have lacked any development designed to retain population, in spite of the improving work of the Dukes of Atholl. Nevertheless, within the parish population change varied from severe depopulation of the hill areas, to increases in the fertile valleys. Levels of poverty appear to have been high in the hill areas, and a significant part of the migration seems to have been voluntary.

Some parishes appear to have been thinly populated as early as the time of Webster's census in 1755. In Glen Devon sheep farming was the main occupation in the late eighteenth century. Lambs were sold out to other parts. There were no towns or villages, and the population in the 1790s was barely two hundred. In 1755, however, it was only two hundred and twenty. Cottars and servants were being dismissed, and population decline was therefore in progress relatively early [13].

The mechanism of change was well recorded in the Old Statistical Account for Fossaway and Tulliebole in Southeast Perthshire [14]. The account is the more interesting, because it records a process in the fertile southeast which is more commonly associated with highland areas. It is therefore worth quoting:

> "Many reasons can be given for this diminution of numbers. A few years ago several weavers, masons, and house carpenters, with their families, went into towns, where they found ready employment, and higher wages. Several gentlemen have enclosed their lands, they have let them in grass, and have no fixed tenants; others, having taken possession of them into their own hands, and going on with their improvements, have dismissed several of their cottagers; the new mode of ploughing without a driver (ie: without a leading horseman as well as a ploughman as was the custom with the old heavy four horse plough) which now very much prevails, has lessened the number of farm servants; and the union of different farms has also had its influence. When agriculture is carried on by employing cottagers, they not only remain longer than other servants on the same farms, but by having families, and a settled residence, they add greatly to the number of inhabitants. Hired servants frequently change their situations every half year, and having nothing to attach them to one spot, seldom continue long with one master. To give encouragement to cottagers, and villages, on proper regulations, would be of service both to proprietors, and to the community at large."

This perceptive passage indicates that sheep farming in highland areas was only one cause of change. In the lowland parts it reveals parallel mechanisms. Better implements required less labour as well as speeding operations such as ploughing. As rural populations diminished and towns and villages expanded, building craftsmen followed development into the towns. Handloom weavers were also congregating in the new centres. The improvement and reorganisation of farms and land use changed labour demands. The subtle shift from resident cottar farm workers to a hiring system was a change in the structure of agricultural employment. The foot loose hired man would not settle and raise a family in a neighbourhood. The writer noted changes in tenure, in farm

technology, in land management, and in employment conditions, all of which contributed to change. The dismissal of cottagers was in a sense a form of clearance in a lowland region. Change across the region was therefore a highly complex process, easily concealed beneath the generalisations of population statistics.

In the parish of Kilmadock, centred upon the small town of Doune, population had increased from two thousand seven hundred and thirty in 1755, to three thousand two hundred and nine in 1791 [15]. This parish forms the edge of the central lowlands, and contains large areas of arable land. In these arable areas there had been a slight reduction in population, and the Earl of Moray was implementing a progressive programme of improvement. This involved some enlargement of farms, and staged increases in rents over periods of five, seven, and ten years, within nineteen year leases. Two storey houses with slate roofs were gradually replacing the old longhouses, but many of the latter still remained in 1791. A large new cotton mill, driven by the waters of the River Teith, was founded at Doune about 1779 by John Buchanan of Carston, employing seven hundred workers. A new street of workers' houses was built beside the mill. This was the foundation of the cotton manufacturing village of Deanston immediately west of Doune. It marked an important change in rural industry.

The parish of Kincardine lies southwest of Kilmadock, and includes the lowland area of the upper Forth above Stirling. This district contained the great expanses of wetland known as the Kincardine and Drummond Mosses. Population increased between 1730 and 1750, and decreased from 1750 to 1772 [16]. The decline was attributed first to the intake of the old outfields for new farms, and then to amalgamation of farms and the removal of redundant

steadings. Population thereafter increased until 1790, due to a massive reclamation programme involving the draining of the mosses, the stripping of the deep layers of peat down to the original soils, and establishment of new holdings on the improved and drained lands. The Old Statistical Account contains a detailed outline of this project, which called upon the skills of an inventive drainage engineer. The owner was Lord Kames. Areas of moss were let to new tenants who undertook to drain and strip the peat within an overall reclamation scheme. Their first houses were built upon the wet moss from peat turves. The landlord made bricks available as soon as tenants were in a position to build permanent homes. By 1796 there were one hundred and two new brick houses. The moss residents numbered six hundred and twenty in the early stages of the project, and seven hundred and sixty four by 1796. Ninety per cent were Highlanders, many from Callander and Balquhidder, distinguished by their dress and language from the local population. The reporter recorded that they were commended for their industry, self sufficiency, and law-abiding character. Their legacy of abilities for endurance and hard work at home were seen as their primary advantages for the work. This, incidentally, provides the lie to the popular notion that the Highlanders were generally idle and lawless. Projects such as Lord Kames' land reclamation programme, and the establishment of the early water powered cotton mills, first introducing mechanised factory processes to the Highland boundary, provided some viable alternative livelihoods for rural migrants.

Changing patterns of agriculture and rural industry were accompanied by the development of towns and villages. These varied from the small crofting settlements such as Rusgachan in

Balquhidder to the important development and expansion of the city of Perth. Part of the reorganisation of settlement patterns was the improvement of communications commencing with the first military roads after the Jacobite wars, and continuing with the designation and construction of the turnpikes. A new infrastructure emerged in Perthshire in the eighteenth century.

The development of towns and principal villages may be illustrated from two examples. The parish of Callander originally had two small settlements, at Callander itself, and at Kilmahog a short distance to the north [17]. By 1791 the proprietors were anxious to find employment for their people. New houses were being built at Kilmahog, and Callander was being laid out in small lots to a regular plan. New stone and lime houses with slate roofs were under construction on these feus. There were two lint mills, four meal mills, a rapeseed and linseed mill, one fulling mill, a grain threshing mill, and three kilns with iron floors for drying corn. There were no other manufacturies, but Stirling carpet factories bought wool from Callander. The Old Statistical Account remarked upon the need for a proper plan for industrial development, and noted the abundant water power. Industry at Callander appears to have consisted mainly of early mechanisation of traditional production systems. The Drummonds of Perth were willing to assist further development.

At Crieff Highland immigrants were getting feus of twenty ells square for four shillings per annum. In these they grew lint, potatoes, and other necessities. A street of proper feus was laid out in 1768, and purchasers erected thereon two-storey houses. In 1785 the forfeited estates of Perth were restored to the Drummond family, without their title, and two more streets were laid out.

Incorporations of trades were established. These included hand loom weaving, three corn mills, a malt mill, a barley mill, a lint mill, and a new threshing mill. In 1780 there was a rag paper mill and a linseed oil mill, two distilleries, and a brewery. There was one tambouring manufacturer. There were two tanneries, one opened in 1782, and the other in 1789, both under one owner by the 1790s. Linen scrim was exported to Glasgow for bleaching and printing. Crieff was a town which was developing some of the newer industries of its day. It appears to have been more progressive than Callander [18].

The Old Statistical Account also indicates the financial mechanisms involved in the development of Crieff. People entering trade had free cash, but no experience of the art of capital investement in industry. They therefore purchased a house and garden. In 1768 the new street laid out was sixteen yards wide and four hundred yards long. The feus were set out with a twelve yard frontage, and forty yards depth. These were let free of prime cost, for an annual duty of four shillings. The proprietor thus increased his income by two pounds per acre over the previous value of the land. The two-storey houses, with slate roofs, erected on these feus, each with four rooms, were inhabited by two, three, and sometimes four families, and brought the feuer up to five pounds per annum rent.

The scenario is of rapid development of new villages and small towns, which almost immediately became overcrowded with migrants from the Highland regions. Profits were made not only by the superior, but by the feuers who sublet houses and rooms. Nevertheless some kind of regular town and village planning was behind these developments. The account states that many immigrants

obtained employment on statute labour roads, in agricultural improvement, and in quarrying. The latter was naturally stimulated by the increased building activity. Men and boys went south into the lowlands for work, and periodic southern migration appears to have taken place for harvest work and domestic service. Many of the females were left in the new towns, to bring up the families, although a number clearly took domestic service also.

The city of Perth experienced its highest rate of development in the eighteenth century [19]. Its situation on the river Tay at the lowest bridging point, and head of seaborne navigation, was ideal for development of the port. There was ample water power from the Tay and Almond. The establishment of large cotton mills at Stanley, north of the town, provided employment for two thousand workers. Within the city were the Perth Community Flour Mills, several other flour mills, a boot and shoe factory turning out goods worth two thousand pounds per annum, three paper mills, a printing works, extensive bleach fields, and another cotton mill. Linseed mills at Huntingtower were already beginning to decline by the 1790s. The basic industry was linen, with over one thousand five hundred looms in the town and surrounding areas, producing cloth to the value of one hundred thousand pounds annually. The Old Statistical Account includes extracts from the Perth Harbour records, with a review of foreign trade, especially to Holland. Imports were valued at thirty thousand pounds per annum. Exports were so substantial that the reporter did not attempt to calculate them. The skinners of Perth dressed thirty thousand sheep and lamb skins per year, and were a wealthy guild with their own poor funds. Twenty thousand of the animals were slaughtered in Perth. The Stanley Mills produced about two million

yards of linen cloth annually in 1837, using water power [20].

By the 1830s Perth was in decline as a port and industrial centre [21]. The development of steam power released manufacturing industry from attachment to the rivers around the Highland boundary. Increase in the tonnage of vessels made Perth less feasible as a major port. The flow of foreign trade became negligible. The new cities of the steam age were Edinburgh, Dundee, and Glasgow [22]. Perth therefore remains as an example of a Scottish Georgian town. Stirling must have experienced a similar development cycle. After 1831, the total population of Perthshire began to decline, as development moved to the central Scottish lowlands.

Fundamental changes in the regional settlement pattern were therefore taking place in Perthshire during the second half of the eighteenth century. The complicated migratory patterns in Balquhidder were replicated throughout the region. Within each parish, and between each parish, there must have been complex and overlapping patterns of population movement. The details of such movement appear to have been closely related to changes in local land use, as well as to the development of nucleated settlements. The first stages of the industrial revolution, involving large scale water powered manufacturing, took place around the southern and eastern borders of the region, creating new centres of employment. Gradually these must have affected the older system of cottage industries. The resulting migration and centralisation of the textile trades in particular would draw upon the inherent skills of the Highland population [23]. The new structure which emerged was however shortlived, as steam powered industry drew manufacturing southwards towards the coalfields in the early

nineteenth century. The sum of these complex patterns was a tendency towards local centres within parishes, combined with a considerable shift of population towards the eastern and southern parts of the county.

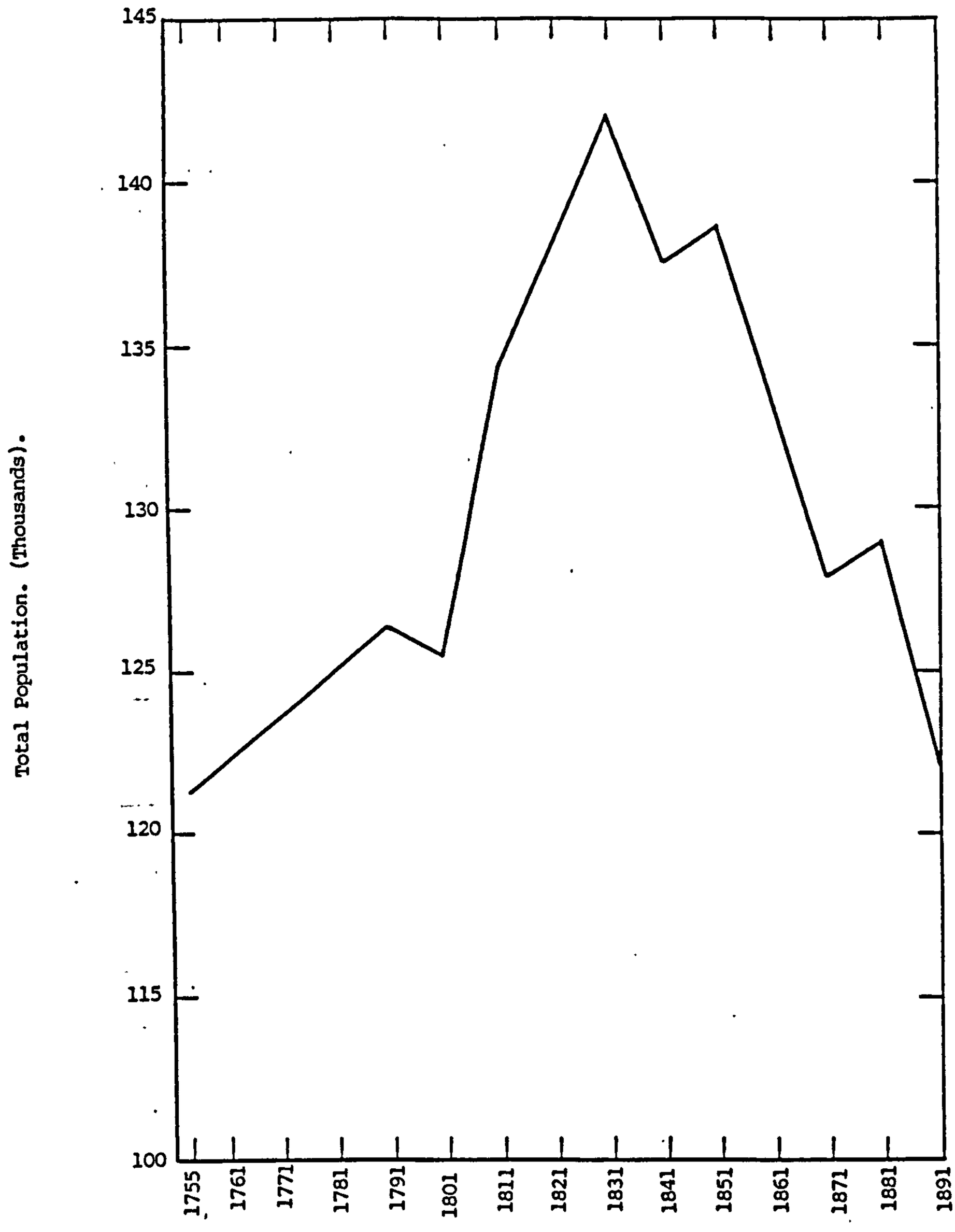
The dynamic character of the period following 1755 is reflected in the varied patterns of population change. This can be demonstrated by comparing the total populations in sample parishes between 1755 and 1851, using the combined sources of Webster's census, the Old Statistical Account of Scotland, the Census of Scotland from 1801 to 1851, and the New Statistical Account. Without detailed analysis of parish registers it is not possible to refine the individual patterns to the same extent as in Balquhidder. Allowance must be made for the long period between 1755 and 1791. The vectors in the population graphs for that period can only be a generalisation. The text of the Old Statistical Account suggests that in the central parishes a plateau may have been attained between circa 1755 and 1780, followed by a sharp decline in the upland areas. Using total population rather than percentage change as the basis, allows quantitative comparisons between parishes as well as comparison of trends. By relating these totals to the areas of each parish some indication of gross density can also be given on a comparative basis.

On first examination there appears some considerable variety in population trends between parishes. There were, however, certain similarities. All of the parishes analysed experienced some form of interrupted decline in population, with the exception of Blair Atholl where depopulation was continuous after 1791. Population numbers remained more or less stable in that parish

between 1755 and 1791, with only a gentle decline, but after 1791 the fall in numbers was extremely steep. That reflects the pressure upon arable land, and growing rural poverty in the eighteenth century, in that most northerly parish of Perthshire [24]. It also is consistent with the lack of any industrial development or provision of new settlements.

The interruptions in depopulation occur as temporary increases. Comparison of the vectors reveals two principal periods in which these took place. The first series were experienced between circa 1780 and 1801, notably in Balquhidder, Callander, Comrie, and Killin. These late eighteenth century peaks coincided with the end of population stability in Blair Atholl. In all of these parishes internal relocation was occurring in response to agricultural changes and a restructuring of land holding. With the exception of Blair Atholl, some form of village nucleation was taking place. In none of them, however, does there appear to have been any major development of new industries, although Callander did experience some mechanisation and clustering of local manufacturing processes on a small scale.

The second peak occurred during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Its most extreme expression was in Kilmadock. A major cause in that parish must have been the continuing expansion of the large cotton mills at Deanston, by Doune. Other parishes which experienced this second peak were those where large villages or small towns continued to develop through the early nineteenth century. In some, the nineteenth century climaxes were less distinct than the earlier eighteenth century ones. Comrie was a good example of a parish where the main increase took place during the first stages of agricultural improvement, with a weak



POPULATION OF PERTHSHIRE 1755 TO 1891

Sources: Webster 1755; O.S.A. 1791; Census of Scotland 1801-1891.

Fig.41.

truncated peak in the nineteenth century followed by continuous decline. Dunblane, on the other hand, experienced a rather feeble increase between 1755 and 1791, but a very marked rise occurred between 1791 and 1851, as the nineteenth century town with its textile industry grew.

The vector for the whole county of Perthshire from 1755 to 1891 shows characteristics which reflect local trends. Population in the county increased to a weak peak in circa 1791. After a very short decline in 1801, it then increased rapidly until 1831, followed by a steep decline with two slight interruptions until 1891. The county pattern is consistent with the general shift of population across the region from the upland to the lowland districts, including the important development of the port and industries of the City of Perth itself, during the two phases of agricultural and industrial reorganisation. The decline of water powered industries after the middle of the nineteenth century, coupled with continuing improvement in agricultural technology, appears to have changed the patterns of migration and introduced a period of severe population loss. It may therefore be concluded that until circa 1831 much of the migration was contained within the county, with overall growth relieved by emigration overseas. Such a conclusion must, however, be tempered with the inferences drawn in Balquhidder, that there was a degree of population replacement taking place as migrants drifted from the northern and western Highlands into and through the Perthshire parishes.

While gross population densities in Highland regions have limited meaning, a brief analysis shows remarkable consistencies. Total population numbers per parish used for analysis of trends may suggest uneven population distribution regionally. That would

be an untrue deduction. Population density was relatively consistent in areas of similar landscape character. The Highland parishes of Aberfoyle, Balquhidder, Blair Atholl, and Killin, all had low population densities which varied only slightly. For example, in 1851, they had between 0.033 and 0.043 persons per hectare. The parishes lying on the lowland boundary had higher densities, forming a second group with between 0.095 and 0.149 persons per hectare. The parishes of Dunblane and Kilmadock, in which industry or larger settlements developed, had densities of 0.426 and 0.523 persons per hectare respectively in 1851. Gross population density fell in the Highland group between 1755 and 1851, remained more constant in the lowland margins, and increased in the two parishes which developed larger industrial activities.

The period from 1755 to 1851 was therefore one of highly complex changes throughout the region. The complexities revealed in a locality such as the parish of Balquhidder were occurring in other parishes with variations of degree. They were reflected also in inter-parochial change and in the regional patterns as a whole. Up to circa 1831 these patterns and processes of change usefully illustrate the transition from a highly dispersed settlement pattern to one of more varied concentrations of population and activities, including the development of nucleation and central places. The change during that period was essentially from what had originated as a subsistence structure to one better suited to a more specialised profit oriented economy. It involved a shift from simple manual technologies to intermediate stages of mechanisation, based on water power. This type of change could be contained within the region to a considerable extent. The second stage of development was away from water powered systems towards

those utilising fossil fuels, and involving considerable increases in scale. Each industrial system developed around its power source, so that the manufacturing processes themselves migrated. Historians point out that the Highlanders followed the textile industry from cottage to water powered mill to the new steam driven factories of central Scotland and northern England [25].

The period up to 1851 was one where change was part of an indigenous process. The new infrastructure which supported it was one of villages and small towns linked by road networks, which replaced or supplemented the old one of dispersed clachan townships linked by hill tracks and pack routes. Although the period from 1851 to 1891 lies beyond the terminal date suggested for this study, a brief review of trends after 1851 illustrates how patterns changed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some parishes such as Aberfoyle, Callander, and Killin, increased in population to such an extent that the final total equalled or exceeded the number in 1755. Dunblane had the same population in 1891 as in 1851. Each of these parishes gained railway connections during the period, and the already established nuclei grew into towns of substantial Victorian houses, guesthouses, and hotels. On the other hand, Balquhidder, while receiving the railway in the 1860s [26], continued to decline, although new houses and some hotels replaced the old feu cottages in Strathyre and Lochearnhead. Comrie parish lost population rapidly in spite of the continuing development of Comrie village. Kilmadock, no further from Stirling than Dunblane, failed to gain railway access, and also declined [27].

The parishes which experienced late nineteenth century population increases may all be recognised as tourist areas widely

recognised by Victorian society. The Trossachs and the town of Dunblane were supplied with large hotels and hydropathic establishments. The processes which were largely motivated by local and regional economic, technological, and social change, became obscured by the increasing dominance of external forces after 1851. The popularity of tourism in particular appears to have been a major influence. It may therefore be argued that the era following 1851 opens not so much a new chapter, as a new volume, in the history of rural Perthshire. The degree of discontinuity becomes so great as to create another field of research. 1851 therefore appears to be a logical terminal date for the study of indigenous processes of evolution in West Perthshire.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 17.

1. Withers.C.W.J. "A Geography of Language: Gaelic Speaking in Perthshire, 1698 - 1879." Institute of British Geographers Transactions. New Series, Vol.8, No.2. 1983. pp. 125 - 142.

2. Smout.T.C. "A History of the Scottish People 1560 - 1830." Collins, London 1969. pp. 30 - 32.

3. Old Statistical Account of Scotland (O.S.A.) edited by Withrington D.J. & Grant I.R., Wakefield 1977. Vol.XII. pp.1 - 18.

4. Ibid. pp.137 - 190.

5. MacLaren.D.J. "David Dale of New Lanark." Heatherbank Press, Milngavie. 1983. Passim.

6. O.S.A. (Ed.1977) Op.cit. Vol.XII. pp.268 - 278.

7. Ibid. pp.279 - 298.

8. Ibid. pp.471 - 478.

9. Ibid. pp.425 - 436.

10. Campbell.D. "Reminiscences and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander." Inverness, 1910. pp.117 - 118 & 184 - 186.

11. O.S.A. (Ed.1977) Op.cit. Vol.XII. p.101.

12. New Statistical Account of Scotland (N.S.A.), Perthshire. Wm. Blackwood & Son. Edinburgh & London 1844. p.569. (Entry dated 1838).

13. O.S.A. (Ed.1977) Op.cit. Vol.XII. pp.453 - 458.

14. Ibid. Vol.XI. p.211.

15. Ibid. Vol.XII. pp.488 - 544.

16. Ibid. pp.545 - 604.

17. Ibid. pp.157 - 158.

18. Ibid. pp.284 - 293.

19. Ibid. Vol.XI. pp.468 - 518. & Editorial Introduction, pp.xxi - xxiv.

20. N.S.A.(1844). Op.cit. Perthshire. p.189.

21. O.S.A. (Ed.1977) Op.cit. Vol.XI. pp.xiii - xiv.

22. Daiches.D. "Glasgow." Granada, London 1977. pp.104 - 132.

23. Campbell.D. 1910. Op.cit. p.196.

24. Groome.F.H. "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland." London 1903. Vol.1. p.165.

25. Smout.T.C. (1968). Op.cit. pp.403 - 430, and note p.546. supports deductions by Campbell.D. (1910) referred to above at 23.

26. Campbell.D. (1910). Op.cit. pp.311 - 312.

27. Census of Scotland, Perthshire. Decennial Parish Statistics, 1801 - 1851; and 1891; provided the sources for all population comparisons throughout the nineteenth century. (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh).

CHAPTER 18. SYNTHESIS OF THE NEW SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Sir John MacGregor Murray of Lanrick purchased the superiority of Balquhidder from the fourth Duke of Atholl in 1801 [1]. The descendent of the MacGregors of Invercarnaig, he was in effect buying the chiefly line back into Balquhidder [2]. He was succeeded by his son, Sir Evan John Murray MacGregor, in June 1822, who married Elizabeth Murray, daughter of the fourth Duke of Atholl, on the 28th May 1808. His son, Sir John Atholl Banatyne MacGregor, inherited the estates in June 1841, and rebuilt the house at Edenchip for his residence. He died on the 11th May 1851, to be succeeded by Sir Malcolm Macgregor, his son, and the twenty-first Chief of Clan Gregor. The MacGregor papers recording the estate business of Lanrick and Balquhidder are the main sources from which the evolution of the nineteenth century settlement pattern can be traced [3]. The new superiors appear as improvers, planters, and builders. Under their hands the economy finally changed and the last vestiges of the old post-medieval system disappeared. Nevertheless elements of the older structure influenced the new one.

The first indication of what may be termed the great rebuilding programme in Balquhidder is a reference by Dorothy Wordsworth (1803) [4]. Arriving from Loch Katrine by the mountain route, William enquired the way at a new stone house on the south side of the upper Balvaig, west of the head of Loch Doine. Comparing the description and the instructions received with

topographical evidence, the highest probability is that the house was Blaircreich. There is no other farm house in the locality which fits. The inventory of writs for Blaircreich shows that the holding included the western half of Easter Invernenty, and Wester Invernenty commonly called Blaircreich, when it was feued to the Reverend Duncan Stewart, minister of Balquhidder, in 1803 [5]. This suggests that the Invernenties and Blaircreich were amalgamated into a single farm by that date. Detailed survey showed that the ruined cottage at Invernenty had been a small symmetrical house with a fireplace and chimney built into the gable wall. In 1821 the grazings of Blaircreich and Invernenty were being advertised to let for superior sheep pastures [6]. The inclusion of Invernenty in the Glenbuckie estate (Chapter 9. p.153;) suggests that the lands had been possessed by improving tacksmen since the early eighteenth century. The second new house recorded was Glenbuckie House, built at Stronvar circa 1827. Lianach farmhouse in Glenbuckie was probably built during the same period, and almost certainly before 1841 (Chapter 13. p.234-238).

There are architectural affinities between these new houses of the first phase of rebuilding. Glenbuckie House is lost within later alterations to Stronvar, but Lianach and Invernenty were both single storey houses, with central doorways, rooms on each side of the entrance, and gable chimneys. The original phase of Blaircreich farmhouse is a two storey version of the same basic plan. The older of two houses at Inverlochlarig reflects the same design. Dorothy Wordsworth recorded a conversation with a Highlander in Glenfalloch which proved that rebuilding was in progress, and the old longhouses were being deserted by 1803 in adjacent districts [7]. James Hogg, writing in the same period,

records that Glenfalloch was divided into large sheep farms [8].

From this evidence it may be concluded that Sir John MacGregor Murray purchased the superiority when Balquhidder was already considerably advanced into the process of farm amalgamation. The first new houses were building in the early years of his overlordship. It would appear that the improvements noted in the Glenbuckie estate continued, and spread into other parts of the parish, during the early nineteenth century. This is an important point, because it indicates that the new superiority was not in itself the cause of change. The improvements to the agricultural economy and to the built infrastructure which were taking place, for example, on the Earl of Moray's lands in Kilmadock before 1790 (Chapter 17. p.320), were advancing in Balquhidder by the turn of the century. Fraser (1867) [9] appears to ascribe most of the improved houses and farms in Balquhidder to the work of David Carnegie of Stronvar after 1849. Carnegie, however, appears to have further modified earlier work, and continued the process of rebuilding into the later nineteenth century. The architectural idiom of Carnegie's work is Scottish High Victorian, and is distinguishable on the ground. A number of tacksmen and superiors appeared as agents of implementation within a process which was something much more fundamental. The MacGregors of Lanrick and Balquhidder must therefore be considered as important examples of landlordly influence, but not as the sole agents of change. Their apparent significance stems partly from their having left the most complete records of estate development in Balquhidder for the nineteenth century.

Continuity of improvement in the local infrastructure is suggested by correspondence in 1816 between the Duke of Atholl and

Sir John MacGregor Murray, regarding bridges built with aid from the Commissioners of Highland Roads and Bridges [10]. The construction of metalled roads continued through the nineteenth century, the Braes Road along the north shore of Loch Voil progressing as a statute labour road until after 1875 [11]. In its later stages the project was dogged with disputes between the MacGregor superiors and their aristocratic tenants, the Carnegies of Stronvar, over payments due from possessors towards the road fund. The new nineteenth century landowners inherited commitments from the previous superior. In addition, by purchasing the Barony of Balquhidder, Sir John MacGregor Murray also inherited improvements initiated by the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates in the eighteenth century (Chapter 14. pp.249-254).

The first important role of the MacGregors at Edenchip was that of planters and improvers. The documents dealing with planting and land improvement predate those for the building of the new mansion house at Edenchip. It is difficult to distinguish always between accounts and orders relating to Balquhidder and to Lanrick Castle. This apart, however, it is clear that the family was extensively engaged in modernisation of the landscape on its estates. There is a parallel between the development of the MacGregor estates after 1800, and the Glenbuckie estates, in that both appear to have commenced with work on the land. Domestic improvements followed.

A letter from Dickson's and Company, seedsmen, of Edinburgh, dated the 26th March 1820, refers to seeds and other material forwarded by the ship "Fox", in care of the master, S.Morison, to be unloaded at Stirling [12]. The planting materials were arriving by the same route as that used by John Leslie in the 1770s when

carrying out planting programmes for the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates. There is a full invoice of materials supplied by Dickson's, dated 24th March 1820 [13]. It includes a wide variety of kitchen garden vegetables, revealing not only a desire for a well supplied table, but the development of proper gardening and the introduction of exotic crops. The list also includes perennial rye grass seed, and white, red, and yellow clover. Hay and fodder crops, and the planting of balanced pasture, was a further development. Whether the order was destined for Lanrick or Balquhidder, it indicates the development of a taste for proper gardening as well as for better agricultural practice on the part of the new superiors.

Orders for forestry materials do indicate that some of these were destined for Balquhidder. There is a letter written to Mr Thomas Anderson at Lanrick Castle, Doune, from suppliers P.J.McIver and R.Campbell, dated in 1820 [14]. It refers to a request for forest trees and plants. With the letter is a seedsmen's list, from which Sir John Murray MacGregor ordered seedling oaks, spruce and larch, in large quantities, on the 24th February 1820 [15]. In March a further large quantity was ordered. There is also a receipt for payment, confirming that the goods were actually delivered. A total of seventy thousand seedlings were obtained. On the 13th March 1820 an account of planters' wages, for ten men working at Balquhidder, was made out at Lanrick Castle [16]. This suggests that the new Balquhidder estates were being planted and improved from Lanrick before the new Edenchip house was built.

A second vital influence of the MacGregor family was seen in the wider field of estate management and the changing

relationships between landlord and tenant which this involved. The amalgamation of numerous holdings into extensive farms, already noted, infers fundamental changes in land tenure. The mechanisms of these changes are obscured by a lack of detailed estate records for the early nineteenth century in Balquhidder. The MacGregor manuscripts supply useful examples which help to penetrate this important issue. They illustrate the process by which certain old medieval settlements developed into the nineteenth century farmsteads which exist in the modern landscape, while many more became extinct and deserted. They also show how native tenant families were in many cases replaced with immigrant tenant farmers, largely as a result of new economic attitudes to land tenure and land use.

The Glenbuckie estate engrossments were carried out by a native family, and the later improvements were undertaken by distantly related successors. Captain Duncan Stewart nevertheless had a military salary. Sir John MacGregor Murray was already an established landowner, from a family who had enjoyed income from military appointments with the East India Company since the late eighteenth century. The Carnegies of Stronvar also had other sources of income [17] as well as being scions of a noble house. In examining changes in the Edenchip estate, therefore, it must be remembered that the nineteenth century improvements were financed by new landlords with other sources of income than that of their lands.

A valuation of feus on the Balquhidder estates was made on the 1st April 1820 [18]. Major heritors were the Earl of Breadalbane, holding Glenogle and Edinample with some adjacent lands; Captain Duncan Stewart, holding Glenbuckie, Stronvar,

Monachyletuarach, half of Muirlaggan which appears still to have been portioned, and part of Easter Invernenty; and the Earl of Moray, holding Glencarnaig estate. Donald MacDonald was already in possession of Craigruie. Much of the western lands had been bought from MacNab of MacNab. Sir John MacGregor Murray retained under his own hand the Barony of Balquhidder, and lands of Gartnafuaran and Stronslany. Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie had obtained the Stronvar estate from John Fergusson. Small possessors remained at Cregans and Edenchip, both still owned by Miss Campbell of Edenchip; Monachylemore, owned by Miss Ann MacNab; Muirlaggan, where half was owned by Mrs Robertson; and Wester Invernenty and half of Easter Invernenty, possessed by Lieutenant Alexander Stewart. Strathyre was owned by John Buchanan.

The landowning patterns of Balquhidder had therefore changed considerably by 1820, before the purchase of Edenchip House by the MacGregor family. Not only had successful families expanded their estates by purchase of feus, but several from outside had bought feus in the parish. It may therefore be postulated that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the sanctity of hereditary tenure had given way to the concept of land as capital estate. It was seen more as a commodity for sale or purchase, and a means of investment for wealth accrued elsewhere. There is little doubt, on the evidence deduced from fragmentary sources in the Glenbuckie estates, that this change had its roots in the latter decades of the eighteenth century (Chapter 13, pp.226-238). The Modification of attitudes of superior landlords which must accompany such changes was foreshadowed in the new leases prepared by the Duke of Atholl to ensure improvement on the tenant holdings in 1722 (Chapter 12, pp.201-205). This leads to the hypothesis that the

final synthesis of a new settlement pattern, and socio-economic structure, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, was the culmination of a long period of positive change. It overlapped the process of dissolution of the indigenous system, and indeed contributed to it.

Records of rentals of the MacGregor estates of Gartnafuaran and Stronslaney, Balquhidder, and Edenchip, survive for 1838 [19]. These were printed in relation to a proposal for selling the estate, and accompany an advertisement drawn up by James Brown and Charles Pearson, accountants, at 59 Great George Street Edinburgh, on the 21st July 1838 [20]. James Brown remained as an economic advisor to the MacGregor estate through the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The reasons for the proposal to sell so soon after acquisition are not given, but analysis of the correspondence between Brown and the MacGregor family over the ensuing period suggests that the Balquhidder estate had serious problems of profitability.

The rental valuations of 1838 show that the estate of Gartnafuaran and Stronslany included the now extinct holding of Cuilian, occupied by Duncan MacGregor, as well as Gartnafuaran portioned between Alexander Ferguson and John and David Stewart, and Stronslany occupied by Alexander Stewart. The estate of Edenchip included Edenchip house and grounds, with Balmeanoch and Balacroich, tenanted by one Colin MacArthur; fifteen pendicles or smallholdings; an inn and attached lands at Lochearnhead; and low ground and hill pasture held in common by the smallholders and innkeeper. Similar grazing lands were common to Edenchip and Achtow, to become exclusive to Edenchip on expiry of the Achtow lease. The Marquis of Breadalbane owed obligations in kind for his

lands according to the formal entry. There were various woods and plantations.

The estate of Balquhidder included the ancient holdings of Tulloch; Lednascriden; The Kirkton of Balquhidder; West and East Achleskine, the latter subdivided into two parts; Belly Park tenanted by the minister and, by its position in the list, identified with the glebe lands; ten smallholdings at Achtow with common pasture; East Achtow, and Upper and Lower Cuilt. There were also woods and plantations.

The advertisement of the estate of Balquhidder described it as being of 5,633 Imperial Acres, of which 230 were arable, 73 were in woods and plantations, and 5,330 chiefly green pasture. It also recommended the game and fishing on the estate. The annual value of rents excluding game was one thousand and seventy-one pounds. Leases of farms were for nine years from Whitsunday 1834, and fifteen years from Whitsunday 1837. Apart from the smallholders the tenants were described as substantial, and rents were all promptly paid.

From these documents it is evident that the family was not yet in residence at Edenchip in 1838. The estate must therefore have been administered from Lanrick near Doune at that time. Some interesting facts may be deduced about the tenurial structure. A considerable number of pendiclers or smallholders existed in an economy which was essentially still one of crofting, dependent upon commonty rights. Some farms were still under joint tenure by portioners. On the other hand, Tulloch and Lednascriden had amalgamated under the tenancy of Alexander Stewart, creating a larger unit at the west end of the Barony. East Achtow, and Upper and Lower Cuilt, were amalgamated into a single tenancy under

Peter Stewart. The native MacLaren family survived in East Achleskine, the Kirkton of Balquhidder, one of the Achtow pendicles, and in two of the Edenchip crofts.

Examination of the lists of smallholders revealed several old Balquhidder families, such as Fergusons, MacIntyres, several MacGregors, and MacVeans, living as crofters. Social changes had partly reversed the fortunes of some indigenous groups while providing new status and opportunities for entrepreneurial incomers.

As well as demonstrating the progress of change at the larger scale of the parish, early nineteenth century records suggest that within particular estates the process of transition was still taking place in the 1830s. Their evidence supports the hypothesis that the settlement pattern was a mixture of vestigial Highland types, including surviving primitive longhouses such as that investigated in Glenbuckie (Chapter 13, pp.232-233); later engrossed farms with small but substantial Regency farm houses; crofting settlements with common lands such as at Edenchip, Achtow, and Rusgachan; and by the late 1840s the emerging new Victorian baronial villas. The conclusion is that the final period of dissolution and synthesis may be fixed fairly exactly in Balquhidder between about 1803 and 1848 as far as settlements and buildings were concerned, but that land use changes began not later than the 1770s, with some indication that certain practices had been changing much earlier.

The MacGregor papers contain considerable correspondence which illustrates the developments and the problems in the estates in the first half of the nineteenth century, and beyond. Occasionally they permit some small insight into local life. For

example, a petition from Captain Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie to Sir John MacGregor Murray, dated at Glenbuckie House in November 1817, asks for leniency from the latter as a justice of the peace on behalf of a man in trouble with the excise, because of his involvement in illicit whisky production [21]. The letter tends to confirm a local tradition that whisky was produced in Glenbuckie. Mr.Iain MacVicar of Immereon in 1976 indicated the location of a reputed still at Garrachra.

The role of the new style of Highland landlord, especially when he was a chief, was under discussion. A letter from Donald MacGregor in Glasgow to Sir Evan Murray MacGregor, dated 1st October 1822, illustrates this. It also shows that the depopulation problem in the Highlands was still an important concern [22]. The writer suggested that a reversion to a controlled form of small farms, with continued provision for tradesmen on crofts, might be an appropriate form of development. He commends this to Sir Evan in his role as the chief of his clan, as a means of allocating land to his clansmen. The letter may be read in the light of its source in Glasgow, which in 1801 contained five per cent of the Scottish population, but by 1851 had increased its share to twelve per cent (Daiches 1977) [23]. By 1851 half of the children born in Glasgow failed to survive until their fifth birthday, twice the infant mortality rate of the rural areas of late eighteenth century Scotland. Sir Evan and his successors do not appear to have been in any position to stem depopulation in Balquhidder.

It is clear that considerable difficulties were being experienced, in attempts to retain existing tenants on the Balquhidder farms, at rents satisfactory to the new landlord. On

the 6th January 1843 James Brown, the Edinburgh accountant, had drawn up an advertisement for leases of the Kirkton Farm, West Achleskine, the wester half of East Achleskine, the easter half of the same, and Gartnafuaran [24]. This was to be placed in a newspaper with a view to attracting offers from Whitsunday 1843. A memorandum dated 13th March 1843 stated that the Balquhidder farms had been extensively advertised in Edinburgh, Perth, and Stirling newspapers. Handbills had been distributed, and a date fixed for offers on the 15th February 1843 [25].

Another letter from James Brown, dated 22nd March 1843, raised the difficult matter of letting the Balquhidder farms, and securing adequate rents [26]. Brown also noted that the Glenbuckie feu was to terminate in five years time, in 1848, and that John Lorne Stewart had offered an increase of seven pounds, making his renewal bid only one hundred and twelve pounds. A further letter, dated the 18th April 1843, noted that one of the MacLaren tenants was not making a satisfactory offer, and would vacate the farm [27].

The circumstances of Brown's concern, and his advertisement, are recorded in his reports [28], which were the result of a meeting at Callander on the 1st April 1843, between his partner Mr. Charles Pearson, and the ground officer for the estates. The meeting followed the earlier correspondence and the drawing up of the advertisement. In summary, Kirkton farm, one of the best in the barony, was not attracting a sufficient offer for renewal of the lease. The discussion centred upon the suggestion that the estate should take over the management of the farm and run it directly. The problems arising from this were generally to do with the need to employ people to run the farm, and therefore to pay

wages. Very similar problems arose in Achleskine, still subdivided into three farms.

The prescribed crop rotation systems in Achleskine had not been complied with, because of continued flooding of the low fields. A further problem was falling prices in the ewe and lamb markets. It was noted that at Kirkton, MacLaren, the tenant, had managed without help, but had nevertheless lost several hundred pounds during the previous eight years. What is reflected is the decline in agriculture following the end of the Napoleonic wars. Under these circumstances tenants were unwilling to risk long leases at increased costs. In several cases sitting tenants were offering a lower rent for renewal of the lease than that previously paid.

In a further letter, dated 9th January 1844, Brown expressed continued concern about affairs at the Kirkton and Achleskine farms [29]. The tenants were by that time declining to remain unless they were given considerable reductions of rent. The problem had spread to the already amalgamated farms of Tulloch and Lednascriden. There, MacGregor was considering enforcing a rent increase, while Brown was concerned that such action would damage the chances of gaining better terms in the market place. The outcome was a voluntary resignation of Tulloch by the tenant, Alexander Stewart, probably one of the last members of the old Lednascriden connection. The resignation was a formal offer to terminate the lease, witnessed by Charles Pearson and James Playfair Williams in Edinburgh on the 27th January 1844 [30].

Extensive efforts were made to let Tulloch and Lednascriden. On the 15th April 1844 an offer was reported from a family of MacIntyres at Lochearnhead, but their offer was only two hundred

and ten pounds, against the rent of two hundred and eighty pounds paid by the outgoing Alexander Stewart. Brown said that he considered the farm to be too highly rented for the times [31]. On the 8th May 1844 a valuation was carried out by John Stewart of Markhall for the farms of Tulloch, Lednascriden, and Kirkton. All the values given were lower than the old rentals [32]. A further problem was the state of the farm buildings and houses, as yet not improved [33]. That this was an impediment to securing a good tenant is evident in the reports of Brown's negotiations with candidates [34].

The problem of farm rentals and the condition of buildings was also evident at Craigruie, and at the Inn at Lochearnhead, in a letter from Brown on the 11th March 1845 [35]. The tenant at Craigruie desired two new houses for his nephews. The Inn and Innkeeper's house were below standard and the same problem of letting them obtained as on the farms. The picture which emerges is of an estate burdened with primitive or poor quality buildings, and a declining agricultural economy. Rental values were falling, but the landlord wished to increase rents. Tenants preferred to relinquish their leases rather than risk increased payments against falling market prices for their produce.

On the 4th July 1845 Brown reported that Hugh MacGregor was to procure plans and specifications for a suitable dwelling house and offices for Tulloch and Lednascriden [36]. On the 19th July an offer of two hundred and forty pounds was received from John Carmichael, merchant in St. Fillans [37]. Brown notes that he had treated with him previously when he offered three hundred and fifteen pounds but later withdrew. Brown suggested holding back on building works, plans having then been prepared and estimates

received from Alexander Fergusson, until Carmichael confirmed his offer. On the 18th August no confirmation had yet been received [38]. Consequently, on the 8th December 1845 Brown wrote suggesting a further advertisement. These unsuccessful negotiations preceded the building of Edenchip House and the new house and steading at Tulloch.

The second major role of the MacGregor superiors was, therefore, that of builders. In part, this arose from the primitive state of their farms. At Edenchip, however, the building work appears more connected with the rising aspirations of Victorian landlords. From 1847 onwards building work at Edenchip house and farm became central to the improvement programme. A series of accounts indicates considerable expenditure on a substantial mansion house. The project provided custom for builders, merchants, and carriers, in various parts of the region, as well as considerable local employment. An account for paint, tar, linseed oil, and architectural ironmongery, on the 13th July 1848, names the supplier as William Graham, Wholesale and Retail Ironmonger and Nail Manufacturer, of King Street, Stirling [39]. The carrier was George Scott of Bannockburn.

A detailed time sheet of the 17th May 1848 indicates the extensive work in hand on both the house and the estate [40]. It includes the first reference to work on wire fences. Early field work revealed remains of decorative cast iron fence posts and wire strands in the plantations in Kirkton Glen. New systems of enclosure were therefore being introduced. There was continuous employment at the saw mills to supply timber for the carpenters [41]. Work was progressing not only on the new Edenchip House, but on the steading also. The scale of the transport operation needed

for the work is indicated in an account of the 15th July 1848, for thirty carts hired to take materials to Edenchip [42].

An account of expenses for obtaining slates for the roofs at Edenchip and Tulloch indicates not only the source of supply, but the route used to bring them to Balquhidder [43]. The Edenchip slates almost certainly came from the extensive slate quarries at Aberfoyle. The bill includes whisky taken at Muirhouse (a deserted site near Loch Rusky, NN 600032); breakfast at Callander, with whisky for the men, hay and corn for the horses; tolls at Kilmahog; and whisky and bread at Kingshouse in Balquhidder. The slates for Tulloch farmhouse were brought in via Dundorn Toll in Strathearn (about NN714235, six kilometres west of Comrie), and Lochearnhead Toll. There was a slate quarry in Glen Artney in Comrie parish, recorded in the Old Statistical Account of Scotland by 1791 [44]. The accounts also record breakfast at Tulloch for the carters, with whisky, and oats for the horses. It closes with a sum for two gallons of whisky for the masons at Edenchip.

From progress reports in correspondence a picture emerges of the kind of residence that Sir John Atholl MacGregor was building for himself. On the 17th January 1848 it was reported that the slaters had finished the inside of the west wing. They hoped to complete the work by the first of February [45]. The plumber was also completing work on roof leads and flashings. Work was overseen by Peter Gow, and Hugh MacGregor of Achtow appears to have been the estate factor. Carpentry and joinery was supplied by Alexander Robertson of Dunkeld, and on the 24th March 1848 he had sent five men with four loads of doors and windows [46]. Woodwork was therefore subcontracted to a specialist joinery manufacturer in East Perthshire. The masons were blamed by Robertson for

holding up his work and making him late on schedule [47]. MacGregor's letters tend to indicate some impatience with progress.

A general synthesis of the MacGregor papers shows that Sir John was planning a main block, with two wings, roofed in slate with zinc ridge pieces and proper rainwater goods. Sash windows were provided. There was a cellar approached by a flight of stairs [48]. The slates of the roof were laid over sarking boards sealed with tar [49]. Split laths were used to provide coved ceilings. The house had a front porch, and a range of rooms. The muniments include various sketch plans, and two completed plans, showing designs for prestigious mansions. One plan is of special interest, because it shows an original house forming part of the design, with the new accommodation built onto it. This older house is of the same form as Blaircreich farmhouse and the other houses built early in the nineteenth century. Reference to new windows in the building accounts suggests that at one time windows from this older house were to be used in the new [50]. The plan for extension and recasing at Edenchip therefore was similar to the later work at Stronvar House under David Carnegie. It is only at Edenchip that drawings have been discovered which illustrate this phase of development. Various alternatives had obviously been considered. Unfortunately, field inspection indicated that none of the extant drawings related to the house now occupying the site. There was, however, a marked departure from the simple tacksmen's houses of the early nineteenth century.

Both the Macgregors at Edenchip, and the Carnegies at Stronvar, displayed a desire for a high standard of living, and a degree of social distinction expressed through their material

wealth. It may be argued that this represented new attitudes by Balquhidder landowners. There is a single indication that an architect named Gillespie may have been employed at some time for Edenchip [51]. Carnegie employed David Bryce of Edinburgh at Stronvar [52]. Peter Gow, the master of works at Edenchip and Tulloch, was a resident of Perth [53].

Duncan Campbell (1910) [54] records another important example of rebuilding in Balquhidder. The heritor responsible was Archibald MacDonald of Glenlyon, who bought the feu of Monochyle, Craigruie, and Glencarnaig, about 1780. He brought with him a prize herd of Highland cattle, and developed the already established linen production. His two sons, John and Angus MacDonald, inherited the estate of over five thousand acres. After the Napoleonic war Angus purchased the adjacent estate of Inverlochlarig, a further ten thousand acres. A third son, Duncan, remained in Monochyle. The family built a new mansion house at Craigruie about the same time as the development of Edenchip, and the workforce for it appears in the Census of Scotland in 1851 [55]. The same census reveals the presence of workmen at Stronvar. If the extant records of the projects on the Edenchip estate indicate the level of activity created by such work, then the combined employment potential of Edenchip, Stronvar, and Craigruie, in addition to rebuilding of smaller farms such as Tulloch, must have been considerable. Most of this work was concentrated in the period from 1848 to about 1880.

The accounts for fittings and furnishings at Edenchip give a good indication of the plenishings of the new mansion. The supplier was J.&.H.Ballingall of Perth. The firm was convenient for the new Gavinkirk Railway Depot. In one letter the firm

notified MacGregor that the chimney cans for the house were lying there for collection [56]. A letter of the 31st October recorded that packages had arrived from London [57]. The Perth railhead was providing a contact with English suppliers before the railway had reached Strathyre.

The firm of Ballingall were cabinet makers. They supplied furnishings made to approved designs. The wood used was birch, deal, and oak, so that native hardwoods provided the finishings for the house. On the 5th December 1848 Edenchip was invoiced for one deal table; a hall table and two forms; four birch bedside stands; a dining table and sideboard; six small birch knobs for bell pulls; a birch bedside table; two birch framed mirrors; twelve window fasteners; two cesspools including one for the washing house door; one pair of brass hinges for the boiler cover; three rope mats; bronzed handles and shields for the front door; two imitation marble covers; three pairs of brass hinges; two pieces of birch moulding for stair pillars; a pole bracket; and a truss from a shipping company [58].

A further order was discussed by letter on the 9th January 1849 [59]. This included a bolt for the lobby press (ie: cupboard) and a lock; curtains and silk cords; a Brussels carpet; baize for doors in choices of green or crimson; a card table for the drawing room; a night table; a side table for the dining room; a table in either oak or birch for the porch lobby; a desk; and a stove. Similar lists complete the picture of the furnished interior. Ballingall was to supply iron picture rods; four double wash hand tables with drawers; five single ones with one drawer and a shelf; four dressing tables with two drawers, and two smaller ones; ten bedside stands; ten chests of drawers; and four beds; all to be

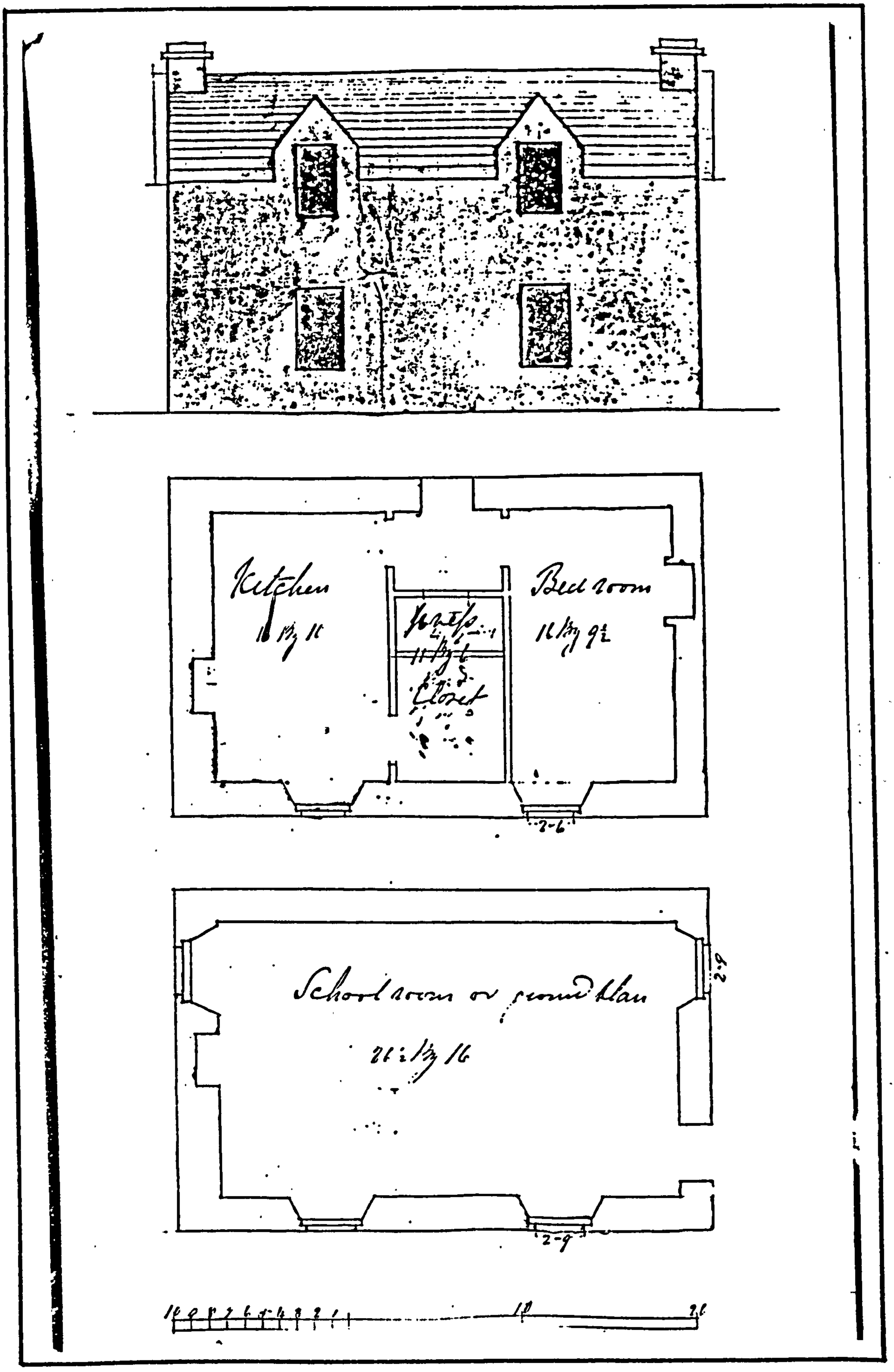


Fig.42. PLANS FOR EDENCHIP SCHOOL: APRIL 1845

MacGregor MSS PD 60 254

made up to order. The muniments contain actual samples of oiled cloth for window blinds, in white, parchment, pink, and yellow. Also supplied were japanned window fasteners; shutters; brass stair rods and eyes; four ballusters; four balls for the top of the stair pillars; and brass hooks and eyes for the shutters. A letter dated 24th April 1848 indicated that Ballingall would visit Edenchip to see to the fixing of a bath, cisterns, and water closet [60].

The MacGregors of Edenchip appear as members of the new Victorian Highland gentry. The furnishings of their new house suggest a life style of some luxury. The supply of bell pulls reveals a house with servants on call. The picture rods must infer hung pictures. The water supply and sanitation system must have been one of the first in the parish. The suddenness of the change from longhouse to mansion house may be inferred by recalling that it had occurred over a short period of fifty years (Chapter 13. pp.232-233), during which time some of the old Highland houses continued to be occupied. Evidence therefore suggests considerable discontinuity between circa 1803 and 1851 and a marked change in the domestic lifestlye of the heritors. It also indicates the completion of the change away from a local economy. The supply of materials and furnishings to Edenchip was dependent upon a national system of supply, including rail transportation of some goods from London to Perth. Merchants and contractors from places as far away as Perth and Clydeside were involved.

Examples of smaller building plans which have been preserved include drawings for a new schoolhouse on the Edenchip estate. This was a small building with a schoolroom on one floor and domestic accommodation on another, the upper floor being lit by

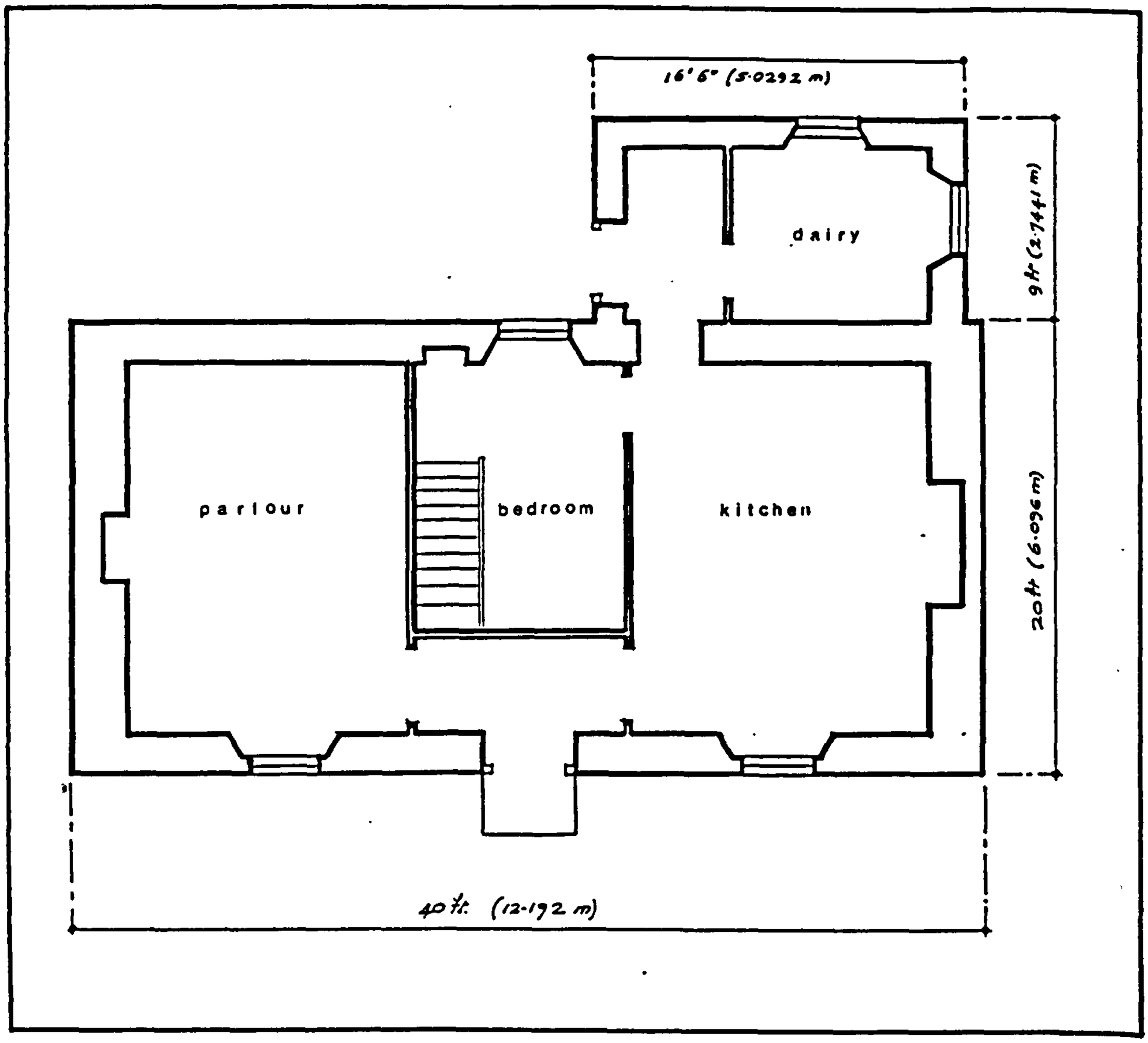


Fig.43.

EDENCHIP FARMHOUSE: 1848

MacGregor MSS PD 60 199 16

dormer windows. The ground floor plans of Edenchip farm house have also been preserved. The building strongly reflected the one constructed at Lianach, with two rooms separated by a small bedroom and staircase, and fireplaces in the gable walls. The Edenchip farm, however, had a small porch and dairy added as an outbuilding at one corner. The building has been demolished. A small sketch plan also shows improvements to the steading. There are drawings for cottages elsewhere on the MacGregor estates, all similar in conception. A more or less standard design of small farm houses and estate cottages appears to have evolved.

John Lorne Stewart relinquished Glenbuckie in favour of David Carnegie in 1848. The wealthy new tenant soon entered the farm price war. A letter from Brown dated 12th March 1849 discloses that Carnegie was offering twentytwo thousand two hundred and forty pounds for Kirkton farm, against an asking price of twentytwo thousand five hundred [61]. The farm had eventually been let on a nine year lease for one hundred and seventy pounds per annum, a figure much below the rent desired. The astute Carnegie clearly saw that the Balquhidder estates were in need of money, and was also interested in acquiring Tulloch. The Tulloch, Lednascriden, and Kirkton group would give him control of extensive lands north of Loch Voil. The letters at times became acrimonious. Two letters, one written on the 28th September 1849 [62], and the other on the 30th October 1849 [63], indicate that Carnegie also acquired through his agents the farms of Gartnafuaran and Stronslany. The new capitalist landlords were engaged in a financial battle over territory, and the one with strongest economic resources appeared to be winning. This kind of rivalry underlines the changed attitudes to land which had been

developing through much of the eighteenth century.

In conclusion, it may be postulated that the synthesis of new patterns of settlement, land use, and tenure, which took place between 1800 and 1851, was the outcome of changes which appeared incipiently at the close of the seventeenth century. By circa 1722 they were becoming overt, if the improving objectives of the Atholl contracts of feu are recognised. The territorial expansion of local estates during the eighteenth century may imply changing attitudes to land holding. After circa 1750 the improving work of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, and of tacksmen such as the Stewarts of Glenbuckie, appears to have set the direction for development. Population problems were partly solved by nucleation, but pressure on land must have reduced the standard of living of individual families seriously by circa 1780. A market economy based first on cattle in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, then upon the linen industry, and finally upon extensive sheep farming, gradually replaced subsistence. This local structure appears to have passed its peak in the 1780s. The sale of Balquhidder by the Duke of Atholl in 1801 took place when decline may have already commenced, and may reflect some astute appreciation of estate economics on his part. It is also possible that some social intercourse between the MacGregor and Atholl families existed, leading up to the marriage in 1808.

The trend towards amalgamation of holdings continued under the nineteenth century landlords. This ensured the demise of redundant clachan settlements. The new enlarged units were provided with one new steading and farm house, in each case upon or near the site of one of the original settlements. The outer boundaries of these new enlarged farms preserved part of the old

patterns of land division. Within them a few old Highland houses survived well into the nineteenth century, some being replaced by the Carnegies of Stronvar after 1849 [64]. The nineteenth century landscape was therefore a greatly thinned out remnant of the old medieval structure. Its broad form was derived from the historic patterns.

It must be concluded that expectations of higher living standards, and a more comfortable life style, were important influences for change. Indications of general poverty among the population in the last two decades of the eighteenth century suggest an economic trough. The opulent style of the new Victorian landlords reflected new sets of values. The remaining farming tenants were increasingly conscious of the need to safeguard their own standards also. Higher standards required higher and assured incomes. In social and economic terms the differences between the crofting smallholders, the substantial tenant farmers, and the superior landlords, must have become more marked as the nineteenth century progressed. This may be partly seen in the development of the houses. Two roomed cottages in Strathyre may be compared with the new four roomed two storey farm houses. From the Edenchip drawings it would seem that the plain four roomed house was used by substantial tenants and by more substantial local landholders until the late 1840s. After that date the superior heritors began to develop the much larger Victorian baronial style of mansion house. The general structure of superior, tacksman, and tenant, remained, but the social and economic stratification of the community changed radically.

The relationship between the superior and the tenant farmers changed also. The paternalistic aristocracy practised by the Dukes

of Atholl reflected the ancient traditional role of the Highland chief. Nowhere in the Atholl records relating to Balquhidder was any instance of eviction found. Tenants in difficulties were assisted by deferred payments of rents, waiving of debts, and occasionally by direct assistance. Under the new Macgregor superiority the tenant was expected to pay an economic rent which was the highest that the market would offer. Those unwilling to meet the asking price of their leases entered into prolonged negotiations with the landlord's accountant. Some chose to relinquish their leases and seek better terms elsewhere. Placing the landlord and tenant relationship much more on a financial footing provided another mechanism for population change. Land was advertised publicly in the newspapers when leases were due for renewal. Open competition in the market place replaced customary hereditary tenure.

The synthesis which took place in the nineteenth century therefore included some shadows of the old patterns, but was marked by clear discontinuities. These were fundamental, consisting of deep changes in the social and economic structure of the community. The physical expression of the changes occurred essentially as changes in land economy and land holding. The programme of territorial adjustment, followed by the first phase of rebuilding, was a response to these fundamental shifts. The second phase of rebuilding followed, as landlords with power to invest externally generated funds moved in, following their perception of the opportunities offered in the Balquhidder estates. They did not, it would appear, realise that the crest of the wave of prosperity had already passed. The MacGregor adventure in particular appears to demonstrate the problems of a family

struggling to maximise returns from an investment whose capital value was already entering a decline when they purchased the superiority of Balquhidder.

Campbell (1910) [65] makes some perceptive comments upon the effects of such changes in the Highlands. Declining rental values placed tenants in some advantage in negotiating with landlords. Large sheep farms became less viable as the market declined, and landlords had the option of reletting to sitting tenants at reduced rents, undertaking the management themselves at a cost, or selling to others for game or forestry. Voluntary relinquishing of tenancies was not uncommon. The alternative of subdividing the new large sheep farms into smaller lettable units was difficult. The owners or their predecessors had removed the older steadings, and invested heavily in the new substantial farmhouses and their own mansions. The task of rebuilding the required number of steadings to permit the creation of several small farms, added to the debts often accrued in the former improvements, made reversion to a small farming economy impossible. Campbell also notes that the old farming system, under pressure of population increase, had already pushed farming to the highest limits of cultivation. There was little chance of further agricultural development to increase returns. The stage of development reached in Balquhidder by 1851 was beginning to reach the kind of situation observed by Campbell. The ultimate disaster which he portrayed was not quite realised in Balquhidder, probably because the new hill farms did not cross the threshold into the class of vast holdings which Campbell was referring to. Nevertheless several of the mechanisms can be seen to have operated. Serious decline of the hill farming economy in Balquhidder was deferred until the twentieth century. It has

resulted in the progressive sale of several square miles of hill land for forestry. That trend continues. Nevertheless the process initiated between 1801 and 1851 can be seen as the first stage of transition to the modern era.

Some supplies for Edenchip came from London by rail to Perth in 1848. Campbell noted that in 1857 the nearest railway station to Balquhidder was at Dunblane [66]. On the 1st July 1858 the line opened to Callander (Thomas.J. 1966) [67]. The contract for the Glenogle line was signed on the 6th November 1866, and the line opened to Lochearnhead in 1870. Campbell noted the changes which the railway brought about in Balquhidder [68]. Most of the old crofting feus in Strathyre were replaced by villas and small hotels. Callander experienced a major building boom. Lochearnhead became a popular resort. The coming of the railway not only linked Balquhidder with the outside world, it opened a new stage of development. The economy shifted towards a mixture of sheep farming and tourism. It is, therefore, not possible to pursue the analysis of indigenous forces of change much beyond 1851. Beyond that date the sources become different, and the methodology required shifts towards the techniques of modern economic geography.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 18.

1. Atholl Chartulary. Vol.V. p.228.

2. Burke's Peerage. Edn.130. London, 1963. pp.1552 - 1555.

3. MacGregor of MacGregor papers relating to Edenchip and Balquhidder were deposited in the Central Region Archives, Stirling, in 1984. They are catalogued under PD60, and identified in the following references by initials MME. The research for this study was undertaken soon after their deposit, and catalogue and storage arrangements were subject to improvement. The catalogue numbers serve sufficiently,

however, to guide enquirers to sources. Not all individual items had specific item numbers.

4. Wordsworth. D. "A Tour in Scotland in 1803." Reprinted by J.Thin, Edinburgh, 1974. p. 236.

5. Inventory of writs. Blaircreich papers.

6. Stirling Journal, 11th. January 1821, transcript from Blaircreich papers.

7. Wordsworth. D. 1803. Op.cit. p.228.

8. Hogg. J. "A Tour in the Highlands in 1803." Alexander Gardiner, Paisley & London. 1888. pp.17 - 18.

9. Fraser. W. "History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, and of their Kindred." Edinburgh 1867. Vol.II.,p.340.

10. MME PD60/102.

11. MME PD60/785.

12. MME PD60/17.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Fraser. W. 1867. Op.cit. Vol.II.,Ch.IV.,p.327.f.

18. MME PD60/15.

19. MME PD60/201.

20. Ibid.

21. MME PD60/80.

22. MME PD60/86.

23. Daiches. D. "Glasgow." Granada, London 1977. Ch.11. p.142.

24. MME PD60/261.

25. MME PD60/246.

26. MME PD60/250.

27. Ibid.

28. MME PD60/261.

29. MME PD60/251/1.

30. MME PD60/251/3.

31. MME PD60/251/7.

32. MME PD60/251/8.

33. MME PD60/251/10.

34. MME PD60/251/11.

35. MME PD60/254.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. MME PD60/167/1.

40. MME PD60/167/2.

41. MME PD60/167/3 & 5.

42. MME PD60/167/2.

43. MME PD60/167/4.

44. Old Statistical Account of Scotland. 1791 - 1799. Ed. Withrington.J. and Grant.I.R., Wakefield, 1976. Vol.XII. p.276.

45. MME PD60/134/1.

46. MME PD60/134/2.

47. MME PD60/134/3.

48. MME PD60/134/9 - 12.

49. Ibid.

50. MME PD60/134/13.

51. MME PD60/254.

52. Fraser. W. 1867. Op.cit. Vol.II.,p.331. Also "The Late David Bryce R.S.A." Obituary. in "The Builder." No.34. 1876. pp.507 - 508.

53. MME PD60/155.

54. Campbell. D. "Reminiscenses and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander." Inverness, 1910. p.307.

55. Census of Scotland. Perthshire, Balquhidder, 1851. Enumerator's returns. ED.3. Schedule 53.

56. MME PD60/153/4.

57. MME PD60/153/5.

58. MME PD60/153/1.

59. MME PD60/153/12.

60. MME PD60/153/13.

61. MME PD60/239.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Fraser. W. 1867. Op.cit. Vol.II., p.340.

65. Campbell. D. 1910. Op.cit. pp.548 - 551.

66. Ibid. pp.311 - 317.

67. Thomas. J. "The Callander and Oban Railway." David and Charles, London. 1966. Passim, for a history of the railway development.

68. Campbell. D. 1910. Op.cit. pp.311 - 312.

CHAPTER 19. CONCLUSIONS AND EMERGENT HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses which were adopted at the beginning of the research may be summarised. The first was that the study of settlements over a substantial period of time, in a well defined locality, would demonstrate that an evolutionary process of development operated. That implied a degree of continuity, which would be evident in the persistence of characteristics in settlement forms and patterns through periods of change. It was suggested that even in times of major discontinuity, some robust features would remain from previous periods.

The second set of hypotheses asserted that the dynamics of the evolutionary process were the interactions of successive generations with the environment. These interactions were partly determined by practical issues of survival within available resources vested in the land, but the exact nature of the interactions would be significantly influenced by the cultural norms and social organisation of the community. This supposes a system of interaction between the environmental resources and the socio-economic organisation of groups of people over time. This does not, however, imply simple determinism, as one important aspect of such a system is human choice, either by a ruling elite, or an aristocratic superior, or by groups of individuals. Points of stress in such sets of relationships would arise when major change became inevitable, either from internal forces in the local

economy, or as the result of contextual changes in the world of which it was part. There would therefore be aspects of development peculiar to certain localities and communities, which would differentiate them from other places. On the other hand, certain broad areas of congruence with other localities sharing similar environmental, social, and economic, characteristics, would probably be found.

In so far as archaeological evidence in field monuments, historical evidence from local family histories, and traditions preserved in the community, can support conclusions about the cultural base of Balquhidder and neighbouring west Perthshire, a hybrid Picto-Gaelic origin appears to have resulted in a Celtic settlement pattern before the medieval period. The territorial structure of medieval and post-medieval Balquhidder strongly supports the fragmentary earlier scenarios. The Celtic dispersed group-farm townships which appear in fifteenth century records persisted as the only form of human settlement until the end of the eighteenth century. The strength of the Celtic tradition appears to have been sufficient to absorb and modify intruding southern culture based, rather remotely by the sixteenth century, in medieval feudalism.

From the highly complex web of history certain important influences for change may be identified. The medieval period witnessed change in tenurial rights, from what appears to have been a tribal, to a bastard feudal system. Nevertheless, hereditary tenure appears to have persisted as a respected tradition protected by the terms of land grants under charters and contracts. The Celtic hierarchy of mormaers, chieftains, tacksmen, tenants, and cottar labourers, remained the model for community

structure. The aristocratic system of tenure and government under the Murrays of Tullibardine and Atholl used that older model as the instrument for controlling the community, and in the early eighteenth century for introducing estate improvements. Even although kinship ceased to be the main foundation of the structure, it remained an important factor in post-medieval territorial groupings. Patterns of social organisation and land-holding survived. One reason for the emergence of such a form of post-tribal organisation may have been its appropriateness to the upland pastoral economy, and to the pattern and form of settlement already developed in the Highlands. Linked to such an hypothesis is the well supported argument for the persistence of the ancient great estates, which must have been inherited by the later aristocratic superiors with mature territorial and tenurial patterns, and customs of government [1].

In Balquhidder, early indications of stress within this modified archaic structure were identified in the late seventeenth century. The final period of medieval colonisation had been replaced, with frequent evidence in estate records, by subdivision of holdings. The new forms of contract for tenancy in the Atholl estates after 1722 indicate concern to improve crops and increase returns from the land. While there was evidence for the cattle trading economy in the Highlands in the sixteenth century, it appears to have become a major activity by the late seventeenth century, peaking probably around 1730. From that time onward the old pastoral system, depending upon communal shieling rights, appears to have been eroded by new grazing patterns. Cash cropping in the form of cattle, flax, and by the third quarter of the century sheep, became the staple activity in the economy.

A spiral process of development appears to have dominated the eighteenth century. The increasing population progressively reduced the area of arable land per family. This led to progressive dependence on market economies outside the district, and also to increasing reliance on the new staple crops of potatoes, capable of high yields on small acreages. In spite of increasing densities, these developments enabled population to continue to expand. The improvement of health care, especially the introduction of inoculation in the later eighteenth century, reduced infant and child mortality.

The first result of this process appears to have been increasing poverty and overcrowding. This was responded to by resettlement programmes which introduced the first move towards nucleation in the settlement system somewhere between 1750 and 1770. This attempt to resolve the problem internally appears to have been reflected in other parts of the region, and in certain estates elsewhere in the Highlands. The relatively modern occurrence of nucleation in areas of traditionally dispersed settlement in Perthshire does appear to support recent theories about the process in earlier periods in lowland Britain [2]. Nucleation may be a natural response when a land use system becomes overstressed. To the first modification in the form of production for the market, was added that of working for wages, the new wage earners living in embryonic villages or crofting townships, often in overcrowded houses.

The countryside remained one of small farms, many still under the old joint tenancy system, until the end of the eighteenth century. However, extensive sheep farming and the move towards engrossment appears to have commenced before 1780.

Although the archaic system persisted, dying out very slowly into the nineteenth century, the modern landscape was at the same time evolving out of it. This, from the point of view of the basic hypotheses, was an important period. Dissolution and synthesis were occurring together, each process fuelling the other. The influence of dominant extended family alliances was an important factor in these changes.

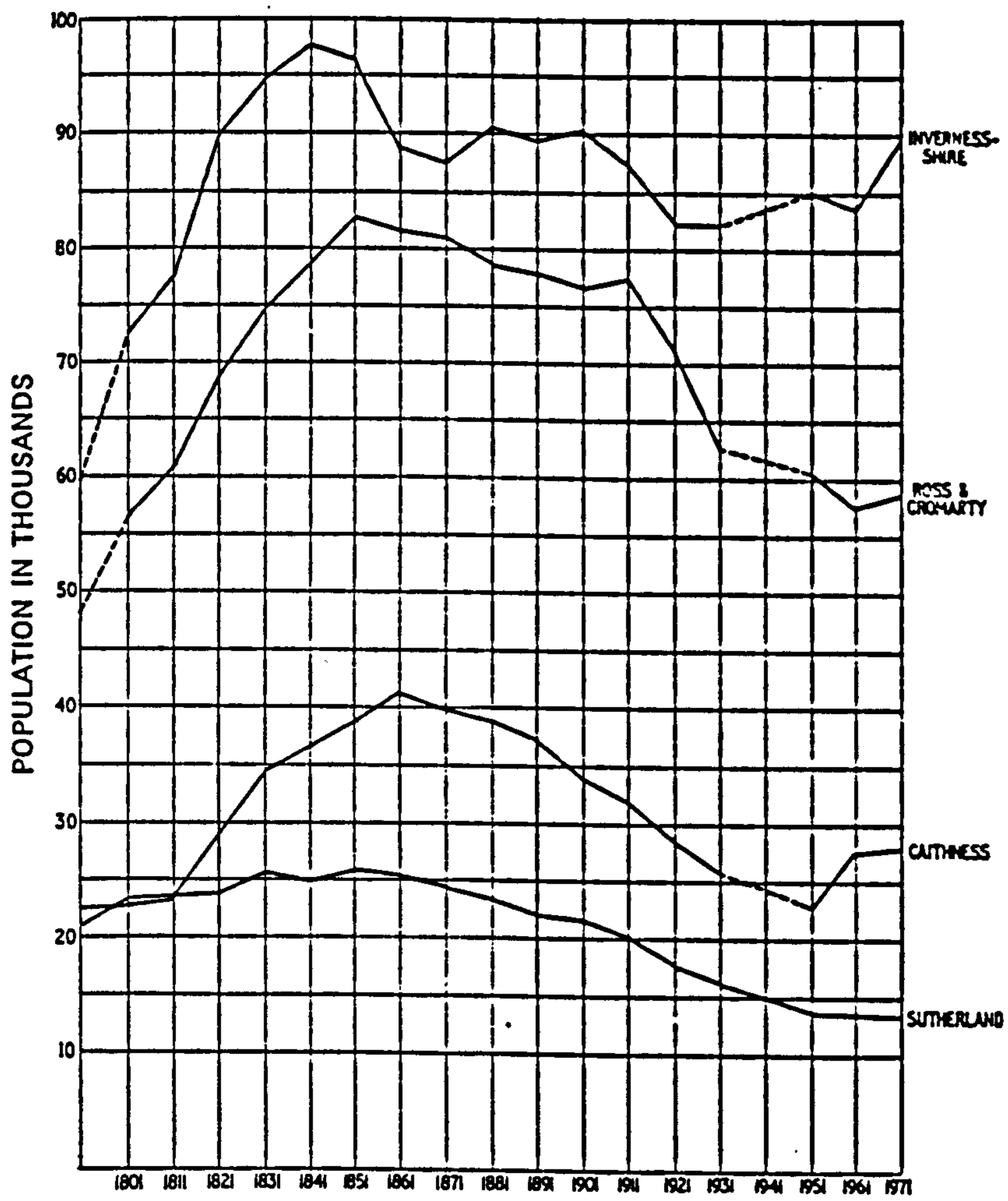
The result was not a complete remodelling of the countryside, but a thinning out of the old settlement pattern. Certain elements of that pattern persisted through a period of social and economic change which was in effect a local agricultural revolution. More conveniently located settlements, within the new enlarged land units, were rebuilt as early nineteenth century farms. Redundant ones were left to fall into ruin, or were destroyed for their stones to build new enclosing walls and folds. A landscape of large, but not overlarge, sheep farms resulted. These survived the various changes in the hill farming economy into the twentieth century. If the outer boundaries of these new enlarged farms are examined, and the deserted settlements contained within them plotted, they will be seen to be envelopes containing the old territorial patterns. There is, therefore, a direct relationship between the medieval and the modern pattern. Economic reasons for the irreversible nature of this process were noticed.

Some relief in the population problem took the form of emigration following the middle of the eighteenth century. Population changes from 1755 to 1851 have been shown to be extremely complex. Land stress was severe in most parts of the north, and in places twice as serious as in Balquhidder. Although

experiencing decline from about 1780 onwards, Balquhidder was also receiving migrant population from other parts of the Highlands. A change in the personnel took place, as well as an overall reduction in numbers. Brief examination of tenurial lists and census records showed that a reversal of fortunes was experienced, some local families appearing as crofters and smallholders, and some incoming families as tenants of major farms. This suggests that at times of major economic and structural change, important shifts took place within the local community structure which are concealed by ordinary statistical analysis.

Wealth and poverty were not only redistributed. During the first fifty years of the nineteenth century the difference between the wealthy and the poor became much greater. Remarks noted from the Old Statistical Account [3], infer that the new levels of income required by the opulent lifestyle of the landowners demanded higher returns from their estates, often in addition to earnings from interests elsewhere. This is supported circumstantially by the development of the Victorian baronial lifestyle of some Balquhidder families.

The change in relationships which resulted, between landlord and tenant, was probably much greater than it had been when Balquhidder became part of the great Atholl estates in the post-medieval period. The concept of land as a commodity to be granted at will by the Crown or a feudal superior in return for service or payment, was part of the change which took place in the middle ages. There was, however, some similarity between the early medieval tribal system of land distribution and that of the feudal age, in spite of fundamental differences in principle. It is suggested that in the nineteenth century a new order of change



Population trends 1755–1971 for the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, and Inverness-shire

ANALYSIS OF POPULATION TRENDS IN THE NORTHERN HIGHLAND COUNTIES FROM 1755 TO 1971, SHOWING THE PEAKS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, RELATED TO THE SEVERE OVERCROWDING WHICH PARTLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE CLEARANCES. THESE PEAKS IN THE NORTH WERE UP TO FIFTY YEARS LATER THAN THOSE IN BALQUHIDDER.

(Nicolson.J.R., 1975.)

Fig.44.

took place, when land became a commodity which could be sold in the market place, and a capital asset. The nineteenth century saw the replacement of the post medieval patriarchal aristocratic system, by the capitalist rural landlord, not necessarily less benevolent, but having a different attitude to his estate. The trend towards that originated in purchase of leases by the use of capital accumulated elsewhere, especially from salaried appointments enjoyed by some eighteenth century principal tenants.

Although Balquhidder experienced a form of planned resettlement internally in the eighteenth century, it escaped a classic programme of clearance such as struck parts of the Highlands between 1814 and 1850. Indications of a probable reason for such differences may lie in population trends. J.R.Nicolson (1975) [4] recorded trends in the population of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, and Inverness-shire, from 1755 to 1971. These differ from the Balquhidder trends in that the populations peaked between 1841 and 1861, without access to the kind of industrial development which took place in Perthshire. Campbell (1910) [5] refers to landlords who, sometimes out of misguided compassion, took great trouble to retain growing numbers of people on their estates well into the nineteenth century. The result was a large impoverished population, and diminishing returns from land which had apparently a greater potential for production if the population could be removed. Impoverished tenants led to impoverished estates. A hypothesis arises, that population crises build up progressively over considerable periods of time, as in Balquhidder, but if the crises are not responded to correctly, a catastrophe point may be reached, with extreme consequences. Campbell's examples are drawn from Breadalbane and

Glenlyon, both Perthshire estates, the former adjoining Balquhidder on the north.

Part of the process of evolution must therefore include the explicit decisions and choices made by those with power to act in response to developments in the economy. This theory must also apply in the negative sense, when no action is taken. In Balquhidder there appears little reason to doubt the importance of landlord control and estate policy, exercised and promoted by the Murray superiors. Policies in the eighteenth century were responding incrementally to changing circumstances. The local policies, and wider example, of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates between 1755 and 1780 were also of critical importance, introducing to Balquhidder the concept of nucleation, as internal relief for overcrowded lands. Sir John MacGregor Murray and his successors, however, appear to have made no attempt to retain a large population. As far as possible they reorganised their estates on a commercial tenancy basis in the interests of economic returns. There was, however, a concern to retain tenants of suitable standing for their farms, but standing and viability, not the retention of indigenous families, was the objective. This concern was evident in the negotiations for higher rents, for example, at Tulloch and Kirkton. Against this argument for concern with profitability, however, must be set evidence for philanthropy in the employment of local people, especially MacGregor clansmen, in estate development. The MacGregor superiors retained their sense of position as clan chiefs. Nevertheless, because of the changed attitudes after 1800, the new landlords probably averted a catastrophic climax to the population problem. It was during their early nineteenth century administration that

the modern settlement pattern synthesised out of the old landscape.

Part of the solution to population needs arose in regional developments. Opportunities for better agricultural development drew some Balquhidder tenants to lowland farms, as a first step in a migratory process. Mechanisation of the textile industry, and other industrial changes, absorbed redundant rural workers. The ubiquitous development of villages and small towns drew many off the land. Seasonal migration for lowland work provided for others. The first steps in migration seem often to have been taken to opportunities not far afield. Two or three stages, probably involving successive generations in families, were not uncommon. Once industrial development moved into large scale enterprises using non-renewable energy sources, however, general regional population decline began. Adjustment to change therefore took four stages. First, internal economic change needed to sustain the old system under new pressures; second, internal rearrangement of the settlement pattern, involving nucleation, and shifts in the centre of gravity of the community towards new road links with the outside world; third, substantial intra-regional migration supplementing earlier emigration which continued; fourth, extra-regional migration to the central lowlands and to England on a large scale.

A less obvious aspect of continuity lies within these adjustments. The rugged life style, and cattle breeding techniques, of the post-medieval and early modern periods, enabled the early emigrants to settle and quickly adapt to life in virgin territories in the north American continent. The importance of emigration overseas in reducing population during the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries has been noted (Chapter 16 pp. 298-302). The adaptability of the agrarian technologies of the Highlanders also enabled farmers to move regionally, following the fortunes of the grazing and fattening business. The strong eighteenth century traditions of the cottage and small scale textile industry also enabled migrants to follow the industry into the new mills of the industrial revolution. Campbell (1910) [6] makes this point quite strongly. There was therefore an investment of skills within the population which were adaptable not only to changing local conditions, but to conditions elsewhere. This suggests a further hypothesis, that the actual timing of significant change is important to the process of development and to the form of opportunities open to populations undergoing change. It could be argued, for example, that the coincidence of settlement requirements in the new territories of Canada, with the population pressures in the Scottish Highlands, was a significant accident of history.

The research has established that the visible remains of settlements in the field, in Balquhidder, do represent holdings belonging to a medieval system. It has not been possible to establish the antiquity of individual remains, but the early rolls and estate papers compared with eighteenth and nineteenth century maps show that the place names and field locations bear witness to an antique pattern. Archaeological investigation showed that one primitive house could be occupied for over a century. Work is needed to begin to investigate the possible evolution of individual settlements. Conservation of sample sites of known antiquity is urgently required if such work is to take place.

The thesis that territorial patterns tend to survive over

many centuries is supported by the study of Balquhidder. Changes in landholding did not create or destroy the land units. At certain times some units were joined together, and some were separated. A shifting pattern of land unit envelopes results from the research. It has already been indicated that the nineteenth century divisions were still of such a kind. The importance of charters and contracts, passing land units to successors or to new owners, has been evident. They are major instruments of continuity. Such legal preservation of parcels must also imply a degree of social stability through the years of change and transition. The twentieth century is witnessing another chapter in this process, as the envelopes created in the nineteenth century are sold for forestry. The patterns persist in the landscape. Balquhidder, therefore, demonstrates in a microcosm the thesis for persistence of estates suggested by students working at larger scales. The role of the great landowner in shaping the processes of development is seen to be important. Not only was he instrumental in conserving the land units, but through estate policy he regulated development and encouraged progressive change. The charters or contracts of lease formed the instruments for that also.

The research has inevitably left many lines of enquiry unexplored. The objective of researching a locality along as continuous a time path as possible has meant that various important bypaths have been rejected. The settlement patterns of Balquhidder have been shown to belong to a complex society, evolving in complicated ways over some four centuries of recorded development. It is inferred that the evolutionary processes must extend back into proto-historic time. Their origins are still

shrouded in antiquity. What is certain is that a mature territorial and settlement pattern existed by the middle of the fifteenth century, which must infer an earlier origin. Archaeological research is necessary to the solution of such problems. More work is needed, with the help of comparative material, to reveal the complexities of economic and demographic change in the seventeenth century. Much more needs to be done to record the morphology of the various settlements which remain accessible, the types of buildings used, and the evolution of the improved farms and houses of the nineteenth century through their vernacular phase to that of more formal architectural development.

The nineteenth century, although the most recent period studied, presented other problems. Records proved difficult to find, many still being scattered in private hands. Searches and enquiries failed to find the architect David Bryce's drawings for Stronvar House, which must have been made circa 1849. None of the Carnegie papers relating to Stronvar were traced. The profile of written records has therefore been erratic, with an abundance of eighteenth century material relating to the Atholl estate's interest dominating the research. The church records proved disappointing, in view of its obvious importance in the cultural development of the community.

There remains the important matter of comparative work. Slight reference was made to findings in Northumberland. Other sources indicate that there may be very strong similarities in processes of settlement evolution in the northern hills of England [7]. One objective of the research was to provide a piece which might ultimately fit into the wider pattern of rural settlement studies in the British uplands. A result of attacking issues in

Perthshire from a base in England has been a growing sense that, in spite of the distinctiveness of localities stressed in the study, there must be common characteristics which demand the breaking down of nationally or regionally confined approaches to research. Local studies of this kind also demand an interdisciplinary or multi-skill approach. The hypothesis that a series of local studies is now needed to establish a more detailed understanding of settlement processes has been reinforced. Broader based works such as that by Dodgshon (1981) [8] now provide a contextual framework for local studies, with possibilities for mutual testing. The general congruence between the research in Balquhidder and west Perthshire, and his wider findings, tends to confirm the usefulness of research across a variety of geographical scales.

A final hypothesis remains. The change from primitive to more advanced forms of rural settlement seen in Balquhidder must be part of a much wider phenomenon. Britain was the first nation to experience the modern agricultural and industrial revolutions. The remote northern and western regions of the British Isles reacted late to these changes. Similar processes are still in progress in other cultures. Land use and tenurial patterns are still changing. Nucleation and urbanisation are still taking place. Demographic and economic circumstances are different from those obtaining in Britain from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and opportunities will not be the same. The question arises, however, about the place of research of this kind within the much larger process of land use and settlement evolution which is still occurring on a much extended time scale, over extended areas of the inhabited world. The author has become conscious of

this factor while supervising researchers from other countries, during these Scottish rural settlement studies. Therefore, in a more abstract sense, a broad attitude may increase understanding of human settlement processes as such, irrespective of local applications.

The similarity of the problem of historical research of this kind across different time scales was also noted in reverse, with regard to problems of pre-history. J.D. van der Waals in a recent paper on discontinuity, cultural evolution, and the historic event [9], suggested that continuity and discontinuity may be considered as functions of the evolution of culture. Continuity is a positively demonstrable phenomenon, depending upon persistence of material or other characteristics. Discontinuity is negatively indicated by the absence of characteristics or artefacts previously evident. He argues that the latter normally indicates moments of crisis in the evolution of a culture. New characteristics may evolve indigenously, be introduced by migration, or be transferred across boundaries. Adoption and modification may occur when hitherto separate culture groups meet and merge. They may be the result of points in socio-economic processes, where a superior technology is introduced to a system, for example. Or they may be the result of historic events brought to bear upon a culture from without, such as war or invasion. In Balquhidder, an argument has been offered for a blending of cultures in the medieval period. The impact of the civil wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was catalytic rather than innovative. They tended to accelerate processes already endemic. They did not, however, produce major discontinuities. These came later as a result of internal and external socio-economic changes.

The main issues and problems of research of this kind do therefore demonstrate certain similarities in principle, whether dealing with pre-history through the medium of archaeologiclal research, or with the continuing evolutionary processes of settlements and societies in the modern age. It would appear that theories of continuity, discontinuity, crisis, and persistence, are central to an understanding of the processes of human settlements and societies in history. As a principle, this appears to transcend time or place, and to permeate every approach to settlement studies.

The importance of detailed analysis of demographic change as a central part of settlement history has become clear. Underlying the normal scope of population history there has been found an intricate web of local and regional changes. Careful analysis of this reveals migrations and counter migrations, including not only numerical change, but changes in the personnel who make up the population. The fortunes of families rise and fall within the economy. Part of the process of migration involves replacement. Individual families may take two or three generations to move from a rural into a mature urban situation. Some never arrive at such a destination, but remain in other rural areas. Physical conditions were not necessarily improved by the creation of nucleated settlements, and many who moved into the new villages or small towns suffered severe overcrowding. The rural slum must be seen as part of the problem of population growth and movement. This points to a further field of interest, in the socio-economic and physical history of the development of village and urban communities in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It must be concluded that research into the process of evolution of local communities

over extensive periods of time is a necessary first step towards specialised local studies. The Balquhidder project, therefore, cannot be seen as a finite research programme. It leaves open questions in several directions for further investigation.

****

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 19.

1. Dodgshon.R.A. "Land and Society in Early Scotland." Clarendon, Oxford. 1981. Chapters 3 & 4. pp.58 - 140.

2. Roberts.B.K. "Nucleation and Dispersion: Towards an Explanation." M.V.R.G. Thirty-first annual report. 1983. pp.44 - 45.

3. Old Statistical Account of Scotland. (Ed. Withrington.D.J. and Grant.R.I.). Wakefield 1977. Vol.XII. pp.145 - 147 and 518 - 520.

4. Nicolson.J.R. "Beyond the Great Glen." David and Charles. London 1975. p.179.

5. Campbell.D. "Reminiscences and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander." Inverness, 1910. pp. 117 - 118 and 184 - 185.

6. Ibid. p.196.

7. Chapman.V. "North Country Farms of the Moorland Fringe Won from the Moor." Beamish I. 1978. pp. 40 -59. (Published by Beamish North of England Museum).

8. Dodgshon.R.A. 1981. Op.cit. Passim.

9. Van der Waals.J.D. "Discontinuity, Cultural Evolution, and the Historic Event." P.S.A.S. Vol.114. 1984. pp.1 - 14.

APPENDIX I.

TABLES ABSTRACTED FROM SOURCES.

This Appendix contains tables relating to the location of settlements in Balquhidder, and to analyses of tenurial, economic, and demographic material. They are intended to supplement narrative material, and diagrams, in the main text, where the reader wishes to extend detail. Tables given in this appendix are, however, brief summaries of data abstracted in the course of research, which in its unabridged form occupies very many pages. So far as possible, that summarised data is arranged to present a chronologically organised picture. Principal sources are estate papers, parish registers, the Old and New Statistical Accounts of Scotland, statistics and rent rolls of the Forfeited Estates, and the Census of Scotland from 1801 to 1861.

TABLE 1. Medieval Holdings in Balquhidder, assigned to William Stewart and Malcolm Maclery in 1480-1487. (Source: Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1480-1487; Vol.9. p.566).

NAME OF HOLDING.	MODERN SPELLING.	O.S.GRID REF.(NN)
Innerlochlain E & W.	Inverlochlarig.	437183
Innercarnag.	Invercarnaig.	460192
Innerreoch.	Imirriabhach.	461188
Monochilmoir.	Monachylemore.	475197
Monochilldischrach.	Monachyle Driseach.	495195
Cragraw.	Craigruie.	496200
Laidcreich.	Ledcreich.	507104
Invernenty.	Invernenty.	455180
Monochiltarach.	Monachyle Tuarach.	476190
Moriligain.	Muirlaggan.	513199
Stronvair.	Stronvar.	529103
Dalnalagane.	Dalanlaggan.	529179
Leanach.	Lianach.	532172
Innertewin.	Immereon.	538173
Dalquhappagach.	Dalquhappagach.	514169
Cragyntulye.	(Extinct)	(Unknown)
Cragintoar.	(Extinct)	(Unknown)
Garochre.	Garachra.	538153
Gartnafoir.	Gartnafuaran.	542203
Stronislany.	Stronslaney.	558198
Ardbeith.	Ardveich.	616244
Glenogle & Achraa.	Glenogle & Achraw.	583248 & 595238
Inneramble.	Edinample.	604228
Fasflair.	(Unknown)	(Unknown)
Videnemble.	(Part Edinample ?)	604288 (?)
Gersplace Daliamble.	Edinample grazings.	(Uncertain)
Daliamble.	Dalample.	605288 approx.
Quarteron.	Carstran.	601225
Latir.	Letters.	575209
Auchanvy.	(Unknown)	(Unknown)

Molendinum de Ambill. Molendinum de Stronewar.
Molendinum de Carnag. Molendinum de Arbreth.

TABLE 2. Lands in Balquhidder assigned to William Stewart and his son Walter Stewart in 1502-1507, with power to have sub-tenants. (Source: Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1502-1507; Vol.12 p.635).

Inverlochlarig E & W.	Gartnafuaran.	Stronvar.
Invercarnaig etc.	Immirriabhach.	Lianach.
Monachyle Disereach.	Monachylemore.	Immereon.
Ledcreich.	Craigruie.	Dalquhappagach.
Dalanlaggan.	Invernenty.	Garachra.
Stronslaney.	Monachyletuarach.	Ardveich.
Cragintoyer.	Muirlaggan.	Glenogle/Achraw.

Molendinum de Ambill. Molendinum de Stronewar.
Molendinum de Carnag. Molendinum de Arbreth.

TABLE 3. Lands in Balquhidder assigned to William Stewart and his son Walter Stewart in 1508-1513. (Source; Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1508-1513. Vol.13. p.633).

Monachyle Driseach.	Monachylemore.	Garachra.
Ledcreich.	Craigruie	Ardveich.
Dalanlaggan.	Invernenty.	Glenogle/Achraw.
Cragintulye.	Monachyle Tuarach.	Inverample.
Stronslaney.	Muirlaggan.	Fasblar.
Cragintoyer.	Stronvars.	Edinample.
Gartnafuaran.	Lianach.	Dalample Grass.
Inverlochlarig E & W.	Immereon.	Dalample.
Invercarnaig.	Dalquhappagach.	Letters.
Imirriabhach.		Auchanvy.

Also listed: Mills of Ample, Stronvar, Invercarnaig, & Ardviech.

NOTE: TABLES 1 to 3. In Tables 2 and 3 the modern or most recent spellings have been adopted. Each list varies slightly in number and order of holdings. In general, however, the townships are listed in geographical groups according to location. This order remains broadly consistent throughout the many documents studied, and seems to reflect a convenient itinerary for a clerk. It is also reflected in the enumeration districts of the 19th century census records. The name Auchanvy appears in various spellings, and seems to evolve into "Ariovy", the name given to a shieling and later shepherd's house at the head of Glenample. Such a location fits the general geographical order of the lists. The source for Table 3 also reveals that the Stewart dynasty in Balquhidder was being secured in lands. John Stewart received Ledcreich, Dalanlaggan, Craigintulye, and Stronslaney. Andrew Stewart received Craingintoyer and Gartnafuaran. The unidentified township of Craigintoyer always appears alongside Gartnafuaran, and was probably located adjacent. There is a ruined settlement a short distance north of Gartnafuaran which has not been identified in later lists or maps. These early lists cover the territory which became part of the Tullibardine Estates in 1587. It should noted that Inverlochlarig was already subdivided, by 1487. Stronvar appears in a plural form by 1513. Other sources use the suffixes "Mor" and "Beag" for these divisions. The inference is for a Celtic partitioning of these holdings in the medieval period as part of the process of partible inheritence.

TABLE 4. Medieval Settlements in Balquhidder According to Other Sources.

NAME OF HOLDING.	SOURCE.	O.S. GRID REF. NN.
Tulloch.	MacLaren 1976.	518207.
Lembar.	MacLaren 1976.	(Unknown).
Lednascriden.	MacLaren 1976.	534209.
Mill of Lednascriden.	MacLaren 1976.	534210.
Kirkton of Balquhidder.	Field Monuments.	536209.
Achleskine.	MacLaren 1976.	543210.
Achtow.	MacLaren 1976.	563209.
Cuilt.	MacLaren 1976.	576218.
Drumness.	MacLaren 1976.	(Unknown).

Table 4. Continued:

NAME OF HOLDING.	SOURCE.	O.S. GRID REF. NN.
Stank.	MacLaren 1976.	582105.
Creagans, alias Croftinterray and Immercrethan.	Major John Stewart of Ardvorlich, from Charter of 1498.	586231.
Coireachrombie.	Atholl MSS. 3. VII. (5).	585096.

(MacLaren, M. "The MacLarens: A History of Clan Labhran." 2nd. edition. Edinburgh. 1976).

TABLE 5. Money Rent per Markland in Pounds Scots in Balquhidder in 1663-1665, Paid by Tacksmen and Sub-tenants, and the Approximate Area in Imperial Acres of Chartered Arable Land. (Source: Atholl MSS. 71.II.B.4. Rentals of Balquhidder 1663-1665. Values in Pounds Scots simplified to decimal places).

TOWNSHIP.	RENT PAID BY TACKSMAN. (Pounds Scots)	RENT PAID BY SUB-TENANT. (Pounds Scots)	APPROX. AREA IN ACRES OF ARABLE.
Group 1. Glenbuckie and the Southeast.			
Stronslaney.	20.00.	(Unknown)	60.
Gartnafuaran.	20.00.	(Unknown)	80.
Immereon.	13.33.	(Unknown)	60.
Lianach.	24.83.	(Unknown)	60.
Stronvar.(2.5 mk.ld)		39.00.	25.
Stronvar.(2.5 mk.ld)		19.72.	25.
Stronvar.(4.0 mk.ld)	8.60.		40.
Group 2. South and Southwest.			
Muirlaggan.	20.00.	(Unknown)	50.
Muirlaggan.(2.5 mk.ld)		16.00.	25.
Monachyle Tuarach.	22.25.	(Unknown)	30.
Invernenty.	20.00.		50.
Invernenty.		32.00.	25.
Invernenty.		32.00.	12.5
Invernenty.		32.00.	12.5
Group 3. The Far West.			
Druimlich. (With Invernenty).		26.64.	12.5
Druimlich. (With Inverlochlarig).		34.29.	35.
Druimlich. (With Inverlochlarig).		34.29.	35.
Wester Inverlochlarig.		34.29.	35.
Easter Inverlochlarig.	18.28.		70.

NOTE. The lands of Invernenty, Druimlich, and Inverlochlarig, were subdivided and portioned in a highly complex way. For example, Donald McIntyre was one of the tacksmen of Invernenty, but also owned the tack of 12.5 acres of Druimlich, which he sub-let.

Dougal MacGregor owned the tack of Wester Inverlochlarig, sub-let to one Gregor MacGregor. Dougal MacGregor, however, was also the tacksman of Muirlaggan and Stronvar. John MacLaurane owned the tack of 12.5 acres of Invernenty and 12.5 acres of Druimlich, and was probably the surviving representative of the MacLarens of Invernenty.

Group 4. The Northwest.	RENT PAID BY TACKSMAN.	BY SUB-TENANT.	ARABLE ACRES.
Invercarnaig.	29.33.	(Unknown)	60.
Immiriabhach.	13.40.	(Unknown)	40.
Monachylemore.	16.00.	(Unknown)	80.
Monachylemore.	8.00.	(Unknown)	50.
Easter Monachyle (Beag).	20.00.	(Unknown)	30.
Craigruie.	13.33.	(Unknown)	60.
Ledcreich.	8.88.	(Unknown)	60.

NOTE. 3 mk. lands. of Monochylemore were rated at 8.00 on account of its being waste.

Group 5. Glenogle and the Northeast.			
Glenogle.	8.80.		75.
Glenogle sub-lets.		20.80.	25.
Glenogle sub-lets.		16.40.	25.
Glenogle East Side.	20.80.	(Unknown)	25.
Achraw.	18.60.	(Unknown)	50.
Half Dalveich & Half Croftnalekin.	23.30.	(Unknown)	25.
Half Dalveich.	24.00.	(Unknown)	25.
Glenbeich.	16.66.	(Unknown)	50.
Carnlea.	22.69.	(Unknown)	60.

NOTE. Carnlea has no money rent entered for 1663-1665. The amount entered in the table is therefore computed from a rental of 1668. (Atholl MSS. 42.II.(i).3.).

TABLE 6. Produce Charged as Casualties in Rentals of Balquhidder in 1663-1665.(Source: Atholl MSS. 71.II.B.4.).

TOWNSHIP.	BUTTER. (Pints)	CHEESE. (Stone)	KIDS.	MEAL. ℓ/ (Boll)	CLOTH. (Els.) ℓ/	WEDDERS.	WINTER KYNE.
Group 1. Glenbuckie and the Southeast.							
Stronslaney.	6.			1.			
Gartnafuaran.	24.	1.			6.		
Mill of Callair.					6.	(For half of the mill).	
Immereon.	4.			4.			
Lianach.	8.	12.		4.		18.	
Dalanlaggan.	6.	4.				8.	
Stronvars.	4.	4.					

Table 6. Continued:

TOWNSHIP.	BUTTER. (Pints)	CHEESE. (Stone)	KIDS.	MEAL. (Bol)	CLOTH. (Els.)	WEDDERS.	WINTER KYNE.
Group 2. South and Southwest.							
Muirlaggan.	8.		8.				
Monachyle T'ch.	2.5		2.5				
Invernenty.	6.	3.	3.			3.	
NOTE. The amount for Invernenty is the total, as far as can be computed, for the whole township.							
Group 3. The Far West.							
Druimlich.	6.		4.				
W. Inv'lochlarig.	4.		4.				
E. Inv'lochlarig.	4.	2.					
NOTE. The amount for Druimlich is the total for the whole township.							
Group 4. The Northwest.							
Invercarnaig.	4.		4.				
Mill of do:					6.		
Immiriabhach.	1.		5.				
Monachylemore.	5.					5.	
Monachylebeg.	10.	3.	4.		6.		
Craigruie.	4.	1.	2.				
Ledcreich.	(None entered, money rent only).						
Group 5. Glenogle and the Northeast.							
Glenogle.	11.					7.	7.
E. Glenogle.	3.					3.	3.
Achintache (sic)	6.					3.	3.
Achraw.				32.			
Dalveich.	2.				2.		
Glenbeich.	*.		*.	(Not quantified in rentals).			
Carnlea.			6.	24.			
Mill of do:				20.			

NOTE. The rental of 32 Bolls of meal for Achraw was under Lord Stormont's earlier rental, but was wholly commuted by the Atholl Estate, according to the rent roll entry.

TABLE 7. Number of Families by Townships as Shown in the Rentals of Balquhidder of 1663-1665 and 1718, for the Part of the Parish in the Atholl & Tullibardine Estate. (Source: Atholl MSS. .71.II.B.4., & 3.XV.)

TOWNSHIP.	1663-1665.		1718.	
	Sub-tenants	Tacksmen	Sub-tenants	Tacksmen
Stronslaney	2	1	1	1
Gartnafuaran	1		7	
Callair Mill Croft			1	
Immereon		1		1
Lianach	2			
Dalanlaggan	4	1		
Stronvar Mor	1	1	3	2
Stronvar Beg	1	1	2	1
Muirlaggan	1		1	3
Monachyle Tuarach	3	1		1
E. Invernenty	1		2	2
W. Invernenty	3	2		2
Druimlich	2		3	1
W. Inverlochlarig	2	1	3	1
E. Inverlochlarig	1	1	5	1
Invercarnaig	2	1	4	1
Immiriabhach		2	5	2
Monachylemore		3	3	1
Monachylebeg	3	2	2	2
Craigruie	2	2	3	2
Ledcreich	2	2	4	1
Glenogle	13	1	10	2
Achraw	(Not recorded)		2	8
Dalveich	4	2	2	2
Croftnalekin				1
Glenbeich		1(?)	3	2
Carnlea	(?)	1	3	3
Mill of Carnlea			1	
COLUMN TOTALS:	50	25	70	43
TOWNSHIPS WITH INCOMPLETE TOTALS:		1	8	13
ADJUSTED TOTALS:	50	24	62	30

NOTE: Tacksmen proved to be in possession of more than one holding have been entered only once in the table. For this reason some townships appear without a tacksman entered.

TOTAL FAMILIES PAYING RENT TO THE ATHOLL & TULLIBARDINE ESTATE:

IN 1663-1665: 74 Families. IN 1718: 90 Families. INCREASE: 17%

TABLE 8. Number of Holdings in the Crown Lands in Balquhidder from 1488-1668. (Sources: Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. Vol.13. 1508-1513. pp.633 & 636; Atholl MSS.3.IX.(24) & (25); 3.IX.57; 71.II.B4; 42.II.(i).3.) (NB. These exclude the Barony of Balquhidder and the Barony of Strathyre).

DATE.	NUMBER OF TENANTED HOLDINGS.
1508.	29
1513.	31
1587.	36
1641.	28
1663.	36
1668.	46

TABLE 9. Average Number of Baptisms per Annum by Decades in Balquhidder from 1718 - 1856. (Source: Balquhidder Old Parish Registers).

DECADE:	1718-1727.	1728-1737.	1738-1747.	1748-1757.	1758-1767.	1768-1777.	1778-1787.
AV. BAPTISM. P.A.	55.1	55.9	48.4	61.5	64.5	67.0	66.3

DECADE:	1788-1797.	1798-1807.	1808-1817.	1818-1827.	1828-1837.	1838-1847.	1848-1856.
AV. BAPTISM. P.A.	46.5	36.6	32.1	26.8	20.8	19.9	11.3

NOTE: Where indicated in the registers, late baptisms have been transferred to the probable year of birth of the child. The decade 1848-1857 is incomplete, as the Registers terminate in 1856; the statistic shown is for an average over nine years.

TABLE 10. Estimated Population, and Baptismal Rates per 1000 Population in Balquhidder from 1718 - 1856 by Decades. (Sources: Population estimates for 1718 to 1747, and 1758-1787, calculated on the basis of maximum and minimum estimates using Regional Estimates by Flinn.M. et al 1977, and the Baptismal Rates from the Old Parish Registers. Population figures for 1755 are from Webster's Census; for 1790 from the Old Statistical Account of Scotland; and from 1801-1851/61 from the Census of Scotland.)

DECADES.	ESTIMATED POPULATION. (Min) BR:40	(Max) BR.35	CENSUS POPULATION. (WebsterV;O.S.A; Census of Scot.)	AVE.ANNUAL BAPTISMS PER 1000 POPULATION. (Following O.S.A. & Census Records after 1787 only).
1718-28	1378	1574		
1728-37	1498	1711		
1738-47	1210	1383		
1748-57			1592	
1758-67	1625	1843		
1768-77	1675	1914		
1778-87	1658	1894		

Table 10. Continued:

DECADES.	CENSUS POPULATION	AVE.ANNUAL BAPTISMS PER 1000 POPULATION.
1787-97	1300	35.78
1798-07	1377	26.58
1808-17	1353	23.76
1818-27	1224	21.90
1828-37	1049	19.83
1838-47	871	22.85
1848-56	874	12.93

TABLE 11. Relationship between the Average Number of Marriages per Annum, and the Average Number of Baptisms per Annum, from 1728-1856. (Source: Balquhidder Old Parish Registers).

DECADES.	AVE. MARRIAGES PER ANNUM BY DECADES.	AVE. BAPTISMS PER MARRIAGE BY DECADES.
1728-37	18	3.33
1738-47	12	4.67
1748-57	12	5.13
1758-67	15.2	4.24
1768-77	18.7	3.58
1778-87	11	5.44
1788-97	12.3	3.78
1798-07	9.2	3.98
1807-17	6.1	5.28
1818-27	5.2	5.15
1828-37	7.6	2.74
1838-47	5.3	3.75
1848-56	6.6	1.55

NOTE. The table cannot represent direct connections between particular marriages and baptismal rates. Its construction relies upon the probability of some degree of correlation resulting from taking relatively wide time bands of ten years for each group of averages. It indicates a distinct decline in total marriages at the close of the 18th century, which coincides with population decline, but a sustained baptismal rate in relation to numbers of marriages until after 1828. There are decreases in baptismal rates per marriage also in the decades 1768-77, and 1788-1807, which appear to have been times of migration and probably of male absentees. High statistical reliability in detail is not attainable from the records.

TABLE 12. Average Annual Marriage Rate per 1000 Population by Decades in Balquhidder from 1728-1856. (Source: Balquhidder Old Parish Registers compared with Population Estimates and Totals as calculated in Table 10).

DECADE.	MARRIAGE RATE PER ANNUM PER 1000 POPUL'N	DECADE	MARRIAGE RATE PER ANNUM PER 1000 POPUL'N
1728-37	13.06		
1738-47	8.01	1798-07	6.68
1748-57	7.54	1808-17	4.51
1758-67	9.35	1818-27	4.25
1768-77	11.16	1828-37	7.24
1778-87	6.63	1838-47	6.08
1788-97	9.46	1848-56	7.55

TABLE 13. Gross Population Densities in Balquhidder and Other Selected Parishes in 1755, 1801, and 1851. (Sources: Webster's Census 1755, and Census of Scotland 1801 and 1851. Areas of Parishes converted from acreages given in the Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland; London 1903; except for Blair Atholl and Kilmadock, which were estimated by measurement from cartographic sources).

PARISH.	AREA IN HECTARES	POPULATION DENSITY IN PERSONS PER HECTARE FOR THE YEARS:		
		1755	1801	1851
Aberfoyle	11,823	0.076	0.060	0.043
Balquhidder	22,722	0.070	0.060	0.038
Blair Atholl	62,678	0.052	0.045	0.033
Comrie	26,036	0.098	0.094	0.095
Callander	21,778	0.080	0.105	0.079
Dublane	7,542	0.362	0.347	0.462
Killin	40,468	(Unkown)	0.050	0.040
Kilmadock	6,993	0.390	0.435	0.432
P. of Menteith	9.550	0.195	0.164	0.149

TABLE 14. Number of Spouses from Parishes Outside Balquhidder which supplied 10 or more Marriage Partners, between 1728 and 1853, as an indicator of Social Contact. (Source: Balquhidder Old Parish Registers).

PARISHES IN RANK ORDER.	MALE SPOUSES	FEMALE SPOUSES	TOTAL SPOUSES
Comrie.	48	63	111
Callander.	47	57	104
Killin.	28	24	52
Kincardine.	10	9	19
Kilmadock.	6	9	15
Kenmore.	4	8	12
P. of Menteith.	5	7	12
Aberfoyle.	8	3	11

TABLE 15. Population Statistics of the Barony of Balquhidder in 1755-56. (Source: Statistics of the Forfeited Estates of Scotland. RH.428. S.R.O.).

SCHEDULE OF FARM TOWNSHIPS IN THE TABLE:
I. Tulloch. II. Lednascriden. III. Kirkton. IV. Auchleskine.
V. W.Achtow. VI. Mid Achtow. VII. E.Achtow. VIII. Cuilt.

FARM.	TENANT FAMILIES	COTTAR FAMILIES	POPULATION BY AGE & SEX 0-9		10-17		18+		TOTAL POPULATION		
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	T
I.	4	3	3	3	3	0	7	10	13	13	26
II.	3	5	3	3	3	0	7	12	13	15	28
III.	3	10	8	6	3	2	13	16	24	24	48
IV.	4	8	3	4	1	1	16	18	20	23	43
V.	3	6	7	1	0	1	9	12	16	14	30
VI.	1	6	6	6	0	3	5	8	11	17	28
VII.	3	2	4	2	0	1	5	9	9	12	21
VIII.	2	5	1	8	1	2	8	13	10	23	33
TOTALS.	23	45	35	33	11	10	70	98	116	141	257

TABLE 16. Agricultural Statistics for the Barony of Balquhidder for 1755-56. (Source: Statistics of the Forfeited Estates of Scotland. RH.428. S.R.O.).

SCHEDULE OF FARM TOWNSHIPS AS FOR TABLE 15.

FARM.	HORSES.	BLACK CATTLE.	SHEEP.	SWINE.	POTATOES. (pecks sown)	FLAX.	SPINNERS.
I.	20	68	100	0	18	4.5	10
II.	16	56	88	0	24	4	14
III.	20	64	112	0	32	6	17
IV.	16	56	88	0	18	8	21
V.	12	41	72	0	19	4.5	13
VI.	12	42	72	0	32	5	8
VII.	12	14	60	0	20	4	10
VIII.	12	42	64	7	44	3	13
TOTALS:	120	410	656	7	207	39	106

TABLE 17. Rents of Farms in the Barony of Balquhidder from 1733 to 1773 in Sterling. (Sources: Drummond MSS; Statistics of the Forfeited Estates of Scotland. RH.428. S.R.O., and Achleskine Papers)

SCHEDULE OF FARM TOWNSHIPS AS FOR TABLE 15.

FARM.	1733			1746			1756			1773			1773 adjusted:		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
I.	10.	15.	5	10.	15.	5.	10.	15.	5.	12.	4.	10.	21.	18.	6.
II.	8.	5.	7.	6.	7.	3.	8.	5.	8.	9.	9.	0.	17.	19.	6.
III.	19.	11.	6.	21.	12.	2.	20.	4.	5.	22.	13.	0.	22.	12.	9.

Table 17. Continued.

FARM.	1773			1746			1756			1773			1773 adjusted:		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
IV.	8.	19.	0.	(missing)			8.	19.	0.	10.	2.	4.	24.	7.	4.
V.	6.	7.	0.	6.	7.	0.	6.	7.	0.	7.	4.	6.	11.	13.	6.
VI.	6.	7.	0.	(missing)			6.	7.	0.	7.	4.	6.	13.	8.	9.
VII.	6.	9.	2.	(missing)			6.	11.	6.	7.	9.	0.	16.	1.	3.
VIII.	6.	9.	2.	6.	9.	8.	6.	9.	2.	7.	6.	10.	13.	7.	6.

NOTE: The table shows a more or less static rent until 1773, when there were some increases. The final 1773 adjusted rents show very large increases, which are due to the removal of thirlage and the valuation of improvements. Farm III, (Kirkton) was adjusted slightly downwards. Its rents included the mill rentals, the value of which were tied to the thirlage system.

TABLE 18. Number of Tenant Families in the Barony of Strathyre from 1748 to 1779. (Sources: Forfeited Estates Papers: E738/1/4; E738/40/2; E777/78. S.R.O.).

FARM TOWNSHIP.	1748	1755	1778/79
Cuiranach.	1	1	2
Stank & Ardnandave.	1	1	1
Laggan.	3	3	4
Stronyre.	1	1	2
Kipp.	4	3*	4
Balliefuill.	1	1**	1
Rusgachan Easter.	1	1	9
Rusgachan Wester.	3	4	7
Immereoch.	1	1*	3
Tyness.	*	*	1
Runiecraig.	1***	1***	5
Ardchullary Beg.	***	***	2
Immervoulin.	3	2	4
Ardoch & Mill	1	**	1

* = Robert Buchanan owned tacks in Kipp, Immereoch, and Tyness. In the table he is included as if resident in Immereoch, which the rentals seem to infer.

** = John Buchanan of Ardoch Mill is given as tenant of Balliefuill, where he is accounted in the table as resident.

*** = Ardchullary Beg was rented to John Buchanan of Runiecraig, where he is shown as resident in the table.

TOTAL TENANT FAMILIES IN STRATHYRE, AFTER COMPENSATING FOR MULTIPLE TENANCIES:	1748	1755	1778/79
	22	21	47

NOTE: Detailed statistics such as survive for the Barony of Balquhidder are not available in Strathyre. The table shows the increase due to resettlement projects in Strathyre after 1755.

TABLE 19. Rentals in the Barony of Strathyre in Sterling. (Excluding casualties). (Source: Forfeited Estates Papers; Estate of Perth; Lands of Arnprior. E/738/1/4. E.738/40/2. E777/78. S.R.O.)

FARM.	1748.			1755.			1778/79.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Cuiranach.	11.	5.	6.	11.	6.	4.	11.	11.	10.
Stank.	13.	10.	10.	13.	10.	10.	13.	5.	10.
Ardindaw.	8.	0.	11.	8.	0.	11.	8.	5.	11.
Laggan.	13.	17.	9.	13.	17.	9.	13.	5.	10.
Stronyre.	9.	1.	1.	9.	1.	1.	9.	9.	3.
Kipp.	11.	2.	2.	11.	2.	4.	11.	14.	1.
Bailliefuill.	11.	2.	2.	11.	2.	2.	12.	8.	7.
Ruskachan.	8.	6.	8.	8.	6.	8.	4.	16.	5.
W. Ruskachan.	8.	6.	8.	8.	6.	8.	6.	6.	4.
Drovers park taken out of W. Ruskachan.							6.	0.	0.
Immereoch & Tyness combined.	7.	15.	6.	7.	18.	10.			
Immereoch alone.							7.	1.	6.
Tyness alone.							1.	5.	6.
Runiecraig & Ardchullary.	13.	6.	8.	13.	6.	8.			
Runiecraig alone.							8.	16.	9.
Ardchullary Beg.							5.	6.	2.
Immervoulin.	13.	6.	8.	13.	6.	8.	13.	4.	10.
Ardoch Bad & Miln.	21.	17.	4.	16.	6.	3.	10.	6.	5.

The table shows the change in rentals due to adjustments in tenancies and removal of thirlage in the 1778/79 accounts. There followed a complete revue, the results of which are shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20. Rent Increases in Strathyre in 1777/78, in Sterling, inclusive of taxes etc. (Source: Forfeited Estate Papers E777/78. S.R.O.)

FARM.	OLD RENT.			NEW RENT.			O.S. GRID
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	REF. NN:
Bailliefuill.	15.	6.	10.	18.	1.	10.	558190.
Ardoch.	11.	5.	8.	13.	5.	8.	560175.
Kipp, One Half.	6.	14.	5.	7.	18.	8.	557161.
Kipp, One Half.	6.	14.	5.	7.	18.	8.	
Stronyre.	10.	12.	7.	13.	4.	1.	557155.
Laggan, One Half.	8.	3.	6.	11.	5.	6.	561146.
Laggan, One Half.	8.	3.	6.	11.	5.	6.	
Ardnadaw.	9.	4.	11.	9.	4.	11.	570139.
W.Ruskachan. Half.	3.	15.	0.	5.	5.	0.	563250.app.
W.Ruskachan. Half.	3.	15.	0.	5.	5.	0.	
Drovers' Park.	6.	0.	0.	6.	0.	0.	
E.Ruskachan. (Subdivided for resettlement by 1778):							563185.app.
	1.	19.	6.	2.	19.	6.	
	1.	8.	6.	2.	8.	6.	
	1.	1.	0.	1.	7.	0.	

Table 20. Continued:

FARM.	OLD RENT. L.	s.	d.	NEW RENT. L.	s.	d.	O.S. GRID REF. NN:
E.Ruskachan contd:	0.	9.	0.	0.	13.	0.	
	0.	4.	0.	0.	7.	0.	
	0.	8.	0.	0.	10.	6.	
	0.	10.	0.	0.	14.	6.	
Immerioch. Third.	2.	14.	1.	3.	9.	1.	561171.
Immerioch. Third.	2.	14.	1.	3.	9.	1.	
Immerioch. Third.	2.	14.	1.	3.	9.	1.	
Tyness.	1.	7.	4.	1.	7.	4.	561169.
Immervoulin. Fourth.	3.	17.	4.	4.	18.	4.	561168.
Immervoulin. Fourth.	3.	17.	4.	4.	18.	4.	
Immervoulin. Fourth.	3.	17.	4.	4.	18.	4.	
Immervoulin. Fourth.	3.	17.	4.	4.	18.	4.	
Runiecraig.	10.	0.	4.	14.	0.	4.	571146.
Ardchullary Beg.	6.	19.	8.	9.	19.	8.	585138.
Stank.	14.	9.	4.	14.	9.	4.	582105.
Cuiranach. Half.	6.	1.	7.	9.	9.	3.	582102.app.
Cuiranach. Half.	6.	1.	7.	9.	9.	3.	

The table illustrates the portioning of Strathyre holdings into the late eighteenth century. In some cases each portion was also shared between two or more tenants. The effect of dividing Easter Ruskachan into smallholdings for resettlement of cottars is also seen in the rentals.

TABLE 21. Migration Into Balquhidder for Marriage. 1728-1853. (Source: Balquhidder Old Parish Registers).

DECADE.	IMMIGRANT SPOUSES AS % OF PEOPLE MARRIED IN PARISH	DECADE.	IMMIGRANT SPOUSES AS % OF PEOPLE MARRIED IN PARISH
1728-37	11.4	1798-07	20.1
1738-41*	21.9	1808-17	23.8
1754-57*	25.5	1818-27	17.3
1758-67	19.4	1827-37	15.8
1768-77	15.8	1838-47	16.0
1778-87	21.8	1848-53	16.7
1788-97*	21.1		

* = Periods of incomplete or defective records. The mean percentage of spouses from outside Balquhidder was 18.96%.

TABLE 22. Migration into Balquhidder in 1851. (Source: Enumerators' Records. Census of Scotland, 1851).

Immigrants from other Highland Districts:	253.	70%
Immigrants from Lowland Districts & England:	80.	22.2%
Immigrants from Ireland.	28.	7.8%
Population native to Balquhidder as a proportion of Total:		57.89%

TABLE 23. Enumeration Districts Used in the 1841 and 1851 Census of Balquhidder. (Source: Census of Scotland; Enumerators' Notes).

Enumeration District 1.	Lochearnhead & N.E.	Area: 15 Sq.Km.
Enumeration District 2.	Strathyre & S.E.	Area: 16 Sq.Km.
Enumeration District 3.	Strathyre on the West Bank of the Balvaig, Glenbuckie, & South side of Loch Voil to Muirlaggan.	Area: 18 Sq.Km.
Enumeration District 4.	West, and North side of Loch Voil to the Kirkton & Achtow.	Area: 62 Sq.Km.
1851 Census E.D.3.	Combined 1841 E.D.3 & E.D.4. West.	Area: 80 Sq.Km.

TABLE 24. Abstracts of Population and Housing Statistics in Balquhidder 1841-1861. (Source: Census of Scotland; Enumerator's Returns).

ABSTRACT OF TOTALS FROM 1841 CENSUS:

E.D.NO:	FAMILIES.	HOUSES.		POPULATION.			GROSS DENSITY. /SQ. KM.
		Inh.	Uninh.	M.	F.	T.	
1.	47	50	3	128	154	282	18.8
2.	55	55	0	102	119	221	13.8
3.	34	36	1	84	84	168	9.3
4.	33	34	3	105	95	200	3.2
For Comparibility with 1851 Census:							
3 + 4.	67	70	4	189	179	368	4.6

ANSTRACT OF TOTALS FROM 1851 CENSUS:

E.D.NO:	FAMILIES	HOUSES.		POPULATION.			GROSS DENSITY. /SQ. KM.
		Inh.	Uninh.	M.	F.	T.	
1.	42	42	0	111	120	231	15.4
2.	63	59	2	115	141	254	15.9
3.	57	57	1	235	152	387	4.8

The Enumerator noted One House under construction in 1851 in E.D.3

OCCUPANCY RATIO OF DWELLINGS IN 1851:

DISTRICT.	AVERAGE PERSONS PER DWG.	AVERAGE HABITABLE ROOMS PER DWG. FROM 1861 CENSUS.
E.D.1.	5.50 Persons Per Dwelling.	3.8
E.D.2.	4.31 Persons Per Dwelling.	2.2
E.D.3.	6.79 Persons Per Dwelling.	4.5

TABLE 25. Population Structure by Age and Sex in Balquhidder in 1841. (Source: Census of Scotland; Enumerators' Returns).

AGE GROUP.	PERCENT POPULATION IN EACH GROUP BY ENUMERATION DIST:							
	ED.1.		ED.2.		ED.3.		ED.4.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
0-9	8.4	7.1	16.0	16.4	10.3	9.1	8.0	10.0
10-19	5.5	5.8	5.0	4.6	11.5	8.5	11.0	10.0
20-29	4.7	8.2	3.7	7.3	9.7	9.7	10.0	9.5
30-39	5.3	6.3	8.2	10.0	6.7	3.0	10.0	8.0
40-49	3.4	3.4	4.6	5.5	4.9	7.9	5.0	4.0
50-59	1.8	4.7	4.6	4.1	3.0	4.2	2.5	2.0
60-69	2.4	3.9	2.7	4.6	2.5	5.5	3.0	3.0
70-79+	1.8	0.8	0.9	1.8	1.8	2.4	3.0	1.0

TABLE 26. Size of Agricultural Holdings in Balquhidder in 1851 by Enumeration Districts, in Imperial Acres. (Source: Census of Scotland, 1851. Enumerators' Returns).

SCHEDULE.	NAME OF HOLDING.	ARABLE ACRES.	PASTURE.	NOTED AS A CROFT.
E.D. 1. NORTHEAST & LOCHEARNHEAD.				
2.	Glenample.		3000	
3.	Edinample.	100	300	
7.	Castran.		400	
11.	Lochearnhead.			Croft.
13.	Lochearnhead.			Croft.
14.	Lochearnhead.			Croft.
17.	Lochearnhead.			Croft.
19.	Lochearnhead.			Croft.
23.	Glenogle.			Croft.
25.	Glenogle.			Croft.
26.	Glenogle.	3		Croft.
29.	Glenogle Farm.	40	1100	
32.	Edenchip Crofts.	6		Croft.
33.	Edenchip Crofts.	16		
34.	Edenchip Crofts.	10		(Weaver)
35.	Edenchip Crofts.	10		
36.	Edenchip Crofts.	10		Croft
37.	Edenchip Crofts.	10		
E.D.2. SOUTHEAST & EAST STRATHYRE.				
49.	Kingshouse Inn.	20	800	
50.	Stronslaney.		170	
52.	Ballafuil.		200	
55.	Immervoulin.	12	600	
61.	Kipp.		200	
62.	Laggan.	20	1500	
63.	Runacraig.	10	690	

Table 26. Continued:

E.D.3. WEST & NORTH, WITH KIRKTON & ACHTOW.

1.	Auchtoomore.	15	800	
3.	Coshanachy.			Croft.
4.	Auchtoo Crofts No.8.	12		
5.	Auchtoo Crofts No.7.	12		
6.	Auchtoo Crofts No.6.	12		
7.	Auchtoo Crofts No.5.	12		
8.	Auchtoo Crofts No.4.	12		
10.	Auchtoo Crofts No.3.	12		
11.	Auchtoo Crofts No.2.	12		
14.	East Achleskine.	14	120	
15.	Mid Achleskine.	14	120	
16.	West Achleskine.	34	165	
26.	Kirkton Farm.	14	1011	
29.	Muirlaggan.	5	700	
35.	Gartnafuaran.	30	200	
39.	Ballanluig.	4		Croft.
46.	Dalreoch.	(Areas not given)		
47.	Dalanlaggan.	20	1000	
48.	Lianach.	20	2000	
49.	Immereon.	(Areas not given)		
51.	Tulloch.	30	1000	
52.	Ledcreich.	15	700	
54.	Monachyle.	40	5500	
55.	Inverlochlarig.	40	7000	
56.	Blaircreich.	4	1400	

The tables demonstrate the dominance of small farms and crofts in the east, and large farms in the west. The very small amount of arable remaining, even in the large units, is an indication of the extent of pastoral farming as the mainstay of the economy.

TABLE 27. Heads of Households, and some Employees where shown, Engaged in Agriculture in Balquhidder in 1841. (Source: Census of Scotland; Enumerators' Returns.)

OCCUPATION.	NUMBERS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE.				PARISH
	E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	E.D.4.	TOTALS
Farmers.	6	3	9	14	32
Crofters.		1			1
Labourers.	69	40	26	44	179
TOTALS:	75	44	35	58	212

NOTE: Returns of employment in 1841 were very incomplete, and the table is no more than an indication of patterns. Returns are by residence, not by workplace.

Table 28. Numbers of Persons Engaged in Agriculture in Balquhidder in 1851. (Source: Census of Scotland; Enumerators' Returns).

OCCUPATION	NUMBERS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	PARISH TOTALS
1. Crofters & Smallholders.				
0-19 Acres.	14	0	9	23
2. Farmers.				
20-49 Acres.	0	0	0	0
50-99 Acres.	0	0	0	0
100-199 Acres.	0	1	3	4
200-499 Acres.	2	2	1	5
500-999 Acres.	0	3	3	6
1000-1999 Acres.	1	1	4	6
2000-4999 Acres.	1	0	1	2
5000 or more Acres.	0	0	2	2
TOTAL IN OWN HOLDINGS:	18	7	23	48
3. Employees.				
Shepherds.	6	2	17	25
Cattle Herds.	4	2	3	9
Labourers.	6	12	18	36
Farm Servants.	6	3	6	15
Dairy Maids.	1	0	0	1
Ploughmen.	4	0	0	4
TOTAL EMPLOYEES:	27	19	44	90
TOTAL ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE:	45	26	67	138

TABLE 29. Occupations other than Agriculture in Balquhidder in 1841. (Source: Census of Scotland, 1841. Enumerators' Returns).

OCCUPATION.	NUMBERS OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN OCCUPATION. E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	E.D.4.	TOTAL.
Army.	1	3	0	0	4
Blacksmith & Smith.	2	0	1	1	4
Carpenter.	1	1	0	0	2
Cattle Dealer.	0	1	0	0	1
Cooper.	0	0	0	1	1
Dressmaker.	1	0	1	1	3
Female Servant.	19	5	14	18	56
Flax Dresser.	0	0	2	0	2
Forester.	1	0	0	0	1
Gamekeeper.	1	0	0	0	1
Grocer & Merchant.	2	1	0	0	5
Hawker.	3	0	0	0	3

Table 29. Continued:

OCCUPATION.	E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	E.D.4.	TOTAL.
Independent Means.	3	5	16	7	31
Innkeeper.	1	3	0	1	5
Joiner.	1	0	0	1	2
Kirk Officer.	0	0	1	0	1
Male Servant.	4	2	0	1	7
Mantlemaker.	1	1	0	0	2
Mason.	0	4	0	0	4
Miller.	1	0	2	0	3
Minister.	0	0	0	1	4
Musician.	1	0	0	0	1
Navy.	1	0	0	0	1
Pauper.	1	2	0	0	3
Piper.	1	0	0	0	1
Shoemaker.	4	5	1	4	14
Spinster.	0	0	0	2	2
Straw Hat Maker.	0	0	0	1	1
Tailor.	0	3	1	2	6
Teacher.	0	0	1	1	2
Toll Keeper.	1	0	0	0	1
Vagrant.	0	0	4	3	7
Weaver: Wool & Flax.	6	3	0	1	10
TOTALS:	57	39	44	48	188

NOTE: The occupation figures for 1841 are based upon heads of households, and upon analysis of the stated relationship of members to the heads. There is therefore a shortfall. Allowing for this, about 23% of the populaation was engaged in occupations other than agriculture.

TABLE 30. Occupations other than Agriculture in Balquhidder in 1851. (Source: Census of Scotland; Enumerators' Returns.)

OCCUPATION.	NUMBERS OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN OCCUPATION.			
	E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	TOTAL.
Builder.	0	0	2	2
Blacksmith.	2	0	2	4
Carter.	1	1	1	3
Clerk of Works.	0	0	1	1
Coachman.	1	0	0	1
Cook.	4	0	1	5
Cooper.	0	0	1	1
Dealer.	0	0	5	5
Domestic Servant.	24	27	32	83
Dressmaker.	1	0	4	5
Drainage Contractor.	0	0	1	1
Gamekeeper.	1	1	2	4
Gardener.	0	0	4	4
Governess.	1	0	0	1
Grocer & Merchant.	2	1	1	4
Housekeeper.	0	3	1	4
Housemaid.	1	0	0	1
Innkeeper.	1	3	1	5

Table 30. Continued:

OCCUPATION	E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	TOTAL.
Joiner.	0	1	8	9
Labourer.	2	9	29	40
Land Steward.	0	0	1	1
Lath Splitter.	0	0	1	1
Laundress.	2	1	0	3
Mason.	0	1	14	15
Midwife.	1	0	0	1
Miller.	1	1	2	4
Minister.	1	0	0	1
Nursery Maid.	1	0	0	1
Pauper.	3	4	3	10
Plasterer.	0	0	4	4
Plumber.	0	0	2	2
Post Boy.	1	0	0	1
Police Sergeant.	1	0	0	1
Quarrier.	0	0	1	1
Sawyer.	0	0	2	2
Shoemaker.	2	1	6	9
Shop Assistant.	1	0	0	1
Stone Blaster.	0	0	1	1
Scholars.	47	56	67	170
Table Maid.	1	0	0	1
Tailor.	1	4	2	7
Teacher.	1	1	0	2
Toll Keeper.	2	0	0	2
Weaver, Handloom.	3	3	2	8
Wright.	1	1	0	2
Retired & Annuitants.	1	11	13	25
TOTALS.	112	130	217	459
TOTALS LESS SCHOLARS:	65	74	150	289

TABLE 31. Places of Birth of the Population of Balquhidder in 1851. (Source: Census of Scotland; Enumerators' Returns).

PLACE OF BIRTH		NUMBER BORN IN EACH PLACE.			
PARISH/TOWN	COUNTY.	E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	TOTAL
Abercorn	Fife	0	0	2	2
Aberfeldy	Perth	1	1	0	2
Aberfoyle	Perth	0	1	1	2
Aloa	Stirling	0	0	1	1
Alva	Inverness	0	3	0	3
Ardnamurchan	Argyll	0	1	0	1
Arrochar	Dumbarton	0	0	1	1
Auchterarder	Perth	0	1	0	1
Auchtergaven	Perth	0	0	6	6
Aviemore	Inverness	0	0	1	1
Balquhidder	Perth	124	183	199	506
Blair Atholl	Perth	2	0	1	3
Buachaille	Argyll	1	0	0	1
Buchan	Dumbarton	0	0	1	1

Table 31. Continued:

PLACE OF BIRTH PARISH/TOWN	COUNTY	NUMBER BORN IN EACH PLACE. E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	TOTAL
Buchlyvie	Stirling	0	0	1	1
Callander	Perth	1	11	12	24
Campbelltown	Argyll	1	0	1	2
Capeth	Perth	0	0	1	1
Carriden	Linlithgow	0	0	1	1
Comrie	Perth	15	7	26	48
Contin	Ross	2	0	0	2
Crieff	Perth	0	0	2	2
Currie	Edinburgh	0	1	0	1
Dalkeith	Midlothian	0	0	1	1
Dull	Perth	1	0	1	2
Dunbarton	Dumbarton	1	0	1	2
Dunblane	Perth	0	0	1	1
Dunkeld	Perth	2	0	1	3
Dunning	Perth	0	1	0	1
Durness	Sutherland	3	0	0	3
Edinburgh	Edinburgh	3	0	2	5
England	-	2	1	1	4
Falkirk	Stirling	1	0	0	1
Forfar	Forfar	0	0	1	1
Fortingal	Perth	0	1	4	5
Fort William	Inverness	1	1	2	4
Girvan	Ayrshire	0	0	2	2
Glasgow	Lanark	2	1	2	5
Glencross	Midlothian	0	0	1	1
Glenelg	Inverness	0	0	2	2
Glenmais	Forfar	0	0	1	1
Glenorchie	Argyll	0	0	1	1
Haddington	Haddingtonshire	0	0	1	1
Helensburgh	Dumbarton	0	1	0	1
-	Inverness	0	0	1	1
Ireland	-	3	2	23	28
Jedburgh	Roxburgh	0	0	1	1
Kenmore	Perth	20	6	3	29
Killcalmonell	Argyll	0	0	1	1
Killin	Perth	28	22	26	76
Killmallie	Inverness	2	1	2	5
Kilmadock	Perth	2	0	4	6
Kilmichael	Argyll	0	0	1	1
Kilmorack	Inverness	0	0	2	2
Kincardine	Perth	0	3	1	4
Kinfaurs	Perth	0	0	1	1
Kingussie	Inverness	0	0	1	1
Kinnettly	Forfar	0	1	0	1
Kippen	Stirling	0	0	4	4
Kirkaid	Peebles	1	0	0	1
Lanark	Lanark	0	0	1	1
Lasswade	Midlothian	0	0	2	2
Lesmahago	Lanark	0	2	0	2
Lismore	Argyll	0	0	1	1
Logierait	Perth	1	1	0	2
Morven	Argyll	0	0	2	2
Moulin	Perth	1	0	0	1

Table 31. Continued:

PLACE OF BIRTH. PARISH/TOWN.	COUNTY	NUMBER BORN IN EACH PLACE. E.D.1.	E.D.2.	E.D.3.	TOTAL.
Muthill	Perth	0	4	0	4
-	Midlothian	1	0	0	1
North Uist	Inverness/Isles	0	0	1	1
Peebles	Peebles	0	0	1	1
Perth	Perth	1	0	5	6
Port of Menteith	Perth	0	1	0	1
Rafford	Elgin	1	0	0	1
Rannoch	Perth	0	1	0	1
Redgorton	Perth	0	0	2	2
Rutherglen	Lanark	0	1	0	1
Ruthven	Forfar	0	0	2	2
St. Ninians	Stirling	1	0	0	1
Stenton	Haddington	0	0	1	1
Stirling	Stirling	0	0	3	3
Stranraer	Wigton	0	0	1	1
Strontian	Argyll	0	0	1	1
Tillicoultry	Clackmannan	1	0	1	2
Weem	Perth	1	0	1	2
Westerkirk	Dumfries	1	0	0	1

NOTE: The construction of the table involved very few enigmas, those mostly due to differences in spellings, wrong assignment to counties, or lack of parish or county. It demonstrates that, apart from the few concentrated places of origin, by 1851 the population of Balquhidder contained people from a very wide range of places.

TABLE 32. Population of Sample Parishes in Perthshire. 1755-1851. (Source: Census of Scotland 1851: Summary Tables).

PARISH OR PLACE:	1755.	1791.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.
Dunblane Town							1911	1816
Dunblane Par:	2728	2750	2619	1733	3135	3228	1450	1397
Totals:							3361	3213
Kilmadock	2730	3209	3044	3131	3150	3752	4055	3659
P. of Menteith	1865		1569	1659	1614	1664	1446	1419
Aberfoyle	895	790	711	601	730	660	543	514
Callander	1750	2100	2282	2042	2031	1909	1665	1716
Balquhidder	1592	1300	1377	1353	1224	1049	871	874
Killin		2360	2048	2160	2103	2002	1702	1608
Blair Atholl	3257	3210	2484	2515	2493	2384	2231	2084
Logierait	2487	2200	2890	3001	3095	3138	2959	2875
Comrie	2564	3000	2458	2689	2614	2622	2471	2463
Muthill	2902	2948	2880	3090	2862	3234	3067	2972
Crieff	1414	2640	2876	3300	4216	4786	4333	4504

TABLE 33. Population of Perthshire 1755-1855. (Source: Census of Scotland 1851. Summary Tables.)

1755.	1791.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.
121612	126411	125583	134390	138247	142166	137457	138660

APPENDIX II.

ABSTRACTS FROM SOURCES.

This Appendix contains nineteen examples of source material, from 1481 to 1820. The abstracts are taken from verbatim transcripts made during the research. They are arranged chronologically, to illustrate the changing nature of the material itself, and in so far as a small sample can do so, to show how advancing approaches to estate management were influencing change in Balquhidder. The research resulted in over four hundred pages of manuscript transcripts, summaries, and tabulated material. It is therefore possible to present only a very small sample. Principal sources are the Atholl Manuscripts at Blair Castle, The Forfeited Estates Papers and Drummond Estate Papers in the Scottish Record Office, The MacGregor of MacGregor Papers in the Scottish Central Region Archives, and smaller collections of private family papers. The samples chosen are all from otherwise unpublished manuscripts.

1. CHARTER OF THE EARLDOM OF ATHOLL, 1481.

(Atholl Chartulary Vol.1. No.53 p.13.)

Extract of Charter by King James the Third under the Great Seal granting for nearness of blood and cordial affection, to his Uncle Sir John Stewart, Lord of Baluarry, Knight, all and whole the Earldom of Athole and lands thereof with the pertintents lying within the sheriffdom of Perth; To be held by him and the heirs male of his body, whom failing to revert to the King and his successors, of the King his heirs and successors in feu and heritage for ever; paying therefor yearly a red rose at Blare, at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in name of blench farm if asked only.

Dated at Edinburgh, 18th March 1481.

2. CHARTER OF LIANACH IN GLENBUCKIE, 1509.

(Atholl MSS. 3.VIII.1.)

6th Feb. 1509.

Charter by King James IV under the Great Seal, in favour of Walter Buchquhannane in free tenement, and Duncan Buchquhannane his son, in fee, heritably, of the Lands of Leonach of Balquhidder and Shire of Perth. Holding to said Walter in free tenement for all the days of his life, & to Duncan his son, & his heirs male, which failing to his eldest heir female without division, of the Crown, in fee and heritage for ever. Rendering yearly for the lands of Leonach 12 pounds Scots, and for the lands of Garraughty 8 pounds Scots; with duplication of the feu duty at the entry of each heir. Dated at Edinburgh 6 February 1509. Witnesses Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Chancellor, William Bishop of Aberdeen, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, Master of the Household, Mathew Earl of Lennox, Alexander Lord Hume, Great Chamberlain, Andrew Lord Grey, Justiciar, George Abbot of Aberbrothok, Treasurer, Mr Gavin Dunbar, Archdean of St. Andrews, Keeper of the Rolls and Clerk of the Council, Patrick Panteir, Rector of Tannades, Secretary, and Robert Colvile of Ochiltre, Director of Chancery.

(Fragment of Great Seal attached).

3. THE LUNDEIS CHARTER OF 1531 FOR CORREQUHORUMBY & LEONACH.

(Atholl MSS. 3,VIII.5.)

Charter by King James V under the Great Seal, in favour of George Hume of Lundeis and Margaret Erskin his wife, and the survivor of them in liferent, and Patrick Hume their second son heritably, of the 30 shilling land of old extent of Correquhorumby, with pertinents, lying in the Lordship of Menteith

and Shire of Perth; the 4 pound land of Leonach and the 4 merkland of Garrauchty, lying in the Lordship of Balquhidder and Shire of Perth; on resignation by Duncan Buchquhanane of Correquhorumby, at Stirling: Holding of the Crown in feuferme and heritage for ever. Rendering yearly for the said lands of Correquhorumby the sum of four pounds 16 shillings 8 pence Scots, for the lands of Leonach, 12 pounds Scots; and for the lands of Garrauchty, 8 pounds Scots. Dated at Stirling 22 March 1531 Witnesses, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor, George, Bishop of Dunkeld, Henry, Bishop of Whithorn, and of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, James, Earl of Moray, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, Master of the Household, George, Earl of Rothes, Malcolm, Lord Fleming, Great Chamberlain, John, Lord Erskine, Patrick, Prior of St. Andrews, David, Abbot of Aberbrothok, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Master William Stewart, provost of Lincluden, treasurer, James Colvile of Est Wemys, Keeper of the Rolls, & Director of Chancery, Mr. James Foulis, Clerk of the Rolls & of the Council.

(Portion of the Great Seal attached).

4. PRECEPT GRANTING GLENAMPLE TO COLIN CAMPBELL IN 1547.

(Atholl MSS. 3.VIII.8.)

Precept of Henry Lord Methven, Superior of the lands of Balquhidder, directed to Archibald Campbell his Baillie, for giving sasine to Colin Campbell second son of Archibald Earl of Argyle, his heirs and assignes, of these 20 pound lands of old extent called Glenambill, with the Island called Illavagrane and their whole pertinents, lying in the Lordship of Balquhidder and Shire of Perth; on Resignation of the said Earl at the Castle of Methven on 28 February 1547, in the hands of the said superior, in favour of the said Colin to be held by him in feuferme and heritage for ever. Dated at the Castle of Methven 15 March 1547. Witnesses, Master David Guthyn, Alexander Naper, William Stewart, John Mowat, Peter Blensele notary public.

(Seal of Lord Methven attached).

5. RESIGNATION OF PATRICK STEWART OF GLENBUCKIE, 1552

(Atholl MSS 3.VII.10.)

Instrument on the Resignation of Patrick Stewart of Glenbuckie and Margaret Lekky his Spouse, in the hands of Henry Lord Methven, Lord of Balquhidder, of the lands of Dalinlagan, Leidcreiche, Schronslanie, Cragyntu;zie, Leinoch, and Garrowchra in the Lordship of Balquhidder, in favour of their son Robert Stewart and his present spouse Katherine Kennedy, to whom sasine was given by the said Lord Methven. Done at Perth on 15 October 1552.

6. CHARTER TO DAVID LORD DRUMMOND FOR THE BARONY OF BALQUHIDDER IN 1558.

(Inventory of Drummond Writs Vol.1. pp.80-86 & Original. Drummond MSS. 25/1 & 25/2 S.R.O.)

Imprimus ane Charter of Confirmation granted by Ffrancis and Mary King and Queen of Scotland wherby ther is confirmed the Charter abov written granted be John Ross of Craigie to David Lord Drummond to be holden of the Queen The Confirmation is dated 8 January 1558.

It: ane extract furth of the books of Councill and session of ane contract dated 2 May 1558 betwixt John Ross brother german & appearand air to umqulls Thomas Ross of Craigie on the ane part and David Lord Drummond and Dam Lilias Ruthven his spouse The 20 lib Land after following viz the Lands of Auchleskin Kirktoun of Balquhidder Lendscriden with the Miln Three Auchintous Lands of Tulloch and Lands of Cult Lying in the Lordship of Balquhidder Steuartry of Strathern and Sherifdom of Perth Registrat in the books of Council and Session 20 May 1558 be Mr James Mackgill Clerk Register.

7. THE TULLIBARDINE CHARTER OF 1587.

(Atholl MSS. 3.VIII.25.)

Copy Charter by King James VI in favour of Sir John Murray of Tullibardine, Knight, and the heirs male lawfully procreated or to be procreated of his body, which failing to his lawful & nearest heirs male whatsoever, bearing the surname and arms of Murray, of the lands, viz:- Innerlochlarg, Eister & Wester Drumlycht, Innercarage, Innereathe, Monochill moir, Monochill Dischart, Craigrourie, Leidcreich, Innerewin, Monchiltuarach, Garrathy, Gartnaforrow, Stronslany, Murlagane. Stronvar, Mekill and Littill Dallinlagan, Leanach, Innernantie, Dalquhappak, Glenogill, Achra, Innerambill, Asblair, Molenambill, Glenambill, Grasplace of Dalambill, Quatero, Latyre, Achinvavir, Balmoir, Ballwilling, Mills of Ambill, Stronvar, Carnage, Arbeytht, and Callour; all lying in the Shire of Perth; which lands belonged to Henry Lord Methven who last deceased, and failing heirs male of his body, reverted to the Crown, conform to Charter of Taillie granted to Henry Lord Methven his father; and erecting the said lands etc. into a free Lordship to be called in all time coming the Lordship of Balquhidder, and ordaining that our sasine taken by the said Sir John and his heirs, at the place commonly called Thombare, shall be sufficient for all the said lands. And that in respect of the payment of 8000 marks by the said John, for the redemption of the Castle, manor and mains of Inchynnane etc belonging to Ludovic Duke of Lennox.

Dated at Falkland 30 July 1587.

8. JOHN, 2ND MURRAY EARL OF ATHOLL, INVESTED WITH THE LORDSHIP OF BALQUHIDDER IN 1648.

(Summary notes from Atholl MSS 3.XI. 60-62, 63, & 64).

(i). A precept from Chancery invested John, 2nd Earl of Atholl, in the lands and Lorship of Balquhidder, on the 15th February 1648.

(ii). Sasine, proceeding on the foregoing precept from Chancery, for infesting John Earl of Atholl in the lands and Lordship of Balquhidder Dated 15th February 1648, Witness David Murray of Kirkhall, Mr Archibald read minister at the Kirk of Balquhidder, Duncan McRobert Stewart in Monocholbeg, Robert Stewart his lawful son and James Stewart in Innerreoche. John Gall is notary.

Registered at Perth 24 March 1648.

9. RENTALS OF BALQUHIDDER, 1663-1665:- SAMPLE ENTRIES FOR GLEN BUCKIE ILLUSTRATING CHARGES AND SUB-DIVISIONS.

(Atholl MSS. 71.II.B4)

	L.	s.	d.
John Stewart has Imereune reckoned in my L. Stormonths rentall as 6.ml. but said John payed in this year gone but 80 merks And in my Lord. S. Rentall it is 100m. & my Lord had ordained it to pay in time coming 20. ye ml.	80	00	00
4 kidds 4 pints butter			
James Stewart Taxman of the 6 ml Lenark His subtenant is Donald M'Muier & John Stewart declare that for half the said 6 ml they pay yearly of money 100m.			
2 kiddes 2 qts butter 6 quarters Cheese & 9 elnes of cloth.			
ffor the whole 6 ml of money yearly	133	06	00
4 kidds yearly butter 4 quarts cheese 3 stone cloth 18 el.			
Donald McMuier payed 50m entries for half Lenark.			
James Stewart taxman of 3 ml of Dalanlagane John Fergusson & Donald McRee pay yearly for 1 half L.90 & for the other half L.32. 6. 8. & John Ferguson gave 50m. of entries Inde of rent yearly & that according to deposition for 3ml of money	72	06	08
2 stone Cheese 2 pts butter 4 ells cloth yearly.			

Duncane Stewart tacksman of half of Dalinlagane
Donald oge McInnier subtenant of a 20s. land gave
50m of entries & pays of money rent yearly 55m.
And Walter Stewart who had other 20s land payed
yearly L.40 money for 40s.l 76 13 04
1 quart butter 2 stones cheese 4 elles
cloth yearly.

(MARGIN NOTE AGAINST DALANLAGGAN ENTRIES:
"It is informed that the cottars that did not come to Strouiane that payed to James & Duncan Stewarts tacksmen fourty four merks money & 16 ells cloth mor nor the former debts.")

10. EXTRACTS FROM BARON COURT RECORDS OF BALQUHIDDER, 1690.

(Atholl MSS. 29.I.(6) 6.)

Court of the Lordship of Balquhidder holden therat the twentie fourth of March 1690 Be ane Noble Lord John Murray, and John Murray of Strowan his lordships Bailie.....

Whilk day the Said Bailly ordained Walter & John Stuarts in Dalinlagan to be fynned in five pounds Scots ilk ane of them (for failing to appear in court, with a penalty of impounding of goods upon failure to pay the fine).....

Ordained Donald Jon & Duncan Ffergussons to repair ye pailling of the park of (blank).....otherwys they are to be fynned each of them five pounds Scots.....and fynned Duncan Stewart the tacksman in twenty pounds Scots for not preserving ye wood as he was required to.....

Lykewise the Sd Baillie ordained ye haill tennants.....and the tennants of Glenbuckie to repair the burn of Dalnalagan to be divided by ye persons appointed by my Lord as overseers on Fryday next for the first day att and follow as the Sd overseers shall appoint. And all ye west of the Countrie are ordained for repairing the burn of Innernante. The overseers for Innernante are as follows. Viz: Malcolm M'Grigor in Craigruie, Duncan McLarane in Innernentie & Alexr Stuart in Gartnaforo. And those for Dalnalaggan John Buchanan in Balfoill, James Stuart in Glenogle, & John Stuart in Dalnalagan. And by virtue hereof ye Sd overseers are appointed to notice that a man out of every merk land come to ye Sd work, And yn any faills ye officer is appointed to poynd to ye value of fourtin pence for ilk days absent.

11. ACT FOR FAIRS AT BALQUHIDDER, 1695.

(Atholl MSS. 3.XI.71.)

Act of Parliament in favour of John Lord Murray for 2 annual fairs to be held in Balquhidder, at Stronvar on July 20th and in Glenogle on November 12th.

Dated 1695.

At Edinburgh the Seventeenth day of July Im cvi & nyntie fyve years Our Sovereign Lord Considering That it is most beneficiall to his Ma'teyes Liedges, and much for the advancement of Trade & Commerce that there be yearly faires, and weekly mercats holden in places fitt to hold the same, And that the town of Stronvar Lyeing within the Lordship of Balquhidder and Shire of Perth, is most convenientlie situate for the merchandizeing in all kind of Country and merchand Commodities that may be thereto brought be whatever persones Therefore His Ma'tie with advice and Consent of the Estates of Parliament Gives and Grants full powers and liberty to John Lord Murray his aires and successors to hold the free faires aftermentioned Viz one free ffair to be hold on yearly at the said town of Stronvar, Lying as aforesaid upon the twentieth day of July to be Called (?) ffair And another free ffair at the said place upon the twentieth day of November yearlie to be called (?) fair And each of the said ffaires to continue the space of three days And Gives and Grants to the said John Lord Murray his aires and successors the haill tolls, Customes, Emoluments, profits, and duties belonging or that are known, by the Lawes and daily practique of this Realm to apportion or belong to any in the lyke Caises; to be Collected and Ingathered by him his Tacksmen Collectors or servants to be appointed be him for that effect Extracted forth of the Record of Parliament by George Viscount of Tarbat, Lord Macleod and Castle-haven & Clerk to the Parliaments, and to his Majestyes Councils Registers & Rolls.

Tarbat et Rogr.

Note The Second ffair is to hold att Glenogle the twelve day of November yearly called Martinmas ffair.

12. MINUTES OF THE TRUSTEES FOR HIGHLAND SCHOOLS, 1707.

(Chartulary of Atholl Vol.I. p.12. 26 May 1707)

The which day the persons afternamed Viz the Right Honble the Earle of Tullibardine principal Secretary of State, Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, Adam Drummond of Meginch, and Robert Stewart of Ardvorlich younger, Trustees nominate by His Ma'stie for erecting Schools and setting of salaries on Schoolmasters in the Highlands of Perthshire, Stirlingshire, and Dhumbartonshire conform to their Letter of Dolation and Gift past under His Ma'sties royal hand of the date the 29th day of February 1696 years upon ane Representation made to them by the Ministers of the parishes of Blair, Mullen, Kirkmichael, Logyrate, Dunkeld, Monzie, and Monivaird.....that out of the bond of L.150 Sterling granted by His Ma'stie out of the rents of the Bishoprick of Dunkeld or any other Bishoprick within this Kingdom conform to the foresaid Letter of Gift there be allcat for erecting of Schools and Schoolmasters' Houses and maintaining Schoolmasters in the respective places aftermentioned the particular sums underwritten Viz:-

Imp. for ane school in Glenalmond to be erected at Newtown the sum of 100 Mks.

Io. for ane School on the March between Glenquaich and Strabran to be erected at Kinloch the like sum of ane Hundred Merks.

Io. for ane School att Ranoch to be erected at Kinloch there the sum of 100 Mks.
Io. for ane School in Glenlyon to be erected at Innerurich the like sum of 100 Mks.
Io. for ane School in Strathfillan in Breadalbane to be erected at Innerchagarny...100 Mks.
Io. for a School in the Center betwixt Glengarie and Glenearchie to be erected at the Kirktoun of Strouan the like sum of 100 Mks.
Io. For a School in Glenshee to be built at the Spittal there the like sum of 100 Mks.
Io. For ane School in Balquhidder to be erected at (blank) the like sum of 100 Mks.
Io. For ane School to be erected at Strouan in Moneyvaird the like sum of 100 Mks.
Io. For ane School to be erected at the Bridge of (blank) in the Parish of Callander the like sum of 100 Mks.
Io. For a school to be erected at port at the east end of Lochearn the like sum.

Following the schedule of Perthshire schools is a resolve to augment schoolmasters' salaries by twenty pounds per annum in the cases of existing posts at Blair Atholl, Mullen, Kirkmichael, Logyrate, Dunkeld, and Fortingal, out of the same funds. Recommendations follow for schools in Dumbartonshire.

13. STANDARD FORM OF TACK BY THE DUKE OF ATHOLL, 1722.

(Minute Book of His Grace Beginning at Michaelmas 1721: Vol.2. p.13. Atholl MSS.)

Form of Tack granted by his Grace
to
His Graces Tennents in Atholl.

Att _____ the _____ day of _____ years It is agreed betwixt the Duke of Atholl _____ on the one and other parts as follows to wit the Duke doth hereby sett in tack to the sd _____ his heirs All and Haill the Town and Lands of _____ with the houses biggings yeards Grazings Sheallings Mosses Muirs and others pertinent theirto belonging as the same are presently possessed by _____ lying within the parish of_____ Regality of Atholl and Sherrifdom of Perth and that for the space of _____ years twixt and immediately after his entrie yrto which is hereby declared to be and begin as follows Viz: to the houses yeards and grass at Whitsunday nixt and to the arable land immediately after the separation of that years crop from the ground and so furth to continue during the space foresaid Which Tack his Grace Shall Warrand him at all Lands_____ for which causes and on the other part the_____ obliges him his heirs excrs and intromitters with his goods and gear whatsomever to pay to the said Duke his heirs and successors or Chamberlains in their name on Tack duty yearly the sum of _____ of silver duty _____ bolls sufficient oat meall _____ bolls good and sufficient Charilate bear _____ wedders

with their flices _____ honey with the wax _____ pultry and _____ loads of peats beginning the first terms of payment of the silver duty at martinmass _____ and of the Victual betwixt yuill and candlemass thereinafter, and of the Sd casualties at the times of payment used and wont and so furth yearly their after during this Tack....

1. And further shall during this Tack free and Relieve his Grace and his foresaids of all Cesses taxations Minsrs and Schoolmasters Stipends and Sallaries and other publick burdens imposed or to be imposed upon the Sd Lands.

2. And shall perform the services of Hosting, Hunting, Watching and Warding Arriages and Carriages and other services used and wont when required thereto.

3. And the Sd _____ obliges him and his foresaids to inclose the Sd Lands by building _____ roods yearly of a sufficient stone dyke or ditch and hedge so that his whole possession may be enclosed within the space of _____ years after his entrie; and after the said lands are so inclosed shall divide the same into three divisions by a sufficient stone dyke or ditch and hedge and keep two of the divisions always under corns and third under grass.

4. And the said _____ obliges him to bring in and laith yearly six firlets sowing at least in the most proper place in the hill or muir adjacent & shall redd and cleanze the same of stones and with these stones to fence in or inclose the same.

5. And shall sow _____ pecks of pease yearly and potatoes and turneeps.

6. And likewise shall plant _____ trees yearly to be delivered upon demand by any of his Graces Gardiners or Wood foresters in the proper season of the year for planting.

7. And the Said _____ obliges him to watter a pairt of his lie ground yearly and in like manner shall within the space _____ years Nixt after his entrie thatch his whole houses and lofts with heather and build a ston or clay chimney in the Sitt house and shall leave the same with the haill dykes and incloses sufficient at the expiring of His Tack His Grace alwise furnishing great timber for the biggings.

8. And further also the Sd _____ obliges him and his foresaids that he and his subtenents cottars and servants or other occupiers of the sd Lands shall not commit thifts or depredations or harbour hound out or resett any thieves or any stolen goods under pain of loosing the benefit of this present tack besides freeing and relieving His Grace and his foresaids of any dammage and expences they may happen to sustain throw any such thifts or depredations to be committed by him his said subtenants Cottars and occupiers of the said Lands or by lose men harbored out hounded or resett by him in manner foresaid.

9. And further the sd _____ obliges him to keep his children at the School of _____ untill the learn perfectly to Speak read and write English and be perfect in their arithmetic.

10. And it is hereby provided and declared that in Case the Sd _____ failzie in punctual payment of the Tack duty yearly at the term of payment at least within fourteen days thereof or shall neglect to inclose build or plant in manner foresaid then and in that case they shall lose the benefit of this present Tack to be cognosed and declared in a Court of the Regality of Atholl Without the necessity of any further declaration any laws or practise to the contrair notwithstanding and besides being liable in the penalty after mentioned and hereto both parties obliges them hincinde to oyrs and the failzer to pay to the observer or willing yrto forty pts. Scotts of liquid ale penalty in case of ffailze atowo performance.

And for encouraging the said _____ to improve the said room and observe the above clauses His Grace obliges him & his successors to make the first offer of the said room at the expiration of this tack to him or his heirs that shall be alive at the time.

NOTE: There follows another model tack which adds obligations to plough and prepare grounds each year for spring sowing, and also to lay marle clay or lime on part of the grounds if any can be found within five miles of the holding and "in case there is none within that space, to manure the room with new ground that has been rested." The second standard form omits shielings from the description, but a note appears in the margin stating that "if there be a shealling following the said lands Sett in Tack it may be only during pleasure." (ie: used as permitted by the Duke).

14. WATER TRANSPORT ON LOCH VOIL, 1736.

(Source: MacGregor of MacGregor of Edenchip MSS. PD/60/49.10).

Account of the Expense of the Boat Built at Balquhidder. Decr. 8th 1736:

	L.	s.	d.
Imprimus to Dicting the Carpenter:	8.	0.	0.
To Dicting the Sawers of the Timber:	5.	0.	0.
Io: In Expensses to Luss:	1.	12.	0.
To Six bigg Nails to the boat:	0.	3.	0.
To the Carpenter of Mony per advanced:	0.	12.	0.
To John McCuil of Wages:	2.	19.	0.
To Duncan Roy for 4 Days Wages:	1.	2.	0.
To Duncan ban McNee for 20 days Wages:	6.	0.	0.
The above acctd. is pd. by Glencarnack amounting to:	25.	8.	8.
To the Carpenters Wages:	15.	0.	0.

(continued)

	L.	s.	d.
To horse hyre to Dunbarton with 26 pints of Tarr at 4d pint 08 pound Weight (?) at 13d from Dunbarton & 4 pound ditto from Allowa at 14d with 200 nails & the lad's Charges going to Dunbarton Amounts in Whole to:	8.	12.	0.
To 2 barrels for holding the Tarr:	0.	14.	0.
To 600 Seaming Rivets & 300 pruk Nails:	9.	12.	0.
To Donald MacLaren of wages for sawing timber:	3.	10.	0.
This acct. of L37. 8. 4. is payd out by Glenbuckie:	37.	8.	4.
of which Old Glencarnock advanced L18.	25.	8.	8.
The Whole Expense Amounts to:	62.	17.	
The One half payd by John Campbell of Glencarnock And the oyr half by Glenbuckie & Glencarnock Esq and each fourth is:	15.	4.	4.
After Count & reckoning for Glenbuckies Share he has payed out extraordinary:	3.	9.	

15. ECONOMIC EFFECT OF PUNITIVE MEASURES AFTER 1745.

(Source: MacGregor of Macgregor of Edenchip MSS. PD/60/49.9.)

January 15th 1756 - Account of Glencarnock Loss by the Burning of his estate and away Carrying his own Cattle and furniture Viz:

		Sterling Moneys:		
Io.	The Mansion house furniture yrof included.	L.150.	0.	0.
Io.	Allow Cattle valued at:	45.		
Io.	the house of Glencarnock the Miln and all the oyr houses and barns upon the Estate being Three hundred and Sixty four couples all at:	813.		
Io.	The Cropt of Innerlocharigmore & beg:	50.		
Io.	My broyr Duncans Whole Cattle & plenishing:	200.		
Io.	Seventy bolls Steel boll Corne & Six Bolls Do Bear Sown & harrowed in the best of the Land valued at:	141.		
		1399.		
Io.	The Rent of the Estate from Martinmas 1744 to Martinmas 1750 Inclusive Casu: always included being (?) yearly rent.	1780.	7.	4.
Io.	Spent of my own proper mony before my surrender upon 18th Septr 1746:	400.	0.	0.
Io.	Spent in Prison from the said 18th Septr 1746 until the 11th Oct 1749:	450.	0.	0.
Io.	My Familye Expense during my Confinement:	150.	0.	0.
		4179.	7.	4.

(continued)

Io.	Interest upon the Rents from Martinmass 1745 until Martinmass 1752:	L.0531.	0.	6.
Io.	Interest upon my personal Expense & my familys keeping from Martinmass 1746 until Martinmas 1750:	350.		
		L.5060.	7.	10.

L.5060. 7. 10.

To my Tennants loss of Cattle Cropts and household furniture as near as it could possibly be computed:	1500.	0.	0.

16. IMPROVING LEASE BY THE COMMISSIONERS FOR FORFEITED ESTATES. 1776.

(Source: Stewart-Adams Family Papers)

Lease.

The Commissioners of Annexed Estates

To:

John McLaren Senr & John McLaren Junr
& Patrick & Robert Stewart
in Lednascriden.

1776.

The Commissioners & Trustees appointed by his Majesty for managing the forfeited Estates In Scotland Annexed to the Crown on the One part and John MacLaren Senior and John MacLaren Junior Patrick Stewart and Robert Stewart in Lednascriden on the Other have contracted as follows Whereas the said Commissioners are authorised to grant Leases of the said Estates or any part thereof for any term not exceeding Forty One Years if the Lessee shall enter into proper Covenants to lay out upon the premisses a sum at least equal to Five years Rent in building and other Improvements within the space of Seven Years from the date of such lease And Whereas it has been certified to the said Commissioners that the said John MacLaren Senior & John MacLaren Junior & Patrick Stewart & Robert Stewart have already expended upwards of five years Rent in building & other Improvements on the lands aftermentioned Therefore the said Commissioners do hereby sett in Tack to the said John MacLaren Senior & John MacLaren Junior & Patrick & Robert Stewart equally between them & their respective heirs the eldest or other Heir female whom the father shall nominate Succeeding without division but secluding Assigneys legale or voluntary & Subtenants All & Whole the said farm and lands of Lednascriden as presently possessed by them & as delineated on a plan thereof drawn by John Leslie land Surveyor Signed by William Barclay Secretary to the said Commissioners and by the said John MacLaren Senr & John MacLaren Junior & Patrick & Robert Stewarts of the respective Dates of the Parties Signing these presents as

relative hereto being part of the Annexed Estate of Perth lying within the Parish of Balquhidder & County of Perth For the term of Forty one Years from their Entry in Virtue of this Lease which is hereby declared to have been as to the Houses Yards & Grass at Whit sunday Seventeen hundred and Seventy five & to have commenced as to the Arable land at the Separation of Crop Seventeen hundred & Seventy five from the Ground Reserving always to the said Commissioners & excepting from this Lease that part of the said farm lately taken off for the Accommodation of the Schoolmaster of Balquhidder and Reserving also full power and liberty to alter the course of the Burn of Balquhidder upon paying such damage as may thereby be done to the lands hereby sett Reserving always a Road through the lands hereby sett from the public road to Loch Voil with the privilege of landing Boats And for encouraging the said John McLaren Senr John McLaren Jnr & Patrick & Robert Stewarts and their foresaids to be Industrious & to keep their Inclosures & Grounds in good Order the said Commissioners do hereby become bound to lay out Annually during the first Twenty one Years of this Lease the Sum of Six Pounds Sterling towards inclosing & Meliorating the said farm conform to the plan before referred to and otherwise Improving the same. For which Causes & On the other part the said John McLaren Snr John McLaren Junior & Patrick Stewart & Robert Stewart Bind & Oblige them their Heirs Executors & Successors to pay to the said Commissioners the Sum of Fourteen Pounds Fourteen Shillings Sterling Money of Tack duty at the term of Martinmas Yearly including therein Minister's Stipend Schoolmaster's Sallary And Also to pay One Pound One Shilling and six pence Sterling of Thirlage at the said term of Martinmass Yearly beginning the first Years payment thereof at the term of Martinmass Seventeen Hundred and Seventy five for the Grass Summer Seventeen Hundred and Seventy five and Crop Seventeen hundred and Seventy six with One fifth part of each term's payment in Name of Penalty in case of failur together with the legale Interest of the said Sums from the terms at which the same fall due until payment They further become bound to pay the Cess of the said lands & to join with the other Tenants in Carrying Materials for building and repairing the Manse, Church, Church Yard dykes of the said Parish And also to carry Forty eight Stone Weight of Bark Yearly when the woods in the Barony of Balquhidder are cutting to the usual places Or in their Option to pay One Penny Eight Twelfths of a Penny Sterling for every undelivered Stone Weight provided if they are not to perform the said Carriage the Shall intimate the same to the Factor on said Estate and the Purchaser of said Woods on or before the first day of July Yearly but to be free of said Carriage or payment of the said Conversions if not demanded within the Year and Where as the said Commissioners have agreed upon certain Rules and Articles for the Improvement of highland farms and for the Encouragement of Tenants upon the Annexed Estates Subscribed by them and Registered in the Books of Council Session the Eighth day of August Seventeen hundred & Seventy four Years a printed copy whereof & a duplicate af'said plan both signed by the Secretary to the said Commissioners have been delivered to the said John McLaren Snr John McLaren Jnr & Patrick & Robert Stewarts & of which they hereby Acknowledge the receipt Thereof the Oblige them and their foresaids to comply with all the said Rules and Articles in the Same Manner as if they were herein verbatim ingrossed Excepting the first Article in relation to Thirlage from which they and their foresaids are hereby

declared to be free Provided always that the Present tack shall become ipso facto void in case it shall be instructed that the said John McLaren Snr John McLaren Jnr & Patrick & Robert Stewarts have already Obtained or Shall hereafter Obtain a Tack or Possession of any other farm upon any of the Annexed Estates in the Name of a Trustee for the use and behouf in whole or in part of them their Heirs or Successors Or in case they or their Heirs shall assign or Subsett by writing or Verbally or by any faction or Connivance whatsoever the Grounds hereby sett in Tack to them or any part thereof Or shall hold the same themselves as Trustees for any other Person Or shall Suffer the same to be adjudged at the Suit of any Creditor Or shall not Occupy Cultivate & be resident upon the said lands Or shall have paid or shall pay or cause to be paid directly or indirectly to or for the use of any Person or persons whatsoever Gratuity or fine or any Annulient or prestation for or in consideration of their Obtaining or holding the lands & others comprehended in this Lease other than the Rent & prestations above expressed Covenanted to be Observed or to be paid and performed to the said Commissioners And Lastly it is hereby Covenanted that both Partys Shall perform to each other their respective parts of this Lease under the penalty of Ten Pounds Sterling to be paid by the Party failing to the Party Observing over and above performance And the said John McLaren Senior John McLaren Jnr & Robert & Patrick Stewarts are also further bound to perform their part of the separate Rules and Articles above mentioned under the penalty of Two Pounds Sterling for each failure over and above performance And both Partys Consent to the Registration hereof in the Books of Council and Session or others competent to have the strength of a Decreet interposed thereto that Letters of Horning on Six days Charge and all other Execution necessary pass thereupon as officers & for that effect they Consulted.

Revised by

Jas Morison
Allan MacDougall

Their Procurator In Witness whereof these presents written on this and two preceeding pages of stamped paper by Colin Campbell Clerk to Allan MacDougall Writer to the Signet Are Subscribed as follows Viz by a Quorum of the said Commissioners At Edinburgh the fourth day of March One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Six Years Before these Witnesses James Morison their first Clerk & the said Allan McDougall and by the said John McLaren Snr and Jnr and Patrick and Robert Stewarts at Kirktoun of Balqr Twenty fifth day of the said month and year Before these Witnesses John Smith Schoolmaster of Balquhidder and Robert Ferguson Writer in Edinburgh of the last place date & Witnesses names & designations.

Allan MacDougall Witness.
Ja. Morison Witness.
John Smith Witness.
Robt Ferguson Witness.

John McLaren.
John McLaren.
Patrick Stewart.
Robert Stewart.

David Ross.
Ch. Hope Weir.
Jo. Campbell.
George Clark Maxwell.
R. Oliphant.

17. ABSTRACT FROM THE COMMISSIONERS' VALUATIONS OF IMPROVEMENTS. DESCRIPTION AND ESTIMATES RELEVANT TO THE LEASE CITED IN 16.

(Source: Forfeited Estates Folio: Value & Estimates. The Improvements of Balquhidder. Achleskine Papers.)

LEDNASCRIDEN. Balquhidder.

Preamble:

Annexed Estates office 27th Nov 1775 this is the plan of the farm of Lednascriden referred to in the lease granted of this date to John & Duncan MacLarans and Patrick & Robert Stewarts.
Signed William Barclay Secretary.

This is the plan of the lands of Lednascriden referred to in the lease of said farm signed by hthe Commissioners of Annexed Estates the 27th Nov 1775 in our favours and signed by us of this date in witness whereof we have subscribed these presents at Callander this 1st day of Febry 1776 before these witnesses Alexr McLaran in Auchleskin & William Shaw of Callendar writer thereof.

Alexr MacLaren	witness.	John McLaren.
Willm Shaw	"	John McLaren.
		Patrick Steuart.
		Robert Steuart.

Lednascriden, joining the west side of the Kirktoun of Balquhidder and north east corner of Loch Voil is a 4 mark land, cess value L.71. 2. 2. One ploughgate possessed by 4 tenants, the soil is gravelly and full of great stones and rocks which prevents a regular tillage until the ground is cleared by inclosing. The farm soes 4 bolls of bear, 20 bolls of oats, 2 years in tillage with 30 Bolls soeing 4 years lay. Stock 16 horses, 40 cows 100 sheep.

The arable of this farm is very full of large stones which not only obstruct ye ploughing but prevents a regular division & obliged one to comply with the request of the 4 tenants to let their division alone, until the dykes be built and the ground thereby greatly cleared of the stones, which they agree to have done within 11 years, and then divide their ground will best admit and remove their houses. This I did because I thought it would be approved of by all of the Hon'bles Commissioners that might know their situation.

By the falling of the burn of Kirktoun and the water of Callart into Balquhidder water so near the mouth of the Loch, which with a very ugly and dangerous bridge stagnats the Loch to the hurt of the Duke of Athols & Earl of Morays vassals in Balquhidder (see the remedy below).

By the above sketch of the mouth of the Loch with the influxes etc 1) is seen the cause of the stagnation. Remedy is 1st bring the burn of Kirktoun from a. into the Loch at b. 2) turn the burn of Callart into a new course from Gartnafouran so as to run into the water about c. 3) remove the many Stone pillars and erect a proper bridge to give safety to travellers & let the Loch run freely.

The 1st remedy will hurt the farm of Lednascriden, who will no other way loss or gain by the Loch.

The 2nd must be by permission of Mr. McLeod of Stroanslane and

The 3rd by the contribution of many.

LEDNASCRIDEN. Estimate of Inclosing:

	Stone Dykes or Sunk Fences.	Ditches & Hedge Borders	Rate per Rood of 6 Ells				
	Roods	Roods	sh.	d.	L.	s.	d.
1. To a head dyke built one & a half yds high anno 1762-1763:	139.5		7	0	48.	15.	0.
2. To half the march dyke with Tulloch built 1771	59.		4	0	11.	16.	0.
Done:	198.5				60.	11.	0.
3. Dyke ye west side ye Kirktoun Burn by ye Road:	28.5		4	6	6.	8.	3.
4. Dyke half yd. east side ye Tulloch March above ye Road:	111.5		4	6	25.	1.	9.
5. Cross dyke at ye back of ye houses to the burn:	78.		4	9	18.	10.	6.
6. Dyke north from the houses to the head dyke:	76.5		4	0	15.	6.	0.
7. Cross dyke below ye head dyke:	72.75		3	10	13.	18.	10.
8. Cross Dyke twixt Foxfield & Oldfield north end:	36.		3	6	6.	6.	0.
9. Foot of the town & both sides of the road:	72.		3	6	12.	12.	0.
10. Dyke south side of road to Tulloch march:	105.		5	6	28.	17.	6.
11. Drain & hedge beside the Kill down to the Loch:		41.	1	5	2.	18.	1.
12. Drum head west side the Hen Croft to the Loch:	40.5		3	6	14.	1.	9.
13. Dyke twixt Fairne-Row & Rockfield:	37.		4	0	7.	8.	0.
14. March dyke with Tulloch continued to the hills	43.		4	0	8.	12.	0.
To be done:	700.75	41.			160.	0.	8.
Already done:	198.5				60.	11.	0.
Totals of dykes (exclusive of houses):	899.25	41.			220.	11.	8.

(NB: In so far as possible the above is a fascimile of the estimate, but fractions have been converted to decimals to suit a modern fractionless printer.)

18. ACCOUNT FOR BUILDING A NEW STEADING AT BAILEFUILL, 1771.
(Source: Forfeited Estates Papers. E738/50/44.(i).

Note of the houses Barns byre & Stables built by deceast Robert Buchanan in Balfuil valued this 21st Jan 1771 by John Hardman Mason in Callander and Duncan Ferguson, wright there:-

To princll or Dwg. House consisting of three Roods & 26 yards for quarrying Loeading & bldg at One Pound fifteen Shillings pr Rood:	L6.	8.	4.
To Two Vents in the Gables:		10.	
To Lime & Sand:	1.	13.	4.
Wood & Workmanship of the Loft in the east end of the house and stair theirto & partition upstairs:	3.	2.	6.
To Pann & Roof Couples to ditto:	3.	7.	6.
To Cabber 10 dozen:	1.	5.	
To Joisting 11 Joists at 2/6:	1.	7.	6.
A Lothian Brase in the Kitchen:		5.	
Inner doors with snecks and hinges:	1.	2.	6.
Main door, locks & hinges, checks, lintols:		15.	6.
Four windows including glass panes:		19.	6.
Laigh Partitions with 1 more door inside:	1.	7.	6.
Cabbers on a loft over the Kitchen:		9.	3.
	22.	13.	5.
7 Couples for the byre at 17/6 each:	2.	12.	6.
Pann & roof being 20 in number for ditto @ 12/-	2.		
32 dozen Cabbers at 2/6 each for ditto:	4.		
Quarrying, Leading, & building the Stone of the Byre yrof being five roods & 15 yds at L2 per rood:	5.	16.	4.
Two doors Checks & Lintols with Snecks & hinges:		16.	
Binding 7 Couples:		7.	
Putting on the Panns Roof & Cabbers:		7.	6.
Stone work of Stable for Quarrying, Leading, & Building being 1 Rood 24 yds at:	1.	16.	8.
Couples Pann Roof & Cabbers of ditto:	1.	10.	
A door checks & Lintoll to ditto:		8.	
	42.	7.	5.

NB. The account is of interest because it indicates the type of improved steadings being built in the Strathyre estate by more prosperous farmers, and also demonstrates the kind of primitive bill of quantities then in use and related accounting skills. It proves that by 1771 houses were constructed by professional craftsmen, not locally resident. Contracted work of this kind may be traced back to the beginning of the eighteenth century in bridge building in Balquhidder.

19. ACCOUNT FOR FORESTRY PLANTING, 1820.
(Source: MacGregor of MacGregor Papers PD60/17).

Account to John Murray McGregor of Landrick Dr to John McIver
Nursery & Seedsman Muthill.

1820. Feb 24.

To 15000 2 year old seedling oaks at 8/-	6.	0.	0.
10000 3 year old seedling spruce at 3/-	1.	10.	0.
5000 2 year old seedling larch at 6/-	1.	10.	0.
5000 2 year old larch 1 year transplanted at 9/-	2.	5.	0.
Paid 4 tolls at forwarding these at 5d each:		1.	8.

1820. March 20.

5000 two years seedling oaks at 8/-	2.	0.	0.
10000 three year old larch 2 yrs transplanted at 15/-	7.	10.	0.
10000 three year old do. 1 yr do. at 13/-	6.	10.	0.
5000 two year old do. 1 yr do. at 9/-	2.	5.	0.
5000 two year old seedling larch at 6/-	1.	10.	0.
	31.	1.	8.
	1.	1.	8.

The above account is the same as ordered of which I have a copy,
Thos. Anderson.
Recieved for money: John McIver.

NB. A note on the reverse states:- "Receipt John McIver Nurseryman for L30. for 70,000 plants put into the ground at Lanrick & Balquhidder Spring 1820." The account indicates the scale of estate development being undertaken in the early nineteenth century, eighteen years before the commencement of building work at Edenchip house.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

PART I. SOURCES.

ARDVORLICH PAPERS. Typescript Volumes, Stewart Society Library, Edinburgh, and Ardvorlich Muniment Room, Perthshire.

ATHOLL MANUSCRIPTS. Blair Castle Charter Room. Blair Atholl, Perthshire.

BALQUHIDDER KIRK SESSIONS RECORDS. Central Region Archives, Stirling.

BALQUHIDDER OLD PARISH REGISTERS. Scottish Registrar General's Office. Edinburgh.

CENSUS OF SCOTLAND. Enumerators' Reports. Scottish Registrar General's Office. Edinburgh.

CENSUS OF SCOTLAND. 1801-1851. Summary Volume 1851. National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh.

DRUMMOND WRITS AND ESTATE PAPERS. Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

EXCHEQUER ROLLS OF SCOTLAND. National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh.

FERGUSSON PAPERS. Fergussons of Blaircreich.

FORFEITED ESTATES PAPERS. Estates of Perth. Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

FORFEITED ESTATES PAPERS. Barony of Balquhidder; Value and Estimates of Improvements 1773-1776. Private Collection, Auchleskine Papers.

MACGREGOR OF MACGREGOR PAPERS (Lanrick & Edenchip Estates). Central Region Archives, Stirling.

NEW STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND. Perthshire. Wm. Blackwood & Sons. Edinburgh & London. 1844.

OLD STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND. 1791-1799. Withrington.D.J. & Grant.I.R. (Ed.) Fascimile Reprint. Perthshire. Vols. XI. & XII. E.P.Publishing. Wakefield. 1977.

STEWART FAMILY PAPERS. Author's family records.

STEWART-ADAMS FAMILY PAPERS. Stewart-Adams Family, Bridge of Allan, Stirling.

PART II. CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCES.

BREADALBANE ATLAS. Plans copied 19th Century from the Breadalbane Atlas. Loch Dochart, RH.5335. Braes of Balquhidder to Strathfillan, RH5335-1. Dirry Darroch to Braes of Balquhidder, RH.5335-2. Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh.

FORFEITED ESTATES PLANS. Cockburn.W. Plan of the Barony of Balquhidder. 1756. RHP.3482. Forfeited Estates Plan No.85. Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh.

FORFEITED ESTATES PLANS. Loch Earn and Auchraw. circa 1750. RHP.964-5. Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh.

GORDON.H. Alongside Loch Lubnaig and the Leny River. 1750. The New Road from Stirling to Fort William. PRO.4085-2. Public Record Office, London.

ROY. GENERAL WM. Maps of the Highlands of Scotland. 1750. Public Record Office, London. Copy in National Monuments Records Office, Edinburgh.

LANGLANDS.G. Lands of Duncan Stewart Esq. Glenbuckie. 1814. RHP.3654. Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh.

MACEWEN.G. Plan of Glenbuckie Estate. 1808. RHP.3369. Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh.

ORDNANCE SURVEY. Perthshire, Balquhidder, 6 inch to 1 mile, Sheet Nos: XCI, XCII, CIII, CIV. 1st Edition 1866, & 2nd Edition 1901. National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh.

STOBIE.G. Map of Perthshire and Clackmannanshire. 1787. RHP.177. Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh.

STOBIE.G. Plan of Glencarnaig and Inverlochlarig Estates. circa 1787. Private Collection. Inverlochlarig Papers.

PART III. PUBLICATIONS REFERENCED IN THE TEXT.

AITKEN.W.G. Excavation of Bloomeries in Rannoch, Perthshire, and elsewhere. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Vol.102. Edinburgh 1969-1970.

BAIN.E.C. A Short Guide to Deserted Settlements in Glen Lednock. Perth circa 1970.

BAINTON.R. The Penguin History of Christianity. Penguin Books. London 1967.

BARBER.J. Commonly Called Rob Roy. London 1977.

BARROW.G.W.S. James the Stewart of Scotland. The Stewarts Vol.XII. No.2. Stewart Society. Edinburgh 1965.

BARROW.G.W.S. Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland. Eyre & Spottiswoode. London 1965.

BARROW.G.W.S. The Anglo Norman Era in Scottish History. Clarendon Press. Oxford 1980.

BEDE. A History of the English Church and People. Translated by L.Sherley-Price. Penguin Books. London 1955.

BINGHAM.C. The Stewart Kingdom of Scotland. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. London 1974.

BLAIR CASTLE OFFICIAL GUIDE BOOKS. Editor: Edgar Osborne, Text by E.I.Musgrave. Pilgrim Press, Derby. circa 1950, and 1980.

BOARDMAN.P. The Worlds of Patrick Geddes. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1978.

BRADLEY.R. The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1978.

BROWN.H. Early Travellers in Scotland. James Thin. Edinburgh 1978.

BRUNSKILL.R.W. Vernacular Architecture of the Lake Counties: A Field Handbook. Faber & Faber. London 1974.

BRUNSKILL.R.W. Vernacular Architecture of the North Pennines. Northern History. Vol.11. 1976.

BUMSTEAD.J.M. The People's Clearances. Edinburgh U.P. 1982.

BURKE'S Peerage. Edition No. 130. London 1963.

BURKE.B. Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire. London 1883.

BURKE.I. The Redefinition of Settlement Pattern, with particular reference to East Central Scotland. Journal of the Town Planning Institute. Vol.XXXVI. No.2. London January 1950.

BURT. Letters from the North of Scotland. London 1754.

CAMERON.D.K. The Cornkister Days: A Portrait of a Land and its Rituals. Gollancz. London 1984.

CAMPBELL.D. The Lairds of Glenlyon: Historical sketches of the lands and people of Breadalbane, Glenlyon, Glenorchy, Rannoch, and surrounding districts, from early times. Clunie Press Reprint. Perth 1984 (First published privately 1886).

CAMPBELL.D. Reminiscenses and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander. Inverness 1910.

CHADWICK.N.K. Celtic Britain. Thames & Hudson. London 1963.

CHAMBERS.J.D. & MINGAY.G.E. The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880. Batsford. London 1966.

CHAPMAN.R.W. (Ed) Johnson & Boswell: A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides. Oxford U.P. 1979.

CHAPMAN.V. North Country Farms of the Moorland Fringe Won From the Moor. Beamish 1. North of England Museum, Beamish, County Durham 1978.

CLAPPERTON.M.C. Scotland: a New Study. David & Charles. London 1983.

COCKBURN.J.H. Parochial Clergy of the Medieval Diocese of Dunblane. Proceedings of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral. Vol.VIII. Part III. Dunblane 1960.

COWAN.S. Three Celtic Earldoms: Atholl, Strathearn, and Menteith. MacLeod. Edinburgh 1909.

DAICHES.D. Glasgow. Granada. London 1977.

DAVIDSON.J.L. & HENSHALL.S. A Neolithic Chambered Long Cairn at Edinchip, Perthshire. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol.113. Edinburgh 1983.

DAVIES.W. An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters. Royal Historical Society. London 1978.

DAVIES.W. Wales in the Early Middle Ages. Leicester U.P. 1982.

DODGSHON.R.A. Land and Society in Early Scotland. Clarendon Press. London 1981.

DODGSHON.R.A. The Nature and Development of Infield-Outfield in Scotland. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. No.59. London July 1973.

DYOS.H.J. The Study of Urban History. Edward Arnold. London 1968.

ELTON.G.R. The Practice of History. Collins, Glasgow 1967.

EVANS.F.J. Trossachs Study. Countryside Commission for Scotland. Redgorton, Perth 1972.

FAIRHURST.H. Rosal: A Deserted Township in Strath Naver, Sutherland. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol.100. Edinburgh 1967-68.

FAIRHURST.H. The Deserted Settlement at Lix, West Perthshire. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol.101. Edinburgh 1968-69.

FAIRHURST.H. The Surveys for the Sutherland Clearances. Scottish Studies. Vol.8. Edinburgh 1964.

FENTON.A. Scottish Country Life. John Donald. Edinburgh 1976.

FLINN.M. Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s. Cambridge U.P. 1977.

FORSYTH.R. The Beauties of Scotland. Vol.IV. (Perthshire). Edinburgh 1806.

FRASER.W. History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, and of their Kindred. Edinburgh 1867.

FRASER.W. The Red Book of Menteith. Edinburgh 1880.

GAFFNEY.V. Shielings of the Drumochter. Scottish Studies Vol.11. Edinburgh 1967.

GAILEY.A. Peasant Houses in the Southwest Highlands of Scotland. Gwerin III 1960-62.

GAILEY.A. The Evolution of Highland Rural Settlements, with particular reference to Argyleshire. Scottish Studies Vol.6. Edinburgh 1962.

GEDDES.P. Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics." Williams & Northgate. London, 1915.

GRANT.I.F. Highland Folk Ways. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1961.

GROOME.F.H. Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography. William MacKenzie. London 1903.

HALDANE.A.R.B. The Drove Roads of Scotland. David & Charles. Newton Abbot 1973.

HENSHALL.A.S. The Chambered Tombs of Scotland. Edinburgh U.P. 1963.

HERON.R. Scotland Delineated, 1799. Reprinted by James Thin. Edinburgh 1975.

HOGG.J. A Tour in the Highlands in 1803. Alexander Gardner. Paisley & London 1888.

HOUSTON.J.M. An Historical Background of Village Development in Scotland. Journal of the Town Planning Institute. Vol.XXXV. No.3. London March 1949.

JENKINS.J.G. Life and Tradition in Rural Wales. J.M.Dent. London 1976.

JOBEY.G. Hill Forts and Settlements in Northumberland. Archaeologia Aeliana. 4th Series No.4. Newcastle upon Tyne 1965.

KNIGHT.G.A.F. Archaeological Light on the Early Christianity of Scotland. James Clarke. Edinburgh 1933.

KNOX.J. A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786. Reprinted by James Thin. Edinburgh 1975.

LAMONT.W.D. Old Land Denominations and Old Extent in Islay. Parts I & II. Scottish Studies 1 & 2. Edinburgh 1957 & 1958.

LEIGHTON.A. (Ed). Wilson's Tales of the Borders. Walter Scott Publishing Co. Newcastle uopn Tyne. circa 1900.

LINDSEY.I.G. & COSH.M. Inverary and the Dukes of Argyle. Edinburgh University Press 1973.

McARTHUR.M.M. Survey of Lochtayside, 1769. Edinburgh 1936.

MACGIBBON.D. & ROSS.T. The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland. Edinburgh 1887-1892.

McKERRACHER.A.C. The Curse of Breadalbane. Scots Magazine. Dundee October 1983.

MACLAREN.D.J. David Dale of New Lanark. Heatherbank Press. Milgnavie 1983.

MACLAREN.M. The MacLarens: A History of Clan Labhran. 2nd Edn. Edinburgh 1976.

MARSHALL.R.K. The Days of Duchess Anne. Colins. London 1973.

MITCHELL.J.F. & MITCHELL.S. Monumental Inscriptions pre 1855 in South Perthshire. Scottish Genealogical Society. Edinburgh 1974.

MORRISON.A. Rural Settlement Studies: Some Recent Work. University of Glasgow (Conference Report). 1980.

MURRAY. JOHN VII DUKE OF ATHOLL. Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families. Ballantyne Press. Edinburgh 1908.

MURRAY.W.H. Rob Roy MacGregor, A Biography. R.Drew. Glasgow. 1982.

NICOLAISEN.W.F.H. Scottish Place Names. Their Study and Significance. Batsford. London 1976.

NICOLSON.J.R. Beyond the Great Glen. David & Charles. London 1975.

PENNANT.T. A Tour of Scotland in 1769. Reprinted by Melven Press. Perth 1979.

POSTAN.M.M. The Medieval Economy and Society. Pelican books. London 1975. (First published 1972).

RAMM.H.G., McDOWELL.R.W., & MERCER.E. Shielings and Bastles. Royal Commission for Historical Monuments. H.M.S.O. London 1970.

RAPOPORT.A. House Form and Culture. Prentice Hall. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1969.

RAPOPORT.A. Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-environment Approach to Urban Design. Pergamon Press. New York & Oxford 1977.

RICHARDS.E. The Leviathan of Wealth. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1973.

RICHARDSON.J.R. The Local Historians' Encyclopedia. New Barnett 1974.

ROBERTS.B.K. Nucleation and Dispersion: Towards an Explanation. Medieval Village Research Group 31st Annual Report. London 1983.

ROSS.A. Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts. Batsford. London 1970.

ROSS.A. Pagan Celtic Britain. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1967.

SAWYER.P.H. English Medieval Settlement. Arnold. London 1972.

SCOTT. SIR W. Rob Roy. Edinburgh 1818.

SMITH.A.M. Jacobite Estates of the Forty-five. John Donald. Edinburgh 1982.

SMOUT.T.C. A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830. Collins. London 1969.

STEWART.G. Stewarts in Old Balquhidder. The Stewarts Vol.XIV. No.2. The Stewart Society. Edinburgh 1976.

STEWART.J. The Stewarts of Ardvorlich. Part I. Bound Typescript. The Stewart Society Library, Edinburgh.

STEWART.J.H. & M.B., CALDWELL.D. & WINGROVE.S. A Highland Longhouse: Lianach, Balquhidder, Perthshire. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol.116. Edinburgh 1986.

STEWART.J.H. Glenbuckie: A Perthshire Tacksman's Estate. The Stewarts Vol.XVII No.3. The Stewart Society, Edinburgh 1986.

STEWART.J.H. Insights into the Building Industry in Eighteenth Century Perthshire. Vernacular Buildings 8. Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group. Edinburgh 1983-84.

STEWART.J.H. The Lands of Balquhidder. The Stewarts Vol XV. No.4. The Stewart Society, Edinburgh 1979.

STEWART.J.H. Vernacular Buildings and the Problem of Settlement Evolution. Vernacular Building 6. Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group. Edinburgh 1980.

STUART.J. Sculptured Stones of Scotland. Aberdeen 1856 & Edinburgh 1867.

STRATTON.J.M. & BROWN.J.H. Agricultural Records AD.220 - 1977. London 1969 & 1978.

TAYLOR.C. Village and Farmstead: A History of Rural Settlement in England. George Philip. London 1984.

THOMAS.D.L. Planning the Design of Settled Topographies. Newcastle upon Tyne. c.1970.

THOMAS.J. The Callander and Oban Railway. David & Charles. London 1966.

TRANTER.N. Population since the Industrial Revolution: The Case of England and Wales. Croom Helm. London 1973.

VAN DE WAALS.J.D. Discontinuity, Cultural Evolution, and the Historic Event. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol.114. Edinburgh 1984.

WARDEN.A.J. The Linen Trade, Ancient and Modern. Longman's. London 1867.

WASHINGTON.G. The Origin of the Stewarts and the Fitz Alans. The Stewarts. Vol.XII. No.2. The Stewart Society. Edinburgh 1965.

WATSON.F. The Braes of Balquhidder. William Hodge. London 1914.

WATSON.W.J. The History of the Celtic Place Names of Scotland. Edinburgh & London 1926.

WEBSTER.A. Census of Scotland in 1755. Scottish Population Statistics, Third Series, 44. Scottish Historical Society.

WITHERS.C.W.J. A Geography of Language: Gaelic Speaking in Perthshire, 1698-1879. Institute of British Geographers, Transactions. New Series. Vol.8. No.2. London 1983.

WITHRINGTON.D.J. & GRANT.I.R. (Eds). Old Statistical Account of Scotland. Vols. XI & XII. Reprinted Wakefield 1977.

WHITTINGTON.G.W. & WHYTE.I.D. An Historical Geography of Scotland. Academic Press. London 1983.

WORDSWORTH.D. A Tour in Scotland in 1803. Reprinted by James Thin. Edinburgh 1974.

PART IV. OTHER PUBLICATIONS RELEVANT TO THE FIELD. (INCLUDING COMPARATIVE MATERIAL)

ALLARDYCE.J. (Ed). Historical Papers relating to the Jacobite Period, 1699-1750. New Spalding Club. Aberdeen 1895.

BARLEY.M.W. The English Farm House and Cottage. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London 1961.

BARROW.G.W.S. Feudal Britain. Edward Arnold. London 1956.

BARROW.G.W.S. Rural Settlement in Central and Eastern Scotland. Scottish Studies. 6. Edinburgh 1961-1962.

BAYNES.J. The Jacobite Rising in 1715. Cassell. London 1970.

BERESFORD.M. & HURST.J.G. Deserted Medieval Villages. Lutterworth Press. London 1971.

BROWN.P.H. General View of the Agriculture of Counties of Scotland. 1st, 2nd, & 3rd. Editions of the Agricultural Surveys on a County Basis. London. 1790-1810.

CAMERON.D.K. Willie Gavin, Crofter Man: Portrait of a Vanished Lifestyle. Gollancz. London 1980.

CAMPBELL.R.H. Scotland Since 1707: The rise of an industrial society. (Second edition). John Donald. Edinburgh. 1985.

CHILDE.V.G. & GRAHAM.A. Some Notable Prehistoric and Medieval Monuments recently examined by the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland. (includes some Perthshire material). Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland. Vol.78. Edinburgh 1942-1943.

CRAWFORD.O.G.S. Archaeology in the Field. Phoenix House. London 1953.

DARBY.H.C. Historical Geography of England. Cambridge U.P. England, 1973.

DEFOE.D. A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain. Reprint, edited by Cole.G.D.H. and Browning.D.C., London 1974.

DICKSON.J. The Agriculture of Perthshire. Edinburgh 1869. Transactions of the Highland Society, 4th Series. ii. Edinburgh 1960.

DUNBAR.J.G. Auchindrain. A Mid-Argyle Township. Folk Life II. 1964.

DUNBAR.J.G. Pitcastle: A Cruck Framed House in Northern Perthshire. Scottish Studies. 4. Edinburgh 1960.

DUNBAR.J.G. Some Cruck-framed Buildings in the Aberfeldy District of Perthshire. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol.90. Edinburgh 1956-1957.

FAIRHURST.H. An Old Estate Plan of Auchindrain, Mid-Argyle. Scottish Studies. 12. Edinburgh 1968.

FERGUSON.J. & FERGUSSON.R.M. Records of the Clan and Name of Fergusson or Ferguson. Clan Ferguson Society. David Douglas. Edinburgh 1895 & supplement 1899.

FORSYTH.R. The Beauties of Scotland. Vol.IV. Edinburgh. 1806.

GRAHAM.A. OF DUCHRAY. Description of Six Perthshire Parishes. 1724. MacFarlane Geographical Collection. i. 334. Scottish History Society. Edinburgh 1906.

GRANT.I.F. The Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603. Oliver & Boyd. London & Edinburgh 1930.

GRAY.M. The Highland Economy 1750-1850. Oliver & Boyd. London 1957.

GRAY.M. Settlement in the Highlands 1759-1950. Scottish Studies. 6. Edinburgh 1962.

GREGORY.D. The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from AD.1493 to 1625. Hamilton Adam & Co. London, & T.D.Morison, Glasgow 1881.

HUNTER.J. The Making of the Crofting Community. John Donald. Edinburgh 1976.

JOBEY.G. Notes on Population Problems in the Area between the Two Roman Walls. Archaeologia Aeliana Series 5th Series. No.2. Newcastle upon Tyne 1974.

MEGAW.B.R.S. The Moss Houses of Kinkardine, Perthshire, 1792. Scottish Studies. 6. Edinburgh 1961-1962.

MILLER.R. Land Use by Summer Shielings. Scottish Studies 2. Edinburgh 1967.

PHILLIPSON.N.T. & MITCHISON.R. Scotland in the Age of Improvement. Edinburgh University Press, 1970.

ROBERTSON.J. General View of the Agriculture of the Southern Districts of the County of Perth. Board of Agriculture, London 1794, 1799, and 1813.

ROSS.A. The Folklore of the Scottish Highlands. Batsford. London 1970.

SMITH.P. (For Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales). Houses of the Welsh Countryside. H.M.S.O., London 1975.

SOUTHEY.R. Journal of a Tour in Scotland in 1819. John Murray. London 1929.

SKENE.W.S. The Highlanders of Scotland. E.MacKay. Stirling 1902.

TAYLOR.C. Fields in the English Landscape. J.M.Dent & Sons. London 1975.

TAYLOR.C. Roads amd Tracks of Britain. J.M.Dent & Sons. London 1979.

THIRD.B.M.W. The Significance of Scottish Estate Plans and Associated Documents. Scottish Studies. 1. Edinburgh 1957.

YOUNGSON.A.J. After the Forty-five: The Economic Impact on the Scottish Highlands. Edinburgh University Press 1973.

YOUNGSON.A.J. (Compiled). Beyond the Highland Line: Three Journals of Travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland. Collins. London 1974.