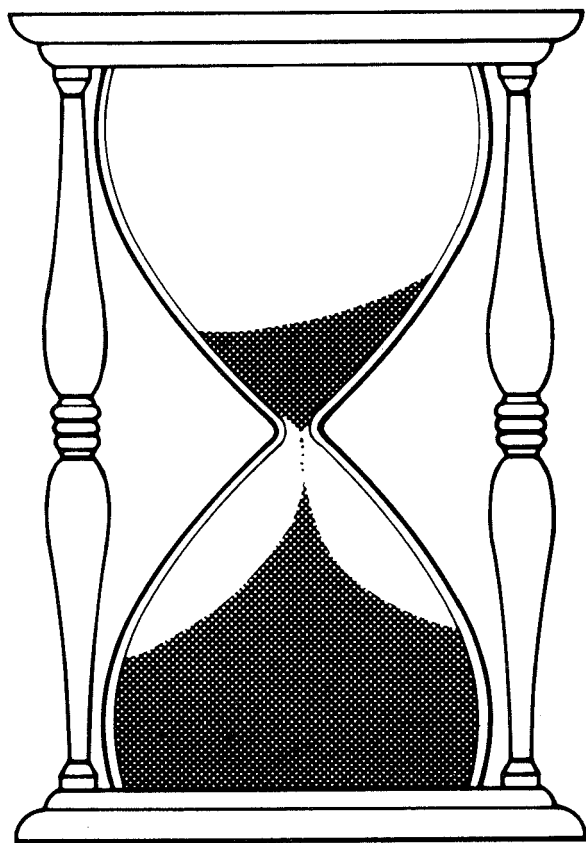


Historical Geography Research Series

Sources for Scottish Historical Geography. An Introductory Guide

I.D. Whyte & K.A. Whyte



Number 6

February 1981

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY RESEARCH SERIES

No. 6

SOURCES FOR SCOTTISH HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
AN INTRODUCTORY GUIDE

by

I.D. Whyte (University of Lancaster)

and

K.A. Whyte (University of Salford)

CONTENTS

	Page
I INTRODUCTION	1
II GENERAL RESEARCH AIDS	4
III SOURCES FOR SCOTTISH HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY	
1. Agricultural Records	10
2. Agricultural Data	11
3. Burgh Records	12
4. Church Records	14
5. Court Records	15
6. Customs Accounts	17
7. Estate Papers	17
8. Fiars Prices	22
9. Fisheries Records	22
10. Industrial and Business Records	23
11. Landownership Records	24
12. Maps	26
13. Newspapers	29
14. Population	30
15. State Papers	33
16. The Statistical Accounts	34
17. Topographical Accounts and Travellers' Journals	35
18. Transport Records	36
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SECONDARY MATERIAL	38

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ag.H.R. Agricultural History Review; J.H.G. Journal of Historical Geography;
N.L.S. National Library of Scotland; N.R.A. National Register of Archives
(Scotland); P.S.A.S. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland;
S.G.M. Scottish Geographical Magazine; S.H.S. Scottish History Society;
S.R.O. Scottish Record Office; S.R.S. Scottish Record Society; S.S. Scot-
tish Studies; T.I.B.G. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers;
T.D.G.N.H.A.S. Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and
Antiquarian Society.

I INTRODUCTION

Scotland retained a separate identity as a nation state until the eighteenth century. Even after the Union of the Crowns in 1603 her political system and economy functioned almost independently from those of England. Following the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 a gradual social and economic convergence with England occurred. Nevertheless, Scotland retained her distinctiveness and continued to preserve many separate institutions including different legal, educational and ecclesiastical systems. Even today many social and cultural features of the country set her apart from her southern neighbour, whether it be the structure of landownership or the character of urban housing, while many decisions regarding internal matters rest in the hands of the Scottish Office rather than with Westminster.

It is not surprising therefore that Scottish historical geography involves problems which are markedly different from those of her neighbours. Progress in the historical geography of Scotland has lagged behind that of England, partly due to the small size of the Scottish academic community. For example there is not the broad base of local and regional scholarship which has contributed so much to the wealth of English historical studies. Scotland has no equivalent of the Victoria County Histories and, while several historical societies have been active from the nineteenth century in publishing and analysing samples of source material, economies of scale have been lacking. There has not been the amount of interpretative and analytical writing which has proliferated south of the Border. This may, in part, have been the result of the centralization of archive facilities in Scotland.

A small country, on the fringe of Europe, Scotland remained unsophisticated and undeveloped compared with her neighbours until the eighteenth century. The backwardness of her society, the unspecialised character of her economy, and the turbulent nature of her history resulted in a belated development of record-keeping, and the destruction of much of the early material which was produced. This situation has, however, been exaggerated, and it has sometimes been considered that insufficient material has survived to allow the study of spatial aspects of Scotland's development before the eighteenth century. That this belief is unfounded can be demonstrated by the vast amounts of pre-eighteenth century manuscript material preserved in the Scottish Record Office and other archives. It is true though that the volume of material tails off rapidly as one penetrates back beyond the sixteenth century. For the early medieval period written sources are indeed scanty compared with England. Scotland has no equivalent of Domesday Book, or the Hundred Rolls and fourteenth-century Lay Subsidies. Nevertheless, there is a good deal of late-medieval material - the records of the pre-Reformation church relating to administration and land ownership for example

- which would repay a detailed geographical study. On the credit side of the balance are sources for which no direct English equivalent exists - the record of land ownership from the early seventeenth century provided by the Register of Sasines for instance. In addition, as evidence of elements of continuity in the Scottish landscape begin to modify our views of the 'revolutionary' transformations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the face of the country itself holds more promise of providing answers to many questions.

This review is designed to provide an introductory guide to some of the most important sources for historical geography in Scotland. With such a broad scope it cannot claim to be comprehensive. Instead, it is designed to serve as a basis for undertaking research at various levels to anyone unfamiliar with Scottish conditions. Firstly, it surveys various categories of source material of potential use to the historical geographer, noting their location and spatial and temporal coverage and mentioning problems involved in working with them. Secondly, reference is made to published and readily available examples of particular types of source which are representative of their genre. Thirdly, published work which has used them to tackle geographical problems, has been cited. The intention is not to provide a detailed guide to published primary sources or modern research. The information given should, however, assist the location of primary sources which are of greatest relevance to a problem or topic of interest, and allow bibliographies of secondary material to be assembled more rapidly. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Scottish sources increasingly converged with English ones. Accordingly, less space has been devoted to material such as parliamentary papers which are essentially 'British' or which are closely comparable with English sources - for example urban directories or census enumerators' books. Emphasis instead has been placed on sources which are distinctively Scottish or which date from before 1707.

LOCATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

As Scotland's institutions differed in the past from those of England and continue to do so at the present, it is not surprising that the organization of archive preservation and storage has developed along separate lines. In contrast to England, Scotland has, until recently, centralized the storage of her public and even some of her private records to a marked degree. The central repository is the Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh. The S.R.O. contains the records of the Scottish government to 1707 and from that time onwards, records of British government departments which were concerned with Scottish affairs, including those which came into being with the creation of the Scottish Office in 1885, and records of Scottish branches of nationalized industries such as British Rail and the National Coal Board. This archive is divided into the original (East) Register House which contains most of the earlier official records. New Register House, immediately adjacent, holds the Scottish parish registers, the Registrar General's records,

and the Census returns and enumerators' books for Scotland. West Register House, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, houses among other things the S.R.O.'s plan collection and the records of the Court of Session.

Unlike England there were, until recently, no county or regional record offices in Scotland. The S.R.O., besides having responsibility for official material, also holds various sources created by official and semi-official bodies at a local level such as sheriff, regality and baron court proceedings, burgh records and kirk session and parish registers whose English equivalents are decentralized to at least county level. In addition, many private muniment collections have been gifted to the S.R.O. or deposited on indefinite loan. This does not mean that no material is available locally; rather that facilities for consultation have not been developed to the extent that has occurred in England. Outside the S.R.O. some larger burghs such as Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the libraries of many universities, have archive departments with organised search-room facilities. Apart from these, material is widely scattered, with varying opportunities for access, in the muniment rooms of landowning families, in the hands of business and industrial concerns, with solicitors, the church and in local libraries. Access to sources in private hands which have been surveyed by the National Register of Archives, (Scotland) may be arranged through West Register House.

The National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh, is the only Scottish copyright library. It is particularly good for Scottish material, having absorbed the earlier Advocates' Library, and it also has an important manuscript collection. Opposite the N.L.S. is the Edinburgh Public Library, the Scottish Library of which has a good general reference section of books, maps and newspapers relating to Scotland. Occasionally material unobtainable in the National Library may be found here, or may be obtained more readily.

The position of archive storage and the provision of services to the public has changed with recent local government reorganization. From 1975 powers have been available allowing regions and districts to provide archive services. Local government districts have scope, if they wish, to appoint archivists, although most districts have so far used local libraries to retain material. At the regional level the position varies considerably. The Strathclyde Region has perhaps gone furthest in organising its archive services. The Glasgow city record office in George Square has now become an archive for the region and has received material from many of the burghs in the Glasgow area. An increasing emphasis is, however, being placed on the storage of material and the provision of facilities at a sub-regional level. Thus, while the records of the old counties of Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, with relatively good access to Glasgow, have been transferred to the regional archive, those for Ayrshire are being stored locally with a record office in Ayr staffed part-time from Glasgow. For the more distant Argyll

and Bute district a local archivist has been appointed with the archive located, provisionally, at Lochgilphead. The Central Region has established an archive and has produced an '*Inventory of Central Region Archives Department*' Stirling 1977. In the Lothian region, Edinburgh city district has taken on responsibility for the region and for the records of two of the districts, while a similar position obtains with respect to Aberdeen and the Grampian region. Archives have also been established by Moray district, and for Orkney and Shetland. Less progress has so far been made in the Dumfries and Galloway, Fife, Highland and Tayside regions.

II GENERAL RESEARCH AIDS

The following section lists various general works which are of use in identifying and locating material of interest, in providing background information on the area of study, and in identifying previous research both on the sources themselves and their interpretation. Most of this material is available on open shelves in the N.L.S. and S.R.O., as well as in university and major public libraries in Scotland.

1. GUIDES TO SOURCE MATERIAL

N.E.S. Armstrong. *Local collections in Scotland*. Scottish Library Association, (Glasgow 1977). An invaluable guide to the broad categories of material held in public and university libraries throughout Scotland.

P. Cadell. Manuscript resources in the National Library of Scotland. *Local Historian*. 11 1975 445-448.

R.H. Campbell and J.B.A. Dow. *A source book of Scottish economic and social history*. Oxford 1968. Contains sample extracts from various sources, mainly eighteenth and nineteenth century in date, relating to agriculture, industry, labour history, housing, social conditions and transport.

I.B. Cowan. The Vatican archives - a report on pre-Reformation Scottish material. *S.H.R.* 48 1969 227-242.

W.C. Dickinson et.al. (eds.) *A source book of Scottish History*. 3 vols. Edinburgh 1952-54. Prints extracts from a variety of sources, including material on social and economic conditions, as well as political affairs. Particularly good for the sixteenth century and earlier.

G. Donaldson. Sources for Scottish agrarian history before the eighteenth century. *Ag.H.R.* 8 1960 82-92.

G. Donaldson. *Scottish historical documents*. Edinburgh 1970. Reproduces documents (mainly political) relating to some of the most important events in Scottish history before 1707.

J. Imrie and G.G. Simpson. The local and private archives of Scotland. *Archives* 3 no.19 1958 219-30.

M. Livingstone. *A guide to the public records of Scotland deposited in the General Register House, Edinburgh*. Edinburgh 1905. Contains brief details of various classes of official and semi-official records.

M.H.B. Sanderson. Sources for Scottish local history - the Scottish Record Office. *Local Historian*. 11 1974 123-9.

J. Steel. *Sources for Scottish genealogy and family history*. Phillimore 1970.

J.M. Thomson. *The public records of Scotland*. Glasgow 1922. The standard guide to public records in the S.R.O. - particularly good for the seventeenth century and earlier.

B. Webster. *Scotland from the eleventh century to 1603*. The sources of history series. London 1975.

2. SOURCE LISTS

The S.R.O. maintains an index of source lists of material held by them, including both private and public records. The topics of some lists are of direct relevance to the historical geographer, and include coal mining, communications, economic history, emigration, the Highlands and Islands, and local history. The N.R.A. has also issued source lists for material in private hands. Copies of these are available in the S.R.O. They include lists relating to business and industrial archives, the textile industries, travel diaries and transport and communications.

3. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

3.1 *Bibliographies of secondary sources* I.H. Adams. *Agrarian landscape terms: a glossary for historical geographers*. *Institute of British Geographers Special publication no. 9* 1976. Contains a bibliography of over 2,000 items, including many works on Scotland.

P.D. Hancock. *A Bibliography of works relating to Scotland 1916-50*. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1960. Volume I is organised by county and region and contains general sections on atlases, maps, guides etc. Volume II is organised systematically by topic.

I.D. Whyte. Scottish historical geography - a review. *S.G.M.* 94 1978 4-23. A review of research and writing with a selected bibliography of work by geographers.

The *Economic History Review* has published a series of bibliographies on Scottish economic history: up to 1931; 3 1931-2 117-37, from 1932 to 1951; 2nd ser. 16 1963-4 147-54, and from 1963-70; 2nd ser. 24 1971 469-71.

3.2 *Annual Bibliographies and Reviews Agricultural History Review* - annual bibliography, with reviews.

Discovery and Excavation in Scotland. An annual publication by the Council for British Archaeology with an extensive bibliography.

Economic History Review. Annual bibliography, with reviews.

Scottish Geographical Magazine. Annual bibliography, with reviews.
Scottish Historical Review. Annual bibliography, with reviews.
Urban History Yearbook. Annual bibliography and reviews of research in progress.

3.3 *General Bibliographies of Primary Sources* H.G. Aldis. A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700. Edinburgh 1970.

F. Gouldesbrough, A.P. Kup and I. Lewis. *Handlist of Scottish and Welsh Record Office publications*. British Record Association. London 1954.

C. Mathieson. *A catalogue of the publications of Scottish historical and kindred clubs and societies 1908-27*. Aberdeen 1928. See C.S. Terry below.

A. Mitchell. A list of travels, tours, journeys, voyages etc. relating to Scotland. *P.S.A.S.* 35 1900-1 431-68.

A. Mitchell and C.G. Cash. *A contribution to the bibliography on Scottish topography*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1917 2 vols. Volume I is divided by county and region, listing historical and topographical material by parish, settlement and locality within each county. Volume II is organised by topic.

C.S. Terry. *Catalogue of the publications of Scottish historical and kindred clubs and societies 1780-1908*. Glasgow 1909. This contains chronological lists of the publications of each club (primary material and secondary articles).

The N.L.S. maintains a large bibliography on Scottish topography indexed by town, county and parish, along with a topic index.

3.4 *Regional Bibliographies* Various regional bibliographies have been published. The most readily available are:-

Bibliography of books and articles relating to Islay. Islay archaeological survey group, London and Bowmore 1971.

N. Craven. *A bibliography of the county of Angus*. Forfar 1975.

J.H. Jamieson and E. Hawkins. *A bibliography of East Lothian*. Edinburgh 1936.

J.F.K. Johnstone. *A concise bibliography of the history, topography and institutions of the shires of Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine*. Aberdeen 1914.

J.F.K. Johnstone and A.W. Robertson. *Bibliographia Aberdonensis 1472-1700*. New Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1929-30. A list of books relating to or printed in the North East.

J. Mowat. *A new bibliography of the county of Caithness*. Wick. 1940.

4. BIOGRAPHY

Rev. T. Thomson (ed.) *Bibliographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*. 6 vols. London 1865.

Dictionary of National Biography. Various editions. 63 vols. and index. London 1885 onwards, with 7 vols. on the twentieth century.

G. Donaldson and R.S. Morpeth. *Who's who in Scottish history?* Oxford 1973.

Ibid. *A dictionary of Scottish history*. Edinburgh 1977.

H. Scott (ed.) *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*. 6 vols. Edinburgh 1883. The succession of ministers of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation.

5. DICTIONARIES

Sir William Craigie (ed.) *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue from the twelfth century to the end of the seventeenth*. 4 vols. plus supplements. Oxford 1937 onwards. Complete to end of letter 'O'.

Scottish National Dictionary. 10 volumes, Edinburgh. 1931 onwards. Lists all Scottish words known to be in use, or have been in use, since c1700.

6. TERMINOLOGY

I.H. Adams. *Agrarian landscape terms: a glossary for historical geographers*. *Institute of British Geographers Special Publication no. 9*. London 1976.

W. Bell. *Dictionary and digest of the law of Scotland*. Various editions Edinburgh 1828-90. The standard reference work for legal terminology.

G. Donaldson and R.S. Morpeth. *A dictionary of Scottish history*. Edinburgh 1977.

7. PALAEOGRAPHY

G.G. Simpson. *Scottish handwriting 1150-1650*. Edinburgh 1973. A comprehensive guide, including examples of styles which continued into the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. From the early eighteenth century most scripts are recognisably modern.

8. PLACE NAMES

W.F.H. Nicolaisen. *Scottish place names: their study and significance*. London 1976. This is the most recent and authoritative survey of the development of place names. It contains a comprehensive bibliography of specialist and local studies.

9. GAZETTEERS

F.H. Groome (ed.) *Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland*. Edinburgh 1882 and subsequent editions. Gives fairly lengthy descriptions of history, antiquities etc. and also gives areas of most parishes before the late nineteenth century boundary changes.

D.L. MacNie and M. McLaren. *The new Shell guide to Scotland*. London 1977. One of the best of modern topographical guides.

R.W. Munro (ed.) *Johnston's gazetteer of Scotland*. Revised edition. Edinburgh 1973. Brief entries but lists a large number of place names.

Ordnance Survey gazetteer of Great Britain. Southampton 1972. Gives national grid references of all places named on the Ordnance Survey 1:250,000 map.

10. ATLASES

P. McNeill and R. Nicholson. *An historical atlas of Scotland c400 - c1600*. St. Andrews 1975. A series of 117 maps with accompanying explanatory notes and references. The maps cover topics such as physical features, the distribution of place name elements and archaeological finds, political, administrative and ecclesiastical boundaries at various periods, the distribution of mottes, tower houses and castles, and the location of religious foundations and their lands.

11. GENERAL HISTORIES

The most comprehensive of recent general histories is the four-volume 'Edinburgh history of Scotland' comprising:-

A.A.M. Duncan. *Scotland: the making of the kingdom*. Edinburgh 1975.

R. Nicholson. *Scotland: the later middle ages*. Edinburgh 1973.

G. Donaldson. *Scotland: James V to James VII*. Edinburgh 1965.

W. Ferguson. *Scotland: 1689 to the present*. Edinburgh 1968.

These volumes are amply footnoted and provide a good introduction to the general sources available for the study of particular periods. Useful single-volume histories include R. Mitchinson. *A history of Scotland*. London 1970 which is particularly detailed for the early modern period. T.C. Smout. *A history of the Scottish people 1560-1830*. London 1969 remains the best general social and economic history.

12. LOCAL SOCIETIES

Although many local archaeological and historical societies exist in Scotland they have not played as prominent a part in publishing local studies as the English and Welsh societies, perhaps due in part to the centralization of much archive material. Publications by nineteenth and early twentieth-century societies are listed in works cited in section 3.3. The more prominent societies which are still producing local transactions include:- Abertay Historical Society. Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Berwickshire Naturalists' Club. Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. East Lothian Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Hawick Archaeological Society. Natural History and Antiquarian Society of Mid-Argyll.

Productions by local societies and local publishers are listed annually in the bibliography of 'Discovery and Excavation in Scotland' (Section 3.2).

13. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

Aerial photographs may be consulted on application to the Scottish Development Department, York Buildings, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

14. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND HISTORIC BUILDINGS

14.1 *Archaeological Sites* The Ordnance Survey, 43 Rose Street, Edinburgh, formerly held an index of all archaeological sites identified by them in Scotland, related to the 1:10,560 map series. This is in the process of being transferred to the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments, 54 Melville Street, Edinburgh. General guides - E.W. MacKie. *Scotland - an archaeological guide*. London 1975 contains an up-to-date bibliography. Outlines of excavations in progress, and of surveys, chance finds etc. are given annually in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*. Full reports of many Scottish excavations are published in the annual *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, while others appear in local society transactions (see section 12). The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland: volumes covering antiquities and historic sites have been published for some 20 counties, mainly in Southern, Central and Northern Scotland from 1911 onwards.

14.2 *Architecture* Two old but standard works are:-

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross. *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland from the twelfth to the eighteenth century*. Edinburgh 1887 5 vols.

Ibid. *The ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland from the earliest Christian times to the seventeenth century*. Edinburgh 1896 3 vols.

More recent guides include:-

J.G. Dunbar. *The historic architecture of Scotland*. London 1966.

G. Hay. *The architecture of Scotland*. London 1977.

H. Petzch. *Architecture in Scotland*. London 1971.

The National Monuments Record, 54 Melville Street, Edinburgh, has a collection of photographs and plans of archaeological and architectural interest. The National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh, has a large library of books, photographs etc. relating to Scottish archaeology and architecture.

14.2 *vernacular Architecture* R. de Z. Hall. *A bibliography on vernacular architecture*. Newton Abbot. 1972. Contains sections on Scotland.

A. Fenton and B. Walker. *The rural architecture of Scotland*. Edinburgh 1981 is the most important recent study.

Virtually no examples of vernacular building in the countryside have survived from before the early eighteenth century, though many burghs contain examples of houses from the seventeenth and even the late sixteenth centuries. For rural housing, manuscript estate plans and estate papers form an important, and only partly explored, sources. See. I.D. Whyte (1975) and B. Walker (1979). Few rural settlement sites of medieval and later date have been excavated and urban archaeology is a fairly recent development (N.P. Brooks 1977; I.A. Crawford and R. Switsur, 1977). Work on Scottish vernacular architecture is currently co-ordinated by the Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group whose newsletter contains details of the group's activities, research in progress, and evaluations of source material. Important collections of visual material relating to vernacular building are housed in the School of Scottish Studies, 27-8 George Square, Edinburgh and the Country Life section of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, York Buildings, Queen Street, Edinburgh, as well as in George Washington Wilson photographic collection of Aberdeen University Library.

III SOURCES FOR SCOTTISH HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

1. AGRICULTURAL RECORDS

1.1 *Agricultural Improvers* The writings of agricultural improvers, despite their biased and unrepresentative character, form an important body of information on agrarian change in Scotland from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Their comments on pre-Improvement farming must not, however, be treated uncritically. Care should be taken to differentiate between improvements which were actually being put into practice and those ideas, often idiosyncratic, which were inappropriate and unworkable in a Scottish context. The first works on agricultural improvement appeared during the 1690s by such men as Lord Belhaven and James Donaldson, but as the fashion for estate development spread and economic conditions became more encouraging, Scotland developed a substantial literature in this field. Bibliographies of the writings of Scottish improvers are given in J.E. Handley (1963), J. Symon (1959) and J. Watson and G.D. Amery (1931). Manuscript material relating to the management of estates of improvers sheds a good deal of light on the sources of their ideas and the ways in which they put them into practice, eg. J. Colville (ed.) *Letters of John Cockburn of Ormiston to his gardener. 1727-44.* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1904. H. Hamilton (ed.) *Selections from the Monymusk papers 1713-35.* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1945. A biography of Sir John Sinclair, the most prolific and influential of late eighteenth century improvers, has been written by R. Mitchison (1962). The two series of county reports, covering the whole of Scotland, published by the Board of Agriculture in the 1790s and the early years of the nineteenth century are also an important source on agricultural improvement. For a list of the volumes and authors see J.A. Symon (1959).

1.2 *The Royal Highland and Agricultural Society* Founded in 1784 for encouraging improvements in the Highlands and in agriculture generally, the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society became the premier forum for debate on and the dissemination of new ideas relating to all aspects of husbandry, and the rural economy in general. The Prize Essays of the society, from 1799, continued as the Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society from 1843, contain regional reports, case studies and theoretical and practical observations upon a variety of topics. As well as more conventional aspects of agriculture, communications (roads, canals), forestry, rural industry (linen, kelp), fisheries, housing, and rural social conditions are discussed.

1.3 *Sources for Crofting Agriculture* Although the tendency to treat the Highlands as a special problem region has sometimes been overdone, the creation of the crofting landscape in the nineteenth century has given rise to some specialist institutions and sources. Many of the relevant official records for the nineteenth century are available in the S.R.O. and include the evidence presented to the Napier Commission of 1883-4, the records of the late nineteenth century Congested Districts Board, the Crofters' Commission of 1886-1912 and the Scottish Land Court which took over the administration of crofting legislation in 1912. The Scottish Home and Health Department files contain much information on health and social conditions in the crofting areas during the later nineteenth century and also have material on evictions, disturbances and unrest at this period. More up to date information on the crofting counties is available in the library of the Highlands and Islands Development Board in Inverness. The most useful recent studies are A.J. Youngson (1973) and J. Hunter (1976).

1.4 *Rural Material Culture* The Country Life section of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh, has a large collection relating to material culture, farm implements, rural customs etc. See A. Fenton (1976).

2. AGRICULTURAL DATA

It was not until the nineteenth century that the British government collected statistical information except as a by-product of some administrative activity.

2.1 *Agricultural Data 1845-57* (S.R.O.) It was 1845 before an agricultural survey was started in Scotland. This was restricted to Midlothian and, under the auspices of the Board of Trade, village schoolmasters were authorised to collect the data. Details of individual holdings are not, however, given for most parishes. Parl. Papers LIX 1847 (468) 11. In 1853 the Highland and Agricultural Society employed enumerators to collect agricultural data for districts (groups of parishes) in the counties of Haddington, Roxburgh and Sutherland on an experimental basis. Parl. Papers 1852-3 cl (917) 163. In 1854 this census was extended to cover the whole of Scotland and was carried out annually until 1857. Except for 1854 the surveys do not cover properties rented

below £20 in the Highlands and £10 in the Lowlands. Parl. Paper 1854-5 XLVII (1876) 637; 1856 LIX (2) 369; 1857 XL (2145) 1; 1857-8 LVI (2307) 333. For the 1857 survey and for the county of Linlithgow only data on crops were recorded on Ordnance Survey Maps (S.R.O.).

2.2 *The June Returns* (S.R.O.) Annual agricultural data were collected for the whole of Britain from 1866 and are known as the June Returns because of their month of collection. They were completed on a voluntary basis and estimates were made in cases of omission. The individual returns were destroyed to preserve the anonymity of farmers but the data were preserved at a parish level. In 1866 the minimum size of holding dealt with was five acres but this did not remain constant. Care must be taken in comparing data collected on the basis of different criteria. It must also be remembered that as returns were made on the basis of holdings distortion may result if many of these lay in two or more parishes. The returns list the acreages of a variety of crops, together with the numbers of stock (the categories of which did not remain constant) and the size of holdings at the parish level. The census data may be used to identify spatial and temporal differences in cropping and livestock farming patterns. Information on the collection of agricultural statistics may be found in H.M.S.O. *A century of agricultural statistics. 1866-1966* London 1968. The June Returns have been used by J.T. Coppock (1958, 1976).

3. BURGH RECORDS

3.1 *Pre-eighteenth Century* In earlier times Scottish burghs were divided into two groups. Royal burghs held their charters direct from the crown. They enjoyed a monopoly on foreign trade until the later seventeenth century and possessed sole rights to internal trade within defined hinterlands or 'liberties'. They were represented in the Scottish parliament before 1707 and had an influential organization, the Convention of Royal Burghs, to co-ordinate and further their interests. Their privileged position, more complex corporate structure and heavier tax liabilities have resulted in a considerable volume of documentation. The second group, burghs of barony and regality, were held from lay or ecclesiastical landowners and had a lower status, smaller trading areas, and restrictions upon their trading activities (I.D. Whyte 1979b).

The most recent general survey of urban development in Scotland is I.H. Adams (1978). A list of burghs, with dates of foundation, has been prepared by G.S. Pryde (1965). Also useful, particularly for non-burghal sites which received rights to hold markets and fairs, is J.D. Marwick (1890). The original charters of many burghs are preserved in the Register of the Great Seal and the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (Section 15). For an example of early burgh material see: W.C. Dickinson. *The early records of the burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1407*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1957. The records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, which are preserved in the S.R.O., have been published in extract form.

Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland 1295-1738. Scottish Burgh History Society. 4 vols. Edinburgh 1866-85.

The records of 77 royal and other burghs have been donated to the S.R.O., the accent being upon earlier material, although many burghs retained large quantities of documents in their own archives. Since the 1975 reforms much of the material in the S.R.O. is being dispersed to regional, local and university archives, only sasines and protocol books being retained at Register House. The Scottish Burgh Records Society has published extracts from the records of some of the ancient royal burghs including 14 volumes relating to Glasgow between 1175 and 1833, and 18 concerning Edinburgh, along with specialist studies such as J.D. Marwick. *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts*. Edinburgh 1909. Other burghs included in this series are Lanark, Paisley, Peebles and Stirling. The Spalding Club has published extracts from the records of North Eastern burghs such as Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin and Inverness. Other relevant material can be found in various historical society collection (See Section II 3.3).

The manuscript records of royal burghs include burghess and apprentice registers (see Section 14.3), minute books of the merchant and craft guilds, burgh court books, registers of deed containing business transactions of individuals and the burgh corporations themselves, marriage contracts, dispositions and settlements etc. The transfer of urban property before 1617 is recorded in protocol books (See Section 11.1); e.g. the published series for Glasgow 1547-1600 in the Scottish Burgh History Society publications. From the seventeenth century royal burghs kept their own registers of sasines. See W.C. Dickinson (1946) for a review of some of this material. Manuscript collections also contain the minutes, accounts and correspondence of burgh officials - see L.B. Taylor (ed.) *Aberdeen Council Letters 1552-1681* 6 vols. Oxford 1942 onwards. From 1535 royal burghs were required to keep accounts of their common good funds and to present them to the exchequer each year. These are kept in the S.R.O., E.82 series. See G.S. Pryde (ed.) *Ayr burgh accounts 1534-64*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1937. Other sources containing valuable material on urban population and occupations in the early modern period, include parish registers, bills of mortality, and late seventeenth-century hearth tax and poll tax returns (See sections 14.5, 14.1, 14.2).

Burghs of barony and regality are not as well documented before the eighteenth century. Information on them may be found in baron and regality court books, kept in the S.R.O. or locally (Section 7.3). G.S. Pryde's volume *The Court book of the burgh of Kirkintilloch 1658-1694* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1963 is a good example of this type of material and contains an introduction discussing the social and economic characteristics of this type of burgh during the seventeenth century. Some burghs of barony become absorbed by neighbouring royal burghs and their records have been incorporated with the records of the latter: for example, material relating to Newton-upon-Ayr is preserved among the Ayr burgh archives, and those of Portsburgh in Edinburgh

while many records relating to Port Glasgow are held in the Glasgow city archives.

3.2 *The Eighteenth Century Onwards* Documentation becomes increasingly complex and voluminous from the middle of the eighteenth century and it is only possible to give an indication of the range of material which is available. The S.R.O. E. series contains the Shop Tax Assessments, giving details of all shops for the period 1785-9, and the window tax and inhabited house tax records. R.C. Fox (1979) has used these sources, along with valuation rolls (Section 11.3) in reconstructing social and commercial patterns in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Stirling. Dean of Guild records contain petitions, plans and authorizations for all new urban building projects and alterations. They are a major source of information on urban growth and land use during the nineteenth century and have been used by J. Whitehand (1972) in his study of urban fringe belts and building cycles. See also M. Barke (1974).

As the nineteenth century progressed, more information was collected on public health, housing and urban utilities. Reports presented to town councils contain increasing amounts of information on education, postal and transport services, housing, the church, the regulation of markets and slaughter-houses etc. Two recent studies of urban growth and public health in nineteenth-century Scottish towns which give a good indication of the available sources are those of P.J. Smith (1975) which makes extensive use of town council and police commission records, and E. McKighan (1978). The Board of Supervision records 1867-98 (S.R.O.) contain data on poor law management and public health. Earlier in the century the Commissioners of Police undertook many duties relating to public health (S.R.O.). Details of royal commission reports and other sources concerned with public health, water supply and housing are contained in I.H. Adams (1978). Urban housing has also received more attention recently - see J. Butt (1971, 1979) E. Gauldie (1974, 1976). Medical officer of health reports are available from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. On sources for public health see S.M. Blackden (1976). Valuation rolls may also be used to supply details of house valuation, tenure and householders' occupations (G. Gordon, 1979).

4. CHURCH RECORDS

4.1 *Early Ecclesiastical Records* Many of the cartularies of Scottish monasteries and other religious foundations such as collegiate churches have been preserved among the Advocates' Manuscripts in the N.L.S. where a detailed index is available. Other records are held in various archives: for details, see G.R.C. Davis. *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain - a short catalogue*. London 1958. Some documents, especially for the sixteenth century, passed into the hands of the lay proprietors who acquired church property after the Reformation. The standard reference work on Scottish religious houses is D.E. Easson and I.B. Cowan. *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*. 2nd ed. London 1976. Most of the cartularies have been published in whole or

in part by nineteenth and twentieth-century historical societies. See G.R.C. Davis (1958) for details. These cartularies contain collections of charters extending back to the thirteenth century in some cases, and for later periods, rentals with some accounts and leases. Some of this material, particularly C. Rogers (ed.). *The Register of Coupar Abbey*. Grampian Club, 2 vols. Aberdeen 1880 was used by T.B. Franklin (1952) in his history of Scottish agriculture. The accounts of some of the pre-Reformation dioceses are also informative on social and economic affairs - for example R.K. Hannay (ed.) *Rentale Sancti Andree*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1913 (chamberlain's and granitar's accounts for the archbishopric of St. Andrews 1538-46). R.K. Hannay (ed.) *Rentale Dunkeldense*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1915. (accounts of the bishopric of Dunkeld 1505-17).

4.2 Kirk Session Records From the Reformation onwards, kirk sessions, assemblies of the minister and elders of a parish, had a powerful influence on all aspects of local society. Their duties were connected with the spiritual welfare of their parishioners but this involved enquiries into many aspects of everyday life. The minutes and other records which they produced are a major source of information on social conditions. Most of these records have been transferred to the S.R.O. but some are still retained locally in church hands. The S.R.O. general index also included details of kirk session records which are incorporated with parish registers and are lodged in New Register House. Kirk session material includes cases dealing with adultery, marriage problems, divorce, Sabbath breaking, blasphemy, gambling, usury, drunkenness, slander and assault. The records also contain cases of witchcraft, details of poor relief (see A.A. Cormack 1932) and communion rolls, while a variety of demographic information may be extracted (see M. Flinn 1977 70-1). An early example of kirk session material has been published: D.H. Fleming (ed.) *Register of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews 1559-1600* S.H.S. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1880-90. A later example is available in: A.M. Munro (ed.) *Extracts from the session records of Old Machar 1621-1758*. in *'Records of Old Aberdeen'* New Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1909. For a discussion of kirk session records and their contents see R. Mitchison (1974).

5. COURT RECORDS

5.1 Court of Session The Court of Session was the highest civil court in Scotland. Its records, from 1542, are held in West Register House which has alphabetical indexes of processes and pursuers, with a 75-year closure rule. Court of Session records are important for particular types of case, such as divisions of commonalty: see I.H. Adams (1967, 1971). Processes handled by the court contain depositions of witnesses, rentals, surveys, reports, plans and other original documents.

5.2 Register of Deeds From 1554 this was a separate branch of the Court of Session. The register recorded obligations and contracts of all kinds and made them legally binding. A particular advantage is that instead of merely recording a summary of the

proceedings, copies of the actual bonds or agreements were handed in and retained for registration. The register is yet another little-exploited source, although the method of indexing it, by means of the parties involved, and not by topic, makes it something of a lucky dip unless it is used in conjunction with other data. While marriage contracts and agreements concerning money were among the most common types of business, topics as diverse as indentures of apprenticeship, building contracts and agreements to undertake agricultural improvements were also included. Contracts include those relating to economic activities such as the grain trade.

5.3 *High Court of Justiciary* This was Scotland's highest criminal court. Records for the central court are available from 1493 and for the circuit courts from 1576 (S.R.O.). For a published example, see J. Cameron (ed.) *The justiciary records of Argyll and the Isles*. vol I Stair Society Edinburgh 1949, vol. II (ed. J. Imrie) 1705-42, Edinburgh 1969.

5.4 *Sheriff Court* The Sheriff Court records form one of the most important, yet under-used, sources for the study of the economy and society of Scotland, particularly before the mid eighteenth century. The origins of the sheriffdoms and the functions of their courts are discussed in the introduction and appendix of W.C. Dickinson (ed.) *The sheriff court book of Fife 1515-22*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1928. Sheriff court records extend back into the fifteenth century but regular runs of material rarely occur before the sixteenth century. The courts had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal cases. Their records include registers of decreets and processes, and registers of deeds (see Section 5.2). The types of civil matters which were dealt with included the registration of agreements such as leases, the removal of tenants, the poinding (seizure) and valuation of goods in cases of debt, and the settling of disputes; for example over boundaries. The best published source illustrating the scope and variety of these records is D. Littlejohn. *Records of the sheriff court of Aberdeenshire* Spalding Club. 3 vols. Aberdeen 1904-7, covering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. R.A. Dodgshon (1975c) has made extensive use of sheriff court material in his study of the nature and removal of runrig in south east Scotland.

5.5 *Commissary Courts* These were set up in 1563 replacing the pre-Reformation church courts. They continued until 1826. Their main significance to the historical geographer is that they acted as courts of record, particularly for the registration of testaments. The pre-Reformation records are generally in Latin, those after 1560 in the vernacular. Each testament contained the names of the executors, an inventory of the moveable estate of the deceased (in the case of agricultural tenants, details of implements, livestock and growing crops), date of death and, if one existed, a copy of the will. The 15 jurisdictional areas of the church courts coincided approximately with the pre-Reformation dioceses. The later Commissariat districts eventually numbered 22. The Edinburgh register was open to receive testaments from any part of Scotland and from Scots who had died overseas.

The Scottish Record Society have produced indexes of testaments which often commence in the sixteenth century but are frequently incomplete until much later. These have yet to be used systematically for a geographical study in the way that probate inventories have been used in England. See, however, M.H.B. Sanderson (1973). After 1823 registrations of testaments was transferred to the Sheriff Courts.

6. CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS

The S.R.O. E.71 first series of customs accounts spans the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The records of the various customs precincts have survived with varying degrees of completeness but provide a good indication of the state of the Scottish economy at this time. They have been used by S.G.E. Lythe (1960) and A. Murray (1965). The E.72 second series has survived from the 1660s for some customs precincts, but for most areas they are only complete for parts of the 1680s and early 1690s. The format is more standardized than that of the first series, and books are divided into records of imports and exports for customs years beginning on 1st November. The accounts of the Border precincts record overland traffic to England, as do those for the city of Edinburgh (as opposed to the Leith customs precinct which recorded traffic by sea). These records were extensively used by T.C. Smout (1963) in his study of Scottish trade in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. English customs records in the P.R.O. may also shed light on imports from Scotland. See D. Woodward (1977a, 1977b). From 1742 to 1832 detailed and standardized records of imports and exports for each customs area are available in the S.R.O. CE. series. These await a comprehensive study. This series also contains registers of shipping, including fishing vessels, from 1786. Some burghs, eg. Dumfries, Dundee and Kirkcaldy recorded their own incoming and outgoing shipping during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See A.H. Millar (ed.) Dundee shipping lists 1580-1618 in *The compt book of David Wedderburn, merchant of Dundee 1587-1630*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1898.

7. ESTATE PAPERS

Introduction Private estate papers are probably the most important, and certainly the most voluminous, source relating to Scottish agriculture and rural society. For periods before the mid-sixteenth century most of the categories of document discussed below are relatively rare, though a thorough examination has yet to be made of the surviving records of medieval lay and ecclesiastical estates. Most of the early material in family muniments consists of formal legal documents such as charters. The volume of material which has survived increases rapidly through the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. Indeed, the quantities of estate papers retained in the muniment rooms of some of the larger landed families is so great as to defy adequate cataloguing.

The GD (gifts and deposits) section of the S.R.O. has over 350 collections of private papers, the majority of which, including the largest, was donated by landowning families. These have been gifted to the nation or deposited on indefinite loan. Most of them contain estate documents in varying quantities. The earlier deposits are inventoried, each document being described individually. Many of the larger collections, especially those deposited more recently, are only handlisted. The earlier collections are described in summary in "*List of gifts and deposits in the Scottish Record Office*" vol. I Edinburgh 1971 (to GD 39) vol. II Edinburgh 1976 (to GD 96). An appendix to these volumes lists the collections alphabetically giving the regions which they cover and indicating the areas to which the bulk of the collections relate. Estate documents also occur elsewhere in the S.R.O. - for example the RH series of rentals, local court records in RH11, among the Court of Session records (Section 5.1), and among the AF and CR series. The N.L.S. also has several important estate collections. Documents in the main manuscript collection are indexed in detail but the larger individual collections of muniments are only handlisted. Smaller quantities of estate papers are also kept in some burgh archives. Other material is preserved in solicitors' offices and in the libraries of the Scottish universities. A large proportion of the surviving estate collections remains in private hands. These have been surveyed by the National Register of Archives (Scotland) whose handlists (available in S.R.O.) give an indication of their scope. Access to collections in private hands may be arranged through the N.R.A., West Register House.

Despite their importance, the use of estate papers for historical studies has not, so far, been extensive. Even the most dynamic period of rural change, the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has been approached mainly through printed sources such as the Statistical Accounts (Section 16) and the Board of Agriculture Reports. For periods before the mid-eighteenth century, and indeed for the later nineteenth century, even less research has been undertaken. Recent studies which have utilized estate papers in various contexts include R.A. Dodgshon (1975) P. Gaskell (1968) and I.D. Whyte (1979). Estate papers can throw light not only on agriculture but also on topics such as rural industry, woodland management and horticulture. See for example: J.M. Lindsay (1975, 1977) L. Rymer (1974) and A.N.L. Hodd (1975).

7.1 Rentals These list the rents due from an estate or portion of an estate. Less detailed rentals, particularly early ones, merely provide the names of farms or tenants and the rents due from each. Fuller ones may give, for each farm or smallholding, the number of tenants, and the rents paid by each in money, kind and labour services where appropriate. For the first half of the eighteenth century, and at earlier dates, rentals may be the principal means of mapping the extent of estates for which estate plans do not exist. Rentals do not normally list sub-tenants and farm servants. They are the principal source for changes in rents and farm structures, and provide details of continuity of tenure

and the mobility of rural society. See 'The rentall of the Lordschipe of Huntlye' *Misc. Spalding Club. IV* Aberdeen 1849 261-319 for a good example of an early rental. For an eighteenth-century one: H. Hamilton (ed.) *Selections from the Monymusk papers 1713-55* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1945 55-7.

7.2 Leases (Tacks) These are most commonly for farms, or holdings within a farm, but they also exist for mills, houses, teinds (tithes) fisheries etc. Relatively few leases survive from before the mid-sixteenth century. For a selection of early leases on a monastic estate see: C. Rogers (ed.) *The Rental book of the Cistercian Abbey of Coupar Angus*. Grampian Club. Aberdeen 1880. Leases became more common from the early seventeenth century. Large estate collections may contain several hundred of them but cross-checking with rentals containing details of tenure indicates that their rate of destruction was often high. Some early leases were hastily drafted on scraps of paper, but most were carefully-produced legal documents with a standard format. The number of leases surviving from the nineteenth century is often less than for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: by this time their contents had often become so standardized on individual estates that it was only necessary to retain a few for reference. Printed leases with blanks for tenants' names were sometimes issued at this period. Leases are a major source for tenurial conditions and rents, but their detailed clauses often shed light on other facets of the agrarian economy such as crop rotations or housing. See I.D. Whyte (1979c). Some examples of eighteenth-century leases are printed in H. Hamilton (ed.) *op.cit.*

7.3 Baron and Regality Courts Baronies and regalities were territorial units conferred by royal charters granting judicial powers to landed proprietors, including the right to hold courts. At an early date the baron court held wide powers, including the right of pit and gallows. Resort to such severe sentences continued into the seventeenth century in remote areas such as the Highlands and Islands. Over most of Lowland Scotland, however, the remit of baron courts became restricted to minor cases of assault, offences like petty theft and debt, and to dealing with breaches of good co-operative agricultural practice, or 'good neighbourhood'. Regalities had a wider jurisdiction which was nearly as extensive as the Crown's in civil or criminal matters, but most of the cases with which they dealt were, by the seventeenth century, similar to those of the baron courts.

Baron or regality courts were held three or four times a year, sometimes less regularly, and tenants and feuars were bound to attend them. The S.R.O. has a series of manuscript court books (RH 11) while court records also occur among estate collections. They contain valuable information on the functioning of rural communities, bringing out the relationship between different strata of society and throwing light on estate management. In the towns the burgh courts fulfilled broadly the same functions. Under a progressive proprietor a baron court could pass legislation encouraging tenants to undertake improvements such as the planting of trees and the sowing of legumes, or efforts could be

made to safeguard improvements instituted by the landowner himself. Courts were often used to press for rent arrears. Birlay courts were informal assemblies held by the birlayman, or arbiters, appointed by the proprietor from among the tenantry and dealt solely with agrarian matters. Written records of birlay courts are much less common. Several seventeenth and eighteenth-century court books have been published; D.G. Barron (ed.) *The court book of the barony of Urie 1604-1747* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1892. C.S. Romanes (ed.) *Melrose regality records* 3 vols. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1914-17. Some of the records of the Norse-derived courts of the earldom of Orkney and Shetland have also been published: J.S. Clouston (ed.) *Records of the Earldom of Orkney 1290-1614* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1914.

7.4 *Accounts* Estate accounts exist in two forms. Summary accounts bring together all the items of income (charge) and expenditure (discharge) for which an estate factor or chamberlain was responsible, either for a calendar or crop year. On well-organised estates, particularly after the middle of the eighteenth century, they may be bound together with annual rentals and records of arrears. Summary accounts are supplemented by individual vouchers and discharges, slips of paper recording the receipt and disbursement of money and commodities. These may contain more detail than the summary accounts but are often incomplete. Accounts may contain information on the personal and household expenditure of a landed family, and the management of the mains or home farm, as well as recording items like expenditure upon improvements such as planting and enclosure, repairs to tenants' houses, wages paid to shearers in harvest time, and the disposal of estate produce to urban merchants. See A.W.C. Hallen (ed.) *The account book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston 1671-1707* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1894, and H. Hamilton (ed.) *Life and labour on an Aberdeenshire estate 1735-50* Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1946 1-58, 80-136.

7.5 *Inventories* Estate muniments may sometimes contain copies of the inventories of the personal possessions of deceased or bankrupt tenants, together with details of standing and harvested crops (see Section 5.5). Some inventories are reproduced in H. Hamilton (ed.) *Selections from the Monymusk papers 1713-35*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1945. Another kind of inventory relates to the houses of estate inhabitants. Tenants' houses were often surveyed and valued at the start of a lease so that the occupants could be compensated for improvements or penalised for deficiencies when they removed. Such valuations, usually undertaken by birlaymen, are valuable sources for rural housing. See B. Walker (1979); I.D. Whyte (1975). For a published example, see H. Hamilton (1945) op.cit. p. 13-15.

7.6 *Surveys* A few seventeenth-century descriptions of land ownership have survived and are useful in the absence of estate plans. Large-scale comprehensive surveys of entire estates, often designed to be accompanied by detailed plans, relate to periods of more rapid agricultural change, such as the later eighteenth century. Two well-known published examples are M.M. McArthur (ed.)

Survey of Lochtayside 1769. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1936 and R.J. Adam (ed.) *John Home's Survey of Assynt*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1960. These contain details of land capability as well as listing the acreage under different land uses, holding sizes, crops and livestock, woods, mineral resources and the state of planting and enclosure.

7.7 *Diaries* Many diaries are concerned almost exclusively with personal and family matters. From the late seventeenth century onwards, however, many proprietors who were interested in estate improvement left records of their plans and work. Some published diaries have given their authors a larger-than-life reputation as improvers: A.H. Miller (ed.) *The Glamis book of record 1684-9*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1887 for example.

7.8 *Correspondence* Family correspondence may contain general information on economic, political and social matters as well as personal and financial affairs. Such correspondence forms the bulk of many of the collections of family papers published by historical clubs. Correspondence with estate officers, agents, legal advisors or business associates is likely to be especially informative but such letters often had a limited survival value and only one side of the correspondence tends to be preserved. Written reports by the factors of estates where the proprietor was an absentee, and landowners' instructions to their estate officers are particularly useful as they provide an over-view of estate conditions, and glimpses of the decision-making processes which are not always obtainable from other sources. For published examples see: J. Grant (ed.) *The Seafield correspondence 1685-1708*; J. Colville (ed.) *Letters of John Cockburn of Ormiston to his gardener 1727-44* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1904; E.R. Cregeen (ed.) *Argyll estate instructions. vol. 1. Mull, Morvern and Tiree 1771-1805*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1964.

7.9 *The Forfeited Estates* Papers relating to estates forfeited to the crown after the revolution of 1688 and the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 are in the S.R.O. E. series. After the rebellion of 1745 most of the estates which were forfeited were sold by public auction, but 13 Highland estates were retained as part of a government scheme to eliminate the Jacobite threat by removing sources of discontent (see A.J. Youngson 1973). They were annexed to the crown in 1752 and commissioners were appointed to manage and improve them. S.R.O. E.700-788 series contains papers relating to the general management of these estates with rentals, surveys, letters, petitions, accounts and reports on the improvements undertaken. The estates were returned to the families of their original owners during the 1770s and 1780s. A rather random selection of Forfeited Estates papers is presented in A.H. Miller (ed.) *Scottish forfeited estates papers 1715-1745* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1909. V. Wills. *Reports on the Annexed Estates 1755-69* H.M.S.O., Edinburgh 1973, reproduces some of the general material relating to the Forfeited Estates. A survey of the estates has also been published: *Statistics of the Annexed Estates 1777-6* H.M.S.O. Edinburgh 1973. This includes, for each farm, demographic information, numbers of livestock, acreage under arable and meadow, and areas under particular crops, including flax and potatoes.

8. FIARS PRICES

Fiars prices were struck annually in each county to establish the average price at which various types of grain from the previous year's crop had been sold. They were used to settle such fixed payments as rents, feu duties and stipends, and were an attempt to maintain these payments at a constant level and to beat inflation. Fiars were struck by the sheriff court, usually at Candlemas (February 2nd). The practice was an ancient one originally instituted to ascertain the value of victual rents and feu duties payable to the crown, although it was fairly late before the practice became universal. The fiars were meant to cover all main types of grain grown in the county. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this usually meant oatmeal and bere only, but later a variety of crops was covered, sometimes split into grades and qualities. Even after 1823 when an act was passed to regulate the timing and means of striking the fiars they could not be considered truly representative. Sometimes too few witnesses were called or account was not taken of the quantities of grain sold at various prices. A problem of using them is the lack of uniformity of weights and measures in use before 1827. It is, however, usually possible to discover what measure has been used and to convert this to some standard.

Despite their limitations, fiars prices are a useful source of price trends and may be compared with other price information, wage rates and cropping changes. Further information on fiars may be found in G. Paterson. *Historical account of the fiars in Scotland*. Edinburgh 1822. The fiars themselves are in the S.R.O. They are listed under their own heading, but short runs of fiars may also be found in estate collections and the Board of Agriculture Reports. Surviving runs of prices are irregular for the later seventeenth century and are missing for many areas. Long runs are often only available from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards. Conversion tables of weights and measures are available in A. Bald. *The farmer and corndealer's assistant*. Edinburgh 1780. Fiars have been used by R. Mitchison (1965).

9. FISHERIES RECORDS

The main series of fisheries records are in the S.R.O. AF series and include the Fishery Board records, with detailed local reports and statistics for some 18 districts, from 1809-1909. AF 62 contains the main series of fisheries records from the 1880s onwards. The records of the British Fisheries Society, S.R.O. GD 9, cover the work of this society in founding fishing settlements in the Highlands. See J. Dunlop (1978). For earlier sources on Scottish fisheries see J.R. Coull (1969, 1977). The S.R.O. Whaling Bounty Records 1750-1831 record details of whaling vessels, catches etc. Additional information is available from manuscript diaries in the N.L.S. and the records of companies like Christian Salvesen (Edinburgh University Library); see W. Vamplew (1975) S.G.E. Lythe (1964). For recent general studies of Scottish fisheries with detailed bibliographies see M. Gray (1978) and B. Lenman (1975).

10. INDUSTRIAL AND BUSINESS RECORDS

Scottish industrial and business records have only recently begun to receive detailed attention. The following printed sources give some idea of the variety of material available: E. Gauldie (ed.) *The Dundee textile industry 1790-1855* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1969. C. Gulvin (ed.) *Scottish industrial history: a miscellany*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1978. Data on early urban industry are contained in the guild records and other sources relating to burghs. The S.R.O. has some collections of papers relating to mercantile families from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. For examples of such material see: W. MacKay (ed.) *The letter book of Baillie John Stewart of Inverness 1715-52*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1915. A.H. Miller. *Compt book of David Wedderburn, merchant of Dundee, 1587-1630* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1898. Estate papers (Section 7) form an important source for rural industries such as textile or mining. eg. J.M. Lindsay (1977). See J.B. Paul (ed.) *The diary of Sir James Hope 1646-54*. Misc. S.H.S. III Edinburgh 1919.

The journal *Scottish Industrial History* lists recent surveys and handlists produced by the N.R.A. for collections of material relating to industry, business and transport. For general guides to business archives see: J. Imrie (1967) A.M. Broom and A. Anderson (1967) F.L. Payne (1967) and W.H. Marwick (1967). For general introductions to published and secondary sources, including parliamentary papers, books, pamphlets and articles the following standard works are useful: H. Hamilton (1932, 1963) W.H. Marwick (1936). For detailed studies of individual industries, see R.H. Campbell (1961) B.J. Duckham (1970) A.J. Durie (1979) B.C. Skinner (1965).

The development of the coal mining industry from the mid-seventeenth century can be traced in the records of the companies which have fallen into the hands of the National Coal Board, whose Scottish records are held in the S.R.O. This series also contains material relating to other industrial concerns such as the Shotts Iron Co. and Coltness Iron Co. Much material remains in private hands though. The best introduction to this, in addition to the bibliographies already cited, is the N.R.A. source lists on business and industrial archives.

The S.R.O. also contains the records of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures which was set up in 1727 to encourage the textile industry, fisheries and other manufacturers using funds voted to Scotland after the Union of 1707. See R.H. Campbell (ed.) *State of the annual progress of the linen manufacture 1727-54*. H.M.S.O. Edinburgh 1964. The records of many eighteenth and nineteenth-century firms have been deposited in the S.R.O. GD series, including merchant and trades guilds, shipbuilding and engineering firms, and wholesale and retail businesses. S.R.O. source list no. 15 gives details of industrial material in private collections held there. The N.L.S. manuscript collection also contains material on industries such as coal mining and shipbuilding, and the papers of firms such as R. Stevenson and son, civil engineers, and of John Rennie, relating to bridge and

harbour schemes. Burgh records may also have substantial quantities of documents relating to local firms. Glasgow city archives, for example are particularly strong on the shipbuilding industry.

For the pre-eighteenth century period, state papers including the Acts of the Scottish Parliament and the Register of the Privy Council (Section 15) contain information relating to industrial development. The S.R.O. port books (Section 6) are also useful. The records of one of the late seventeenth-century 'manufactories' have been published in W.R. Scott (ed.) *Records of the Scottish cloth manufactory at New Mills, Haddingtonshire, 1681-1709*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1905. Plans of various undertakings are housed in the S.R.O. collection with topic indexes on architecture (including factories, mills and machinery), mining and 'industrial'.

11. LANDOWNERSHIP RECORDS

11.1 *Notarial Records and Protocol Books* Before the institution of the Scottish land register, the Register of Sasines, in the early seventeenth century, the formal record of the giving of possession of heritable property - mainly land and buildings but also fishings, teinds and mineral rights - was done by means of an instrument of sasine drawn up by a notary public (See J.M. Thomson. *The public records of Scotland*. Glasgow 1922 86-112). From the early fifteenth century notaries gradually took over this task from local courts and in place of the oral evidence which had previously been acceptable, detailed written records of such transactions began to be kept. By the sixteenth century the business of notaries was being recorded in protocol books; only a few belonging to the clerks of royal burghs have survived from the fifteenth century.

The dangers of incompetence and forgery prompted the Scottish Parliament, during the sixteenth century, to attempt to exercise increasing control on the activities of notaries. Efforts were made to turn sheriff court books into a record of property transactions, but with little success. In 1567 Parliament required notaries to deposit completed protocol books with sheriffs or burgh councils. This act appears to have had some effect and the S.R.O. NP series contains a collection of sixteenth-century protocol books from the sheriffdoms, indexed by locality and notary, while royal burghs have their own series of books, either donated to the S.R.O. or retained locally. Many examples have been published by the Scottish Record Society, showing the variety of transactions that notaries dealt with. Overall protocol books are probably of greatest value to the historical geographer in recording transfers of property before the institution of the Register of Sasines, and in shedding light incidentally on social and economic conditions - for example on urban land use - during the sixteenth century. See J. Anderson and W. Angus (ed.) *The protocol book of Sir Alexander Gaw* S.R.S. no. 37 Edinburgh 1910, W. Angus (ed.) *The protocol book of Mr. Gilbert Grote* 1552-73. S.R.S. no. 43 Edinburgh 1914.

11.2 *The Register of Sasines* The relative simplicity of Scottish tenurial structure in the post-Reformation period, with the gradual elimination of customary tenures during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, made the recording of land transactions in a national register comparatively easy. During the late sixteenth century the Scottish Parliament took steps to try and ensure the legality of land transfers by creating a national register of sasines. In 1599 Scotland was divided into 17 districts, each of which was to have its own register. This scheme was abolished in 1609 and few of its records survive. In 1617 another register was established which has continued to operate to the present day, providing a uniquely detailed record of land occupation and transfer, and containing a wealth of information on land use, urban development, changes in land ownership etc. Royal burghs were not required to keep their own registers until 1681. The register is split into the General Register which was kept in Edinburgh, and the Particular Register, kept in specific counties and districts. Transactions could be recorded in either register. Both registers are available for consultation in the S.R.O., down to the late eighteenth century. Thereafter a fee is chargeable. After 1781, however, abridgements are available which may serve for some purposes although they are heavily abbreviated. Registers for many royal burghs are still held locally.

Sasines were produced in a standard format including the date, type of transaction (whether a disposition, renunciation etc.), and the people involved in the transfer of the property, including the notary. A description of the property normally follows. Boundary descriptions vary and may make the registers difficult to use for some types of study. For estates, the constituent farms may merely be named with no indication of their extent: comparison with rentals and leases (Sections 7.1, 7.2) may be useful in such cases. Smaller properties such as individual farms or burgh tenements may be described in more detail. They may be referred to by means of their physical boundaries, although these may often include features which were impermanent such as march stones, trees and even bushes. Alternatively, the property may be located with reference to the occupiers of the surrounding lands, or in terms of some more or less precise measure of area. The location of the property is then given with details of rights such as peat cutting and common grazings. Alphabetical indexes to the General and Particular registers are kept in the S.R.O.

The register is the major source for assessing changes in the Scottish land market from the early seventeenth century although little use has so far been made of it for this purpose. The growth and decay of landed estates, the purchase of land by urban merchants, the significance of small owner-occupiers and the property structure of burghs are topics which could be pursued by a detailed study of the registers. Some sasines relating to urban property in Kirkwall have been published in J.S. Clouston (ed.) *Records of the earldom of Orkney 1290-1616* S.H.S. 1914 and give an indication of their potential. For a recent study of landownership using the registers see F.J. Shaw (1977).

11.3 *Valuation Rolls* These are also a useful source for patterns of landownership from the seventeenth century onwards. General land taxes were sometimes applied in the seventeenth century, causing rolls of heritors (proprietors) to be drawn up. For a printed example see; A & H Taylor. *The valuation of the county of Aberdeen in the year 1667*. New Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1933. Valuation rolls for this period are preserved in the S.R.O. E.106 series and among private muniment collections. From 1707 this tax was levied annually and valuation rolls were regularly produced for counties under the auspices of the Commissioners of Supply, and for Royal Burghs. The rolls are organised by parish and include the valued rent in pounds and merks Scots. This was based on the rent in 1656 and so by the mid-eighteenth century there was an increasing discrepancy between it and the real rent. It did, however, provide a measure of the relative proportions contributed by various landowners within each parish. The valuation was primarily on property, including teinds, fisheries, mills, and feu duties as well as land. Valuation rolls after 1855 are kept in the S.R.O. VR series. Copies of valuation rolls for urban and rural areas may also be found among burgh records and in local authority archives. L.R. Timperley has produced '*A directory of landownership in Scotland c1770*' S.R.S. Edinburgh 1976 using these rolls. For a recent study of the application of valuation rolls to a geographical problem see D. Turnock (1971).

11.4 *Modern Landownership* For a guide to recent patterns of landownership see the series of papers by R. Millman (1969, 1970, 1972).

12. MAPS

General: D.G. Moir *The Early Maps of Scotland to 1850*. Vol 1. Edinburgh 1973. This is principally concerned with small-scale maps of the entire country but it also contains details of the development of surveying and cartography in Scotland including the surveys listed below.

12.1 *The Pont/Blaeu Surveys* For earliest topographical maps on a sufficiently large scale to be of use for research are those of Timothy Pont who, possibly inspired by the work of Saxton in England, undertook a series of surveys of Scotland in the late sixteenth century. Only one of his maps, that of the Lothians, was published during his lifetime. For details of Pont and his work see: D.G. Moir and R.A. Skelton (1964); C.G. Cash (1901); A.M. Findlay (1978). The surviving Pont manuscript maps are preserved in the N.L.S. Considering the crude survey methods used the maps are surprisingly accurate and show efforts to correct misplaced map detail. Their content and accuracy have been analysed by J.C. Stone (1968, 1973), who has suggested that up to 70% of the settlements existing at the time of survey may have been recorded. The maps show rural settlement by means of symbols which cannot as yet be fully interpreted. The houses of larger landed proprietors are depicted by little elevation drawings which are sometimes accurate representation in miniature of the

actual buildings. The Pont maps were edited by Robert and James Gordon during the 1630s and 1640s and were published as 46 regional maps by the Dutch house of Blaeu in volume five of their 1654 world atlas. It is thought that most of the maps were prepared by Blaeu direct from the Pont manuscripts and that only a few were drawn from revisions undertaken by the Gordons. Perhaps only four or five maps were produced from original work undertaken by the Gordons themselves, thus depicting a seventeenth-century and not a sixteenth-century landscape (J.C. Stone, 1970). The published Blaeu maps may be consulted in original or facsimile editions of the atlas. Bartholomew's also produce individual facsimile sheets of some of the maps. There is no reason to think that the accuracy of the Blaeu maps differs greatly from that of the original manuscripts, so that for many research purposes the published maps may prove more useful than copies of the original manuscripts, which can be difficult to interpret. The Pont and Blaeu maps have been used in studies of rural settlement by J.H.G. Lebon (1952) and M.L. Parry (1976).

12.2 *The Surveys of John Adair* The late seventeenth-century maps of John Adair mainly cover parts of eastern Scotland and as the original work which Adair undertook for the Scottish Privy Council was hydrographical in character, some of the maps show little detail inland from the coast. County surveys such as those of the Lothians and Fife, however, achieve a higher level of accuracy and detail than those of Pont. Enclosure and planting around country houses is well shown, as are roads, and the morphology of some burghs. See D. Laing (ed.) *Collections of papers relating to the geographical description, maps and charts of John Adair F.R.S., Geographer to the Kingdom of Scotland 1686-1723*. Bannatyne Club Miscellany II Edinburgh 1836. See also H.R.G. Inglis (1918). Adair's maps have been used in settlement studies (M.L. Parry 1976) and as a source of information on early enclosure (I.D. Whyte 1979).

12.3 *The Military Survey* Between 1747 and 1755 William (later Major General) Roy was commissioned to undertake a military survey of the Scottish Highlands and later of the entire mainland of Scotland. Although described by Roy as a 'sketch' and embodying nothing exceptional in the methods of survey, military precision and the large scale of one inch to approximately 1,000 yards, makes this a detailed map although insufficient research has yet been undertaken for its accuracy to be satisfactorily determined. Its completeness and relative uniformity are also great virtues (R.A. Skelton 1967). The map shows settlement in detail though the layout of buildings in rural nucleations is stylised. Land use is indicated by symbols for rough pasture, open-field arable, enclosed land, planting and natural woodland. The distributions of some of these have been mapped by A.C. O'Dell (1953). Roads are indicated and industrial operations shown. Relief is dramatically represented by brushwork hill shading. The original maps are preserved in the British Library. Photocopies are available in the N.L.S. and some Scottish university libraries. These are less satisfactory to use, however, as the brown relief colouring of the originals reproduces as heavy black and obscures map de-

tail, particularly in the Highlands. The date of the survey is especially significant as it precedes the most dynamic phase of agricultural change in Scotland and gives a good impression of the pre-enclosure rural landscape. Despite this, little detailed research has been done using the survey. An exception has been the work of M.L. Parry (1976a,b) on the abandonment of upland settlements and cultivation in South East Scotland.

12.4 *Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century County Maps* A variety of these are available at different scales and with different levels of accuracy. M.L. Parry (1975) has shown that many such maps were compiled from secondary sources, embodying little or no original survey work. He was, however, able to differentiate these from the ones which were based on more accurate data. J.B. Harley (1969) provides maps showing the coverage of county surveys at scales of one inch to one mile or greater for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Detailed bibliographies of available maps have been published for only two areas: J.C. Stone (1967) and J. Mowat (1938). The standard reference work is E.M. Rodger (1972).

For details of coastal charts see: J.B. Harley (1968) with maps showing coverage of eighteenth and nineteenth-century charts of Scottish waters, and A.W.H. Robinson (1958).

12.5 *Urban Plans and Views* J. Wood. *Atlas of Scottish Towns*. Edinburgh 1818-25 is a good source for urban morphology while J. Thomson. *The atlas of Scotland containing maps of each county*. Edinburgh 1832 also contains plans of several burghs drawn in the 1820s. Some town plans from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries exist, particularly for Edinburgh: the Edinburgh section of the Edinburgh Public Library, George IV Bridge, has a good selection. Various perspective views are useful in the study of medieval and early modern urban development. For a selection, see J. Slezer. *Theatrum Scotiae*. London 1693. An early view of St. Andrews has been analysed in detail by N.P. Brooks and G. Whittington (1977).

12.6 *Manuscript Estate Plans* There was no Scottish tradition of land surveying before the eighteenth century. The earliest large-scale estate plans, dating from the first decades of the eighteenth century, are often crude sketches. Landowners such as the Duke of Buccleuch, who commissioned a series of accurate plans of parts of his estates in 1718, had to bring in surveyors from England. During the course of the century, however, and as agricultural improvement increased, indigenous land surveyors began to appear, and made an increasingly important contribution to the mapping and planning of the new landscape. See I.H. Adams (1968, 1971, 1976), M.J.F. Barnett (1963). The S.R.O., West Register House, has an index of land surveyors for its extensive plan collection. From the mid-eighteenth century the number of surveys and the quantity of maps increased dramatically. The R.H.P. series in the S.R.O. has over 60,000 plans, a considerable proportion of which fall into this category. The main collection, in West Register House, is catalogued in sequence by date of

accession, and also topographically by county and parish. Some of the earlier accessions have been described in detail by I.H. Adams (1966, 1960, 1974). Estate plans are also held by the N.L.S. and in various university and private collections, as well as among burgh records. Outlines of this material can be obtained from N.R.A. surveys.

Estate plans are a major source for the transformation of the rural landscape, although much material on rural industry may also be included (eg. the plans in the Hopetoun collection of the Leadhills lead mining district). A substantial number of plans show the pre-improvement landscape. Most instructive of all, perhaps, are the 'before and after' surveys, or those where the surveyor himself marked on the maps the improvements which he intended to carry out. Also of especial value are estate plans linked to detailed written surveys (see Section 7.6). A number of published papers have used estate plans. General introductions have been produced by B.M.W. Third (1955, 1957). For examples of detailed case studies see H. Moisley (1961) and H. Fairhurst (1964).

12.7 Ordnance Survey Maps The first edition of the O.S. 1:10,560 map was surveyed from the late 1850s onwards and the sheets were published from the 1860s in the south of the country to the 1880s in parts of northern Scotland. Publication of the first edition of the 1:63,360 map began from the late 1850s. The map library of the N.L.S. (Causewayside Annex, Edinburgh) has a virtually complete set of all editions of O.S. topographical maps of Scotland. University libraries and the larger public libraries also have substantial holdings of the earlier editions of O.S. maps. The original O.S. name books from the county surveys of the 1840s to the 1860s are held in the S.R.O. RH 4/23 series.

13. NEWSPAPERS

While some Scottish newspapers like the Edinburgh Courant and the Scots Courant go back to the early eighteenth century, newspapers were not, in general, published for most of the larger towns until the later eighteenth or even the early nineteenth century. The N.L.S. has a good collection of national, provincial and local newspapers, and local libraries, especially in the larger towns, also have good runs of material - see N. Armstrong. *Local collections in Scotland*. Glasgow 1977 for details. The content of Scottish newspapers at this period does not differ materially from those of England and Wales and their advertisements provide a similar range of information; for example, see J.R. Walton (1973). D.G. Lockhart (1978a) assesses the evidence of newspaper advertisements for the study of planned villages. Newspapers are also useful for the study of eighteenth and nineteenth-century urban development: see M. Barke (1974). See R.M.W. Cowan (1946) for the development of newspapers in Scotland in the nineteenth century.

14. POPULATION

Scotland has none of the records, such as Lay Subsidies, which have been used for studying the population of medieval England. Nevertheless, the variety of material for undertaking research into population in early-modern Scotland has often been underestimated and has been little utilized until recently. The recent major work by M. Flinn et.al. (1977) has been an important achievement in this respect.

14.1 *Hearth Tax Records (S.R.O. E.69)* The hearth tax lists of 1690-1, covering some 20 counties, provide the earliest extensive, relatively uniform data relating to population distribution, albeit indirectly. Similar records have been used in England for studies of the distribution of wealth, size of dwelling etc. (Meirion-Jones, 1971; Pattern, 1971; Spufford, 1962). The Scottish hearth lists have scarcely been used though D. Adamson (1970-2) has considered aspects of population distribution in Dumfriesshire, and has also reproduced the list for that county (1972). The records are generally organised on a parish basis but their quality varies from county to county. For some areas the returns give names of householders and the number of hearths per household, indicating ovens, kilns, forges etc. For other counties only totals of hearths per parish, without the names of householders, may be given.

14.2 *Poll Tax Returns (S.R.O. E.70)* The poll tax was first imposed by the Scottish Parliament in 1693 for the payment of debts due by the country and for arrears of pay to the army. Commissioners for each shire, and magistrates in the burghs, were required to draw up lists of pollable persons. A second poll tax was levied in 1695 for financing the navy. Two further taxes were granted in 1698. Surviving records relate mainly to the 1695-6 tax. The lists of pollable persons provide the most complete record of the structure of early-modern Scottish society, both urban and rural. Unfortunately the records are fragmentary. Nearly complete lists survive for Aberdeenshire and Renfrewshire and have been published: *List of pollable persons within the shire of Aberdeen 1696*. 2 vols. Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1844. D. Semple (ed.) *Renfrewshire poll tax returns* - produced privately 1864 - copies in S.R.O., N.L.S. Manuscript lists survive in the S.R.O. for most of West Lothian and Midlothian, much of Orkney, parts of Berwickshire and scattered parishes and burghs elsewhere.

The records list all adults, male and female, of over 16 years of age, apart from those poor who were maintained by their parishes and, presumably, unregistered vagrants. Name, residence and occupation are given, though occupational categories are not always well defined. The tax assessment provides an indication of wealth - the poll was charged at a flat rate per head and in addition according to wealth defined by various criteria. Land-owners were assessed on the rented value of their lands, tenants at a hundredth of their rents. Wage earners paid a proportion of their fees and merchants and craftsmen paid according to the value of their stock, excluding household goods and tools. The published

Aberdeen and Renfrew poll lists have been used in studies of population distribution by K. Walton (1950) and N.A. McIntosh (1956) while I.D. Whyte (1979) has used them to analyse rural social structure.

14.3 Apprentice and Burgess Registers Little work has been undertaken on migration into the Scottish burghs before the Industrial Revolution. Suitable source material exists in the form of burgh and apprentice registers which are available among burgh records in the S.R.O. and locally. Burgess registers normally give the name, occupation, and status of people entered as burgesses, whether they obtained entry by marriage, by way of apprenticeship, or by family connexions. For a published example see: J.R. Anderson (ed.) *The Burgess and guild bretheren of Glasgow 1573-1750* S.R.S. Edinburgh 1925. *1751-1846* S.R.S. Edinburgh 1935. Apprentice registers give the name, father, father's occupation and domicile, and to whom the apprentices were bound. See: F.J. Grant. *The register of apprentices of the city of Edinburgh 1583-1666* S.R.S. Edinburgh 1906. C.B.B. Watson. *Register of Edinburgh apprentices 1666-1700* S.H.S. Edinburgh 1929, *1701-1775* S.R.S. Edinburgh 1929. Rural population mobility for certain social groups can be established from leases and feu charters which generally give the place of last residence of the incomers. D.G. Lockhart (1978b) has used chartulary books, bound collections of feu charters, for determining the migration fields for nineteenth-century planned villages. Family genealogies may also be useful in studying the mobility of the upper levels of society: see I. Carter (1976).

14.4 Private Censuses Various privately-conducted surveys of population, undertaken for diverse purposes, can be used to supplement the other sources described in this section. For example:- W. Scott (ed.) *Parish lists of Wigtownshire and Minigaff 1684*. S.R.S. Edinburgh 1916. Episcopalian curates of Dumfries and Galloway were instructed to produce lists of all people, male and female, over twelve years of age. The data are grouped by farm and household. J. Gray (ed.) *Scottish population statistics*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1937. This contains Alexander Webster's census, based on returns from parish clergy, for 1755. See A.J. Youngson (1961). E.R. Cregeen (ed.) *Inhabitants of the Argyll estate 1779*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1963. This has been claimed as the earliest proper recorded census in Scotland. It was instituted by John, fifth Duke of Argyll. It gives name, age, status, occupation and dependents of the inhabitants of one of the largest Highland estates. The *Statistics for the Annexed Estates 1755-6*. H.M.S.O. Edinburgh 1973 (Section 7.9) also includes a list of the number of families on each estate broken down into male and female for three age categories and indicating how many of them spoke English. The parish surveys in the statistical accounts (Section 16) generally give population totals, often for several years, and sometimes provide additional data on births, marriages and deaths. N. Tranter (ed.) *The Reverend Andrew Urquhart and the social structure of Portpatrick in 1832*. *Scot. Stud.* 18 1974 39-62. The original survey is in the S.R.O. The information is broadly similar to the 1841 census, providing data on immigration into a

non-industrial town, and on occupation, family size etc.

14.5 *Parish Registers (S.R.O.)* Scottish parish registers have a poorer survival rate and were less systematically kept than their English equivalents. The keeping of parish registers was first enacted in 1552 when each parish was required to record the names of children who were baptised, along with those of their parents, and the proclamation of banns of marriage. Registers of burials had supposedly been instituted in the fourteenth century. These statutes appear to have had little effect, as was the case with re-enactments by the reformed church after 1560. Little control, was exercised over the session clerks who were responsible for keeping the records. Very few registers have survived for the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. They become more numerous from the late seventeenth century but for many parishes records do not commence till much later. Until the recent study by M. Flinn et.al. (1977) little systematic work had been done on them. There is considerable scope for further research.

The S.R.O. has an index by parish of over 3,000 registers, indicating the years covered and whether births or baptisms, proclamation of banns or marriages, and deaths or burials are given. V.B. Bloxham (1970) states for each parish the years which are missing and those which are defective. Few parish registers have been published compared with England but for an indication of the content of the Scottish records see: D. Beaton (ed.) *Parish registers of Canishay (Caithness) 1652-66*. S.R.S. Edinburgh 1914 - baptisms and marriages only. C.S. Romanes (ed.) *Melrose parish registers 1642-1820* S.R.S. Edinburgh 1913. These give baptisms, with residence of father, indications of illegitimate births, parish of marriage partners. The mortuary rolls from 1760 give name, place of death and age. F.J. Grant (ed.) *Index to the registers of burials in the churchyard of Restalrig (near Edinburgh) 1728-1854* S.R.S. Edinburgh 1918. These give name, occupation cause of death and date of burial. J.S. Marshall (ed.) *Calendar or irregular marriages in the South Leith Kirk Session Records 1697-1818* S.R.S. Edinburgh 1968. Irregular marriages were contracted by declarations before witnesses and were celebrated by someone other than a parish minister. The records contain names, occupation, residence, the person who celebrated the marriage, and the witnesses.

For a recent study of nineteenth-century Scottish parish registers using family reconstitution techniques, see N.L. Tranter (1978). A.G. McPherson (1967, 1968) has undertaken a detailed social analysis of the parish of Laggan in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, including a study of marriage distances, using parish registers.

14.6 *Registrar General's Returns* From 1855 parish registers were superseded by the Registrar General's Statutory register of births, marriages and deaths. These records are kept in New Register House. Due to pressure on space, especially in summer, it is advisable to contact the staff to arrange an appointment. A

fee may be levied for the consultation of these records and the census enumerators' books.

14.7 *The Census of Scotland* From 1801 until 1831 only the total population per parish was recorded. From 1841 the census enumerators' books (New Register House) contain details of family structure, occupation, place of birth etc. similar to those for England. (see E.A. Wrigley 1969) Material down to the census of 1891 may be consulted. Census enumerators' books have been used in several studies of settlement, population and occupational structure, for example: M. Barke (1973); M. Storrie (1962) I.M.L. Robertson (1967).

14.8 *Migration and Emigration* Rural depopulation and emigration were major features of Scottish demography during the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were particularly important in their effects on the Highlands. The S.R.O. source lists no. 6 and 19 indicate the location of material on emigration, mainly in its private collections and in the P.R.O. in London. The S.R.O. also has information on emigration from the Highlands in its AF 51 series, particularly for the second half of the nineteenth century. The N.L.S. has a separate index of manuscript material relating to emigration. The bibliography in J. Hunter (1977) is also useful. On population movements in general see: D.F. MacDonald (1937); R. Osborne (1956); J.D. Wood (1964); M. Gray (1973).

15. STATE PAPERS

15.1 *State Papers relating to Scotland pre-1707*

The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland 1124-1707 ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes 11 vols plus general index volume, London 1814-44. The index provides chronological lists of legislation relating to topics, people and places. Supplementary parliamentary papers, including memoranda, and petitions are in the S.R.O. PA series with a chronological index. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. 1st series 14 vols. 1545-1625 Edinburgh 1877-1898, 2nd series 8 vols. 1625-1660 Edinburgh 1899-1908 3rd series 16 vols 1661-91 Edinburgh 1908-70. Each volume contains a separate index. The Register from 1691-1708 is in manuscript in the S.R.O. PC series. The registers contain much information on social and economic affairs - eg. trade, communications, law and order. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. 1264-1600 26 vols. Edinburgh 1878-1908. In manuscript to 1708 in S.R.O. These provide a general picture of royal finances, including the income derived from crown estates. The S.R.O. also has miscellaneous crown rentals from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1306-1668* 12 vols. Edinburgh 1883-1908. In manuscript into the eighteenth century in S.R.O. An abbreviated record of grants by the Scottish crown, mainly of land but also including burgh charters and charters of incorporation of companies. The published volumes are indexed by person and place. The register has been used by R.A. Dodgshon (1975, 1977a) in studying early settlement organization. *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her*

Majesty's Public Record Office, London 1108-1509 4 vols. London 1881-8, 1509-1603 2 vols London 1858 *Calendar of state papers relating to Scotland preserved in the Public Record Office, British Museum and elsewhere in England 1547-1603* 13 vols. Edinburgh 1898-1969 *Calendar of letters and papers relating to the Borders of England and Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London 1560-1603.* 2 vols. Edinburgh 1894-6.

15.2 *Parliamentary Papers, Reports etc. post-1707* Material relating to Scotland can be extracted from the various general guides and indexes to Parliamentary papers. For the eighteenth century see S. Lambert (ed.) *List and Index Society special series vol. 1 List of House of Commons Sessional Papers 1701-50* London 1968 and S. Lambert (ed.) *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the eighteenth century. Vol I Introduction and List 1715-60, Vol II List 1761-1800* Delaware 1975, 1976. For the nineteenth century see the volumes in the Irish University Press series of *British Parliamentary Papers*, Shannon 1968. For information on particular topics during the nineteenth century see: *Checklist of British Parliamentary Papers 1801-99.* Irish University Press, Shannon 1972. *The Catalogue of British Parliamentary Papers 1801-1900*, Dublin 1977 contains brief summaries of the contents of relevant reports etc.

16. THE STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS

16.1 *The Statistical Account of Scotland (commonly called the Old Statistical Account)* The O.S.A. is a 21-volume work which was compiled by Sir John Sinclair in the 1790s. It was based on a detailed questionnaire sent by Sinclair to the ministers of every parish in Scotland. He requested information on various aspects of the parish including climate, natural features, population, history, eminent persons, agriculture and industry. As representatives of a reputable national body the ministers were the obvious people for the task, though some of them took to it more readily than others. After some prodding returns were obtained for all parishes, and were published in the sequence in which they were edited, with a general index and index of parishes in the last volume.

The parish accounts are highly variable in length and quality and, despite Sinclair's editorship, lack uniformity. One must allow for the individual bias of authors, but there is also collective bias relating to matters such as local chauvinism, public morals and the praise due to local landowners. In addition the reports are written in a verbose style typical of their period. It is important to note that the word 'statistical' was used to refer to matters pertaining to the state or to the state of things in general, and not in its current mathematical sense. Nevertheless, data are frequently given on population, employment, and agriculture and industrial production, although their accuracy may frequently be open to question.

Despite its limitations the O.S.A. is one of the most important and most frequently quoted of late eighteenth-century sources.

It has been the subject of some separate studies; A Geddes (1959); V. Morgan (1968); F.A. Leeming (1963) has applied the technique of social accounting to a selection of the most detailed parish accounts. A wide variety of distributions have been mapped from it, despite its problems of uneven coverage; e.g. see W.H.K. Turner (1972).

16.2 *The New Statistical Account* The success of the O.S.A. prompted the Society for the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy to carry out a new survey in the 1830s. This appeared in 15 county volumes in 1845, each with its own index, though many of the accounts were written in the later 1830s. A similar approach to the O.S.A. was used but while the same problems of variability in quality and depth of coverage can be detected, the editors were more successful than Sinclair in persuading parish ministers to write at least something on most topics, and in achieving greater uniformity. The gap of 40 years or so between the two accounts is wide enough for economic and social changes to be apparent. For example, the changes in agricultural practices and standards of rural housing are manifest in many areas.

16.3 *The Third Statistical Account* A third statistical account was instituted in the 1950s and some 15 county volumes have been published between then and the later 1970s. The concept of parish studies written by local ministers as the most educated and best informed men in the community was found to have outlived its usefulness and these volumes were prepared by specialists including several geographers. They may be of some use to the historical geographer.

17. TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS AND TRAVELLERS' JOURNALS

17.1 *Topographical Accounts* The writings of Scottish topographers are an important source for the period before the mid-eighteenth century. Many regional and local descriptions from the seventeenth century and earlier have been collected in A. Mitchell (ed.) *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections*. 3 vols. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1906-8. Others have been published separately (See Research Aids, Section 3.3). These accounts often contain information on the rural economy, industry, inter-regional trade and the condition of the towns, but few contain the detail and sharp observation of A. Symson's description of Galloway in 1684 (in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*). Some important descriptions remain unpublished, such as those of Sir Robert Sibbald and John Adair in the N.L.S. among the *Advocates Manuscripts*. J.R. Coull (1977) has used such descriptions in a study of the Scottish fishing industry from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The writings of two seventeenth-century Scottish topographers have been analysed by F.V. Emery (1958).

Nobody before Sir John Sinclair (Section 16) succeeded in compiling a topographical account of the whole of Scotland based on parish reports, but two early attempts which cover parts of Scotland are *Reports on the state of certain parishes in Scotland* 1627 Maitland Club, Edinburgh 1835, a survey carried out by the

church (originals in S.R.O. TE series), and a series of early eighteenth-century parish accounts which is reprinted in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections. These cover north-eastern Scotland particularly well and have been analysed by F.V. Emery (1959).

17.2 *Travellers' Journals* Less systematic but often more interesting are the accounts of English and foreign travellers in Scotland. While Scottish topographers often took a rosy view of the potential and resources of the country, English travellers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were often biased by anti-Scottish feeling. The eyes of the sharpest observers, however, often picked out marked differences between the landscape, economy and customs of Scotland and their own countries. Many travel journals, particularly of trips in the more remote parts of the Highlands and Islands, are also available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of these have been published (see General research aids, Section 3.3). Others are still in manuscript: see the N.L.S. catalogue of manuscripts and the N.R.A. handlist of travel diaries. Some seventeenth-century accounts have been collected and edited by P.H. Brown (1891). The journals of some travellers, such as Samuel Johnson and Dorothy Wordsworth have achieved literary fame in their own right. Others, though less polished, may be more informative, such as Thomas Morer's description of Scotland in 1689, (in P.H. Brown 1891) or Edward Burt's letters from the Highlands in the early eighteenth century.

18. TRANSPORT RECORDS

18.1 *Roads and Bridges* Early material relating to roads and bridges occurs among official and estate papers, burgh records and private muniment collections. For the early development of road construction and maintenance see D.G. Moir (1957) and A.D. Anderson (1967-8). The material remains of some old road networks are considered by A. Graham (1948-9, 1959-60). S.R.O. source list no. 5 describes material in the S.R.O. GD series while a N.R.A. source list covers material in private hands. During the eighteenth century road maintenance was the responsibility of the Commissioners of Supply, whose records, including those of the Scottish turnpike trusts, can be found in the records of the old county councils, some of which have been transferred to the S.R.O. while others are retained regionally. S.R.O. E.330 series contains the reports of the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges from the early nineteenth century. The N.L.S. also has the papers of John Rennie the engineer and bridge builder. For road development in the Highlands see A.R.B. Haldane (1962). The S.R.O. DD series contains material on road transport from the nineteenth century onwards.

18.2 *Railways* The main corpus of material is the records of the British Railways Board (with a 30-year closure rule) in the S.R.O. which also holds the Comyn-MacGregor collection of railway material. The British Railways Board records contain the archives of earlier railway companies, indexed alphabetically with brief

historical notes, and other papers relating to relevant acts of Parliament. The Scottish Development Department DD series in the S.R.O. has railway material from the late nineteenth century onwards relating in particular to light railways and to the Highlands. West Register House has a large collection of railway plans. Published examples of railway records are rare but see W. Vamplew (ed.). *The North British Railway Inquiry of 1866* in C. Gulvin (ed.) *Scottish industrial history*. S.H.S. Edinburgh 1978. For recent case studies see I.H. Adams (1972) and C.J.A. Robertson (1978). The history of most of the larger Scottish railway companies has been chronicled, though with a technical rather than a geographical emphasis. For example, see J. Thomas (1969, 1971).

18.3 *Canals* Much documentary material on Scottish canals was acquired by the later railway companies and has been preserved among the S.R.O. BR series - for example records relating to the Crinan and Caledonian Canals. The records of the Scottish Waterways Board (S.R.O.) also contain material on the Crinan Canal. The Ministry of Transport Files MTI (S.R.O.) includes minute and letter books relating to these canals while the Scottish Development Department DD series has information on the Forth and Clyde Canals from the late nineteenth century, along with the records of the Royal Commission on Canals and Waterways 1906-8 and the Railway and Canal Commission of the 1930s. Burgh records may also contain information on canals and their traffic. The standard reference work is J. Lindsay (1968).

18.4 *Shipping and Harbours* For pre-eighteenth-century sources see A. Graham (1968-9) and T.C. Smout (1963). Glasgow city archives contain a considerable amount of material relating to the deepening of the Clyde - see W.I. Stevenson (1973) and J.F. Riddel (1979), although the S.R.O. also has relevant records in its HH 41 series. River deepening schemes and harbour developments are well covered in the plan collections of the S.R.O. and N.L.S. - in the case of the Clyde, from John Adair's map of 1731 at a scale of 20 inches to one mile (N.L.S.).

The records of the later harbour trusts are kept in the S.R.O. BR series along with material from companies such as the Caledonian Steam Packet company and the Clyde and Campbeltown Shipping Company. The S.R.O. AF series has information on shipping services in the Highlands and Islands in the later nineteenth century. Their DD 17 series includes records relating to harbours and piers from the 1890s and steamer services from the early twentieth century. The S.R.O. MT 2 series also has data on the operation of steamer companies in the Highlands and Islands, including MacBrayne and Company. The records of many other shipping companies are handlisted in N.R.A. Surveys. Maps and plans relating to all forms of transport are preserved in the S.R.O. R.H.P. series which has special topic indexes for railway plans, roads and bridges. The N.R.A. has a separate source list of plans and other transport material in private hands.

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